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Fórum cudzích jazykov, politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov je recenzovaný vedecký časopis vydávaný na CD nosičoch Vysokou školou Danubius. Bol založený v roku 2009 ako Fórum cudzích jazykov ako recenzované neimpaktované periodikum. Od roku 2017 je rozšírený o novú sekciu politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov.

Časopis si kladie za cieľ byť otvorenou platformou pre uverejňovanie inovatívnych výsledkov z teoretického, aplikovaného a empirického výskumu zo širokej oblasti lingvistiky, politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov, výmeny názorov, skúseností a získaných nových poznatkov a tvorivej práce prispievateľov zo SR a zo zahraničia. Je určený predovšetkým akademickým pracovníkom univerzitných i neuniverzitných vysokých škôl a vedeckých ústavov.

Časopis vychádza dvakrát ročne a vydáva štúdie, odborné príspevky, diskusné príspevky a recenzie, pričom je rozdelený do dvoch sekcií a to na lingvistiku a oblasť politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov. Prispievatelia sekcii lingvistiky môžu svoje publikácie písať v anglickom i v inom svetovom jazyku a prispievatelia v sekcii politológia a medzinárodné vzťahy v anglickom jazyku.

Časopis vychádza dvakrát ročne, uzávierky čísel sú k 31. máju a k 30. novembru.

Forum of Foreign Languages, Politology and International Relations is peer to peer reviewed scholarly journal published on CD-ROM by Danubius University. It was established in 2009 under the title Forum of Foreign Languages as non-impact journal. In 2017 new section of politology and international relations was added.

The journal aims to be open platform for publishing the innovatiove results based on theoretical, applied and empirical research in the fields of linguistics, politology and international relations. Sharing the research results and experience of Slovak and foreign contributors are in the focus of the journal editors. The scope of target spreads to academics active in tertiary education and research institutes.

The journal is published twice a year and it published studies, academic articles and polemical articles, and reviews. It is divided into two sections: Linguistics and the field of politology and international relations. Language of the publication is English or other for liguistics and English for politology and international relations.

Journal is published twice a year, deadlines for submissions are 31st May and 30th November.

Editoriál   Editorial

Vážení čitatelia,

po ôsmych rokoch existencie vedeckého časopisu **Fórum cudzích jazykov,** ktorý vznikol v roku 2009, nastal čas na zmenu. Ročník 2017 sme otvorili nie len zmenou názvu časopisu, ale aj rozšírením o novú sekciu.

Dovoľte mi, aby som Vás niekoľkými slovami oboznámil s novým zameraním časopisu VŠD pod názvom **Fórum cudzích jazykov, politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov**. Publikuje štúdie, odborné príspevky, diskusné príspevky a recenzie. Je to vedecký recenzovaný časopis.

Prvá sekcia - **lingvistika** - bude tak ako aj doposiaľ venovaná potrebám a výsledkom výskumu v oblasti jazykovedy, didaktiky, svetovej literatúry a jazykového vzdelávania. Našim prvoradým cieľom je, aby časopis dosiahol vysokú odbornú a metodickú úroveň a zároveň sa stal i užitočným pomocníkom pre všetkých tých, ktorí sa podieľajú na výučbe cudzieho jazyka.

Druhá sekcia - **politológia a medzinárodné vzťahy** - sa bude zameriavať na vedecké a odborné príspevky, štúdie, recenzie a informácie o dianí v politologickej obci. Tematicky zahŕňa oblasti politickej filozofie a teórie, komparatívnu politológiu, politickú sociológiu, analýzy policy, európskych štúdií, medzinárodných vzťahov, či bezpečnostných štúdií

Verím, že Vás zameranie nášho časopisu osloví, že Vás nami predkladané výsledky poznania a výsledky výskumu zaujmú a že postupne sa rozšíri okruh čitateľov a aj prispievateľov.

doc. PhDr. et Mgr. Peter Ondria, PhD.
šéfredaktor časopisu

Dear readers,

after eight years of existence of the Foreign Language Forum scientific journal, which was created in 2009, it is time for change. We opened the volume 2017 not only by changing the title of the magazine, but also by adding a new section.

Let me introduce the new title of the journal **Forum of Foreign Languages, Politology and International Relations**. The journal publishes research, scholary articles, discussions and reviews. The platform is based on peer to peer reviews.

The first section - **linguistics** - will continue to publish the research in the fields of linguistics, world, literature and language education. It aims to be both research platform and offer the support for those who are active in language education.

The second section - **politology and international relations** - will focus on research, dischussions, reviews, and information in the field of politology. It aims to publish the papers on political philosophy and theory, comparative politology, political sociology, policy analysis, European studies, international relations, and security studies.

I believe the new focus of the journal will be interesting to the scholarly public and we can together improve the knowledge on the mentioned topics.

Assoc. Prof. PhDr. et Mgr. Peter Ondria, PhD.
Editor in chief

CONTENT:

Monika Dobiášová

Tereza Šalková

I. LINGUISTIC SECTION

POLITIKSPRACHE LINGUISTISCH BETRACHTET

LÍVIA ADAMCOVÁ

Abstract

Politiksprache – ein kontroverses Thema in der Gegenwart? Das Hauptthema des vorliegenden Artikels bildet ein aktuelles Gebiet der Linguistik – politische Sprache, politische Akteure und ihre Sprachverwendung. Dieses Thema ist nicht nur interessant, sondern in vielerlei Hinsicht umstritten, kontrovers und nicht zuletzt didaktisch aktuell. In der Einleitung befassen wir uns aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht mit der Frage der Definition politischer Sprache. Der nächste Teil beleuchtet die Frage nach dem interdisziplinären Charakter der politischen Sprache, insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit Pragmatik, Rhetorik, Soziolinguistik, der Sprache der Medien und anderen Bereichen. Besonderes Augenmerk wird auf die Themen Intertextualität, Verortung und Produktion politisch orientierter Texte gelegt. Am Ende des Beitrags werden einige wichtige Strategien und Phänomene der mündlichen Kommunikation im Hinblick auf die politische Sprache zusammengefasst.

Schlüsselwörter: *politische Sprache, Politolinguistik, sprachliche Merkmale der Sprache der Politik, Schlagworte, Sprache der Politik im Fremdsprachenlernen*

Vorbemerkungen zu einem aktuellen Thema

Es gehört zum Alltagswissen, dass Sprache das Kommunikationsmittel zwischen Menschen und das wesentliche Mittel der Verständigung und des Verstehens ist. Sprachliches Verhalten kann vielerlei Funktionen haben, doch damit es funktioniert, muss es immer erst einmal verstanden werden. Das Verstehen ist daher die Grundbedingung jeglichen Kommunizierens. Sprachliche Äußerungen zu verstehen heißt, dass man nachvollzieht, was mit ihnen gemeint ist. Man will wissen, was sich die Sprecher oder Schreiber gedacht haben, welche Absichten der Äußerung zugrunde liegen. Geht es um einen größeren Komplex sprachlicher Äußerungen, wie er beispielsweise in einem Diskurs vorliegt, so will man ein Denken, Fühlen und Wollen insgesamt verstehen. Die Frage ist allerdings, ob und in welcher Weise man darauf Zugriff hat.

Der vorliegende Beitrag widmet sich dem politischen Sprachgebrauch aus unterschiedlichen Gesichtspunkten: Er wird das wichtigste Werkzeug in der Politik – die Sprache – charakterisieren. Zuvor ist zu klären:

- was politischer Sprachgebrauch ist;

- wo er auftritt;

- von wem wird er zu welchen Zwecken eingesetzt;

- welche sprachlichen Mittel und Techniken er verwendet;

- wie diese verstanden bzw. analysiert werden können.

In einem nächsten Schritt wird die Aufmerksamkeit der politischen Sprachverwendung aus linguistischer Perspektive gewidmet, um nach der Klärung einiger Grundbegriffe den Umgang mit politischem Sprachgebrauch im Unterricht kurz zu skizzieren. Der Ausblick dient der Erörterung unterschiedlicher Möglichkeiten von Verwendung der Textsorten im Umgang mit Jugendlichen.

Definitorische Probleme: Politiksprache und Politolinguistik

Die Beziehungen zwischen der Sprache und der Politik veränderten sich im Laufe der Zeit. Im Gegensatz zu heute, wenn die Politik uns immer und überall verfolgt, sprach man vor einigen Jahren über die so genannte „Sauergurkenzeit". Dieser Begriff wurde von den Journalisten geprägt, um die nachrichtenarmen Wochen des Sommers zu bezeichnen, wenn alle Politiker ihren Urlaub zu machen pflegten. Heute überzeugen die politischen Akteure durch die Sprache die Wählerschaft und dabei kritisieren sie auch die politischen Gegner bzw. die gegnerischen Gruppen. Dieser Trend ist in der Gegenwart besonders in der Slowakei aktuell, weil im Herbst 2023 die Parlaments-Wahlen bevorstehen.

In den Medien wird die Sprache der PolitikerInnen in der Gegenwart häufig thematisiert. Im Zuge dessen entwickelt sich eine vielfältige pragmatisch orientierte Metakommunikation. Es ist zu beobachten, dass heutzutage auch im Alltag öfter über politische Themen diskutiert wird. Darüber hinaus entstehen stetig unterschiedliche politische Diskurse – entweder in der Öffentlichkeit oder in den Medien. Daraus kann man folgern, dass typische sprachliche Phänomene langsam zum Alltagswissen gehören. Wenn Sprache und Politik so eng miteinander verknüpft sind, dann ist es erforderlich, die Sprache und Sprachverwendung in der Politik aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Perspektive genau anzuschauen (vgl. Niehr 2014). „*Sprache ist nicht nur irgendein Instrument der Politik, sondern überhaupt erst die Bedingung ihrer Möglichkeit*." (Girnth 2015: 15). Damit wird die Sprache als sprachliches Handeln verstanden, dass in

politischen Bereichen spezifische Charakterzüge aufweist und pragmatischen sowie stilistisch-rhetorischen Ansatz favorisiert. Da die Sprache enges Verhältnis zu den Begriffen „Politik, Ideologie" und „gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit" besitzt, ist es wichtig, darauf hinzuweisen, was die **„öffentlich-politische Kommunikation"** eigentlich ist. Die Definition hängt davon ab, welches sprachliche Handeln bzw. welche Textsorte zur öffentlich-politischen Kommunikation gehört. Niehr (2014:16) definiert den Terminus **„politische Sprache"** (bzw. die politische Kommunikation) folgendermaßen: „*Der Terminus politische Sprache soll verstanden werden als Sprachgebrauch in der Politik und bezieht das Sprechen über Politik (z.B. bei privaten oder öffentlichen Diskussionen), die politische Mediensprache (z.B. in Talkshows oder Zeitungskommentaren) und die Politiksprache mit ein. Unter letztere lassen sich die Sprache der Politiker (z.B. im Parlament) und die Sprache in der Politik (z.B. innerhalb einer Partei oder Fraktion) subsummieren*" (vgl. auch Burkhardt 2003).

Seit den 1960er Jahren, als die sprachwissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit **Politiksprache** zu einem seriösen Gegenstand von Forschung und Lehre wurde, haben sich Wissenschaftler um eine definitorische Abgrenzung und sprachsystematische Einordnung dieses Phänomens bemüht: Politische Sprache – was ist das (überhaupt)? Viele Linguisten behaupten, dass die Erfahrungen mit der Rhetorik im Dritten Reich nach dem 2.Weltkrieg die Beschäftigung mit dieser Sprachform stimulierten (vgl. Niehr 2014). Aber erst in den 1960er Jahren bemühte sich die germanistische Sprachwissenschaft um fundierte Theorien und angemessene Methoden zur Erforschung politischen Sprachgebrauchs. Die Forschungsinteressen weiteten sich dabei immer mehr aus auf institutionelle, organisatorische, mediale Handlungsfelder politischer Kommunikation, so dass die (öffentlichen) prominenten Politiker (die „politische Rede") nur noch ein Untersuchungsgebiet unter vielen anderen geworden sind (vgl. Klein 1989).

Mit der kommunikativ-pragmatischen Wende am Ende des 20. Jh. hat der pragmatische Ansatz in die Linguistik (auch in die Politolinguistik) Einzug gehalten. Die pragmatisch fundierte Politolinguistik setzt voraus, dass politisches Handeln vornehmlich sprachliches Handeln ist. Damit hängen das politische Lexikon und die Textsorten in politischen Bereichen eng zusammen. Dieckmann (1975) hat das politische Lexikon in drei Unterkategorien gegliedert:

a) Institutionssprache

b) Fachsprache des behandelten Sachgebietes

c) Ideologiesprache.

Klein (1989: 24) erweitert diesen Gliederungsvorschlag, und zwar um die Kategorien:

- Institutionsvokabular

- Ressortvokabular

- Ideologievokabular

- allgemeines Interaktionsvokabular.

Es ist unbestritten, dass die text-/diskursorientierte Richtung in der Politolinguistik bzw. die Textsortenproblematik im politischen Bereich eine wesentliche Rolle nach dem Emittenten oder der Situation spielt. Es werden Texte und Diskurse in multimodaler Perspektive und die Verhältnisse zwischen Sprache und Bild in einem Text beleuchtet. Unseres Erachtens ist das ein ebenso aktuelles wie wichtiges Thema, da sich die Textgestaltung in der heutigen medialisierten Welt oft multimodal vollzieht. Als Beispiel kann die „Polit-Talkshow" angeführt werden. Ein mögliches und sinnvolles Forschungsgebiet bleibt allerdings offen: Politische Kommunikation findet heutzutage immer mehr im Internet statt, womit politische Kommunikation im Internet unbedingt berücksichtigt werden soll (vgl. Adamcová 2016).

In diesem Zusammenhang ist wichtig darauf hinzuweisen, dass ein Feld, das sowohl auf politischer als auch auf wissenschaftlicher Ebene intensiv diskutiert wird, den Einfluss medialer Berichterstattung über Politik auf RezipientInnen betrifft. Hier stehen vor allem demokratieförderliche und demokratieschädliche Wirkungen im Fokus des Interesses. Ob auf lokaler, nationaler, europäischer oder globaler Ebene, die gegenwärtige politische Landschaft ist von wachsender Enttäuschung und hohem Misstrauen der BürgerInnen gegenüber ihren politischen Institutionen und Akteuren gekennzeichnet. Die Folgen der Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise, Sparkurse der Regierungen, niedrige Löhne, Arbeitslosigkeit, Flucht und Migration, Studentenrevolten prägen das Leben vieler europäischer BürgerInnen und stehen somit im Fokus. Verbunden damit sind Phänomene des Wandels der Massenmedien in ihrer Funktion zur Herstellung von Öffentlichkeit, für Politik und Gesellschaft. Die Kommunikation über diese Themen lässt sich nicht nur als *politische*, sondern auch als *interkulturelle* und *computervermittelte* Kommunikation untersuchen (vgl. z. B. Dörner 2001). Die Politolinguistik stellt sich im Zusammenhang mit diesen dominanten Themen folgende Fragen:

- Was kann und sollte die Medien- und Kommunikationswissenschaft zu diesen aktuellen und brisanten Themen sagen?

- Was wird wie über diese Themen kommuniziert?

- Wo wird dieses Thema kommuniziert: in den Printmedien, im Fernsehen, Radio und sozialen Netzwerken?

- Welche Rolle spielen dabei Medien, mobile Kommunikationstechniken und soziale Netzwerke?

- Wie wird das in der EU kommentiert?

- Welche Wirkung haben die Medien auf die BürgerInnen? (vgl. dazu Dörner 2001; Greifenhagen 1980; Jarren/Sarcinelli/Saxer 1998, Volmert 1989).

Um die Kommunikation in der Politik und unter den Politikern besser zu verstehen, vermag diese Sprachform also unter linguistischen Aspekten analysiert zu werden.

Politiksprache – linguistisch betrachtet

Angesichts der Bandbreite politischer Handlungsfelder, Kommunikationsreformen und Kommunikationsmittel wird es heute für Linguisten immer schwieriger, die Merkmale einer *Sprache der Politik* schlüssig zu definieren und in situativen, adressatenbezogenen und zweckorientierten Situationen zu beschreiben. Spezifische sprachliche Kommunikation, also politisches Handeln, ist immer auch sprachliches Handeln. „*Politisches Handeln wird durch (mit) Sprache entworfen, vorbereitet, ausgelöst, von Sprache begleitet, beeinflusst, gesteuert, geregelt, durch Sprache beschrieben, erläutert, motiviert, gerechtfertigt, verantwortet, kontrolliert, kritisiert, beurteilt und verurteilt* (Girnth 2015 :43). Was also ist, linguistisch betrachtet, „politische Sprache"? Ist es eine Sondersprache, ein Varietätenfeld, sind es politische Texte (eine Presseerklärung, ein Interview, eine Festrede, eine Talkshow, eine Wahlkampfrede, eine Regierungserklärung, eine Fraktionssitzung, ein Gesetzesentwurf…?)

Es ist offensichtlich, dass sich die theoretische und methodische Betrachtung der Politiksprache von der lexikalisch–semantischen Ebene mehr und mehr auf pragmatische, intertextuelle und diskursive Fragestellungen verlagert hat. Es entstehen fortwährend neue Textsorten, Leitwörter, Modewörter, Störwörter, Unwörter etc., die man auch als „semantische Umweltverschmutzung" bezeichnen kann. Die Linguisten werden dadurch vor neue Herausforderungen gestellt und kämpfen mit definitorischen, textsortenbezogenen, interdisziplinär ausgesonderten Problemen. Zunächst erscheint es notwendig, den Gebrauch auffälliger Wörter (Leitwörter, Stigmawörter, Schlüsselwörter, Themawörter) sprachlich zu untersuchen (auch im historischen Kontext). Ein Schlagwort ist z. B. im Kontext einer Presseerklärung, einer Wahlkampfrede, eines Plakats jeweils anders zu analysieren und zu bewerten (vgl. Volmert 2006). Schließlich spielt der Aspekt der Situativität, Aktualität,

Expressivität der politischen Texte eine große Rolle für Verstehensprozesse. Die Sprechhandlungstypen und das politische Sprechen wird immer an eine andere soziale Gruppe adressiert und es geht also darum, - *wer äußert sich gegenüber wem, aus welchen Gründen, aus welcher Absicht, mit welchen Folgen.*

Um die vorher erwähnte Frage zu beleuchten, müssen die Merkmale der Politiksprache im Allgemeinen charakterisiert werden. Es sind:

a) Zielsetzungen, Meinungen und Überzeugungen, die die Politiker so darstellen sollen, dass sie auf Zustimmung der Bürger stoßen.

b) Zudem soll die politische Sprache polarisieren, manipulieren, bagatellisieren etc., denn durch Gegensätze kann man leichter die Entscheidung treffen, welche politische Partei einem näher am Herzen liegt.

c) Nicht weniger bedeutend ist der Handlungscharakter der Politiksprache, der darin besteht, dass sie oft zum Ritual wird. Dieses Merkmal kann man anhand der Neujahrsansprache der Präsidenten sehr gut beispielhaft illustrieren. Die von ihnen ausgesprochenen Worte haben oft zwar keinen Inhalt, dienen aber zur Beruhigung und Aufmunterung der Bevölkerung, da sie eine Art Stabilität und Zuversicht versinnbildlichen.

d) Integrationscharakter der Politiksprache liegt darin, dass sie die Gruppen zusammenschließen soll (Niehr 2014).

Schlagwörter – Fahnenwörter und Co.

In der Beschreibung der Politiksprache gibt es in vielen Fällen eine verwirrende und unscharfe Fachterminologie. Im Folgenden wird – auf der Basis der neueren Literatur zur Politolinguistik (Heinemann 1998; Niehr 2014; Girnth 2015; Volmert 2006; Burkhardt 2003) auf die wissenschaftliche Durchdringung politischen Sprachgebrauchs hingewiesen. Schuppener (2015: 221) behauptet: *"Hochwertige Wörter fungieren wie Gefäße, in die man von der Bedeutung her alles Mögliche eingießen kann. Zudem sind sie emotional gefärbt und wirken auf die Bürger verführerisch oder sogar provokativ."*

In dem politischen Sprachgebrauch kommen vermehrt Schlagwörter vor, die ideologisch, ästhetisch, moralisch aber auch linguistisch beschrieben werden können. In der neueren Literatur zur Politolinguistik (Burkhardt 2003, Klein 1989, Wengeler 2003, Hermans 1996, Niehr 2014; Bachem 1979; Lakoff/Wehling 2009) wird die Fachterminologie beschrieben und erklärt, vor allem zu dem Zweck, eine wissenschaftlich distanzierte und kritisch-analytische

Durchdringung politischen Sprachgebrauchs zu ermöglichen. Interessant ist, dass man die populären Fahnenwörter und Slogans politischer Repräsentanten allmählich auch im Alltag verwendet, wie z. B. *Überfremdung, deutschfeindlich, Asylbetrüger, fremdrassisch, Marktwirtschaft, multikriminell, Fremdenflut, Multi-Kulti-Mafia, Parasiten* usw. Einigkeit besteht in Bezug auf die Tatsache, dass politisches Vokabular – auf Grund seiner Zweckbestimmung – neben der denotativen Bedeutung stets auch konnotative Bedeutungen erhält (vgl. Volmert 2006), also Nebenbedeutungen, die der Erzeugung von Emotionen bzw. Assoziationen bei Adressaten dienen. Als Oberbegriff für alle politischen Slogans und Kernbegriffe der Politik wird der Begriff **Schlagwörter** als verbreitetste und beliebteste Kategorie bei der Analyse politischer Sprache angesehen. Burkhardt (2003:11) definiert „Schlagwort" unter politisch-pragmatischen Aspekten so: *„Politische Schlagwörter werden (vor allem) gebildet und verwendet, um innerhalb themenzentrierter Diskurse für das eigene Lager konzeptuelle claims abzustecken und deren Anerkennung öffentlich durchzusetzen."*

Das große unübersichtliche Feld politischer Schlagwörter lässt sich jedoch unter funktionalen und textbezogenen Aspekten sinnvoll untergliedern. Volmert (2006) teilt die Schlagwörter in drei Hauptgruppen ein: in **Fahnenwörter, Programmwörter** und **Stigmawörter.** Es gibt allerdings auch weitere Verzweigungen, die zahlreiche andere Begriffe beinhalten wie z. B. **Leitwörter, Kampfwörter, Modewörter, brisante Wörter** u. a. (Strauß/Haß/Harras 1989). **Fahnenwörter** werden als „Flaggen politischer Bewegungen" definiert, die bestehende Verhältnisse kritisieren und zahlreiche Kampfrufe darstellen. Sie fungieren als Erkennungszeichen von Parteien (z. B. *Ostmoderne, Terroristen, Staatsfeinde, Nazis, Wühler, Zerstörer, Menschenwürde* u. a.), aber auch *Umweltschutz, Ökosystem, Solidarität, Willkommenskultur, Chancengleichheit* gehören zu traditionellen Fahnenwörtern der ökologischen Bewegungen und Arbeiterbewegungen. Bei **Stigmawörtern** handelt es sich um Wort-Symbole, die gegen den politischen Gegner verwendet werden, um ihn zu stigmatisieren, brandmarken, unmöglich zu machen z. B. *Chaoten, Terroristen, Revolutionäre, Phantasten, Demokraten, Kommunisten, Nationalisten* u. a. Die Dynamik der Politiksprache und ihres Vokabulars symbolisieren auch die sog. **„brisanten Wörter"**. Sie zeigen, wie ehemals aggressive Fahnenwörter bestimmter Bewegungen zu allgemeinen Zeitgeistwörtern werden können (z. B. *Emanzipation, Umweltschutz, Chaot, Solidarität, Sympathisant, Schwul, Gleichberechtigung, lesbisch, Chancengleichheit*). Zu den umfangreichen Domänen politiksprachlichen Vokabulars gehören die Bezeichnungen für die mit einem bestimmten System verbundenen Institutionen, Organisationen, Sachbereiche, Fachsprache und Expertensprache. Es gibt Wörter, die anhand ihrer konnotativen Charakteristik ein bestimmtes

Herrschaftssystem gleich erkennen lassen, z. B. *Reichskulturkammer, Nulllösung, Rassehygienisches Institut, Endlösung, Blitzkrieg, Stiftung Ahnenerbe* u.a. Ähnliches gilt für die administrativen und organisatorischen Apparate ehemaliger sozialistischer Staaten, z. B. *Fünfjahrplan, Volkskammer, Gummiohr (Stasi-Mann), lila Hexe (Margot Honecker), Stasi, Tal der Ahnungslosen, Ostelbanien, Kaderakte, Brigadetagebuch, Subbotnik.*
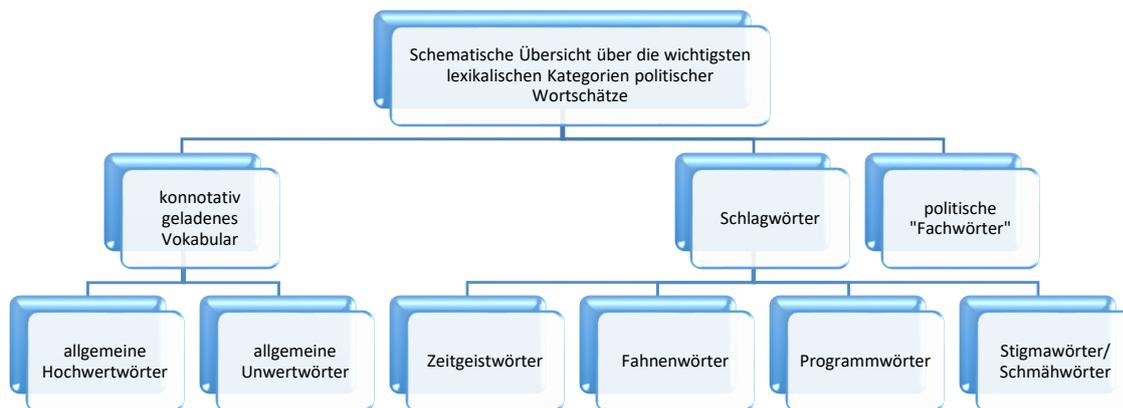
Abb. 1: Lexikalische Kategorien politischer Sprache (frei nach Volmert 2006:322)

Die vielfältigen Mittel, die den politischen Sprachgebrauch charakterisieren, verdienen besondere Beachtung. Aus diesem Grund gehört die linguistische Analyse politischer Sprache zu populären Themen der Sprachwissenschaft. Zum Beispiel ist die theoretische und praktische Rhetorik eine in der Gegenwart populäre Lehre, die hilft, den Politikern eine öffentliche Rede schöner, ausdrucksvoller und wirksamer zu machen. Die klassische Rhetorik bietet uns eine Liste von Stilfiguren, die Wiederholungen, Variationen, Sprachspiele, Wortschöpfungen oder Metaphern liefern. Häufig werden Politiker z. B. als *Scharlatane, Schauspieler, Traumtänzer, Ratten, Parasiten, Jongleure, Schmarotzer* genannt. Die politischen Metaphern erfreuen sich außer der Politiksprache großer Beliebtheit in Presseerklärungen, Diskursen, Wahlkampfreden, Talkshows, auf Plakaten und in anderen Textsorten (z. B. *Gehirnjogging, brutalstmöglich, Besserwessi, Wutbürger, abzocken,* Ich bin *kein Berliner!*). Die Texte der Politiksprache weisen unter anderem intertextuelle Bezüge auf im Verhältnis zu anderen aktuellen (aber auch historischen) Texten.

Schließlich spielt der Aspekt der Situativität der politischen Texte eine große Rolle für Verstehensprozesse. Die Sprechhandlungstypen und das politische Sprechen wird immer an

eine andere soziale Gruppe adressiert und es geht also darum, wer äußert sich gegenüber wem, aus welchen Gründen, aus welcher Absicht, mit welchen Folgen.

Politiksprache im Unterricht?

Es ist offensichtlich, dass die Interessen von Linguistik und Didaktik in den letzten Jahrzehnten in direkter Abhängigkeit von den brisanten Themen des zeitgenössischen politischen Lebens standen und stehen. Bis in die 60er und 70er Jahre war die Politiksprache kein Thema der Didaktik. Erst mit der kommunikativen Wende in der Linguistik wurde dieser Bereich für den Unterricht entdeckt und dokumentiert (vgl. Neuland/Volmert 2003). Seitdem zeigte sich das Interesse der Linguisten für diesen Bereich in einer Reihe von Sammelbänden und Artikeln in Fachzeitschriften. Es ist eine Tatsache, dass Ideologie, Sprache und Politik für zahlreiche wissenschaftliche Bereiche wichtig sind (Geschichte, Sozialkunde, Linguistik, Pragmatik u.a.) Der Fokus richtet sich neben der Beschreibung rhetorischer Mittel und argumentativer Strukturen der Politiksprache auf die Spezifik der Textsorten, die Situativität, Aktualität, Möglichkeiten der Textbehandlung und die Erstellung des Diskurses. Neuere didaktische Konzepte orientieren sich auf den Umgang mit politischem Sprachgebrauch auf:

- Dialogstile
- Interaktionsformen
- Intertextualität
- Multimedialität politischen Sprachgebrauchs.

Die Behandlung politischen Vokabulars im Unterricht hat zum Ziel, die rezeptiv-analytischen Kompetenzen der Lernenden mit produktiven handlungsbezogenen Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten zu verbinden. Sie sind auch für kontrastive und interkulturelle Zwecke im Studium geeignet. Das gilt besonders für den **Fremdsprachenunterricht**, da im Ausland die Analyse politischer Sprache zugleich Einblicke in politische, historische, mentale und soziokulturelle Verhältnisse des anderen Landes vermitteln kann. Dazu sollte man geeignete Hilfsmittel erschließen (Textkorpora; Handbücher; Sammlungen politischer Lexik - vgl. Stötzel/Eitz 2002; Neuland/Volmert 2003). Als didaktische Zielsetzungen im Deutschunterricht können unseres Erachtens aufgeführt werden:

- Welches sind die wichtigsten (offenen oder verdeckten) Intentionen des Autors eines politischen Textes?

- Welchen politischen Standort vertritt er?

- Wie sind die Einstellungen und Interessen des Autors in der Wahl der sprachlichen Mittel?

- In welchem intertextuellen Zusammenhang erklärt sich der Sinn dieser Äußerungshandlung?

- Welche lexikalischen, textuellen und pragmatischen Mittel sollten im Unterricht eingesetzt werden?

- Kann der Text überzeugen, und wenn ja, wen und wodurch?

Diese Verfahren können sich gut für den Fremdsprachunterricht als geeignet erweisen. Voraussetzung dazu sind Hilfsmittel wie Wörterbücher, Handbücher zur politischen Lexik, zu Leitvokabeln, gezielte praktische Übungen (z. B. Texte aus der Pressesprache aus kontrastiver Sicht). Beim Sprachvergleich könnte erarbeitet werden, dass zahlreiche Schlagwörter und Slogans international verbreitet sind und ähnliche konnotative Bedeutung enthalten. Sie erhöhen sprachliche Kompetenz (rezeptiv und produktiv), Erfahrungen im Bereich „fremder" politischer Systeme und Weltanschauungen, kommunikative und interkulturelle Kompetenz usw. In diesem Bereich bieten sich zahlreiche Möglichkeiten für einen handlungs- und produktionsorientierten Unterricht. Die Lernenden könnten in einem Projektentwurf z. B. den produktiven Umgang mit der Widerspiegelung politischen Geschehens in den Massenmedien erproben. Geeignet wäre das Verfassen:

- eines politischen Kommentars (Leitartikels)

- einer Glosse

- eines Wahlplakats

- eines Flugblatts

- einer Webseite.

Dies könnte in Partner- oder Gruppenarbeit geschehen verbunden mit Korrektur des Textes unter stilistischen und rhetorischen Aspekten. Zu den Aufgabenbereichen mündlichen Sprachgebrauchs gehört auch die Fähigkeit zum Gestalten und Halten einer freien Rede vor dem Publikum, eines Referats zu einem bestimmten Thema, einer politischen Talkshow, zu der auch die inhaltliche und organisatorische Vorbereitung, die Rollenverteilung sowie die Zeit- und Raumplanung gehört. Das alles sind Verfahren, die die Motivation der Lernenden im Fremdsprachenunterricht nachweisbar fördern (vgl. Volmert 2006).

Ausblick

In diesem Beitrag ging es darum, den Akzent auf die Beschäftigung mit politischem Sprachgebrauch zu legen. Didaktisches Richtziel im Unterricht bleibt die Erziehung zur mündlichen Kommunikation, zur politischen Mündlichkeit; im Rahmen dieser Lernzielbestimmung gilt es, die Sprachrezeptions- und Produktionsfähigkeit der Lernenden zu

schärfen, und ihnen die notwendigen methodischen und argumentativen Techniken zu vermitteln, sie für eigene und fremde Einstellungen und Stereotype zu sensibilisieren. Die wichtigste Kompetenz wäre die Fähigkeit zur Verwendung einer grammatisch und pragmatisch richtigen Sprache und darüber hinaus zur politischen Sprachkritik. Immer mehr Jugendliche werden auf Politik, Politikersprache und Sprachhandeln aufmerksam. Sie werden von Politikern aufgefordert, an den Wahlen teilzunehmen. Es treten Motivationsfaktoren in den Vordergrund, der Einfluss der Eltern, Freunde, Mitschüler und Lehrer wird deutlich. Angesichts dieser Tatsachen halten wir es also für erforderlich, sich mit der politischen Sprache auch im Umgang mit Jugendlichen zu befassen.

Die kritische Beschäftigung mit der Sprache der Politik ist auch für den Linguisten ein anziehendes Thema – es fordert Verantwortung und gesellschaftliche Herausforderung zugleich – eben wegen der immer größer werdenden rezipierenden Öffentlichkeit. Die Sprachwissenschaft kann durch die Analyse und Kritik der politischen Texte und Begriffe einen Beitrag zur Aufklärung, Erziehung und Sensibilisierung der Öffentlichkeit leisten. Eben darin sehen wir eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft (nicht nur) für den Sprachunterricht.

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REFLEXION VON BILDLICHKEIT IN DER SLOWAKISCHEN UND DEUTSCHSPRACHIGEN LITERATURWISSENSCHAFT

Terézia STRUHÁROVÁ

Abstrakt:

Die Autorin des Artikels basiert auf theoretischen Kenntnissen über Bildlichkeit in der Literaturwissenschaft mit Schwerpunkt auf dem slowakischen und deutschsprachigen Sprachraum, wobei sie sich auf das Verständnis von Metaphern in der modernen Poesie konzentriert. Die moderne Metapher und ihre Dimensionen sind von ihrer Position im Kontext der modernen Poesie bestimmt. Die älteren Metapherkonzeptionen geraten in den Hintergrund und in den Vordergrund tritt die moderne, sog. Interaktionstheorie der Metapher. In der slowakischen und deutschsprachigen Literaturwissenschaft wird die Auffassung der Modernität der Metapher durch ihre Aufnahme in die moderne Theorie widerspiegelt.

Schlüsselwörter: *Bildlichkeit, Metapher, moderne Poesie*

Definition der Begriffe *Bildlichkeit*, *Bild*, *poetische* und *bildliche Bezeichnung* im literaturwissenschaftlichen Kontext

Im Beitrag wird sich unsere Forschung auf die theoretischen und methodologischen Arbeiten dieses und des letzten Jahrhunderts beschränken, die sich mit den Konzepten von der Bildlichkeit, poetischer Bezeichnung (Ausdruck) und der Metapher befassen, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf deren Verbindung mit moderner Poesie liegt. Es handelt sich um slowakische und deutschsprachige literaturwissenschaftliche Werke sowie um ausländische literaturwissenschaftliche Werke.

Laut František Miko (1988, S. 84) besteht die Ebene des bildlichen Ausdrucks darin, dass „eine bestimmte herausragende Vorstellung als ‚Bild' einer anderen Vorstellung verstanden wird, einer Vorstellung, die weniger ausdrucksvoll oder weniger offensichtlich, unbestimmt, noch nicht verstanden, unklar ist, d. h. eines, über das das ‚Bild' dann etwas Neues, Verborgenes, Unbekanntes sagen wird." Nach diesem Theoretiker entsteht ein Bild aus konkreten Eindrücken oder Erfahrungen, die ihre ursprüngliche reale Gültigkeit haben, mit einer gewissen

Wahrnehmungsverschiebung, wodurch sie eine andere, neue Bedeutung entdecken und zu einem bildlichen Ausdruck werden (ebd. vgl. S. 84). Die Bilder werden von Miko als grundlegende Kategorie des lyrischen Ausdrucks betrachtet. Zugleich versteht er das Bild als Konnotation im Sinne von pars pro toto: „Charakteristische Zeichen ersetzen hier das Ganze und das, was für uns wichtig ist, seine Beschreibung" (ebd. S. 83). Anstelle einer expliziten Beschreibung werden mehrere Zeichen zu einem Gesamtbild zusammengefasst. (...) Hier ergibt sich alles aus dem Charakter der lyrischen Darstellung. Die Lyrik zielt nicht umfassend, breit, sondern intensiv ab. Ihre Wirkung besteht in der höchst semiotischen Verwendung grundlegender Elemente und Einheiten der Sprache, des Wortes, der Wortverbindung und des Satzes" (Miko, 2011, S. 166-167).

Laut Mukařovský ist der Unterschied zwischen poetischer und nicht-poetischer Bezeichnung „durch die spezifische Funktion der Poesie (...), nämlich durch die ästhetische Funktion, bedingt" (Mukařovský, 1966, S. 157) und gleichzeitig nicht durch ihren „Bezug zur gemeinten Realität" (ebd. S. 153) wichtig, sondern „die Art und Weise, wie es in den Kontext gesetzt wird" (ebd. S. 153). Zu den Mitteln, mit denen die Integration des Wortes in den Kontext betont wird, ordnet er beispielsweise die Verbindung von Wörtern durch Wohlklang ein, die dazu führt, dass die Bedeutungen der Wörter einander widerspiegeln und sie mit einer Reihe von Vorstellungen bereichert werden, die keinem von ihnen eigen sind (ebd. vgl. S. 158). Bei der poetischen Bezeichnung tritt die ästhetische Funktion in den Vordergrund: „Bei der poetischen Bezeichnung wird die Aufmerksamkeit auf das Zeichen selbst gerichtet, und daher tritt die Bedeutungsbeziehung jedes Wortes zum umgebenden Kontext des Textes in den Vordergrund" (Mukařovský, 1966, S. 157).

Mukařovský vermeidet daher den Begriff bildlicher Bezeichnung oder Ausdruck, da es in der Poesie viele Ausdrücke gibt, die in einer nicht übertragenen Bedeutung verwendet werden, wir sie aber dennoch als poetische Bezeichnung bewerten. In Anknüpfung an Mukařovský spricht Kubínová über die Kriterien für die Erkennbarkeit bildlicher Bezeichnungen: „Der im übertragenen Sinne verwendete Ausdruck scheint zu einer Art unerwartetem, aktuellem, ausnahmsweise und einmalig gültigem Synonym eines anderen Ausdrucks oder möglicherweise einer ganzen Reihe sprachlich (normalerweise kodierter) synonymer Ausdrücke zu werden, unter denen er, gerade trotzig aufgenommen, existiert wurde und zeigt hier seine Außergewöhnlichkeit" (Kubínová, 2002, 247).

Definition von Metapher und Metonymie im Kontext moderner Poesie

Laut Hugo Friedrich (2005, S. 13) zeichnet sich die moderne Poesie, die im Allgemeinen auf der modernen Kunst basiert, durch eine dissonante Spannung aus, die er als eine Kombination von Unverständlichkeit und Faszination versteht, und gleichzeitig als eine Spannung zwischen Archaismus, Mystik und Intellektualität, einer einfachen Art der Kommunikation und ihrer Kompliziertheit, sprachlicher Glätte und inhaltlicher Unvollständigkeit, Präzision und Absurdität. Das moderne Gedicht berührt die Realität nicht beschreibend, sondern „führt sie ins Unbekannte, verfremdet und deformiert sie, das Gedicht will sich nicht mehr an dem messen lassen, was man allgemein Realität nennt" (ebd. S. 16). Auch ihr Verhältnis zur poetischen Sprache verändert sich, es geht nicht mehr um die emotionelle Sprache im herkömmlichen Sinne des Wortes. Es zeichnet sich durch ein Experiment aus, bei dem gewöhnlicher Wortschatz ungewöhnliche Bedeutungen erhält. Friedrich spricht von der aggressiven Dramatik der modernen Poesie, die „in der Beziehung zwischen Themen oder Motiven besteht, die gegeneinander gerichtet sind, anstatt sich gegenseitig zu unterstützen, und auch in der Beziehung zwischen ihnen und dem rastlosen Stil, der den Signifikanten vom Signifikat trennt. Sie bestimmt aber auch die Beziehung zwischen dem Gedicht und dem Leser, sie erzeugt eine Schockwirkung, deren Opfer der Leser ist" (ebd. S. 15). In dem so dargestellten Gedicht besteht die Kategorie der Abnormalität darin, Überraschung und Erstaunen hervorzurufen.

Friedrich versteht poetische Sprache als einen metaphorischen Ausdruck. Die Verwendung von Metaphern und Gleichnissen ist etwas Ungewöhnliches, es handelt sich um eine „irreale Verbindung sachlich und logisch unverbundener Elemente" (Friedrich, 2005, S. 16). Ihm zufolge entsteht die moderne Metapher nicht aus der Notwendigkeit, das Unbekannte zum Bekannten zurückzubringen, sondern „es schreitet von der Vielfalt seiner Teile zu einer Einheit voran, die nur in einem sprachlichen Experiment erreicht werden kann, und strebt nach der größtmöglichen Differenz, akzeptiert sie als solche und hebt sie zugleich poetisch auf. (...) Moderne Texte zeigen noch mehr als in der klassischen Literatur, dass die metaphorischen Bezeichnungen nicht „fremd" sind, im Gegenteil, sie sind unersetzlich, spezifisch, das heißt spezifisch für die Lyrik, die zuerst der Sprache dienen, nicht dem Verhältnis zur Welt. Solche Metaphern bilden einen Kontrast zur gewöhnlichen Welt" (Friedrich, 2005, S. 205).

Nach *Lexikon der Theorie, Literatur und Kultur* (Nünning, 2008, S. 491) basiert eine Metapher auf dem Ähnlichkeitsverhältnis, dabei im weitesten Sinne des Wortes der Metapher-Begriff auf

bildliches Sprechen überhaupt abzielt wird, also auch Vergleich, Gleichnis, Parabel und die Allegorie im weiteren Sinn miteinschließt und quantitative Kriterien außer Acht lässt.

Nach neuerer Auffassung ist es ein Spiegelbild seiner Bedeutungsstruktur, die durch zwei Komponenten, nämlich die Begriffe Tenor und Vehikel, gekennzeichnet ist (I. A. Richards). Auch Kubínová (2002, S. 251) hält an dieser Theorie fest und bezeichnet die Bestandteile des bildlichen Ausdrucks als den metaphorisierten und den metaphorisierenden Bestandteil. Sie charakterisiert die Beziehung zwischen ihnen als einen Akt der Prädikation und betont, dass Syntagmen, die sich in ihrer wörtlichen Bedeutung als verzerrt herausstellen, signalisieren, dass es sich um bildliche Ausdrücke handelt. Gleichzeitig spricht Kubínová (ebd. S. 255) von zwei Polen, zwischen denen sich die bildliche Bezeichnung bewegt – Repräsentation und Präsentation, wobei Repräsentation die bildliche Darstellung eines Ausdrucks durch einen anderen bedeutet, und Präsentation das sogenannte wörtliche Lesen eines bildlichen Ausdrucks ist. Sie betont (ebd. S. 256), dass die Poesie des 20. Jahrhunderts stark zum Pol der Präsentation tendiert, was zu Schwierigkeiten bei der Bestimmung des substituierten Referenten führt.

Auch das Verständnis der Metapher von Paul Ricoeur bedeutet, sich dem modernen semantischen Konzept anzuschließen. Mit Metapher meint er das Ergebnis der Spannung zwischen zwei Begriffen des metaphorischen Ausdrucks (zwischen dem Tenor und dem Vehikel), oder genauer gesagt zwischen zwei gegensätzlichen Interpretationen der Aussage, so dass Ricoeur sie „in der und durch die Interpretation" (Ricouer, 1997, S. 72) wahrnimmt. Um das aristotelische Verständnis von Metapher zu erweitern, führt er den Begriff *lebendige Metapher* (ebd. S. 74) ein, der nicht durch die einfache Ersetzung eines Wortes durch ein anderes, sondern durch eine Spannung zwischen Wörtern, zwischen zwei Interpretationen – wörtlicher und metaphorischer – entstanden ist. Er hält wahre Metaphern für unübersetzbar und für solche, die eine neue Information anbieten.

In der Theorie der Bildlichkeit wird neben der Metapher auch die Metonymie definiert. Marie Kubínová definiert Metapher als „einen Tropus, der auf der Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem aktuell gemeinten Objekt und dem Objekt, dessen Name zu seiner Bezeichnung verwendet wurde, basiert" (Kubínová, 2002, 238) und Metonymie als „eine Beziehung zwischen diesen beiden Objekten, die in ihrer sachlichen Verbindung besteht" (ebd. S. 238). In Jakobsons linguistisch-poetischer Konzeption der Metaphern und Metonymien diskutiert man die Begriffe *Ähnlichkeit* und *Kontiguität* (Jakobson, 1991, S. 89). Das Ähnlichkeitsprinzip wird auf die Poesie angewendet; Assoziationen, die ein wesentliches Merkmal der Poesie sind, werden auf der Grundlage von Ähnlichkeit gebildet. Dies gilt auch für die metrische Parallelität von Versen

oder die Klangäquivalenz von Reimwörtern. Der Prosa hingegen wird das Prinzip der Kontiguität zugeschrieben. Beispielsweise bewegt sich ein realistischer Autor metonymisch von der Handlung zur Beschreibung der Atmosphäre und von den Charakteren zur Beschreibung von Raum und Zeit, indem er Synekdoche verwendet. Im dekonstruktivistischen Verständnis definiert Paul de Man (Pechlivanos, Rieger, Struck, 1999) Metapher und Metonymie auf dem Prinzip der Kreuzung verschiedener Lesarten (also der Entscheidung über die Art und Weise der Bedeutungsbildung). Es besteht eine Spannung in der semantischen Struktur beider Figuren – die semantische Beziehung in metonymischen Verbindungen entsteht auf der Grundlage der Beliebigkeit syntagmatischer Beziehungen, in metaphorischen Verbindungen ist die semantische Beziehung substanziell. Bei der metaphorischen Art, den Text zu lesen, wird die Lektüre inkohärent, weil das willkürliche Funktion der Sprache in den Prozess der Entschlüsselung metaphorischer Bilder eintritt, so dass es zu einer Trennung zwischen Figurativität und dem Bezug der Sprache kommt, die Paul de Man Rhetorik oder sogar Literatur nennt (Pechlivanos, Rieger, Struck, 1999).

Reflexion von Bildern in der slowakischen Literaturwissenschaft

In der slowakischen Literaturwissenschaft wurde die Bildlichkeit in der modernen Poesie von mehreren Literaturwissenschaftlern aus unterschiedlichen Blickwinkeln behandelt. Valér Mikula basiert auf Jakobsons Definition der poetischen Sprache als auf konnotativem Kode des Autors (Mikula, 1987, S. 21) und auf der Nitraer Theorieschule, die in ihren Werken auch der Theorie der Semiotik folgte. Mikula nimmt die poetische Sprache aus der Sicht des Kodes des Autors als systemischen Ausdruck, als die Tiefenstruktur des Gedichts, als ein Bildsystem wahr, das mit dem primären Sprachsystem in Konfrontation tritt. Die Offenlegung des konnotativen Kodes des Autors ist somit eine Konfrontation der ursprünglichen Bedeutung mit einer übertragenen, sekundären Bedeutung (ebd. S. 22). Die poetische Sprache offenzulegen, bedeutet auch, das Verhältnis des Dichters zur Realität zu verdeutlichen. Ein künstlerischer Text wird als Modell (ebd. S. 128) in Bezug auf die Realität wahrgenommen; Die Modellierung der Realität in der Literatur erfolgt auch durch Sprache. Es ist ein sicherer Weg für den Leser, zum Weltmodell des Autors zu gelangen. Mikula nennt sie eine höhere Ebene der Realität, ihre Antizipation (ebd. S. 123). Das Ziel der Modellierung eines literarischen Textes ist ihm zufolge die kommunikative Haltung des Autors, in der die Beziehung von der Ausgewogenheit

zwischen dem Idealen und dem Wahren im Text kodiert ist, die auch mit der Frage des ästhetischen Maßes zusammenhängt. In seiner Forschung beschäftigt sich Mikula mit moderner Poesie, einschließlich der Symbolik, in der der Bezug zur Realität durch Indirektheit, die Distanzierung der Sprache von der außersprachlichen Situation (ebd. S. 37), gekennzeichnet ist. Bei Krasko manifestiert es sich im Prinzip der Wiederholung: „Wiederholung hat die semantische Fähigkeit, Bedeutung zu schaffen." (..) Die Kristallisation der Bedeutung von Wortsymbolen, die Krasko in der ersten Phase seines dichterischen Schaffens nach und nach vollendet, ist auch die Kristallisation seiner Assimilation der Außenwelt" (ebd. S. 42). Im Werk von Rúfus sind eine kontrastierende Beziehung zwischen dem Idealen und dem Wahren bereits erkennbar. Strážay versteht die Abwesenheit des Idealen als eine alltägliche Situation, die an der Entstehung der Realität (ebd. S. 141) beteiligt ist. Bei Mihalkovič tritt das Ideale auf Kosten der Harmonie zwischen Subjektivem und Objektivem in den Hintergrund (ebd. S. 143). Heviers Poesie beschäftigt sich mit Distanz und Übertreibung des Problems und schafft so Raum für die Anwesenheit des Idealen (ebd. S. 150).

Im Zusammenhang mit der Grundidee des poetischen Werkes spricht Viktor Krupa (1990, S. 76) über das metaphorische Modell der Bildlichkeit. Er schreibt der Metapher die kognitive, kommunikative und affektive Funktion zu. Die kognitive Funktion bedeutet, dass man auf die Ähnlichkeit zweier normalerweise unzusammenhängender Begriffe hinweist. Aus kommunikativer Sicht wird die Eingliederung der Metapher in den Kontext hervorgehoben (Krupa, 1990, S. 87). Die schwierige Aufgabe, einzelne Phänomene zu verstehen und zu identifizieren, ist auch damit verbunden, ein bestimmtes Phänomen aus dem Zusammenhang zu reißen. Es besteht eine wechselseitige Interaktion zwischen dem kognitiven Mechanismus und den geistigen Fähigkeiten eines Menschen. Die Eigenschaften von Metaphern wie Unbestimmtheit, konzeptionelle Offenheit, Assoziations- und Konnotationsreichtum, die dem Tenor und dem Vehikel gemeinsam sind, ermöglichen die notwendige Auswahl und können daher als definierend bezeichnet werden (Krupa, 1990, S. 88).

Viliam Marčok (1980, S. 81) verwendet den Begriff *das natürlich-parallele metaphorische Bauprinzips* der Poesie und vergleicht ihn mit der Bedeutungsaufbau der Volksdichtung. Seine Studien zur Bildlichkeit der Poesie der sechziger Jahre stellen eine detaillierte Untersuchung der Tendenzen der Metaphernbildung, ihrer Schwerpunkte und der Ergebnisse ihrer Wirkung dar. Im weiteren literarischen Verständnis gilt die Sinneserfahrung als Grundlage konkreter Metaphern. Marčok bezeichnet die Tendenz zur Metaphernbildung unter Konkretisten als eine „Tendenz zur Unbestimmtheit und Mehrdeutigkeit, die eine Folge der Gleichsetzung von

Erfahrung mit Erkenntnis und der daraus resultierenden Vorherrschaft des Eindrucks gegenüber der Materie im Beweis der Realität ist" (Marčok, 1998, S. 21). Allerdings in Verbindung mit Stacho versteht er sie in ihrer sekundären Bedeutung, als intellektuelle, vermittelte Erfahrung (Marčok, 1964, S. 30) und identifiziert sie als Ursache für die Unverständlichkeit seiner Poesie. Die Metapher von Mihalkovič und Šimonovič hingegen entsteht als „spekulative periphrastische Beschreibung, beschreibende Bezeichnung" (ebd. S. 31). In Marián Kováčiks Gedichten beobachtet er das mikroskopische und kubistische Prinzip der Metaphernbildung, verfehlt dabei zeitweise deren einheitliches Projekt und bezieht Stachos Biologismen (Marčok, 1964, S. 31) in die Geometrisierung ein, wodurch ein „Jugendstil" entsteht. Die genannten Tendenzen sind auch in der Dichtung von Válek vorhanden, haben jedoch eine andere Funktion; Válek synthetisiert diese Verfahren (Marčok, 1964, S. 31). Marčok sieht den Unterschied darin, dass eine solche Metapher in seiner Poesie nur als Bezeichnung, als Versachlichung bestimmter psychologischer Zustände vorkommt und nicht nur als „die Bezeichnung von Dingen bloß besonders zu machen" (Marčok, 1964, S. 32).

Ján Zambor (2010, S. 11) akzeptiert das moderne Auffassung von Metapher als einer Art bildlichen Ausdrucks (der Trope), der durch die gegenseitige Beziehung zweier unterschiedlicher Phänomene entsteht und mit den verbalen Ausdrücken verknüpft sind. Mit der gegeseitigen Beziehung meint er, dass „Metapher nicht nur die Anwendung eines metaphorischen Ausdrucks auf das Metaphorische ist, sondern auch deren Interaktion" (Zambor, 2010, S. 11). Ein solches Verständnis von Metapher weicht von der traditionellen Substitutions- und Vergleichstheorie zugunsten einer interaktiven ab. Zambor (2000, S. 31) bemerkt die Beziehung der Bildlichkeit zu den versologischen Elementen des Gedichts und hebt die bildliche Funktion des Reims hervor (ebd. S. 31). Er arbeitet sehr präzise mit einzelnen Metaphertypen und setzt sie in Beziehung mit seiner eigenen Übersetzungsarbeit oder mit der Arbeit anderer Übersetzer sowie mit slowakischer Dichtung. Er nimmt Metaphern im Zusammenspiel mit anderen Elementen der poetischen Schöpfung wahr, insbesondere mit der Ebene der Klangorganisation des Gedichts oder sogar mit der Ebene der Interpunktion. Er widmet sich ausführlich seiner Taxonomie, die als Klassifikation bzw. Typologie unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Explizitheit und Implizitheit, der Sinnlichkeit und Intellektualität, der allgemeinen Bedeutung, der Grammatik und der anderen Aspekten verstanden werden kann .

Die Betonung der interaktiven Beziehung der Metapher mit den Strukturelementen des Gedichts lässt sich auch in den literarischen Werken von Viliam Turčány beobachten. In denen findet sich häufig das Konzept der vertikalen Metapher. Die Bilder dieser Art stellen

hauptsächlich die Reime und Versmaße von Gedichten, Strophen und poetischen Formationen dar, die vertikal übereinander angeordnet sind. Ein wichtiger Beitrag des Autors ist die Untersuchung von Bildern auf der Grundlage des Vergleichsprinzips der Komponenten eines metaphorischen Ausdrucks mit den Komponenten einer poetischen Struktur. Turčány beschäftigt sich in seinen Werken mit der Analyse der Bildlichkeit führender slowakischer Dichter, die in dieser Hinsicht die nachfolgenden Autorengenerationen prägten.

Reflexion von Bildlichkeit in der deutschsprachigen Literaturwissenschaft

Die deutschsprachige Literaturwissenschaft versteht Bildlichkeit als eine Funktion der Kunst (Bohn, 1990, S. 89), als Wahrnehmung spezieller oder schwieriger zu machen. Das Bild als literarischer Begriff wird auf der Ebene der Fiktion und auf der Ebene der Imagination unterschieden, wobei die Ebene der Fiktion Allegorie und Symbol umfasst und alle fantasievollen Bilder zur Metapher gehören (Arnold, Sinemus, 1976, 191). In der Literaturwissenschaft ist das Bild der Oberbegriff für Metapher und Gleichnis; es besteht kein kategorischer, sondern nur ein gradueller Unterschied zwischen den beiden Begriffen, während in neueren Forschungen der Begriff Metapher auch Gleichnis umfasst (ebd. S. 194-195). In der modernen Poesie gilt jedes Wort als Bild; „Ein Bild ist kein Vergleich, sondern die Annäherung zweier Realitäten, (…), der Reitersprung zwischen Entgegengesetztem, eine Assoziation der Ideen von großer Spannweite. (…) Das moderne Bild, (…), repräsentiert keine Bedeutung, sondern entwirft den nur in ihm aufgehobenen Bedeutungszusammenhang, bis hin zur sogenannten absoluten Metapher, genauer: zu einer Form literarischer Bildlichkeit, die sich (…) jedes Vergleichansatzes entledigt und so die Metaphorizität der Sprache ad absurdum führt" (Arnold, Detering, 2011, S. 260)

In den deutschsprachigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Werken dieses und des letzten Jahrhunderts wird sich bei der Definition der Metapher auf ihr modernes Verständnis gestützt, das die Behauptung des Aristoteles zurückweist, dass Metapher nur eine ästhetische Funktion habe; man stellt seine semantische Struktur, zwei Komponenten in Form von Tenor und Vehikel und deren gegenseitige interaktive Wirkung in den Vordergrund. Im Rahmen der interaktiven Metaphertheorie treten Ausdrücke wie unkonventionell, offen, unbestimmt in der metaphorischen Bedeutung in den Vordergrund; Metapher erscheint als Aktivierung von Emotionen, Wissen und Bildern, als Darstellung, Spezialisierung, Spiel, Provokation,

Verschleierung oder Mythifizierung (Arnold, Detering, 2011, S. 263). Weinrich bezeichnet eine Metapher als widersprüchliche Prädikation (Arnold, Sinemus, 1976. S. 195) und spricht im Zusammenhang mit der interaktiven Theorie von einer Metapher als einem Ausdruck in einem kondeterminierenden Kontext, wobei er mit Kondeterminierung eine Situation meint, in der stattdessen der erwarteten ursprünglichen Bedeutung des Wortes eine unerwartete, kontextbedingte Bedeutung im Text auftritt (Arnold, Detering, 2011, S. 263).

In der modernen Poesie wird die Behauptung, dass Referent und Metareferent sich in einer Metapher voneinander distanzieren, destabilisiert. Es ist zu beobachten, dass je größer der Bereich des Referenten wird, der Bereich des Eigenen, also des sich auf die Realität beziehenden Referenten, ausgelöscht wird, bzw. überhaupt nicht erreicht wird (Nieraad, 1977, S. 38). Die Art und Weise, in der Metaphorik auf keinen Bereich der Realität anwendbar ist, wird von Friedrich als „absolute Metaphorik" (ebd. S. 38) und von Weinrich als „kühne Metaphern" (Weinrich, 1976, s. 296) bezeichnet. Beide Ausdrücke stammen im Wesentlichen aus der surrealistischen Poetik; Auf die „Kühnheit" der Metapher als Programmpunkt des Surrealismus wies André Breton im ersten Manifest dieser literarischen Strömung im Jahr 1932 (ebd. S. 297) hin. Sie war auch eine Voraussetzung für die Kennzeichnung der Qualität eines surrealistischen Dichters, je größer die Kluft zwischen Referenten und Meta-Referenten war, desto höher wurde die Poesie des Dichters bewertet. Weinrich bestreitet die Richtigkeit dieser Behauptung. Das Konzept der kühnen Metapher wird unter Berücksichtigung der sogenannten Spannweite des Bildes (ebd. S. 306) entwickelt, die davon abhängt, ob wir den Widerspruch der Metapher bemerken und ob wir die Metapher aufgrund dessen als kühn bezeichnen. Weinrich behauptet zwar, dass bei einer großen Bildspanne der Widerspruch meist nicht auffällt, eine kleine Bildspanne dagegen erregt durch den Widerspruch die Aufmerksamkeit und verleiht der Metapher den Charakter der Kühnheit. Als Beispiel nennt er die Metapher von Celan „schwarze Milch", die er als kühn bezeichnet, weil die Ausdrücke im Syntagma, die die bildliche Bezeichnung bilden, nur geringfügig von der wahrnehmbaren Realität abweichen; Milch ist ursprünglich weiß gefärbt, aber in Kombination mit Schwarz erhält die Bezeichnung den deutlich kontrastiven Charakter (ebd. S. 305-306).

Indem Blumenberg die Metapher auf Absolutheit, also auf Unbestimmtheit und Ungenauigkeit der Bedeutung lenkt, eröffnet er die Diskussion, in der er darauf hinweist, dass gerade diese Eigenschaften der bildlichen Sprache einen großen kognitiven Wert für das Verständnis der Welt und des Seins haben und gleichzeitig hält er absolute Metapher für „die einzige Möglichkeit, das Unaussprechliche auszudrücken" (Brenner, Reinalter, 2011, S. 546).

Zusammenfassung

In der slowakischen und deutschsprachigen Literaturwissenschaft wird die Auffassung der Modernität der Metapher durch ihre Aufnahme in die moderne Theorie widerspiegelt. In der slowakischen Literaturwissenschaft wird diese am meisten von Ján Zambor entwickelt, der die Metapher mittels einer ausführlichen Taxonomie aus verschiedenen Sichten und in unterschiedliche Arten und Typen klassifiziert. In seiner Forschung ist eine Wechselbeziehung wichtig; er wendet sie nicht nur bei der gegenseitigen Beziehung semantischer Bestandteile der Metapher an, sondern auch bei ihrer Beziehung zu anderen Elementen des Gedichtes. In den Vordergrund tritt also die Rolle des Kontextes, auf die schon Jan Mukařovský mit seiner Definition des dichterischen Begriffs hingewiesen hat. Die Anwendung des dichterischen Begriffs im Kontext verwirklicht sich oft auf der Klangsebene. Im Zusammenhang mit Reim weist darauf Viliam Turčány hin, wobei er die Verbindung der bildlichen Komponenten mit Reim im Gedicht als „vertikale Metapher" definiert. Auch die Komposition des Gedichtes kann eine bildliche Funktion erfüllen – ein Konzept, den der Literaturwissenschaftler Viliam Marčok entwickelt hat.

Zum grundlegenden Ausgangspunkt unserer Untersuchung der Dimensionen der modernen Metapher wurde vor allem die surrealistische Form der Metapher, die in der deutschsprachigen Literaturwissenschaft auch als „kühne" oder „absolute" Metapher bekannt ist. Allerdings umfassen die Begriffe „kühne" oder „absolute" Metapher nicht nur eine surrealistische Metapher, sondern auch andere Metapher-Modifikationen, vornehmlich die avantgardistische und neoavantgardistische Metapher. Diese Konzeption beruht auf einer semantischen Spannung zwischen dem metaphorisierten und dem metaphorischen Ausdruck. Surrealistische, kühne oder absolute Metapher stellt damit eine Wechselwirkung der unkonventionellen oder widersprüchlichen Ausdrücke dar, wobei ihr Charakter auch von der unklaren, nebelhaften Beziehung zur Wirklichkeit, oder sogar völligen Tilgung dieser Beziehung bestimmt ist. In der slowakischen Literaturwissenschaft ist dieser Metapher-Typ mit der avantgardistischen Poesie der 30er Jahre und später mit der Poesie von Miroslav Válek, der Konkretisten und anderer Dichtern verbunden. Die Rezeption der Bildlichkeit in den Arbeiten über die Poesie der Konkretisten hat uns zur Überzeugung angeregt, dass die konkretistische Metapher (als ein Ausdruck der ästhetischen Erregung) zum wichtigen dichterischen Mittel geworden ist, das das innere Erleben des lyrischen Subjektes auszudrücken ermöglicht, assoziatives und sinnliches Prinzip in sich vereinigt, und eine Voraussetzung für ontogenetisches Prinzip des Dichtens

darstellt. Der Begriff „absolute Metapher" ist in der deutschsprachigen Literaturwissenschaft mit der Poesie von Paul Celan verbunden. Seine Gedichte werden als hermetisch und schwer dechiffrierbar bezeichnet, gerade aus dem Grund, dass sie absolute, ad absurdum führende Metaphern enthalten.

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II. POLITOLOGY SECTION

CHANGES IN THE FORMS OF THE INFORMATION ENVIRONMENT, THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE SPREAD OF DISINFORMATION AND THE THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

Tomáš KOZIAK

Abstract

The development of new technologies poses new challenges to human communities. One of them relates to the change in the nature of the information environment, which significantly affects our perception of reality. In this case, the creation of a state called "post-truth" is created, which is characterized by the fact that objectively and rationally processed facts have less influence on the formation of public opinion than appeals to emotions or personal opinions. Considering the fact that the democratic system of governance is expressly based on the principle of collective rationality, such a change in the way of perceiving reality can be fatal for democracy. The aim of the article is to identify the origins of the existence of this phenomenon and explain its basic causes. Its basic thesis consists in the belief that the mentioned condition is caused by a combination of cognitive distortions, a change in the information environment and the emergence of Internet social bubbles.

Introduction

The events associated with the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine have presented modern communities with a completely new type of challenge. It did not only concern the management of the spread of infectious disease on a global scale, or the disruption of the power status quo given by the results of the end of the Cold War. The questioning of scientific authorities and the results of scientific research verified over the years, or even the aggressive defense of obvious and easily refutable lies spread by propaganda information channels point to the fact that a considerable population has begun to give preference to intuition or emotions over the rational evaluation of available facts when evaluating reality. In this context, it may also seem surprising that this also applies to developed countries that have been providing universal and high-quality education to their residents for many years. The problem lies in the fact that the democratic system of governance is expressly based on the principle of collective

rationality, and such a change in the way of perceiving reality can be fatal for democracy. The aim of our article is to identify the origins of the existence of this phenomenon, explain its basic causes and show its essential manifestations. The key to its understanding lies in the combination of the existence of cognitive distortions that are inherent in human thinking, in the change of the information environment, which is characterized by a much faster supply of information, and in the emergence of Internet social bubbles, which create in their members the illusion of ownership of "truth".

Declining importance of facts in influencing social discourse

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word of the year for 2016 was the adjective „post-truth". In the same year, the Society for the German Language announced the term „postfaktisch" as the German word of the year. Both of these renowned institutions also map changes in the frequency of occurrence of words in ordinary communication, and their findings help to identify important events or other important aspects of the monitored year. The meaning of both terms points to a common phenomenon, which, according to the definition of the Oxford Dictionary, „relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief." (Word of the Year 2016, 2016) It is not without interest that, according to the Oxford Dictionary, the terms "alt-right" and "Brexiteer", which are also directly related to the mentioned circumstances, are in the top ten of increased word occurrences. „Alt-right" (alternative right) is a term for „an ideological grouping associated with extreme conservative or reactionary viewpoints, characterised by a rejection of mainstream politics and by the use of online media to disseminate deliberately controversial content". (Word of the Year 2016: Shortlist, 2016) „Brexiteer", in turn, is a designation for a person who is in favor of the United Kingdom withdrawing from the European Union, while it is a known fact that the referendum that decided on this in 2016 was significantly marked by the deliberate and mass dissemination of misleading information that was intended to influence (and probably influenced) its result. (Marshall, Drieschova, 2018) The alternative right and Brexit are of course not the only manifestations, or consequences of the phenomenon referred to by the English term „post-truth".

The Oxford dictionary states that the term in its current meaning was first used by playwright (Serbian émigré living in the USA) Steve Tesich in his 1992 essay A government Of Lies for The Nation magazine, which was a reaction to the then current Iran-Contras affair. (Tesich, 1992) In it, he criticized the American government for thirty years of the policy of lies,

which culminated in this affair, but also the American public for accepting these lies and for „freely deciding that we want to live in a kind of post-truth world". (Word of the Year 2016, 2016)

The term „post-truth" is still relatively new. This is also why its use in professional practice has not yet been established, and the huge increase in the frequency of its occurrence in the language, which was also noted by the already mentioned Oxford dictionary, is more a consequence of media activity than the result of debate and consensus among experts. In the beginning, we already mentioned that in Germany, the adjective „postfaktisch" has been used to describe the same phenomenon. Its often-used English equivalent „post fact" is interpreted by the Oxford Dictionary in exactly the same terms as the term „post-truth". In the American media, since 2005, the term „truthiness" has been used to describe the same phenomenon. (Derby, 2015; Canfield, 2016) This noun expresses the state when something is considered true only on the basis of belief or feelings and not on the basis of facts, or rational reasoning. It is also interesting that, according to the prestigious Merriam-Webster dictionary of the English language, this term was already declared the word of the year in 2006, but at that time it did not receive significant attention from the media and professional public. Another expression that appeared in the current debate about the naming of reality, when facts become less important than personal feelings for the formation of public opinion, is the term "truth decay". It can be explained as „decomposition", „weakening", or „decline of truth" (or just „truthlessness") and entered the professional discourse mainly in connection with the research of the American think tank RAND Corporation. (Kavanagh, Rich, 2018)

At the beginning of our article, we mentioned that the term „post truth" according to the general definition refers to circumstances in which objective facts have less influence on the formation of public opinion than appeals to emotions or personal opinions. This phenomenon is often directly related to the problem of the spread of so-called fake news, that is, the deliberate dissemination of misinformation through traditional or modern (especially social media) with the aim of obtaining material (e.g. advertising for „miracle" drugs) or non-material profit (e.g. discrediting a political opponent or undermining the authority of institutions). However, the reasons for the decline in the importance of facts in influencing social discourse are much broader and more complex, and fake news itself is only one of several causes of this state of affairs. Although disinformation is dangerous and its systematic suppression is certainly necessary, it would certainly be a mistake to believe that this alone will reverse the dangerous situation when people trust scientific knowledge less and less, or traditional social and political

institutions and prefer opinions that are abundantly present the so-called alternative media or various anti-system political groups.

As part of debates about the causes of the post-truth phenomenon, there is agreement that their most general basis should be found in the ways of creating, receiving and processing information. In this context, more specifically and most often, people talk about the human ability to process information, about changes in the information environment, but also about the inability of the educational system to respond to these changes. (Kavanagh, Rich, 2018) These causes are interconnected and often condition each other.

The oldest and probably the best-known explanation of why people in certain circumstances prefer feelings to objective facts when making decisions is offered by cognitive psychology and refers to factors that can negatively influence rational judgment. Professional literature names them as cognitive distortions. Their essence lies in the fact that for some internal unconscious reason, the person assumes (or rejects) some result and therefore interprets his observation biased. (e.g. Greene, 2020) In our context, it is certainly necessary to mention especially the so-called confirmation bias, or selective perception, which explain why, when searching for and processing information, we tend to prefer especially those that confirm what we believe, or we downplay those that do not align with our beliefs. This form of cognitive distortion is caused by our limited capacity to process information, and its occurrence is exacerbated by today's overcrowded information environment. Such a situation directly supports the emergence of social bubbles, for example in the form of groups on social networks, in which people voluntarily close themselves, because there they find people who share only the type of information that is in line with their own beliefs. The phenomenon of these closed bubbles was mainly made possible by the change in the nature of the information environment, which we will mention in more detail later in our contribution, but their creation and existence is directly stimulated by the aforementioned confirmation bias. One of the characteristic features of these social bubbles in the online space is that they do not stimulate the search for objective truth in mutual discussions, but create closed groups of people who confirm to each other that they have "their" truth. Such groups are then an easy target for targeted information manipulation, e.g. in the form of the aforementioned fake news, or they are one of the main causes and at the same time manifestations of growing social and political polarization.

Other cognitive distortions that have a similar effect and wider negative consequences include, for example, conservative distortion, or so-called the effect of support for the chosen one, which causes people to not like to change their decisions or value preferences, despite the

fact that there are objective facts that rationally convince them of the desirability of such a change. This type of cognitive distortions helps keep people in the aforementioned social bubbles and also directly relates to shaping a world where objective facts have less influence on public opinion than appeals to emotions or personal opinions.

In connection with the search for the causes of the phenomenon of post-truth in the field of cognitive distortions, the affect heuristics must also be mentioned. Its essence lies in the fact that people give priority to emotions instead of rational arguments when forming their judgment. It is a mental shortcut that is mainly influenced by the combination of the need to make quick decisions and a large amount of available information. In such a situation, the brain often gives priority to feelings over objective facts, which is the very definition of post-truth. In a very similar way, the already mentioned selective perception affects our decision-making. In this case, our judgment is distorted by our expectations, or we tend to overlook information we do not want to perceive, or we exaggerate the importance of those that are consistent with our preconceived opinion. A classic example of this type of cognitive distortion is a voter who cannot name concrete and rational reasons why he prefers or rejects a particular candidate.

Another form of cognitive distortion that can be identified as one of the causes of the post-truth phenomenon is called the framing effect and refers to the way information is presented. (e.g. Cunff, 2022) The specific method of receiving information does not necessarily depend only on its content, but also on the contextual framework, or on the way of its interpretation. This fact is widely used in the news media. It is fine if the given media clearly differentiates between what is a subjective opinion presented by a journalist and what is objective reporting. However, if the media uses the framing effect by placing the information in the appropriate context to influence its content, then it is an attempt to transform an objective fact into a subjective opinion with the aim of manipulating public opinion. For example, the activities of the Kosovo Liberation Army could be interpreted with appropriate media framing as terrorist activities of Kosovo separatists, as protection of the Albanian population from Serbian nationalism, or even as an effort by the United States of America to gain greater influence in the Balkans. Abusing the framing effect blurs the difference between objective fact and subjective opinion, limits access to objective information, undermines the credibility of the media and helps create and maintain closed social bubbles, which are one of the causes of the deepening political polarization of society.

There are a number of other cognitive biases that cause people to rely more and more on emotions than on objective facts when making political decisions. All these mental shortcuts

that affect the rationality of human judgment are of course much older than the time when we perceive the negative consequences of the post-truth phenomenon. However, their importance and influence have grown recently mainly due to changes in the information environment, which relate primarily to the enormous increase in the availability and density of the flow of information, brought about by new social media in particular, or the emergence of more modern forms of news (e.g. the transition to the online space, the emergence of 24-hour news cycle, etc.). In such an environment of information density, it is increasingly difficult for a person to select relevant information, to critically differentiate its informational value, or face the pitfalls of their manipulation. The consequence of these cognitive distortions, which are currently significantly enhanced by the just-mentioned changes in the information environment, is therefore not only a decrease in the importance of objective facts when evaluating reality (that is, what we call the post-truth phenomenon), but their influence is also evident in the search for the causes of the growth of social and political polarization, a decrease in trust in traditional institutions, or an increase in the influence of anti-system political groups. The seriousness of the consequences of the post-truth phenomenon goes far beyond questions about distortions of correct perception of reality and touches on factors that pose a threat to the very functioning of democracy.

As we have already stated, cognitive distortions influenced our way of perception long before the onset of the era, since which we are observing the consequences of the post-truth phenomenon. They thus represent its historically oldest and most stable cause, and due to the fact that they are part of natural cognitive processes, they can only be limited with great difficulty. Their social impact was not significant in the past. However, changes in the nature of the information environment deepened their effect to the extent that questioning objective reality and replacing it with the so-called alternative truths ceases to be the exclusive domain of various comedians, but becomes an increasingly frequent means of ordinary political communication, which can ensure their users even success in elections in one of the oldest and most stable democracies in the world.

Changing the shape of the information environment

Expert studies that deal with the causes of post-truth agreeably identify three essential changes in the information environment that have contributed to this phenomenon becoming an increasingly prominent part of our lives. First of all, it is a change in the nature of traditional news media. The growth of the competitive environment, which is associated with the emergence of new types of media, creates an increasing pressure to reduce the costs of news

production, which of course cannot be done without reducing its quality. The availability of the Internet means that today practically anyone can create a news website with really minimal costs, where they will publish either their own news or news taken from other media in different ways. Such a website can look very trustworthy both formally and in terms of content, and with certain knowledge of the principles and possibilities of online marketing, it can even generate some profit for the person concerned.

Another factor that has caused a decrease in the quality of available news is certainly the emergence of the 24-hour news cycle. The latter puts pressure on the speed and volume of the supply of new information. But news is a product that costs money, and a continuous and rapid supply of quality news from different geographical and subject areas costs a lot of money. In such a situation, it is therefore not surprising that this type of continuous reporting often passes into the so-called soft news, which are characterized by having more author comments and less analytical investigation, bring more interesting and lifestyle stories and less important and complex political or economic topics. (e.g. Merriman, 2003) The choice of these topics is influenced not only by their faster, technically easier and, of course, cheaper production, but also by the fact that the news media in a competitive environment try to adapt to the majority tastes of their readers, listeners, or viewers (because more viewers means more advertising and higher profit). However, the competitive media environment creates pressure not only for the production of these lighter forms of news, but also for the selection and method of processing, for example, political topics. In this case, too, the media tries to adapt to the majority's taste, and to that they adapt both the selection and the way of framing news information in a way that suits their readers, listeners and viewers. The acceptance of such more or less obvious manipulation is directly conditioned by the existence of the cognitive distortions already mentioned in our text. A direct consequence of this change in the character of traditional media is the emergence of low-demand news, which is tailored to suit the assumed majority taste of its audience in terms of thematic and content. The practical consequence is then again the creation of the aforementioned closed social bubbles, where people receive only the type of information they want to receive and where they also become easy victims of manipulation. At the same time, this deepens the polarization of society and weakens the functionality of democratic mechanisms. Democracy can only work well in an environment where voters are well informed and at the same time ready for discussion and accepting compromises.

The second significant change in the information environment, which contributed to the fact that the phenomenon of post-truth increasingly affects our lives, is connected with the

advent of the Internet and social media. The Internet has dramatically affected the volume, speed, availability and plurality of information. All these characteristics undoubtedly contribute to improving not only the quality of the information environment, but also the functioning of democracy. In addition to all the criticism of the Internet and social media, it should not be forgotten that they are currently the most difficult barrier to overcome, which prevents the emergence of state or non-state information monopolies, that they are platforms that can very quickly and effectively mobilize public opinion and organize people (e.g. in the case of the Arab Spring or the Ukrainian Maidan), or they are a space that ensures the freest exchange of information.

On the other hand, however, the Internet and social media represent a place that most significantly multiplies the negative effects of cognitive distortions. The density of information in the online space is what forces an unprepared person to use the aforementioned mental shortcuts in order to be able to navigate at least a little in this naturally confusing environment. However, the problem is that, as already mentioned in this article, these shortcuts are based on the prioritization of emotional perception and therefore make it difficult to objectively assess reality. Therefore, in this space, a person can easily become part of the simple human mistakes of those who freely share any opinions here, or in the worst case, he can become a victim of successfully executed manipulation, which aims to influence, for example, his political preferences. Mental shortcuts in the form of cognitive distortions will almost certainly lead an unprepared person to the pitfalls of the online environment to places where he will feel comfortable, but the information he will look for and come across may have nothing to do with objective reality. These places take the form of the already mentioned social bubbles with all the negative consequences of the post-truth phenomenon, which we have already described several times in this article.

The fact that the Internet is a place with virtually no control over the information shared there creates, on the one hand, excellent opportunities for the protection and development of democracy, but also poses a huge threat to its functioning and maintenance. By its very nature, it also provides space for those who are trying to liquidate it. One of the forms of weakening democracy through abuse of the online space is the deliberate dissemination of misinformation. At the same time, this is the third important cause resulting from changes in the information environment, which causes the phenomenon of post-truth to become an increasingly prominent part of our lives. The spread of this fake news can be defined as the deliberate dissemination of misleading information with the aim of obtaining various political or economic advantages.

This type of activity is of course much older than the time when we perceive the negative consequences of what we call post truthfulness. However, the advent of modern media has provided him with new and hitherto unseen opportunities, which mainly consist in the possibilities of a wide and immediate effect, the advantages of low costs and the relative complexity of identifying the originator of specific disinformation. (e.g. Hasen, 2022; Stengel, 2019) Their negative influence on the functioning of society is manifested on a theoretical level mainly in the destabilization of public opinion, in erasing the differences between truth and lies, or in instilling distrust in traditional institutions, which are the guarantee of current political and social stability. We currently encounter examples of practical manifestations of the spread of disinformation on a regular basis, whether it is e.g. o denial of climate change, refusal of vaccination during the Covid epidemic, or influencing important political decisions, as it was e.g. in the case of Trump's victory in the presidential elections, or the referendum on Brexit.

The last point we want to draw attention to is the possibilities of protection against the negative consequences of the post-truth phenomenon. Its first cause, defined in this text, concerns the existence of mental shortcuts (cognitive distortions) that suppress rationality at the expense of emotional decision-making. The second reason is changes in the information environment, associated with the change in the character of traditional media, with the advent of the Internet and new social media, and with the abuse of the online environment to spread misinformation. Given the obvious political dangers stemming from the spread of misinformation, it is probably not surprising that there is an intensive effort to find mainly technological solutions that will protect the online space from this type of harmful content. Another suggestion is legal measures to punish those who spread misinformation, or ensure the removal of this type of content from the online space. However, such types of solutions go against the very nature of the Internet as a means of free dissemination of information. In the case of changes in the nature of traditional media, proposals to improve the quality of journalistic work are often mentioned. However, all these measures are mainly aimed at suppressing the negative consequences of changes in the information environment and do not in any way relate to problems related to the ways and abilities of information processing on the part of the recipient.

When describing cognitive distortions as one of the reasons why people increasingly prefer emotions over objective facts in their political decision-making, we also mentioned that these mental shortcuts that affect the rationality of human judgment are much older than the time when we perceive negative consequences the phenomenon of post-truth and that their

importance and influence have grown in recent times mainly due to changes in the information environment. When searching for more effective ways to face the described problem, the connection between the changes in this environment and the human ability to evaluate and critically process information in this new situation cannot be avoided. The time when we started to use these new information technologies on a large scale (about 20 years ago) coincides with the time when we started to feel their negative consequences, some of which we called the post-truth phenomenon. We believe that the speed and force with which these technologies have entered the life of humanity has not yet been able to prepare us for their possible negative consequences, especially in the social and political spheres.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the article, we also mentioned that the use of mental shortcuts in the form of cognitive distortions is mainly a consequence of our limited capacity to process information in today's overcrowded information environment. Therefore, if we are to meaningfully try to prevent the negative consequences of this new situation, it is necessary to strengthen, above all, the component of education, which is aimed at strengthening the information, or people's media literacy. Its essential part must be an emphasis on critical thinking and the ability to distinguish the informational value of received media references. However, this cannot be realized without sufficient knowledge of the functioning of basic social and political institutions. Thus, the key to fully mastering new technologies cannot lie only in the area of sufficient technical knowledge of how these technologies work, but also in understanding the consequences of how they affect our lives and in the ability to defend against the negative effects that inevitably come with these technologies.

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THE RELEVANCE OF THE STANDARD MODEL OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

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Abstract

When constructing the model of democratic political representation, H. Pitkin was influenced by the combination of liberal and representative democracy, which created a strong partnership without which we could hardly imagine democracy. If we take into account the liberal pillar of democracy, then we are talking about individualism as a basic component of society which is made up of equal and free individuals. This freedom is protected by the institutional limitation of state power and the rule of law. The democratic pillar refers to the values of equality and sovereignty of the people. Representative democracy became the means to fulfill these values, the mechanism of which is elections as a tool of free and mutually equal individuals, which enables the transfer of the power and will of the people to the representation chosen by them. Elections enable the functioning of the principle of democratic equality (one person – one vote), while we emphasize again that regular elections ensure the control and responsibility of political representation. Based on the above, the aim of the article is to identify the basic specifics of the standard model of political representation in the concept of H. Pitkin and to evaluate its relevance in the context of a modern democratic society.

Key words: *standard model of political representation, H. Pitkin, crisis of liberal democracy*

Introduction

The most prominent defender of the concept of representation, presented in the eponymous book "Concept of Representation" (1972) as the concept of formal representation, also known under various terms "standard model", "standard view", "promissory representation", is H. Pitkin (Pitkin, 1972). The starting point for thinking about the concept of representation is *"the effort to make present something or someone who is absent at the same moment"* (Pitkin, 1972, p. 144). Representation thus means to make present in a certain sense something that is not literally or factually present. The people represented cannot be directly present in the given act as a decisive subject. His will is mediated by a representative body, which must be equipped with the necessary independence. At the same time, however, representation is the opposite of absence, because at the moment when someone is represented,

he is present in the negotiation of the representative. This is what the so-called the internal paradox of political representation that this concept has to deal with (Pitkin, 1972). In connection with the theory of political representation, not only the universally valid definition of this terminological connection is discussed, but also the question of what should be the correct relationship between the elected representative and his voter arises in academic discussions. The "delegate/trustee" schism, which reflects the conflict regarding the representative's behavior, can be considered a controversial point in the theory of representation. The question is, what is the function of the representative – whether his actions are limited exclusively to the interpreter of the will of his electorate (delegate) or he makes decisions according to his own reason and discretion (trustee), despite the fact that he was authorized to perform the function by the electorate. From the above, it follows that within the framework of debates on establishing the right relationship between the represented and the representative, we can follow 2 currents that approach the examination of this relationship through what the representative does in politics and how he acts:

1. The "dominant" current: the representative must do what is best for those he represents (the represented), guided by his own rational judgment.

2. The "minority" current: the primary task of a representative is to reflect the wishes, opinions, wishes and needs of those he represents, regardless of the degree of identification with the interests of the voters. Simply put, the representative represents the will of the people, even if he does not agree with their opinions or does not consider them to be the best choice or solution. "*The representative should not have his own opinion, but should only follow the wishes of his voters, the people he represents*" (Gelnarová, 2010, p. 124). The representative decides only according to the wishes of the people and loses his autonomy in the above sense of the word.

1. **Modules of political representation in Pitkin's concept**

Within the theory of political representation, it is possible to distinguish between formal and substantive concepts. While formal representation, containing 2 dimensions – "authorization" and "responsibility", emphasizes the institutional setting that precedes and introduces the representation, substantive refers to the activity of representation from 2 perspectives. The first is the so-called "acting for", which is an expression of activity, the principle of the implementation of activities. The questions thus become key: How do they act? How is the decision made? Second, in the sense of "stands for", which suggests that it is the meaning that the representative has for those it represents. It primarily concerns the symbolic

and descriptive form of representation, when the representative and the represented share certain common descriptive signs (woman, worker, etc.) or symbols. In contrast to the formal, *"substantive representation refers to what the elected representative 'is' but also to 'what he does'. Descriptive representation alone does not guarantee that representatives similar to their voters will really defend their interests – but it can to a certain extent represent a tool through which the probability of substantive representation increases"* (Mikešová – Kostelecký, 2016, p. 357). Based on the above, we conclude that H. Pitkin presented 4 modules of representation: formal representation, descriptive representation, symbolic representation and substantive representation (Pitkin, 1972). In order to better understand her typology, we present a brief analysis of each type, through which we demonstrate not only the specifics, but mainly the differences of the investigation of political representation from 4 aspects:

1) *"formal concept"* is the connection of representation with institutional forms that precede its creation (i. e. authorization, which is an expression of the "theory of authorization" in the sense that the one who was authorized to do so is represented by those whom he represents) or come into being after its termination (i. e. liability, in the sense of filing accounts by the represented). Since formal representation refers to the institutional arrangement of the system that defines the process of creating representation, it makes no sense to analyze what and how the representative acts, as it has no relevance for theorists of the formal concept of political representation. The emphasis is on the rules that allow representatives to act in the interests of the represented (the dimension of authorization, i. e. the mechanism or way in which the representative obtains a mandate to exercise political power) and also on the rules that make the representative accountable to those he represents after the elections (dimension of responsibility containing certain sanctioning mechanisms if the representative does not act in the name of the interest of the represented) (Iwanaga, 2008). Formal representation can thus be understood as rules and procedures that govern both the selection process and the exclusion of representatives.

2) perception of representation in a "*descriptive sense*", which concentrates on the composition of legislation, or on the extent to which this "personnel construction of representatives" reflects the composition of societyand thus to what extent the representatives represent their constituents. An example can be the issue of gender equality – e. g. if in the political system "X" women make up 52% of the population, then analogously to defining representation in a descriptive sense, the indicated percentage of women should also correspond to the appropriate percentage of seats that will be occupied by women within the decisive structures of public administration. Otherwise, the political system can be characterized by the

attribute insufficiently legitimate. The descriptive point of view emphasizes the agreement or similarity in the relationship representing – represented, which indicates that in the mentioned concept, to represent means to be characterized by similarity with the represented. Descriptive understanding can be attributed to two meaningful levels of assessment.

The first is the already mentioned visible properties that characterize, describe and predestinate us into certain groups. Those who have the same visual characteristics (e. g. skin colour, ethnic origin…) are integrated in these categories.

The second alternative for understanding the descriptive meaning of representation is the so-called "sharing experiences". This is a situation when, for example, an experienced farmer will advocate for the interests of other farmers in the legislature because he is "one of them" (Pitkin, 1972).

3) The perception of representation in a *"symbolic sense"* is based on the presence of the represented based on the properties of the representer. Symbolically, for example, a nation is represented by a flag, which indicates that the flag evokes a certain set of feelings or reactions in relation to the nation. Attention is focused on the ability to evoke feelings, which is related to pointing out the irrational and affective nature of symbolic representation. Representation is thus perceived as a symbol that creates emotional reactions among voters. In the government, there is a representative of a certain group whose interests he defends, and this group perceives him as a symbol that represents them. Voters not only see how their representative participates in the political scene, but above all they perceive that their interests are not excluded from the political discussion. This awareness can lead to greater trust in the system (Schwindt-Bayer, 2010). H. Pitkin defines symbolic representation as something that is characteristic especially of totalitarian regimes. This is a module of representation that does not stand on any, at first glance, obvious similarity between the representer and the represented, since, as already mentioned, this bond is based mainly on emotions and irrationality (Pitkin, 1972).

4) In the model of "*substantive representation*", specifically in the form of "acting for", the theory of representation as action is contained, because the mentioned model is not aimed at what kind of representative "is" but at how it acts, or how it responds to the interests of its constituents. This action is limited by conceptual boundaries: one can speak of representation provided that the representative acts on behalf of the represented but does not lose his autonomy. Conversely, representation does not exist in a situation where the representer acts without any regard for the represented (Pitkin, 1972). Substantive representation would, on a practical level, on the example of the political representation of women, mean that a higher

rate of representation of women in parliament would lead to a strengthening of interest in topics that are closer to women and which, due to the dominance of men in decision-making structures, are pushed aside and are not properly addressed attention. However, it is important to emphasize that in the mentioned type of representation, the concept of interest comes into play, in the sense of promoting the interests of the represented. The paradoxical nature of representation in representative action is reflected in the duty of the representative to follow the interest of the represented, including opinions that may not always be "obeyed". The representative must pay due attention to them in order to be able to explain and justify why he did not reflect them in his actions or decisions (Pitkin, 1972).

2. The core of standard model of political representation and its specifics:

The basis of the constitution of H. Pitkin's standard model of political representation was the connection of the mode of "authorization", "responsibility" and "acting for", i. e. formal and substantive forms of representation. The core of its concept is represented by substantive representation, expressing the relationship between the representative and the represented, in whose interest he decides. It is not only about acting in the interest of the represented, but *"also in a responsive manner to him"* (Pitkin, 1972, p. 209). It is important to emphasize that the representative is independent from those he represents, but must be responsive to the requirements of the represented, which are variable. At the same time, responsiveness embodies the normative basis for capturing the quality of democratic representation. Within the categorization of roles in the relationship representative – represented, i. e. "agent – principal" is a "principal" (heterogeneous group), always hierarchically superior to its representative ("agent"). As H. Pitkin points out the heterogeneous nature of the group, it is natural that defining interest can be a complex process. The result is the already indicated "freedom" of the agent to act according to his own discretion. We must also note that the relationship between the mentioned components is always one-way in nature and it is not possible for it to be two-way. In practice, this means that the "principal" defines the interests to which the "agent" is responsive. This is the essence of democratic representation, which could not happen if the "agent" influenced the interests of the one he represents (Pitkin, 1972). The embodiment of the 3 basic modes of the concept of political representation (i. e. "authorization", "responsibility" and "acting for" with an emphasis on responsiveness) are elections as an inseparable part of the standard concept, within which H. Pitkin focused on the democratic dimension. Since its main goal was to analyze political representation as democratic, then it is absolutely natural to

emphasize the electoral dimension, which is key in the context of the connection between democracy and representation:

a) citizens with the active right to vote choose their political representation, which governs in their name: in this, the idea is expressed that elections authorize the elected representative;

b) provided that the political representation does not behave as the holders of power in a democratic society expected, they have the right to change it in the next elections: the elections thus represent an ex-post mechanism that ensures the responsibility of the representative under the threat of sanctions for his actions, in the form of failure to express voter support in the following elections;

c) elections ensure the responsiveness of the representative to the represented.

The inclusion of elections in the standard model of political representation thus solved the question of democratic legitimacy. With the help of elections, political representation was understood as a means of establishing the legitimacy of democratic institutions, which, last but not least, creates institutional incentives for the government to be responsive to its citizens. The definition of the represented becomes particularly noteworthy, i. e. democratic people, based on the use of the "non-objection" criterion, with which H. Pitkin wanted to (at least partially) overcome the paradox of representation. That is, the fact when the people (the subject that is represented) is represented but absent at the same time. The essence of this criterion is that individuals are able to protest/object to activities, actions, behavior and, in general, decisions that are made on behalf of the represented. In principle, it is a negative definition, when the prerequisite for the representation of the so-called silence on the part of the represented, which is considered a form of consent. In other words, the representation takes place until the voters speak up against its actions. So, if we were to summarize the basic theses and aspects of the standard model of political representation in the theory of H. Pitkin, then they can be presented through a brief overview of the points that contain the essence of the above-mentioned and explained specifics:

- She understands political representation as an activity that enables the presence of citizens' voices/opinions and attitudes in the political process.
- The starting point of the standard model was the connection of formal and substantive forms of representation, which means: setting the conditions for authorization to perform the function of a representative by the represented ("authorization"), enabling

voters to control the elected representatives ("responsibility") and taking care to act on behalf voters and in a responsive manner ("acting for").

- The concept of political representation is a necessary combination of representation and democracy, i. e. that the electoral dimension of political representation is dominant.

- Representation is an expression of the "principal – agent" relationship, in which the "principal" elects its representatives who are subordinate to its "principal".

- The relationship between "principal – agent" is always one-way (from the voter – to the representative).

- Elections or the electoral mechanism ensures the responsiveness of the representative to the represented.

3. Causes of the decline of the standard model of political representation

In scientific circles, there has been a general consensus for a long time, according to which European representative democracies in particular are in a state that can be characterized as "depressing" at best, problematic and even critical at worst. The number of citizens who do not trust democratic institutions, actors and express dissatisfaction with the state of society and the way democracy works is growing more and more (Abdelzadeh et al., 2015). The common indicator and characteristic feature of the crisis of liberal democracy is the distrust just indicated. The loss of citizens' trust in political institutions and the functioning of democracy promotes the fragmentation of society and the emergence of groups of dissatisfied citizens. The crisis of democracy is increasingly linked by the academic community to the interconnectedness of politics and the economy. In contemporary liberal democracy, *"tendencies of connecting politics and elite economic groups"* (Kučera, 2012, p. 133) and "economic approaches to politics that emphasize the realization of their own interests by political actors, sometimes even only the capture of rent by individuals and their groups" (Kysela, 2014, p. 960). Dominance began to be gained by economic groups and business entities that diverted politics from the public interest to the private profit of selected elites (Crouch, 2015). The political sphere is thus gradually transforming into a business in the area of influence on legislation, while managers increasingly act as advisers to governments (Bělohradský, 2012). The consequence of the aforementioned is the estrangement of power holders from politics, accompanied by civil disgust at the insufficient influence or reach of the state's criminal power on the political-economic elites. This is the reason for the loss of the importance of politics, which at the same time promotes disillusionment with democracy and produces significant opinion polarization

in a liberal-democratic society. These are ambivalent groups that can be defined against the background of the conflicting line of demarcation ("contextualists" or "statists") versus integration ("universalists" or "globalists"). Incompatibility of attitudes, the so-called the gulf of opinion is visible in the policy of openness promoted by universalists/globalists. On the other hand, multiculturalism, inclusion and tolerance of coexistence as elementary liberal values, defended by universalists, are sharply criticized by contextualists as representatives of demarcation due to the clear definition and rejection of any otherness that does not fit into their defined mental frameworks (Zürn – de Wilde, 2016). If we return to the basic pillars of the standard model of political representation, i. e. formal prerequisites for setting up elections, i. e. the authorization and responsibility of representatives within the nation-state, then it is clear that changes in political reality have gradually caused this approach to appear insufficient. The cause was the transformation and development of international and transnational politics, decreasing voter participation, the breakdown of party loyalty, the rise of populism, the growing influence of international politics, non-profit organizations, interest groups, or the crisis of liberal democracy. In the political context, this manifests itself in the above-mentioned civic apathy, the decline in citizen participation in public administration, the decline of citizens' trust in politicians, political institutions or the idea of representation, the instability of governments, internal political scandals, business populism, the polarization of the public, the active entry of a part of economic elites into political area, the loss of independence of the media, or direct ownership of media by political elites and their use in political competition, etc. In connection with the above, there are more and more discussions about the inevitable domination of representative democracy by the political elite in the form of oligarchs, the result of which is skepticism about the meaning of citizenship or an increasingly strong conviction about the loss of its key position. In connection with the above, C. Crouch talks about the onset of post-democracy: *"Post-democracy is most often considered a deformation of the original idea of democracy and its individual supporting pillars in the form of liberal democracy, implemented through the representative principle of governance. C. Crouch considers post-democracy to be the gradual replacement of the rule of law and parliamentary democracy by the structure of lobbying power groups whose goal, through negotiation, is to enforce the rules of the game that are the most advantageous for the most powerful economic groupings"* (Koper, 2020, p. 42). Post-democracy as a real social phenomenon is further characterized by (Crouch, 2004; Koper, 2020):

- the presence of democratic institutions, which, however, are increasingly becoming only a kind of formal cloak;

- despite the existence of elections as a mechanism of power alternation, the will of the people derived from a legitimate election is not an election obtained, but "created" by mass media, political campaigns, marketing agencies, etc.;

- increasing intensity of media companies;

- the political sphere is permeated and dominated by economic interests;

- there are free elections, political parties or civil associations, but a network of influential economic associations is coming to the fore, gradually replacing the rule of law;

- the exercise of political power is less transparent;

- problems that were originally solved by the state or competent authorities are transferred to private companies;

- the political system is being alienated from the people.

The dispute about democracy has thus moved from the purely political sphere, increasingly dominated by new representatives of power, to the economic one. That is why there is still an urgent need to restore politics and bring it closer to the citizen, so that the citizen once again becomes a part of the political process, which has been gradually privatized by domestic, transnational and global economic elites, known as oligarchs and transnational corporations. The important role of non-governmental, non-profit organizations within the national as well as the international sphere is one of the other signs typical of changes in political reality. There has been a diversification of various forms of association in modern society, as well as the emergence of post-material ideals and culture. Space has opened up for the entry of new players on the political scene who claim to act in the sense of "speak for", "stand for" on behalf of the entity that authorized it. The problem, however, is that these players did not arise and were not selected from an election process within the nation-state. The question is, through or on what basis can any non-profit organization claim to represent something or someone? There was a significant modification of the context and it was no longer obvious who represented whom and on the basis of what authority. This transformation, domestically and internationally, has blurred the line between formal and informal representation. It is essential not to forget the increasing share of collective decision-making both at the national and international level, while this decision-making is coming under the control of specialized, expert bodies that are losing their connection with traditional institutions of political representation. The consequences of this transformation manifested themselves, for example, in the way that politicians at the

national level were perceived as being responsible for problems and decisions over which they lost or had no influence. Informal structures and opportunities for democratic representation have resulted in a smaller role for formal political representation in societal decision-making, both nationally and internationally. Citizens began to feel that they were losing control over important decisions that significantly affect their lives. It is therefore obvious that the electoral definition of political representation or the limitation of political representation only to elected representatives within the nation-state has become insufficient for the understanding of political representation (Dovi, 2018; Urbinati, 2018).

Conclusion

Representation in connection with democracy found its critics, primarily from the ranks of direct and participatory democracy, who claimed that representation creates an oligarchic elite that rules the people. "*The combination of representation and democracy usually appears as a pragmatic combination that was forced by the democratization of nation states by the fact that modern democratic states are not suitable for direct democracy due to their size… Direct democracy remains an ideal in the thinking of democrats, which, however, due to the transformation unattainable in modern societies… Thus, representative democracy remains a kind of 'virtue out of necessity', the second best option, an essentially imperfect form of democracy aimed at the rule of elites rather than the people*" (Urbinati, 2018, p. 319). In accordance with this belief, sympathizers of direct or participatory democracy permanently reject and criticize the representative model of democracy, which leads to considerations about its replacement or improvement through the expansion of forms of citizen participation in decision-making processes, whether by introducing various tools of direct democracy, from referenda, inclusive deliberative forums, through e-democracy, etc. In this context, N. Kováčová also states: "*Since effective participation protects democracy from its stagnation, it is important to constantly appeal to the essence of citizens' interest in public affairs, especially on the part of political actors*" (Kováčová, N. 2021, p. 44).

The standard model of political representation was based on the idea that the ideal of direct democracy from the time of ancient Greece is not feasible in current conditions. Democratic legitimacy was key to the democratic dimension of political representation. The inclusion of elections in this concept thus solved the question of democratic legitimacy. But the change occurred in the fact that some experts (including N. Urbinati) abandoned the perception of the contradiction between participation and representation, and the antagonistic relationship between them. On the contrary, representation began to be understood as the essence of

democracy. Thus, participation ceased to be the opposite of representation and, on the contrary, they began to be viewed as mutually compatible complements that together create a complete mosaic of democracy, which is fully manifested in the constructive turn of political representation.

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SECURITY VERSUS PRIVACY? CAMERA SURVEILLANCE AND IT TECHNOLOGIES IN PUBLIC SPACE

Zuzana KULAŠIKOVÁ

Abstract:

The article deals with some aspects of the current situation in the introduction of new artificial intelligence tools (public surveillance by camera systems based on artificial intelligence algorithms) in some European countries in relation to ensuring security in public space. It attempts to analyze and apply the theoretical claim of SH to this situation. Zuboff talks about the new instruments of political power and the epistemic upheaval that she believes is their consequence.

Key words: *political power, Zuboff, algorithm, power limit, epistemic coup, CCTV, security*

Contemporary capitalism has evolved into an era of surveillance capitalism. Argues Shoshana Zuboff, Professor Emeritus at Harvard University, in her prestigious work The Age of Surveillance Capitalism (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2019, The Age of Surveillance Capitalism). She believes that this is happening through new instrumental methods that create a new frontier of power. She describes in her book the so-called 'epistemic upheaval' driven by the technology companies of 'surveillance capitalism', e.g. Googl (described as a pioneer of the use of information gathered), and without the consent of the subject. It presents a concept of instrumental power that threatens the privacy and autonomy of individuals by acting as "invisible coercion". According to her, the instrument is information about individuals that is obtained without their consent through artificial intelligence and the algorithms of human behaviour generated by it, creating further predictions of action. In his award-winning book, Zuboff characterizes this claim as a new frontier of power.

According to Zuboff, another essential feature of the innovation of the instrumentalism of power created by surveillance capitalism is that it replaces state totalitarianism with corporate or corporatist totalitarianism, and uses new tools specifically provided by artificial intelligence

to do so. Just one example for all may be the conclusions of a recent research which analyzed some applications in Germany, France, the USA, Japan and South Korea in the automotive[1]

In recent years, the use of artificial intelligence tools used in public space to ensure citizen safety has been accumulating. In this context, what Zuboff also identifies as a significant problem is discussed. This is based on the processing of personal data using algorithms and artificial intelligence, but without the consent and knowledge of the citizen. In March 2023, the English newspaper The Telegraph published a statement by Home Secretary Suella Braverman[2] in response to an incident involving British police and a pensioner who was questioned in her home by English police because she had taken a picture of a sticker on a poster in the street. The pensioner was identified by CCTV footage. The Home Secretary commented on the case as an example of police activity that had 'strayed into politically contentious matters' .

Cameras versus security?

I believe that 2023 has been an extremely eventful year in these respects. This time in France. France became the first state in the EU to legalize an experimental device for automated camera surveillance "which will use artificial intelligence (AI) algorithms The French National Assembly adopted in January 2023 a draft law on the 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games Úr. Vest. 2024. The law consists of 19 articles, but Article 7, which is intended to strengthen security during the Olympic and Paralympic Games, has become the target of heated debates about the use of AI algorithms for mass surveillance of the public. Article 7 is in fact about

Facial recognition cameras have been used in France in either private or public spaces since 1990. Funding is provided by the government's Committee for the Prevention and Eradication of Radicalism through the Interministerial Fund for the Prevention of Crime (FIDP) [3]. CCTV has been used more intensively specifically since 2019 - following the launch of the

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[1] Goujard , C.: Vaše auto chce vedieť o vašom sexuálnom živote. Your car wants to know about your sex life – POLITICO. Uverejnené 9. septembra 2023.

[2] Suella Braverman says case of pensioner quizzed over 'keep males out of women-only spaces' sticker is an example of police 'straying into politically contentious matters' | Daily Mail Online. Uverejnené 3. septembra 2023.

[3] Pursuant to Article 5 of the Law of 5 March 2007, the Interministerial Fund for the Prevention of Crime (FIPD) was established. The FIPD allows for the financing of crime prevention measures and, since 2016, measures to prevent radicalisation in cooperation with local authorities and associations. The fund, which until 2016 was supplemented by various funding sources or budgetary transfers, is now financed from the general budget of the Ministry of the Interior and managed by the Secretary-General and the CIPDR.(see more at Le Fonds Interministériel de Prévention de la délinquance (FIPD) (cipdr.gouv.fr)

Technopolice activist campaign. The Technopolice campaign directed its activities against "total surveillance of urban space for police purposes" . It aims to d   ocument the abuses of surveillance and organise resistance against it. According to its website, this abuse is made possible by two major evolutions in computing.

1.   The first is the development of "Big Data"- a solution for analyzing astronomical amounts of data from various sources (statistics, identification files, social networks, etc.).

2.   The second is automatic analysis of video streams, which mainly support face recognition .

France has traditionally been a centralized and powerful state; possessing a powerful law enforcement community and improving its surveillance tools. As early as 1880, Alphonse Bertillon devised a method of identifying semi-mature criminals using biometric features - a precursor to facial recognition. Bertillon worked for the Paris police prefecture and created a new way of identifying suspects and criminals, and his method was imitated around the world.

It became an important (primary) argument in the Senate debates on the passage of the bill

France's industrial competitiveness and the support of French industrial security corporations became an important (primary) argument in the Senate debates on the adoption of the law. The country is home to defense giants (Thalès and Safran), which - like innovative technology startups - have gained support in the wake of French President Emmanuel Macron's agenda for so-called strategic autonomy. Government support helps them compete with American, Israeli and Chinese companies. Already in 2019, the then French minister for digital technology, Cédric O[4] , said that experimentation with facial recognition was needed so that French companies could improve their technology. He noted that, for the video surveillance industry, which he said earned 6.2020 billion euros in France, the 2024 Paris Olympics will be a unique opportunity to test their products and services and show what they can do in the field of AI-based surveillance. At the centre of the French push for more state surveillance is the interior minister. This influential office is seen by the intelligence community as a stepping stone to the

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[4] Cédric O : « Expérimenter la reconnaissance faciale est nécessaire pour que nos industriels progressent » (lemonde.fr) Day: 14. října 2019 v 09h12.

prime minister's seat. For example, Nicolas Sarkozy, Jacques Chirac's interior minister from 2005 to 2007, was elected president.

A dangerous political project? Moving towards dystopia?

Many French non-state institutions have a negative attitude and opposition to the adoption of a law allowing the use of artificial intelligence to ensure control and surveillance of the public on the basis of artificial intelligence algorithms. In an open letter published in Le Monde (6.3.2023) and successively in all the major newspapers, the European Centre for Not-for-Profit Law and 38 civil society organisations, including Amnesty International[5], have called on the French legislators to reject the bill. In particular, they see Article 7, which authorises[6] experimentation with an algorithm for processing images captured by cameras or drones, as problematic. Let us summarise the arguments they use to support their proposal in their open letter:

- The state would legalise practices that do not comply with the principles of necessity and proportionality,
- the law adopted allows for unprecedented intrusive surveillance, simply by Article 7 of the 2024 Olympic and Paralympic Games Law,
- according to them, the provision of Article 7 creates a legal basis for the use of cameras with algorithms to detect specific suspicious events in public spaces,
- algorithmic camera surveillance measures are contrary to international human rights law and involve unacceptable risks in relation to several fundamental rights, such as the right to privacy, the right to freedom of assembly and association, and the right to non-discrimination,
- algorithmic surveillance of the environment.

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[5] Les mesures de vidéosurveillance algorithmique introduites par la loi JO 2024 sont contraires au droit international » (lemonde.fr) 06.03. 2023 v 06h00, upraveno na 07 březen 2023 na 08h17

[6] But opposition left-wing MPs protested that mass surveillance based on artificial intelligence is unprecedented in democratic societies and dangerously threatens civil liberties. They also feared that measures that are considered temporary could in fact become permanent. History, they said, has shown that the Olympics in countries like China have been used to test invasive security infrastructure that has never been dismantled afterwards.

As pointed out by the European Data Protection Board and the European Data Protection Supervisor, biometric tracking has a serious impact on individuals' reasonable expectations of anonymity in public space and has a negative impact on their willingness and ability to exercise their civil liberties for fear of being detected or even wrongly prosecuted. This measure, in its current form, threatens the very essence of the right to privacy and data protection and is thus contrary to international and European human rights law[7] .

Agnès Callamard, Secretary General of Amnesty International, also stated her position and arguments in this regard in a press release on 21.3.1023 on the approved law[8]. Amnesty International, together with a coalition of civil society organisations led by the European Network for Digital Rights (EDRi), has been advocating for human rights legislation in the EU on artificial intelligence technologies and practices.

In particular, Callamard has described the approval of these activities as a dangerous political project and demanded that French lawmakers reject plans to use artificial intelligence (AI) surveillance cameras at the 2024 Paris Olympics, citing her concern that supplying the security apparatus with AI-controlled mass surveillance could lead to dystopian levels of surveillance and serious human rights violations against citizens who will be monitored without their knowledge or consent. We believe that this argument is in consistent with Zuboff's contention that the new instrumentalism of power uses instruments of power without the knowledge and consent of citizens. Also according to Callamard, artificial intelligence algorithms scan and record the data of every citizen within their reach. The ubiquitous presence of CCTV cameras and drones during the games, which allow officials to detect 'suspicious' or 'abnormal' activity in the crowd, is particularly problematic, she argues, and every action in public space will be drawn into a vast documentary network that undermines basic civil liberties' . Racist practices while backed by law enforcement also amplify and threaten the right to protest, she said. Ethnic minorities - including migrants and people of colour - are most at risk from certain surveillance tools, particularly facial recognition systems" .

Her next argument is that French legislators have not shown that this 'legislation meets the principles of necessity and proportionality, cornerstones to ensuring that security and surveillance measures do not undermine the right to freedom of assembly and association, as

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[7] Les mesures de vidéosurveillance algorithmique introduites par la loi JO 2024 sont contraires au droit international » (lemonde.fr) 06 .03. 2023.

[8] France. Les technologies intrusives de surveillance lors des Jeux olympiques pourraient inaugurer un avenir dystopique - Amnesty International

well as the right to privacy and non-discrimination' . The bill, she said, betrays the spirit of European Union (EU) legislation on artificial intelligence, a globally important piece of legislation, the whole purpose of which is to regulate AI and protect fundamental rights in the EU. France's plan to deploy surveillance measures during the Olympics, according to the report, represents the very first appearance such a security device could make on its territory

France's plan to deploy surveillance measures during the Olympics, according to the report, represents the very first appearance of such a security device on its territory could ultimately ignore the European bloc's AI legislation and risk triggering a human rights crisis over the widespread violation of the rights of millions of people who are being monitored without their knowledge or consent.

There is quite a lot of opposition to mass surveillance by CCTV in France, especially at local level - mostly against the development of so-called safe cities. The first judgment in France against the use of facial recognition technology in public spaces was the judgment over plans to test facial recognition in secondary schools. The Human Rights League, the CGT and parents of FCPE students also challenged the experiment.

In the south of France, the NGO La du Net, has halted plans to test facial recognition in secondary schools , in Marseille and Nice. At the end of 2018, the Regione Provence-Alpes Côte d'Azur launched a project to install a facial recognition system around secondary schools, initially on an experimental basis. this experiment, with the American IT group Cisco, was to equip the Ampère secondary school in Marseille and Les Eucalyptus in Nice with "virtual access control devices". These cameras are supposed to recognize high school students, allow them access and be able to follow the trajectory of moving people.

Back in October 2019, the Commission for the Protection of Personal Data (CNIL) said it opposed the experiment because it considered it "disproportionate". The judges of the Administrative Court of Marseille "consider that such biometric processing is disproportionate to the purposes pursued. The project is currently stopped by the administrative court because the students could not give informed consent. "The best guarantee of safety is to develop student accompaniment throughout the year, so that young people feel part of the school, not just checking in at the entrance and not entering the school as if it were a prison."

Conclusion

I agree that Zuboff's "epistemic upheaval" may mean knowledge and information gained by the state through new IT tools - without the consent and knowledge of the citizen and may threaten the privacy and autonomy of individuals by acting as invisible coercion. It is in this context that concerns have been expressed by non-state organisations and the Chair of Amnesty international. I also believe that the use of new instruments of power control - in particular, CCTV systems - is, for the time being, disproportionate - as the French Administrative Court has described it. Is it therefore necessary to approve new guidelines for the use of CCTV footage for the British (not only) police, as the British Home Secretary has put it? In this context, let us recall an important basic idea with which modern states were founded: they were based on obtaining consensus - consent.

And consent is the basis of the legitimacy of power. What does Zuboff's "new frontier of power" ? Mean in this context I believe that this is an issue for further much-needed public debate on surveillance through new means of artificial intelligence.

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BUREAUCRACY AND ITS INCORPORATION IN SOCIAL PRACTICE

Ondrej KÚTNY – Bibiana MIRANDOLA – Martin PECZÁR – Peter PLAVČAN

ABSTRACT

Bureaucracy is one of the most used terms related to the administration of public affairs in the state and when describing the activities of state and private organizations. The article presents the inclusion of bureaucracy in social cognition from a sociological, political science point of view, and from the point of view of the common understanding of bureaucracy in the professional and general public. An overview of the definitions used points to the unsystematic use of the terms bureaucracy and bureaucrat in the study of social reality in professional literature and social practice. The article also points out the importance of the bureaucratic approach to the management of public and private organizations and the impact on their normal, regular and problem-free operation in fulfilling the tasks of the organization.

Keywords: *administration, bureaucracy, bureaucrat, decentralization of activities, organization management, public administration*

Introduction

Bureaucracy is an often mentioned term, which in the common understanding of the general public is primarily associated with the activities of public administration bodies, namely state administration and local government. Bureaucracy becomes the subject of citizens' criticism, especially if they encounter a time delay in handling their official affairs or have to submit documents, while they have doubts about the expediency of their submission in connection with the handling of the official matter in question.

In recent decades, this strongly political or "ideological" meaning has come to be shared by the neolaissez-faire, the individualist right, and some sections of the revolutionary Marxist as well as the anarchist left. This term is often used by people regardless of their political beliefs and without a more detailed description of the specific situation just to comment on something that they instinctively dislike and cannot describe in any other way.

However, they also often use the term bureaucracy for work procedures inside their employer's organizations, most often when processing various documentation and presenting it to various organizational bodies. The term bureaucracy in employer organizations often refers to processes related to the organization of work, such as attendance at work, methods of communication in the organization about work tasks, complex reporting and others.

1. Inclusion of bureaucracy in social knowledge

The term bureaucracy from the point of view of its content is the subject of several scientific fields, especially political sciences, but the specific problems of bureaucracy are also the subject of legal sciences, economic and managerial sciences, sociology, psychology, social sciences, social sciences and others according to the point of view of the investigated phenomenon in the issue of bureaucracy .

From the point of view of the sociological approach, we understand bureaucracy as an effort to rationalize collective repetitive activities in organizations for the purpose of making all processes in the organization more transparent.

From the point of view of the political science approach, by bureaucracy we understand the management of public affairs through public administration, state administration and self-government.

The content of the term bureaucracy and its methods have been constantly changing since its use in social practice. With regard to content-diverse and number-wide practice in public and private organizations subject to changes resulting from changes in legislation and the economy of activities. In the general professional and layman's view of bureaucracy, the term bureaucracy can be understood as an incomprehensible, inefficient way of solving relatively simple matters, which complicates and makes citizens' lives more unpleasant. The term bureaucrat, which is often used to refer to officials performing a certain administrative activity, is used by people in order to place such officials in the position of holders of sovereign power, although this may not be the case in practice. In current society, the relationship between authority and power is rather ambivalent. (Keller, 1989)

2. Use of the term bureaucracy in social practice

Several authors deal with bureaucracy and its definition, especially in political science, but also in other scientific fields. These definitions try to specify as concisely as possible a relatively diverse, broad and still not properly organized area of social knowledge.

Bureaucracy, a specific form of organization defined by complexity, division of labor, permanence, professional management, hierarchical coordination and control, strict chain of command, and legal authority. It differs from informal and collegial organizations. In its ideal form, bureaucracy is impersonal and rational, and based on rules rather than ties of kinship,

friendship, or patrimonial or charismatic authority. Bureaucratic organization can be found in both public and private institutions. (Rockman, 2024)

According to Aylmer, the definitions of the term bureaucracy are mainly focused on the bearers of bureaucracy in organizations, on the officials whom he considers to be the bearers of the bureaucratic behavior of the organization.

1. Bureaucracy as an administration, public or private, carried out by full-time officials who are professionals, classified and organized hierarchically, with regular procedures and formalized record-keeping, who are recruited for the respective tasks.

2. Bureaucracy as a political system or other institution where power rests in the hands of such officials. The Oxford English Dictionary and, in particular, political theorists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries used this meaning, the word being an amalgam of classical Greek and modern French – an addition to terms such as aristocracy and democracy.

3. Bureaucracy as a pejorative description, meaning: "filling in forms"; 'red Paska'; procrastination and frustration; waste of time, money and resources; suppression of entrepreneurship and initiative; the "jacks in office" rule. (Aylmer, 2008)

The term bureaucracy was first used by Vincent de Gournay and he derived it from the French word bureaucratie. It is a compound term from the French word bureau, which means desk, office, and the Greek word kratein, which means to rule. (Sičáková, 2010)

The meaning of this word in the professional and lay public is interpreted differently at different social levels (lay, professional), respectively. vague and many times contradictory. The term bureaucracy is assigned meanings that are not even related to the activity of public organizations and many times they obscure the broadly conceived activity of public administration by disproportionately simplifying and generalizing the evaluation of its activity.

The term bureaucracy was included in the circle of sociology by Max Weber, who presents it in a neutral meaning. He considered the bureaucracy to be a necessary part of every modern society, his approaches were oriented from the point of view of power (lordship) and he considered the bureaucracy to be a rational authority. In his opinion, a purely bureaucratic type of organization can achieve the highest level of efficiency from a technical point of view, and thus represents the formally most rational means of exercising authority (power) over human capital. In his opinion, bureaucracy thus represents one of the basic prerequisites of rational capitalist business. (Weber, 1997)

According to another definition, bureaucracy can be understood as the systematic administrative activity of workers, which is characterized by their hierarchical organization, the specialization of their functions, objective prerequisites for the performance of administration

and activity in the sense of clearly defined rules. It can also be described as a general category of entities that perform this activity both in public administration and in other organizations and businesses. This term is also used in a value-tinged sense - to indicate the procedure of administration characterized by efforts to acquire functions and power, lack of initiative, motivation and flexibility of workers, lengthy procedures, lack of interest in human needs or public opinion, a tendency to shift decision-making to other / higher authorities, accumulation of funds for the purpose of maintaining and increasing power, etc. (Jandourek, 2001)

Bureaucracy is also defined as a hierarchical structure in public and private administration, the content of which is the performance of administrative activities and is characterized by fixed principles, procedures and rules that must be followed, while this procedure most often ends with the decision of the competent authority. On a general level, it is also considered an intervention by the state in people's everyday life, which society perceives as negative, unnecessary, or has a long-lasting effect on people. (Keller, 1989)

The term bureaucracy can also be used to denote a group of officials whose goal is to gain power and achieve high positions. Such an approach to its terminological definition was held by several authors, including William Arthur Niskanen. He saw officials as rent-seekers with ambitions to promote their own interests regardless of the interests of society (Niskanen, 1971). The definition according to which it is a type of organization as a large grouping of people of an impersonal nature and created with a specific purpose is close to this definition in terms of content (Giddens, 2005).

However, the terms bureaucracy and bureaucrat are usually considered and used pejoratively. They convey images of bureaucracy, excessive rules and regulations, lack of imagination, lack of individual discretion, central control and absence of accountability. Far from being able-bodied, popular contemporary depictions often portray bureaucracy as inefficient and lacking in adaptability. Because the characteristics that define the organizational benefits of bureaucracy also contain possibilities for organizational dysfunction, both flattering and unflattering portrayals of bureaucracy can be accurate. Thus, paradoxically, the characteristics that make bureaucracy efficient can also cause organizational pathologies. (Rockman, 2024)

In the sense of another approach to this term, bureaucracy can be understood as an organization characterized by a hierarchy built on specialization of functions, selection and differentiation of employees based on their abilities. However, this term can also refer to centralized state power consisting of permanently or temporarily employed officials. (Mill, 1992)

Similarly, in non-state sector organizations or non-governmental organizations, there is a professional group of managers. The professionalization of management in organizations, both state and non-state, increases expertise, continuity and work performance within the organization. In cases where organizations are temporarily without a top manager or during a period of change in senior positions, a professional group of managers helps maintain the work activities in the organization. The merits of the professionalization of management in the organization lie in the fact that without them, organizations would be at risk at the time of the change of management in all performed activities due to the incompetence of employees in the organizational structure. Thus, professionalization contributes to higher technical proficiency of the organization.

Bureaucratic elements can also appear in company management. Such management consists in managing the company through detailed regulations, rules and regulations that are determined in advance and in detail. The role of a member of such management is to do everything that these rules tell him and he must not deviate from them. (Von Mises, 2002)

A bureaucrat, in the sense of the next definition, is a subject who is overly careful in his approach and whose behavior is unnecessarily formalized, with an emphasis on non-essential elements in the procedures. A bureaucrat can therefore most often be an official who places excessive emphasis on duties and other formalities in work procedures. From these terms, it is subsequently possible to define the term bureaucratic, and thus in the literal meaning of the word it is official, clerical, formal and inflexible. (Keller, 2010)

Within the layman's approach to the interpretation of this term, bureaucracy is most often referred to as a certain obstacle in the efficiency of administrative procedures. The term is mainly applied during handling of routine matters, the solution of which may sound simple, but the officials/employees use seemingly incomprehensible procedures, which in the eyes of the company may represent a complication/difficulty in solving their matter. It is therefore a practical example of when a relatively simple matter is solved by a complex procedure, which is accompanied by the behavior of the relevant officials (promotion, lack of interest). (Von Mises, 2002)

The term bureaucracy can also refer to possible shortcomings of the organization / enterprise, which significantly affect its practical ineffectiveness. According to some authors, bureaucracy represents an organization with an unusually high degree of conformity to prescribed patterns of action, where the unconditional emphasis on literal compliance with formalized procedures can be an obstacle to achieving the goals of public administration (but also the goals of society as such). (Merton, 2000)

As it follows from what has been indicated so far, bureaucracy as an element permeates several areas of the life of members of society and represents (also) a social problem that requires a more detailed knowledge in practice. The elements of bureaucracy are part of everyday life, and several scientific disciplines approach the definition of its existence and meaning at a professional level, especially from the field of social sciences - history, law, philosophy or economics. (Oudon, 2004)

Historical sciences and some other disciplines approach bureaucracy as a value-neutral concept and as an effort to rationally manage the collective by creating legal systems and large productive and non-productive organizations. These are subsequently subject to management through impersonal rules and regulations. An alternative in this sense of the word would be a return to patrimonial or even patriarchal forms of estate. (Keller, 2010)

The entire system of bureaucracy is dependent on the system of offices as a whole, and if it did not exist, almost all power intentions could not be realized (the bearer of power is predominantly the state, but they also mean leading positions in companies/enterprises as a system of hierarchy) . The difference between the bureaucracy in the past and today is mainly that, while in the past the bureaucracy was based on one person - mostly the monarch, nowadays the bureaucracy is based on the government of the people. (Keller, 2010)

Conclusion

Despite the apparently positive influence of bureaucratic structures in organizations, at the turn of the century, a new approach to the management of organizations began to be sought. Various anti-bureaucratic efforts were, and still are, focused on management changes in state organizations. Emphasis is placed on the decentralization of management at the top level of state management and the transfer of competences to lower levels of management. Particular emphasis is placed on the replacement of full-time civil servants by contract managers, with the declared aim of increasing the flexibility and adaptability of management in state organizations. The goal is to reduce public administration expenses under the declared intention of the so-called debureaucratization of public administration. Such tendencies can be observed mainly during the government of the state by right-wing groups. These reforms often fall under what is called New Public Management.

The terms bureaucracy and bureaucrat are often used to describe any form of administration (management) of an organization. they are often freely interchangeable with any

form of administrative organization. Criticism of the bureaucratic behavior of the organization and its employees is therefore often a criticism of any work behavior of the organization's employees, where its clients believe, sometimes rightly, that its activities deviate from proper conduct in handling their official affairs. However, it is very unlikely that the bureaucratic form of organization will be replaced by another organizational form, because it enables regularity and responsibility in its activities.

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ANALYSIS OF MARKETING APPROACHES IN THE COMMERCIAL AND PUBLIC AREA OF THE FUNCTIONING OF SOCIO-POLITICAL PROCESSES

Dušan MASÁR – Natália KOVÁČOVÁ

Abstract

The main objective of the study is to highlight the mutual relations between public policy and marketing, to delineate the differences in the use of marketing approaches in the commercial and non-commercial spheres. The study analyzes the theoretical and practical issues associated with the public and private sectors in the implementation of marketing. The aim pursued is to highlight the usefulness of the use of marketing approaches in building social welfare, in addition to observing the aforementioned differences. Of course, with a factually correct understanding of the issue. Emphasis is also placed on the specifics of the application of marketing in the public sector. The author's ambition is to contribute to the elimination of the considerable disorientation of the perception of marketing. To balance argumentatively the glorification of marketing as an all-solving tool on the one hand and a neglected scientific discipline on the other hand.

Key words: *public sector, private sector, marketing approaches, public policy, public welfare*

Introduction

In order to understand the issues of implementation of marketing approaches in the conditions of functioning of modern social systems it is necessary to observe the correlations between the theoretical backgrounds of directly related disciplines such as political science, economics, public administration, and public policy, and last but not least marketing. Each of these disciplines can no longer do without capturing the interrelations.

Marketing has its justification in other social disciplines, e.g. in political science and its importance increases before the elections, the results of which will decide the form of formation of the representative democracy model (in the case of parliamentary elections). As **S. Kováčová** states: *The concept of political representation is one of the central concepts that the current debate and crisis of liberal democracy concerns, especially because in its electoral version it is intrinsically connected to the model of liberal democracy"* (Kováčová, S. Kováčová E. 2023,

p 21). The interdisciplinarity of marketing and public policy is an unmissable phenomenon. Concepts such as the public sector, the private sector, marketing, the public interest, the public welfare, and many others now form a coherent theoretical basis for the study of diverse socio-political processes.

The theoretical and practical assessment of marketing approaches is undoubtedly a much practiced and sophisticated field, yet there is still room for deeper exploration of this issue. The study aims to compare the possibilities of application of marketing approaches in the commercial and public spheres of functioning of socio-political processes or to analyze the issue of possible application of marketing approaches in the non-commercial sphere, i.e. in the public sector in the context of public policy. In addition to the theoretical background of marketing, the socio-economic and public policy aspects of the application of marketing are also discussed in the study.

Awareness of the global conditions of social development is an inevitability of the contemporary world. Modern marketing as a functional model of management passes through the whole vertical axis of dynamically ongoing social processes. Currently, there is a lot of literature in the field of public policy and marketing in both print and electronic form. We also encounter a number of broadcast programme formats relating to marketing issues in all types of media. However, these are often presented in a purposeful, misleading, i.e. complicated, and often tabloid or chaotic manner. We certainly do not experience unavailability of the required information. However, if we look at the problem through the specific lens of a scientific approach requiring a clear, logical and comprehensively coherent explanation of the issue with an emphasis on the chosen context, we come to the conclusion that there is always a relevant publication space. There is no doubt that the issue of public policy and marketing in perceiving the correlations requires a holistic perception.

With the gradual strengthening of socio-economic and political aspects in modern societies, the importance of the so-called public economy is increasing. Ironically, we can conclude that in today's world we are all victims of sophisticated socio-political 'games'. These are played out with the considerable assistance of the marketing practices used by the actors involved and deciphering them can help to gain a better orientation and understanding of the very nature of the problem. The author does not want to be one of those theorists who overestimate, sometimes even glorify, the importance of marketing, or forget about other circumstances of its beneficial functioning, or admit almost no criticism of it. On the other hand, it would be short-sighted and biased if we did not perceive the current importance and

effectiveness of marketing. It is the author's intention that the study should be viewed in an imaginary balance of these two approaches.

3. Theoretical foundations for the application of marketing approaches

Most publications dealing with the use of marketing tools in the spectrum of social processes strictly divide marketing into traditional so-called commercial and non-profit so-called public marketing. The first option, as the name itself implies, provides, through a basic marketing mix, a kind of guide to the implementation of a successful business plan. The second, younger branch of marketing, which has been significantly upgraded in recent decades, offers ways of fulfilling the attributes of social well-being. The systemic configuration of combining commercial and non-profit marketing in the real world is further shaped by the ongoing globalization that is dynamically changing every country and society in all socio-political aspects. Globalization brings changes to society and among these changes we can already identify changes that are directly related to the issue of marketing and public policy. At the same time as these changes, we are seeing the emergence of quantitative and, above all, qualitative new problems, issues such as global climate change, terrorism, cyber threats, migration, etc., which, because of their unpredictable nature, cannot be effectively programmed into public policy strategies. These changes are affecting social events in an unprecedented way. There is a growing number of undecided voters among citizens and dynamic changes in their preferences, which influence the shaping of the public interest in the agendas of political parties. Public marketing is becoming inseparable from political science, public policy and is already a fixed part of them. A political system with institutionalized public administration provides considerable scope for the implementation of elements of modern marketing. In Slovakia, despite this general trend, public marketing in the public sector has considerable reserves. Political marketing is the most widely used, and not only in our country. With the appropriate choice of marketing tools, it is possible to achieve business success at the microeconomic level and, in public policy, in the long term, an increase in the attributes of social welfare.

Marketing management and the choice of appropriate practices represent one of the key decisions of functioning in the conditions of the modern industrial economy of the global era. The choice of the optimal way of ensuring activity determines the final outcome of the business plan or the intentions of the entities providing public goods. Effective marketing can take many

forms (concepts and approaches) in the current environment. There are no well-defined boundaries between the different marketing concepts or approaches. There are virtually no limits to creativity and innovative methods. In the foreign literature, especially in the American literature, there are many case studies proving the theoretical hypotheses. This is largely true in relation to one of the first definitions published in 1935 by the American Marketing Association (AMA), which saw marketing as the performance of business activities that manage the flow of goods and services from producers to consumers. In 1985, the definition of marketing was expanded to the following description: It is the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion, and distribution of ideas, goods, and services to effect exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational objectives at the right time and place. The definition of marketing was last modified in 2004. According to it, marketing is an organizational function and set of processes for creating, communicating and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in a way that helps organizations and stakeholders to achieve their objectives. In general, it can be assumed that each chosen strategy, including the tactics contained within it, is unique 'in the marketing world'. Being able to anticipate and react to the market situation is an essential prerequisite for successfully establishing oneself in the environment. In the literature we find basic marketing concepts and many other specific marketing approaches. Some are of a serious nature and others are rather controversial. Informative examples include buzz marketing (mouth /vocal/ marketing). It is considered to be a low-cost and effective means of marketing that is becoming a trend. In the USA, there is even a buzz marketing association - the Word of Mouth Marketing Association, which has 150 members and helps individual companies and other actors in the system to become more visible. Another type is intuitive marketing, which, according to the creator of this concept, **M. Toman**, is not about mindless, instinctive action. (Toman, 2007) The literature also mentions the so-called experience marketing, or event marketing. By this we mean the staging of experiences as well as their planning and organization. The role of these experiences is to evoke psychological and emotional stimuli, mediated by the organization of events that will promote the image of the company and its products. (Šindler, 2003) In recent decades, there has been a considerable upsurge in finding models for the implementation of marketing in the environment of the public economy, usually referred to as non-profit or public marketing.

A marketing strategy is a series of integrated activities leading to a sustainable competitive advantage or the retention of government power. Marketing strategy is an important synthetic tool of any management, including public administration management, whose task is to act in a balanced and synergistic way, rather in the longer term, respecting

internal and external conditions, in order to achieve the intended effect - the satisfaction of citizens and the stability of the government. Each marketing strategy contains sub-strategies and strategic measures, such as the alignment of promotional and other support methods with the allocation and distribution function of public finances. In developing a marketing strategy, we are equally concerned with what is the essence of marketing, that it is a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups get what they need through the creation, supply, and exchange of products of value (e.g., in public policy, even electors' votes) with others.

The theoretical definition of the term marketing itself is associated with many established definitions that reflect its meaning and application in the traditional understanding of the functioning of the economic environment in the so-called market version. The most widely used or quoted definition of marketing sees it as a scientific discipline separate from economics. It is generally seen as a social and managerial process in which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through the creation and exchange of products or values. (Kotler, Armstrong, 1992) Even in this general context of thinking, we arrive at a range of unfolding questions about what to consider as the output of economic activities and how this will act on, or shape and influence, the overall socio-political environment.

The birth of marketing itself is associated with the need to solve problems that classical political economy did not really know, and which are associated with mass marketing, or the sale of manufactured goods in a saturated market environment. In the case of an unsaturated market, i.e. a market other than the one known to classical economists, the supply of goods and services automatically found demand. This does not mean, however, that in the times of its existence there was no competition, which **A. Smith** was the first to refer to the so-called invisible hand of the market. The nature of competition and its effects are also often interpreted in traditional thinking. In a period when the number of competitors was minimal it really seemed like a necessary trigger. The original, i.e. classical (commercial) marketing approach is realistically applied wherever there is a functioning market economy based on relationships with purchasing power in a strong competitive environment with a sufficient number of competitors. It is important to see the shape of current competition and the real possibilities of so-called free market entry in today's globalized world in its implications. The creation of acceptable value, i.e. customer utility and satisfaction of customer needs or wants, is the original starting point for marketing thinking in a commercial (classical) market where demand for goods and services is high. Public, i.e. non-profit marketing of the provision of so-called public goods with the provision of public benefits, emerges only much later.

In the global era, marketing theorists proceed in two directions in defining its operation. On one hand stands the original commercial current with its effort to constantly adapt to the changing conditions of a saturated market, which still has a dominant position in the consumer society and permanently strengthens it. On the other hand, a current is developing that is finding new areas of application for marketing in public policy. Opportunities for the application of marketing exist throughout the sectoral structure of contemporary social systems. However, it is right to ask when and how. The problem in today's advanced economies is that industrial or post-industrial societies produce vast quantities of output, usually in a sophisticated and higher value-added way. Modern technology (know-how) and sophisticated management approaches are used at all levels of society. The primary problem is the realization, i.e. the sale of this production, or overproduction, including public goods.

The societal dimension of contemporary marketing also brings with it critical currents pointing to the negative impacts of marketing practices on consumers, citizens, and society as a whole. One speaks of the need for marketers to identify with social responsibility and ethics in marketing. Ideas of business based on social responsibility and ethical approach to customers are implemented in business philosophy. The latter advocates corporate social responsibility over profit making. In reality, it is more a matter of harmonising these attributes. Some companies talk about trying to humanize capitalism. When the term 'socially responsible business making' is mentioned, the motto 'Let's make a better world through business!' immediately comes to mind. In this context, the importance of ethics in marketing is strongly underlined. In this connection, **F. Lautenschläger** said: "*Only those who know how to serve can govern*" (Laing, 2003). Marketing ethics is a set of general principles of morality to be observed and respected by every marketer as general ethical standards in business relationships, promotion, pricing, customer service and product development. Companies tend to adopt these principles in the form of codes of conducts, which do not have direct legal implications. They do, however, declare the company's commitment to treating customers in the spirit of business ethics. As such, ethics has played, is playing and will continue to play a significant role in the lives of people and society as a whole, not excluding marketing or other sectors of the economy or business. The marketing system is becoming a decisive factor for business success, as well as the basic philosophy of the enterprise. (Hanuláková, 1996)

In addition to the ethical level, there is, of course, the legal level, where marketers commit unfair commercial practices. The legal definition of the term commercial practice is regulated by Act No. 250/2007 Coll. on Consumer Protection, as amended, according to which it is an act, omission of an act, manner of conduct or expression, commercial communication,

including advertising and marketing of the seller, directly related to the promotion, offer, sale and delivery of the product to the customer. Business practices refer to activities related to the promotion (advertising), sale or supply of a product to a customer.

The negative effects of marketing on society as a whole arise from the leaking of marketing into the structures of the functioning of society. This creates new types of social wrongs. The dilemma of the extent to which individualism is justified and beneficial in society is discussed. Critics point out that the system, built on marketing approaches, over-emphasizes the individual's material possessions and consumerism. People are judged according to what they own, creating undue property castes in society, sometimes even illegally. The wealthiest ones often have both the tendency and the ability to exercise their 'money power' in wider social decision-making processes. The categorization of individuals into those who are IN or OUT, according to how they behave and what they possess, sounds tabloid and tragicomic. This obsession with material wealth as the main purpose of existence and self-fulfillment is often supported and nurtured by ubiquitous marketing. If we ask ourselves on what basis a consumer society operates, we will conclude that it is a society in which most of people's activities and efforts are directed towards the accumulation or consumption of material goods. The ability to consume (economically representing effective demand) is one of the most highly valued values in this society, deserving of widespread support, and is an important criterion for judging an individual's social prestige and a measure of social success. Consumption is seen as the right and main reward for work in a consumer society, and it also represents meaning and purpose. (Scruton, 1999) However, the productivity of labor or value added in relation to wages and other forms of remuneration remains questionable. Also, under the influence of marketing dogmas, considering differentiation as the main prerequisite for social success and the achievement of material benefits, the concept of celebrity has been introduced, displacing the real meaning of the term personality. It has been dehumanized, or rather profaned and devalued, by extracting decency, honesty, and moral principles with the considerable assistance of the media.

On one hand, the volume of consumption is a prerequisite for the functioning of an industrial economy. On the other hand, some sociologists characterize the turn of the century as a time when greed is life itself and if you don't buy, you don't live. Many experts have long sounded the alarm and held up a mirror to consumer society. Opponents call them bitter moralists, ideologically "labeling" anyone who points out the long-term unsustainability of the system. Their visions of a return to basic values and social commitments are exposed to ridicule. The infatuation with the material world persists.

The algorithm for developing a marketing strategy in public policy follows essentially the same steps as in the corporate sphere. Thorough preparation before designing a strategy is essential. The preparatory part requires estimating the capabilities and capacities of public policy actors, considering that during the preparation interval the dynamic conditions of the actors change rapidly. It is necessary to give responsibility for each part to a different manager - the ministry, but the overall design and execution must be the responsibility of a single manager - the Prime Minister. Furthermore, there must be a systemic balance and complementarity between the parts of the strategy. Theory and practice agree that the existence of a marketing strategy in the current conditions is a basic prerequisite for the survival of any entity in the private and public market, which affects both position and development. The formulation of the theoretical and methodological basis of strategy formulation is based on the quite simple idea that there are strengths and weaknesses of the entity and there are stabilizing and development opportunities and threats in its environment. A strategy is sought that is geared towards exploiting the opportunities, that is geared towards eliminating the threats, by supporting the strengths and eliminating the weaknesses.

A well-designed marketing strategy that considers the characteristics of the functioning of the public sector can greatly help an entity to serve its public policy stakeholders well. The common unwillingness of public providers to accept the differences in purposes, conditions, roles, and expectations that distinguish them from private sector businesses leads to a failure to meet the stated objectives and dissatisfaction of public policy actors. Unfortunately, an inappropriate or ill-conceived public marketing programme can often be the cause of the failure of public policy solutions. The starting point for marketing strategy in the public sector is also to find an answer to the question "where do we want to get to".

Looking objectively, we find that the public sector tends to use marketing mechanisms in post-modern economies. An example of the clear implementation of marketing in public procurement and competitive tendering processes is the so-called PPP method, which is a frequently discussed topic in the public policy content of the media. The potential contribution of marketing concepts to the delivery of public services needs to be reassessed repeatedly.

The introduction of a strategically oriented system of thinking by public policy actors and the use of marketing strategy reflects a certain evolution of views on strategy development and implementation in society. Strategic thinking reflects complex, long-term thinking without the need for simplification, which creates a basis for making effective decisions in the conditions of the emergence, change and demise of various structures of public policy.

Marketing strategy in public policy is expressed in the form of a document that contains the basic characteristics: objectives, expected results, costs of the policy to achieve the results, the subjects of destination, methods of distribution and methods of communication. A better understanding of the essence of the social concept is also based on the awareness of the essence of satisfying unlimited and hierarchically, according to urgency, ranked needs, or desires. The first prerequisite is purchasing power or effective demand, the second is standard of living and the third is quality of life. Purchasing power is a prerequisite, the volume of consumption indicates the standard of living, and the quality of life brings social welfare to the stakeholders in sustainable economic or social development.

In a modern democratic society, public policy is implemented by legitimately elected political actors through political persuasion and negotiation, thus shaping the political decisions that frame social development. The enforceability of a political decision in public policy is principally ensured by the systemic authority exercising political power. The subjects of public policy, or its actors, may include individuals (citizens) or political parties, movements, the state apparatus, the third sector (non-governmental), lobby groups and other interest groups or the mass media. The mass media can be characterized as an 'intersecting actor in public policy' because, in terms of the structuring of public policy actors, they can be seen as a link between the electorate and elected representatives. It is a means of mass communication that provides citizens with information about current events taking place in society. This understanding of the role of the mass media in public politics implies that modern democracy is directly conditioned by the existence of freedom of speech, as the mass media play an important role in the presentation of the values of individual actors in public politics (in particular political parties and individual candidates in the electoral process), whether real or pretended. There is a well-known paraphrase comparing the media to the watchdogs of democracy. Thus, through the mass media, the voter can minimize the time needed to obtain information about the various public policy actors competing for his or her vote. (Klus, 2008) Elements of public marketing can be implemented to some extent everywhere in the public sector, i.e. in the activities of all public policy actors. In this context, it should be frankly noted that the use of marketing terms in the functioning of the public sector is for many experts and laymen alike undue, because of the systemically declared non-profit nature of the functioning of this sphere of the economy, which is often in contradiction with the factual reality.

Public policy is connected with the development and transformation of the social system, it examines and seeks solutions for current problems of society and the possibilities for the future practical life of the population in the interaction of the public and private sectors.

Thus, public policy is concerned with politics and political power in public affairs and predominantly in relation to the public sector. In its content, public policy uses terms such as public interest, public administration, public opinion, or public sector. It is the public sector that is the focus of public policy and in many approaches, it is different from the private sector. The public sector deals with the implementation of decisions that are substitutes for the failures of the private sector. Therefore, it is the more complex public policy decisions and practices that require, in a democratic society, a degree of support from the population, not just the powerful owners of the resources of capital, land or labor. The public sector is always bound by legal rules, unlike the private sector, which can also apply practices that are not prohibited by law. The failure of the public sector generally has no substitute. In relation to the population, public sector failures always have greater consequences than private sector failures. The public sector, as an important part of the national economy, participates in the provision of the functions of the state. The essential activities of the state in the implementation of the public sector are the production of public goods or their provision through non-state institutions, the redistribution of pensions, social contributions etc. Public policy is closely related to the public sector, and the public sector is essentially the product and outcome of public policy. Public policy determines the preconditions, influences the course and outcomes of public sector activities, sets public sector functions, tasks and their priorities, definitions, and instruments for achieving objectives. Thus, public policy influences both the scope of the public sector and the necessary financial resources (Tetřevová, 2008).

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policy determines the preconditions, influences the course and results of public sector activities, sets public sector functions, tasks and their priorities, definitions and instruments for achieving objectives. Thus, public policy influences both the scope of the public sector and the necessary financial resources (Tetřevová, 2008). The social climate always, with the exception of times of wars, puts pressure on the public or non-profit sector with the need to improve its performance. Marketing in the private sector is clearly a tool that operates on the principles of increasing and improving the performance of entities that provide goods and services to the market. However, the application of these marketing principles in a public sector environment is more problematic due to the many political and economic realities of the sector. For example, this is also because, unlike the private sector, the existence of a public sector institution is not generally dependent on users. The existence of public sector institutions is legislated or results from government policy. Public sector practices are always linked to legal rules, unlike those of the private sector, which may also apply practices that are not prohibited by law.

In the public sector, i.e. in the non-profit part of the economy, most of the activities related to the use of marketing are not related to the satisfaction of customers as such, but of citizens. Often there is no direct or indirect form of competition or rivalry. Having a monopoly or an exclusive position in a given segment, even more so if it is in the public sphere, does not mean that the use of marketing will not be beneficial. In this context, we can identify public policy instruments as means of the marketing approach.

Public policy instruments are the means by which the holder of power attempts to put its concepts, strategies, and objectives into practice in such a way that they actually work and achieve the stated objective. Thus, instruments can be defined as the means that contribute to ensuring that society's objectives are met and that problems are solved. The objectives for which the selection of public policy instruments is made, and may strongly influence the marketing means, are usually a given for practical implementation.

Each country is dedicated to solving and anticipating problems arising in society, and the instruments help it to solve, eliminate and prevent problems in society. Such problems in each country are, for example, employment, social security, crime, public safety, environment, and others. Marketing can actively use vision, concept and especially doctrine to alleviate tensions in, for example, employment.

In the implementation of public policy, the aim is to select those instruments that can best help to address the objectives and the problem in society. This is also the aim of marketing - to select and promote practices that will benefit the realization of the public interest in public

policy. The selection of the appropriate instrument or combination of instruments is crucial and critical to the achievement of public policy objectives in addressing problems in society.

In terms of the type and degree of importance of the use of each instrument, public policy instruments can be categorized into economic instruments, administrative instruments, power instruments, legal instruments, information, and communication instruments.

In the case of the public sector, the building of an organization's *goodwill* (reputation) is fundamentally based on different foundations than in the commercial sector. Marketing plays a specific role in the activities of public organizations in that it serves to satisfy well-defined societal interests. Again, emphasizing the main change in thinking, it is essential to note the substantive differences in the terms customer, client and other stakeholders, groups or citizens. These variations in the meaning of the target segment are important in any content marketing exercise because they capture the essence of the differences between the application of commercial (classical) and public marketing. The definition of marketing that best suits the purpose is: *"Marketing is a management process responsible for identifying, anticipating, and satisfying stakeholder requirements, thereby serving to facilitate the achievement of the organization's objectives."* (Boone, Kurtz, 1998) Different functional models of public sector institutions use the communication of ideas, benefits and values about the given public services offered by the public sector to achieve the stated objectives. In public marketing, communication is key to the effective implementation of intentions. There are two basic types of communication within the operation of a commercial company - managerial and marketing. Managerial communication ensures the performance of managerial functions (planning, organizing, decision making and control) by management towards internal and external stakeholders of the working relationship. Marketing communication is aimed at either customers or citizens. The organizational component of managing a company and a public institution includes all communication in the organization and building public relations - Public Relations (PR). Environmental communication and relations with potential investors are frequent extensions of the process. Effective (persuasive) communication includes all components of marketing in the form of components of the marketing mix.

A significant feature of the operation of public sector organizations is that they are concerned with the provision of services rather than the sale of products. However, there are a number of differences in public marketing. Part of the functioning of modern economic systems (mixed economies) is the existence of the so-called public sector, which performs those functions in the state that cannot be fully or partially entrusted to the private sector. These include the security of the state, its defense, the state and public administration (executive

power), the judiciary (judicial power), public health and education, public transport (service) and part of culture. The public or non-profit sector is not only important because of its size, but it manages and influences the running of the whole of society - through its institutions it provides essential services or social services. In these institutions, marketing activities are not among the traditional ones. To some extent, this is due to their non-profit nature and also to the specific nature of the services provided, which are not conventional, i.e. commercial products. However, given the changes in the funding of these institutions and the increased competitive pressure, the question of applying certain marketing approaches with regard to citizen satisfaction is also being raised in the public sector. In the private sector, the customer is the person willing and able to pay for the product; in the public sector, it is the person using the service, who may be charged for it, but more often the provision of these services is financed (subsidized) through public budgets and other sources (public collections, etc.). Again, it is important to highlight the differences in the expected behavior of the customer and the citizen. Marketing is fundamentally associated with profitability (rentability) and competitiveness. The key question is therefore what the role of marketing in an institution or organization should be where profitability is not the motive for its operation. Also, the declared main objective is to satisfy, i.e. to serve the citizens or the public. The analysis of the market position of a non-profit organization in comparison with other entities is different with regard to the subject of its activity or the mission of its functioning. Authors dealing with the issue of marketing in the non-profit sector have to consider different priorities. Particularly important is the fact that competition is of strictly limited importance here. For example, if a university is unable to attract sufficient numbers of students because of negative population trends and a high number of competing education providers, it should not adapt to the situation by reducing the quality of education in an attempt to retain the necessary number of students. To speak of competitiveness in this sense is highly counterproductive. Any marketing plans of a public or private school should consider the objectives of the quality of education. In society, they are set up with the intention of guaranteeing education by the qualifications acquired by graduates. In general, it can be said that the ideas of efficient operation and customer satisfaction, translated into marketing approaches used in public organizations that respect the specificities of the public sector, can find a positive response. The theory of marketing in public administration and public policy provides opportunities to shape possible types of so-called public marketing.

4. Analysis of marketing approaches in the commercial and public domain

A non-negligible problem of the functioning of the public sector is what is fundamental to the marketing concept, i.e. to respect the wishes of the customer/client/citizen at all times and "at all costs". The commercial sphere glorifies rules such as 'our customer is our master', 'the customer is always right'. In the public sector, this principle is often limited to the point of exclusion. "An 'ignorant' citizen may be mistaken and often has to accept the public sector institution as the systemic authority, not to mention the professional competence and competence of state and public administration employees, guaranteed by the state, regardless of whether or not the citizen agrees with their actions or interpretation of problem solving.

Most of these bodies provide services in the public interest. However, these are often inherently limiting and subject to social control. Many times, there can be no question of user satisfaction with the public service at all. Unlike the private sector, the 'survival' of a public sector institution is not generally dependent on users. Their existence is determined by legislation or by government policy, etc.

In recent years, we have seen changes in legislative arrangements in an effort to build an efficient and, from a public finance perspective, sustainable model. These efforts have brought to the public sector concepts reflecting the competitive practices of the commercial sphere, which were previously only significant in the private sector. These have given rise to the gradual emergence of spheres of public significance and the establishment of a competitive culture or competitiveness in them. It should be stressed that the concept of competition is different in this case and that the clash of interests is not based on market principles. Public providers are expected to respond to the needs and expectations of the civic community. As a consequence, public providers are no longer, or should not be, positioned as competitors in the sense of controlling the market and the 'customers' in it. The imaginary 'labelling' of a market-led orientation with reference to the competitiveness of these entities is both content and substance irrelevant.

This is not to say that marketing principles cannot be applied in the public sector, but there may be problems with the provision of such services that are based on purely market principles. Many authors dealing with the issue suggest solutions, pointing out that market principles can be applied in the public sector. There is an assumption that the market is an efficient and appropriately allocative mechanism also for the distribution of public sector goods and services. **Mellors** rightly argues that the concepts of 'public good' and 'public interest'

remain problematic when adopting market solutions in the provision of public goods. Even given this problematic context, market principles and the public servants guided by them often find themselves in controversial positions.

The public sector is an integral part of the economy, i.e. the economy of the state, which is not privately owned and is concerned with the production, distribution, and allocation of public goods at national, regional or local level. There is a systemic complication posed by de-nationalised (de-ethatised) entities that operate on a private basis. Economic processes in the functioning and structure of the public economy may take the form of direct administration of public entities or the form of supervision or control. Direct administration, i.e. the functioning of state and public institutions, organizations, etc., is financed through budgetary resources obtained from the state budget, i.e. after political approval in the form of a law. Funding may include government loans, system transfers or the so-called grant funding frameworks from the Structural Funds. The public economy, or public sector, represents a huge pool of financial resources in modern economies.

The different marketing instruments cannot be the same when providing different types of goods and services of a commercial nature or a public mission. Marketing tools in the public sector must reflect information about the way public institutions operate in the system in order to ensure that the political decisions of the power structures are translated into the activity and content of the functioning of the public sphere. This is almost always linked to dilemmas of public decision-making. We see a literal balancing of views in the dispute over "true" values throughout society. It is one of the main reasons why marketing in the public sector can only become relevant if fundamental policy decisions are made on the basis of commitment and the responsibility of collective acceptance. We are also talking about the condition of acceptance of social consensus. Consensus is consent, agreement, acquiescence, the sharing of a set of meanings, an elemental assent, the lowest common denominator of disputants or arguing parties. In political decision-making by consensus, it is assumed that the decision taken will be accepted by all those involved, i.e. majority opinion is not decisive. Therefore, voting is generally not used, and the discussion continues until everyone is satisfied with the decision. Consensus can be achieved if all those involved strive for it. It is very important to create an atmosphere of constructive negotiation and to focus on the final solution; that is when we speak of pragmatism. Pragmatism is a common expression in today's political reality. Its definition is not possible without reflecting certain aspects of philosophy. Pragmatism is also a welcome phenomenon in politics, given that political decision-making is permanently subject to enormous pressure from power or economic interests. Economic interests are always directed

towards the basic economic category - profit. An alternative to the profit motive may be another form of profiteering. The path to profit in market conditions is based on customer satisfaction. In politics, however, it is the satisfaction of the citizen.

The goal of direction is social welfare. When marketing is implemented as a language of expression in the public sphere, its characteristic commercial features will change or adapt. The conditions and tasks adopted in the public interest are different because the public domain has different values. Using marketing as a coherent set of ideas does not necessarily mean that the traditional strengths of understanding customer satisfaction are suppressed. Only the aspect changes - from commercial to public. A marketer providing a 'public service' does not pursue profit, does not take entrepreneurial risk. The parameters of the quality of the goods provided take on characteristics such as fairness, accountability, impartiality and broad insight or information. In the public interest, public (budgetary) resources are sacrificed in this way. Today, the public sector in advanced economies represents a huge agenda of the institutional model. In our country, too, elements of marketing are gradually being taken over by the public sector. However, it is still the case that their representation is marginal compared to the productive sphere, i.e. the provision of commercial goods and services. Critics of efforts to change this argue that marketing approaches are 'tailored' for the commercial sphere. On the other hand, there are claims that the application of specific marketing and management methods to nonprofit organizations is not losing its relevance. (Majdúchová, 2004) The truth will be somewhere "in the middle". Each of these marketing approaches requires the use of specific tools and an understanding of the differences in the objectives pursued. The trend of the last 20 years, consisting in the growing importance of the public economy, has opened up the potential for the public sector to operate on par with the growth of consumerism. Strategies for social development have been adopted with the assumption of using modern marketing techniques. Marketing is now seen as an essential part of the functioning and management of the public sector. The tools, methods and approaches of marketing basis have already been established in the public sector.

In the conditions of the Slovak Republic these were mainly monitoring and quality assessment. Many second and third sector organizations, especially those that are funded solely from budgetary resources, are realizing that strategic marketing can help to address two challenges. The first is the challenge of meeting political expectations from elected mandates. The second is meeting the needs of stakeholders, especially citizens, in response to delivering on promises to recoup the costs of taxation in the form of the provision of quality public goods. It should be emphasized that in modern public systems, a shift in streamlining towards a more

manager-oriented model is inevitable. It is not just about seeking economy and efficiency while maintaining quantity and quality. Of course, the business-oriented marketing approach needs to be modified. The adoption of marketing-driven practices and related management concepts with proper adaptation can enhance the actionability of public sector entities.

One of the biggest obstacles to the effective application of marketing in the public sector is the lack of understanding of the different starting points of marketing and how each can contribute to building relational capital. Relational capital is a key component of intellectual capital. It contains the information and communication relationships between all those involved in economic activity. This capital is crucial because it is used to build market position. Only knowledge, or intellectual capital, represents the potential of the activities of the entity in question. Knowledge management is a dynamic element that has the ability to generate and add new value to the original resource. (Vymětal, Diačiková, Váchová, 2006) It is also important to identify the individual aspects of competences, the management of which cannot be done without appropriate knowledge.

A large part of public sector entities offers goods and services free of charge and part on a fee-for-service basis. (Madill, 1998) In the first case, financing is provided by a transfer from budgetary resources. In the second case, the system is set up to ensure full or partial cost recovery or on a profit basis. However, it is always in support of basic public welfare programs. Marketing in this context is not very different from that practiced in the private sector. By the nature of the way it works, many public sector entities use mainly communication or promotion as opposed to the other traditional 'P's of the marketing mix such as product, price, place. Many of them use so-called communication plans as the basic framework of marketing. The often-perceived negative image of marketing used in the public sphere can be attributed to the fact that many managers equate marketing with advertising only. Understanding that all the tools and concepts of the marketing mix are aspects of a comprehensive marketing strategy is essential in the gradual introduction of marketing in the public sphere.

A well-designed marketing strategy that considers the characteristics of how the public sector operates can greatly help an entity to serve its stakeholders well. The common unwillingness of public providers to accept the differences in purposes, conditions, roles, and expectations that differentiate them from private sector businesses leads to a failure to deliver on their objectives. Unfortunately, an inappropriate or ill-conceived public marketing programme is a common phenomenon.

The traditional concept of marketing is often seen as ineffective or inappropriate for public service providers. Despite this starting premise, the pressure of social development

causes the public sector to adapt to the requirements and expectations of implementing practices used in the private or business sphere. There are still criticisms of such pressure, but most critics now admit that it is possible to explore the possibility of applying specific forms of marketing to different areas of public services, by classifying individual public services based on the interaction between provider and user. Although they reject the commercial marketing concept, at least in its traditional commercial forms. However, among experts in the functioning of the public sector, this marketing concept is perceived in terms of originality and relevance in the delivery of quality public services. (Walsh, 1991; Caruana, Ramaseshan, & Exing, 1997) Principles in the delivery of public services such as directness, openness, distinctiveness, and clarity are emphasized. Some authors point out the exaggerated and purposeful pathetic behavior in the delivery of public services. (Laing, McKee, 2001) Looking objectively, we find that the public sector in postmodern economies tends to use quasi-marketing mechanisms in the structures of methods. It is necessary to repeatedly re-evaluate the potential contribution of marketing concepts to the delivery of public services. (Saltman, Otter, 1995; Day, Reynolds, Lancaster, 1998) An example of the clear implementation of marketing in public procurement and competitive tendering processes is the so-called PPP method.

In a commercial, i.e. business plan, efficiency is built on minimizing costs in order to maximize profit. It must not be forgotten that a prerequisite for this efficiency is an adequate or appropriate competitive environment. In business, in addition to the principle of the minimum cost of inputs (which is a relative term in view of the necessity of investment), the entrepreneur tries to achieve efficiency, i.e. the principle of the maximum of quantitative and qualitative output in the form of profitability. In the context of the stated aim of bringing about social welfare, it is appropriate to speak of economy in the non-commercial sphere (the public sector). Obligatory expenditure on the provision of public goods is efficient if it meets the criteria of justification. Instead of profit, which is systemically excluded, the benefit of the functioning of these entities is social welfare. In practice, the commercial and public aspects of operation are often intertwined, which logically causes permanent complications. The very complexity of the contradictory relationship of profit versus social welfare often evokes incorrectly accepted or interpreted conclusions. A prime example is the insight into the problem of competition. The effects of competition in the market environment of commercial activities are quite understandable and can be seen fundamentally in the context of profitability. In the public sector, the situation is more complex. The establishment of these institutions, so to speak by law, is not permissible in many cases. In other cases, it has a special regime of operation and, at the de-ethatised (private) level, is almost identical to the commercial sphere.

The efforts of business circles have a natural tendency to present the private sector in the context of the highest possible efficiency, i.e. the optimality of quality management processes. The management practices and culture of management styles are generally intended to ensure the smooth running of both commercial and non-commercial bases. With the progress of development, a new *terminus technicus* is emerging in the management of public institutions under the label of 'new public management'. This relatively new concept of 'public management' arose out of the need to respond to evolving theories of management in the public sector. (Pollitt, 1993; Kearsey, Varey, 1998) The main motive was to differentiate the relationships in the company-customer and public provider-citizen linkages. Traditional management approaches have been faulted for not showing sufficient concern and precision in perceiving the distinctive characteristics of the public sector. (Ferlie et al., 1996) In the very essence of the existence of a relationship, expressed in terms of the principles of citizenship with myriad interconnections in society, a part of the population is the recipient and the other the provider of public goods. With the increasing rate or volume of economic activities of the public economy, the pressure to increase the rights of the users, i.e. the citizens, is intensifying. These rights can be looked at individually as well as collectively. (Laing, Hogg, 2002) Policy direction and initiatives in modern economies have been accompanied by a steady increase in expectations from citizens over the past three decades.

The center of gravity of these socio-economic trends is shifting from the original collective rights to gradually particularized individual civil rights. (Abercombie, 1994; Harris, 1999) It is interesting that in the context of these objectively observed changes there is still a reluctance of many public sector institutions (in Slovakia and in other countries) to accept the concept of marketing as a means of understanding, non-conflict and management in an environment where the market mechanism and consumer laws are replaced by a politically planned process of building a civil society. This reluctance can be partly attributed to the dominance of economic interests, partly to cultural and historical contexts. The issue of the undesirable symbiosis of partocracy and oligarchy is well known. The sociological aspects should not be forgotten either. The mentality of the people is commonly underestimated. Popular perspectives on the development of society, and especially their political declarations, can ignore, and often do ignore, the theoretical contribution of the possible application of desirable marketing approaches. Of course, with the insight of marketing concepts capable of responding to the challenges confronting the activities of public sector institutions. In conjunction with this, and in the context of the conceptual formulation presented, there is a need to select relevant marketing tools that are actionable in a civic consumer setting. (Scrivens,

1991) Although managers operating in public sector settings are increasingly using marketing concepts in model constructs of public service delivery, the result is, paradoxically, a frequent failure to translate these organizational approaches into reality.

The persistent reluctance of management to embrace marketing concepts in the public sector seems to reflect a deep-seated philosophy of antipathy towards marketing as a commercial tool. This dispute over the very interpretation of the concept of marketing is identical to similar disputes of a scientific nature. The basic concepts of marketing are conventionally regarded as purely commercial and thus appear confrontational to the public sector ethos. Perceived in this way, they "undermine" the theoretical and especially the application tendencies in implementation in postmodern economic systems. In doing so, marketing concepts can be considered, at least on a theoretical level, to be identical and to operate in conformity with democratic values, in that they underline the role of individual decision-making. (Roberto, 1991; Butler, Collins, 1995) On the whole, a compelling argument for the rejection of marketing principles by public sector stakeholders is based on their vision, resting on the understanding that public offerings are unique and authentic, not to be associated in any way with commercial activities, nor with the notion of marketing. **Walsh** (1991) pointed out the fundamental differences between the public and private sectors (which he refers to as the marketing sector) from a public management perspective. He argues in terms of the parameters of the products that are provided as well as situational differences. He is one of many authors who also emphasize the ethical framework. Ethics in behavior, while a common condition, is a highly polemical category. Even economists themselves are aware that the basic building blocks of a market economy - demand, supply and competition - create a workable economic model only if elements of a moral nature (trust, certainty, honesty, integrity, reliability, etc.) are embedded in it. It is undeniable that the ethical framework for the behavior of all the actors involved fundamentally influences the dynamics and quality of the functioning of the political system. In the context of the ethical context thus perceived, the commercial and public definitions of marketing are relatively equivalent. An actor's approach to customers and citizens in an ethical and honest manner is a welcome added value in both commercial and non-commercial approaches. If marketing is to be of benefit to the public sphere, then it is essential to speak in language that is understandable and does not cause misunderstanding. The nature of marketing as a tool for market promotion must be rethought if it is to be used in the public sector. Otherwise, marketing can become a vague imitation of a commercial approach and thus negate the public service mission.

Such a view of the issue resonates commonly in the relevant marketing management literature. (Lamb, 1987, Eliassen, Kooiman, 1993) Despite some and understandable differences of opinion, the dominant consensus is that, public marketing will always be different from any application of marketing in the private sector. The question arises to what extent it is possible to adapt the core contribution of public marketing concepts to express the specific context of public sector operation. Embedded in the context of this question is the dilemma of whether the degree of inherent in public services provided on a private or de-ethatised basis is the determining criterion for judging the distinctiveness of public and commercial practices. In modern economies, there is a significant proportion of public services provided on a private basis. Here again we ask whether public goods as a category can be considered fundamentally distinct and unique. A significant emphasis in this emerging debate on the role and contribution of marketing in the public sector has been elucidated by authors since the second half of the 1970s. (Shostack, 1977, Gronroos, 1990, Sasser, Olsen, Wyckoff, 1978, Donnelly, George, 1981, Levittt, 1976) The growing public service sector in Western economies faced increasing demands and requirements from citizens in the 1960s and especially in the 1970s. During this period, the volume of so-called alternative economic activities outside the traditional, competitive or business environment was growing rapidly. In direct connection with the growing demands of citizens or clients, the importance of 'consumerism' is increasing. These processes have resulted in the early development of citizens' initiatives (Citizens Charters) and later in the establishment of legal frameworks for the protection of consumer/citizens' rights. Along with the growing diversity of public services, the emphasis on the need to control the processes of provision and the quality of public services has grown. A parallel process was the consideration of the possibility of applying marketing concepts previously strictly applied only to consumer markets. In an attempt to respond to the challenges of the times, we find the birth of new so-called social concepts of development. The constitution of new and diametrically different models of functioning of economic systems created real preconditions to incorporate elements of marketing into the system. These processes were naturally reflected in the overall change in the behavior of the participating economic entities. The naming of the cross-cutting parts of marketing is only a logical consequence. Non-profit, public, state and non-commercial are terms reflecting the essence of these changes. However, this does not imply clarity of meaning in their use, all the more so because the environment is at times more, at other times less, market or commercial. The strength of the market mechanism or the exclusion of the market mechanism determines the adaptability of currents in marketing. Taking into account the specifics of market or business conditions, it is possible to find a relevant naming of

marketing as well as its actual application. (Fisk, Brown, Bitner, 1993) Even after several decades, it is problematic to define the content, conceptually, as well as substantively the principles of the marketing concept reflecting the essence of the functioning of public sector organizations. An even greater necessity in terms of the search for definitions and characteristics of the public sector is to determine the extent to which the current development of marketing issues can be useful in the continuously changing structural and cultural context of global development. (Graham, 1994) In post-modern economies, the public sector is perceived in the full constructed breadth of the range of different activities against the background of integration processes. The process of interconnectedness and unification of humanity has reached the highest - planetary level. The nations and states of the world are now integrated into large civilizational or politico-economic groupings that compete for power and influence. (Koper, 2004) There is also a growing trend of public goods provision under the leadership of de-nationalized, i.e. de-ethatized forms. There is a constant debate about which types of public goods should be provided in a private way and to what extent. We observe phenomena in which most public goods are selected according to their material nature. The core of utility is the expected benefit or effect, regardless of the material nature of the public good. The benefit, i.e. the core utility, of a public good is determined by the political process. Political dominance in deciding the shape of the public sector is by its very nature. The complication is the inherent interplay of political and economic motives in the behavior of politicians. The difference or conflict of interest between the stated and actual objectives of political decisions is obvious. This can best be seen in the elevation of human or civil rights principles over economic ones.

Inherent in the functioning of the social system is the inherent typology of the state, the political regime, the model of functioning of political parties, the classification of political systems and electoral systems. There is widespread acceptance of the key feature of public goods. The point is that the substantive justification of their benefits cannot be confined in autonomous technical terms. An important principle of the interdisciplinary relationship so understood is that the individual components must perform an integrating function. The scientific conclusions as a result of the investigation then do not contain unilateral but multifaceted findings. Politics has to fulfil the mission of an irreplaceable moral guarantee. What is economically beneficial for the system should come second, what is right and good for society should come first. (Koper, 2004) Politics and economics are two spheres of social practice that cannot work against each other, but must interact, interpenetrate and connect. The connection between politics and economics is not automatic; history provides us with much

evidence that at certain historical stages politics developed without respect for economic laws. This usually brought economic misery and cultural regression. (Kulašik, 2007) The provision of a public range of goods in a standard and centralized manner is common in the public sector of advanced economies and an integral part of political agendas. The social profile of policy models corresponds to social capital, which is the so-called canny benefit that affects society as a whole through the provision of public services. The most frequently cited examples are the education levels of the population in building knowledge societies and improving the health status of the population. These and other priorities are contained in the so-called social policy. This implies an elementary effort to focus on the broader concept of social welfare over and above the individual benefit motives of the profitability of commercial interests. The prevalence of social concepts leads to both the blanket provision of public goods in modern economies, from which no one can be excluded (the stowaway principle), and also to a segmentation approach called targeting.

In general, segmentation is the starting point for the development of a successful marketing strategy. Its primary objective is to secure a market position or situation that highlights the company's strengths and at the same time overshadows the strengths of competitors or induces a state of availability of products (goods). Segmentation in the narrower sense is the division of the market into different groups of customers/citizens who prefer/expect different products or marketing approaches. It consists in the optimal division of the market into homogeneous parts, market segments, which become the target market with a specific marketing approach. In a broader sense, we consider targeting the target market (targeting) and trying to gain a competitive advantage (positioning) as part of segmentation.

The issue of target group segmentation has also become part of management in the public sector. It can be found in the concepts of the so-called new public management. It resonates, among other things, with the issue of equality or fairness. The search for answers has a fundamental impact on the managerial approach in terms of the decisions taken. With regard to this kind of public goods portfolio management, it is important to define relevant and socially acceptable criteria. The socially determined requirement of building the public sector is characterized by a direct link to political events. Political regulation and political accountability is (compared to the private sector) more pronounced in the functioning of the public sector. The essence lies in the differently defined legal subjectivity and economic autonomy of public and private activities (Šulajová, Králik, 2001). The providers of public goods are usually entities with direct political connections or nominations of at least top managers. The private sector is

generally characterized by an autonomous management regime and organizational structure. The inevitable consequence is accountability for the resulting management effects.

The need for a differentiated managerial approach in the different commercial and public environments is, among other things, triggered by the different behavioral and psychographic factors of the target segments. There is a logical argument that the psychology of the behavior of the ordinary citizen-voter is incomparably more complicated compared to understanding the psychology of consumer behavior. Despite these differences, it is possible to identify a number of overlapping dimensions of citizen and consumer behavior. The expectations of the population can be encompassed by a collective philosophy that places primary emphasis on societal priorities of public interest that are elevated above the individual needs and rights of the population (Králik, Masár, 2015). The societal concept emphasizes equal access to all citizens regardless of race, gender, and purchasing power. The main purpose and idea is to create social welfare of the population which is superior to the elements of individual interest. However, the private motives of pursuit of profit and provision of public benefit are systemically driven to mutual acceptance in the form of accepted democratic consensus. Civic pressure, manifested in voter behavior, is considered in part to be the product of an inverse relationship between the use of public goods and the opportunity sacrificed in the form of acceptance of the tax burden. Acceptance of the tax burden as a counterweight to the use of public goods is a prerequisite for building social welfare in modern democracies. Splitting the relationship between opportunity sacrifice and public goods leads to a dead end. By harmonizing sacrifice and comfort in society in a non-conflicting way, we can establish a so-called social reconciliation. It is a concept that captures the political project of social democracy. In this endeavor, the actors are seeking compromises between the interests of different social groups.

This relationship raises questions of cost, which is undoubtedly a fundamental determinant of the behavior of users of public services in terms of citizenship or consumerism. The question is whether this distinction between citizenship and consumerism comes from the relevance of differences in the mentality of users or differences in the nature of utility extraction. The civic motive is different from the consumer motive, but they are unquestionably intertwined in the very essence of human nature. On one hand, we are witnessing an ever-increasing emphasis on the individuality of the customer, or reflecting their increasing demands; on the other, we are witnessing the building of socially just systems. Public goods are not homogeneous; they are characterized by a high degree of diversity. Understanding the

nature of public goods is a prerequisite for the successful application of marketing concepts in the public sector.

3.   Models of Public Policy Creation

The Coordination Group model combines the work of the Coordination Group and specific working groups. Most of the work and responsibility in public policy making rests with the coordination group, which is composed of the most active key stakeholders and typically has between 10 and 30 members. It is important that all stakeholders affected by an issue find a person in the coordination group whom they trust and who represents their interests in their eyes. The coordination group goes through the steps from analyzing the current situation, to naming strategic areas, to proposing concrete actions and interventions (the specific process depends very much on the content of the public policy, so it is not possible to describe it in detail here). At some stages of the discussion, the Coordination Group creates specific working groups to prepare the basis for its analysis of specific aspects of the problem or to propose possible alternatives for solutions. In this way, it not only addresses the lack of expertise within the coordination group, but at the same time broadens the range of experts and stakeholders who are actively involved in public policy making. In addition, the coordination group usually decides on the way forward, including how to communicate with different institutions, interest groups or the public. (Masár, 2010)

Working groups can be used in the analytical phase of the process to collect and analyze information on specific topics and can be organized according to these topics, e.g. a working group on social services for retired people, a working group on services for employed mothers of children under 3, a working group on services for long-term unemployed people. The sub-results are then presented by the working groups to the coordination group and are often supplemented by suggestions for new issues that they have come across in their data analysis. Once a particular phase of the process has been completed, it is then up to the coordination group to decide whether to use the same working groups for follow-up or to create new ones, for example based on a new thematic or geographical breakdown. The creation of working groups allows for the addition of expertise needed either to propose alternative solutions or to understand specific aspects of the problem, while not requiring narrowly focused experts or heavily burdened people to participate in the entire process.

The conference model is an option to organize the process, it is a combination of joint conferences and working groups. This model is appropriate when the number of stakeholders

to be involved in the problem is large (somewhere between 50 and 200 people) and also the time to implement the process is relatively short. In such a case, the conference programme can be inspired by one of the methods for large groups, such as open space or world café. The process implemented through conferences is usually shorter, but all the more intensive in terms of preparation and the number of tasks that need to be completed in a few hours of the conference. (Novotný, 2011) The process then continues for several weeks between conferences by working in working groups, for which specific stakeholders are most often responsible. In this model, after all the preparatory steps, the planning group convenes a large joint conference, which may last one or two days, during which the stakeholder group adopts a draft joint planning process and implements the first phase of the process. As in the previous case, the specific sequence of steps during the conference depends on the problem and the type of process. However, in contrast to the coordination group model, in the conference model it is appropriate to form working groups of stakeholders at the very first conference. This will allow a group too large for one joint discussion to be divided into smaller working groups according to the priorities of the participants. The composition of the working groups is usually determined by the self-selection of the participants. The process initiator (or planning group) can offer coordinators to the working groups to provide logistics and meeting minutes. The members of the working groups can then concentrate fully on the content of their working group. The working groups should have the space to meet for the first time and agree on the way forward while still on the conference agenda. After an agreed time for the working groups to work (on the order of 2 to 6 months), a second joint conference is held to present the preliminary results of the working groups' work, coordinate joint action on overlapping topics, discuss the way forward, and, where appropriate, dissolve or add working groups according to the results of the discussion. The conference and subsequent working group phases are repeated two to four times after a common outcome has been reached. Once planning is complete, conferences may be repeated at annual intervals to monitor the implementation of the joint plan. The type of topic addressed will influence whether the conferences convened are open to all interested parties or whether only invited stakeholders can attend. In any case, the broader stakeholder group should also be kept informed of the process and have "points of entry" into the process. This can also be done by making at least some of the conferences open to all interested parties.

The negotiating team model is appropriate for topics where interest groups/teams naturally form and where these teams are willing to negotiate their demands. Each team first names its own goals and interests independently and then acts as one side of the negotiation

during joint meetings. The model works best when the number of teams is small (3 to 5 is a reasonable number) and when each team has well-defined and mutually compatible interests. Individual teams need time before joint meetings for team discussions and agreements on the way forward, and to meet the people or organizations they represent in the negotiations. Teams need to review progress to date and the partial agreements reached and to gain authority for next steps. Negotiating teams can form working groups to prepare the team's basis for negotiation, either by gathering the necessary information to argue for their demands or by developing alternative offers. Working groups allow other people and experts to be involved in the process. A typical example of the use of this model is tripartite bargaining (trade unions, employers and the state).

Once the model has been selected, the process can be continued by carrying out participatory activities, informing through the public media, the website, through press conferences, publishing information about the chosen process design, its timing, informing about activities that are open to the public. This information should also include making all available documentation on the intended/prepared public policy easily accessible to all citizens - i.e. not only in designated places, at short notice, etc. Regardless of the specific design of the process, the focus of the process and common operating rules need to be agreed at the outset by key stakeholders (e.g. within the coordination group). The basic framework for the discussion is the preliminary formulation of the purpose of the process as defined by the sponsor or the planning group. At the first joint meeting, it is usually necessary to discuss and agree on the objectives and outputs of the process and to agree on the process design prepared by the external consultant.

To ensure the success of the process, it is important that key stakeholders commit to long-term active participation. They are usually only willing to do this if the formulated objective matches their priorities and sounds reasonably ambitious in relation to the time and money invested. Deciding on the final shape of public policy (deciding to include results in policy making) and formulating commitments. In this scenario, it is important to formally confirm the agreement of stakeholders through a procedure that is appropriate for the adoption of public policy, e.g. a government resolution, a parliamentary vote on a bill. However, formal procedures, such as inter-ministerial or parliamentary comments, may still alter the final form of public policy. Informing the public of the resulting policy is an expected agenda. The same means of communication can be used for this as in the previous steps of the process. It is also effective to respond to routine public comments and to explain whether and how they have been incorporated or why they have not been taken into account. Public opinion cannot be

underestimated. The *"sympathizers of direct or participatory democracy permanently reject and criticize the representative model of democracy, which leads to considerations about its replacement or improvement through the expansion of forms of citizen participation in decision-making processes, whether by introducing various tools of direct democracy, from referenda, inclusive deliberative forums, through e-democracy, etc."* (Kováčová, S. Kováčová E., 2023, p. 34).

This public information should not be a one-off act and should be made available through a variety of sources (public media, press conferences, internet).

The evaluation of the policy-making process is the same as in all four scenarios. Putting these four scenario-models into practice can empower citizens in governance, strengthen the public's decision-making power in public policy-making, and help the rise of citizen satisfaction with societal events. When making decisions about public affairs, it is desirable that those who have the power to make policy decisions proactively justify them to the public, explaining their rationale, the mechanisms of action for change, and the objectives pursued. Since the values and interests of different parts of the political representation, as well as the interests of different parts of the population, are often contradictory, the aim of the practice is not to reach a consensus (consensus) at the level of values, but to understand this diversity of underlying principles and to seek reciprocally acceptable practical actions (policies) that capture the common interests of actors in the public space, e.g. promotion of health, respect for human rights, law enforcement, etc.

Conclusion

In modern economic systems, the use of commercial and public marketing is an integral part of it. As we know, so-called mixed economic platforms are relevant. In them, there are a number of modified perspectives on the search for optimization of a complicated social system in a tangle of economic, social and political axioms. In defining the mission of the functioning of the public sector, which is permanently reinforcing in contemporary economies, new problems are constantly being layered. Despite global developments, these vary according to the specific economic conditions of a given society. Global developments rather complicate the situation, while the opposite should be the case in the supposed homogenization of the environment. Parameters of functioning public sector deal with countless teams of experts across the range of social sciences. The reflection of social interest and the social expectations

of citizens play a key role in the creation of modern social systems. In these complex processes, marketing activities of both classical, i.e. commercial, and increasingly non-commercial significance find their application. They are used systematically as a set of institutional processes in the public sector. They are supposed to satisfy the demands of citizens in building the much-touted social welfare. In the current situation, where public institutions are under increasing societal pressure to be responsive to public opinion or expectations, regardless of the nature of the public satisfaction of needs, the need to implement public marketing has its justification. The tools of modern marketing are branched into commercial character and public mission. The marketing tools applied in the public sector must reflect the expectations of citizens in such a way as to ensure that the political decisions of the power structures can be translated into the activity and content of the functioning of the public sphere. This is almost always linked to the dilemmas of public decision-making. We are witnessing a fundamental dispute in the search for value priorities in modern society. This is a cardinal reason why marketing in the public sector is becoming highly relevant. The implementation of marketing in the way of building social welfare is in the public interest, the use of marketing of this alternative is generally welcomed in this sense.

The traditional model of homogeneously conceived traditional marketing is changing into a heterogeneous one with a significant strengthening of public marketing. A public marketer providing public welfare attributes as part of his or her activities does not and cannot pursue economic profit. It does not take entrepreneurial risks, profitability as a financial indicator of its activities is an alternative to the expected positive or balanced economic result and justified costs. The quality parameters of the public goods provided take on characteristics such as fairness, accountability, impartiality and information. In the public interest, public, i.e. budgetary, resources are thus justifiably sacrificed. In conclusion, it should be emphasized that in modern economic systems with a strong anchoring of public subsystems, a shift towards a more efficient functioning of society as a whole is inevitable or vital. Modern marketing, meaningfully formulated and, above all, rationally applied, can play a positive role in this journey. If those who are competent and involved understand the essence of the effective application of such marketing in the public sector, there will undoubtedly be a synergistic effect.

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ELECTORAL SYSTEM AS A DETERMINANT OF STRATEGIC VOTING

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Abstract

The main goal of the paper is to point out the essence and theoretical aspects of strategic voting in the electoral selection process. So that the declared statements concerning the strategic position of political actors do not remain anchored only on a theoretical level, we will point out the inclination to this type of behavior on a specific example of selected elections in the Slovak Republic. Because the strategic behavior in the majority system seems particularly interesting, in order to prove the presence of these tactics in our political realities, we will outline this fact, based on the model example of the elections in the Banská Bystrica self-governing regions in 2017. The mission of the paper is to prove that it is important to know the electoral system according to which the voter can adapt his decisions so that his election vote is effective and not forfeited. A descriptive, comparative method, an analytical method and a knowledge synthesis method were used in writing the article.

Key words: *elections, strategic voting, electoral system, voter, self-governing region,*

Introduction

A specific determinant of voting behavior is the type of electoral system, because its mechanism incorporates the power of indirect guidance to strategic voting. From a terminological point of view, strategic, sophisticated, insincere, or tactical voting can be considered synonymous terms to express the situation when the voter does not vote for the political party, coalition, or candidate with which he most identifies, but chooses a different preference in the process of electoral decision-making.

The study of strategic voting received considerable attention, primarily in the branch of North American political science (**T.R. Palfrey** 1989, **T. Fedderson** 1992, **G.W. Cox** 1997, **R.M. Alvarez, J. Nagler,** 2000, K. **Kollman** 2004), which adopted the approaches of rational choice theory, which it carries an element of egoism (Jarabinský, Chytilek, 2016).

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Electoral systems define the rules on the basis of which a political party, a coalition, or a specific candidate becomes the political winner of an electoral contest, and they also have a mechanical effect on election results, because they define the way and procedures by which electoral votes are recalculated and transformed into the form of specific mandates.

However much more interesting is their psychological effect, which is decisive within the voting itself, because the characteristics of the electoral system play a decisive role in the question of how much the voter will be inclined to make a tactical choice and suppress the real preference,for example because of the fear of possible loss of voice.

Voters and political candidates, who are part of the political competition in order to achieve the desired election result are inclined towards strategic attitudes, resulting from the setting of the electoral system. This issue is the main focus of this paper.

1 The basis of strategic voting in theoretical contexts

In its essence, strategic voting has an element of rationality embedded in it, which is visible in the choice of an alternative, which is sometimes the second, third, or even fourth most preferred option, in the case of concern about the forfeiture of the voter's vote. Often the voter prefers to choose a media-preferred political party, coalition, or a candidate who achieves the required quorum of electability in the polls at the expense those actors with whom, although he sincerely identifies, but they do not have sufficient voter support in the pre-election period in public opinion polls.

In order to avoid an ineffective vote, the tactical voter will lean towards a stronger party, coalition or a specific candidate in his choice, even against his will. But if there is a real chance that even a small number of votes cast for political actors can be modified in the form of obtaining a specific mandate, then the voter has no doubts to vote otherwise than honestly. In general, the psychological effect of electoral legislation leads to sophisticated behavior that is "*based on the assumption of the rationality of actors who know how to foresee the expected consequences of electoral laws and adapt to them*" (Rybář, 2011, p. 47). Elections can be defined as an instrument of public policy and their role is to elect parliamentary representatives. The formal aspects of electoral systems fulfill the basic principles of democracy and symbolize an important part of the normative starting points that support the development and progress of civil society.

In a majority electoral system, the choice of party is often linked to the choice of the government itself, because the system has a strongly reductive effect on the number of parties and the government tends to alternate between two parties, which usually create a stable

majority and do not need to conclude coalition alliances with other entities. In the proportional electoral system, which is based on a larger number of parties, the situation is more complicated, because there re three types of situations, when the winning political party :

1. is able to create a one-color government

2. is part of the government coalition

3. is unable to form a government.

Awareness of possible variants is a stimulus for different model positions of voting behavior. In studies of strategic voting, the discourse is about defining the environment within which this type of voting takes place. The inclination towards a sophisticated choice is according to the initial studies of **M. Duverger** and **G.W. Cox** is especially prominent in majoritarian electoral systems, because a simple or supermajority is needed to obtain a mandate. Insincere voting, in the ambition to achieve the most favorable results, cannot be excluded even from a proportional and mixed electoral system, but its intensity depends on several variables that are specific to the country with the adopted electoral system. The scientific works of **G. Sartori** or **A. Gibbard** are proof of the presence of strategic voting in all electoral systems. In the context of a proportional electoral system, the sophisticated vote is directly proportional to the size of the electoral quorum, which is important for obtaining a mandate. The higher the percentage quorum means the higher tactical voting and resorting to voting for less preferred candidates in order to avoid an undesirable outcome. The element of rationality is often called into question precisely in the proportional electoral system, as pointed out by **A. Downs** in his research, with an undertone of skeptical perception of strategic orientation. The mixed electoral system, in which K. Bawn or T. Gschwend analyzed this issue, must not be forgotten either (Jarabinský, Chytilek, 2016).

Not only the attitude of voters, but also the attitude of aspiring candidates towards electoral tactics is modified and adapted under the influence of the electoral system, which is visible in their own presentation, political campaign management, or inclination towards coalition groups, etc.. As a result of the intensity of pre-election marketing, voters have a tendency be influenced by the pre-election campaign, which helps them evaluate the electoral chances of individual candidates, or political parties and coalitions. Creating a political image by self-assessing the options often leads the voter to disingenuous electoral voting. Public opinion polls are an important tool for mapping the development of political preferences in the pre-election period, which can significantly contribute to changing the voter's electoral decision, by hidden incitement to a calculated choice, for example in the already mentioned

situation, if the voter's interest is primarily tied to the party that in the polls does not have strong voter support. As a result of the system setup, the rational voter is able to evaluate the situation and very quickly realizes that if his preferred political actor does not get enough voter support, so it means that his vote will lose its importance and therefore purposefully modifies his choice.

The dimension of strategic voting does not combine with voting for the probable election winner caused by the *bandwagon effect*, when the voter has a tendency to obey the opinions of the crowd and thus preferentially support the strongest candidate, while at the same time ignoring the opposite *underdog effect*, the essence of which is to vote against strong candidates and save less favored political actors (Hodgson, Maloney, 2013).

In the social spectrum, there is also a significant presence of a group of permanent and loyal voters who prefer the true expression of their identity, faith, and ideology, and thus will resort to honest voting even at the cost that their sympathizer has no real chance to succeed in a competitive place. With their decision, they consciously deviate from tactical voting, because if they succumbed to it, they would deny their identity.

The prerequisite for conducting a sophisticated election and evaluating the consequences of decisions is undoubtedly information and basic knowledge of the electoral system and its impact on the redistribution of mandates. However, it is questionable to what extent the information that the voter acquires is really relevant and correct, and he can work with it in such a way as to achieve the desired effect with his choice. In the elections, the tactical voter becomes part of the so-called The Bayesian game, the essence of which consists in the subjective evaluation of information about the truth of which the voter cannot be sure, because it is not known with certainty. "*The subjective perception of probability ignores the objective state of the world, but understands probability as an expression of the degree of certainty about the validity of our beliefs*" (Démuth, 2013, p. 33). Within the game, the voter formulates expectations about the voter preferences of other participants, although he is not fully aware of their ways of strategic thinking. "*The voter thus creates expectations about the expectations of other voters based on incomplete information. The rate of strategic voting is thus often influenced by the phenomenon of pious expectation (wish) of the voter*" (Dančišin, 2015, p. 107).

In addition to the mentioned wasted vote effect, when the voter chooses a different preference due to the fear of losing his vote, the main types of strategic voting can include: (Jarabinský, Chytilek, 2016)

• *Rental vote*: the motive for using the strategy is the election of a specific coalition. The essence is to support a smaller political party that can be a potential coalition partner of a strong party.

• *Balancing strategy*: the voter tends to choose this strategy because of the balance of power between the expected political parties of the government coalition.

• *Strategic sequencing*: in the ambition to influence which of the actors of the election contest will have the main say in the creation of the government, the voter resorts to this type of strategy, which is applied in a balanced election contest.

The mentioned differentiation is about the sophisticated choice of the voter in relation to the political party. The choice of a specific strategy depends on the goal that the voter is aiming for in the political competition and on his motivation, within which the voter must clearly identify the impulses that will influence the choice of strategy. For example, a balancing strategy can be chosen to achieve the most preferred goal, which is either the election of a political party or a coalition.

2 Strategic voting in the majority electoral system in the Slovak Republic

In 2017, two amendments to the electoral code were adopted by overriding the presidential veto, one of which introduced a single-round election of chairmen of self-governing regions and the other temporarily extended the term of office of deputies and chairmen of self-governing regions to five years, so that the regional and municipal elections in 2022 would be implemented in the same day.

At the beginning of the interpretation, we emphasize that the new election rules do not apply to the conditions of active or passive right to vote. The change in the rules primarily affected the conditions for the election of the chairman of the self-governing region, and the originally applied absolute majority electoral system was replaced by a relative majority system. The provisions regulating the second election round were thus deleted from the electoral code, with the exception of the case if two or more candidates received the same number of votes, which would exceed the number of other candidates in the order, which would subsequently lead to the announcement of new elections. The election of the chairman of the self-governing region was adjusted by the new law so that a majority of valid electoral votes is sufficient for his election. The meritorious argument of the supporters of the one-round election was primarily based on saving money and time.

In the context of the adopted law, we consider it important to point out the possible risks that the existence of a one-round election opened up. The legitimacy of the elected candidate is

not derived from the majority, but from the largest number of votes, which does not necessarily mean the majority. If there is a sufficiently large number of candidates, the final winner can also be the one who received only a single-digit result. Although in practice in our conditions it was true that the participation in the second decision-making round was generally lower in comparison with the first round, but in the total sum, in a significant majority of cases, the winners of the second round received a higher share of votes.

Therefore, we consider it a correct argument that the originally introduced two-round system reflected the will of the voters more representatively than the one-round system. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that, even in single-round elections, a situation may arise where the winning candidate would be elected by an overwhelming majority of voters. The impact of the new, single-round election in 2017 was the election of eight chairmen of self-governing regions, none of whom achieved more than half of voter support.

A single-round election cannot be considered an effective tool that would exclude extremist parties from the competitive struggle, because with a change in the electoral system comes a change in the candidate's electoral strategy. In 2017, the opposition parties SaS and OĽaNO were convinced that the one-round election, or the first-in-the-finish system, favors the candidates of extremist parties and that the abolition of the two-round election is a serious negative interference in the formation of a democratic society.

According to **M. Klus**, "*a two-round election in the democratic world is a proven way to get to the two candidates with the greatest chances of being elected, without the plurality of opinions and ideological diversity being crudely suppressed in the electoral competition. The two-round election increases the representativeness of the election result and ultimately eliminates candidates from the edge of the political spectrum. A one-round election, on the contrary, helps them*" (Kováčová, S., 2019, p. 190).

The following table summarizes the comparison of the aspects of the enforced one-round election, in comparison with the original two-round election.

Table no. 1: *Comparison of aspects of two-round and one-round elections of chairmen of self-governing regions*

	two-round election	single round election
legitimacy	it provides at least some guarantee of minimum legitimacy of the winner	it resigns to the ambition to ensure the minimum legitimacy of the winner
time factor	a more lengthy process compared to a one-round election	time saving
financial factor	more financially demanding decision-making compared to a one-round election	financial savings
promotion of candidates from the edge of the political spectrum/ extremist forces	less risk, creates limits for more extreme subjects	more significant risk, does not create any limits for more extreme entities

Souce: (processing by the author)

2.1 Strategic behavior of actors of public policy in Banská Bystrica self-governing region in 2017

The Banská Bystrica self-governing region faced the risk of the possible victory of the extremist candidate **M. Kotleba** in the first one-round elections in 2017, which created the very stimulus for strategic positions. The strong democratic instincts of the public, in the ambition to suppress the extremist force, translated into the highest turnout in comparison with other regions, and in the end, **M. Kotleba**, who finished second with 23.2% support, was defeated by the independent candidate **J. Lunter**, who received 48.5% (Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, 2017).

The inclination towards strategic voting was noticeable in these elections, which resulted in a more intensive mobilization of voters, unlike previous elections, who decided to participate only because of the elimination of the possible primacy of the former chairman of the Banská Bystrica self-governing region, as the condition of obtaining a supermajority was abolished. The change in the electoral mechanism thus positively contributed to the highest voter turnout in this region (40.29%), which, in general, did not symbolize an increase in public interest in the self-governing level, but was the result of an election against an unacceptable candidate.

There was also the non-traditional gesture of the political opposition, so-called Mičev's memorandum, because the high number of candidates meant the fragmentation of democratic forces. The essence of this specific tool led to the merging of political forces, when in order to reduce **M. Kotleba's** chances, some candidates gave up their candidacy in favor of the strongest candidate in public opinion polls (Kováčová, N., 2018).

On the other hand, the memorandum of cooperation was a dangerous political experiment that limited free political competition to a certain extent with the sole argument "because of

Kotleba", and since voters do not always tend to vote according to the prescribed pattern, there were reasonable concerns that the memorandum could have a counterproductive effect. However, the aforementioned concerns were not confirmed, and voter participation, which was an expression of the election "against someone", contributed to **J. Lunter's** victory. Probably, if **M. Kotleba** was not part of the political struggle, from a logical point of view, the voter turnout indicator would be lower and the strategic behavior of political actors would not gain such momentum. Based on the above, we can conclude that the introduction of a new, single-round election led to significant tactical concepts of political actors and to a higher rate of voter participation.

Conclusion

Adopting a disingenuous attitude towards election voting may not only be a reflection of the fear of losing the vote, but is often a symbol of punishing a political party for not fulfilling the goals and expectations it declared in the pre-election period. Paradoxically, if the alternative party to which the voter chose against his will in the elections is preferentially weak, his votes may ultimately belong to the group of losers. The intention of such a choice is the incentive of retribution.

If there is a significant amount of voters concentrated in the political spectrum who do not express their true preference in the elections, the election results are distorted.

We believe that it is important to approach the issue of strategic voting with care and caution. Before drawing strict judgments and conclusions, we must not abstract from a certain barrier, such as the unreality of getting to know the truly sincere preferences of all participants, which, together with the election results, are a condition for rigorous analysis due to the secrecy of the elections.

The power of the electoral system is visible in addition to its mechanical effects in its psychological, determining voter behavior. In the self-governing elections, we proved the presence of strategic behavior of voters and political candidates as an illustrative example, which was a consequence of the modification of the majority electoral system in the Slovak Republic, because the original two-round election of chairmen of self-governing regions was replaced by a single-round election in 2017. The inclination to strategic voting carried element of rationality and expediency.

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BOOK REVIEW: THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PUBLIC BUDGETS

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CÍBIK, L.: Teória a prax verejných rozpočtov. Trnava: Univerzita sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Trnave, 2022. 101 s. ISBN 978-80-572-0233-2.

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The scientific monograph entitled "Theory and Practice of Public Budgets" by Lukáš Cíbik deals with a seemingly well-known issue that, according to the author, affects the lives of all citizens, yet continuously raises many questions and often uncertainties or inconsistencies. Therefore, in my opinion, it is a highly relevant and crucial topic.

At the outset, I would like to note that the author is an established expert in the field under study, having devoted many years to this topic and keeping track of trends and changing approaches in this area. At the beginning of the book, he states that the publication addresses a "very frequent topic in political discussions and professional debates." According to him, every citizen should have at least basic knowledge and information about public budgets to be able to understand available information relevantly and, based on their own political arguments, potentially participate meaningfully in the creation of public budgets. The author also expresses his ambition to link "theoretical knowledge in the field of public finance, public economics, and public budgets and reflect their selected practical dimensions in EU countries and Slovakia."

Thus, the scientific monograph provides a comprehensive theoretical overview of the theory and practice of public budgets in Slovakia and also discusses the practical implications and impacts of borderline situations such as the Covid-19 pandemic.

The publication, comprising 101 pages divided into five logically connected chapters, offers a well-structured text that attracts readers interested in current developments in public administration and local self-government.

In the first chapter, the author aptly presents the current state of knowledge in the researched area, introduces public budgets as such, and provides systematic information about

the system, structure, and process of creating public budgets in Slovakia, complementing this information with the situation of public budgets in EU countries.

Subsequently, the author characterizes the budget classification and system and the criteria for the allocation of revenue sources and expenditure areas in Slovakia based on clearly defined international standards set by the International Monetary Fund. He also points out that "the obligation to apply budget classification applies to all public administration entities," a factor that he believes could ensure long-term transparency and consistency of budgets and simplify financial reporting through the presentation of income and expenses based on budget classification, thereby aiding in the estimation and management of future public finance developments.

In the third chapter, the author moves to the level of the EU budget, clarifies its setup and creation, and discusses Slovakia's position within it. He explains the development of the budget as well as the process of its approval and the legislative framework of this process. He assesses the balance of this budget, identifying influences on it and special tools and reserves. The second part of the third chapter is dedicated to the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) as a legal framework for coordinating national fiscal policies in the EU. According to the author, the task of this Pact is mainly to ensure sound public finances, which is a common interest of all EU member states. This chapter thus provides the reader with a comprehensive overview of the budgetary setup of EU public finances and encourages further effort to gain knowledge in this area.

The fourth chapter, rich in information, focuses on the state budget, which the author considers the most important tool of fiscal policy in the country, as it influences economic life through interventions in the market economy. He addresses the key determinants of state budget revenues and expenditures, its legislative definition, its relationship to the management system, and its significance as the government's basic operational program, expressed in numbers and approved by the highest legislative body. In defining the tasks of the state budget, the author also refers to the opinions of K. Beličková, E. Neubauerová, and M. Boór, who consider the state budget to be a "strategic tool, a summary of financial relations and financial operations of the state (government) in the process of creating, distributing, and using a centralized financial fund with the use of non-returnable and non-equivalent distribution." The author also defines the budget as the basic economic tool of financial policy, highlighting the necessity of its quality

preparation and setting. In this chapter, the author systematically organizes knowledge about the state budget, including a clear presentation of its definition, revenues, and expenditures, and the functioning of the state budget of Slovakia, which will undoubtedly benefit both the professional and, perhaps most importantly, the lay public.

In the fifth chapter, the author gradually works his way through the rules governing the public administration budget and the state budget in Slovakia. A particularly interesting and beneficial part of this chapter is the section dealing with the limits and restrictions of public administration debt in Slovakia, where he addresses deficiencies of past and current fiscal institutes, as well as issues such as "the tendency toward deficit, the absence of mechanisms ensuring the counter-cyclical nature of fiscal policy, information asymmetry, and insufficient credibility, inflexibility, and lack of transparency in the publication of relevant indicators," which, in my opinion, will be appreciated by authors of scientific and professional publications, students, and the professional public.

The publication is written in a clear and understandable manner, and I also appreciate the well-organized glossary of terms. Interested readers can also draw from the rich bibliography. The publication is intended for a wide range of users, including students, authors of professional and scientific publications, and the general public.

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III. SECTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

IMPACT OF BREXIT ON THE PERCEPTION OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND FRANCE

Monika DOBIÁŠOVÁ

Abstract:

Great Britain is the first member state to withdraw from the European Union. The world is expecting the economic, social, and political effects of Brexit, which will undoubtedly affect the perception of the unity of the European Union and European integration. This article aims to present Brexit in connection with European integration, to define the effects of Brexit and the further development of the European Union as one of the possible scenarios presented by the European Commission. At the same time, the article will analyze the subjective perception of the impact of Brexit on European integration from the position of Czech and French university students as representatives of the generation that will face the effects of Brexit and the potential threat of other member countries leaving the European Union in the coming decades.

Key words: *Brexit, European union, european integration, single market*

Introduction

The European Union (and especially its predecessor the European Community) was created as a direct response to the Second World War, when European states began to deal with the significant effects of this conflict, and at the same time began to realize the need to prevent wars in the future or the benefits of cooperation.

Today, the European Union represents a world-important community of 27 member states, The membership has its positives, primarily in terms of economic cooperation and access to the single market, but also negatives, mainly certain limitations in decision-making powers in pre-defined and agreed areas. The Czech Republic has been a member of the European Union since 2004, and France is even one of the founding states of the former European Community. The European Union embodies the idea of a common, strong, and united Europe.

Great Britain represented the third largest member state and at the same time one of the strongest national economies of the European Union. This case study focuses on Brexit in the context of how it has affected the perception of European integration by university students in the Czech Republic and France. University students represent a group of people who are affected by the withdrawal of Great Britain from the European Union not only at the economic,

social, and civic level as Europeans, but also at the educational level, when Brexit affected the overall availability of foreign higher education in Great Britain, the possibility of using student loans in this country, or the participation of Great Britain in exchange study programs (Erasmus+, cooperation between universities based on bilateral agreements, double degree programs, etc.). The country selection simultaneously includes a country that has historically kept and continues to keep a certain distance from Great Britain (France), but also a country for which Great Britain has been an important trading partner in the single market, both in terms of human capital and potential workforce, but also in terms of export and import (Czech Republic).

The text itself will work with available literary and electronic resources. Attention will be focused first on the importance of European integration for individual member states and the European Union, then on Brexit and its effects, and five scenarios for the possible further development of the European Union will also be mentioned as these were presented and described in the framework of the White Paper on the Future of Europe in 2017. Finally, the results of a quantitative research survey will be presented. This survey investigated how people in France and the Czech Republic, more precisely university students, view European integration concerning the withdrawal of Great Britain from the European Union.

1. European integration

European integration is based on close partnership, assistance, and cooperation of European states in various fields. It is also the base of the idea of the European Union. European integration can be perceived as a process during which a state is incorporated into the framework of the European Union, and individual member states are brought closer together at an economic, monetary, security, legal, social, or cultural level.

The creation of the European framework at mentioned levels entails the need to divide decision-making power between individual member states and the European Union. Three principles are used (Baldwin and Wyplosz, 2013):

- The principle of delegation of powers (fundamental starting point for the division of powers and competencies), mentions that member states will decide what powers will be entrusted to the European Union to achieve the set common goals,
- The principle of proportionality, mentions that the content and form of activities determine and frame the necessity of the actions of the European Union to achieve the goals agreed upon in the ratified treaties,

- The principle of subsidiarity, mentions that the European Union will and may intervene only in areas where it can act more effectively than individual member states at the national or local level.

From the mentioned principles it is clear that the distribution of decision-making power reflects the possibilities, abilities, interests, and goals of all involved.

Based on the set division, three groups of areas can be mentioned (Janatka, 2019):
- Areas with exclusive jurisdiction on the part of the member states (employment, education and training, industry, research and technical development, or tourism and culture). These areas must take into account the individual needs of each member state. This is also why the European Union only supports the policy of the member states with its activities,
- Areas with the common powers of the European Union and member states (the internal market, security, and law, as well as asylum policy, social policy, environment, transport and energy, or trans-European networks). The European Union issues binding legislation in these areas, and member states may issue additional legislative documents only if they are in line with these EU-wide regulations, or if there is no common legislation from the European Union,
- Areas with the exclusive competence of the European Union (common trade, monetary and customs policy, concluding international agreements, or setting the rules of economic competition). The European Union has a monopoly on setting rules and overall decision-making, which means that member states can only make decisions with the permission of the European Union.

It is the last-mentioned group that logically includes key areas of European Union policy and is the most essential for European integration.

In the past, Algeria, Greenland, or some of the overseas departments of France (the island of St. Bartholomew or the archipelago of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon) left the European Community as the predecessor of the European Union. However, Great Britain is the first, and so far also the only member state, to withdraw from the European Union. It is important to mention that the purpose of creating the European Union was to ensure close relations, meaningful interdependence of European states, mutual help, and targeted cooperation, while the process of European integration is supposed to be the alpha and omega of the success of the whole idea. Brexit can significantly impact the future of the European Union, its viability, or

cohesion. It is also why it is important to deal with Brexit and analyze not only economic and social impacts, but it is also necessary to examine how the withdrawal of Great Britain from the European Union affects the thinking of Europeans about the Union.

2. Brexit and its impact

After the Second World War, we can see extensive efforts in the world (and Europe is no exception) to ensure peace, mutual aid, and cooperation in the future. It is also why in the 1950s, the European Community (the predecessor of the European Union) was established as a mutual agreement on close cooperation between six states. Great Britain was not one of these founding states and applied for membership in 1961. This step can be perceived primarily as a pragmatic decision concerning the expected benefits of such a partnership and an effort to keep itself at the center of European events, rather than as a manifestation of enthusiasm for European integration (Cihelková, 2023). Accession negotiations have lasted for more than 10 years because Great Britain attempted to negotiate certain specific membership terms and because Charles de Gaulle, the President of the Fifth French Republic, used a veto against the accession of Great Britain to the community in 1963 and 1967. Such action by France can be attributed to the historical rivalry when these states almost always stood against each other (Ginsberg, 2010).

Close cooperation of states has advantages and disadvantages, when, for example, a crisis in one state negatively affects other member states and the European Union. The communication campaigns before the Brexit referendum focused on describing how well off the British people could be, how much Britain contributes to the European budget, the promise of secure jobs, housing affordability, future investment in education and health, and promised overall freedom (Cromby, 2019). In addition, Europe continued to deal with the effects of the economic and financial crisis, struggled with the migration crisis, and faced frequent terrorist attacks in individual member states of the European Union. All of this was used as proof of disadvantageous economic or security interdependence.

On 23 June 2016, a referendum on Great Britain's membership in the European Union was held. A total of 46,500,001 people were registered for the referendum, and a total of 33,577,342 votes (72.21% participation) were cast (UK Electoral Commission, 2016):
- 17,410,742 people (51.85%) voted for the withdrawal of Great Britain from the European Union,
- 16,141,241 people (48.07%) expressed their wish to remain in the European Union,
- 25,359 votes were rejected.

As can be seen, even if the rejected votes were included in those who voted to remain in the European Union, nothing would change the result of the referendum.

Great Britain represented a member state with one of the strongest national economies. Therefore the effects of Brexit are significant at the level of the European Union, as well as at the level of individual member states. Foreign trade was affected when the benefits of the single market ceased to apply to trade with Great Britain, and some member states of the European Union replaced imports and exports realized with Great Britain by partnerships with other member states. We can also mention the effect on the unemployment rate in the European Union, as it was influenced by the return or transfer of Europeans from Great Britain. The departure of such a strong economy also significantly affected the gross domestic product of the European Union. On the social level, we can mention the undoubted influence on economic integration and the perception of unity within the European Union, when some other member states considered a referendum about their possible withdrawal, for example, Nexit (Holland), Dexit (Germany), Frexit (France), or Czexit (Czech Republic).

3. A White Paper on the Future of Europe

In 2017, the European Commission published a White Paper on the Future of Europe, which summarizes five possible future scenarios for the development of the European Union. These scenarios present the possibilities of how the cooperation of the member states could be organized until 2025, focusing on five different areas (single market & trade, economic & monetary union, Schengen, migration & security, foreign policy & defense, EU budget, and capacity to deliver). The following table summarizes the impacts of individual scenarios of the future development of the European Union on all monitored policies.

Policy	Scenario 1 Carrying on	Scenario 2 Nothing but the single market	Scenario 3 Those who want more do more	Scenario 4 Doing less but more efficiently	Scenario 5 Doing much more together
Single market & trade	Strengthening, the EU continues to conclude progressive trade agreements	It strengthens the market of goods and capital, the free movement of people and services is not guaranteed	Strengthening, the EU continues to conclude progressive trade agreements	A minimum of common standards, stronger oversight in areas entrusted to the EU	Strengthening, by complying with standards, business matters solved only at the EU level
Economic & Monetary Union	Improving the functioning of the Eurozone	Limited cooperation in the Eurozone	Improving the functioning of the Eurozone, closer cooperation of	Consolidation of the Eurozone and its stabilization, lower activity in	Achieving Economic, Financial and Fiscal Union according to the

			some states in the tax and social areas	the field of employment and social policy	5 Presidents' Report of June 2015
Schengen, migration & security	Intensification of cooperation, coordination of security matters, protection of external borders	There is a lack of unified policies, everything is based on bilateral agreements, internal border controls	Intensification of cooperation, coordination of security, protection of external borders, closer cooperation in the areas of security and justice	Systematic cooperation in the fight against terrorism, asylum policy, and border management	Systematic cooperation in the fight against terrorism, asylum policy, and border management
Foreign policy & defense	Closer cooperation for the sake of protection, formation of a unified position on foreign issues	Bilateral agreements deal with cooperation in defense and other foreign policies	Closer cooperation for the sake of protection, formation of a unified position on foreign issues, closer cooperation in the field of defense	A unified position on foreign policy issues, the creation of a European defense union	A unified position on foreign policy issues, the creation of a European defense union
EU budget	Modernization to ensure compliance with the reform agenda as agreed by the members	Only the single market and everything related to it is financed	Modernization to ensure compliance with the reform agenda as agreed by the members, increasing the budget in areas of closer cooperation	Fundamental changes must correspond to new restrictions and new priorities agreed upon at the EU level	Fundamental modernization, increased support from own resources, fiscal stabilization functions in the eurozone
Capacity to deliver	Positive agenda for concrete results, decision-making processes are not understandable	More comprehensible decision-making processes, limited collective bargaining, the existence of bilateral contracts	Positive agenda for concrete results, decision-making processes are not understandable	Necessary to clarify priorities, decision-making processes will be more understandable, and the EU will act faster and more decisively on priorities	Fast decision-making processes, supervision of compliance with the rules

Table 1 Comparison of scenarios according to the White Paper on the Future of Europe (European Commission, 2017)

Each of the mentioned scenarios has its positives and negatives. The first scenario describes the future possible prosperity of the European Union in case we continue in current practice, the other ones, on the contrary, always reflect negative development trends. As Lipovská (2018) mentions, scenarios are presented as there is only one possible way to ensure Brussels's prosperity. So it might seem that the purpose of the document is to convince Europeans that Europe is already moving in the right direction, and the only meaningful solution is to continue working together for a better Europe and a better future.

At the time when Great Britain decided to withdraw from the European Union, some countries were also considering the possibility of realizing their referendums, but the whole world was waiting to see what consequences Brexit itself would have. During this, the world was surprised by COVID-19, and attention instead focused on reviving national economies, strengthening European integration, overall alliances within the European Union, and re-invigorating the sense of belonging. This is also why it is essential to deal with how European integration is subjectively perceived today, and how people evaluate the effects of Brexit.

4. Brexit's impact on European integration and its perception by Czech and French university students

In March and the first half of April 2024, a quantitative research survey was carried out to examine the impact of Brexit on the perception of European integration by university students in the Czech Republic and France. A secondary goal was to understand how Czech and French university students perceive a need for membership in the European Union in the future and what the ideal future of Europe would look like according to them based on five scenarios defined in the White Paper on the Future of Europe. The questionnaire was created in two language versions (Czech and French). It was distributed online, mainly through student and university groups on social networks, and through electronic contact with universities in the Czech Republic and France.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections, the first focused on the basic characteristics of the respondents, the second on the evaluation of European integration importance, and the third on the subjective perception of the impact of Brexit on European integration. A total of 20,806 respondents participated in the research, more preciously 11,102 (53.34%) students of Czech universities, and the remaining 9,704 (46.66%) respondents were French students of universities, IAEs, and Grandes écoles. In both cases, bachelor's, master's, and doctoral study program students were included in the survey. The students were equally divided in terms of nationality. The same situation could be seen in the case of gender, where 11,136 (53.52%) women participated, and the remaining 9,670 (46.48%) respondents were men. Regarding the age of the respondents, students aged 18-31 participated, which fully corresponds to the normal age of tertiary education students, and the average age of the respondents was 22.6 years.

The second section of questions focused on evaluating the importance of European integration and determining which areas of integration are subjectively rated as the most important by the Czech and French students.

	Czech students	French students
Very important	5,546 (49.96%)	4,529 (46.67%)
Rather important	5,539 (49.89%)	4,590 (47.30%)
Rather unimportant	17 (0.15%)	555 (5.72%)
Very unimportant	-	30 (0.31%)
Total	11,102 (100.00%)	9,704 (100.00%)

Table 2 The subjective evaluation of the importance of European integration (Author)

A total of 11,085 (99.85%) Czech students rated European integration as important, and these were fairly evenly divided between those who perceived it as „rather important" and those who saw it as „very important". On the contrary, European integration is perceived as important by 9,119 (94.07%) of French students. Compared to Czech students, the perception of the unimportance of European integration is more evident here, as this was expressed by 6.06% of the surveyed French university students, and only by 0.15% of the participating Czech respondents. While Czech students rate economic cooperation and the single market (including the free movement of people and the possibility of studying in other European Union member states) as the main areas of European integration, in the case of French students it is mainly social and political aspects with an emphasis on common security, migration and asylum policy. The results can be attributed to individual areas that often resonate with society in these countries, where the impact of the migration crisis in the case of France or realized terrorist attacks on French territory in the past can be mentioned as examples.

The subjective perception of the current setting of the European Union undoubtedly affects how people view the future of Europe, their ideas about how the European Union should develop further, or whether their country should remain in the European Union in the future. Respondents were first presented with all possible scenarios of the future of Europe as presented by the European Commission in the White Paper on the Future of Europe. Then they were asked to choose the scenario that would be ideal and which reflects their ideas about the future arrangement of relations within the European Union according to them.

	Czech students	French students
Scenario 1 – Carrying on	3,455 (31.12%)	445 (4.59%)
Scenario 2 – Nothing but the single market	5,615 (50.58%)	1,550 (15.97%)
Scenario 3 – Those who want more do more	96 (0.86%)	3,513 (36.20%)
Scenario 4 – Doing less more efficiently	1,893 (17.05%)	887 (9.14%)
Scenario 5 – Doing much more together	43 (0.39%)	3,309 (39.10%)
Total	11,102 (100.00%)	9,704 (100.00%)

Table 3 The ideal future of Europe according to the respondents (Author)

Czech students prefer scenario 2 (Nothing but the single market) or scenario 1 (Carrying on, current practice), on the contrary, French students are primarily in favor of scenario 5 (Doing much more together) or scenario 3 (Those who want more do more). Based on these results, it can be concluded that French students still see a space for improvement, precisely that individual member states will be more involved in the issues and areas of the European Union, independently or together. In contrast, Czech students aim at the main advantage of the European Union, the single market, or they want the European Union to continue in the current way.

Respondents were also asked whether they believed their country should continue to remain a member state of the European Union.

	Czech students	French students
Absolutely yes	6,114 (55.07%)	7,470 (76.98%)
Rather yes	4,852 (43.70%)	2,136 (22.01%)
Rather no	136 (1.23%)	98 (1.01%)
Total	11,102 (100.00%)	9,704 (100.00%)

Table 4 The evaluation of the need for future membership in the European Union (Author)

Czech and French respondents are convinced their country should remain part of the European Union. A total of 98.77% of Czech university students expressed their opinion in this way, with 43.70% of them stating that the Czech Republic should rather remain a member state of the European Union, and 55.07% of them even strongly believe that. In the group of French university students, 98.99% of the research sample responded similarly, with 22.01% saying that France should rather remain a member of the community, and the remaining 76.98% are convinced of the need for France to become a member of the European Union in the future.

In the end, the survey also focused on a subjective perception of Brexit as the decision of Great Britain to withdraw from the European Union, as well as the effect of such a move on European integration. All respondents agreed that Brexit has a more negative impact on the UK, comparing the impact it has on the European Union.

	Subjective evaluation of Brexit's impact
A fundamental influence on the whole European Union	6,183 (29.72%)
A strong influence on some member states	8,607 (41.37%)
A small influence on the European Union and member states	5,976 (28.72%)
Brexit did not affect European integration	40 (0.19%)
Total	20,806 (100.00%)

Table 5 Subjective evaluation of the impact of Brexit on European integration (Author)

Through correlation analysis, it was also analyzed whether there is a relationship between the nationality of respondents and their subjective evaluation of the impact of Brexit on European integration.

	Subjective evaluation of Brexit's impact
Pearson's correlation coefficient	0.250828
Significance (Sig.)	0.000
Significance level (α)	0.01

Table 6 Correlation analysis - Subjective evaluation of the impact of Brexit on European integration (Author)

The results of the correlation analysis reflect a mutual relationship between the values of the two investigated variables because Sig. (0.000) < α (0.01). The correlation coefficient then reflects the nature of this mutual relationship, when its positive value indicates a direct proportionality between the values of the variables. At the same time, its absolute value reflects the strength of this relationship, when a change of one variable value by 1 will cause a change of the second value variable by 0.250828, which can be characterized as a weak correlation. Depending on the correlation analysis, Czech students perceive the effects of Brexit on European integration more strongly than French students, which may be caused by the historical rivalry between France and Great Britain. This trend may also reflect the strong economy and the closeness of France's relations with other, still current member states of the community. In contrast, Great Britain was an important foreign trade partner for the Czech Republic, and the fact that a majority of Czech citizens living abroad for a long time or permanently were in Great Britain can also have a strong influence (Czech Statistical Office, 2021).

Conclusion

In June 2016, a referendum was held and it was decided that Great Britain would withdraw from the European Union after more than forty years of membership. It was the first withdrawal of a member state from the European Union (if we do not consider the withdrawal of French overseas departments, Greenland, or Algeria as territories of member states). Nobody knew what the effects of Brexit would be.

The quantitative research survey focused on examination of the impact of Brexit on the perception of European integration by university students in the Czech Republic and France, with a total of 20,806 respondents. Depending on the results we can state:
- Czech (99.85%) and French (93.97%) university students perceive European integration as important,

- Czech (98.77%) and French (98.99%) university students strongly perceive the need for their country's membership in the European Union in the future,

- Regarding the future of the European Union, Czech university students would prefer only the functioning of the single market (scenario 2) or the maintenance of the current form of the European Union (scenario 1), while French students prefer to do more together (scenario 5) or to focus on targeted cooperation through who wants, does more (scenario 3).

Regarding the subjective perception of the impact of Brexit on European integration, we can mention that 41.37% of respondents perceive a strong effect on some member states, 29.72% of participants feel that Brexit fundamentally impacts the entire European Union, and another 28.72 % of respondents perceive only a small impact of Brexit on the European Union or individual member state. Through correlation analysis, it was proven that Czech students perceive the effects of Brexit on European integration more strongly than French students.

The withdrawal of Great Britain from the European Union changed the status quo. Until then it was difficult to imagine that any country would leave the European Union. However, the needs of individual member states, as well as the needs of the European Union change depending on the surrounding environment and the opportunities and threats that Europe faces. Examples of recent years include the economic and financial crisis, terrorist attacks in France, the migration crisis, and the war in Ukraine. All of the above and much more continuously shape the opinion of the European Union, its importance, and its mission in the lives of Europeans. The White Paper on the future of Europe and the scenarios outlined reflect the possible forms of the European Union in the Future, and it is now up to all of us to decide in which direction the European Union will develop further.

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EXTRAORDINARY REDUCTION OF SENTENCE FOR THE COLLABORATOR OF JUSTICE

Tereza ŠALKOVÁ

Abstract:

The aim of the post is to point out the use of the institution of extraordinary reduction for the collaborator of justice as one of the benefits, which consists in the procedural procedure of law enforcement authoritiesfor the effective detection of the most serious criminal activity in the conditions of the Slovak Republic.

Keywords: *collaborator of justice, offender of criminal activity, credibility, European Court of Human Rights, extraordinary reduction of sentence*

1. Introduction

The detection and clarification of the most serious forms of criminal activity found its place in Act No. 301/2005 Coll., the Ciminal Procedure Code, in the form of establishing the legal institute of a cooperating person. Although the institute of the cooperating defendant in criminal proceedings is not a new issue, it continues to arouse interest not only among the professional but also among the general public, which can be seen in particular in its constantly evolving regulation in criminal legislation. In exchange for his or her testimony, the alleged offender will receive impunity, a reduced sentence or some other form of benefit. The co-operating defendant is himself the presumed perpetrator of the crime and convicts other perpetrators, in return for which he may be granted benefits under the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Act NO. 300/2005 Coll. Penal Code, such as a lighter sentence, a conditional discontinuation of the prosecution or even a discontinuation of the prosecution leading to complete impunity.

The effective detection, investigation, and subsequent conviction and punishment of serious crime, in particular organised crime committed by criminal groups, is one of the important aspects of gaining public confidence in a functioning and fair criminal justice process.

2. The principle of individualization of punishment and benefits for a cooperating person

In connection with Act No. 40/2024 Coll., the Slovak Criminal Procedure Code was amended, thus providing a legal definition of a cooperating person, as such had been absent in the legislation until now. Although the amendment in question is not yet in force, a cooperating person can be defined as an accused or suspected of committing a criminal offence who significantly participates or is yet to participate in the clarification of one or some of the offences referred to in section 205(1), 215(3), 218(1) or 228(3) or referred to in section 39(2)(d) of the Criminal Code or in the detection or conviction of their perpetrators (Criminal Procedure Code, section 10 (23).

At the same time, the amendment in question legally defined that the advantage of a cooperating person is an advantage pursuant to section 205, 215(3), 218, 228(3), extraordinary reduction of sentence pursuant to section 39(2)(d) of the Penal Code, or any other advantage consisting in a procedural procedure, other act or omission of authorities or persons to act pursuant to this Act, granted, mediated, otherwise secured, proposed or formally or informally promised to a cooperating person by a court or a law enforcement agency in exchange for his or her participation in the clarification of criminal offences or the detection or conviction of their offenders.

In addition to other benefits, which will not be dealt with in this paper, an important benefit is the extraordinary reduction of the sentence under Section 39 of the Penal Code for the aforementioned cooperating person.

Taking into account the principle of individualization of punishment, the Penal Code allows in exceptional cases to impose a punishment up to the lower limit of the punishment set out in the special part. The Penal Code allows for an exceptional reduction of the sentence in cases of a cooperating person, i.e. in the case of a person who has made a particularly significant contribution to the clarification of the enumerated offences, or offences committed by a criminal or terrorist group, if the court considers that, in view of the circumstances and the seriousness

of the offence committed, the purpose of the sentence can be achieved even by a sentence of a shorter duration (Penal Code, section 39 (2)(b)(e).

In connection with the above, it can be said that the institution of the cooperating person is an important topic which requires the need for scientific research and also provides scope for its solution.

3. Extraordinary reduction of the sentence

When we look at the rates of imprisonment provided for in the Special Part of the Penal Code, it can be said that they have a wide range. However, when the court is deciding on the level of punishment, the acting court may also come to the conclusion, or there may be situations in practice, where the imposition of a punishment on the offender within the range provided for in the specific offences is disproportionately harsh, especially in the circumstances of the case and the circumstances of the offender. However, if the court is of the opinion, taking into account the aforementioned circumstances and the offender's circumstances, that the rate set by the Criminal Procedure Code for a particular offence is disproportionately harsh, it is the Criminal Procedure Code that allows for a reduction of such a sentence (MADLIAK, J. a kol., 2015).

Pursuant to section 39(1) of the Penal Code: „If the court considers, in the light of the circumstances of the case or the circumstances of the offender, that the application of the penalty provided for in this Act would be disproportionately harsh for the offender and that a sentence of a shorter duration would be sufficient to ensure the protection of society, the offender may also be sentenced to a sentence below the lower limit of the penalty provided for in this Act."

Circumstances of the case shall be understood as such facts as may affect the nature, character and other objective circumstances of the offence committed. Circumstances of the case may also be statutory elements of the offence, if they are of a nature to deviate from the usual cases (BUDRDA,E., ČENTÉŠ, J., KOLESÁR, J., ZÁHORA, J., a kol., 2010).

According to the following paragraph of the aforementioned section of the Penal Code, „The court may reduce the sentence below the lower limit of the penal rate provided for by this Act even if it sentences the offender, i.a. who has made a significant contribution to the clarification of a criminal offence committed for the benefit of a criminal group or a terrorist group, or has helped to prevent the commission of a criminal offence which another has prepared or attempted to commit for the benefit of a criminal group or a terrorist group by by reporting his or her activities to law enforcement authorities and providing them with information which they would not otherwise have obtained, thereby helping them to prevent or mitigate the consequences of the offence, to identify or convict the perpetrators, or to secure evidence of the offence for the benefit of the conviction of the criminal group or terrorist group *or* who has made a particularly significant contribution to the clarification of the criminal offence of corruption pursuant to Title Eight, Part Three, Special Part of this Act, the criminal offence of establishing, forming and supporting a criminal group pursuant to Section 296, the criminal offence of establishing, forming and supporting a terrorist group pursuant to Section 297, or a particularly serious crime committed by an organised group, a criminal group or a terrorist group, or on the detection or conviction of its perpetrator by providing evidence of such an act in criminal proceedings, if, in view of the nature and gravity of the offence committed by him, the court considers that the purpose of the punishment can be achieved by a sentence of a shorter duration; the sentence of imprisonment may not be reduced below the lower limit of the criminal penalty against the organiser, instigator or principal of an offence about which he has given evidence in criminal proceedings."

With the affected section, the legislator also introduces the institute of cooperating persons into the legislation on extraordinary sentence reduction. However, in connection with the above provision, it is necessary to take into account the phrase "the rate established by this Act," which refers to the rate of imprisonment, but after its adjustment according to certain provisions of the General Part of the Penal Code (TOMAN, P., SAMAŠ, O., 2008) . The legislator regulates the extent of the discretionary power of the court, which is granted to it under paragraphs 1 and 2, for the purpose of specifying the individualisation of the sentence, by means of section 39 (3) of the Penal Code (STRÉMY, T., KURILOVSKÁ, L., 2022).

The statutory provision of Section 39(1)(e) of the Penal Code provides for the possibility of imposing a lighter sentence below the statutory limit on a cooperating person. Such a procedure or decision of the acting court comes into consideration if other procedural procedures have not been used in the criminal proceedings, which are, for example, the discontinuation of the criminal prosecution pursuant to Section 215(3) of the Code of Criminal Procedure or the conditional discontinuation of the criminal prosecution of a cooperating person pursuant to Section 218(1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the subsequent decision on his certification pursuant to Section 219(1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Though, even in this case, i.e., a cooperating defendant, it is required that the cooperating person contribute in a particularly significant way to the discovery of the crimes therein or to the detection or conviction of the perpetrator thereof. Following the procedural procedures provided for in the Code of Criminal Procedure which can be used in the case of a cooperating person, it can be said, when applying the special reduction of the penalty under the Code of Criminal Procedure to a cooperating person, that here the information and evidence provided by the cooperating person to the law enforcement authorities and the court is required to be more substantial, more extensive and of higher quality.

But, according to some authors, the extraordinary reduction of the sentence, compared to the procedural procedures provided for by the Criminal Procedure Code, is not so favourable for the cooperating person, especially taking into account that the effects and consequences of the final termination of the criminal prosecution pursuant to Section 215(3) of the Criminal Procedure Code and the conditional termination of the criminal prosecution of a cooperating person pursuant to Section 218(3) of the Criminal Procedure Code are not so favourable for the cooperating person. 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure in conjunction with the decision on the certificate pursuant to Section 219(1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure (for the issuance of which the Code of Criminal Procedure lays down less stringent conditions), are incomparably more favourable for the cooperating person than is the case with the conviction of the offender and the imposition of a sentence, albeit an exceptionally reduced one pursuant to Section 39(2)(e) of the Penal Code (ŽILINKA, M. 2007).

However, when using information and evidence from a cooperating person, care must be taken to ensure that it is credible and not prompted merely by the cooperating person obtaining certain benefits. The Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic has also commented on the above in its resolution: *"The procedure of law enforcement authorities and the subsequent courts, which make use of the legislatively anchored and therefore perfectly legal institute of a cooperating witness, cannot be considered a priori as a defective element undermining the value of the evidentiary situation, which the courts have reached with the help of such statements (Resolution of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic Case No. III. ÚS 758/2016 of 8 November 2016).*

The relevant provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure (the principle of proper ascertainment of the facts and the principle of the free evaluation of evidence), in order to exclude the potential danger of purposive, false statements, impose on the courts the obligation to carry out a thorough examination of the credibility and, therefore, the quality of the testimony thus given, any failure to do so being liable to signal a breach of the guarantees of a fair trial."

Using the institution of the cooperating person, however, raises a number of doubts and questions concerning the legality of the evidence, since it cannot be overlooked that the cooperating person himself participated in the commission of the crime.

We can mention in passing the decision of the European Court of Human Rights in the case Adamčo vs. Slovak Republic, which is important for our society. The applicant was charged with murder as an accomplice on suspicion that, after an organised group had agreed to murder the victim, he had brought the shooter to the victim and then, after the murder, had driven him away. The indictment was tried three times, resulting in the acquittal of the perpetrator. At the next hearing, one witness admitted that he was the driver and the complainant was the shooter in the case at bar. Subsequently, the complainant was found guilty and a custodial sentence was imposed. As regards the aforesaid witness, on the basis of his confession during the criminal proceedings against the complainant, he was also charged with murder as the complainant's accomplice. However, the prosecutor subsequently discontinued the prosecution against him on the ground that he had contributed significantly to the clarification of the crime committed by the organised group, the identification and conviction of its perpetrators and that the interest

of society in the clarification of such a crime outweighed the interest in his prosecution (MS SR, Adamčo vs. SR, 2019).

The advantage gained by this cooperating person in the criminal proceedings in question was not merely a reduction of sentence, but represented virtual impunity for the crime of murder. In the present criminal case, however, the advantage gained outweighed any reduction in sentence, since the offender was free of punishment, even though he had committed the crime of murder. In this case, the European Court of Human Rights held that the advantage obtained by the penitent should be proportionate to the crime committed. The European Court of Human Rights has also said that the Slovak courts cannot just state that a cooperating person has no reason to lie, but quite the opposite. With such a witness, there is a high degree of likelihood that he or she will manipulate the testimony, that he or she may have various motives for doing so, ranging from his or her own impunity to personal revenge.

Also in the conditions of Slovak judicial authorities it is possible to encounter an extraordinary reduction of the sentence for a cooperating person, and thus we can mention the resolution no. 6To/14/2016 of 15. November 2017 of the Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic, which revoked the sentence and returned the case to the court of first instance for a retrial and decision on the case. The Specialised Criminal Court found the defendant Ing. D. A. guilty on count 1/ of the crime of establishing, conspiring with and supporting a criminal group pursuant to Section 296 of the Penal Code and others, on the same factual basis as set out in the judgment in question. On 1 December 2016, the defendant, through her defence counsel, stated in the grounds of appeal that the sentence of imprisonment imposed, both in its amount and in its unconditional nature, is severe in view of all the circumstances of this criminal case, in particular the defendant's overall attitude from the beginning of the proceedings. It is clearly a punitive sentence. In imposing it, the court did not follow the principles of sentencing consistently, in particular as regards the imposition of a sentence on a cooperating person, in particular the provisions of section 39(1), (3), section 51 and section 49(1) of the Penal Code.

In the present case, he had the option of imposing a lesser sentence on the defendant in application of section 39(3)(d) of the Penal Code, which could be suspended under section 39(1) of the Penal Code. From the beginning of the prosecution, the defendant has cooperated with

the law enforcement authorities and, at the commencement of the prosecution, she asked the investigator for the opportunity to cooperate and thus to make a significant contribution to the clarification of the serious facts of this criminal case. The Court of Appeal finds that there was also an error in the imposition of a reduced sentence of imprisonment pursuant to Section 39(1)(3)(d) of the Penal Code, since the evidence adduced, as also pointed out by the Court of First Instance, revealed facts which fulfilled the requirements for an exceptional reduction of the sentence not only pursuant to Section 39(1)(3)(d) of the Penal Code but also pursuant to Section 39(2)(e) of the Penal Code. It was precisely these facts that were referred to in the closing arguments of the prosecutor and the defence counsel, who argued the same in the appeal, which the court failed to take into account in imposing the sentences, although it should have done so, possibly after supplementing the evidence in this respect.

Similarly, the Supreme Court by its resolution no. 4To/5/2019 of 8. October 2019 disposed of the appeal of the defendant (for Section 296 of the Penal Code and others), who had argued in the criminal proceedings that the trial court had relied on the statements of witnesses – „penitents", i.e., witnesses who had been temporarily deferred from arraignment - in convicting the defendant in Act 1), viz. T. O., E. M., P. D., who were subjectively motivated to obtain benefits in the form of an improvement in their position, whether in the form of an extraordinary reduction of their sentence, a conditional discontinuance of the prosecution, or the discontinuance of the prosecution of a cooperating person. The defendant is further convicted of act 1) by the co-accused, namely D. N., Q. A. and K. K., also intrinsically motivated in their statements for the purpose of obtaining a lighter prison sentence. The first-instance court found the defendants D. N., K. K. and Q. A. in considering the sentence were based on the facts that they were long-standing, high-ranking members of the criminal group. The defendant N. committed 7 acts, K. four acts, A. 3 acts, while the defendant N. was also the direct executor of acts 6, 8, 9 and the defendant A. was the direct executor of act 6. Defendants D. N. and Q. A. voluntarily entered a plea of guilty and confessed to the offence. Defendant N. took an active approach to the on-the-spot verification of the statements. Thanks to his cooperation, it was possible to dig up six bodies. The judgment against these defendants has become final.

For the most serious offense, defendant K. K. should be considered the crime of premeditated murder under § 144 (1), (2), (3) of the Penal Code in force at the time of the commission of the acts. In the case of the defendants W. M., T. B., P. V. and JUDr. A. F. - the offence of murder

pursuant to section 219(1)(2) of Penal Code No. 140/1961 Coll. in force at the time of the commission of the acts. The defendant K. K. for the crime of premeditated murder could have been sentenced to life imprisonment. The defendant K. K. turned himself in to the police with the intention of uncovering the background of the criminal group.

He voluntarily entered a plea of guilty at the main hearing solely to offence 1/. However, he pleaded not guilty to the most serious offences. The Court of First Instance found that the defendant fulfilled the condition of section 39(2)(e) of the Penal Code for an exceptional reduction of the sentence below the lower limit of the penalty and decided to impose a total aggregate sentence of 25 years' imprisonment. At the same time, it annulled the sentences imposed on the defendant in the earlier judgments.

It is clear from the above-mentioned decisions that the extraordinary reduction of the sentence of cooperating person is also used in the conditions of the Slovak Republic; at the same time, mention may be made of the decision of the Regional Court in Bratislava, Case No. 3To/90/2020 of 2 February 2021. However, care must be taken to ensure that the statutory conditions for the extraordinary reduction of the sentence of a cooperating person are met, that the court consistently takes into account the person and the nature of the crime that has been proved against him, and that it does not overestimate the importance of his cooperation in the clarification of the criminal activity. At the same time, both in the person of the co-operating defendant and in the use of procedural procedures under the Code of Criminal Procedure, it must be borne in mind that the co-operating defendant is himself the perpetrator of the criminal offence. It is clear from the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights, as well as from national case-law, that evidence should not be limited to the testimony of the co-accused, although it greatly assists in the clarification of the most serious criminal offences.

The principle of individualization of punishment is thus represented by the application of the reduction of the lower limit of the criminal rate for the court, namely the provision of Section 39 of the Penal Code, which, however, according to the wording of the law as well as the established judicial practice, should represent an exceptional institute and not the usual procedure of the court, where its use in practice cannot be justified only by commonly occurring circumstances (resolution no. 7T/2/2018 of District Court Bratislava V.).

4. Conclusion

It can be said that the institute of a cooperating person is an effective tool for detecting serious crime and, therefore, especially its perpetrators. However, it must be borne in mind that the use of this institute entails certain risks. The use of the institution of the co-operating defendant comes into consideration in cases where law enforcement authorities are in need of evidence to convict a criminal offender by cooperating with another criminal offender.

Whether the procedural procedures under the Criminal procedure code or the court's decision to grant an extraordinary sentence reduction to a cooperating person are certainly a good incentive for criminals to assist in the detection of criminal activity from within. This is undoubtedly also clear from many court decisions. However, the problem with the application of an exceptional reduction in sentence is not, for the most part, whether to apply it to a particular co-operating defendant, but how to apply it and thus how to reduce the prison sentence.

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