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FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Reader,

This is the second issue for 2017 and we expect to be able to publish the next issue in spring-summer 2018.

The authors are both PhD students and established academics. The articles are a heterogeneous set and cover a number of fields in the humanities and social sciences such as management, economics, linguistics and literature. In this issue, we have articles by authors not only from Latvia, but also from India, Germany, Norway, Russia and Slovakia.

A reminder for past and future authors that the journal can be found in the EBSCO Sociology Source Ultimate database. It would be useful for you if you ensure that your university library subscribes to this particular EBSCO database.

We hope you enjoy this issue and are looking forward to the next issue.

Best wishes

Viesturs Pauls Karnups
General Editor

TRANSLATING GENDER: LATVIAN AND NORWEGIAN CASE STUDIES IN FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE¹

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Abstract

This article demonstrates how key Anglophone feminist theoretical terms may be translated and affects perception and analysis of texts written in Norwegian and Latvian in particular. For this purpose a very established distinction within Anglophone, feminist theory is selected for special scrutiny, the distinction between 'sex' and 'gender'. In this article the authors have traced both the history of the term 'gender' especially as part of the 'sex-gender' distinction, i.e. 'gender' as a description of socio-cultural role and personal identity, and the translation of this distinction into Norwegian and Latvian. 'Gender' in English language is a neutral, descriptive term, while 'gender' in inadequate translation or in untranslated form has been imported into many Eastern European languages and given a different and intended negative meaning. The authors of the article note that literary and cultural theories formulated in one language make themselves dependent on the possibilities of that language. The concepts of feminism and gender are culturally differentiated and each culture and language perceives them in its own way, frequently creating the dissonance between power and culture, between theory, general normative acts and their perception in society. Therefore, the concepts of feminism and gender should be researched in the context of national cultural history and political agenda. This article may be of interest to researchers in the field of humanities and social sciences.

Keywords: sex/gender distinction, meaning, translation, untranslatable, science communication

¹ The article is carried out in the frames of the project NFI/R/2014/061 "Gender, Culture and Power: Diversity and Interactions in Latvia and Norway". The project is co-financed from the EEA and Norway Grant (2009–2014). Project overall objective is to revive academic and public interest to feminist and gender theories in connection to current social reality and European political culture, to add new interdisciplinary dimensions to the already existing research mainstream, and to shed light on women's political and public activity by shaping a dialogue between various disciplines and cultures.

Introduction

In the course of the last 30 years, the field of theory has been enriched by an intense proliferation and a rapid development of feminist and other gender studies. As a result, feminist/gender theory has developed into a discourse of its own, with its own truths, pitfalls and blind spots and its own nascent “history”. However, the development of gender theory as a discourse and the strengthening of the theoretical and methodological side of feminist scholarship have also left traces within all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. Scholars no longer have to start by pointing out that our sources are androcentric and that androcentric scholarship represents a limited perspective, but can take issues in gender theory as points of departure and explore what such theory might contribute to the appreciation and understanding of the scholar’s specialist area of texts. However, the turn to a more explicitly feminist-theoretical agenda has its own problems, or at least potentially so.

There is far greater sensitivity today than, say, 30 years ago, towards the variety of human conditions and experiences around the globe and within one and the same society. Still, like much other theory, feminist theory is also remarkably Universalist in its expression. This is a problem because unless the theory is applied with critical care to geographical and linguistic difference, it could serve as just another tool in the Western colonisation of ‘hearts and minds’ around the globe. In a Scandinavian and Baltic context, “the linguistic turn” of the humanities brought with it a stronger interest in theoretical approaches to texts, literature and the act of reading and perception. In comparison with Norway and the ‘old Europe’ where gender as a concept and its linguistic expression have been discussed already for several decades, in the post-soviet territory, Latvia (at least in academic research) this is a fairly new initiative.² The international research team³ began its co-operation with preparation a working dictionary of feminist terms and, in the process, confirming the awareness that “When assessing the state of affairs in the contemporary

² Its origins are related to the practical need for engaging in the drafting and translation of European gender equality policy documents and practical implementation of the gender equality principle. See Neimanis, A. (2003). *Dzimumu līdztiesības principu integrēšana praksē*. Rokasgrāmata. Rīga: UNDP.

³ The implementing institutions of the project NFI/R/2014/061 “Gender, Culture and Power: Diversity and Interactions in Latvia and Norway”: The University of Latvia (Faculty of Humanities, Feministica Lettica Centre for Feminism Studies), Oslo University (Centre for Gender Research) and Rēzekne Academy of Technologies. The specialists involved also represent the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the University of Latvia, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia; Faculty of Theology of the University of Latvia, and Rīga Stradiņš University.

Latvian lexicography against achievements in other countries, one must reluctantly admit that we are staying behind"⁴, and this is particularly evident in feminist research and studies.

The formation of the theoretical basis of feminism and its academic recognition has met with resistance in the traditional academic milieu. When looking at the concept of 'academic', (meaning traditional, theoretical, abstract, devoid of practical significance) coupled with the concept of 'feminism' (originally – a socio-political movement in the fight for women's rights) there emerges a question whether 'academic feminism' is not actually an oxymoron, namely, a figure of speech that juxtaposes elements that appear to be contradictory, and does not denote a quality which by default cannot be attributed to that phenomenon.⁵ Doubt about the usefulness of institutionalisation of research into and study of feminist theory and history is also present in the public space in Latvia and "the relevance of the feminist discourse for Latvian literature and academic research is called into question in principle."⁶ When seeking an answer to the question on the oxymoronic nature of the term 'academic feminism', it should be noted that the entire present-day science is engaged or being involved in the socio-political discourse in some way or other.

Feminist-theoretical sex-gender distinction

In an Anglophone feminist-theoretical context, the distinction between sex and gender has been very productive – either as an analytical tool, as a starting point for criticism of patriarchy, or more recently as a starting point for discussions about its adequacy. 'Sex' in this context may denote biology, materiality, or even essential mental characteristics that some believe to be innate to men and women. 'Gender' is the socio-culturally constructed system of roles and an identity that sorts people in two groups, men and women, and attributes to each of them their respective role, which influences them, their self-understanding, mentality and their possibilities from birth. In current gender theory the importance, or lack thereof, of the biological body for the construction of gender is a matter of hot debate. The distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' was first used actively within the field of psychology and psychiatry in the 1950s and

⁴ Baldunčiks, J. (2015) Vārdu un vārdu nozīmju (ne)iekļaušana vārdnīcā: vērojumi un secinājumi. *Vārdnīcas un valoda. Valsts valodas komisija. Raksti*, 7. sēj. Zinātne, 9.–28. lpp.

⁵ See, for instance, Stacey, J. (2000) *Is Academic Feminism an Oxymoron?* The University of Chicago Press

⁶ Cimdiņa, A. (2001) *Feminisma iztēlošanās jeb kā (literatūrzinātnes ietvaros) glābt vīrieti?* *Feministica Lettica*, II. Latvijas Universitāte, p. 231.

1960s, and was helpful to understand inter-and trans-sexual “patients”.⁷ The concept without an agreement with regard to how it should be translated has created many terminological and other problems since.

Eventually feminists took over the distinction and used it to show how biology had been appropriated to legitimise particular gender roles. With this distinction, they had a weapon against reactionary gender politics based on biological determinism: Biology does not necessarily assign women to a subject position, feminists held; discrimination is on the gender level. So Gayle Rubin in 1975 dreamt of an androgynous and genderless (though not sexless) society, in which one’s sexual anatomy is irrelevant to who one is, what one does, and with whom one makes love. The same distinction was used later by a new generation of feminists, interested in the “positive” values of women and opposed to the “negative” values they often attributed to men.

In the 1990s, the so-called “post-structuralists” argued against the view that biology was a firm foundation upon which social norms and cultural interpretations were inscribed, and particularly against the confidence that the line between sex and gender, male and female, homo- and heterosexual, biology and culture could be clearly drawn. One of the most influential of these post-structuralists, the American Judith Butler, thought that sex is indeed itself a cultural construct, the tacit constraints that produce culturally intelligible ‘sex’ ought to be understood as generative political structures rather than naturalised foundations. Also before gender as a term coined by feminist thinkers appearance it has been no secret to intellectuals that a human being is a biosocial being, and over a couple of decades (since the 1990s) it has gradually become clear that the newly introduced concept of ‘gender’ by itself does not resolve much whilst posing new theoretical, methodological, translational and adaptational problems in languages where the grammatical category of gender bears a strong lexical and grammatical load and there is actually no need for setting up this kind of *sex/gender* opposition.⁸ Some internationally known feminist researchers came up with an opinion, that “the notion of “gender” is at a crisis point in feminist theory and practice and that it is undergoing intense criticism both for its theoretical inadequacy and for its politically

⁷ Gender as a term gained its popularity in the course of adaption of the book by Stoler, R. (1968) *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity*. New York: Science House.

⁸ In English, the word *sex* also means *sexual intercourse*, and therefore, the usage of the term to refer to understandings of behaviours and roles in society or culture is strongly limited, while this problem does not exist in Scandinavian, German, Russian and other European languages including Latvian.

amorphous and unfocused nature”⁹, thus instability of the gender concept itself should be regarded as one of its translation problems.

The term ‘gender’ as an explicit example is included in the “Dictionary of Untranslatables”¹⁰. The entry gives the term in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and adds that “after the end of the 1960s, when biologists, sociologists, psycho-analysts, and philosophers studying sexuality began to take into account what Anglo-Saxon authors refer to as “gender”, the debate reached the fields of European languages, without there being a decision to use, for example, *genre* in French, *genere* in Italian...”¹¹ This pragmatic acceptance of the concept without an agreement with regard to how it should be translated has created a lot of terminological, science communication and other problems since. In the same dictionary, for example, the entry on ‘sex’ lists both ‘sexe’ and ‘genre’ as translations of the term into French; the German translation ‘Geschlecht’ is also the one given as translation for ‘gender’.

In Greek, ‘sex’ is γένος, which in turn is the root beneath the English term ‘gender’ – with Latin ‘genus’ as the intermediate stage of etymological development. Swedish has simply taken the Latin term ‘genus’, but the dictionary lists ‘køn’ as a synonym. The description says: Despite the analogy, to translate as *genre* (in French) or *genero* (in Spanish) proves to be ambiguous, whereas German adopts the English form *Gender*, which it allows to coexist as *Geschlecht*, which can be rendered by ‘sex’, as well as by ‘gender.’ Raising as many problems as it attempts to solve, the concept of gender is balanced by the classic phrases *différence des sexes*.

‘Gender’ – the way the term is used in English today, is the brainchild of the second-wave feminism (the 1970s) – a theoretical construction which acquires its significance when put in contrast to the concept of sex with the purpose of making distinction between sex, which is biological, and gender, which refers to socially constructed characteristics of masculinity and femininity.

The point is not to show how such theory is embedded socially, because this is a task for the social sciences. Rather the authors shall try to show (1) how it is also embedded linguistically, and (2) that Anglophone theory which presupposes a clear distinction between sex and gender is not unproblematic in translation. Other, more integrating concepts such as Scandinavian ‘kjønn/kön’, Latvian ‘dzimums’ (and French ‘sexe’, among

⁹ Braidotti, R. (1994) *Nomadic Subjects. Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 150.

¹⁰ Cassin, B. (ed.) (2014) *Dictionary of Untranslatables. A Philosophical Lexicon*. Princeton: Princeton University (first published in French, 2004).

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 375.

others) allow one to approach Norwegian or Latvian textual bodies in their textually mediated and interpreted state rather than leaving one to search for a biological lowest common denominator determining these interpretations and expressions. The authors shall not argue that one should avoid the use of 'sex' and 'gender' altogether, because the authors do not think that is possible when writing in English. Rather, multilingual awareness and a critical attitude are needed when theory dependent on these terms is applied in non-Anglophone contexts to non-English texts. The fact is that 'gender' has become a very negative term in parts of Eastern Europe (for instance, in Poland and Russia, and also in Latvia).

The Scandinavian difference

In English and French, the hegemonic languages of feminist theory today, women can sometimes be included in the masculine term 'man' or 'homme', which then takes on generic meaning; at other times, they are excluded. For current French thinkers this possibility of using 'homme' in both a masculine and a generic sense represents the core of phallogocentrism. Woman is sometimes presupposed within the generic term, other times not. Her inclusion does not make a visible or "audible" difference to the term and she is rarely mentioned explicitly. For 'man' or 'homme', woman is the difference without which the term could not make claims to universality. Woman becomes the necessary support of the universality of 'man', operating within the latter term as a constant shadow that cannot be dialectically absorbed – neither obliterated nor fully assumed.

German and Scandinavian languages have kept the Greek distinction between generic 'anthropos' and masculine 'aner'. The authors are not thereby saying that phallogocentrism is a French and English phenomenon only (today gender-aware Anglophones use the term 'human being' rather than 'man'), or that the generic signifier in Greek (*anthropos*), German and Scandinavian is not frequently used in an exclusively masculine sense, too. Nevertheless, the authors do think that Francophone and Anglophone theorists have been challenged to think extra hard about the problem of woman's exclusion from or inclusion in the category of humanity.

Neither are the authors arguing that language categories determine our way of thinking that all language is tautological, or that translation is impossible. It is fully possible for example, to have a concept or a notion of something without having a term for it. However, literary and cultural theories formulated in one language make themselves dependent on the possibilities of that language. When applied to different linguistic systems they may tease out what is unexpressed or suppressed, but equally

plausible is that they render important possibilities in that other language invisible. This is *especially* the case when a notion of 'pure language' is given up because translating theory is not just a question of translating single words. It takes awareness and sensitivity.

In her book *What is a Woman?* Toril Moi makes clear that she does not claim that a distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' is irrelevant to *every* feminist project. However, she finds that there is at least one case in which the distinction is *not* useful, and that is when it comes to producing a good theory of subjectivity.¹² In this article, the authors have found that it is not very useful either, when trying to make sense of the gendered language in literature not written in English: In literature, it not possible to distinguish a 'sex' foundation from the gendered, metaphorical or symbolic caption of it. Every time the authors have tried to read for sex, the outcome has been something else: gender structures, constructions of meaning – but interestingly not gender as cut off from sex, but rather gender as something more comprehensive, something which is still material. This "something" is perhaps better expressed by the Scandinavian term 'kjønn/kön' since English does not have a separate word for the combination of sex and gender, and because the redefinition of the term 'gender' in direction of 'kjønn/kön' may therefore create misunderstandings. Such terminological recirculation is a linguistic possibility in English though, in addition to (as the authors have tried to) choosing words carefully in order to make clear that even if the authors believe that biological bodies exist, they are multivalent (obviously!) and can carry different meanings within different semiotic systems.

It may be that a more flexible Scandinavian concept of 'kjønn/kön' would have better captured the complexity and varieties in local compositions of gender, and would be more suited generally to grasp ancient Greek notions of men and women, and it is surely my bilingual existence that has sparked off these reflections. However, the authors rather think that if just gender scholars pay more attention to the fact that they do not speak only one language, a broader, "babelian" conversation involving multiple languages can save gender theory from being trapped in dead ends that are only dead ends in one particular language. With awareness and caution, the difference between languages can turn out not as the muting final word: "Greek to me," but rather as an obstacle that only challenges us to leap higher to see new possibilities.

¹² Moi, T. (1999) *What is a Woman?: And Other Essays*. Oxford University Press, p. 6.

Always already interpreted

‘Essentialism’ and ‘constructionism’ designate recent positions within gender (and other) theory. ‘Essentialist’ is rarely used by scholars to designate their own position, but is used to label more or less all of the feminisms of the late 70s and 80s which were dependent on a firm foundation either in women’s biology, attributes, ‘nature’ or similar, in order to be able to fight convincingly for women to be held in higher esteem and for their liberation. Constructionism presents itself as a reaction to essentialism and sees sex, as well as gender and sexuality as historical, discursive, socio-cultural products, and not as effects of some fixed essence or biology. Toril Moi interestingly interprets the tendency within constructionist circles to criticise anyone who thinks that biological facts exist, for their essentialism or “biologism” as recoil from the idea that biological facts can ground social values. She refers to Anne Balsamo who related how once after a lecture where she had shown slides of bodies in the process of undergoing various technological interventions, someone came up to her and said: “But you know, the body is only a *hypothesis*.” The latter statement exemplifies a vulgar, but perhaps widespread version of constructionism in the 1990s.

Nevertheless, in order to avoid biological determinism, it is not necessary to deny that the biological body exists. If Scandinavians maintain the aptness of ‘kjønn/kön’ when thinking gender, it remains that one does not have, or need to have, access to the biological body “an sich.” However, then it is also very problematic to insist that this level does not exist. To use Kantian terms, the body, in so far as it is relevant for thinking in gender terms (particularly within arts and social sciences), belongs to the “Ding-als-Erscheinung”-level, not the “Ding-an-Sich”-level. It may sound odd to cite Kant here, but he is chosen because if one wants to enrich and historicise the current debates, the Kantians represented a sobering position between the German idealists on the one side, and the historicists and positivists on the other.

There are also kindred connections between Simone de Beauvoir’s characterization of the body as a “situation” and Kant’s confidence that as long as one trusts their experiences, they guide us towards things that have their particular place in time and space and in the chain of causes and effects. For Kant, problems arise first when one thinks that one can allow oneself to transfer all that one knows about the experienced thing, the situated thing, to the “thing in itself.” To use the biological body as *explanation* for particular cultural constructions of the body is to draw it into a network of cause and effect that imposes structures of meaning upon it that the “Ding an Sich” does not have. Trying to find out where ‘sex’ ends and ‘gender’ starts, is in this perspective futile because it will

be an impossible task since the biological body, as one encounters it, is always already interpreted. Judith Butler, too, points to the problematic nature of the 'gender' concept and a shift from a theoretical construction to a discourse on actual human beings in their bodily form, recognising that "Gender is now the name for a set of debates on how to think about the biological, chromosomal, psychological, cultural, and socioeconomic dimensions of a lived bodily reality."¹³

Translating 'gender' into Norwegian: 'kjønn' or 'genus'? A review of the debates

Norwegian and Swedish feminist scholars are sometimes struck by how different Scandinavian gender discourse is from Anglo-American gender discourse, considering the close similarities in other cultural areas. Even if this difference represents more of a problem in socio-scientific feminist studies, it should be addressed also in the text-based studies of the Humanities in so far as they draw on theory developed from socio-scientific studies of a particular location and period that may be very different from the context in which the textual studies take place in and should make sense.

This Anglophone feminist-theoretical discourse is adjusted to a language system with its own inherent problems, which may or may not be different to those e.g. Scandinavian gender scholars try to resolve. Like French, Scandinavian languages do not have the distinction between sex and gender. The linguistic system that Scandinavian feminists read the English sex-gender-distinction into, only has one term for the various types of differences between men and women, which does not mean that they are unable to distinguish between physiology, social roles and metaphors *when necessary*. More recently Swedish gender scholars have gained some acceptance for their use of the term *genus* as equivalent to English *gender*, but from the outset the term 'kön/kjønn' covered both English 'sex' and 'gender'. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why many Scandinavian users of Anglophone feminist theory were held back from the temptation to see the sex-gender-distinction as a sharp and clear-cut one, even in the 1970s and part of the 1980s when this distinction was unproblematic in English scholarship.

The popularity of post-structuralists such as Judith Butler may be seen in the same light. In a Scandinavian context it made sense particularly well when she argued against those who easily distinguished between sex and

¹³ Butler, J. (2014) *Gender and Gender trouble*. Barbara Cassin (ed.). Dictionary of Untranslatables. A Philosophical Lexicon. Princeton: Princeton University, p. 378.

gender, and when Joan Scott started to use the term "gender" in a way equivalent to Scandinavian "køn/kjønn" although in Scandinavia the post-structuralist spell to get rid of biology and sex did not really work. Another particularity of Scandinavian languages compared to English, is that there are linguistic alternatives to the silent, unstable inclusion of women under a masculine/generic term.

Translating 'gender' into Latvian: the debate that continues?

Feminist and gender studies and research is a comparatively new academic discipline in Latvia, since the standards of the Soviet era literary studies setting the trend almost until the end of 20th century were conducive neither for the first nor for the second wave of feminism. Acceptance of the 'gender' concept without an agreement with regard to how it should be translated has created a lot of terminological and other problems also in Latvia, which have also found reflection in the project objectives, starting from the rendering of the English term 'gender' in the title of the project in Latvian translation.¹⁴

The philosopher Jānis Nameisis Vējš is one of the first to signal problems with the rendering of the word 'gender' into Latvian: he faced the issue when translating Karin Widerberg's article "Translating Gender"¹⁵, which deals with the positioning and adapting 'gender' into the vocabulary of Scandinavian humanitarian and social sciences. Widerberg notes that there are no separate words in the Scandinavian languages that cohere with the sex/gender division, and both these meanings are covered by one concept (Danish 'køn', Swedish 'kön', Norwegian 'kjønn').

The same conclusion – that the Latvian language also does not have a word to adequately function in the frame of the *sex/gender* binary (and both these meanings are integrated in the word 'dzimums') – is made by Jānis Nameisis Vējš.¹⁶ Recognising this translation problem, Vējš treats gender as a 'dzimums' translation side, but for as precise as possible rendering of gender concept¹⁷ into Latvian, he suggests building a compound term 'dzimumsocialitāte' (the social side of sex/gender distinction), which

¹⁴ The project title "Gender, Culture and Power: Diversity and Interactions in Latvia and Norway" into Latvian is translated as "Dzimumsocialitāte kultūras un varas mijattiecībās: Latvijas un Norvēģijas diversitātes", to avoid the literal translation of 'gender', that is, a one-sided simplistic differentiation between the meanings of 'sex' and 'gender'.

¹⁵ Widerberg, K. (2001) *Tulkojot gender. Feministica Lettica*, II, pp. 163–173 (*Translating Gender*, first publication in English – *Nora*, 1998, 2(6)).

¹⁶ Vējš, J. N. (2001) *Tulkotāja piezīme. Feministica Lettica* II, pp. 162–163.

¹⁷ Translation is not question of translating single words, but translating of a theory.

would include the meaning of both concepts – biological sex and socially construed gender. On the other hand, the use of the literal translation of ‘gender’ (*dzimte*), thereby attempting to assign an additional meaning to the word that denotes grammatical gender only, would lead to the opposite effect – this would mask the social facets and nuances of the term. Regardless of the translator’s warning, the literal rendering of ‘gender’ into ‘*dzimte*’ was used in the first translations of Anglophone feminist theories into Latvian.¹⁸ This could be explained by the fact that the works translated into Latvian were those published earlier and created at a time when the debate on methodological and translation-related problems concerning the concept of ‘gender’ underway in the Old Europe in 1990s, had not yet reached Latvia.¹⁹ This suggests that, in the process of building awareness of the complex nature of human biosocial identity, the literal translation of ‘gender’ as ‘*dzimte*’ turns out to be problematic and hardly indicative of efforts to probe and understand the distinctive character of the nation’s language and culture. The strategy of adapting the ‘queer theory’ term into the Latvian linguistic and cultural space has followed a totally different path, rejecting literal translation in principle. Namely, the word ‘*zilais*’²⁰ (in Latvian – blue) was chosen as the Latvian equivalent of ‘queer’ and recognised as acceptable in similar semantic constructions, since this substantivized adjective has been used in Latvian in the meaning similar to ‘queer’ (although ‘*zilais*’ is being used as a euphemism for male homosexuality only).

Namely, three Latvian versions exist for the concept of gender in translation practice and usage: ‘*dzimums*’ (‘sex/gender’ in one), ‘*dzimumsocialitāte*’ (‘gender sociality’) and *dzimte* (‘gender’ that in Latvian means nothing, but a grammatical category). Latvian translators have been quite unique in opting for the direct translation of ‘gender’ as ‘*dzimte*’ (that means nothing, but a grammatical category) – since not only Scandinavians

¹⁸ Novikova, I. (ed.) (2001) *Mūsdienu feministiskās teorijas*. Antoloģija. Rīga: Jumava.

¹⁹ In the case of Latvia, temporal aspects of translation are vital, namely, the translation of feminist classics has come with a considerable delay (or there are no translations at all), whilst the lexicographic material and terminological nuances of source languages or pivot languages have been changing, quite rapidly in the recent time, which requires a translator to seek rather complicated theoretical and methodological solutions. For instance, one of the classical feminist works, *Le Deuxième Sexe* (1949) by Simone de Beauvoir, which gained international acclaim due to its English translation, *The Second Sex*, has not been translated into Latvian, except for some fragments published in the Reviews section of the *Karogs* magazine (Issue No 12, 1994); Virginia Woolf’s *A Room of One’s Own* (1929) was published in Latvian as late as in 2002; the Latvian translation of Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990) appeared 2012, etc.

²⁰ Vērdiriņš, K. (2013) *Zilo teorija*. Mūsdienu literatūras teorijas. Rīga, LU LFMI.

but also Lithuanians, our Baltic brothers language stick to their 'lytis' (that is, sex/gender in one), Germans – to their 'Geschlecht' (that is, sex/gender in one), and Russians – to their 'пол' (that is, sex gender in one) whilst taking over an untranslated in theoretical discourse, and this has also been the choice of Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and other Slavic nations. Consequently, the question why, when translating 'gender' into Latvian, the semantic field of the concept 'dzimums' should be narrowed down and an additional meaning imposed onto the grammatical category of gender, is very much to the point.

Language users' perplexity upon encountering 'dzimte' – the literal translation of 'gender' in public discourse is demonstrated by a review in the "Kultūras Diena" newspaper on the Latvian edition of Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*²¹, which announced to the reader that Judith Butler's work *Native Land Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* has been published. That is, "Dzimtenes nemiers"²² instead of "Dzimtes nemiers" (as the publisher had it), and we do not think that this bizarre error could just be put down to a mere misprint: the translator must also have been on the horns of a dilemma of providing the optimal translation for the title of Butler's book.

Occasionally, the resistance of journalists to 'dzimums' being replaced by 'dzimte' also finds its way into the local media: the Anglicism *gender* is then not translated into Latvian and used in a pejorative sense, linking it to a certain new ideology of genderism.²³ Thus, for instance, Viktors Avotiņš writes in response to the opinions of the readers of the "Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze" newspaper, "this could have certain political implications. Let's say, the lean of family policy towards genderism policy"²⁴. The same newspaper journalist Elita Veidemane sarcastically speaks about the support of a Latvian politician for the introduction of early sexual education, which "attempting even the nursery school students to introduce genderism's

²¹ www.diena.lv/sodien.../bez-nosaukuma-139785... Džūdita Batlere. *Dzimtenes nemiers. Feminisms un identitātes graušana*. [Judith Butler. *Native Land (sic) Trouble*] (viewed 21.12.2016).

²² Sic! In Latvian, the words *dzimt* (to be born), *dzimums* (sex/gender in one), *dzimte* (grammatical gender), *dzimtene* (native land, birthplace), *dzimts* (native) share the same root.

²³ The term "genderism" in the English colloquial language is used in different or an opposite meanings. It is used as a synonym for "sexism; sexual discrimination" (www.freethesaurus.com/Genderism), also as a new ideology destroying the family: <https://www.lifesitenews.com/.../genderism-a-new-ideology-destroying-the-family> (viewed 20.04. 2017).

²⁴ Avotiņš, V. (2014) Runājiet! Neatkarīgā klausās. *Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze*. 2014, 11, 11, p. 2.

demons.”²⁵ The term “genderism” also accompanies the US President Donald Trump’s visit to Warsaw in the leading daily newspaper “Diena” in the contemptible sense: The Polish government and Trump agree that the two are attacking “liberals, post-communists, the left and genderists.”²⁶

Observing the inclination of some media and political scientists to use the word ‘dzimte’ instead of ‘dzimums’ (– as if a person’s sex were something discriminating and inconvenient, something to be concealed – Jānis Vanags regards this as threat to Latvian national and cultural identity and remarks with irony: “All that remains is to make a person believe that he or she has no tradition, no religion, no sex, just gender (*nav dzimuma, ir tikai dzimte*).”²⁷ (Vanags 2013, 7) In Latvian, in many cases, this negativism is rooted in the confusion between the terms ‘gender’ (‘dzimums’) and ‘sexual orientation’ (‘seksuālā orientācija’) or disposition.

The distinction of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ is perhaps causing less trouble in social sciences, whereas in humanities and cultural studies, for instance, when doing research on women authors’ creative biographies and their texts, it is often next to impossible to identify a dividing line between the end of ‘sex’ and the beginning of ‘gender’.²⁸ Recent studies in philosophical literature suggest that this is the issue of not only Latvian grammar structures or the semantic fields of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ distinction. For instance, Alison Stone speaks of a woman’s body as something given to her biologically and at the same time embodying deep-rooted cultural signs; according to her, “as humans, we always live and experience our bodies as meaningful, not merely biological items”²⁹.

Regardless of the obvious problems with translating ‘gender’ into Latvian, a broader exchange of views on the subject was launched between academia only as late as in the spring of 2016, in an interdisciplinary academic debate on the understanding and definitions of gender equality related concepts – “Gender? Sex?”³⁰ held by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Latvia and the Ministry of Welfare. To a large extent, this came as a response to differences of opinion during the translation into the Latvian language of the so-called Istanbul Declaration³¹ and the need for a

²⁵ Veidemane, E. (2017) Duets krasta putās. *Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze*. 2017, 12, 04, p. 2.

²⁶ Kezberis, U. (2017) Trampam Varšavā izritina sarkano paklāju. *Diena*. 2017, 06, 06, p. 9.

²⁷ Vanags, J. (2013) Mēs spējam paveikt neticamo. *Latvijas Avīze*. 2013, 20, 11, p. 7.

²⁸ Cimdīņa, A. (ed.). (2016) *Aspazija and Modernity: Gender, Nation, Creativity*. Zinātne Publishers, p. 24.

²⁹ Stone, A. (2007) *An Introduction to Feminist Philosophy*. Polity Press, p. 112.

³⁰ www.lm.gov.lv/upload/aktualitates/6/gender_cimdina.pdf.

³¹ Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, opened for signature on 11 May 2011, in Istanbul.

broader public outreach beyond the academic environment. Recent public debate, as well as academic wording led the authors to think that a choice has been done: The “English – Latvian Dictionary of Psychology Terms” translates ‘gender’ and its inclusive terminology as follows: gender – dzimums; gender bias – dzimumu aizspriedumi; gender differences – dzimumatšķirības; gender discrimination – dzimumdiskriminācija; gender identity – dzimumidentitāte; gender identity disorders – dzimumidentitātes traucējumi; gender roles – dzimumu lomas.³² ‘Dzimums’ as the first version of the ‘gender’ translation into Latvian is also defined in the “Cultural Feminism. A Glossary of Feminist Terms.”, indicating also the alternative choice – to translate ‘gender’ as ‘dzimumsocialitāte’.³³

Conclusion

‘Gender’ in English language is a neutral, descriptive term denoting 1) either the socio-cultural role and identity of a person, or 2) a holistic concept describing an experience of being male, female, or otherwise. This experience includes biological, cognitive, psychological, social, and cultural factors – and probably others. In this article, the authors have found that sex/gender distinction is not very useful either, when trying to make sense of the gendered language in literature not written in English: in literature, it not possible to distinguish a ‘sex’ foundation from the gendered, metaphorical or symbolic caption of it.

The concept of ‘gender’ (in Latvian ‘dzimums’, in Norwegian ‘kjønn’) allows one to talk about gender as culturally, socially and historically given – and thus not something given and determined by biology, god’s creation or similar. Thus ‘gender’, though a neutral term in itself, becomes an analytical tool for separating culturally, religiously and socially ascribed roles to women from any foundation given in creation understood biologically and/or religiously. This in itself might be challenging for religious and conservative political authority that might prefer to present women’s and men’s roles (as e.g. mothers and priests respectively) as given and undisputable.

This, the authors propose, may be one explanation of the puzzle why ‘gender’ in untranslated form has been imported into many Eastern European languages and given a very different and intended negative meaning denoting all sorts of identity blending, sexual excess, destruction

³² Putniņš, A. L., Raščevska, M. (eds.) (2016) *Angļu–latviešu psiholoģijas terminu vārdnīca*. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, p. 62.

³³ Cimdiņa, A., Šroma, N. (eds.) (2017) *Glossary of Feminist Terms. Cultural Feminism*. Rīga: Zinātne Publishers, p. 85.

of marriage and family, and even the psychological and biological impossibility of “choosing one’s own identity” as male or female etc.³⁴ The explanation of why this ascription of negative meaning content to the term ‘gender’ has at all been possible is, the authors suggest, that the term is in many ways untranslatable and therefore has been imported into this different linguistic context in untranslated form. In a new, foreign context, the term is from the outset void of content and open to being filled with anything.

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³⁴ There was, for example, broad coverage of Pope Francis’ official visit to Georgia, where he spoke out against “gender theory” as a ‘global war’ against marriage and family. As rendered in translation from Italian in e.g. <https://cruxnow.com/global-church/2016/10/01/pope-calls-gender-theory-global-war-family/> (accessed on April 25th, 2017, cf. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/pope-francis-catholic-church-gender-theory-global-war-traditional-marriage-family-a7341226.html>), ‘gender’ is ‘what the person believes himself or herself to be’, which is indeed very far from the English meanings discussed above.

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EUROPEAN TRANSPORT PROJECT – RAIL BALTICA: PROSPECTS FOR BALTIC STATES AND RUSSIA

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Abstract

A requirement of the entry of the Baltic countries to the EU was to bring the state of transport infrastructure in line with the requirements of the integration group. For the purpose of integrating the Baltic States into a common European space, a transport strategy was developed for the Baltic Sea Region in the early 1990s. The main goal of this study is to research the advantages and disadvantages of Rail Baltica's (RB) implementation and its prospects for the Baltic States and Russia. The authors applied logical analysis, a comparative method to the primary information. A SWOT-analysis was carried out to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the project, as well as the opportunities and threats of its realisation.

The main goals of RB are the development of high quality passenger and freight transportation between the Baltic States and other European countries (via a transport node in Warsaw with a route to Berlin) and the encouragement of regional development in Poland and the Baltic States. Construction of the Rail Baltica railway will extend the capacity of cargo transport on the railway and develop freight traffic to/from European countries (via a new freight route North – South), it may also reduce travel time, traffic flow on ViaBaltica, Polish and German motorways as well, and ecological friendly rail transport will be developed. Thus, there will be new opportunities to develop transport and logistics services and tourism too. Via Rail Baltica is intended to transport at least 13 million tons of cargos and five million passengers a year.

Keywords: Rail Baltica, interregional trade, Baltic States.

Introduction

The concept for the construction and development of the Rail Baltica project initially appeared in 1994 in the document "Vision and Strategy for the Baltic Sea 2010". The Rail Baltica project was initiated by the Government of Lithuania, which has a common border with Poland. The

time needed for changing of wagon wheels (because of the different width of gauges) required about 40 minutes for passenger trains and about 130 minutes for freight trains on the border between Lithuania and Poland.

Rail Baltica is the largest state construction project of railway infrastructure in the past 100 years, and is an international cross-border project with a high added value connecting the Baltic States with the European gauge railway infrastructure. Construction of the Rail Baltica railway will increase the capacity for cargo transportation by rail and develop the traffic of goods to/from European countries (a new freight route North–South), it may also reduce travel time, traffic flow on ViaBaltica, Polish and German motorways as well, and ecological friendly rail transport will be developed. Thus, there will be new opportunities to develop tourism, transport and logistics services. It is intended to transport at least 13 million tons of cargos and five million passengers a year via Rail Baltica. The project involves the construction of a railway line of 1.435 mm, or the European standard gauge in the Baltic States linking Tallinn–Riga–Kaunas–Warsaw–Berlin (and in the future Venice) and the ferry to Tallinn – Helsinki with possible branches to St. Petersburg. It is anticipated that passenger trains will achieve speeds of up to 240 km/h and freight trains up to 120 km/h. The Final Report of the potential railroad project Rail Baltica was presented in 2006. This transport corridor is one of the priority projects of TEN-T. Despite its important political role, it is still not completed, because the plan for the corridor’s construction has only been approved recently. Discrepancies existed between the participating countries, concerning detailed transportation routes, the financial participation of countries and the shared responsibility of national governments for the implementation of the project.

The implementation of Rail Baltica will happen in several phases. The first phase, which has already finished, was the construction of a standard-gauge railway from the Poland–Lithuania border to a new freight terminal in Kaunas. The first phase was completed by the end of 2014. The second phase would then combine the current 1.520-millimeter gauge of rails from Kaunas to Vilnius with the European gauge by 2016. A dual-gauge line would then be extended to Riga and Tallinn. Construction is planned to begin on the Estonian section in 2017 or 2018 and on the Latvian section in 2020. After completion, Rail Baltica will provide for 3% GDP growth in the Baltic States and more than €5 billion investment in the region (RZD-Partner, 2015).

“The Baltic countries will become more competitive in the world market if they can intensify economic co-operation among themselves and develop common infra-structural networks”. This idea appeared in the 1930’s. The researchers compared these three countries with the Benelux

countries and they took into account the big Eastern neighbour, Russia (Paas, 2002).

The transport corridor could be considered as a supply chain between Western Europe and the Baltic States. The route of Rail Baltica includes both ports and railway together with a ferry to Helsinki. Ports play a crucial role in many supply chains as logistics gateways and intermodal hubs. As this connection between ports and supply chains develops rapidly, the growth of ports will have a more proactive/integrated approach to supply chains (Beresford *et al.*, 2004), especially those supply chains that have relations to the port's hinterland.

Martijn van der Horst and César Ducruet conducted a study of the relationships between ports and supply chains from a port perspective. The concept of inland dry ports is being developed now in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Perhaps in the long term these dry ports will be connected with the Rail Baltica route. The dry port concept goes beyond the conventional use of rail shuttles for connecting a seaport with its hinterland (Woxenius, 2004).

Russian researchers including Vorobieva I., Mezhevich N. and some others performed the analysis of the economy of the Baltic States and the Rail Baltica's role.

Historical background

The European Union is a collective actor whose general interest is consensus between different national interests. The main interests of the EU in the Baltic Sea area are smooth trade between EU and Russia, better integration of EU members (Lumiste R. *et al.*, 2011).

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were among the most highly developed republics within the Soviet Union. However, this high level of economic performance was achieved mainly due to the priority of their funding from the Union centre. As part of the USSR's division of labour, the Baltic republics had their economic niche. The mechanical engineering, energy, textile, food, transport and construction industries and services were among the most developed. Thousands of tourists visited resorts on the Baltic Sea coast and the capitals of the Baltic republics each year. By the early 1990s, the Baltic States had a modern industrial and transport infrastructure. The Mazeikiiai refinery and Ignalina nuclear power plants were built in Lithuania, Novotallinsky port and thermal power plants in Estonia (Narva), Ventspils port and the hydroelectric power station on the Daugava River, Riga Carriage Works, VEF Electrical Plant and RAF automobile plant were in Latvia. The goods produced by the Baltic republic's light industry were in

great demand in the USSR. The standard of living of the Baltic States was one of the highest among the Soviet republics.

There are still many industrial and infrastructure facilities remaining since the regaining of independence of these countries. The disruption in processing chains and the loss of the all-union market led to a crisis in the transition to a market economy. Some companies were closed or divided into smaller companies during privatisation. There was a deep recession in the first half of the 1990s: during the first 5 years of reforms, Latvia's GDP fell by 51%, Lithuania's – by 44%, and Estonia's – by 35%.

The greatest economic growth took place in the period from 1994 to 1997. In that time Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were called “the Baltic tigers” (Vorobieva I., 2009). Competent macroeconomic policy, improving market institutions, low corruption and a skilled workforce led to this situation. These countries were able to quickly recover from the breakdown of the Soviet Union. In 1993 –2015 average annual growth rate in Estonia was 4.2%, in Latvia – 4.3% (the best result among Baltic States), and in Lithuania – 4%. After accession to the EU, their cooperation has increased significantly (Vorobieva I., 2009).

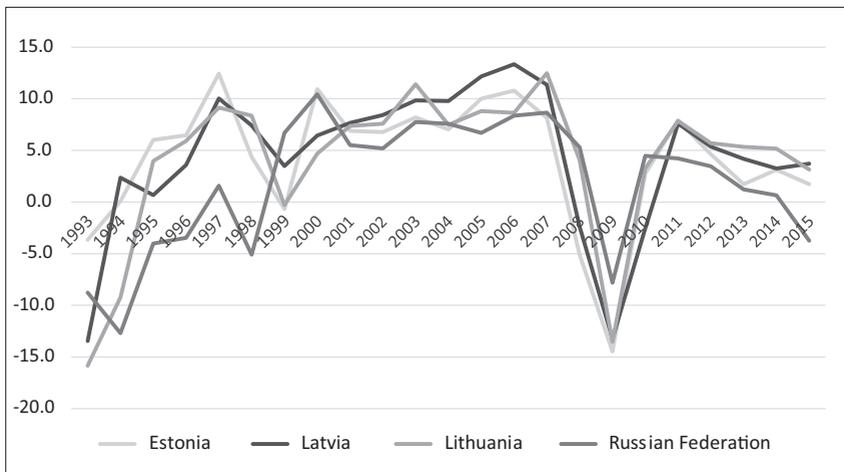


Figure 1 The Annual average real growth rate of GDP per capita in 1993–2015 in Baltic States and Russian Federation (in %)

Source: <http://unctadstat.unctad.org>

The world crisis of 2008–2009 has influenced the economic situation in the Baltic States (see Figure 1 above). Nevertheless, after recovery from

recession the idea of the Rail Baltica's creation was encouraged by several political decisions. Milestones of this path are outlined below.

On the 22th of October 2010, Prime Ministers at the Baltic Council of ministers signed a joint statement. Prime Ministers welcomed the European Commission's initiative to include the transport corridor Helsinki – Tallinn – Parnu–Riga–Kaunas–Warsaw on the TEN-T priority project № 27 Rail Baltica according the Memorandum of Understanding, which was signed on 8 June 2010. It meant the support from various EU financial instruments for the implementation of the project in the future.

On the 7th of December 2011, Ministers of transport and communications of Baltic States signed a declaration of intent regarding the further development of "Rail Baltica". It was decided that coordination between Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland is crucial for the full implementation of the new alignment of the "Rail Baltica" project. The parties invited the EU Coordinator to immediately launch negotiations to reach an agreement on coordination, bearing in mind all aspects of this transport project. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania should appoint two representatives by 16th of January 2012 to a special Task Force, which is created for the establishment of the "Rail Baltica" joint venture, "which will involve project stakeholders and work out detailed plans for:

- management structure, legal status, shareholders agreement;
- financial issues and operational costs;
- coordination of short and long term work plans".

In March 2012, Ministers of transport and communications of the Baltic States signed a joint letter to the Ministry of Transport of Poland with an invitation to participate in the inter-ministerial Task Force of Rail Baltica project and widen the Task Force mandate. Representatives of the Polish Ministry of Transport have already participated in the Task Force meetings.

On the 19th of 2012, the Prime Ministers of the Baltic States at the Baltic Council of Ministers signed a Joint Statement, where they "welcomed the involvement and full integration of Poland and Finland into the Task Force". They agreed on a Riga (Latvia) location for the Joint Venture office. The implementation of the project will be supported by the Connecting Europe Facility (CEF), which would be the source approximately 85% of the EU co-financing".

On the 8th of November 2013, the Prime Ministers of the Baltic States at the Baltic Council of Ministers signed Joint Statement, where they "welcomed the new EU TEN-T policy and establishment of North Sea – Baltic Corridor as a part of the new European Core Network where Rail Baltica is one of the flagship projects; welcomed their decision to establish the Joint Venture with headquarters in Riga and the opportunity for the Republic

of Finland and Republic of Poland to join in the future as shareholders and take part in the management of the company under equal terms”, etc.

On the 5th of December 2014, Prime Ministers of the Baltic States at the Baltic Council of Minister in a Joint Statement “endorsed the Shareholders’ Agreement, signed on 28 October 2014 in Riga, and recognised the establishment of the Joint Venture RB Rail AS with regard to the successful implementation of the Rail Baltica/Rail Baltic Project”. Each shareholder (from three Baltic countries) will invest 650 000 EUR and receive 1/3 of share capital.

On the 24th of November 2015, in Tallinn, the European Innovation and Networks Executive Agency (INEA) and RB Rail AS, a joint venture between the three Baltic States, have signed an agreement on the European Union’s grant for the development of the first phase of the Rail Baltic/Rail Baltica high speed railway which is being awarded for part of the implementation of the overall Rail Baltica project. This includes technical studies, land acquisition, initial construction works, project management support, oversight and public communications. The total amount of this grant is 442 million euro (The Baltic Course, 2015).

On the 21th of June 2016, the Joint Declaration between Ministers of Transport of the Baltic States, Finland and Poland was adopted in Rotterdam. It mentioned that “the completion of the projects for the reconstruction and upgrading of the existing 1520mm gauge lines and construction of the 1435mm gauge railway section in Lithuania in October 2015, as a first step in connecting the Baltic States to the 1435mm gauge railway network and opening up the possibility to build up the traffic on the North–South axis” would complete “the project in the Baltic States by the target date of 2025, and to reach the efficient connection up to Warsaw” (EC,2016).

On the 31st of January 2017, the Prime Ministers of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuanian signed the Rail Baltica agreement, which sets out the deadlines, the route and several technical details of the new railway interconnection.

Therefore, in terms of political and economic aspects, the Rail Baltica project began to take real shape.

Financial aspects of the project

In accordance with the requirements of EU legislation, it was originally estimated that the cost of the project will be 5 billion euros and the EU will provide 60% of the cost of construction. Later, however, the figures were adjusted. Construction of Rail Baltica would cost about 3.5 billion euros and the European Commission will cover 85% of costs (Mezhevich N.,

2014). It was planned to allocate 91 billion euros before 2015 to create transport infrastructure in accordance with European standards in countries joining the EU (countries of Central and Eastern Europe), due to the fact that the resources of their state budgets are clearly inadequate. (White paper «European transport policy for 2010: time to decide», 2001). These costs can be justified by the strategic importance of the project.

On the 10th of July 2015, the European Union approved a list of projects to be funded by CEF, including the project Rail Baltica. 442.2 million euros will be allocated to the Baltic States for the project or 81.83% of the financing until 2020. By the end of July, the European Commission adopted a formal decision on financing. The EU will monitor the proper implementation of the project.

Latvia has been allocated 238 million euros for the first phase of the newly approved Rail Baltica project with European gauge. These funds will be mainly used in 2018 and will be exhausted in 2020. Latvia is planning to begin the Rail Baltica project in Latvia's capital (Riga Central Station and reconstruction of associated infrastructure and construction of Rail Baltica station at the Riga International Airport).

The cost of the Lithuanian section of Rail Baltica – is nearly 2 billion litas (about 580 million euros). 85% of the 124,915,000 euros of the funds received for the Lithuanian Railways was used for the construction of European gauge railway lines connecting the Polish and Lithuanian borders and Kaunas and preparations for the construction of the Kaunas, Lithuanian and Latvian state border railway line.

It was planned to develop JSC Lithuanian Railway's existing freight terminals (logistics centres) in Palemonas, Vilnius, Paneriai and Sestokai, to create a new freight terminal in Panevezys and to create new private freight terminals in Marijampolė and Mockava. Lithuania is at the crossroads of international freight transportation corridors including the corridor "East–West", EU freight corridor № 8 and the Baltic–Adriatic corridor, which connects Rail Baltica with the seaport Koper (Slovenia) and some others.

The first section of Via Baltica railway with the European gauge was opened in 2011. A seven kilometres section of 1435 mm gauge (the traditional Russian railway track has a width of 1520 mm) connected Mockava – Šeštokai. A consortium of Kauno Tiltai, the Baltics' biggest road and bridge builder, owned by Poland's Trakcja, and MG Baltic-controlled Mitnija got the biggest order, worth 378 million litas, including 91 million litas for the renovation of Marijampolė railway station and 262 million litas for the upgrading of the Marijampolė–Šeštokai section of the line.

A consortium of the French-owned Czech road and railway construction company Eurovia and Eurovia Lietuva was to upgrade the 18.5-kilometer section Kazlų Rūda–Mauručiai for 197.6 million litas. Panevėžio Keliai,

one of Lithuania's biggest road and railway construction companies, was nominated to upgrade the 10.6-kilometer Mauručiai–Jiesia section for 131.89 million litas, and a consortium led by Hidrostatyba was appointed to upgrade the 14.2 Jiesia–Kaunas section for 208.4 million litas (15 min. lt, 2013).

Geležinkelio Tiesimo Centras, a subsidiary of Lietuvos Geležinkeliai (Lithuanian Railways), is to renovate the Šeštokai railway station for 47.5 million litas and to build the railway section from the Lithuanian–Polish border to Mockava. It was planned to build 335 km of railway in Lithuania in total.

The Prime Minister of Lithuania, Algirdas Butkevicius, says that construction of Rail Baltica's European-standard gauge to the city of Kaunas is going smoothly and the new railway line should reach the city this autumn. The cost of construction of the railway from the Polish border to Kaunas, Lithuania's second-largest city will be 380 million euros, while the entire European-standard gauge line, which will continue from Lithuania through Riga to Tallinn will cost between 3.7 billion and 5.2 billion euros. The section from the Polish border to Tallinn is expected to be completed by 2024 (DELFI Biziness, 2015).

On the 6th of February 2017, "RB Rail AS" submitted a new application to the 2016 CEF Transport Call for Proposals. The three Baltic states and the joint venture "RB Rail AS" have received two grants allocated under the EU funding instrument Connecting Europe Facility (CEF) for the construction of the Rail Baltica railway, having signed Grant Agreements to a total value of 765 million euros (see Table 1).

Table 1 The distribution of the grants between all the involved parties (in millions of euros)

Beneficiary	Grant Agreement 2014-EU-TMC-0560-M	Grant Agreement 2015-EU-TM-0347-M	Total
RB Rail AS	7	0.06	7.1
Estonia	213.5	12.9	226.4
Latvia	291.7	0.6	292.3
Lithuania	28.1	211.4	239.6
			765.4

Source: <http://www.railbaltica.org>

The most recent information forecasts that the costs of construction of Rail Baltica will rise to approximately 5.8 billion euros. This only includes construction costs. More financial support will be needed to maintain the technical functionality of the route.

Trade in the Baltic Sea region and future freight and passenger throughput

The idea of the Rail Baltica transport project is to connect Western Europe (with Germany in the long term) with Finland and possibly Russia through Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by rail. It is more than 1,000 kilometres from Helsinki to Berlin. It is economically efficient to use rail transport if the length of the route exceeds 200 km as in this case.

In 2011, the Minister for Economic Affairs and Communications of Estonia Juhan Parts said that the success of the project depended on the volume of goods involved and the number of passengers. He believed that with 12 million tons of cargos per year in all the Baltic States and 4 million passengers per day the Rail Baltica transport corridor will be profitable. According to the data presented in “Rail Baltica” final report (“Rail Baltica gala ziņojums”, 2011), in 2008 the freight base in the Baltic States was insufficient. Thus, there is a problem with providing the corridor with sufficient goods traffic and future cover of expenditures. In the context of the overall national decline in production due to the global financial and economic crisis, the situation in the last years has not improved.

According to EU policy documents, improved integration of the transport infrastructure of the Baltic States with the road network of the EU must contribute to the strengthening of trade relations within the framework of a single European space. The European Commission expects that the implementation of the project Rail Baltica will increase the flow of goods in the region. According to forecasts, the turnover will amount to 9.8 million tons in 2020, 12.9 – in 2030 and 15.8 million tons in 2040. Potential cargo bases exist in Finland and Germany.

According to calculations by E. Makhlin, the implementation of the first variant of the Rail Baltica route will create opportunities to increase passenger traffic on several fronts. By 2034 the total number of passengers carried on the route Białystok – Elk can reach – 1.9 million, Łódź – the Polish–Lithuanian border – 1.2 million., Kaunas – Radviliškis – 1.5 million (Makhlin E. *et al.*, 2010).

These capacities can be developed only with the participation of Russian companies, which traditionally used Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as a transit bridge to deliver goods to the European market. The volume of exports and imports is high. To illustrate this statement look at the tables 2, 3, 4.

In 2013, the Estonian–Latvian share of total regional trade was 2.96%, the Estonian–Lithuanian share – 3%, and Latvian and Lithuanian share – 4.9%. While the Russian–Estonian share of total regional exports equalled 6.4%, the Russian–Latvian share – 10.4% and the Russian–Lithuanian – 14.8%.

Table 2 Regional exports of the Baltic Sea states (thousand dollars) in 2014

Export to	Finland	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Russia	Total
Finland	0	2273143	918931	459948	1734421	5930315	11316758
Estonia	2377598	0	1720015	846775	310080	2473434	7727902
Latvia	268851	1615255	0	2542787	881398	1456753	6765044
Lithuania	427136	1398902	2971655	0	2673737	6755116	14226546
Poland	1819123	1419170	2042270	2963573	0	9408376	17652512
Russia	10299302	3496591	12486995	3640092	15760463	0	45683443
							103372205

Source: <http://www.intracen.org/itc/market-info-tools/statistics-export-country-product/>

In 2014, the Estonian–Latvian share of the total regional trade was 3.2%, Estonian–Lithuanian share – 2.2%, and Latvian–Lithuanian – 5.3%. While the Russian–Estonian share of total regional exports equalled 5.8%, Russian–Latvian share – 13.4% and the Russian–Lithuanian – 10%.

Table 3 Regional exports of the Baltic Sea states (thousand dollars) in 2015

Export to	Finland	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Russia	Total
Finland	0	2331707	924595	491498	1882138	6060573	11690511
Estonia	2347829	0	1571796	916726	272792	2319825	7428968
Latvia	268851	1615255	0	2542787	881398	1456753	6765044
Lithuania	427136	1398902	2971655	0	2673737	6755116	14226546
Poland	1819123	1419170	2042270	2963573	0	9408376	17652512
Russia	2099504	1845591	2225509	996589	9176388	0	16343581
							74107162

Source: <http://unctadstat.unctad.org/>

The Estonian–Latvian share of total regional trade was 3.9 %, Estonian–Lithuanian share – 3.1%, and Latvian and Lithuanian share – 6.9%. While the Russian–Estonian share of total regional exports equalled 4.9% of the Russian–Latvian share– 11.2%, and the Russian–Lithuanian – 10.4%.

Table 4 Regional exports of the Baltic Sea states (thousand dollars) in 2015

Export to	Finland	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Russia	Total
Finland	0	1581320	554181	398021	1387485	3152429	7073436
Estonia	2095123	0	1207789	784351	296113	1302000	5685376
Latvia	226662	1384979	0	2087542	597185	871418	5167786
Lithuania	457233	1328502	2468133	0	2272502	3374101	9900471
Poland	1566287	1080359	1373082	2654412	0	5787194	12461334
Russia	6535275	2041604	4844183	2304171	9098660	0	24823893
							65112296

Source: <http://unctadstat.unctad.org/>

The Estonian–Latvian share of total regional trade was 4%, Estonian–Lithuanian share – 3.2%, and Latvian and Lithuanian share – 7%, while the Russian–Estonian share of total regional exports equalled to 5.1%, the Russian–Latvian share – 8.8%, and the Russian–Lithuanian – 8.7%.

This illustrates that the Baltic countries are largely focused on trade with Russia rather than each other. However, because of the imposition of sanctions against Russia and Russian retaliatory measures (also sanctions) the trade and economic connections between the Russian Federation and the Baltic States has become weaker, but they still have a significant importance for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

SWOT-analysis of Rail Baltica

In order to assess the viability and future prospects for the functioning of the transport corridor and its potential to attract a significant amount of goods and passengers, it is necessary to carry out a SWOT-analysis, which will determine the strengths and weaknesses of the project, as well as the opportunities and threats. This analysis will reveal what should be developed, based on the intrinsic characteristics of the corridor, and what external conditions stimulate the growth of cargo and passenger traffic. On the other hand, the shortcomings of the transport corridor and external threats may prevent the successful development of the project, especially if one considers the possibility of Russia's non-participation in the Rail Baltica project (see table 5).

In June of 2015, a survey of public opinion concerning the Rail Baltica project was held in Latvia. The majority (85%) of respondents supported the project. At the end of 2014, the project was supported by 92% of respondents. Overall, 79% of respondents believe that the project will have a positive impact on the Latvian economy. Compared with the previous year – this year, this belief has decreased (in 2014, 87% assessed the project's impact as positive). Compared with the results in 2014, there is a downward trend in public confidence in the benefits generated by the project in the future.

As seen from Table 5, the benefits of the corridor are associated largely with the rail technology and the speed of trains. Obviously, the Baltic States desire somehow to distance themselves from Russia and become more integrated into the EU. However, significant threats and weaknesses can reduce the benefits of the project.

Table 5 SWOT-analysis of the Rail Baltica project

STRENGTHS		WEAKNESSES	
1	Improvement in rail transport technology in the Baltic States	1	Large financial expenditure required for implementation of the project in the of absence of internal funds
2	More rapid transport links between the Baltic States and other EU countries	2	The presence of two railway gauges and therefore the need for their operational and financial support
3	Low cost of transportation compared to road transport	3	The problems arising from the acquisition of land from private owners for the construction of Rail Baltica
4	Employment and GDP growth in Baltic States		
OPPORTUNITIES		THREATS	
1	The interest of the EU in the implementation of the project	1	The lack of a common position in the Baltic States on the implementation of the project
2	Greater integration of the transport systems of the Baltic States with the EU network	2	Lack of significant passenger and freight traffic in the region
3	Increased accessibility to Western European markets	3	Many competitive routes for freight transportation (cargos from Finland to Germany are traditionally shipped by sea)
4	Future transport corridors with Eurasian countries	4	Complexity of technological operations for the Russian transport operators

Source: authors created table

Audit Company EY in its analysis of the benefits of the project concludes that, basically, Rail Baltica could take over part of the truckload currently carried from Finland and the Baltic States to the rest of Europe. In general, by 2026, the share of Rail Baltica in total regional freight transport could reach 2.8–4.2% (Delfi, 2017).

Potential Russian participation in Rail Baltica

The Rail Baltica Growth Corridor (RBGC) project (2011–2013) promoted transport policies for the development of multimodal logistics and modern railway infrastructure in the Eastern Baltic Sea Region. The main focus was on improving passenger and cargo traffic along the Rail Baltica route. The

project has been funded by the European Union Baltic Sea Region Program. RBGC Russia was a sister project for the Rail Baltica Growth Corridor. RBGC Russia promoted the development of transport and logistics networks between Northwest Russia and the EU Baltic states.

An Estonian politician, Max Kaur, the mayor of Mustvee expressed the hope that in the near future it will be able to link Russian Railways (JSC “RZD”) with the EU project Rail Baltica. “As an Estonian politician, I am convinced that good neighbourly relations between Estonia, the EU and Russia should develop, including in the transport/railway sector. I am sure that the successful example of the Helsinki–St Petersburg “Allegro” train project gives hope for a similar project between St. Petersburg–Tallinn to further join it with the EU project Rail Baltica on the route Tallinn–Berlin”.

As the plans for dual-gauge route show, Rail Baltica is more about expanding the Baltics’ trade and relations with each other and the European Union than about replacing their connections with Russia. Finland shows an interest in the new route. The European Union aims to reduce the volume of road transport in Europe. All of this allows the conclusion that rail transport would be beneficial. Finland, with 85% of its production is exported by sea, needs alternative routes for delivery of goods. After all, with tighter environmental regulations in the EU, maritime transport will rise in price. Thus, Rail Baltica can connect Scandinavia and Western Europe.

There is a security component to Rail Baltica as well. In the context of the current crisis in Ukraine, some Baltic politicians are afraid of the return of the Soviet past. A good rail connection with Europe would enable NATO forces to react quickly to crises, especially in terms of moving high volumes of munitions in the event of an emergency. It would also expand the Baltic States’ other efforts to reduce their reliance on Russia, such as their push for greater energy diversification and regional integration in the natural gas market.

The new route is unlikely to have an impact on the existing distribution of freight flows between Russia and Europe, transiting through the territory of Belarus and the Baltic States. Experts believe that after the construction of the European gauge Rail Baltica from the Polish border to Kaunas it will create competition to Brest. Note that this Belarusian city is the main hub for freight transit from Europe to Russia. Perhaps switching from 1520 mm to 1435 mm hinders traffic volumes today, but the construction of Rail Baltica – is more of a politically driven project than based on infrastructural and economic feasibility.

According to the market analysts, the new corridor will not be very profitable in the nearest future. Latvia will be a transit country in this

project. If Estonia benefits from port services, Latvia will not have such benefits.

Conclusion

The Rail Baltica is the largest Baltic-region infrastructure project in the last 100 years. On completion, Rail Baltica will provide 3% GDP growth in the Baltic States and attract more than €5 billion investment in the region. There will be new opportunities to develop transport and logistics services and tourism as well, via Rail Baltica. It is intended to transport at least 13 million tons of freight and five million passengers per year.

Latvia has been allocated 238 million euros for the first phase of the newly approved Rail Baltica project with European gauge. Latvia is planning to begin the implementation of the *Rail Baltica* project from the capital (Riga Central Station and reconstruction of associated infrastructure and construction of Rail Baltica station at the Riga International Airport).

The project intends to build a new 1435 mm gauge European standard railway line in the Baltic States. The length of the newly built track route will be 756 km of which 263 km will be in Latvia, 229 km in Estonia and 264 km in Lithuania.

The maximum speed for passenger trains is planned to be 240 km/h, the average speed being – 170 km/h. The train trip between Tallinn and border of Lithuania/Poland is estimated to be about 4 hours.

Railways with different track gauges (1520 mm and 1435 mm) in the Baltics states can incur significant operational costs and reduce the payback period for the corridor, as well as the switching of Russian cargo to Finnish transport routes, which will lead to economic losses in the Baltic countries.

The economic feasibility will be realised only in the case of significant freight volumes from Finland to Germany. As railway connections improve, the Baltic States will be able to retain their connections to Russia while becoming less isolated from the rest of the Continent, bringing the Baltics closer to the rest of Europe.

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REFLECTIONS ON TIME FROM INDIA'S LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS

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Abstract

Towards the close of the first millennium CE, thinkers in India began to reflect upon the nature of time. Coevally, there arose a set of other practices. One of them was recording historical time, which paved way for the appearance of calendars by the second and the third centuries CE. Another practice was the articulation of systems of cosmic time, such as the four *yugas* described in the *Mahābhārata* and the scheme of *utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī* in Jaina texts such as the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*. Yet another practice was the production of narratives that enabled the imagination of time in novel ways. These developments led to complex understandings concerning the nature of time and its relationship with existence. By the fifth century, it enabled the grammarian Bhartṛhari to evolve a refined theory of time, and by the ninth century, when Jinasēna II wrote his *Pūrvapurāṇa*, time and the past had come to be seen as sources of knowledge. This article presents a historical overview of this process.

Keywords: India, time, knowledge, Indian intellectual traditions, *yugas*, Bhartṛhari, Jinasēna

Introduction

Among the intellectual developments of the mid-centuries of the first millennium CE, few were more momentous than the strides made in exploring the nature of time, and its relationship with human existence. Theorists, among whom Bhartṛhari is the foremost, reflected upon time in abstract terms, while the authors and compilers of the *Purāṇas* imagined the past and its associations with the present in ways that had few precedents. This was a ground-breaking development, especially because it was soon to be implicated in the question of knowledge. Our understanding of this leaf in Indian history remains far from satisfactory. There is little in contemporary historiography that sheds light on the question of time and the past in India in the first millennium CE.¹

¹ A few major works of Romila Thapar stand out as exceptions, but they do not explore the origins and development of thought and representations concerning time and the past. These works include, 'Time as a Metaphor of History', in *History and Beyond*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000; the essays in Section I, 'Historiography', in *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Indian History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi,

Time as an object of reflection was peripheral to the *vaidic* world. The Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, the Upaniṣads, and the Vēdāṅgas had little to say about time as an object of reflection. The same is true of the discourses of the Buddha, recorded in the oldest surviving sections of the Tripīṭakas, and the earliest extant works of the Jaina canon, such as the *Ācārāṅga* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*. The first comprehensive description of the relationship between time and human existence occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, which had reached its extant form by the early of third century CE, although occasional additions to the text continued to be made, up to the fifth century CE or even later. How influential the work was in the third and fourth centuries CE is not easy to ascertain. If the so-called Bhāsa plays based on it, such as *Dūtavākya*, *Karṇabhāra*, *Pañcarātra*, *Ūrubhaṅga*, etc., are indeed Bhāsa's, one must acknowledge that the *Mahābhārata* had left its impress on the imagination of these centuries at least to some degree. Less ambiguous is the extent of its influence from the fifth century CE onwards, when copperplate inscriptions in considerable numbers began to cite verses from it in their imprecations. Episodes from the *Mahābhārata* inspired literary works, such as Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* and *Vikramōrvaśīya* (ca. fifth century CE), and Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (late fifth century CE). Contours of the relationship between time and existence prefigure in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* and, in subtler ways, in the *Kumārasambhava*. They are, nevertheless, not as vocal or evocative as in the *Mahābhārata*. Kālidāsa's understanding of this relationship, if indeed there was a consciously articulated one, can only be speculated upon. The first clear and extensive intellectual reflection concerning time was seen in the 'Kālasamuddēśa' of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* (ca. fifth century CE). By the early ninth century, when Ācārya Jinasēna II wrote his *Pūrvapurāna*,² the meaning of time had come to be intertwined with the meaning of the past and the question of truth in self-consciously intricate ways. What this meant for the prospects of epistemology is, given the progress of research in this direction or its lack thereof, too early to say. What it meant for the self-understanding of this age of intellectual ferment is perhaps easier to reflect upon.

2000; *The Past Before Us: Historical Traditions of Early North India*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2013.

² Jinasēna II began the ambitious work on the lives of the sixty-three Jaina śalākḥapurūṣas, but it was left for his disciple, Guṇabhadra, to complete the project. The portion written by the teacher is now called the *Pūrvapurāna* or the *Ādipurāna*, and the one by the disciple – the *Uttarapurāna*. Together, the *Pūrv* and the *Uttara* constitute the *Mahāpurāna*.

Early Reflections on Time

One of the earliest attempts to encounter, if not engage with, time as a concept is noticed in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, attributed to Kaṇāda. This founding text of the Vaiśeṣika school of thought, with its fixation for atomist explanations, shows few signs of antecedent developments. Not much is known of the life, times, and provenance of the author either. Modern scholarship generally traces him to a date earlier than the first century CE.

The *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* does not explore the question of time at any length. In four terse aphorisms, it makes the following observations:

*aparasmīn aparām yugapat ciraṃ kṣipramiti kālalingāni.
dravyatva nityatvē vāyunā vyākhyāte.
tattvaṃ bhāvēna.
nityēṣvabhāvādanityēṣu bhāvāt kāraṇē kālākhyēti.*³

The first of these aphorisms identifies the signs of time (*kālalingāni*) in expressions such as ‘imminent’ (*aparām*) with respect to what is yet to come, ‘simultaneous’ (*yugapat*), ‘gradual’ (*ciraṃ*), and ‘swift’ (*kṣipram*). Time, says the second aphorism, is substantial (*dravya*) and eternal (*nitya*), and in these respects, comparable to the air (*vāyu*). Kaṇāda, however, uses the same expression (*dravyatva nityatvē vāyunā vyākhyāte*) to describe sound (*śabda*)⁴ and the directions (*diśyam*)⁵ as well. The third aphorism, that the identity or integrity (*tattvaṃ*) of time is due to its phenomenal existence (*bhāvēna*), is also repeated in relation to sound⁶ and directions.⁷ The last aphorism says that time is to be located in the cause (*kāraṇē*), as it exists only in that which is not eternal (*anitya*), which has a cause, and not in the eternal (*nitya*), which is beyond causation.

Air, with which time shares qualities such as existence, integrity, substantiality, eternity, and invisibility, is described as that which cannot be seen or touched.⁸ It is substantial (*dravyam*) due to the fact that it is imbued with action (*kriyā*) – (manifest in its potentials for movement?) –

³ *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, 2.2.6–9.

⁴ *Ibid.* 2.1.28.

⁵ *Ibid.* 2.2.11.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2.1.29.

⁷ *Ibid.* 2.2.12.

⁸ “*na ca drṣṭānām sparśa ityadrṣṭalingō vāyuh*”, *Ibid.* 2.1.10.

and attribute (*guṇa*).⁹ The attribute referred to here is that of touch.¹⁰ Air is thus subtler than fire (which has form and touch as attributes),¹¹ or water (which possesses form, taste, and touch),¹² or the earth (endowed with form, taste, smell, and touch).¹³ The air is substantial also because it is *adravyavat*.¹⁴ What this word signifies in the present context is not altogether clear. Kaṇāda seems to be alluding to air as substance itself, an element as it were and not a compound that is further reducible to its elements. It is the quality of *adravyavat* that lends air its eternity,¹⁵ an aspect that must be understood as ontological and not merely phenomenal. There is nothing of a visible quality in the association with air to leave behind a visible sign or residue of its presence.¹⁶ Such, then, is also the nature of time. Like air, it is autonomous, self-constituted, and self-referential in terms of action, but unlike air whose relationship with cause is not certain, it exists in the cause, and not as the cause.

As opposed to this physical understanding of time, Nāgārjuna in the first century CE approached time in metaphysical terms to deny its existence. In the *Mūlamādhyamika Kārikā*, he called into question the existence of the past, the present, and the future on the grounds that their relationship with one another presented serious epistemological – and, we may hasten to add, not phenomenal – problems in relation to the question of causality. If the present and the future were related to the past, the present and the future must exist in the past.¹⁷ If they did not exist in the past, how could they be related?¹⁸ At the same time, the present and the future can have no existence unless they are related to the past. Hence, the existence of the present and the future cannot be established.¹⁹ If time exists in relation to a self-constituted nature (such as past, present, and future), where does

⁹ “na ca dṛṣṭānām sparśa ityadrṣṭalingō vāyuh”, *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, 2.1.12.

¹⁰ “sparśavān vāyuh”, *Ibid.* 2.1.4.

¹¹ “tējō rūpasparśavat”, *Ibid.* 2.1.3.

¹² “rūparasasparśavatyā āpō”, *Ibid.* 2.1.2.

¹³ “rūparasagandhasparśavati pṛthivi”, *Ibid.* 2.1.1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 2.1.11.

¹⁵ “adravyatvēna nityatvaṃ”, *Ibid.* 2.1.13.

¹⁶ “vāyusannikarṣe pratyakṣābhāvād dṛṣṭuṃ liṅgaṃ na vidyatē”, *Ibid.* 2.1.15.

¹⁷ “pratyutpannō'nāgataśca yadyatītamapēkṣya hi / pratyutpannō'nāgataśca kālē'titē bhaviṣyataḥ”, *Mūlamādhyamika Kārika*, 19.1.

¹⁸ “pratyutpannō'nāgataśca na stastatra punaryadi / pratyutpannō'nāgataśca syātāṃ kathamapēkṣya taṃ”, *Ibid.* 19.2.

¹⁹ “anapēkṣya punaḥ siddhir nātītaṃ vidyatē tayōḥ / pratyutpannō'nāgataśca tasmāt kalō na vidyatē”, *Ibid.* 19.3.

it exist without such nature? For, there is no such thing as self-constituted nature. Where then can time exist?²⁰

The implications of this understanding of time must be seen against the backdrop of the larger theory of *śūnya* upon which the *Mūlamādhyamika Kārikā* is based. Nāgārjuna allays the ambiguity that persists in the *Kārikā* with a clearer statement of the theory in the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*. Here, he presents *śūnya* with greater precision as referring to the absence of specificity in relation to nature (*svabhāva*) and not to a state of absolute void. Imagining the existence of things such as past, present, and future posits the occurrence of a self-constituted nature (*bhāva*), which is against the non-substantialist ontology of the Mādhyamika school. Besides, in what ways the relationship between the past, the present, and the future are causally framed is not obvious from a metaphysical vantage point. Causality, in the form of dependent arising or *pratītyasamutpāda*, is central to Buddhist schools of thought.²¹ Dependent arising is a causal chain involving twelve links: ignorance (*avidyā*), mental disposition (*saṃskāra*), consciousness (*viññāna*), name and form (*nāmarūpa*), the six foundations of the senses (*ṣaḍāyatana*), contact (*sparśa*), aesthesis (*vēdanā*), craving (*tṛṣṇā*), embracing (*upādāna*), being (*bhava*), birth (*jāti*), and old age and death (*jarāmaraṇa*).²² Nāgārjuna's refusal to admit the existence of time seems to arise from the fact that time does not figure in the twelve links that constitute the chain of *pratītyasamutpāda*. Nor on the other hand is it possible to establish how time is causally related to existence from within the logical frame of the *Kārikā*'s analysis.

Among the early abstract reflections on time, mention must be made of the Jaina theorist, Kundakunda. In his *Pravacanasāra*, he argues that time is one of the six substances (*dravya*), the other five being matter (*pudgala*), space (*ākāśa*), *dharma*, *adharmā*, and being (*jīva*). Matter is concrete (*mūrta*), the rest of the substances abstract (*amūrta*).²³ Motion is the quality of time.²⁴ Besides, unlike matter, space, *dharma*, *adharmā*, and being, time is not place-bound.²⁵ While the other substances have one,

²⁰ “*bhāvaṃ pratītya kālaścēt kālō bhāvadr̥tē kutaḥ / na ca kaścana bhāvō'sti kutaḥ kālō bhaviṣyati*”, Ibid. 19.6.

²¹ On the *pratītyasamutpāda*, see Eviatar Shulman, “Early Meanings of Dependent-Origination”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 36, 2008, pp. 297–317.

²² *Samyutta Nikāya*, 12.2.

²³ *Pravacanasāra*, 2.39–42.

²⁴ “*kālassa vaṭṭaṇā sē guṇō*”, Ibid. 2.42.

²⁵ “*jīvā poggalakāyā dhammādhammā puṇō ya āgāsaṃ / sapadēsēhiṃ asaṃkhā ṇatthi padēsa tti kālassa*”, Ibid. 2.43.

two, or more places, what time has is *samaya*,²⁶ which is defined as the duration required for moving from one place to another.²⁷ Endowed with *samaya*, time becomes the substance that enables distinction between the before and the after, i.e., the moment of creation and the moment of destruction.²⁸ A century or two later, Umāsvāti is found reiterating some of these postulates in his *Tattvārtha Sūtra*. Time, according to Umāsvāti, is insentient (*ajīvakāya*), although Umāsvāti does not include it in the definition of the insentient.²⁹ The movement, around Mount Mēru, of the five *jyōtiṣkas*, i.e., the sun, the moon, the planets, the constellations, and the stars, determines the division of time.³⁰ Time has a set of functions, viz., motion, transformation, action, and causing things to be earlier and later.³¹

Calendar and Reckonings of Time

The practice of reckoning historical time in one way or the other had already registered its presence before Kaṇāda, Nāgārjuna, and Kundakunda produced their reflections on time. It is not known if this was in vogue before the Mauryan period, and if so, how widespread it was. In the edicts of Aśōka, we get the first clear indications of historical time being recorded. We are not referring to the statement in one of the minor rock edicts that Aśōka was on tour for 256 nights or the statement in the same edict that he had been devoted to the Buddhist cause for two and half years.³² Comparable instances are found from legends concerning the life of the Buddha. We hear of the Buddha's departure from home at the age of thirty, attaining liberation six years later, and passing away at the age of eighty. Mahāvīra's renunciation, liberation, and demise at the age of thirty, forty-two, and seventy-two, respectively, are also recorded. A hundred years was thought to be the maximum span of a human life. "May we see a hundred autumns, may we live a hundred autumns", says a famous

²⁶ "ekko va dugō bahugā samkhātīdā tadō aṇantā ya / davvāṇaṃ ca padēsā santi hi samaya tti kālassa", Ibid. 2.49.

²⁷ "vadivadadō taṃ dēsaṃ tassama samaō", Ibid. 2.46.

²⁸ "...tadō parō puvvō / jo atthō sō kālō samaō uppaṇṇapaddhamsi", Ibid.

²⁹ *Ajīvakāya*, in Umāsvāti's definition, include *dharma*, *adharmā*, *ākāśa*, and *pudgala*. Together with *jīva*, these constitute *dravya*. "ajīvakāyā dharmādharmākāśapudgalāḥ / dravyāṇi jīvāśca", *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 5.1–2. Also, "guṇaparyāyavad dravyaṃ / kālāścētyēkē", 5.37–38.

³⁰ "jyōtiṣkā sūryāścandramasō graha nakṣatraprakīrṇa tārakāśca / mērupradakṣiṇā nityagatatayō nṛlōkē / tatkrtaḥ kālāvibhāgaḥ", Ibid. 4.13–15.

³¹ "vartanā pariṇāmaḥ kriyā paratvāparatvē ca kālasya", Ibid. 5.22.

³² Minor Rock Edict I, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I.

verse from the *R̥gvēda*.³³ Important from our point of view is the mention of regnal years in several of Aśōka's inscriptions. The eighth year, when he invaded Kaliṅga, is mentioned in the thirteenth major rock edict, the twelfth year occurs in the third and fourth major rock edicts, the thirteenth year in the fifth major rock edict, the fourteenth year in the Nigali Sagar Pillar Inscription, the twentieth year in the Rummindei Pillar Inscription, and so on.³⁴ No calendar or reckoning based on an established era is seen in the Aśōkan edicts or any other known Indian records from the Mauryan period. The use of regnal year continued in the following centuries, and can be seen in Khāravēla's Hathigūmpha inscription and several Sātavāhana records, such as the inscriptions recording grants made to Buddhist monasteries by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭiputra Pulumāvi.

The first known reference to an era appears to be the one contained in the Indravarman Casket Inscription, dated to the sixty-second year of the late king, Aya (Azes I).³⁵ It has been argued that this refers to an era inaugurated by Azes I and that it is the same as the Vikrama Era.³⁶ While the suggestion appears untenable, what is of interest is the use of an era associated with a king long after his demise. Moreover, the reference in the inscription to the sixteenth day of the month of *kārtika* points to considerable advances in the practice of recording time. The use of other eras soon followed. The most notable among them was the Kuṣāṇa Era, which for a long time was believed to have been the same as the Śaka Era, commencing in the year 78 CE with the coronation of Kaniṣka I. However, it has now been shown that the rule of Kaniṣka I, and the Kuṣāṇa Era that commenced with him, began in 127 CE.³⁷ By the third century CE, the Kṛta Era was in use in Rajasthan. The first known Kṛta Era inscription is dated year 282, and if the suggestion that the era corresponds to the Vikrama Era, first referred to by that name in an eighth century record from Gujarat,

³³ “*paśyēma śaradaḥ śatam, jivēma śaradaḥ śatam*”, *R̥gvēda*, 7.66.16. A later verse says, “*śatam jīva śaradō vardhamāna śatam hēmantāñchatam u vasantān / śatam indrāgni savitā bṛhaspatiḥ śatāyusā haviṣēman punar duḥ*”, *Ibid.* 10.161.4.

³⁴ See the respective inscriptions in *Ibid.*

³⁵ For a text of the inscription, see Richard Salomon and Gregory Schopen, “The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions”, *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1984, pp. 107–123.

³⁶ Richard Salomon, “The ‘Avaca’ Inscription and the Origin of the Vikrama Era”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 102, No. 1, 1982, pp. 59–68.

³⁷ Harry Falk, “The Kaniṣka Era in Gupta Records”, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 10, 2004, pp. 167–176.

is true, this inscription dates to 225 CE.³⁸ By the last quarter of the century, the Śaka Era, reckoned from 78 CE, came to be used. It was first mentioned in Sphujidhvaja's *Yavanajātaka*.³⁹ Its earliest epigraphic reference comes from the Vāla inscription of Sukētuvrman, dated 400 CE.⁴⁰

Narratives and Representations of Time

Complementing this development was the arrival of narratives that told stories of the past. Representing this trend were Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*, Vimalasūri's *Padmacaritaṃ*, and the Buddhist *Lalitavistara*, but emblematic of the development was the monumental project of redacting the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* drew upon a tradition going back to the time of the Vēdas of relating stories of ancestors from a patron's lineage during sacrifices such as the *aśvamēdha* and ceremonies like the *sattra*. In its original form, the *Mahābhārata* was narrated by a *brāhmaṇa* or a *sūta* during a *sattra*.⁴¹ Its redaction has been placed in the context of transition from lineage-based polities to monarchies.⁴²

The *Mahābhārata* was important in two respects. Firstly, it was the earliest comprehensive text from the subcontinent to relate the fortunes of a lineage group extending over several generations, and reaching out in a telescoped form to Manu, the progenitor of the current *manvantara*.⁴³ By its sheer encyclopaedic quality, it was scarcely possible to produce another text on similar lines. One could at best aspire to relate to it, appropriate it, or build upon it, but not emulate it in any manner of speaking. The *Mahābhārata* thus became a major reference-point, if not a model, for a number of political projects in subsequent times. In spite of its sacrifice-based *vaidik* obsessions, its preference for Bhāgavatism (a development that would eventually metamorphose into *āgamik* forms of worship centring on Viṣṇu, and also Śiva) presented strong religious alternatives. At the same time, the political ideals enshrined in its didactic sections were closer in

³⁸ See the discussion in Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Vikrama Era", *Indian Journal of History of Science*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1996, pp. 35–65. The Vikrama Era is reckoned from the year 57 BCE.

³⁹ *Yavanajātaka*, 78.14–15.

⁴⁰ Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Other Indo-Aryan Languages*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1998, p. 183.

⁴¹ Thapar, *The Past Before Us*, pp. 157–158.

⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 169–170.

⁴³ *Mahābhārata*, 1.70.

spirit to the *Dharmaśāstras*, and presented a striking contrast to the model of monarchy that had arisen in the mid-Gaṅgā valley in the sixth century BCE with the great Magadhan expansion. Secondly, the *Mahābhārata* made the first attempt in the subcontinent to locate an individual in relation to transitions in time. Although the lineage figures in ubiquitous ways in the text, attempts of the individual to override the lineage are hard to miss. Nowhere is this more strikingly articulated than in the discourse of the *Bhagavadgīta*. Arjuna's greatest anxiety in the *Gītā* was the destruction of the *kula*. In the twenty-one verses in the 'Arjunaviśādayōga' where he expresses his misgivings about the ensuing battle, Arjuna refers to the *kula* eleven times.⁴⁴ The expressions include the decay of the *kula* (*kulaśaya*), the destroyers of the *kula* (*kulaghñānām*), corruption of the women of the *kula* (*praduśyanti kulastriyaḥ*), and *kuladharmā*. In addition, there is reference to the manes,⁴⁵ relatives,⁴⁶ and one's own people.⁴⁷ In striking contrast, the focus in the rest of the *Gītā*, where Kṛṣṇa allays Arjuna's fears, is never on the *kula*, but on the self (*ātma*). This is ingeniously done by foregrounding *karma*, which affects only the individual and not collectives such as lineages.

The scheme of *karma* was one way in which the fate of an individual was effectively linked to his or her acts from the past, locating human existence in relation to time. Another way of establishing this relationship was to situate the individual in the greater cosmic time represented by the four *yugas*. The first of these *yugas*, the *kr̥ta*, is the perfect of all ages. It is a time when gods, demons, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, ogres, and serpents do not exist, and trade and exchanges are unknown. There are no distinctions in the Vēdas, no labour. Fruits are obtained through mere contemplation, and renunciation is the ideal. There are no diseases, no deterioration of the senses, no envy, lament, conceit, wickedness, strife, hatred, wiliness, fear, anguish, jealousy, or self-interest. Everyone attains Brahma, the greatest among *yōgīs*. The white Nārāyaṇa is the soul of all beings. The four *varṇas* are equal and people remain faithful to their respective callings. There prevails the same refuge, the same customs, the same knowledge, and the same actions. There exists only one Vēda, and only one mantra. The people, who are *kālayōgīs*, follow the appropriate duties of the four *varṇas*, and without desire for its fruits, attain the supreme abode. Such is the *kr̥tayuga*, in which the three *guṇas* (i.e., *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*) are absent

⁴⁴ *Bhagavadgīta*, 1.38, 39, 40 (three times), 41, 42 (twice), 43 (twice), 44.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 1.44.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 1.34. The relatives mentioned are teachers, fathers, sons, grandfathers, uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, and kinsmen.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1.28 and 31 (*svajanam*), 1.37 (*svabāndhavān, svajanam*).

and in which the four eternal *varṇas* result in the *yuga* being endowed with four limbs. In the *trētāyuga* that follows, sacrifices (*sattra*) are introduced, one limb is lost, and the white Acyuta turns red. People practice truth, and take recourse to observances and *dharma*. Sacrifices, *dharma* and various observances come into vogue, as do desire for attainments, ceremonies, and gift giving. There is no straying away from *dharma*; there is adherence to penance and offerings. The performers of ceremonies remain devoted to their respective *dharmas*. In the *dvāparayuga*, *dharma* declines by a half. Viṣṇu is now yellow in colour, and the Vēdas, four in number. Some are learned in the four Vēdas, some in three Vēdas, some in two, some in only one, and yet others in none. The sciences (*sāstras*) multiply, as do the observances. Penance and gift giving are observed, and people attain *rajō-guṇa*. Ignorance of the single Vēda leads them to produce several Vēdas. Thanks to the decline of truth, few remain rooted in it. The fall from truth leads to numerous diseases, the misfortune of lust, and other fatal calamities and people take refuge in penance. Sacrifices are observed with desire for carnal pleasure and heaven. Thus, due to lack of *dharma*, people degenerate. In the *kaliyuga*, *dharma* stands on a single limb. In this age of *tāmasa-guṇa*, Kēśava will be black in colour. The customs of the Vēdas fall into disuse, as do *dharma*, sacrifices and ceremonies. Misfortunes such as failure of crops, diseases, blunders, anger, agony, and ailments reign supreme. *Dharma* declines with the decline of the *yuga*, leading to the decline of beings, which in turn results in the decline in the nature of beings. The *dharma* observed during the decay of the *yuga* brings perverse results. This change can be seen even in eternal beings, living across the *yugas*.⁴⁸

This account of *yugas* with its emphasis on devolution in *dharma* and a fall in human virtues and capabilities is perhaps the most hegemonic of attempts from the Indian subcontinent to present a worldview in which the human condition is placed at the mercy of time. An earlier account of devolution, recorded in the 'Aggañña Sutta' of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, bears some comparison, but the emphasis there was not on time, but on human attributes such as greed and the need to preserve order. The *yuga*

⁴⁸ *Mahābhārata*, 3.148. Also see for a discussion, Ram Sharan Sharma, "The Kali Age: A Period of Social Crisis", in Idem., *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalisation*, revised edition, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2003, pp. 45–76; B. N. S. Yadava, "The Accounts of the Kali Age and the Social Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages", *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 5, Nos. 1–2, 1979, pp. 31–64; Bhairabi Prasad Sahu, "Conception of the Kali in Ancient India: A Regional Perspective", *Trends in Social Science Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1997, pp. 27–36. For a recent perspective, see Kesavan Veluthat, "Making the Best of a Bad Bargain: The Brighter Side of Kaliyuga", *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 173–184.

scheme turned out to be the most influential understanding of time in the subcontinent in the coming centuries and was accepted and enlarged upon by a wide range of writers, from the compilers of the *purāṇas* to astronomers such as Āryabhaṭa. We must, nonetheless, bear in mind that the concept of *yuga* was not implicated epistemologically in the praxis of knowledge production. The astronomer's *yuga* was functional time, involving measurement, while the *yuga* of the *purāṇas* was soteriological time.

Bhartṛhari's Theory of Time

By the time of Kaṇāda, the Jaina canonical texts were already in circulation, at least in oral forms. They were reduced to writing only in the mid fifth century CE at the Vaḷabhi council presided over by Dēvarddhigaṇī Kṣamāśramaṇa. The extent of interpolations made during this project of redaction is not easy to ascertain. There are, however, references to time in some of the sections generally acknowledged as older, such as the ones in the *Vyākhyāprajñaptī* (also called *Bhagavatī Sūtra*).⁴⁹ True to the Jaina scheme to things, these are classificatory and taxonomic in nature, and are primarily concerned with the measurement of time. In one of the discourses, Mahāvīra tells the merchant Sudaṃsana of four orders of time, the *pramāṇa kāla* (the span of a day and a night), the *ahar nirvṛtti kāla* (the span of a human life), the *marāṇa kāla* (the time of death), and the *addhva kāla* (infinite time). The last of these include such units as *samaya*, *āvalikā*, and so on, extending up to the *utsarpiṇī*, and includes *palyōpama* and *sāgarōpama*.⁵⁰

The measurement of time is not of consequence to our discussion, as this was in practice, albeit on a much lesser scale, even in the times of the *Ṛgvēda*. Of greater interest is the reference to *utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī*, the progressive and regressive phases of cosmic time.⁵¹ Here, time becomes a matter of soteriological concern. Invoking the metaphor of the serpent that moves upward and downward, time was presented as involving a progress from the decadent to the ideal in the *utsarpiṇī* and the reverse in the *avasarpiṇī*. The two phases were further divided into stages, such as *suṣamā-duḥṣamā*, *duḥṣamā-suṣamā*, and *duḥṣamā*.⁵²

⁴⁹ See the discussion in Christoph Emmrich, "How Many Times? Monism and Pluralism in Early Jaina Temporal Description", in Piotr Balcerowicz (ed), *Essays in Jaina Philosophy and Religion*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 2003, pp. 69–88.

⁵⁰ *Vyākhyāprajñaptī*, 532–534.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 896.

⁵² *Ibid.*

There were six stages in each phase, which are explicated at great length in the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti* (between second and fourth century CE), and figure at varying length in a number of post-canonical texts, such as the *Padmacaritaṃ* of Vimalasūri (ca. fourth or fifth century CE), the *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda (late fifth-early sixth century CE), and the *Pūrvapurāṇa* of Jinasēna II.⁵³ The description in the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti* is in fact a *tour de force* that eclipses the description of the four *yugas* in the *Mahābhārata*.⁵⁴

It was in this age of complex systems of recording historical and cosmic time that meditations on time rose to newer heights. For, there were now more things in heaven and earth than were dreamt of in the philosophies of Kundakunda, Nāgārjuna, and Kaṇāda. With Bhartṛhari, reflections concerning time entered another epistemological field with a different set of references. In the 'Kālasamuddēśa', Bhartṛhari presented time as a divider of activity (*kriyā*). In doing so, he placed it in contradistinction with i) measures of length, volume, and weight, which are all dividers of form (*mūrti*), and ii) number, which divides everything.⁵⁵ Time, he observed, measures the progression of activity the way a hand-balance measures matter.⁵⁶ Just as an individual is variously designated as carpenter, etc., due to difference in activity, so also the difference in activity causes time to be identified in terms of seasons, etc.⁵⁷ Time is experiential, and awakens upon us in the form of the cries of animals and birds, the movement of objects that are otherwise static, and changes in shadow.⁵⁸ It is also dependent on the intellect, inasmuch as it is the different ways of perception that makes distinctions such as *kṣaṇa*, *yuga*, and *manvantara* possible.⁵⁹

Bhartṛhari presented time in its capacity as a divider as the cause behind creation, existence, and destruction.⁶⁰ Time is said to hold the

⁵³ For a discussion, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1979, pp. 30–32.

⁵⁴ *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, 2 (24–50).

⁵⁵ “*diṣṭi prastha suvarṇādi mūrtibhēdāya kalpatē / kriyābhēdāya kālastu samkhyā sarvasya bhēdika*”, *Vākyapadīya*, 3.9.2.

⁵⁶ “*yathā tulāyām hastē vā nānā dravyavyavasthitam / gurutvam parimiyēta kālādēvam kriyāgatih*”, *Ibid.* 3.9.28.

⁵⁷ “*kriyābhēdāyathaikasminstakṣādyākhyā pravartate / kriyābhēdāt tathaikasmin ṛtvādyākhyōpajāyatē*”. *Ibid.* 3.9.32.

⁵⁸ “*rutair mṛgaśakuntānām sthāvarāṇām ca vṛttibhiḥ / chāyādi pariṇāmaīśca ṛtudhāmā nirūpyate*”, *Ibid.* 3.9.45.

⁵⁹ “*buddhyavagrahabhēdācca vyavahārātmani sthitāḥ / tāvān ēva kṣaṇaḥ kālō yugamanvantarāṇi vā*”, *Ibid.* 3.9.69.

⁶⁰ “*utpattau ca sthitau caiva vināśēcāpi tadvatām / nimittam kāmāvēvāhur vibhaktēnātmanā sthitam*”, *Ibid.* 3.9.3.

strings of the machine called the world, and divides the universe through cessation and assenting.⁶¹ Without cessation, it would be impossible to distinguish between the prior and the later.⁶²

It should be delightful to prolong this discussion on the description of time in the 'Kālasamuddēśa', but what is of significance for our present purpose is the fact that time in Bhartṛhari's scheme of things is neither ontological nor epistemological, but cognitive, dependent on the intellect, and given to experience. In other words, it is phenomenal. Being a measure, it has no metaphysical quality or substantiality, nor a relationship with space. Through a matter-of-fact presentation of propositions that militated against prevailing conventions of logic, Bhartṛhari integrated time and existence in ways Kaṇāda and Nāgārjuna would have scarcely imagined or approved of. This new appreciation of time had the quality of knowledge issuing from an observation-based mode of reasoning as its method. It must be for this reason that there is very little of inference (*anumāna*) in the 'Kālasamuddēśa', or anywhere else in the *Vākyapadīpa*. Bhartṛhari's inclination was generally towards *pratyakṣa* (in its observation-based form) as the source of authority (*pramāṇa*). Nevertheless, it appears that time enchanted the grammarian in ways that are not obvious from the 'Kālasamuddēśa'. He perhaps saw time, in its form as the past, as a source of authority of great appeal. This appears to be the reason why he swears allegiance to the primacy of convention (*āgama*), although it is the primacy of *pratyakṣa* that one notices in the *Vākyapadīya*.⁶³

We have suggested that time in its form as the past was perhaps a *pramāṇa* dear to Bhartṛhari. By the fifth century CE, there seems to have arisen an implicit perception that the past is, among other things, a source of knowledge. This is only a suggestion, not borne out by positive evidence from Bhartṛhari or other contemporary sources. We are, therefore, liable to be accused of over-reading Bhartṛhari. There is, however, no over-reading of the ninth-century *Pūrvapurāṇa* of Jinasēna II, where our suggestion graduates to the status of a proposition.

⁶¹ "tamasya lōkayantrasya sūtradhāraṃ pracakṣatē / pratibandhābhyanujñābhīyāṃ tēna viśvaṃ vibhajyatē", Ibid. 3.9.4.

⁶² "yadi na pratibadhniyāt pratibandhaṃ ca nōtsrjēt / avasthā vyatikīryēran paurvāparyavinākṛtāḥ", Ibid. 3.9.5.

⁶³ As *pramāṇa*, inference (*anumāna*) and convention (*āgama*) are completely absent in the discussion on time in the 'Kālasamuddēśa'. For a discussion of *pramāṇas* in the *Vākyapadīya*, see Alberto Todeschini, "Bhartṛhari's View on the *Pramāṇas* in the *Vākyapadīya*", *Asian Philosophy*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2010, pp. 97–109; Ashok N. Aklujkar, "The Number of *Pramāṇas* according to Bhartṛhari", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, Vol. 33, 1989, pp. 151–158.

Time and Knowledge in Jinasēna's *Pūrvapurāṇa*

Jinasēna's work was a *purāṇa* because it related itself to what was of old;⁶⁴ it was a *purāṇa* because its dissemination depended on ancient poets.⁶⁵ It was *ārṣa* as it came from the *ṛṣis* (sages), *sūkta* as it was endowed with truthful words, and *dharmasāstra* as it carried instructions concerning *dharma*.⁶⁶ It was an account of things as it happened (*itihāśid*), and therefore known as *itihāśa*, *itivr̥tta*, and *aitihya* as well.⁶⁷ This transgression of genres – at once being *purāṇa*, *ārṣa*, *sūkta*, *dharmasāstra*, and *itihāśa* – is in itself worthy of investigation. All the same, the authority of the *Pūrvapurāṇa* rests on the fact that it was of great antiquity. It came from no less a figure than the infallible *gaṇādhipa*.⁶⁸ Jinasēna presented himself as a trifle (*alpa*)⁶⁹ and poor in intellect (*bōdhadurvidhaḥ*),⁷⁰ which did not in any way prevent him from composing the *Pūrvapurāṇa*. For, wasn't he taking the course charted by the *gaṇādhiśa*, like animals following the track established by the lion?⁷¹ He walked the path established by the ancient poets, for who is it that does not take the path discovered by predecessors?⁷²

Jinasēna extended this appeal to the past by paying obeisance to a number of (Jaina) writers that preceded him: Siddhasēna,⁷³ Samantabhadra,⁷⁴ Śrīdatta,⁷⁵ Yaśōbhadra,⁷⁶ Prabhācandra,⁷⁷ Śivakōṭi,⁷⁸

⁶⁴ “*purātanaṃ purāṇaṃ syāt tan mahan mahadāśrayāt*”, *Pūrvapurāṇa*, 1.31.

⁶⁵ “*kaviṃ purāṇamāśṛtya prasṛtatvāt purāṇatā*”, *Ibid.* 1.32.

⁶⁶ “*ṛṣipraṇītamārṣaṃ syāt sūktaṃ sūnṛtaśāsanāt / dharmānuśāsanāccēdaṃ dharmasāstramiti smṛtaṃ*”, *Ibid.* 1.34.

⁶⁷ “*itihāśa itīṣṭaṃ tad iti hāśiditi śṛtēḥ / itivr̥ttamathaitihyamāmnāyaṃ cāmananti tat*”, *Ibid.* 1.35.

⁶⁸ “*purāṇamitihāśākhyāṃ yatprōvāca gaṇādhipaḥ*”, *Ibid.* 1.36. The reference here is to Gautama, who narrates the story to Śrēṇika (Bīm̐bisāra), the king of Magadha.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 1.29.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 1.28.

⁷¹ “*gaṇādhiśaiḥ praṇīte'pi purāṇē'sminnaḥ yatē / siṃhairāsēvitē mārgē mṛgōnyaḥ kēna vāryatē*”, *Ibid.* 1.30.

⁷² “*purāṇakavibhiḥ kṣuṇṇē kathāmārgō'sti mē gatiḥ / paurastyaiḥ sōdhitāṃ mārgaṃ kō vā nānuvrajējjanaḥ*”, *Ibid.* 1.31.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 1.42.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 1.43.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 1.45.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 1.46.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 1.47.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 1.49.

Jaṭācārya,⁷⁹ Kāṇabhikṣu,⁸⁰ Bhaṭṭākalaṅka,⁸¹ Śrīpāla,⁸² Pātrakēsari,⁸³ Vādisiṃha,⁸⁴ Vīrasēna,⁸⁵ and Jayasēna.⁸⁶ He represented them all as poets (*kavi*),⁸⁷ and their works, as *kavitā*⁸⁸ or *kāvya*.⁸⁹ This claim to the status of *kāvya* would have raised many eyebrows among theoreticians of the genre like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, and Vāmana, and the practitioners of the craft, such as Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha. Never once, for sure, was the *Pūrvapurāṇa* recognised or assigned a place in the Sanskrit *kāvya* canon. Jināsēna upheld many a prescription of contemporary poetics, and expected a *kāvya* to contain, among other things, *alamkāra*,⁹⁰ *rasa*,⁹¹ and *guṇa*,⁹² besides carrying accepted meanings⁹³ and being free from rusticity (*agrāmya*).⁹⁴ A *kāvya* is no *kāvya* if it is devoid of form, grace, and *rasa*; it is only rustic sound hard on the ears.⁹⁵ These refrains notwithstanding, Jināsēna's appreciation of *kāvya* was dogmatic to a fault. He acknowledged no *kāvya* that was not tied to the cause of *dharma*. A *kāvya* that did not promote *dharma* was a source of sin, no matter how well composed it was.⁹⁶

Thus, Jināsēna presented us with a unique relationship between existence and time. 1) *Dharma* was the fulcrum of human existence. 2) The lives of the *tīrthankaras* and others who lived in the past exemplified *dharma*. 3) The *kāvya* embodied *dharma* as an instrument of its transmission.

⁷⁹ “*purāṇakavibhiḥ kṣuṇṇē kathāmārgō'sti mē gatiḥ / paurastyaiḥ śōdhitam mārgam kō vā nānuvrajējjanah*”, *Pūrvapurāṇa*, 1.50.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 1.51.

⁸¹ Ibid. 1.53.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 1.54.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 1.55.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 1.59.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 1.22, *passim*.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 1.63.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 1.64.

⁹⁰ “*purāṇakavibhiḥ kṣuṇṇē kathāmārgō'sti mē gatiḥ / paurastyaiḥ śōdhitam mārgam kō vā nānuvrajējjanah*”, Ibid. 1.96.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid. 1.103.

⁹³ Ibid. 1.94.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ “*asprṣṭabandha lāḷityamapētam rasavattayā / na tat kāvyamiti grāmyam kēvalam kaṭukarṇayōḥ*”, Ibid. 1. 97.

⁹⁶ “*dharmānubandhini yā syāt kavitā saiva śasyate / śēṣā pāpāsravāyaiva suprayuktō'pi jāyatē*”, Ibid. 1. 63.

4) The transmission of *dharma* in the form of *kāvya* had its beginning in the work of the *gaṇadhara*, who lived in the remote past. 5) The authority of *kāvya* as an embodiment of *dharma* sprang from the fact that it has its source in antiquity. The purpose of human existence was thus intricately bound to the past, which as the wellspring of *dharma* and *kāvya* became the greatest of authorities.

The structure of time in the *Pūrvapurāṇa* followed and expanded upon the time-honoured Jaina scheme of *utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī*. Jinasēna's description of the six stages of the present *avasarpiṇī* is a miniature version of the picture found in the *Jaṃbudvīpaprajñapti*.⁹⁷ However, our interest is in what follows this description where, in a masterfully imagined scene, Jinasēna charges the past with an epistemological status. This occurs in the story of Mahābala with which the narrative in the *Pūrvapurāṇa* commences.

The Episode of Mahābala in the *Pūrvapurāṇa*

Mahābala is the *khēcara* (*vidyādharma*) king, ruling from the city of Alakā over the Gandhila country in Vidēha. His is one of the several births of the being that would eventually become Ādinātha, the first *tīrthaṅkara*. To be sure, Jaina canonical literature does not mention Ādinātha's previous births,⁹⁸ and the earliest ones that do, such as the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, do not include Mahābala in the list. Mahābala seems to have been the invention of the late sixth century Jinabhadra, who in his *Viśēṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya* included him and a few others like Lalitāṅga and Vajrajaṅgha in the list of Ādinātha's previous births. Jinasēna had more to say of Mahābala than Jinabhadra did. Here is the story.

Mahābala comes to power after his father Atibala relinquishes throne to become a Jaina renouncer. One day, he is holding court. It is his birthday. In attendance are his ministers, confidantes, the commander of the army, the priest, merchants, and other officials, including the four ministers, Svayaṃbuddha, Mahāmati, Saṃbhinnamati, and Śatamati. After the courtly formalities like music competition, reception of messengers from the *sāmantas*, and exhibition of gifts sent by other rulers, Svayaṃbuddha rises to speak. "Listen, king," he says, commencing his discourse, which we paraphrase here.

⁹⁷ "dharmānubandhini yā syāt kavita saiva śasyate / śēṣā pāpāsravāyaiva suprayuktō'pi jāyatē", *Pūrvapurāṇa*, 3.

⁹⁸ Manjula Mehta, "Previous Births of Rsabhadeva", p. 13, *Jain Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1981, pp. 13–19.

The words that I speak are meant for your welfare. Regard your prosperity as a *vidyādhara* to be the result of merits. Fortunes are based on *dharma*, and in turn lead to pleasure and comforts, which brings happiness. Thus, this sequence of fortunes comes from *dharma*. Know that kingdom, wealth, enjoyment, birth in a lineage, beauty, wisdom, longevity, and health are all fruits of *dharma*. There is no prosperity without *dharma*, just as there is no effect without a cause, no light without lamp, no shoots without seed, no rain without the clouds, and no shade without a parasol. Just as there is no life with venom, no crops from barren land, and no rapture in fire, comforts are not born of *adharmā*. *Dharma* is that which certainly brings prosperity, liberation, and attainment of wealth. Now, listen to the extant of *dharma*. Mercy (*dayā*) is the basis of *dharma*. Mercy is compassion towards living beings. All other virtues are founded to defend mercy. The signs of *dharma* are self-restraint, forbearance, nonviolence, penance, gift giving, character, *yōga*, and detachment. Nonviolence, truthfulness, absence of deception, forsaking desire, and non-attachment are said to be the eternal *dharma*. Therefore, kingdom and the other symptoms must be seen as the fruits of *dharma*, and those desirous of them must keep their mind firm in *dharma*. If you wish to make secure the vacillating fortune, you must observe *dharma* as intensely you can.⁹⁹

This is Svayaṃbuddha's advice to Mahābala. One is left wondering how the practice of self-restraint, forbearance, nonviolence, and so on can help a person attain wealth and kingdom. There is no causal relationship that can be established between the two. We find the discourse thoroughly unconvincing. Moreover, so does one of the other ministers present in the court, Mahāmati.

Mahāmati is a *bhūtavādi* (i.e., follower of the *lōkāyata* school). He begins to criticise the principle of *jīva*, upon which Svayaṃbuddha's exposition was based. It is appropriate, he says, to think of *dharma* when the *dharma* (observer of *dharma*) exists. Inasmuch as no such thing as *ātma* exists, where does the fruit of *dharma* exist? Consciousness is born of the mixture of earth, water, air, and fire, just as *madyāṅga*¹⁰⁰ produces the power to intoxicate. Therefore, there is no consciousness apart from the body. There doesn't occur anything apart from it, like the sky-flower. Whose, then, are *dharma*, sin, and the afterworld? With the destruction of the body, life terminates like bubbles of water. Thus, those who reject the

⁹⁹ *Pūrvapurāṇa*, 5.14–25.

¹⁰⁰ *Madyāṅga* is the name of a tree, but in the present context is perhaps refers to the ingredients with which an intoxicating drink is prepared. Later in the text, Jinasēna uses the expression *madirāṅga* (Ibid. 5.65). In his Kannada rendering of the *Pūrvapurāṇa*, Pampa refers to “*piṣṭōdakaguḍadhātaki*”, the mixture of flour, water, jiggery, and grislea tomentosa. *Ādipurāṇa*, 2.9 verse.

visible comforts and aspire for the comfort of the afterworld do not attain comforts from either of the worlds, and endure unwanted torments. It is like the jackal that loses the meat held in its jaws in its desire for the fish, and like the fool who declines the feast served before him and instead, licks his fingers.¹⁰¹

Mahāmati retires after making his case. Now, Saṃbhinnamati rises to present his views based on the *vijñānavāda*. There is no such thing as *jīva*, he says, addressing Svayambuddha. The world is momentary (*kṣaṇabhāṅgi*). It is merely consciousness, which is without parts. It is destroyed without enabling the rise of continuity, and appears as distinct due to the division of the known, the knower, and perception. Before destruction, it leaves its brood behind, which causes memory. The brood does not differ from the one in whom consciousness of the brood exists. The ability to recall the momentary is illusive, and similar to the illusion that the nail and hair that grow back after being cut are the same nail and hair that existed earlier. There is, therefore, no *jīva* apart from the brood of consciousness. There is no *jīva* capable of enjoying the fruit of the afterworld. The one who strives to remove suffering that might arise in the afterworld is as if the lapwing worried that the sky might fall on it.¹⁰²

It is now Śatamati's turn to register his disagreement with Svayambuddha. His views are based on *nairātmyavāda* (i.e., *sūnyavāda*). The world, Śatamati says, is a void. Its appearance is false, like the illusion of an elephant in a dream and in magic (*indrajāla*). Where, then, is *jīva*, where the afterworld? They are all untrue like the city of the *gandharvas*. Hence, those who are engaged in penance and observance to attain the afterworld are ignorant of the ultimate truth, and endure torments in vein. They are like the ones that rush to the mirage that occurs in summer, mistaking it for a lake.¹⁰³

Svayambuddha theory of *dharma* and *jīva* has been called into question. Svayambuddha must now defend his position. He begins by dispelling Mahāmati's theory. Your view, says Svayambuddha, that the *ātmanā* does not exist, is false, as consciousness is also reflected apart from the elements. Consciousness is not embodied, nor is the body endowed with consciousness, as the two are different in nature. The body and consciousness have natures that conflict with each other. They share an inner-outer relationship like the sword and the scabbard. Consciousness is not a product of the body, nor does it have a quality. It is not derived from the body, because it is different from ash, etc., which are derived

¹⁰¹ *Pūrvapurāṇa*, 5.28–35.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 5.38–43.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 5.45–48.

from the body. The body and consciousness share the same relationship as a house and a lamp. One is the container, the other the contained. Consciousness is the same for all organs of the body; it does not differ according to the divisions of the organs. How can consciousness, which has no form, arise from the body, which has a form? There can be no causal relationship between form and formlessness. It cannot be said, in refutation, that sense organs, which have form, cause awareness, which is formless. We see their production not from the knowledge of form. The *ātmā* is tied to the body and behaves like one that has a form. Therefore, the awareness produced through the sense organs must be placed in the realm of form. The elements that appear in the form of the body undergo transformation, for which there must be a cause. What can this cause be, other than *karma*? That argument that consciousness arises with the rise of the body and ends with its demise like bubbles of water is also not established because of the difference in their nature. If the body is the cause for consciousness, is it the material cause (*upādāna*) or the assisting cause (*sahakāri*)? The material cause cannot be different in nature from the effect. Moreover, if the body is the assisting cause, the important question remains what, then, is the material cause? Hence, know that the body is not the cause of consciousness; rather, the *jīvadravya*, which is of the same nature as consciousness, is the cause. For the same reason, the example of *madirāṅga* producing intoxication is not acceptable, as intoxication is not different in nature from *madirāṅga*. It is indeed true that the *bhūtavādi*, who argues that the world is nothing but *bhūtas*, is born of *bhūtas*.¹⁰⁴ If it is argued that consciousness was latent in the earth and other elements, it is falsified by the fact that consciousness cannot inhere in that which has no consciousness. The body and consciousness existed before in an earlier life and will occur again in a future life. These lives are the basis for the current life. These, verily, are the other worlds. The self that lives in these other worlds enjoys the respective fruits. The existence of *jīva* is also established by memories of the lives, birth and death, and the words of the revered ones. Like a machine, the activities of the body are propelled by the other (i.e., by consciousness), and involve a mix of the beneficial and the detrimental. If consciousness is born of the union of the elements, it should also arise from the cooking pot. Thus, the views of the *bhūtavādi*, with all their flaws, must be regarded as words spoken by a fool.¹⁰⁵

Svayambuddha now turns to Saṃbhinnamati. You hold, says Svayambuddha, that there is nothing apart from consciousness. How, then,

¹⁰⁴ This is a sarcastic observation. Here, Svayambuddha is playing on the word *bhūta*, which means elements as well as goblins.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 5.50–73.

is the theory (*tattva*) established, when there is unity between the end (*sādhya*), which is consciousness, and the means (*sādhana*), which is also consciousness? The external meaning is always established by words, which is different from consciousness. If not, then what are you establishing, O fool, and with what? If consciousness is a unity without parts, wherefrom have divisions such as the act of seizing, etc., arisen? Objects of consciousness are not absent, for how can a thing be established when it does not exist? Is there in your view the recognition of a consciousness different from another consciousness? If so, the consciousness is not non-dependent anymore (as it has known the other consciousness, making one the knower and the other the known). By what other means have you known the other consciousness that occurs as a brood? If it is through inference, it is possible to establish the existence of the external world through inference. If the world is only consciousness, the word becomes false. In the absence of the external world, how is truth and non-truth to be distinguished? The use of means, etc., establishes that the external world exists. The consciousness theory is therefore fragile like the words of a child.¹⁰⁶

Turning, finally, to Śatamati, Svayambuddha says in three terse verses: doubts arise on two counts with respect to the theory of *śūnya*. Do the words used to establish *śūnyavāda*, and the knowledge arising from it, exist or not? If you admit that they exist, you are defeated, Sir (as their existence has falsified the theory of emptiness). If you argue that they don't exist, how is emptiness established? These words on *śūnya* are therefore like the cries of an insane. Thus, *jīva* and *dharma* with mercy and restraint as its qualities do exist.¹⁰⁷

Mahāmati, Saṃbhinnamati, and Śatamati make their cases with the aid of logical reasoning. Svayambuddha replies them in the same coin. Some of his arguments are weak. That the awareness produced through the sense organs must be placed in the realm of form as the *ātmā*, tied as it is to the body, behaves like one that has a form, is a poor claim. Moreover, so is the argument that intoxication is not different in nature from *madirāṅga*. He has nonetheless shown his mastery over existing conventions of logic. It is now time for him to establish his propositions concerning *jīva* and *dharma* as securely as he can.

At this point, Svayambuddha shrewdly adopts a different method. He narrates an incident from the past (*vṛttamākhyānakam purā*).¹⁰⁸ In the family of Mahābala, there once lived a king called Aravinda, a crest jewel

¹⁰⁶ *Pūrvapurāṇa*, 5.74–81.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 5.82–84.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 5.89.

to the lineage. Ripe with merits, he ruled over the city, breaking down the pride of the rival *sāmantas*. He enjoyed all heavenly riches worthy of the *khēcaras*. He had two sons, Haricandra and Kuruvinda. Embracing the fatal qualities of *raudradhyāna*, the king had his fate sealed in hell. As he was approaching the end of his life, he was afflicted with severe thirst. There arose an unbearable heat in his body. Nothing brought him relief, the cool lotus water, the cool breeze, garlands, sandal paste. His merits on the wane, all his learning departed from him, and he was as the elephant weakened after its ichor secretion has ended. One day, not able to endure the heat anymore, Aravinda summoned his son Haricandra and said: the heat in my body is on the rise. Look how the garland of lotus meant to cool me has dried up. Transport me, with the knowledge you have, to the banks of the Sītā River in the cool forests of the Udakkuru (Uttarakuru) country. The wind that ruffles the *kalpavrkṣas* and causes ripples in the Sītā will definitely cool my body. However, Haricandra's effort to transport Aravinda through the sky failed. Aravinda's loss of merit had advanced to such a degree that the son's knowledge was no match to it. Haricandra was depressed to learn that Aravinda's illness was incurable.

Then, one day two lizards were fighting each other. As the fight progressed, the tail of one of the lizards was cut off, and a drop of blood from it fell on Aravinda's body. It cooled the body. The rise of sin led him to believe that he had chanced upon a wonderful medicine. He called Kuruvinda and asked him to excavate a well with the blood of animals from the nearby forest. Kuruvinda was worried of the sin he might incur, and stood speechless for a moment. He learnt from a sage that Aravinda's end was near and that he was to go to hell. He decided not to carry out the slaughter. In order to please his father, Kuruvinda excavated a well of false blood, made of lac. Aravinda was overjoyed to learn of the well, like a pauper who had chanced upon unprecedented wealth. He believed that it was a well of real blood, like the sinful ones holding the Vaitaraṇī in high esteem. Lying in the well, he soon realized that the blood was not real. Infuriated, he rushed towards Kuruvinda to kill him. He fell down as he was running, and the sword pierced through his heart. Aravinda was dead. Following his fatal death, he reached hell. This story, Svayambuddha tells Mahābala, is remembered to this day in this city.¹⁰⁹

Svayambuddha now begins the story of Daṇḍa, another of Mahābala's predecessors who ends up as a python.¹¹⁰ Two more stories follow. They are short, and contain praises of Mahābala's grandfather Śatabala and great

¹⁰⁹ *Pūrvapurāna*, 5.89–114.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 5.117–137.

grandfather Sahasrabala.¹¹¹ Svayambuddha now draws the conclusion. The four stories exemplify the effects of the four forms of *dhyānas*. The first two are instances of sinful *dhyānas*, and the last two, of auspicious *dhyānas*.¹¹² The ones that follow the path of *dharma* are therefore never devoid of joy and liberation, as the four accounts from the past amply demonstrate.

The method adopted by Svayambuddha to establish the truth of *dharma* is akin to Viṣṇuśarman's method in the *Pañcatantra*, where the dull-witted princes, Vasuśakti, Ugraśakti, and Anantaśakti, are imparted lessons in statecraft and wise living through a set of stories. Svayambuddha's method is different in one major respect, though. The stories that he narrates are not fanciful. They are incidents that have occurred in the past in the family of his patron. They have a truth-value unique to themselves. They are true because they have transpired in the past. Moreover, what has transpired must indeed be true. Svayambuddha is careful not to represent the past as knowledge. In his discourse, a deep understanding of *dharma* alone qualifies to be called knowledge. The importance of the past lies in the fact that it serves as a means to demonstrate and establish *dharma*. It is, like *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *āgama*, a valid source of authority. In other words, the past has a truth-value that is epistemological.

Conclusion – Historical Implications

Svayambuddha's predilections in the *Pūrvapurāṇa* reflect the emergence of a new mentality that approached the past from the vantage point of knowledge. This newfound fascination for the past was to be replicated, and with the passage of time, recast in a wide range of literary productions from the subcontinent. The lives of the *īrthankaras* and other *śalākapuruṣas* came to be recounted in numerous works in Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu, Apabhraṃśa, Gujarati, and other languages, raising or reducing the affair to the status of a cottage industry. In these works, the past was always represented as exemplifying knowledge. Some decades after the demise of Jinasēna II, a Śaiva saint from Tamilnadu, Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, drew a list of sixty-three Nāyanār saints, inspired, we may presume, by Jaina accounts of the sixty-three *śalākapuruṣas*. Legends concerning the Nāyanārs came into circulation, and were compiled in Tamil in the mid twelfth-century *Periyapurāṇam* of Cēkkiḷār, and in Kannada in the late twelfth century poems of Harihara. Meanwhile, Kalhaṇa, Cēkkiḷār's contemporary in the faraway Kashmir, wrote the *Rājatarangiṇī*,

¹¹¹ *Pūrvapurāṇa*, 5.138–145 and 5.146–149.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 5.153. The four *dhyānas* are *raudradhyāna* (of Aravinda), *ārtadhyāna* (of Daṇḍa), *dharmaḍhyāna* (of Śatabala), and *śukladhyāna* (of Sahasrabala).

a text that chose to define a region through the acts of its rulers in the past. Kalhaṇa was unaware, or so we presume, that a century before him, Atula in northern Kerala had written the *Mūṣikavaṃśa* to ennoble a feeble line of chiefs. The new age, of which the *Pūrvapurāṇa* was a harbinger of sorts, embraced the past in more ways than one. The meaning of the past, and the purposes it served, had changed for all times to come.

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WHAT IS DRIVING PATIENT SAFETY AND HOW CAN HOSPITAL MANAGERS IMPROVE PATIENT SAFETY?

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Abstract

Patient safety is a significant healthcare issue with substantial clinical and economic consequences. The extensive research in 1999 on patient safety stated that preventable medical errors in the US resulted in as many as 99,000 deaths per year. Kuhn's report increased awareness and concern about patient injuries worldwide. The aim of this research is to give hospital managers an idea how to improve patient safety. This research is based on a dependency model: $f(x) = y$ (x: stakeholders in decision process; y: patient safety). To define patient safety, literature review was combined with the results of six semi structured expert interviews, which is not part of that paper. In order to analyse the impact of different stakeholders in the decision process a quantitative questionnaire was developed. The answers are measured on a 5-point Likert scale and all stakeholders were involved. This article presents the result of 114 questionnaires. The high-level result is that there is a correlation between stakeholders in decision processes and their influence to patient safety. For hospital managers, it means that they have to carefully involve stakeholders' rights in order to improve patient safety.

Keywords: Germany, hospital management, patient safety, risk management

Introduction

Health is a basic human right and considering the WHO definition, health care has to provide more than just curative services. The modern health systems of today have evolved over more than a century with the expectations and the demands drastically changing during this time. Nevertheless, the main aim of any health system has stayed the same: to provide adequate, high-quality care to those who need it. Unfortunately, many system structures and actors have not changed with them. The task and responsibility to design a framework, set standards and define goals within which the boundaries of the health system and its actors performance lies with the decision makers in the hospitals and the health policies they set forth. This article focuses on the decisions made in the hospitals and how these decisions can influence patient safety. Further, how different stakeholders play an important role or not.

Theory Patient Safety

Patient safety is a significant healthcare issue with substantial clinical and economic consequences. What is patient safety? According to AHRQ, “patient safety refers to freedom from accidental or preventable injuries produced by medical care. Thus, practices or interventions that improve patient safety are those that reduce the occurrence of preventable adverse events.”¹

The patient safety movement was brought to the medical mainstream by a report of the Institute of Medicine “To Err is Human”², with the goal to eliminate preventable patient harm through improved systems and find solutions to previously “unpreventable” errors. Linda Norton made a Summary of definitions on patient safety and medication errors in 2001³. In her research, she defines patient safety as “Applies to initiatives designed to prevent adverse outcomes from medical errors. The enhancement of patient safety encompasses three complimentary activities: preventing errors, making errors visible, and mitigating effects of the errors.” Researchers at the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (AHRQ) developed a set of Patient Safety Indicators (PSIs) for identifying suspected instances of compromised patient safety⁴.

In the decades since the Institute of Medicine (IOM) issued its landmark report, “To Err Is Human: Building a Safer Health System,” there have been a number of successful efforts undertaken to improve patient safety in the United States⁵. Nevertheless, the nation remains far from realising the vision of eliminating harm to patients from care that is meant to help them. The study from Ball, Kaminski and Webb describes the progress that has been achieved by one organisation committed to developing a culture of high reliability. The ProMedica Health System is a non-profit integrated health care delivery system headquartered in Toledo, Ohio. In 2012, they

¹ H. Sherman, G. Castro, M. Fletcher, M. Hatlie, P. Hibbert, R. Jakob, R. Koss, P. Lewalle, J. Loeb, T. Perneger, W. Runciman, R. Thomson, T. Van Der Schaaf, and M. Virtanen, Towards an International Classification for Patient Safety: the conceptual framework, in: *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, 21 (2009), S. 2–8.

² L. T. Kohn, J. D. Corrigan, and M. S. Donaldson, *To err is human: Building a Safer Health System*, 1999.

³ L. Norton, *Medical and Medication Errors : A Partial Summary of Reports by the Institute of Medicine and the Quality Interagency Coordination Task Force*, 7 (2001).

⁴ P. S. Romano, J. J. Geppert, S. Davies, M. R. Miller, A. Elixhauser, and K. M. McDonald, A National Profile Of Patient Safety In U.S. Hospitals, in: *Health Affairs*, 22 (2003), S. 154–166.

⁵ Lucian L. Leape and Donald M. Berwick, Five Years After to Err is Human: What Have We Learned?, in: *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 293 (19) (2005), S. 2384–2390.

set out to transform the cultural operating system with the goal of “zero events of harm”⁶.

A study in 2015 states that healthcare lacks robust mechanisms to routinely measure the problem and estimates of the magnitude vary widely. Further, this study states, that it is hard to gauge safety when healthcare uses multiple different measures for the same harm and provides limited investment in measurement, implementation and applied sciences. According to Pronovost, Cleeman, Wright and Srinivasan, a valid and reliable measurement system is essential to monitor progress, to do benchmarking, to hold clinicians accountable and to be able to compare and summarise measurements across different unit types⁷. Culture is not only determined by the caregivers and the hospital management. The regulatory framework is also part of the overall safety culture and can help to improve patient safety. For example, the current reimbursement system can also work against safety improvement and, in some cases, may actually reward less-safe care, as Leape and Berwick state. For instance, some insurance companies will not pay for new practices to reduce errors, while physicians and hospitals can bill for additional services that are needed when patients are injured by mistakes⁸. The complexity of the healthcare industry, with its vast array of specialties, subspecialties, and allied health professionals is also mentioned as a reason for slow improvement in patient safety.

The literature has no clear definition of patient safety. Figure 1 shows the flow of the theoretical review and also outlines key aspects and key literature of the research.

Safety depends on culture, not only on system improvements – this is the major reason for no incremental improvement of patient safety. Culture is not easy to change and it takes long time and full effort to change cultural behaviour. For management, this means that if they want to improve patient safety they have to be aware of culture and even of cultural change. Success factors that are determining culture are transparency, peer learning, measurement and framework. Transparency, peer learning and measurement are factors, which can be influenced and has to be driven by management. However, frameworks or even more, implementation of new frameworks, are part of decision processes in hospitals.

⁶ Debra A. Ball, Brian Kaminski, and Kevin Webb, First; Do Less Harm: A Health Care Cultural Operating System Case Study to Improve Safety, in: *People & Strategy*, 39 (2016), S. 29–34.

⁷ Peter J. Pronovost, James I. Cleeman, Donald Wright und Arjun Srinivasan, Fifteen years after To Err is Human: a success story to learn from., in: *BMJ quality & safety*, (2015), S. bmjqs – 2015–004720 –.

⁸ Lucian L. Leape and Donald M. Berwick, Five Years After to Err is Human: What Have We Learned?, in: *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 293 (19) (2005), S. 2384–2390.

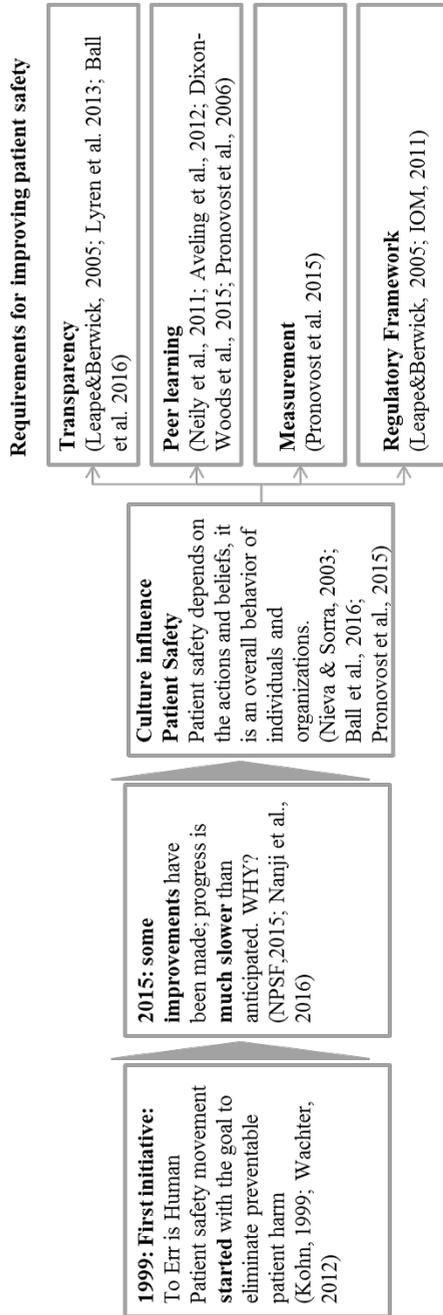


Figure 1 Overview Literature Review about Patient Safety Improvement over the last 15 Years

Source: Authors illustration

Research

Aims and tasks of the research

The aim of this article is to investigate how hospital managers can influence patient safety. This will be analysed by considering the decisions and the involved stakeholders in German hospitals. Further, this research will consider investment goods as a decision point. The extensive growing awareness of patient safety in German hospitals has attracted particular interest in how to improve the safety of the patients. An increasing cost pressure and more, a need for reputation and image because of direct competition between hospitals in Germany, caused this recent development. Furthermore, the interest in making efficient decisions is not only driven by hospitals, but also from health insurance, government, medical device industry and of course patient initiatives. To develop a dependency model, the first step is to identify one area in the hospitals, which has an influence on patient safety. This article focuses on decision processes and more specifically if the involved stakeholders do have an influence on different stakeholders. For this research, the example of a buying decision for an investment good (e.g. infusion pump) is used. The study gives more insights on self-awareness and awareness of others in the importance of the decision process.

The main aim of this article is to investigate how hospital managers can influence patient safety in hospitals in Germany. Consequently, this research aims to determine which stakeholders have to be involved to increase success in decision processes by improving patient safety. In doing so, it will address various elements that can help hospital managers to adjust their decision processes and to improve patient safety and therefore increase their economic performance.

Figure 2 shows the underlying basic dependency model: $f(x) = y$ (x: stakeholders in decision process; y: patient safety)

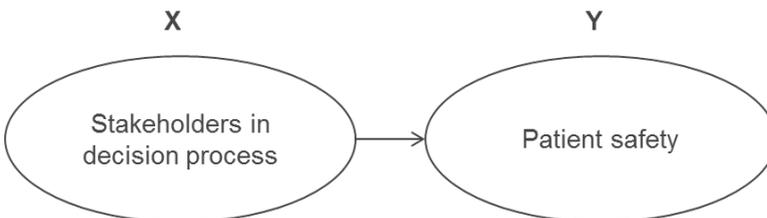


Figure 2 Basic Dependency Model

Source: Authors illustration

The key research question for this research is: Is there a relationship between involving different stakeholders in the decision process in hospitals and improving patient safety? How to define patient safety? These research questions lead to the main hypothesis driving the overall research:

- H0: Involving different stakeholders in decision processes in hospitals has an influence on patient safety.
- H1: Physicians and nurses have a higher self-awareness with regard to importance in the decision process than management and buyers.

The better the role of different stakeholders in decision process in hospital is understood and defined the better this research can help to improve patient safety. Furthermore, by involving the right people in the decision process in the healthcare setting, the better patient safety can be achieved. Moreover, the more reduced costs; the more efficient the system can be.

Research Methodology and Design

After conducting the semi-structured expert interviews, analysing and evaluating those, the results are the operationalised definition of patient safety. Based on this definition, the dependency model is further advanced and taken as a basis for the development of the structured questionnaire. The structured questionnaire used consisted of an introduction to the research topic, structured questions based on comparable questions applying a 5-point-likert-scale, as well as an inquiry of personal and key hospital data. With this questionnaire, 114 stakeholders were interviewed, either in person or via email.

All empirical data were analysed by content analysis and statistical evaluation – preferably via SPSS. Wherever applicable, quantitative analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data was realised. Parametric tests were applied. Hereinafter an overview of the evaluation methods applied:

- Content analysis – catchwords in the answers to open questions of expert interviews and questionnaires are evaluated and summarised,
- Expert interview content certification scheme in order to evaluate the status quo of patient safety based on expert interviews,
- Parametric tests – Correlation analysis, regression analysis, t-test, variance analysis via SPSS

As a result of the expert interviews, the dependency model is further developed and the independent variable Y (patient safety) further defined. The combined results of theoretical research and expert interviews about

definition of patient safety are three main variables: pain-free patient / reduce pain, reduce medication errors and reduce risk.

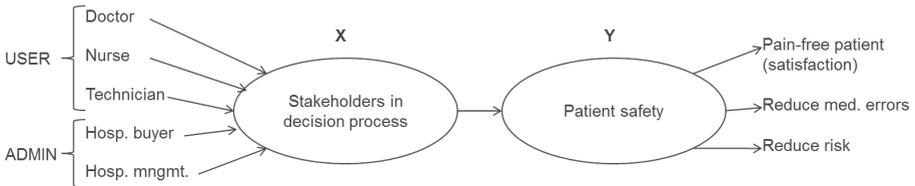


Figure 3 Dependency Model

Source: Authors Illustration

Stakeholder = dependent variable = exogenous variable

Patient safety = independent variable = endogenous variable

Patient safety = $f(\text{stakeholder } x)$

Questions are focusing on investment decisions (definition of investment decisions). Because the survey was carried out in Germany, the survey was formulated in the German language. Besides the fact that context is easier to understand in the first language, it also needs to be mentioned that English as business language is not so common in hospitals, especially at the nurse level. To avoid any misunderstandings or misinterpretations, an English translation was also provided for every item. Rules for creating new surveys have to be applied, as a question should:

- be formulated clearly and unambiguously
- contain simple words and avoid foreign words, abbreviations, and technical terms
- be brief and refer only to facts
- appeal to facts directly and concretely. Abstract terms have to be concretised
- provoke no specific response (no leading questions)
- be formulated as neutral and not include 'polluted' or evaluative terms
- not be hypothetical

Double questions, addressing two or more issues in a question, ought to be avoided. In addition, statement should not have complicated grammatical constructions.

The developed questionnaire is structured in a general section with personal questions and questions about the hospital first and followed by the five main questions and concluding with two general questions. The main five questions are all structured into five sub-questions, which are referring to the different stakeholders: physician, nurse, biomed, buyer,

and management. This indicates automatically that every stakeholder is filling out self-awareness and awareness of others. Question one and five are of importance and relevance in decision process whereas question two, three and four are about the operationalised patient safety (pain-free patient, reduce medication errors, reduce risk) and how stakeholders do influence these factors while taking decisions.

The possible answers were fixed with a 5-level Likert-scale, which ranges from value 1 'strongly disagree to 5 'strongly agree'. To make later statistical analysis easier, all statements were formulated in a positive meaning, which implies 'strongly agree' has a positive valuation of the project success dimension.

Table 1 Sample characteristics (n=113)

Type of hospital (n=114)		Role (n=114)		Experience (n=114)	
Public	51%	Physician	27%	1-5 years	7%
Private	20%	Nurse	59%	6-10 years	24%
Church	27%	Biome	3%	11-15 years	17%
Others	1%	Management	11%	>15 years	53%
		Buye	2%		

Source: Authors table

Research Results

Correlation analysis is used as a first step to show and quantify the association between independent and dependent variable. Dependent variable: Patient safety (pain level, reduction of medication errors and reduction of risk); Independent variable: Stakeholders (Physician, Nurse, Technician, Buyer, and Management) – this is operationalised with the variables: Contribution in decisions processes, Importance in decision processes and the mean value of these two. All statistical tests will be conducted two ways: self-awareness and awareness of others.

Self-awareness and awareness of others shows a significant or even highly significant correlation between dependent and independent variable.

After having proven that the stakeholders are isolated variables this article will use the regression analysis to show which kind of influence the different stakeholders do have in the decision process on patient safety. At the same time when testing the regression, the significant level has to be tested as well. This statistical indicator shows if the hypothesis can be accepted or not. Regression explains how high the correlation is

and further to how many % the dependent variable is explained by the independent.

To prove the fit of the model, the statistical R-square will be used. This test shows to how much percentage the Y (patient safety) is determined by the x1, x2, x3... (Stakeholders in decision processes). R-square is between 0.39 and 0.085 for self-awareness and 0.075 and 0.188 for awareness of others.

The t-test shows, that the groups do have a significant difference, 2-sided significance is <0.005 – except for importance, this is with 0.079 nearly significant.

Table 2 Group statistic; self-awareness and awareness of others

Group statistic		N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard error of mean
BEP	0 = self-awareness	114	2,24	0,779	0,073
	1 = awareness of others	114	2,66	0,792	0,074
Importance	0 = self-awareness	114	2,33	1,086	0,102
	1 = awareness of others	114	2,55	0,716	0,067
Contribution Importance	0 = self-awareness	114	2,285	0,7842	0,0734
	1 = awareness of others	114	2,603	0,6022	0,0564
Pain	0 = self-awareness	114	1,95	1,046	0,098
	1 = awareness of others	114	3,27	0,613	0,057
Medication	0 = self-awareness	114	2,09	0,858	0,08
	1 = awareness of others	114	3,02	0,761	0,071
Risk	0 = self-awareness	114	1,82	0,779	0,073
	1 = awareness of others	114	2,84	0,637	0,06

Source: Authors table

Regarding Importance and contribution there is no difference between the groups whereas for Pain, Medication and Risk one can see that awareness of others is higher than self-awareness.

Two first conclusions could be:

→ Fear to take too much risk

→ Others do think stakeholders can do more than what they think

Variance analysis

Table 3 Variance analysis

		N	Mea	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	95% Confidence Interva
BEP	Physician	114	2.1	0.77	0.07	2.0
	Nurse	114	2.3	0.83	0.07	2.
	Biome	114	2.6	0.85	0.0	2.5
	Managemen	114	2.9	2.11	0.19	2.5
	Buye	114	2.7	1.07	0.	2.5
Importance	Physician	114	1.9	0.77	0.07	1.7
	Nurse	114	2.5	1.04	0.09	2.3
	Biome	114	2	0.93	0.08	2.7
	Managemen	114	2.5	1.2	0.11	2.
	Buyer	114	2.6	1.2	0.11	2.4
Pain	Physician	114	2.0	0.85	0.0	1.
	Nurse	114	1.	0.77	0.07	1.6
	Biome	114	3.5	0.90	0.08	3.3
	Managemen	114	3.7	0.84	0.07	3.6
	Buye	114	3.8	0.83	0.07	3.
Medication Errors	Physician	114	2.1	0.80	0.07	1.9
	Nurse	114	2.0	0.74	0.06	1.8
	Biome	114	3.1	1.06	0.	2.9
	Managemen	114	3.	1.05	0.09	3.2
	Buyer	114	3.4	0.98	0.09	3.2
Risk	Physician	114	1.9	0.76	0.07	1.8
	Nurse	114	1.7	0.64	0.06	1.6
	Biome	114	2.8	0.99	0.09	2.6
	Managemen	114	3.1	0.92	0.08	2.9
	Buye	114	3.	0.92	0.08	3.3

Source: Authors table

→ Management, buyer, and MedTech consider themselves as being more important than nurses/physicians

→ Every stakeholder wants to be careful; the closer to the patient the less responsibility will a stakeholder take

ANOVA showed that there is significant difference between the groups: physicians, nurse, MedTech, management, and buyer

Conclusion

Both – literature review and empirical research – confirmed that patient safety in hospitals is a big issue and that stakeholders do play an important role in this process.

The key research question for this research is if there is a relation between involving different stakeholders in the decision process in

hospitals and improving patient safety. Yes, correlation analysis shows that there is a relation

These research questions lead to the main hypothesis driving the overall research:

H0: Involving different stakeholders in decision processes in hospitals has an influence on patient safety. → YES, regression analysis proves that there is an influence

H1: Physicians and nurses have a higher self-awareness with regards to importance in the decision process than management and buyers. → No, it is the other way round

Recommendations for hospital management:

- 1) Create awareness for patient safety. The management has to ensure that patient safety is one of the top aims in the hospital. Further, it has to be ensured that this message is cascaded to different departments and within them to all people. Important is that the awareness is also created among nurses and not only among physicians.
- 2) Hospital managers should seek to define and establish clear responsibility for patient safety. To have positive outcomes, patient safety must be a multi-disciplinary goal. Everyone who works in a hospital is equally responsible for patient safety.
- 3) All stakeholders/disciplines need to engage in a thoughtful, collaborative and strategic approach to creating effective tools and processes for improving patient safety and reducing the potential for adverse outcomes.
- 4) Create a culture for patient safety: anyone who identifies an issue with regards to patient safety must feel free to discuss that issue for the benefit of patient safety without fear of retribution. Management has to ensure that there is no negative impact for employees when they speak up to talk about a problem or a source of problem.
- 5) Implement systems and tools, which help to further improve patient safety and driving the reporting of errors or tracking or deriving of actions / projects.
- 6) Ensure that every suggestion / identified problem will have any kind of solution or reaction and make sure that the person who raised it gets informed.
- 7) Physicians need to walk the talk and set the tone for a consistent culture of patient safety where open communication is not only valued, but also expected. Everyone needs to be able to influence the culture as well as the deployment of safe patient care.

Limitations

In the course of the configuration of this empirical research, some limitations either arose or were set in order to specify the underlying conditions:

- Limitation to “hospital environment” instead of investigating the “health care industry” e.g. elderly home, outpatient centres, day-care centres
- Including healthcare providers into the research without considering the patient’s view
- Decision process was analysed based on an investment decision, not an actual procedure on the patient
- Geographic scope of the research is Germany

Additional factors such as individuality of hospitals, external influence factors on stakeholder’s situation, restricted number of experts interviewed and stakeholders surveyed might set further limits to the present research.

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CURRENT PROBLEMS IN DESTINATION MANAGEMENT ORGANISATIONS: THE CASE OF SLOVAKIA

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Abstract

Destination management organisations (DMOs) coordinate various stakeholders in a destination. The diversity of stakeholders is often the cause of various problems in a destination. The main objectives of this study are first to reveal and compare problems of Slovak DMOs from the point of view of both municipalities, as well as other members of DMOs. The second objective is to find out what the most important activities of Slovak DMOs are and what their performance level is from perspective of both DMOs' CEOs and members of DMOs. The study conclusions are based on the analysis of results of surveys conducted among CEOs and members of Slovak DMOs. The study reveals that there are differences in the problems perception between municipalities and other DMOs' members. The findings suggest that to the most significant activities of Slovak DMOs belong to marketing and promotion, promotion of local attractions to become part of permanent tourism supply in a destination, as well as creation and promotion of tourism products.

Keywords: Slovakia, destination management organisation, public resources, stakeholders, tourism marketing, promotion of tourism

Introduction

Tourism has a cross-sectional character and cannot be isolated from other sectors (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, Dwyer et al., 2009) which is reflected in the difficulty of coordinated development in a particular destination. In many countries, this is the role of destination management organizations (DMOs). Slovakia responds to the need of DMOs in Act. 91/2010 Coll. on the promotion of tourism, which can be considered a major step towards the implementation of destination management in Slovakia. Under this Act there are formed local and regional tourism organizations (LTOs and RTOs), which are to fulfil the roles of DMOs.

LTO consists of at least five municipalities where a summary of the number of overnight stays by visitors in accommodation establishments in the founding municipalities in the previous calendar year was at least 50.000. Less than five municipalities may establish an LTO also in the case when a summary of the number of overnight stays by visitors was at least 150.000. Except for the municipalities, members of LTO may be also the natural or legal persons, which do business or operate on their territory. Members of LTO pay a membership fee, which is set by the General Assembly of LTO and may differ among LTOs. Until now, 35 LTOs have been established in Slovakia. The layout of the LTOs is depicted in Figure 1.

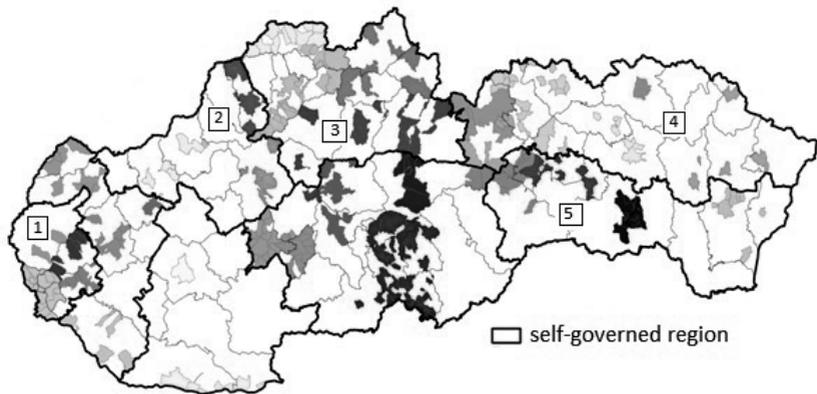


Figure 1 Layout of Slovak LTOs and RTOs in 2016

Note: Numbers 1 – 5 represent presence of RTO.

Source: own processing based on the data from the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic

An RTO is defined in the Act as a legal person established under this Act, which promotes and creates conditions for tourism development in the region and protects the interests of its members. An RTO consists of one of eight self-governed regions in Slovakia and at least one LTO from the territory. Only one RTO can be established in a self-governed region. It means that the maximum allowed number of RTOs in Slovakia is eight, but up to now there have been established just five RTOs.

A grant from the State budget is provided for the financial year. The rules for providing the grant are set out in the law as follows:

- a) An LTO can receive the grant in the same amount as is the total sum of membership fees collected in the year prior to the previous financial year. The maximum amount of the grant may not exceed

90% of the total overnight tax collected in all member municipalities in the year prior to the previous financial year.

- b) An RTO can receive the grant in the same amount as is the membership fee of self-governed region in the year prior to the previous financial year. The maximum amount of the grant may not exceed 10% of the total overnight taxes collected in all member municipalities of the member LTOs in the year prior to the previous financial year.

According to the Act, the grant may be used for marketing and promotion, operation of tourist information centre (TIC), the creation and operation of the booking system, creation and promotion of tourism products, tourism infrastructure except for building of accommodation facilities, provision of strategic documents and statistics, and the establishment of evaluation system of service quality and for educational activities.

This article deals with the issues of Slovak DMOs with the emphasis on their activities promoted through the grant from State budget and problems perceived by LTO's members.

Literature Review

Nature and functions of destination management

Destinations are one of those not so easily manageable units due to relationship complexity between local subjects involved in tourism. Managing is difficult also due to diversity of subjects involved in the development and production of tourism product (Buhalis, 2000). Tourism Destination Management is in essence equal to the management processes designed to attract tourists (i.e. profits) and allocate time and money in a particular geographic area (Laesser, Beritelli, 2013).

Meriläinen and Lemmetyinen (2011) perceive destination as a strategic network, and therefore they see destination management in terms of network management. Their work introduces the concept of Destination Network Management, which they believe is a combination of strategic management (as intra-organizational measures to facilitate the mutual relations towards common goals) and coordination of cooperation (which balances the interests of stakeholders).

Destination management has certain specific features such as double function of DMO, vague and difficult to measure targets, limited opportunities of influence and large influence of interest groups (Bieger, 2005).

Destination management covers several areas of operation. This is particularly the planning (in the areas related to tourism), lobbying (on behalf of all stakeholders of tourism), marketing (complex, i.e. the

product, pricing, and at least to some extent, promotion and distribution), coordination of services (focused on creating positive customer experiences) (Laesser, Beritelli, 2013).

The key destination management functions include, for example, destination marketing, branding and positioning, destination planning, monitoring and evaluation, product development, research, information management and knowledge collecting, organizational responsibility, management and partnership (Pearce, 2015). Richterová et al. (2015) emphasises the importance of marketing and its impact on consumer behaviour in Slovakia. In the context of destination management, Medne and Berzina (2016) underline tourist awareness of destination and its positive image. It should be noted that it is more the functions that should be performed and not the functions that are currently performed in the destinations. As can be seen at a glance, this list is quite extensive. The authors believe that the significance of the functions of destination management in specific destinations may vary because each destination has its unique resources and is influenced by local conditions that can highlight, or rather suppress the importance of individual functions.

According to Beritelli et al. (2015) managers, as well as government officials often use “destination management” only as a headword or phrase in introduction of new planning processes or for the legitimating of individual initiatives. This, however, leads into rather frustrating results, like disharmony when actors in the area indirectly or directly disagree with conditions that are neither objectively defined nor explained. There originates a “large mixture”, which assumes that all actors and stakeholder groups with their conflicting interests will be simultaneously involved in the strategic process and that they must reach a consensus.

In summary, the authors can say that achieving a competitive advantage in a destination requires effective destination management and relationship management (Shirazi and Som, 2011).

Stakeholders in a destination as a challenge for destination management

In the context of cooperation, the interest groups (stakeholders) represent entities, which are responsible for problems or contentious issues, which are affected by these problems. At the same time, they are entities whose perspective and knowledge are essential for developing of good solutions or strategies. Finally yet importantly, they are entities that have the power and resources to block or implement solutions and strategies (Hampton, Lee, Riley, 2008). Only viable and innovative entities can create a competitive destination. Innovations in service enterprises and especially in young fast-growing businesses – gazelles in services analyses Krošľáková et al. (2015).

In order to maintain competitiveness, destinations should dispose of innovations as an opportunity to gain a competitive advantage in the market. Baggio and Cooper (2010) argue that innovation is a prerequisite for understanding how destinations acquire, share and use knowledge. Their attention is devoted mainly to network analysis in the tourism sector, which according to them can explain the process of knowledge sharing in destination and thus significantly contribute to the competitiveness of destination. That is a sharing of knowledge between stakeholders in destination, which in the context of network theory represent nodes in the system.

Network theory recognises that stakeholders can be members of more than one network. Consequently, the powers of the stakeholders as well as their roles, interactions and functions may vary (Dredge, 2006). Buhalis (2000) states that the development and implementation of strategic objectives in destination depends on the relations between the stakeholders.

Since there are present a number of interests groups in the destinations, it is a huge challenge to find common ground among diverse agendas. Certain groups (such as hotels and self-government) are clearly very critical to the success of DMO, as they invested various financial and partner resources into them. However, there is a large number of other stakeholders whose view must also be taken into account (Sheehan, Ritchie, Hudson, 2007). With regard to this claim, it is very difficult to determine what constitutes success for such organisation that must deal with multiple requests from interests groups.

Selin and Myers (1998) investigated the satisfaction of members of the regional tourism marketing alliance in California. They found out that effective communication is essential to achieve the satisfaction of members and their support. They also stress the need for strong leadership to achieve the involvement of stakeholders. Ness et al. (2014) suggest that it is the DMO that may overtake the role of leader in destination and carry out management. Likewise, according to the OECD (2012), DMOs may be seen as organisations that have a central role, as they accelerate collective actions.

In connection with management, Hristov and Zehrer (2015) report that DMOs serve as so-called leadership networks in destination. Management in DMO should not be seen as an individual task. It rather means a collective effort that represents a common approach leading to the strategic development of the destination. DMO serving as a leadership network should therefore be seen as a means of removing barriers that prevent inclusion of stakeholders in destination. The implementation of this concept, which introduces the so-called open door policy, mainly

requires that the performance of management, as well as implementation of management decisions will no longer be a privileged role.

In the presence of so many stakeholders, as it is in the case of destinations (whether one means suppliers, local communities, government etc.) the authors consider their mutual relations as crucial. DMO is seen as the central organisation in the system. It must have leadership that is necessary to manage these relationships. According to Bornhorst, Ritchie, Sheehan (2010) DMOs, whose leaders and managers are focused on stakeholder relations, have a much greater chance of success.

Data collection and methods

The first objective of this study is to reveal and compare problems of Slovak DMOs from the point of view of both municipalities, as well as other members of DMOs.

The second objective is to find out what the most important activities of Slovak DMOs are and what their performance level is from perspective of both DMOs' CEOs and members of DMOs.

Three surveys were conducted among CEOs and members of Slovak DMOs (in 2016–2017). In the first survey, an electronic questionnaire was sent to the CEOs of all 35 LTOs in Slovakia and 25 of them completed the questionnaire. The second survey was conducted among the CEOs of all five RTOs in Slovakia. Replies were received from all five respondents. The last survey was conducted among the members of all the Slovak LTOs. At the time of conducting the survey, Slovak LTOs had total of 790 members (municipalities and other members). An electronic questionnaire was sent via email to the 700 members whose email addresses had been found. 114 respondents completed the questionnaire, 67 being represented by municipalities and 47 by other members. The data was processed through the statistical package SPSS-version 22.0. When comparing the problems of Slovak DMOs from the point of view of municipalities and other members of DMOs, the Chi-Square test was used. When finding out what are the most important activities of Slovak DMOs are and what their performance level is, the two-dimensional descriptive statistics were used. The secondary data about Slovak DMOs were received from the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic. The data on the number of overnight stays were received from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic.

Research results and discussion

Current problems of DMOs in Slovakia

In identifying the current problems faced by the DMOs in Slovakia, it should be noted that none of the problems listed in the next section of this study can be seen in isolation. It may be said that the problems are interlinked and often reflect different specificities of each region. Building on the survey of members and executive directors of Slovak LTOs, one can say that the biggest problem of Slovak DMOs is lack of funds for the development of destination, according to half of all our survey respondents. However, the authors noted that LTOs members rather than their CEOs reported this problem to a larger extent. Problems with the payment of membership fees also support the existence of the problem of lack of funding.

The main income of LTOs consisted of membership fees and grants made under the law on the promotion of tourism, as illustrated in the Figure 2. Membership fees from municipalities together with a subsidy amounted to 73% of all LTOs' revenue. It is clear that Slovak local DMOs are largely publicly funded. In absolute terms, the total grant in 2012–2016 amounted to 16,804,657 € for LTO's (plus 2,256,888.6 € for RTO's). The grant from the State budget is 41% and membership fees from municipalities is 32% of the total budget of LTO's, which means that up to 73% work LTOs with public sources.

The total amount of grant provided is increasing from year to year (see Table 1).

Table 1 **Total amount of the grant from State budget provided to Slovak DMOs in 2012–2016**

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
LTOs	2,962,060	3,061,817	3,220,865	3,778,272	3,781,641
RTOs	319,242	330,935	486,724	549,369	570,618
Total	3,281,302.64	3,392,752.79	3,707,589.46	4,327,641.85	4,352,259

Source: own processing based on the data from the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic

From the perspective of LTOs' executive directors the most frequently encountered problems are differences of opinion among members. Among the frequently occurring problem belongs the passivity of members, which may stem, for example, from fear of risks that LTOs' members are exposed to as a result of their membership in LTO. For instance, member organisations bear the economic risk associated with the payment of

membership fees. One can also talk about risk of knowledge sharing (D'Angella and Go, 2009), as businesses compete with each other, but at the same time cooperate, and share information about their activities or rather performances can be seen as risky. Another potential reason why LTOs' members are passive may be the fact that they do not trust all partners in their LTO. According to our survey, 40% of respondents do not trust all partners in their organisation, and almost half of respondents think that the other members do not take into account how they can take influence other members with their decisions and actions.

The motivation of entities to enter LTO is the expectations of certain membership benefits. Such benefits may be for example a synergistic effect of cooperation, economies of scale, mitigation of seasonality, but also the opportunity to be involved in decision-making processes in the destination. Reasons for entrance into LTO may vary between individual members.

Figure 2 shows how the number of LTOs' member entities changed compared to the first year of LTOs existence in Slovakia. One can see that there has been an increase in the number of member municipalities and other entities, totalling an increase of 166 new members. In 2016 a member of one of LTOs were 790 different subjects, while members are still more other entities than municipalities.

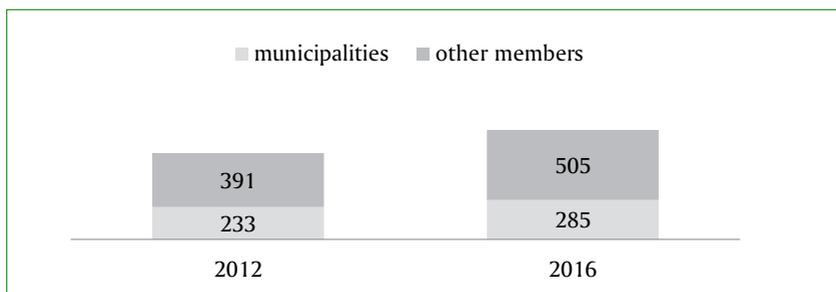


Figure 2 **Composition of LTOs' membership in 2012 and 2016 (number of members)**

Source: own processing based on the data from the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic

One cause of many problems in tourism partnerships is the heterogeneity of their members. Likewise, in case of LTOs it is a challenge for the organisation's management to coordinate a variety of subjects and protect their interests. The category of "other members" includes, for example various types of businesses, associations, natural persons or

educational institutions. They are therefore completely different entities than municipalities, and thus they view various problems in LTOs from different perspective.

Therefore, the authors investigated whether there are statistically significant differences in perception of problems in LTOs between municipalities and other LTOs' members. In our survey members of LTOs were asked to identify problems they had encountered in their LTO. Individual problems were predefined in the survey, but respondents had the opportunity to add even more problems. In Table 2 there is shown the list of the problems, as well as the number of positive and negative answers for each of them.

Table 2 The occurrence of individual problems in Slovak LTOs according to their members (n = 114)

Perceived problems in LTOs	yes	no
Lack of funds for the development of destination	55	59
Passivity of LTO's members	51	63
Difficulties in finding common goals and strategies	44	70
Lack of interest of businesses to enter LTO	43	71
Variable degree of perception of the importance of tourism among members	39	75
Divergence of opinions among members	31	83
Enforcement of the interests of an LTO's member (or members)	31	83
Lack of interest of municipalities to enter LTO	31	83
Lack of expertise in destination management	28	86
Problems with payment of the membership fee of individual members	24	90
Disagreement on the activities for which the grant will be used	23	91
Competitive behaviour of members exceeds their effort to cooperate	22	92
Distrust among members	21	93
Mistrustful and negative view on the issue of tourism in the region	13	101
Other problems	12	102

Source: own processing based on the survey results

In Table 3 are presented the results of Chi-Square Test for individual problems. For the seven problems, there are statistically significant differences between municipalities and other LTOs' members in perception of problems in LTOs.

Table 3 Chi-Square Test results: differences between municipalities and other LTOs' members in perception of problems in LTOs

Problem	Pearson Chi-Square (χ^2)	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Distrust among members	9.690	1	0.002**
Difficulties in finding common goals and strategies	5.245	1	0.022*
Divergence of opinions among members	7.073	1	0.008**
Mistrustful and negative view on the issue of tourism in the region	4.749	1	0.029*
Competitive behaviour of members exceeds their effort to cooperate	8.174	1	0.004**
Disagreement on the activities for which the grant will be used	4.588	1	0.032*
Lack of interest of municipalities to enter LTO	4.179	1	0.041*
Lack of funds for the development of destination	1.038	1	0.308
Passivity of LTO's members	2.312	1	0.128
Lack of interest of businesses to enter LTO	0.460	1	0.498
Variable degree of perception of the importance of tourism among members	0.187	1	0.665
Enforcement of the interests of an LTO's member (or members)	3.255	1	0.071
Lack of expertise in destination management	1.179	1	0.278
Problems with payment of the membership fee of individual members	0.174	1	0.676
Other problems	1.620	1	0.203

Note: * differences exist on the level of significance $p < 0,05$,

** differences exist on the level of significance $p < 0,01$

Source: own processing based on the survey results

If one looks at the evolution of the grant for an overnight stay in Slovakia (see Figure 3), one finds an upward trend throughout the period, with a significant increase in 2014. This jump was due to decrease in the number of overnight stays in Slovak in 2014. The Ministry of Transport saw as a cause of this the weak winter season 2013/2014, as well as significant decline of Ukrainian and Russian visitor's because of the crisis in Ukraine. They justified the overnight drop also by the strong euro, which caused more expensive holidays for the neighbouring countries that do not apply the common European currency. Increasing share trend in grant for one night in Slovakia continued also in 2015, however, compared to 2014 it was more moderate. In 2016 this share markedly declined, this year the total number of overnight stays increased to 14, 138.420 (index 1.36 compared to 2010 and 1.14 compared to 2015).

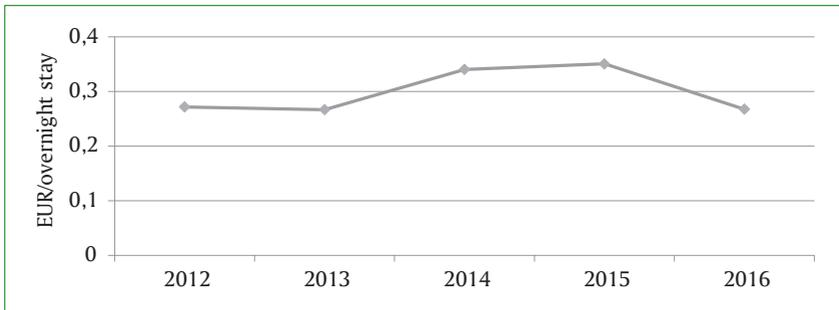


Figure 3 Share of the grant for an overnight stay in Slovakia in the period 2012–2016

Source: own processing based on the data from the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic and from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

Most important activities of Slovak DMOs and their performance level

With the help of two-dimensional descriptive statistics, the authors investigated what the most important activities of Slovak DMOs are and what their performance level is from perspective of both DMOs' CEOs and members of DMOs. Respondents in all three surveys were asked to answer how important they find the various activities in their destination and how they assess the performance level of these activities in their destination. 5-point rating scales assessed the importance and performance level. To describe the relationship between importance and performance level of the various activities we used X-Y scatter plot where the authors plotted average values of assigned importance against average values of assigned performance level for each activity (see Figure 4). The Y axis begins at point 0, because in assessing the level of activities respondents could indicate the option that a given activity is not carried out in their destination.

Activities that are closest to the upper right corner in the graph the authors consider most significant, because at the same time they are achieving the highest values of importance, as well as the highest performance level. The Figure 6 shows that the most significant activity (based on the answers of respondents) is the marketing and promotion because it is achieving the highest values observed in both categories. In the second place is promotion of local attractions to become part of permanent tourism supply in a destination. The first three most significant activities in the Slovak DMOs are closed by creation and promotion of tourism products. The maintenance and development of tourism

infrastructure as well as the activities of the tourist information centre also achieved the relatively high level of importance. However, these two activities achieved rather low performance level.

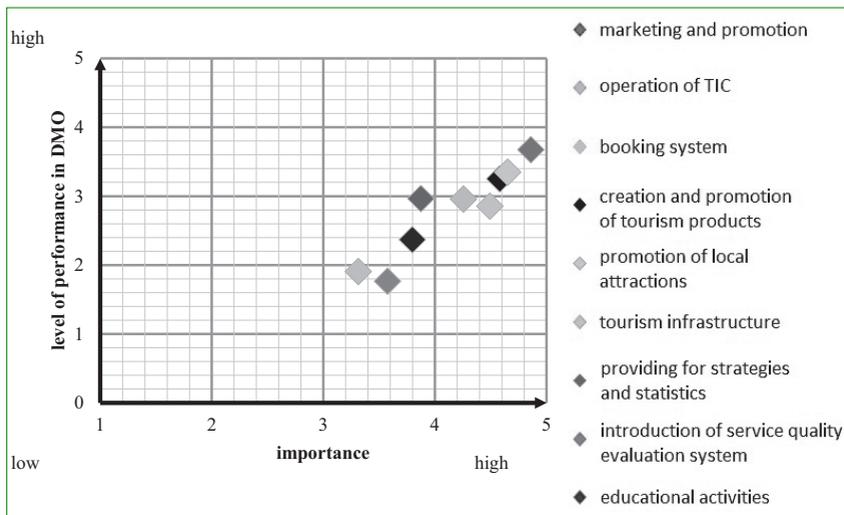


Figure 4 Importance of DMOs' activities versus their level of performance in Slovak DMOs

Source: own processing based on the survey results

The above activities the authors consider most significant, because in the two-dimensional descriptive statistics the authors have incorporated not only the views of DMOs' CEOs (top-down view), but also the views of DMOs' members (bottom-up view). The least significant among surveyed activities are the creation and operation of the booking system and the introduction of service quality evaluation system.

In Table 4 are presented individual activities supported by the grant from the State budget in 2016. All LTOs used the grant for marketing and promotion. In 25 LTOs, a part of the grant was used for maintenance and development of tourism infrastructure, in 19 LTOs for creation and promotion of tourism products. The third most often supported activity was promotion of local attractions to become part of permanent tourism supply in a destination (by 9 LTOs).

Table 4 Activities supported by the grant in 2016

Activities	Number of LTOs (RTOs) that used the grant for the activity*	Grant used for the individual activities		
		LTOs (EUR)	RTOs (EUR)	DMOs total (EUR)
Marketing and promotion	31 (4)	1,656,399	341,910	1,998,309
Operation of tourist information centre	6 (0)	52,153	0.00	52,153
Creation and operation of the booking system	0 (0)	0.00	0.00	0.00
Creation and promotion of tourism products	16 (3)	966,180	133,460	1,099,640
Promotion of local attractions	8 (1)	134,200	17,000	151,200
Maintenance and development of tourism infrastructure	23 (2)	902,182	54,500	956,682
Providing for strategies and statistics	6 (0)	27,990	0.00	27,990
Introduction of service quality evaluation system	2 (0)	9,500	0.00	9,500
Educational activities	7 (1)	29,668	2,500	32,168
Total grant for Slovak DMOs in 2015				4,352,259

Note: *in brackets is the number of RTOs

Source: own processing based on the data from the Ministry of Transport, Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic

The largest part of the grant awarded was used for marketing and promotion, creation and promotion of tourism products, construction and maintenance of tourism infrastructure and more than 100,000 EUR was granted to promote attractions in the destination.

In 2016, no DMO used the grant for the creation and operation of the booking system and only 9,500 EUR were used for the introduction of service quality evaluation system, which was the second lowest amount among the promoted activities. When comparing the results of the two-dimensional descriptive statistic and the real use of the grant, the authors found out that the activities identified as the most significant in Slovak DMOs are also the most promoted activities from the grant.

Conclusions, proposals, recommendations

The biggest problem of Slovak DMOs perceived by their members and CEOs is the lack of funds for the development of destination. The main income of LTOs consists of membership fees and grants made under the law on the promotion of tourism. Membership fees from municipalities

together with a grant amount to over 70% of all LTOs' revenue, which means that Slovak DMOs are largely publicly funded. Frequently occurring problems are also the differences of opinion among DMOs' members, passivity of members as well as distrust among members.

The study reveals that there are statistically significant differences in perception of some problems in LTOs between municipalities and other LTOs' members. The most significant differences are perceived in problems such as distrust among members, divergence of opinions among members, as well as problem when competitive behaviour of members exceeds their effort to cooperate.

To the most significant activities of Slovak DMOs belong marketing and promotion, promotion of local attractions to become part of permanent tourism supply in a destination, as well as creation and promotion of tourism products. The relatively high level of importance was also observed by the maintenance and development of tourism infrastructure, as well as by the activities of the tourist information centre. However, perceived performance level of these two activities was rather low.

The study has its limitations. First, the analysis refers to the short time of the Slovak DMOs existence. The first DMO established under the law was founded in December 2011, which is rather short time to derive general conclusions about Slovak DMOs. Therefore, an ongoing research on DMOs' activities and their evaluation is needed. Second, DMOs' performances are not only about overnight stays, but also their activities attract also one-day visitors in Slovak destinations. These performances are not analysed in this study. Nevertheless, the study data about problems in DMOs provide useful indications to the Slovak policy makers for improving the system of tourism promotion in Slovakia.

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‘CHERCHEZ LA FEMME’: ZINAIDA GIPPIUS IN THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EDITORS OF A RIGA NEWSPAPER ‘SEGODNYA’¹

Ludmila Sproģe

Dr. Philol.

Abstract

The article is devoted to Zinaida Gippius, a poet and a writer of the Russian ‘Silver Age’, who during her emigration (1919–1945) actively communicated with M. Ganfman, M. Milrud and P. Pilsky, the staff members of the Riga newspaper ‘Segodnya’. The triad Gender-Culture-Power was significant in the life and work of Z. Gippius. Rejecting the traditional ideas about the gender issues, and being sceptical about the social manifestations of the contemporary feminist movement, Gippius contributed to the fight against the masculine dominance and inertia of feminine discourse by choosing the position ‘beyond the gender’. Her ideas were manifested in a series of publications, including in the newspaper ‘Segodnya’.

Keywords: gender, epistolary, authenticity, feminism, femme fatale, vamp-woman, “masculine masks”, newspaper “Segodnya”, M. Ganfman, M. Milrud, P. Pilsky

The Woman of the ‘Silver Age’: The Image and Type

Zinaida Gippius (1869–1945) – a poet, prose writer, publicist – became the symbol of the ‘new woman’ for the modernist culture of the XX century. Although she never aspired to become a leader of the women’s movement and to be involved in the processes of women’s emancipation in Russia and in Europe, her social position and role in culture (what will later be defined as an ‘intellectual profile’² in the feminist discourse) assigned her a special place in the first half of the last century. It was supported by the fact that Gippius and her literary work were perceived as a sign of the individual protest. Moreover, the contemporaries noted her independence from social, ethical and aesthetic stereotypes³.

¹ The article is carried out in the frames of the project NFI/R/2014/061 “Gender, Culture and Power: Diversity and Interactions in Latvia and Norway”. The project is co-financed from the EEA and Norway Grant (2009–2014).

² Pachmuss Temira. Zinaida Gippius. *An Intellectual Profile*. Carbondale-Edwardsville. 1971.

³ The qualitative sociological poll (2016) that took place in the frames of the project NFI/R/2014/061 “Gender, Culture and Power: Diversity and Interactions in Latvia and Norway” shows that even today society depends on the “feministic stereotypes”.

Gender formulae, related to the personality and creative work of Gippius, are known from the numerous scholarly literature on feminism⁴. Generally, these formulae, depicting the image of the ‘new woman’ of the *fin de siècle*, are characterised by contradictory features that are presented in the following table:

Table 1

Chastity in marriage and extramarital love relationships	Freedom in the matters of gender
Intellectual attraction (intellectual compatibility) and gender equality	“Love triangles” and uncertainty in one’s body and sex/gender
New literature (Symbolism), neo-Christianity – as the ways of realization of free female creativity, as a manifestation of the spirit of femininity.	Male costume, male pseudonyms, a masculine subject in a poetic text and partly in prose
Active social and public position	Extreme individualism, egocentrism, mysticism, antisocial pathos of poetry

Already Gippius’s contemporaries defined the new type of woman by offering a variety of allegorical names, in which their gender characteristics were manifested. The list of the names-images of Gippius gives in insight into the attributes of her psychotype: *Sylphide*, *White Devil*, *Sataness of the Salon*, *Decadent Cleopatra*, *Dandy-woman from the portrait of L. Bakst*, *Femme fatale*, *Vamp-woman*, *Hermaphroditic Wife*, *Symbolist Giaconda*, *Snow Queen*, *Androgyne*, *St. Petersburg’s Sappho*, *Heavy Soul*, and others. Her intimate friend, Akim Volynsky, described characteristic features of Gippius, classifying her among other “new women” as an aerial, i.e. an ‘incorporeal’ woman-spirit, *Sylphide*:

One of the respondents, a member of Saeima, working in the spheres of culture and education, mentioned that the society today suffers from the gender discrimination, as well as from the negative emotional attitudes towards the representations of various feminine ideologies. Therefore, it is important to study the historical examples, such as of Z. Gippius, which clearly demonstrate the different perception of these issues.

⁴ Jenifer Presto. *The Androgynous Gaze of Zinaida Gippius // Russian Literature*. 2000. Vol. 48. № 1. P. 87–115; Ebert Christa. *Sinaida Hippus: seltsame Nähe: ein Porträt von Christa Ebert*. Berlin: Oberbaum, 2004; Matich Olga. *Erotic Utopia: The Decadent Imagination in Russia’s Fin de Siècle*. The University of Wisconsin Press, 2005; Kirsti Ekonen. *Life As a Work of Art: Z. Gippius, Constructor of her Literary Identity: Real Stories, Imagined Realities: Fictionality and Non-fictionality in Literary Constructs and Historical Contexts*. Tampere, 2007.

“This was the femininity of an essentially maiden character, with whims and tears. With laughter and playful game, with sudden tides of affectionate attention and just as sudden estrangement [...] I remembered Gippius in two of her main elements, forming this remarkable personality. One element is this outer shell of her individuality. For all the charm of the details, with the sylphidic fascination of her gait, gestures and airy mimicry, the timbre of her being always contained the alarming cry of the cracked glass [...] in the second element of her personality; Gippius entered the world of some fantastic delirium. In some of her manifestations, it was impossible to distinguish the real life from a fantasy game. She could write different letters to different people with different handwritings... It should also be noted here that the style of Gippius's letters was really incomparable... At the same time, at the heart of all this were the philosophical seriousness and a rare ability in a woman for contemplative-logical thinking.”⁵

After the author of “La Sylphide”, the authentic texts of Gippius will draw attention of subsequent generations of readers, for whom the life philosophy of Gippius was unconditionally valuable. Her diaries (especially “Contes d’amour. The Diary of Love Stories”), memoirs and letters were placed above the original creativity of the poet and prose writer, because these ego-texts highlight the existential and psychological characteristics of self-description.

The epistolary heritage of Gippius allowed the researchers to observe how a femme fatale writer fixes the events of the era against the background of personal intense experiences, to feel the maximum exposure of the subjective vision or to detect a deliberate hoax – the creation of a ‘text of life’ according to the principles of a new aesthetics. As a rule, Zinaida Gippius is characterised by the subjective selectivity of fixation and shifts in semantic registers. How much do her diary and epistolary texts represent the substratum that scholars, who write about this field and this era, called ‘women writing’? How was the discourse of the ‘new woman’ manifested through her epistolary heritage and gender philosophy? The studies of the last fifteen years, mentioned above, give argumentative answers to these questions, which are presented in the following table in the form of conclusions:

⁵ Аким Волынский. Сильфида. Статья третья // З. Н. Гиппиус: PRO ET CONTRA. С.-Петербург, 2008. С. 583–590.

Table 2

Negative attitude towards women's emancipation as a social and political movement. The call for "universal" freedom, which is not received from men, but is conquered alongside them.
Not the socio-political, but the inner spiritual freedom of the individual.
Denial of the concept of a "new woman", but the accentuation of the idea of a "new human being"
The context of culture that forms a new personality "beyond the gender".
A woman writer who expresses the solidarity with Otto Weininger's book "Sex and Character" and considers its types on the example of her literary characters.
Gippius as a character in Vasily Rozanov's book "People of the Moonlight" and as the addressee of his letters.
The negative attitude towards women and feminized men in the diary entries.
Gender theory as the construction of one's own authorship and a literary position in the letters to various correspondents.

The life and work of Zinaida Gippius took place in two temporal and spatial spheres: in Russia and in emigration in France. In the early 1920s, after a short period in Poland, she aspires to create the centre of Russian literature and philosophy in Paris. She opens the "Green Lamp" salon, intensively collaborates with Russian periodicals in Europe and takes a special place in the hierarchy of cultural life of the Russian diaspora. The issues of gender and Eros are still in the focus of her attention, but the inherent intensity of *épatage* and the shocking extravagance of her words have disappeared. Exactly at that time, Gippius's life consists of three important spheres: Gender, Culture, and Power. There are numerous evidences in the works of her contemporaries, for instance, in the memories of Mark Vishnyak, an editor of the journal "Contemporary Notes":

"Zinaida Gippius, as you know, was a poet, playwright, novelist, literary critic, and publicist and, if you will, a politician [...] Over the last four decades of her life, Gippius has had a strange preference for politics and journalism over the poetry. Despite all the political failures that befell Z. G. personally and her entourage, and all others, the politics invariably attracted her. Until her death, she did not cease to politically rush from side to side, changing, sometimes in several months' time, the heroes of her political interests, but relentlessly returning to her ineradicable "passion". [...] For 15 years, from 1923 to 1937, I was among the many addressees and correspondents of Gippius. [...] Our correspondence began, which every now and then included "the personal issues" and the exchange of opinions on political topics, of personal and general order. [...] She, as in the past, was passionately engaged in politics, making it according

to her aesthetically whimsical mood. [...] Gippius's quest for her special path of "neither right nor left" was sincere and deserved recognition. But objectively, in the minds of those around her, they turned completely different."⁶

During this period, Gippius's long-standing relationships with the editors and journalists of the well-known (also outside the Baltics) Riga Russian newspaper "Segodnya" were established. Among them were her well-known colleagues-journalists, popular in Russia before the October Revolution – Maxim Ganfman (1873–1934), Mikhail Milrud (1883–1941), Pyotr Pilsky (1879–1941), and others. The correspondence between Gippius and Ganfman/Milrud/Pilsky⁷, even though mostly devoted to business matters, clearly shows the aesthetic and psychological features of Gippius's epistolary texts. In general, her letters describe the opposition between the "external" (indifferent to her), "alien" (always hostile) and "personal", her own (only spiritually related to her people are permitted there). The latter category included her epistolary notes on the women questions and women literature, written with always-present irony and often with tragic tone. These characteristic features manifest themselves in Gippius's publications in the newspaper "Segodnya": "Young Kept Women. Sovdepian Negative" («Барышни-содержанки. Совдепский негатив»; № 125, 1921, 5.06. p. 2), "Vanya and Mary" («Ваня и Мари»; № 3, 1937, 3.01. p. 4), "The Ring of Silence" («Кольцо молчания»; № 58, 1924, 9.03. p. 7), "A Boy in a Pelérine" («Мальчик в пелеринке»; № 69–70, 1924, 23.03. p. 7), "Marina and Catherine. (Parallels)" («Марина и Катерина. (Параллели); № 46, 1931, 15.02. p. 4), "Nadenka and Her Beloved" («Наденька и ее возлюбленный»); № 152, 1934, 3.06. p. 4), "The Ring of Love. From thye Experience" («Кольцо любви. Из пережитого»; № 45, 1937, 14.02., p.4), "The Soul Alive: To the Anniversary of T. S. Varsher" («Душа живая (К юбилею Т. С. Варшер»); № 111, 1937, 23.04. p. 2), "The Unborn Girl at the Christmas Tree Party" («Нерожденная Девочка на елке»; № 6, 1938, 6.01. p. 4), "Love Does Not Help" («Любовь не помогает»; № 216, 1938, 7.08. p. 4).

Thematically versatile correspondence between Z. Gippius and staff members of the newspaper "Segodnya", excluding the issues of the literary work of Dmitry Merezhkovsky and his collaboration with the newspaper, can be presented in the following manner:

⁶ Z. N. Gippius: *PRO et CONTRA*. Sankt-Peterburg, 2008. P. 721–723.

⁷ The letters are quoted from the following edition: Л. Флейшман, Ю. Абызов, Б. Равдин. Русская печать в Риге: Из истории газеты «Сегодня» 1930-х годов. Stanford:: Stanford Slavic Studies. Volume 13. 1997. Кн. II–V.

Table 3

Date	Letters to Z. Gippius	Letters of Z. Gippius	Themes
March/June 1931	2 letters from Pilsky	Answers unknown	The fee, publication of short stories and memoirs about the writers, lectures of Professor I.A. Ilyin in Riga
March/August 1932	1 letter from Ganfman 1 letter from Pilsky	Answers unknown	Publication of an article about the family life of Tolstoy; about Parisian moods of emigrants; about the reductions of the satirical articles of Gippius; the replies to the reproach of Gippius, who asked to sign her works with a cryptogram instead of the full name
January/February 1933	1 letter from Pilsky 1 letter from Ganfman	Answers unknown	The answer to the claims of Gippius to the newspaper, which publishes her materials in a reduced form due to the position of "Segodnya" on foreign and domestic policy issues
July/August/October/December 1933		5 letters to Milrud	About the play "The Green Ring" and the memoirs of Gippius about the production of the play in the memoir "Old, New and Eternal" («Старая, новая и вечная»); an essay on the "ideal wife of the writer"; plans to publish in "Segodnya" a series of essays "Writers Wives"; reception of the memoir of the writer's wife (by Joanna Bryusova); about Riga lectures of Professor B. Vysheslavtsev, among which there is the following: "Psychoanalysis and Suggestion as a Way of Influencing the Subconscious"
April, May, June/November 1934	1 letter from Milrud	4 letters to Milrud	About the events in Paris; about political events in Riga on the 15 th of May; about the stories of Tatyana Chernavina, who fled from "Solovki"; memories about the congress of emigre writers; about King Alexander, murdered by a terrorist
January/March/July/August/November 1935		5 letters to Milrud	About the publication of the "Roman diary", the publication of "a strange case from real life" ("Mysterious Event. The Story about the Story"/«Загадочное происшествие. Рассказ о рассказе»); a sketch "in memorium" of Leo Tolstoy about a meeting with the writer.

January/ February/ December 1936	3 letters from Milrud	2 letters to Milrud	About "Segodnya's" rules of publishing the texts already published in other editions and the emotional reaction of Gippius to the comments; the rejection of Gippius's Christmas story so that "there was no riot in the Orthodox circles in Riga"; about the methods practiced by the writers Teffi and A. Damanskaya; the rejection of Gippius's story about the woman fate of a Frenchwoman-governess, ransomed by Russian emigres from the Soviet authorities.
April 1937		2 letters to Milrud	About the meetings with T. Varsher, about Easter stories.

At the same time, a number of articles by Gippius in "Segodnya" were devoted to the problems of marriage and, ahead of the subsequent culturologists and psychoanalysts; she considers some psycho-biographical subject matters, following her memoirs about the meetings with V. Rozanov, and the family of Count Leo Tolstoy, and others: "Divorce? V. Rozanov" («Развод? (В. Розанов)»; № 45, 1932, 14.02. p. 4), "48 Years. The Tragedy of Tolstoy and His Wife" («48 лет. Трагедия Толстого и его жены»; № 87, 1932, 28.03. p. 4), "The Marriage of a Writer" («Брак писателя»; № 236, 1933, 27.08. p. 3), "How one should live? The Trip to the Master" («Как жить? (поездка к учителю)»; № 330, 1935, 1.12. p. 2), "Italian Husbands. About Russian Women Who Married Italians" («Мужья-итальянцы. О русских женщинах, вышедших замуж за итальянцев»; № 254, 1936, 14.09. p. 2). In the published stories, Gippius points out the "mystery" of the writer, arguing about the dichotomy of his views, everyday life and tasks of creative work.

Conclusion

Among the articles published by Z. Gippius in the newspaper "Segodnya", there are plots where she reflects on the female/male nature. As expected, in the correspondence, this reflection is latent; its manifestation is possible only in the context of the meta-description of the person and creativity of Gippius in the reviews and essays of, for example, Pyotr Pilsky ("Ice Fancies"). Those who write about Gippius implicitly choose the strategy of "cherchez la femme". The facts and mythology that surrounded her name during her life and after death gave them the right to it. In this connection, correspondents did not always regard the female authorship as a special issue in the case of Gippius. After eight decades

from the time of her publications in “Segodnya”, the situation is seen in the new light. The thematic character of her constant topics attracts the attention: sex/gender, marriage, different types of feminine (the category of femininity), ideas about reproduction, the choice of representative strategies in the mentioned publications. The presence of the plots oriented to the triad of Gender-Culture-Power testifies to the writer’s preferences, whose creativity remained true to her previously formulated beliefs. The mechanism of comprehension of “gender mysteries” of Gippius always assumed the formula “cherchez la femme”.

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THE INFLUENCE OF DISTRIBUTION CHANNEL MIX TO CUSTOMER EQUITY

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MA economics

Abstract

On the 15th of July 2015, Amazon celebrated its 20th birthday with an event called Prime Day. For everybody who thought digital distribution is just another distribution channel, this event presented the real potential of a digital distribution channel. Amazon received 34 million sales that day and almost 400 orders per second. This outstanding and incontrovertible success leads to the question of how digital distribution channels are changing the traditional sales environment and furthermore how the distributions channel mix influence the customer equity of a company. Looking at the history of economic science, the age of a product-based view has moved on to a customer-centred perspective. Nowadays it is nearly indispensable to evaluate a firm´s marketing strategies and to identify the main drivers of the firm´s customer equity. Facing the customer equity approach, it´s necessary to investigate the customer equity (CE) model and the customer lifetime (CLV) model. Both are directly related and customer equity is the aggregation of a firms expected customers lifetime values considering existing and new attracted customers. High brand equity and high value equity may not be enough to hold customer to the firm. There has to be a glue between customers and the firm. The definition of relationship equity is the willingness of a customer to stay with a brand and a firm. Therefore, the right distribution channel mix can be identified as a major driver with a huge influence on a companies´ customer equity rate.

Keywords: distribution channel, channel mix, customer equity, marketing mix, 4P´s, Amazon, multi-channel distribution

Introduction

On the 15th of July 2015, Amazon celebrated its 20th birthday with an event called Prime Day. For everybody who thought digital distribution is just another distribution channel, this event presented the real potential of a digital distribution channel. Amazon received 34 million sales that day and almost 400 orders per second. This outstanding and incontrovertible success leads to the question, how digital distribution channels can change traditional sales environment and furthermore how the distribution channel mix influence the customer equity of a company? (Stoller, 2017, p. 20). The Financial Times titled “Consumers absolutely love Amazon – it makes their life more bearable”. Moreover, investors love companies like Amazon

with their extremely high customer focus, too. However, how can investors find such information about customers and their value in a balance sheet or how can they predict any future development from financial valuation models? (Ito, 2017, pp. 1–2). For example in traditional analysis, the Return on Investment (ROI) is used to evaluate and compare the success of activities and investments (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 1). The Return on Investment is nothing less than the sum of provided resources and the resultant outcome. However, this method might provide disadvantages, when it comes to measure a marketing strategy. Or even more, to make a marketing strategy financially accountable (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 2).

Looking at the history of economic science, the age of a product-based view has moved on to a customer-centred perspective. Nowadays it is nearly indispensable to evaluate a firm's marketing strategies and to identify the main drivers of the firm's customer equity (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 5). Even more, the customer equity framework gives firms a tool to calculate and rank their strategies on a mid and long-term perspective. Finally, the customer equity approach makes the influence of distribution channel mix measurable and accountable (Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 109).

Therefore, this article will analyse the different distribution channels from a marketing perspective with regard to the 4-P model of Kotler to gain connections and identify its influence on customer equity of a company.

4P Analysis & Distribution Channel Mix

A traditional marketing approach to analyse a case like the Amazon Prime Day is to discuss the event through four dimensions. Through the four tactical levers product, place, promotion, price (Ruskin-Brown, 2006, p. 68).

- Product: Amazon offered over 253 million products in 2014 and many additional services.
- Place: through its online Platform Amazon reached to be the giant with a huge market place. Amazon holds 46 percent of the online retail market and pursues warehouses with a total space of over 120 million square feet.
- Promotion: through digital promotion an big data Amazon provides a large reach actual marketing expenses diver from 4,7–4,9%.
- Price: the market capitalisation gained by Amazon is about \$ 448 billion.

Amazon's stock increased since 2012 by 300 percent and substitute 295.000 jobs since founding (Stoller, 2017, p. 21). In general, distribution

channels can be differentiated in in-store, mail-order and electronic mediums (Alptenkinoglu, & Tang, 2005, p. 802). Moreover, rudimental differentiation in to analog and digital distribution channel can be allocated.

Table 1 General differentiation in distribution channels

distribution channel	
digital	analog

Customer Equity

Facing the customer-equity approach it's necessary to investigate the customer equity (CE) model and the customer lifetime (CLV) model. Both are directly related and customer equity is the aggregation of a firms expected customers lifetime values considering existing and new attracted customers (Hogan, Lehmann, Merino, & Srivastava, 2002, p. 30). Therefore, customer equity can be defined as the future oriented contribution of the customers to the company value (Blattberg, Getz, & Thomas, 2001, p. 17). A mathematical approach is given by following formula.

$$CE = CLV * \text{market share} * \text{market size}$$

Figure 1 The Customer Equity Formula

Where customer equity is the product of customer lifetime value, the relevant market share and the total market size (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 12). Where, customer equity is the product of customer lifetime value, the relevant market share and the total market size. To operationalise the customer lifetime value (CLV) it has to be broken down in its several items.

$$CLV = \sum_{t=0}^T \frac{(p_t - c_t)r_t}{(1+i)^t} - AC$$

Figure 2 The model representation

Where, p_t is the price paid by a consumer at time t , c_t are the direct costs servicing the customer at time t , I is the discount rate or cost of capital for the firm, r_t is the probability of customer repeat buying or being alive at time t , AC are the acquisition costs and T the time horizon for estimating the customer lifetime value (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 13).

While in a theoretical literature review on customer equity, several models appear, this article will concentrate on the three main and different types of customer equity models and select a suitable one for further research.

The “black-box model” is based on a capital value formula in combination with an additional customer loyalty rate. Therefore, the customer lifetime value of each customer has to be summed up. The controlling potential of a black-box model is highest with existing customers (Reinartz & Kumar, 2000). The influence on new customers is not sufficiently covered with this approach (Blattberg, Getz, & Thomas, 2001).

The “behavioural model” is based on a multidimensional approach. This customer equity model is driven by different success potentials and customer relation measures. The management potential of this model seems to be critical (Burmam, 2003). The psychographic environment variables are transformed into monetary measures. Therefore, this approach is still controversial (Blattberg, Getz, & Thomas, 2001).

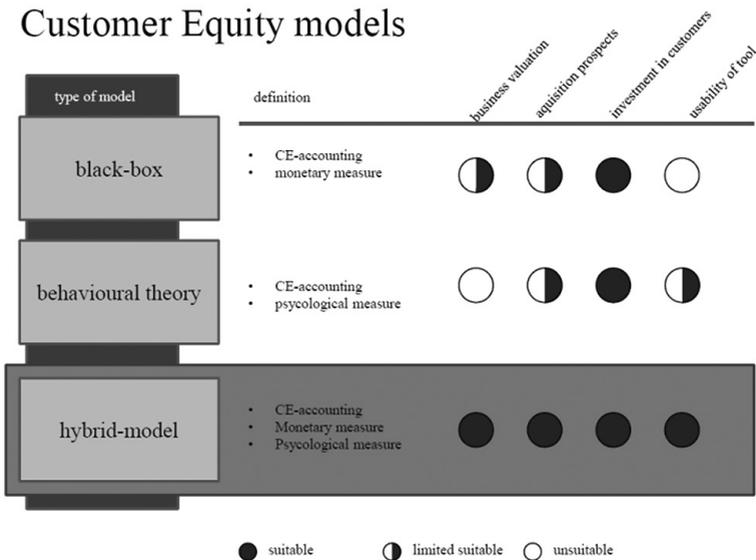


Figure 3 Contrast of Customer Equity models in style of Burmann, 2003

The “hybrid model” can be seen as synthesis of both the “black-box model” and “behavioural model” (Burmam, 2003). The “hybrid model” uses specific behavioural measures and connects them with a mathematical formula based on a capital value approach (Rust, Lemon & Zeithalm, 2004). For further discussion, the hybrid-model based on the Rust, Lemon & Zeithalm research shows the most accordance and theoretical exercise in the area of customer equity approach.

This hybrid customer-equity model is based on three main drivers: value equity, brand equity and relationship equity (Lemon, Rust, & Zeithalm, 2001, p. 22). To analyse the drivers for customer equity it is necessary to keep in mind that consumers are switching between brands (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 7).

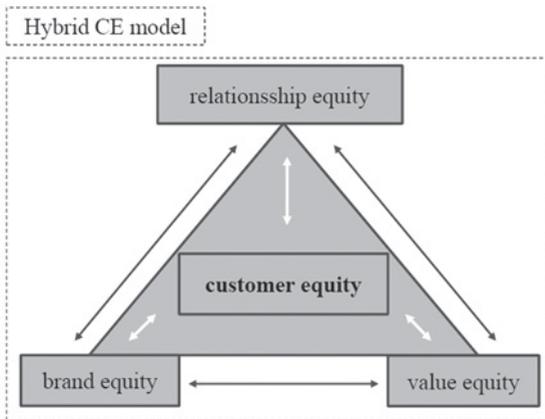


Figure 4 Hybrid Customer Equity model of Rust, Lemon & Zeithalm

Firstly, brand equity is based on image and meaning in the customers mind. The brand equity of a firm can attract new customers, as well as work as a reminder to keep services and products in customers mind. Moreover, brand equity can work as a connector to the firm and their products (Lemon, Rust, & Zeithalm, 2001, p. 22). The importance of a brand is not new; also, the importance of brand equity was already mentioned in earlier days. However, the connection and integration of brand equity in a customer equity model brings up the linking connection in a holistic approach (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 5). Additionally brand awareness, as well as strong consumer attitudes through direct marketing

is playing an important role in building or maximising a firm's brand equity (Lemon, Rust, & Zeithalm, 2001, p. 2).

Secondly, value equity is the outcome of what is given up for what is received, i.e. if the brands promise meets the expectation of the firm's customers. Moreover, value equity reproduces the rational and objective part of the customers' decision-making process (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 5). The ratio of a products' price, quality and customer convenience is driving the firm's value equity and in the end also the customer equity (Lemon, Rust, & Zeithalm, 2001, p. 22).

Finally, high brand equity and high value equity may not be enough to hold customer to the firm. There has to be a glue between customers and the firm. The definition of relationship equity is the willingness of a customer to stay with a brand and a firm (Lemon, Rust, & Zeithalm, 2001, pp. 22–23). The main issues on brand equity are the switching costs of the customers. All relationship programs aim to increase those switching barriers (Aravindakshan, Rust, Lemon, & Zeithalm, 2004, p. 7).

Conclusion

Therefore, the right distribution channel mix can be identified as a major driver with a huge influence on a company's customer equity rate. Based on the results of this article the following matrix should illustrate the conceptual framework for further research.

Table 2 Research framework combining customer equity and distribution channel

		customer equity			
		brand equity	relationship equity	value equity	
distribution channel	digital	product	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>
		place	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>
		promotion	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>
		price	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>
	analog	product	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>
		place	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>
		promotion	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>
		price	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>	<i>test</i>

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