Piotr Szreniawski

HIERARCHIES RIVALRY THEORY

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INTRODUCTION

It is a thing universally acknowledged that a vast majority of drivers consider themselves better motorists than all the others. This observation holds for researchers as well. More than that, when comparing masters of various schools or artists from various cultures, our judgments are bound to be impacted, among other factors, by our affiliation with these schools or cultures. In all probability, many readers will believe that the issues I address in this book are better explained by other theories. Many are also likely to wonder what ends are served by developing theories that contradict those already in place. Such doubts exemplify the rivalry of hierarchies. Given this, it may be rewarding to read a book that illuminates the mechanisms behind the competition between sundry associations and normative systems, both of which I refer to as hierarchies.

The notion of hierarchy may well be considered a mental construct that helps us spot interdependences within and elucidate the structures of multiple organisations. Yet all constructs, sooner or later, come to be regarded as natural, taken for granted and internalised to the point of being perceived as real beings (whatever these might be); this is what has happened with the notion of hierarchy as well. To say this is not to criticise this development; it is only to suggest that we would be well advised to realise every now and then that even if we discuss very particular cases, we not only fall back on some preconceived assumptions (of there being hierarchies, as well as organisations, emotions or life) but also navigate the realm of concepts, as Socrates did.

Rivalry unfolds between hierarchies and within hierarchies. The Hierarchies Rivalry Theory primarily addresses the former, though rivalry within hierarchies certainly influences

interactions between hierarchies. In my argument, I ask questions, answer them and, crucially, ruminate. Consequently, this book is an instance of theory in the making.

This book is an English translation of the Polish-language book *Teoria rywalizacji hierarchii*, published in 2020. The present edition has been prepared with financial support from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland. The translation makes the ideas developed in the original Polish edition available to a wider international readership.

The years following the Polish publication have been a period of further research and conceptual development. A number of scientific articles have been devoted to more specific problems that can be examined from the perspective of HRT. In addition, the Polish-language book *Koncepcja prawodawstwa jako uczenia się – Studium administracyjnoprawne* (The Concept of Legislation as Learning – An Administrative-Legal Study) has developed, among other issues, the analysis of the emergence and transformation of normative hierarchies. These subsequent studies should be regarded as extensions and particular applications of the general perspective outlined in the present book.

The Hierarchies Rivalry Theory is a developing theoretical proposal. Its purpose is to provide a conceptual framework that may be further specified, criticised, supplemented, compared with other theories, and tested through more detailed studies. The present book therefore constitutes one stage in the development of the theory rather than its final formulation.

The starting point of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory is the observation that individuals, groups, organisations, institutions, normative systems, intellectual traditions and other forms of social organisation can be understood in terms of hierarchies. Individuals and groups usually belong to, participate in, or are influenced by several hierarchies simultaneously. These hierarchies may support one another, but they may also come into conflict. Many hierarchies try to influence individuals, and on the other hand, people represent

hierarchies. Interactions between hierarchies are an important element of social life.

The aim of this book is to formulate and explore a theoretical perspective that makes certain relations and mechanisms visible by directing attention to the rivalry of hierarchies. The book consequently has two closely related objectives. The first is conceptual: to clarify the notions of theory, rivalry and hierarchy and to establish a preliminary conceptual vocabulary for HRT. The second is analytical: to demonstrate how this vocabulary may be used to examine selected social phenomena.

The book asks questions, proposes answers, compares possible interpretations and develops conceptual distinctions. In this sense, it remains an exercise in theory formation. The phrase "theory in the making," used in the original edition, is therefore deliberate. The theory is presented sufficiently clearly to permit its application and criticism, while remaining open to further development.

Several assumptions provide the background for the argument developed in this book. First, hierarchies are understood broadly. A hierarchy is a formal organisational in which one person or body possesses authority over another, it may also consist of relations of prestige, influence, importance, or normative superiority. An individual may simultaneously belong to several organisations, value systems, professional communities, cultural traditions or other hierarchies. The position occupied by an individual in one hierarchy may influence the individual's position in another.

Rivalry is understood as a relation that may take different forms. It may be explicit or implicit, peaceful or violent, temporary or long-lasting, institutionalised or informal. It may concern resources, prestige, authority, territory, membership, norms, ideas or such things as the right to define what is considered important or legitimate. Rivalry does not necessarily result in the complete destruction of one of the competing hierarchies. It may lead to domination, or transformation. We should also observe processes such as

adaptation, imitation or coexistence. A hierarchy may change as a result of rivalry without losing its identity.

The existence and effects of rivalry are historically and situationally conditioned. Hierarchies operate in particular social, cultural, political, legal and geographical circumstances. The analysis of rivalry requires attention both to processes occurring over time and to situations in which competing hierarchies encounter one another.

These assumptions and later observations are not intended to constitute an axiomatic system in the strict formal sense, but they can be a basis for more practical research developing more precise theoretical propositions.

My aim in this book is to discuss the foundations of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory and to outline the ways this theory can be used to study social phenomena. The methodological character of this book follows from its theoretical purpose. Its principal method is conceptual and theoretical analysis, supported by an analysis of relevant literature and by the examination of selected examples from different areas of social life.

The first methodological operation consists in analysing and distinguishing the basic concepts used in the theory. The notions of theory, rivalry and hierarchy are examined because the precision of these concepts determines the analytical possibilities of the theory itself.

The second methodological operation consists in identifying recurring relations and mechanisms that can be interpreted as manifestations of rivalry between hierarchies. Examples from sports, art, science, normative systems, associations, political processes, historical transformations and other fields are used as analytical material through which the applicability of the proposed concepts can be explored.

The third methodological operation is comparative. Phenomena occurring in different domains are considered in order to determine whether they can be meaningfully described through a common conceptual framework. Such comparison is particularly important for HRT because one of

its assumptions is that rivalry between hierarchies may appear in substantially different social settings.

The fourth methodological operation is theoretical synthesis. Insights drawn from different areas of scholarship are brought together in order to formulate a more general view. The objective is to determine whether there are sufficiently general mechanisms that justify treating them as manifestations of a common type of relation.

The literature survey allows the theory to be situated among existing approaches.

The results of the undertaken research should be understood differently from the results of empirical research. They consist primarily in conceptual distinctions and theoretical propositions. The validity and usefulness of these propositions remain open to further discussion and to empirical investigation.

The contribution of HRT lies primarily in directing analytical attention towards relations between hierarchies. This perspective may be particularly useful when individuals simultaneously operate within several systems of expectations. HRT attempts to connect the analysis of structure and agency. The publication of the Polish edition in 2020 made it possible to formulate the basic framework of HRT. Subsequent research has demonstrated, however, that particular elements of the theory require more detailed investigation. The study of normative hierarchies has been developed, among other ways, through research on legislation understood as a process of learning. Further research may address, among other issues, the empirical identification of hierarchical relations, the operationalisation of rivalry, the comparison of various hierarchies, the measurement of changes in hierarchical positions, and the relationship between individual action and structural transformation. Comparative research across societies and historical periods may also contribute to determining which mechanisms are general and which depend on particular cultural or institutional circumstances. The

theory may also benefit from dialogue with other theoretical traditions.

The present book should be regarded as an invitation to further theoretical work. The development of this theory will not be accomplished solely by its author. Hierarchies Rivalry Theory can becomes more meaningful when other researchers apply it, criticise it, modify it, compare it with competing approaches and discover phenomena that it cannot adequately explain. The Hierarchies Rivalry Theory is deliberately presented as an open research programme. Researchers interested in its development, criticism or application, as well as those willing to contribute to its further conceptualisation and empirical investigation, are invited to engage with this perspective and to collaborate in its development.

Here is hoping that readers will not only peruse this book but also contribute to furthering the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory it presents.

CHAPTER ONE
BASIC NOTIONS

The Notion of Theory

Widely considered the founding father of philosophy, Thales of Miletus came up with the idea that 'all is water.' The metaphorical perception of all things as resembling water makes it possible to think in abstract terms and discern the possibility of formulating general principles.[1] The notion of theory is semantically similar to the notions of principle and idea.[2] The word 'theory' (θεωρία) initially meant looking at and beholding,[3] but it soon came to refer to activities such as

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[1] A. Przybysławski, *Tales i początki refleksji europejskiej*, Kraków 2016, p. 195.

[2] The notion of idea is inherently ambiguous and often associated with Plato's framework; this encourages comparing the notion of idea withthe notion of hierarchy, but this issue rather belongs to the methodology of sciences or the notional apparatus concerning the very issue of theory. In this context, analyses of the term 'notion' should be scrutinised, and one should also bear in mind the rivalry of hierarchies of notions and the rivalry of scientific theories.

[3] Hence, theory can be thought of as gazing on—as adopting a viewpoint. While the role of an observer or a beholder, such as a spectator in the ancient theatre, is somewhat similar to that of a judge who assesses an event, it usually involves less activity than the actions of an actor on stage. The viewer metaphor is most helpful in defining who a theorist is and what a theory is; in this context, it is quite vital that the roles of both a viewer and a theorist require mental activity. This invites speculation about whether theory is perhaps best captured in the metaphor of the thought of a philosopher who

considering and reasoning. Theory is sometimes contrasted with practice, and as a result, those who only know theory are ignored in some circumstances. At the same time, scholarly reviews assess whether one explores exclusively practical aspects or is capable of rising to theoretical reflection.

At a certain level of abstraction, both the arts and certain notions are similar. In the positivist framework, theory captures relations between abstract concepts. Theory aims to explain or predict empirical phenomena. Positivist theories are sometimes criticised for their generality, which may lead to simplifications.[4]

String theory can be understood as 'an extensive landscape of possible theories.'[5] Quite frequently, we deal with an ensemble of theories (where some may be regarded as disciplines in their own right) within which many partial theories or theories that seek to explore the totality of phenomena comprehensively in a given field. Hence, there is the theory of economy, which comprises, for example, (Adam Smith's) theory of value and theory of production costs. I am not a specialist in the theory of economy, so it is easy for me to juggle its notions, which a specialist would certainly denounce as faulty reasoning. Yet this is what actually happens all the time and can be described from the perspective of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory.

The theory of a discipline can be viewed as a collection of various theories or the history of doctrines, but, as in legal studies, there is a distinction between jurisprudence, which

is watching a theatre performance. Tellingly, what people leaving Plato's cave are described as doing is θεωρείν, translatable not only as 'looking' but also as 'finding out' and 'learning,' though not really as 'theorising' in the modern sense of the term. See A. Preus, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Greek Philosophy*, Lanham 2007, p. 264; Plato, *Republic*, [in:] *Plato in Twelve Volumes. Vols. 5 & 6*, transl. P. Shorey, Cambridge, MA–London 1969, Book VII, 515c–516c.

4 K. Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*, London–Los Angeles–New Delhi–Singapore–Washington 2006, pp. 125–126.

5 L. Smolin, *Kłopoty z fizyką. Powstanie i rozkwit teorii strun, upadek nauki i co dalej*, Warszawa 2008, p. 159.

explores the current phenomena, and the history of legal doctrines, which by definition examines past developments. Of course, this does not rule out referring to previous findings in jurisprudence or acknowledging the current relevance of old legal doctrines.

A distinction is sometimes made between relativist and absolutist approaches in disciplinary theories. The relativist approach embeds theories in contexts and frames them as reflecting the conditions in which their founders worked, whereas the absolutist approach points out the striving to advance a given theory by honing and refining its tenets.[6] Of course, the divergence between the two approaches does not need to be underscored, especially if theory is understood simultaneously as an ensemble of views and as a scholarly discipline.

For example, the theory of music can be understood as an explanation of musical principles and as a scholarly discipline that identifies and illuminates them. As this indicates, a theory is one thing, and an institutional environment of theory is another, albeit closely related. My own discipline, that is, administration science, is sometimes dubbed 'theory of administration.' In the context of my argument, I prefer the plural and talk of administration sciences. But names as such are less important, and what really matters is that people should be able to communicate. Sometimes, different disciplines study the same thing and arrive at the same findings (which is the case for administration sciences and management sciences, to give one example), but they develop their own idioms, and information transfer between them is insufficient. Organisational inadequacies are one symptom of the severance between theory and practice, and the failure to apply theory or to perceive reality through theory is another. In my view, referring to a discipline as theory is not really a good solution. Nonetheless, this solution is often used in practice, which

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[6] M. Blaug, *Economic Theory in Retrospect*, 4th ed., Cambridge 1985, p. 2.

is another example of the link between theory and practice. Of course, notions are not applied with strict precision or accuracy; instead, colloquial language is employed, which, on the one hand, generates ambiguities but, on the other, is an avenue of communication both between disciplines and between academia and its broader environment. The decline of theory is sometimes evoked in the social sciences today (there is even talk of a 'theory of the decline of theory'). One recurrent objection is that sociology has gone too far in its critique of classic theoretical studies, such as those by Karl Marx and Max Weber. As Bronisław Misztal observes, 'the pragmatism of the compartmentalisation of sub-disciplines has almost completely stifled the intellectual function of theory in sociology.'[7]

The notion of theory is defined in a variety of ways, though its definitions usually bear some resemblance to one another. Adam Nowaczyk defines theory as 'any class of similar systems that is closed in virtue of their isomorphism.'[8] Theory may also denote 'a set of well-developed concepts related through statements of relationships, which together constitute an integrated framework that can be used to explain or anticipate phenomena.'[9]

Founders of grand theories attributed prime significance to theoretical apparatuses—'frameworks'—pivoting on essential individual phenomena (such as paradigms in Thomas Kuhn and discourses in Michel Foucault).[10] Theory can be constructed on the basis of an analysis of cases, identification of common

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[7] B. Misztal, *Teoria socjologiczna a praktyka społeczna*, Kraków 2000, p. 10.

[8] A. Nowaczyk, *Wprowadzenie do logiki nauk ścisłych*, Warszawa 1990, p. 164.

[9] A. Straus, J. Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, Thousand Oaks 1998, p. 15.

[10] W. Outhwaite, 'Hans-Georg Gadamer,' [in:] *The Return of the Grand Theory in the Human Sciences*, ed. Q. Skinner, Cambridge 1990, p. 29.

features and establishment of general patterns.[11] When assessing things, individuals fall back on their knowledge, even when talking of themselves.[12] If theory-building is a dimension of practice, mysticism arises. While it is sometimes possible to systematise knowledge, one should see beyond the epistemic dimension of research processes. Doing science involves rivalry between scientific theories.[13]

One solution lies in using theories intuitively, for example, through personifying theories; in this way, when saying 'theory describes,' we may mean both analyses carried out by scholars and conclusions from applications of a given theory (understood as an object).[14] It is of paramount importance both to construct specialised and accurate conceptual apparatuses and to use these to produce research, all the while keeping the social, or ancillary, role of science, or scholarship, in mind.

The Notion of Rivalry

The Latin *rivalitas*, which means 'competition' as well as 'jealousy,' made its way into many languages in remarkably similar forms. Originally referring to a person who used the same brook (*rīvus*), the notion came to be used in a range of other contexts, including sport and courtship. Of interest is also the Latin *petō*, a word associated with asking and begging, as well as striving for and attacking, which forms the root of *competition* and produces terms equivalent to rivalry in many languages and situations. It can also be linked to words such

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[11] J. Chodak, *Teorie rewolucji w naukach społecznych*, Lublin 2012, p. 251.

[12] K. Zamiara, *Metodologiczne znaczenie sporu o status poznawczy teorii. Z problematyki związków między metodologią nauk i teorią poznania*, Warszawa 1974, p. 224.

[13] S. Nowak, 'Redukcyjna systematyzacja praw i teorii społecznych,' [in:] *Metodologiczne problemy teorii socjologicznych*, ed. S. Nowak, Warszawa 1971, pp. 139–140.

[14] E. Kałuszyńska, *Modele teorii empirycznych*, Warszawa 1994, p. 114.

as petition, impetus and appetite. Near-synonymous, if not synonymous, notions that tend to be used interchangeably include competition (from Late Latin *competere* = strive in common[15]), contention, polemic, quarrel, argument, discussion, dispute, war, antagonism, opposition, race and many others.

It is not always possible or recommendable to swap notions at will, as contextual differences must be heeded, such as the disciplinary tradition within which explorations take place. Theories also develop their own languages, as a result of which notions have specialised meanings and defined references in a given theory. But some ambiguity is, in fact, highly welcome at an early stage in the development of a theory because it helps us perceive phenomena from a broader perspective.[16] The ambiguous term 'game,' which connotes rivalry between teams or contestants, as well as play (including playing music, role-playing or stage acting, and psychological games), is more closely associated with game theory. At the same time, the notion of competition is more closely tied to the market and the economy (though, admittedly, it also has its uses in sports). Thus, when discussing the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, one should consistently adhere to the notion of rivalry to avoid being embroiled in and bounded by the contexts of game theory and economy.

Rivalry can be understood as an endeavour to surpass other competing actors, but it should also be understood as a process in which winners and losers are determined. Winners are often considered superior to losers, and an individual's success tends to have a range of consequences, such as admiration, reward and following, as well as envy, excessive attention from the media or fans, and attempts to use the winner for a variety

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[15] 'Compete'—entry in *Etymoline: Online Etymology Dictionary*, https://www.etymonline.com/word/compete (accessed 22.10.2025).

[16] Such phenomena can also be studied within the framework of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, for example, by examining which word will ultimately be used to denote something, whose language prevails, and when multiple languages can coexist.

of purposes. The costs of rivalry are many, ranging from the bitterness of defeat to exertion, investment, and even wounds that befall winners as well.

Rivalries unfold across multiple fields and disciplines; they vie for various trophies and pursue a range of goals, involving more or less honourable behaviour. Importantly, sporting rituals can be perceived as a replacement for wars or courtship rivalries; at the same time, one should also realise that there are plentiful similarities between various forms of rivalry undertaken in sport, entertainment, work and politics.

A rival is a person who enters a rivalry. The cluster of related terms comprises enemy, competitor, contestant, adversary, and antagonist, all connected to the process of rivalry. Both the process of rivalry and the rival actors should be taken into account. We can either set the personal (subject-related) and instrumental (object-related) meanings of these notions apart or rely on the context to imply such distinctions, or, finally, leave the matter somewhat ambiguous. Thus, while there is a line between rivals and rivalry, competitors and competition, fighters and fighting, these two dimensions are closely interconnected. In-fighting or rivalry within a hierarchy can be understood either as a shift in perspective or as a metaphorical expression, because usually more than one actor—more than one hierarchy—fights or vies for dominance. In this context, hierarchies are understood as actors, but we can intuitively sense that the rivalry of hierarchies of norms or ideas should not be equated with the rivalry of actors. However, the former is usually associated with the latter.

Rivalry is understood as an object, that is, as a process or a development, whereas competition can also be understood as a subject, for example as other entities operating on the market or as individuals applying for the same job. Not infrequently, the terms describing phenomena or events, for example the term 'contest,' delineate the frames of rivalry. Rivalry plays out between similar phenomena or actors, but it also happens between different ones. In fact, rivalry often combines the two forms. As in Darwin's examination of competition between

similar species, we might point at similarities between rival hierarchies.

The struggle for existence is first and foremost founded on the production of offspring.[17] Rivalry is one aspect of the life of social animals. Rivalry against competitors from other herds or other species is highly relevant to the environment, and this rivalry can obviously be regarded as a rivalry of hierarchies, but one should bear in mind that there are rivalries of minor hierarchies both within herds and within species.[18] Survival is pertinent to both the biological and social dimensions, the latter encompassing ideologies and cultural productions. The formative impact of rivalry on the world can be inadvertent or deliberately exerted, whereby the individuals at the top of a hierarchy tend to be more aware of the processes at hand than those at its lower rungs.

Rivalry can be regarded as interaction with an opponent and, in broader terms, as part of more general survival efforts or, in a veritably mystical way, as unity with the environment, including the enemy, which pivots on the ability to anticipate the enemy's behaviour.[19] Very similar parties or religions can enter a rivalry, and then many of such rivalries will result in their unification or in a total annihilation, or absorption, of one hierarchy by another one. Still, differences are often emphasised in rivalry, with the distinctive tending to be more readily spotted than the common. Basic differences sometimes form contradictions. Notionally speaking, terms opposed to rivalry range from collaboration and cooperation to agreement, harmony, help and alliance. As notions, bringing

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[17] Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, New York 1856, pp. 64–65.

[18] J. Lejman, *Zwierzęcy prześwit cywilizacji. Desmond Morris i etologia współczesna*, Lublin 1999, p. 44.

[19] A. Koszołko, 'Poglądy mistrza Zen Takuana Sōhō na sztukę walki na miecze w Fudōchi shinmyōroku (Tajemny zapis niewzruszonej mądrości)', [in:] *Zen a sztuki walki*, ed. A. Kozyra, Warszawa 2014, p. 74.

together and uniting are rather contraries of dividing than of rivalry, but rivalry is known to entail some divisions.

The Notion of Hierarchy

Hierarchy[20] is an ordering by importance. In metaphysics, logic and sociology, the notion of hierarchy is associated with different semantic contexts. Hierarchy in metaphysics can be understood as an order of beings that stems from the ordering criterion one adopts; hierarchy in logic refers to the precedence and subordination of classes; and hierarchy in sociology pertains to social strata of different economic standings or political functions. This approach to the notion of hierarchy is exemplified by the differential importance of priests within a religious organisation.[21] Sometimes, 'hierarchy' also denotes the upper echelons of an organisation.

However, the notion of hierarchy can be applied not only to organisations but also to normative systems. If the meaning of the notion of being is certainly broader than that of the notion of hierarchy, the semantic scope of the notions of organisation and normative system is narrower than that of hierarchy, in my view. Of course, an organisation, understood as a subject, comprises a system of norms, and systems of norms can be viewed as descriptions of social organisations, but what matters here is that hierarchies should be regarded as phenomena that exist in reality. If we accept this premise or allow using the notion of hierarchy in this way, we will be able to further deliberate on relations between hierarchies.

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[20] In all probability, the term 'hierarchy' was coined by Pseudo-Dionysus in the Middle Ages. It was put together by combining *hiera* (from the Greek ἱερός, which is the derivational source of 'hero' and means 'holy' or 'consecrated') and *arkheîon* (ἀρχεῖον, meaning office-related and governmental), which stems from *árkhō* (ἄρχω, to begin, lead, rule) and *arkhḗ* (ἀρχή, beginning, initial). The coinage is sometimes translated as 'government of the first priest.'

[21] *Powszechna Encyklopedia Filozofii*, vol. 4, Lublin 2003, p. 429.

Rejecting this conceptualisation of hierarchy basically entails adopting other theories that describe social phenomena. Notably, encouragement to adopt the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory is provided by the fact that society can be studied by means of many different theories and a researcher need not choose one theory and dismiss all others; at the same time, it is important to realise that espousal of certain assumptions and endorsement of certain schools are what the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory is used to analyse. Of course, scholars can adopt a research framework connected to a single theory, but it is usually advisable to appreciate and draw on the legacy of many generations who have employed a range of theories and been affiliated with different disciplines.

One pertinent question is whether there is a thing like a set of equally valid norms or an equality-based organisation. If the comradeship of warriors is necessarily founded on mutual trust, elite troops also cherish equality as a fundamental principle underpinning their relationships. Civil society, which is grounded in the achievements of the French Revolution, likewise celebrates the equality of all individuals. I am myself a champion of equal rights. Yet, the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory is primarily focused on inequality, subordination and dominance. At the same time, the theory as such does not promote dominance or inequality; it only adopts certain assumptions and produces a terminological convention of its own.

Hierarchy is usually associated with organisations such as the military and the administration. Having more power within an organisation is often seen as taking a superior position in its hierarchy. Ordering by importance is thus metaphorically imaged as upper-lower verticality. The conformity of lower-order normative acts with the higher-order norms is also correlated with the hierarchical view of the statutory law system. Hierarchy primarily connotes order and implies certainty and invariability, but it also has associations with conservatism, mustiness, and the lack of freedom. Thus, hierarchies and hierarchicality come with both advantages

and disadvantages, and the same features can be regarded as upsides or downsides, depending on the context and on an individual's or a group's beliefs and views.

As learning developed, the notion of hierarchy was used less and less in reference to religious issues and more and more in relation to the military and logic.[22] In his text juxtaposing the church and the army, with the two regarded as conventional crowds, Sigmund Freud compared the two hierarchies, additionally likening people who take leadership positions in them to fathers; in this way, he drew an analogy to a type of family hierarchy.[23]

As one repeatedly comes across various examples of hierarchies, one is prompted to internalise the notion, whereby hierarchy comes to be considered natural and to encompass numerous real instantiations. One's ideas about hierarchy are shaped by what one knows of the army, some religious organisations, universities, political parties and sports clubs. If one is acquainted with multiple organisations whose members are differentiated in one way or another in terms of access to power, material goods, fame, and similar resources, one easily develops a generalised view of hierarchies. Furthermore, ideas about hierarchies contribute to their reinforcement, for example, by fostering the phenomenon of formal authority.

Regarding the relations between lower-order and higher-order norms, issues to consider include their tie-up with the norm-maker and comparison with norms that are more primary or more important because of their long tradition or, on the contrary, their novelty. The so-called reversed hierarchy of the sources of law, in which lower-order norms are employed instead of higher-order ones (e.g., a regulation rather than a law), is also an example of hierarchy, the difference being that this hierarchy contravenes the protocols

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[22] N. Verdier, 'Hierarchy: A Short History of a Word in Western Thought,' [in:] *Hierarchy in Natural and Social Sciences*, ed. D. Pumain, Berlin 2005, p. 13.

[23] S. Freud, *Massenpsychologie und ich-Analyse*, Leipzig–Wien–Zürich 1921, pp. 48–49.

recommended in textbooks. Likewise, grey eminences, cliques, civil disobedience, and similar phenomena lend themselves to examination in conjunction with hierarchies, particularly in the context of the rivalry of hierarchies.

The formation and rise of hierarchies can be explained in terms of biology, on the basis of game theory or with reference to the vital importance of information for the differentiation of individuals' positions. Actors who are less informed about their environment copy information and end up at lower positions in hierarchies, while the higher-located actors issue orders and commands.[24]

[24] A. Zafeiris, T. Vicsek, *Why We Live in Hierarchies? A Quantitative Treatise*, Cham 2018, p. 108.

CHAPTER TWO
THE RIVALRY OF HIERARCHIES IN SELECTED FIELDS

The Rivalry of Hierarchies in Sports

As a matter of fact, the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory was inspired by observations concerning sports. Once during practice, I performed a technique that was not part of the sport or, in other words, breached its rules; because I was then in a formal bout with an umpire officiating, I lost as a result. I did not know that what I had done was out of bounds, and for a while I was happy about my effective implementation of the technique until I realised that this form of rivalry was governed by different principles. It dawned on me that it was a case of the rivalry of hierarchies—normative systems on that occasion—and that the rivalry of hierarchies was applicable to many other issues. Because sport, as such, is a site of the rivalry of hierarchies, it both functions as a metaphor for and a representation of the rivalry of hierarchies. It can be analysed by means of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory.

Competitive sporting events, the practice and the operations of sports organisations all rely on and produce multiple norms and modes of conduct. On the one hand, the necessity to anticipate and control works toward perpetuating the organisation, and on the other, attempts to impose one's norms and/or the consignment of ambitious individuals to lower positions in the hierarchy can bring forth other hierarchies and breed antagonisms between hierarchies.

Regarding strangers as inferior is a frequent element of the rivalry of hierarchies. Importantly, hierarchical orders tend to be protected through the removal of those who are out of line.[1]

Information is vital to sporting rivalry. The opponent's behaviour can be predicted on the basis of what one knows of their previous behaviour patterns and their style of doing things. Regarding the team hierarchy, attention should be paid to the role of 'decision nodes' and, above all, to the effect that the leader's decisions have on how the team operates.[2] In sporting rivalry and even in sport education, participants often perceive the hierarchy in the same way,[3] but this shared acknowledgement of hierarchy, including the judgment of particular competitors,[4] may mobilise a person to engage in rivalry in order to accede to a higher position in the hierarchy in the eyes of their co-practitioners and viewers.

Assessment of sporting experience can be limited to the calculation of costs and benefits,[5] such as the payment for practice or admission fees, easy access, fatigue and satisfaction, but it can also involve other factors, for example, having to meet certain requirements and engage with people involved in a given hierarchy on a regular basis. These issues concern both participation in events and more general matters related to doing sports.

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1 M. Jaśkiewicz, 'Dążenie do utrzymania stabilnej reprezentacji świata wobec zagrożeń granic Ja,' [in:] *Współczesny człowiek w świetle dylematów i wyzwań: Perspektywa psychologiczna*, eds. M. Plopa, M. Błażek, Kraków 2008, p. 40.

2 H. Sosnowska, A. Wieczorek, 'Czy warto być liderem,' [in:] *Konkurencja i kooperacja: Teoria gier w ekonomii i naukach społecznych*, eds. M. Malawski, A. Wieczorek, H. Sosnowska, Warszawa 2004, p. 77.

3 C. Kuśnierz, *Hierarchia celów wychowania fizycznego w opiniach nauczycieli i uczniów południowo-zachodniej Polski*, Opole 2015, pp. 41–53.

4 J. Morrissey, *The Genius in the Design: Bernini and Borromini and The Rivalry that Transformed Rome*, New York–London–Toronto–Sidney 2006, pp. 14–17.

5 J. Klisiński, *Rynek dóbr i usług sportowych*, Bielsko Biała 2011, pp. 30–31.

Physical exercises are sometimes part of initiation rituals when passing from one age group to another.[6] Military service in peacetime is sometimes regarded as a component of civil education, but it also provokes associations with the incidence of pathologies; sports stir similar views and concerns. Notions such as *palaestra* and *gymnasion*, which are tethered to sport and citizen education through sports activities,[7] have found their way into many languages and are today part of public life, while sometimes referring to entities outside the world of sports.

Held since the 18th Olympiad,[8] the pentathlon (Polish: *pięciobój*) evinces the possibility of combining elements of multiple events and adding up their results into one score. As Aristotle dwelt on the characteristic features of a mixed system, so the pentathlon and other events composed of several components (e.g., biathlon, triathlon, and decathlon [Polish: *dziesięciobój*]) connote a range of attributes such as versatility and refinement. We might note that the use of either Greek or Polonised terms (ending in -thlon or *-bój*, respectively) depends on the prevalent—blended—usage, though adherence to a single language variant would certainly be more consistent. Of course, the onomastic dilemmas also exemplify the rivalry of hierarchies; if attempts are sometimes made to coin a vernacular name, names are as a rule adapted from a dominant language.[9]

Hierarchies in sports also encompass leadership in organisations. In this regard, two conceptions—of natural selection and of education—are mostly propounded in professional sport. The former holds that vigorous and more resourceful individuals will naturally take leadership positions (and that it is only at this stage that investing in

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[6] J. Dębowski, *Humanistyczne i społeczne aspekty wychowania fizycznego i sportu*, Białystok 2013, p. 13.

[7] Dębowski, *Humanistyczne i społeczne aspekty*, p. 17.

[8] Dębowski, *Humanistyczne i społeczne aspekty*, p. 22.

[9] F. Parnicki, 'Żeglarstwo deskowe,' [in:] *Sporty różne (dyscypliny mniej znane)*, Warszawa 1998, p. 25.

their managerial training makes sense), while the latter claims that university education is fundamental in producing broad-minded sports managers with strong strategy development skills. In a sense, these two paths are mutually complementary, so people practically engaged in sport-organising tend to complete an education at least indirectly related to such pursuits, and, at the same time, degree courses in management should provide ample opportunities for practical experience. Individuals' competition, whether for access to education or for management positions, depends both on their own efforts and traits and on external support.[10]

The performance of the social role of a leader entails considerable responsibility, and the attractiveness of managerial positions often extends beyond financial remuneration. The rewards enjoyed by the management include not only financial benefits but also social and psychological gratifications (prestige, interactions, power, self-fulfilment opportunities, etc.).[11]

Rivalry over leadership involves a multifaceted issue of gaining power in international sports federations and other associations.[12] If crucial factors in this regard include backing from powerful countries or mighty sponsors, people's personal talents and ambitions should not be overlooked. Individuals' experience in gaining and consolidating their power is deeply consequential as well. The political aspects of rivalry between sport-related organisations have a bearing across the levels of individuals, respective sports and associations.

An ancient author of a manual for athletics trainers did not need to elucidate whom he had in mind when extolling Polydamas or Promachus as models. His modern translator's

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[10] B. Ryba, *Podstawy organizacji i zarządzania instytucjami sportowymi*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 186–187.

[11] Ryba, *Podstawy organizacji*, p. 196.

[12] R. Piechota, 'Międzynarodowe struktury olimpijskie: Instytucjonalizacja idei,' [in:] *Społeczno-edukacyjne oblicza współczesnego sportu i olimpizmu: Wychowanie patriotyczne przez sport*, vol. 2, ed. J. Chełmecki, Warszawa 2007, p. 182.

footnotes explain to modern readers that Polydamas of Thessaly, who was renowned for his strength and for killing a lion with his bare hands, won the pankration event at the 93rd Olympiad but was defeated by Promachus of Pellene at the 94th Olympiad.[13] Himself part of what we now consider noble antiquity, Philostratus lamented the decline of sports and the dwindling of respect for athletes: '[T]he training that has been established now has harmed the affairs of athletes so much that many have contempt for exercise enthusiasts.'[14] In our times, athletes of old are usually ascribed perseverance and the ability to train in adverse conditions, whereas our era is predominantly associated with the advantages that sports practice derives from better equipment and scientific findings. Also, athletes are attributed features of their cultures or countries of origin, with respect to both their comportment in everyday life and the way they practise their sport. Additionally, how an athlete is perceived tends to be considerably influenced by who their coach is or by the school or style they embrace. When these aspects are analysed in terms of hierarchy, the specific focus can be on the impact that the hierarchy has on the individual or on how the hierarchy is represented by the individual. One should also bear in mind that athletes are part of more than one hierarchy and that the personal features predisposing them to a given sport are often developed just because they belong to other hierarchies. For example, living in challenging socio-economic or climatic settings may help forge one's capacity for gruelling practice and itself tie in with belonging to a certain social hierarchy, which moulds its members' traits. At the same time, the fact that some sports attract individuals with certain characteristics affects these sports and their clubs. Given this, influences between

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[13] F. Filostratos, *O atletyce*, transl. M. Szarmach, Toruń 2013, p. 13.

[14] Philostratus, *The Gymnasticus*, transl. Ch. Stocking, p. 1 par. 1, https://www.scribd.com/document/379991027/Philostratus-Gymnasticus-2015-1.

hierarchies and individuals' personal features should be understood as reciprocal.

The spectacle of sport largely hinges on rivalry. Of course, show business as such is very much invested in physical activity, and, say, dance can be a real spectacle without having any explicit connection to sporting events. Yet, if we understand dance as being akin to courtship, or any other form of rivalry, we can readily identify something of a competitive dimension of sport in dance. Likewise, physical exercises for health and fitness may be disjoined from the rivalry context, but thinking of them in terms of rivalry is not ruled out and is entirely valid regarding, for example, the rivalry of producers of sports gear purchased by gym-goers, the economic rivalry of countries, which benefit from the healthy workforce, and many other areas.

Sport is sometimes considered to shore up public health and prepare individuals for military service. Sport can be treated as preparation for military service or as a safety valve insofar as it is taken up instead of engagement in fighting to destroy the enemy; this does not preclude pathologies rife in hooliganism or resulting from the appropriation of sport by nationalist ideologies.

There is also an interesting rivalry between doing sport/s and other pastimes, where additional complexities are involved in why an activity is recognised as a sport or, alternatively, as a different practice. Besides, there are rivalries of organisations perceived as actors and of normative systems in the domain of sport, as well as the direct sporting rivalry, with the latter being one of the two most literal understandings of what sport as such actually means (the other understanding is that of sport as a non-competitive physical activity; this exemplifies the rivalry of hierarchies within language or languages).

> In Johann Gottlieb Fichte's view,
> [a] volition is the immediate consciousness of the activity of any of the powers of Nature within us. The immediate consciousness of an effort of these powers which has not

> yet become a reality because it is hemmed in by opposing powers, is, in consciousness, inclination or desire; the struggle of contending powers is irresolution; the victory of one is the determination of the Will.[15]

Disengagement from sporting activities points to a rivalry between sports and other pastimes or, possibly, between different lifestyles; it is also a factor that changes—and often depletes—one's capacity for rivalry in many other fields. While doing sport/s can indeed rob one of the time needed to write books or take care of one's family, some degree of physical activity generally has a mobilising effect as it revives one's energy for work and even enhances one's will to live. Appreciation for the body is a component of the ability to perceive beauty, whereas the suppression of physical pleasure is often bound up with ideologies that negate the value of life (even if they proclaim respect for life). The notion of the style of rivalry can refer to the modes a person regularly and repeatedly uses in rivalry (with one opponent and with various opponents alike),[16] but it can also become a formative element of a given sport by impacting its rules of rivalry.

If we consider people's spheres of activity to correspond to hierarchies that combine elements of both actor-like organisations and normative systems, sport can be regarded as a hierarchy that is locked in rivalry with other analogously perceived hierarchies, such as learning, art and religion.

When one learns to cycle or to perform sequences of movements, we have to do with study and learning in the sense of mastering a skill. One question is how far the study of sport involves researching sporting activity, and to what extent sport as such can be regarded as a domain of study and learning. The foundation of new sports in conjunction with, for example, technical inventions, the perfecting or devising

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[15] J. G. Fichte, *The Vocation of Man*, transl. W. Smith, Chicago 1931, p. 23,

[16] M. Tomczak, *Styl rywalizacji a efektywność działania w sportach walki: Analiza psychologiczna*, Poznań 2013, p. 48.

of a new move, and the development of an innovative method may, in many cases, match the colloquial understanding of research. The language convention in place should perhaps be viewed as an outcome of the rivalry of hierarchies as well. This is not an objection; this is just an observation in support of differentiating between notions for the sake of effective communication, if for no other purpose.

Sports activity is often related to what we intuitively perceive as beauty and to what we conventionally regard as artistic. Philostratus argued that athletics should be considered a skill (*sophia*) or an art (*techne*) on a par with philosophy, poetry, music, medicine, painting and sculpture.[17] The recognition of certain sporting activities as beautiful is something different from a rivalry between some forms of movement for recognition as sports or martial arts. Although the beauty of rivalry can also make it resemble art, in the context of my argument, sport is more like fine arts, where it does not pursue direct rivalry or objectively measurable scores, but where the jurors' aesthetic sense has an essential part in determining who wins.

Surfers are known to sometimes cultivate surfing as their all-embracing lifestyle and even religion. The religious dimension of football spans ancient contests in South America, the abiding cult of Diego Maradona, and similar phenomena. Sumo wrestlers fighting at the Shinto temple and athletes carrying the sacred flame from Olympia epitomise the interpenetration, if not the unity, of the sporting sphere and the religious sphere.[18]

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[17] Philostratus, *The Gymnasticus*, p. 1.

[18] I deliberately talk of spheres rather than hierarchies at this point, even though I view both sport and many other disciplines as hierarchies. The notion of hierarchy does not preclude the use of other notions. Scholarly parlance should perhaps more broadly assimilate the notion of hierarchy, but I do not think that this challenge should be directly posed to colloquial language, as the chances of success are rather scant in this rivalry.

If a runner perfects new components of a scientific theory while training—and would otherwise not be able to hoist their mind to that level of abstraction—sport may be recognised as an element of the scientific method. The sobriquet of 'Plato' was associated with wrestling, which suggests a thing or two about the culture in which philosophy flourished. Of course, the reasoning that posits the entwinement of sport and philosophy can easily be undercut by pointing out the simple fact that many athletes do not do philosophy at all, but doing sports does verge on mysticism, does it not? Both as an amateur hobby and as professional competition, sport tends to be associated with 'being in the moment,' complete engagement and action faster than words, driven by intuition and utilising perfected reflexes and/or muscle memory.

> The Olympic Games are described as
> a display of those at the very top of the pyramid that is made up of millions of people who practise in stadiums, at swimming pools and on snow-covered mountain slopes; at the same time, the reverse is valid as well because while mass sport creates conditions for the global games, the Olympics propel mass participation in physical culture since people's imaginations are roused by examples of Olympic champions and the explicit pursuit of a common goal.[19]

The elites/masses relations can be regarded as a lucid instantiation of hierarchy. For example, swimming pools in the Austro-Hungarian Empire were venues where the elites met up,[20] but they also had a democratic facet to them, as manifested by the bathers' nudity in some pools. Elitism and democracy in sport can be seen on many levels, for instance,

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[19] Z. Porada, *Starożytne i nowożytne igrzyska olimpijskie*, Kraków 1984, p. 16.

[20] M. Berwecka, 'Rola zdrojowisk i uzdrowisk w popularyzowaniu różnych form aktywności ruchowej w Galicji Zachodniej do 1914 roku,' [in:] *Z najnowszej historii kultury fizycznej w Polsce. Tom VIII*, ed. L. Nowak, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2008, p. 118.

in the way that organisation management raises funds from membership dues and other fees.

Athletes were once expected to be modest and grave, but the media have since redrawn the criteria of 'market utility' for both athletes and sports as such. Scuffles and arguments with umpires are known to be effective media baits, but one's image and capacity to collaborate with sponsors are also essential aspects. Sport stars are famous for their exorbitant earnings, which come not only from the money paid by the clubs but also from advertising endorsements. Nevertheless, being successful in one's sport is still an important factor in sport stardom. There are three major ways of determining the winner in individual sports: a direct showdown, the comparison of measured results (time, length/distance, etc.) and a jury's evaluation. In team sports, stardom is mainly reserved for high scorers.[21]

The rivalry between amateur sport and work has yet another dimension to it; specifically, one must decide on the work/sport proportion (allowing for other forms of activity as well). The cessation of practice results in a rapid decline of fitness.[22] Physical inactivity not only adversely affects individuals' health outcomes but also lowers their overall energy levels. Time deficit tends to make people choose between sport and other pursuits. Financial issues are among the many factors that discourage people from taking up sports. Also, being ashamed to show one's body to others may put one off practising in a group.[23]

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[21] M. Ryszkowski, 'Tworzenie i wykorzystanie "gwiazd sportu,"' [in:] *Kierunki doskonalenia treningu i walki sportowej*, eds. H. Sozański, K. Perkowski, D. Śledziewski, Warszawa 2003, p. 246.

[22] J.M. Krawczyk, *Aktywność fizyczna na stołach rehabilitacyjno-rekondycyjnych*, Poznań 2014, p. 28.

[23] T. Poliszczuk, D. Broda-Falkowska, I. Omiecińska, D. Poliszczuk, 'Aktywność fizyczna uprawiana systematycznie w formie fitness jako składowa stylu życia kobiet z małej miejscowości,' [in:] *Praktyczny i teoretyczny wymiar aktywności fizycznej i sportu dla wszystkich*, eds. J. Nowocień, K. Zuchora, Warszawa 2015, p. 249.

The rivalry between recreational sport and professional sport concerns not only the performance level of sportspeople.[24] The impact of money on sport is, in many cases, damaging to the way sport affects health by enhancing such adverse phenomena as doping and physical strain. At the same time, the idea of amateurship, in the sense of barring professional athletes from the Olympic Games, finds itself under critique for limiting financially disadvantaged individuals' access to sport, robbing many athletes of earnings for their considerable exertions and lowering the level of sporting rivalry.[25]

The original notion of gymnastics covered physical exercises and nude public displays.[26] Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths, who underscored the importance of gymnastics in educating young people, regarded jumping, running, throwing and also dance, intellectual games, declamation and reading aloud as part of gymnastics.[27] Granted, the expression 'mental gymnastics' connotes trickery today, but it is still in use, and though it contains a metaphorical component, it conveys a similarity between exercising one's intellectual faculties and exercising one's body. The rivalry between intellectual capacity and physical fitness is often conspicuous on the metaphorical level, but it is also noticeable in practice. Ancient Greece and the Renaissance are associated with promoting an equilibrium and a balanced combination of physical, mental and spiritual skills, yet in many cases (e.g. historical periods and individuals)

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[24] There is an analogy here to a range of professions, such as medical doctors and lawyers, whose specialisation gives them a significant position in society, even though they must sometimes oppose the aspirations expressed by other groups that offer their views on issues related to medicine and law; see M. Matczak, *Imperium tekstu. Prawo jako postulowanie i urzeczywistnianie świata możliwego*, Warszawa 2019, p. 384.

[25] J. Kosiewicz, *Filozoficzne aspekty kultury fizycznej i sportu*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 344–345.

[26] E. Polak, 'Historyczne aspekty ewolucji pojęcia "gimnastyka,"' [in:] *Z dziejów turystyki i sportu w Polsce*, eds. T. Jurek, K. Obodyński, S. Zaborniak, Rzeszów 2009, p. 320.

[27] Polak, 'Historyczne aspekty,' p. 326.

a specialisation, so to speak, arises, where there is a line between athletic sport stars and the generally unfit public.

Mass sport can be practised as an additional activity or as one of the many components of a cultivated individual's education and life, alongside playing an instrument, reading certain books and/or travelling. As such, mass sport can be construed as a Renaissance-like attitude to reality and as a development that buttresses the hierarchy segment that stretches above the audience and below outstanding athletes. Climbing up the hierarchy is a pursuit of both professional and amateur sportspeople if only they take part in contests or compare their results with those of other athletes. Methods for perfecting the rational distribution of one's stamina in competition and methods for a flexible application of one's tactics, for example, in a sporting fight[28], can be regarded as literal examples of improving one's rivalry skills. A competitor who has often been successful, even if only in amateur sport, often enjoys esteem similar to that garnered by a citizen of distinguished merit in public activity.

The popularity of particular sports can be gauged by statistics on crowd attendance over time or across events,[29] but it can also be measured by the extent of their media coverage. A popular sport attracts new competitors. Athletes are perceived as role models, and sport stars ensure a following for their sports. At the same time, government officials sometimes take part in sporting events, welcome successful athletes on their return from tournaments, and bestow honours on prominent sportspeople. Sporting events contribute both to the production of stars and to making given sports more popular, an impact that should not be overlooked. Races attract attention and encourage not only participation in

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[28] T. Ambroży, W. Kisiel, D. Kisiel, *International Budo Federation: Geneza, historia, trening i rywalizacja sportowa*, Kraków 2014, p. 79.

[29] J. Goksiński, J. Piątek, *Frekwencja w polskich ligach, lata 1952–2015*, Warszawa 2015, p. 6.

but also the organisation of similar events.[30] If various bodies found their own tournaments and sporting events, there is also a rivalry over where the Olympics will be held.[31]

The political dimension of sporting rivalry is inscribed not only in the rivalry of athletes who represent various countries. The rivalry between Bulgarian dry wrestling and Turkish grease wrestling, where wrestlers' bodies are covered in oil, reveals a deeper dimension inherent in the choice between the two styles. If a country's sporting achievements are neglected, the disregard can be viewed as a sign of either negligent unreliability or cultural imperialism.[32]

New inventions in sports equipment influence the possibilities to practise a sport[33] and can provide an advantage in pursuing a given activity. A sport can be founded on an idea or a technical invention, and it can also result from transformations of another sport. Importantly, what is a niche sport in one country can be a widespread sport in another country, with this differentiation resulting from climate and/or historical developments, though the popularity of a sport as a rule stems from deliberate promotional efforts.

Founded in 1919, the Polish Ski Association (Polish: *Polski Związek Narciarski*) was based on pre-war models. The similarity of sports in various countries makes international

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30 R. Mucha, S. Szelichowski, *120 lat sportu samochodowego w Polsce*, Warszawa 2013, p. 19.

31 M. Słoniewski, 'The Role of the Olympic Games in Moscow and Sochi in the Context of International Relations,' [in:] *Social Sciences of Sport: Achievements and Perspectives*, eds. J. Kosiewicz, E. Małolepszy, T. Drozdek-Małolepsza, Częstochowa 2017, p. 109.

32 W. Lipoński, 'Ignorowanie dziejów sportu i wychowania fizycznego Europy środkowo-wschodniej i południowej w historiografii zachodniej,' [in:] *Historia polskiego i niemieckiego sportu w XIX i XX wieku. Idee, ludzie, polityka i kultura*, eds. D. Wojtaszyn, W. Stępiński, J. Eider, Poznań 2016, pp. 14, 24–25.

33 L. Odewald, H. Thomsen, K. Kuisys, *Historia nurkowania*, transl. A. Magierska-Bossack, Szczecin 2003, p. 13.

rivalry possible.[34] Tatra-mountaineering (Polish: *taternictwo*) was, in a sense, developed in the semblance of alpinism.[35] While the two disciplines can be jointly described as mountain-climbing, the naming offers an interesting example of linking a sport to locality. The symbolism of climbing can easily affect ideas about hierarchy, and, likewise, comparing the heights of mountains, buildings, entities, and organisations (metaphorically speaking and across many dimensions) can be regarded as a form of the rivalry of hierarchies. In this context, one can see that tourist guides perform various functions, ranging from a propaganda function[36] to that of a porter or of a person who authorises tourists' presence in a given area.

If victory is an explicit aim pursued in a sporting event, the event may also aim to disseminate the sport and/or ideas and skills related to it (e.g. safe bathing and first-aid skills in the case of lifesaving); its other aims include rivalries between styles and kinds, as well as exerting impact on the public, which is effectively coupled with reinforcing a given hierarchy.[37]

The Rivalry of Hierarchies in Art

As I am writing these words, I can hear exquisitely rich birdsong, and if I were to name something artistic now,

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[34] R. Kołodziej, 'Udział polskich narciarzy w zimowych igrzyskach olimpijskich okresu międzywojennego,' [in:] *Z tradycji wychowania fizycznego i sportu w czasach zaborów i II RP (1883–1939)*, eds. S. Zaborniak, P. Król, Rzeszów 2008, p. 137.

[35] E. Roszkowska, 'Okres "wiedeński" w polskiej działalności alpejskiej (1890-1914),' [in:] *Z najnowszej historii kultury fizycznej w Polsce. Tom VIII*, ed. L. Nowak, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2008, p. 151.

[36] A. Sobiak, 'Dzieje usług przewodnickich w turystyce wielkopolskiej do 1939 roku,' [in:] *Z najnowszej historii kultury fizycznej w Polsce. Tom 8*, ed. L. Nowak, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2008, p. 127.

[37] I. Tabaczek-Bejster, G. Konieczny, 'Ogólnopolskie zawody w ratownictwie nadmorskim (1979–2013),' [in:] *Z najnowszej historii kultury fizycznej w Polsce. Tom IX*, eds. L. Nowak, R. Urban, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2014, p. 317.

this birdsong would without doubt be my first thought. However, art is usually considered part of culture, which is traditionally contrasted with nature. Euzebiusz Słowacki insists that 'a genius whose only goal in fine sciences and arts is to please should never take their eyes off nature.'[38] Art and nature are opulently evoked in many fields and contexts, being referenced on many levels; for example, within the hierarchy of an art, correct behaviour and processes can be deemed natural or, for that matter, artificial. Bearing in mind that the notions of art and nature are notoriously polysemous, we can identify a particular rivalry between art, defined as a human activity, and nature, understood as the natural environment. Other related issues are a seemingly controversial distinction between art and technique and a rivalry between hierarchies concerning concepts and events. If the noise of machinery interferes with one's enjoyment of birdsong, the situation exemplifies rivalry, where the listener can be thought of as having found themselves at the site of rivalry between two actors. Often, rivalry within a hierarchy incorporates elements of rivalry between hierarchies, and the case of some sounds disturbing the process of listening to other sounds can be analysed on the basis of models of the rivalry of hierarchies. Yet, the contemplation of beauty often makes us relinquish intellectual analyses, which bears out the power of art.

If people are knowledgeable about the tools and techniques of an art, this knowledge may impinge on their ability to freely surrender to beauty and instead automatically propel them to start analysing the technique involved or the creative process as such, embodied in the work they are experiencing. At the same time, the art of analysing an artwork and the art of appreciating artistic mastery are grounded in certain education and/or in the prior experience of other works of art. The beauty of an artwork can be appreciated on the basis of the recognition of its alignment with certain models and,

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[38] E. Słowacki, *Teoria smaku w dziełach sztuk pięknych*, Kraków 2003, p. 19.

simultaneously, the acknowledgement of its distinctiveness. Thus, an artist's complete conformity with the artistic hierarchy in place yields, at best, their consummate mastery of a given art, but brilliance is premised on breaking the existing patterns and transforming hierarchies, or perhaps establishing new ones.

Imitators learn from their model, thereby bolstering it and, at the same time, stripping it of its uniqueness or surpassing it. Precedence may turn out to be an inept attempt at attaining a higher degree of perfection. Forgotten founders of forms sometimes end up as brief entries in encyclopaedias, being eclipsed by those who follow and produce masterpieces. The subjective component in recognising an object as a masterpiece[39] can be explained in terms of how this process hinges on the positions that those involved take in a hierarchy and on the rivalry of hierarchies.

Marcus Terentius Varro, known, among his other deserts, as the proponent in his *Disciplinarum libri IX* (Eng.: Nine Books of Disciplines) of a chronology in which years were counted from the foundation of Rome on, had an impact not only on the two-tier schooling system but also on the later division of the liberal arts into the *trivium* (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and music). These disciplines were harnessed to the service of the dominant religious organisation in the Middle Ages, but this fact aside, they combine features of arts and sciences. The rivalry between the hierarchies of arts and sciences can be explored both in relation to a particular discipline and in terms of the rivalry between various fields of activity.

Importantly, if in science emphasis is often put on the theoretical aspects of its practitioners' pursuits, art rather entails making works, which may be thought of as materialisations of theoretical concepts. Theory and works can appear in various sequences since a theory can be inspired

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[39] A. Sawicka, 'O ambiwalentnej funkcji świata sztuki,' *Sztuka i Filozofia* 31, 2007, p. 49.

by a work or works and can itself supply guidelines for new works. Technical inventions and new skills often trigger the creation of art pieces which are later studied in emergent theories, but the considerable impact of theoretical constructs on the education of artists should be acknowledged as well. Crucially, my argument here concerns a broader issue than fine arts and, consequently, does not couple the notion of art with the notion of beauty, or at least does not foreground the latter, returning to the ancient understanding of art as skill.[40]

Art teaching is not only about training skills to achieve mastery in the sense of perfect compliance with a given system of norms. Art education also encompasses the ability to appreciate artworks and to explore the sources of beauty through Joseph Schumpeter's concept of creative destruction. The latter is, in fact, usually predicated on one's independence and defiance of schoolish hierarchies, an approach that sometimes breeds a kind of dilettantism in some areas or leads to being perceived as a threat (or, to the contrary, as a harmless or frivolous person). Such instruction—by which I mean teaching to create something new—is often tacit and founded on making learners capable of discerning the algorithm used by model artists. Of course, this algorithm may be more about garnering fame and support, but sometimes it is indeed also about getting to the front of the hierarchy of art, which is paired here with the notion of beauty.

Whereas Arthur Schopenhauer claimed that 'the purpose of all art is the communication of the apprehended Idea,'[41] he also insisted that:

> The pleasure of everything beautiful, the consolation afforded by art, the enthusiasm of the artist which enables him to forget the cares of life, this one advantage of the genius over other men alone compensating him for the

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[40] W. Tatarkiewicz, *A History of Six Ideas: An Essay in Aesthetics*, transl. Ch. Kasperek, Hague–Boston–London–Warszawa 1980, p. 5.

[41] A. Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation: Volume 1*, transl. E.F.J. Payne, New York 1969, p. 237.

> suffering that is heightened in proportion to the clearness of consciousness, and for the desert loneliness among a different race of men, all this is due to the fact that, as we shall see later on, the in-itself of life, the will, existence itself, is a constant suffering, and is partly woeful, partly fearful. The same thing, on the other hand, as representation alone, purely contemplated, or repeated through art, free from pain, presents us with a significant spectacle.[42]

This implies how important public approval is for artists who have made their way to the top of the hierarchy and conveys the joy the audience derives from the mystical connection to that top.

Within social psychology, the mechanisms of rivalry in the world of art can be found across art disciplines and are also at work, for example, in academia. Just like a selfish composer persuades a would-be composer to settle for performing, so a selfish scholar encourages a beginner researcher to develop old theories; if theories of old masters are at stake, the point is to prevent potential rivals from establishing their own hierarchies, and if the selfish scholar's own theories are at stake, the point is to control potential rivals and force them into the scholar's own hierarchy.[43] This has both conceptual and formal implications, where the latter concern the hierarchy of positions and the adoption of a given idiom or method.

A theory can be adopted because of fashion, meaning the awareness of the resonance this theory boasts at a given moment. In academia and art alike, it is usually easier to endorse theories propounded by individuals who are higher in a given hierarchy than by those positioned lower than the potential user of these theories. Furthermore, the ideas of higher-ranked individuals stand a better chance of being cited with a clear reference to their founders, while the ideas of lower-ranked people are often presented, with slight changes,

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[42] Schopenhauer, *World*, p. 267.

[43] In the same way, I as a founder of the rivalry of hierarchy encourage you as a reader to adopt, apply and develop it.

as long-standing insights of indefinite origin or even as one's own inventions.

If theory and practice collaborate, they are also mutual rivals. Academic hierarchies look down on individuals who use only one theory, particularly if it was proposed a while ago. At the same time, practitioners tend to regard academics as being out of touch with reality. It is obvious that research should develop on a practical foundation and that, the other way round, practice should be informed by research findings. Theoretical and practical issues are interlaced in this way not only in medicine and psychology but also in other fields, such as law. In law studies, a line is sometimes drawn between theory and dogmatics, that is, the study of the law in place, which makes it akin to the philosophy of nature. Law studies and the exercise of law, in the sense of the practice of legal professions, are interconnected in many ways and on multiple planes, including in education and argumentation.

Sometimes the relationship between theory and practice—conceived, respectively, as a science and an art of a given domain—depends on theorists' ability to analyse practitioners' activities. Understood as an art, politics can be an object of political-scientific explorations, but calling something 'philosophy' does not always aim to convey analytical depth; rather, it sometimes bespeaks the belief that no analyses are needed in the first place.

Calling a given activity an art is sometimes purely conventional, but things can also be referred to as art because of their quality or because of the venue where they are presented. A work of art can be regarded as an instantiation of art.[44] According to some views, frameworks developed to

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[44] In Polish, this relationship is essentially rendered in language itself as the Polish term for art—*sztuka*—is derived from the German *Stück* (a piece): 'Properly speaking, the word *Sztuka* [art] means a separate item, either as a part of a larger whole or as a specimen in a general set.' H. Poznański, *Nauka poezyi zawierająca teoryą poezyi i jéj rodzajów oraz Znaczny Zbiór najcelniejszych wzorów poezyi polskiéj do Teoryi zastósowany*, Poznań 1845, p. 1.

explain art tend to fail to meet the expectations they were designed to fulfil.[45] If a bard ascending above literature into the rarefied air of mysticism and religion is celebrated as an individual positioned atop the hierarchy of a given culture, it is also often the case that only some of the purported bard's statements are ever highlighted. The rivalry of hierarchies in art—and, more broadly, in culture—is in many respects bound up with motivation. On the one hand, culture produces goals and incentivises action to achieve them, in this way integrating society,[46] and on the other the hierarchies within which individuals operate largely influence their attitude to the creative process. Also, the manner in which art is rewarded sometimes involves rivalry for prizes.[47]

Personal relations, particularly those of the protagonist, matter in a narrative.[48] Being part of many hierarchies, which usually entails taking different positions in them, influences artists' capacity to make their views convincing to others through production of theories and co-establishment of artistic hierarchies on the basis of visions associated with certain personages. Selected artists are touted as role models in school instruction, which may involve misrepresentations of artists—and poets and politicians as well—as their images are inculcated in students' minds in conformity with the agendas of various authorities. Art and politics are entangled in intimate interconnections because art helps preserve privacy (such as in artworks that perpetuate the private facets of politicians)[49] and because these hierarchies influence each

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[45] B. Dziemidok, *Główne kontrowersje estetyki współczesnej*, Warszawa 2002, p. 27.

[46] R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, London 1971 [1935], p. 33.

[47] A. Łukasik, *Zewnętrzne ograniczenia procesu twórczego*, Rzeszów 1999, p. 62.

[48] J. Hajduk, *Petroniusza sztuka narracji*, Kraków 2015, p. 144.

[49] L. Koczanowicz, 'Magiczna moc sztuki. Podmiot, sfera publiczna, emancypacja,' [in:] *Między estetyzacją a emancypacją: Praktyki artystyczne w przestrzeni publicznej*, eds. D. Koczanowicz, M. Skrzeczkowski, Wrocław 2010, p. 28.

other in ways that affect the deepest feelings of individuals and societies alike.

What is understood as art can be established in dialogue or debate around issues such as '(1) the definition of art, which makes it possible (2) to set art apart from non-art; (3) the experience of art; (4) the evaluation of art and, related, (5) ranking artworks in hierarchies, along with and the question whether the division into low art and high art is valid.'[50] The perception of art essentially matters to art, but at the same time the very listening or seeing can be considered an art: '[T]here is an art of seeing, and it is available to anybody capable of discerning the extraordinary in everyday reality.'[51]

Poemics is one exemplification of an art form that has sprouted, so to speak, in-between already entrenched art fields. The hierarchy of comics and the hierarchy of poetry have impacted the hierarchy of the newly emergent poemics in a variety of ways, primarily by shaping ideas of what proper framing and a beautiful text are. When I came to believe that poemics should be recognised as a separate branch of art, I applied myself to fostering an environment for it: I encouraged practitioners in related fields to take interest in this art form, wrote theoretical papers and did organisational work, such as publication of anthologies, issuing of brochures and arrangement of exhibitions. The foundation of a society assembling people with interest in poemics[52] can also be regarded as epitomising the establishment of a hierarchy associated with the new field of art.

To grasp the *arché* of an art—its originary principle or its founding premise—one must reach beyond the level of material works and often engage with the meta-level. The art of criticism sometimes produces hierarchies by promoting

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[50] P. Taranczewski, P. Tendera, *Rozmowy o malarstwie*, *The Polish Journal of the Arts and Culture. Monografie*, Volume 5, Kraków 2016, pp. 87–88.

[51] A.J. Wróblewski, *Sztuka widzenia*, Warszawa 2012, p. 192.

[52] The society was called the Europejskie Centrum Poemiksu (Eng.: European Poemics Centre) and existed for a few years.

some artists and works while discouraging involvement with others. The set of art-related notions can be open in some measure in anticipation of new specimens that are expected to exhibit other features than the existing artworks do.[53] When specimens of a certain kind begin to appear, their amassment can lay the foundation for a new art and generate ideas about what a given field of art is (though this feat is sometimes achieved by a single work of art). Both the development of art and the foundation of arts influence the development of technique. Notably, besides being just works of art, artworks are used in religious devotions and have applications in practical life.[54] Art can perform epistemic, propagandist, and many other functions, and in many cases the use of works of art is not limited to rivalry for artistic fame.[55] Art is known to nurture widespread ideas about personages, cultures and epochs. The rivalry in art between the US and Europe and the concomitant rivalry between action painting and pop-art vividly illustrate the multidimensionality of rivalry involving art.[56] What country or what hub artists are affiliated to is a factor in the appreciation of their works and can also be viewed as an element of a rivalry (though of a collaboration too) between these countries or hubs.[57]

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[53] T. Pawłowski, *Happening*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1988, p. 199.

[54] P. Skiba, *Garncarstwo: Sztuka pięciu żywiołów*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 11–12.

[55] A.M. Zadora, 'Współczesne funkcje sztuki: Sztuka pomiędzy twórcą a odbiorcą na przykładzie twórczości malarskiej artystów środowiska śląskiego,' [in:] *Sztuka, edukacja, kultura: Z teorii i praktyki edukacji artystycznej*, eds. U. Szuścik, E. Linkiewicz, Katowice 2014, p. 81.

[56] S. Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*: *Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, transl. A. Goldhammer, Chicago–London 2020, pp. 124–127.

[57] I discussed this idea in my paper 'Znaczenie twórcy w perspektywie teorii rywalizacji hierarchii' ('The role of the artist: The perspective of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory') delivered at the *Kultura ma znaczenie* (Culture matters) conference held by the Faculty of Philosophy and

If theatre stagings and performances by musicians and poets traditionally accompanied the Olympic Games, art, literature and music were made Olympic disciplines as such under Emperor Nero.[58] Rivalry in a field can be discussed in terms of both a rivalry within a broader hierarchy and a rivalry between hierarchies. Aristophanes may be more famous than many of his contemporary comedy writers for no other reason than the fact that most of his rivals' works have been lost. Without questioning Aristophanes' brilliance, it should be borne in mind that he sometimes won but sometimes lost in comedy contests during the City Dionysia.[59] Anyway, tragedies produced during the Grand Dionysia enjoyed far greater prestige. Besides, the budgets for staging comedies were smaller than those for tragic performances.[60]

Rivalry between arts is also expressed in the struggle for popularity, inclusion in school curricula, sponsors, formal acknowledgement of artists, and recognition of art forms as art and as significant art. Art teaching can be thought of as an art in and of itself; even if art training is about skill rather than anything else, its preoccupation with beauty is unmistakable as well, for example in the context of students' experience of the instructor's perfectly executed technique.[61] Central in this regard are the relations determined by acceptance or rejection of teachers' models of life,[62] though imitation is admittedly sometimes unconscious.

Sociology, Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin (Poland), on 22 November, 2018.

58 A. Kaźmierczak, 'Olimpizm, kultura i sztuka w wymiarze społeczno-kulturowym,' [in:] *Sztuka i wychowanie w kulturze konwergencji. Wyzwoleni i zagubieni w sieci*, eds. M. Zalewska-Pawlak, P. Soszyński, Łódź 2015, p. 149.

59 O. Śmiechowicz, *Arystofanes*, Warszawa 2015, p. 22.

60 Śmiechowicz, *Arystofanes*, p. 21.

61 B. Olszewski, *Sztuka nauczania żeglarstwa*, Gdynia 2014, p. 85.

62 A. Sarnat-Ciastko, 'Budowanie relacji tutorskiej w świetle analizy transakcyjnej,' [in:] *Diagnozowanie twórczości uczniów i nauczycieli*, eds. B. Niemierko, M. K. Szmigel, Kraków 2016, p. 288.

The overall hierarchy of a given art comprises hierarchies of forms, styles and schools. Various meters of ancient origin were accorded supremacy in prosodies of various languages; for example, Polish alexandrine, which was derived from Latin hymnics, but assimilated to other genres of poetry, has traditionally been admired in Polish poetry as superior to shorter verse-line forms of less noble provenance.[63] The hierarchy of poetry kinds can depend on their distance from everyday expression even though colloquial language is as a rule more emotionally charged.[64]

Styles are often associated with specific artistic schools, which themselves are defined by characteristics of individual artists—the founders of the schools or people revered as the models. This is true not only of art, but also of religion and scholarship. Not only the art or the ways of navigating a given field but also lifestyles and even biographies of individuals at the top of hierarchies are sometimes emulated.[65]

The rivalry of art schools is not circumscribed to competing for student enrolment. It is also important for art universities to be part of discussions between and over concepts of art. Otherwise, they enclose themselves within one convention, which reduces their ability to contribute to vital culture-making processes.[66] Similarities between schools stem from the prevalent ideas about the role and responsibilities of schooling as such, but at the same time school hierarchies must sometimes engage in rivalry against hierarchies that generate expectations toward them. As neatly encapsulated by Magdalena Ujma:

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[63] L. Pszczołowska, *Wiersz. Styl. Poetyka*, Kraków 2002, p. 274.

[64] S. Szczygieł, 'Recenzja przekładu traktatu agronomicznego *De agri cultura* Marka Porcjusza Katona autorstwa Ireneusza Mikołajczyka,' *Collectanea Philologica* 14, 2011, p. 149.

[65] M. Ujma, *Sztuki wizualne*, Bielsko-Biała 2011, p. 13.

[66] J. Murzyn, 'Problemy dydaktyki w zakresie sztuk plastycznych,' [in:] *Diagnozowanie twórczości uczniów i nauczycieli*, eds. B. Niemierko, M. K. Szmigel, Kraków 2016, p. 342.

> As academism evolved into an ever more rigorous doctrine in the 19th century, the hierarchy of themes ultimately came to restrict the freedom of artistic invention. Painting the birth of Venus and tableaux of Ancient Greek groves or Roman baths over and over again could no longer be stomached by artists and caused their rebellion. Realism, Pre-Raphaelites, Impressionism, and other modernist movements embraced themes of the world as it was. However, before the 'low' themes are incorporated into art for good, let us go back in time—to the 17th-century Low Countries. This was where an unprecedented development flourished; specifically, citizens were commonly interested in art, and the art produced at the time was bought by ordinary citizens, without the patronage of the church or of the magnates. The 17th-century Low Countries rejected academic hierarchies and espoused art as 'a mirror of nature.'[67]

Marian Golka defines the socio-cultural system as 'a totality that consists of mutually interdependent, interconnected and relatively ordered components, such as people in their various roles, relations and groups, their activities and productions, themselves saturated with meaning and values that find expression in various spheres.'[68] Art exists within such a system, and within art there are 'art disciplines (fine arts, literature, theatre, music and dance), each of them comprising artistic genres (for example, painting, drawing, sculpture and stage design in fine arts).'[69] Golka singles out institutions and works (or artistic productions) as two essential elements of this system.

If a work of art is what is recognised as such, the rivalry of hierarchies in this regard can be viewed as a struggle for recognition. Recognition can result from fashion, be an instance of imitation, or entail the establishment of a new hierarchy. If a critic's review argues that something should

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[67] Ujma, *Sztuki*, p. 178.
[68] M. Golka, *Socjologiczny obraz sztuki*, Poznań 1996, p. 41.
[69] Golka, *Socjologiczny obraz*, p. 41.

be recognised as a work of art, it asks us to submit to the hierarchy this critic creates or co-creates. Recognising something as a work of art against the general opinion is an act of impudence or courage that challenges the hierarchy in place. The coexistence of hierarchies that recognise and refuse to recognise the same object or phenomenon as a work of art involves various forms of rivalry. The institutional theory of art, where that which is displayed in galleries is considered a work of art,[70] can be regarded as an encouragement for artists and/or their promoters to (attempt to) join the hierarchy of institutions, that is, to exhibit their works at defined venues. The foundation of galleries can be analysed both as the inception of new hierarchies and as a development within the existing hierarchy.

Counterpoint can be regarded as a rivalry of voices, and dance can likewise be treated as a rivalry, for example, of two dancers. Nonetheless, such ritualised combat can also be construed as an instance of cooperation or as a metaphor. Dance is often considered a form of communication, possessing a vast potential for emotional expression.[71] Notably, the notion of dance is largely determined by the conventions of a given culture. Depending on its variety, the cham dance performed by monks includes recitation or pantomime (with or without masks).[72] Dance can have religious meaning and be itself a religious act in which the sacred reality is discovered here and now. Looking at or contemplating dance images may also be a factor in inner change. The cham dance bears a noticeable resemblance to Greek theatre and its notion of katharsis. Differences between the two, such as their connection to

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[70] A. Bandura, 'Nie ma ucieczki od instytucji,' *DYSKURS: Pismo Naukowo-Artystyczne ASP we Wrocławiu* 16, 2013, p. 309.

[71] J. Garbacik, E. Węgrzyn, 'Choreoterapia jako jedna z metod leczenia ruchem,' *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego: Prace Instytutu Kultury Fizycznej* 25, 2008, p. 131.

[72] D. Kalinowski, 'Tybetański taniec *Czam*: Perspektywa odbioru i kwestia widowiskowości,' *The Polish Journal of the Arts and Culture* 2, 2012, no. 2, pp. 181–183.

Buddhist writings and Greek myths, respectively, can be regarded as stemming from their embedding in different hierarchies underpinned by different mythologies.

In many cases, music requires synchronisation,[73] yet a chorist and a musician in an orchestra must meet different demands in this respect than a soloist.[74] It is a common belief that a soloist should not have conformist habits. Being atop a hierarchy often takes courage, though it may also be associated with formal authority. Avant-garde practices can be construed either as efforts to establish a separate hierarchy or as aspirations to make one's way to the top of the existing hierarchy (with success rather doubtful, and at best fleeting).[75]

Intercultural contacts can be regarded as negotiation. An artist's work is a mode of communication that frames their culture in a unique way and may breed ideas about the totality of their community's culture.[76] The imposition of culture can be viewed as an element of political domination, though it is also true that occupiers sometimes appropriate elements of the conquered culture. The multifacetedness of rivalry encompasses an array of practices, such as engagement in cultural activity within the enemy's system[77] and the

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[73] R. Scheurich, A. Zamm, C. Palmer, 'Tapping into Rate Flexibility: Musical Training Facilitates Synchronization around Spontaneous Production Rates,' *Frontiers in Psychology* 9, 2013, no. 458, p. 12.

[74] When I sang in a choir, I had an opportunity to see an interesting example of a soloist's rivalry with the conductor. To avoid a disaster during performance, the conductor had to make instantaneous adjustments and make the choir adapt to the slow pace unexpectedly imposed by the soloist, though in rehearsals the singing had been far quicker.

[75] A. Rutkowska, 'Awangardowość tańca na przełomie XX i XXI wieku,' [in:] *Sztuka i twórczość*, ed. K. Pankowska, Warszawa 2015, p. 46.

[76] Z. Mach, 'Wielokulturowość—mozaika kultur i dylematów współczesności,' [in:] *Transkultura: Sztuka a płynna rzeczywistość XXI wieku*, eds. A. Smolak, M. Ujma, Warszawa 2008, p. 61.

[77] K. Woźniakowski, *Prasa, kultura, wojna: Studia z dziejów czasopiśmiennictwa, kultury literackiej i artystycznej lat 1939–1945*, Kraków 1999, p. 197.

cultivation of folk culture as the protection of national identity under siege.[78]

Art can be used to promote, preserve, and highlight the existence or domination of another hierarchy. This means that generally conceived art is contained within another hierarchy, which more often than not involves the subordination of art to power. In contrast, refusal to succumb to social norms is an entrenched part of widespread ideas about artists. The rivalry between the hierarchies of art and society often revolves around the social position of artists and the functions of art, but it should also be explored as a series of rivalries of smaller and more narrowly defined hierarchies. One's lifelong practice of art can have a wide impact on those around, but it can also be associated with loneliness and ineffective attempts to enlighten others despite one's own mastery in a given field.[79]

The Rivalry of Hierarchies in Science

The complexity of reality makes it expedient to use models.[80] The rivalry of hierarchies can be regarded as a scientific model that can be used in conjunction with the general methodology of sciences and applied to specific research issues. According to Aristotle, wonder

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[78] E. Paszkowicz, 'Korea na fali: Analiza polityki kulturalnej i współczesnego rynku kultury Korei,' [in:] *Urzędnicy, biznesmeni, artyści: Analiza sektora kultury w krajach Azji Wschodniej i w Indiach*, ed. M. Jacoby, Warszawa 2016, p. 43.

[79] Chuang Tzu, *The Book of Chuang Tzu*, transl. M. Palmer, London 2006, n.p. (Chapter 2: 'Working Everything Out Evenly'*)*.

[80] P. Cilliers, 'Boundaries, Hierarchies and Networks in Complex Systems,' *International Journal of Innovation Management* 5, 2001, no. 2, p. 137.

is always the starting point of philosophising.[81] If so, whatever involves wondering should be acknowledged as science, just like whatever is associated with beauty can be considered art. Before 'philosophy' emerged as a separate notion, sages—or simply wisemen (including poets)—were called sophists.[82] It is clear that our view of science as a unique practice that must be perceived in its specific ways can be traced back to a certain stage in the cultural development of ancient Greece. Though we appreciate the importance of achievements of the Neolithic Revolution, we belong to the hierarchy of philosophy and tend to treat other accomplishments of human thought as magic or as administration while we give the name of science to pursuits that follow the models established by ancient Greek philosophers.

Being archaic can be interpreted as both obsolete and linked to beginnings. The rivalry of hierarchies in the methodology of sciences is a rivalry of systems based on defined premises—on *arché* that provides a starting point for a given science. Yet we should also note that there is a rivalry between science understood as a certain totality of knowledge and other fields of human activity.

The Socratic tradition, which holds that definitions should be in line with colloquial understandings of the notions,[83] can be treated as bridging science and society and as epitomising the community of ideas between science and other fields. Notably, popular-science books are often regarded as different from

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[81] Aristotle, *The Metaphysics of Aristotle*, transl. Th. Taylor, London 1801, Book I, chapter 2, p. 5. https://classicalliberalarts.com/resources/TAYLOR_METAPHYSICS.pdf.

[82] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, transl. R. D. Hicks, Cambridge, MA 1972 (1925), Prologue [12], http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0004.tlg001.perseus-eng1.

[83] J. Kotarbińska, *Z zagadnień teorii nauki i teorii języka*, Warszawa 1990, p. 144.

real science, though they can also be viewed as subordinate to science. Depending on how the aims of popular-science publications are defined, they can illustrate knowledge-sharing or profit-seeking. Thus, there is a rivalry over popular science between the scientific hierarchy and the commercial hierarchy. It seems that greater fidelity to science reduces the commercial value of a book and, the other way round, that a greater admixture of the sensational and departure from the scientific rigour increases prospects of financial gains. The skill of transmitting specialised knowledge in an intelligible way is a talent that hinges on the ability to keep rival hierarchies in balance. Of course, democratic science can be thought of as part of communication between members of various hierarchies rather than as a matter of money. Nevertheless, conflicting scientific and non-scientific arguments and the parading of experts ready to support the viewpoint of a company or a political party[84] suggest another picture of the rivalry between the hierarchy of science and other hierarchies. A rivalry between specialists and non-specialists in a given field tends to surface whenever specialised knowledge is employed in particular cases. Whether specialists look down on clients or the other way round (e.g. in the doctor-patient and businessperson-advisor relationship) and whether the former act for the benefit and in line with the goals of clients or patients depends on personalities, organisational culture and/or political or financial configurations.[85]

A commercial approach to education triggers competition for ever-higher achievements on the educational and labour markets, a race entered by multiple entities (from individuals to schools to states). Besides, schools' selection of students (across the stages of the process) is based on the criteria

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[84] S. Eden, 'Public Participation in Environmental Policy: Considering Scientific, Counter-scientific and Non-scientific Contributions,' *Public Understanding of Science* 5, 1996, p. 183.

[85] K. Woźniak, 'Etyka zgody w leczeniu,' [in:] *Ciało, medycyna, sport w kontekstach kulturowych i społecznych*, eds. M. Wieczorkowska, J. R. Stępień, Łódź 2015, p. 69.

defined by the dominant groups. Gifted individuals from the lower social strata can only join the elite if they endorse the values of the upper classes.[86] The development of universities was marked by their increasing autonomy from religious authorities,[87] but in many periods scholars observed the old beliefs, be it ostensibly only, a pretence which Auguste Comte denounced as 'collective hypocrisy' paired with permanent mendacity and with contempt for individuals and groups ranked lower in their hierarchy.[88] As Peter Sloterdijk puts it, 'a second-order sense of community' arises among people dedicated to the search for 'real life.' Steeped in the sphere of ideas, this community populates universities and monasteries and is viewed as opposed to a considerable majority of the public, who are busy with more mundane matters.[89] There are many other hierarchies whose members form elites in certain fields of activity while being commoners in many other areas of life. The specificity of the scientific hierarchy may be rooted in the convention that merges respect for scholars with the lack of respect for the impracticality of scholarship. In Sloterdijk's terms: 'Thinking creates an artificial autism that isolates the thinker and takes him into a special world of imperatively connected ideas'[90]

Works by the philosophers of old should be consulted both when the issues they address are still unsolved and when their ponderings provide a starting point for or a premise of current inquiry.[91] The timeliness of thought hinges on

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[86] T. Gmerek, *Edukacja i nierówności społeczne: Studium porównawcze na przykładzie Anglii, Hiszpanii i Rosji*, Kraków 2011, pp. 11, 94.

[87] S. Frickel, N. Gross, 'A General Theory of Scientific/Intellectual Movements,' *American Sociological Review* 2, 2005, no. 70, p. 204.

[88] A. Comte, *A Discourse on the Positive Spirit*, transl. E. S. Beesly, London 1903, pp. 107–110.

[89] P. Sloterdijk, *The Art of Philosophy: Wisdom as Practice*, transl. K. Margolis, New York 2012, pp. 29–30.

[90] Sloterdijk, *Art of Philosophy*, p. 29.

[91] A. Nowaczyk, 'Czym mogłaby być metafilozofia,' [in:] *Metafilozofia. Nieporozumienie czy szansa filozofii?*, ed. M. Woźniczka, Kraków 2011, pp. 69–74.

whether it reckons with the latest occurrences of relevance to the collective, such as a watershed event or a revolution,[92] but versedness in the literature predating these events is commonly considered indispensable for the proper practice of science. Importantly, such events can influence science either by channelling or by thwarting its development. The impact of other hierarchies on the hierarchy of science can sometimes be seen in the inclusion of arguments other than scientific in science. Zdzisław Cackowski, a philosopher, the Rector of Maria Sklodowska-Curie University in Lublin (Poland), and my neighbour at the Łukcze Lake, first discouraged me from exploring ontology and then wrote a book on ontology. I highly appreciated him, especially after I witnessed an uncivil, if not downright aggressive and fanatical, attack by the staff of the other Lublin-based university[93] on his views at a philosophers' meeting. On that occasion, Cackowski said that religions had their mythologies while his detractors forcefully asserted that some other religions had their mythologies but theirs did not.

The peaceableness of scholarly discussion and the university as such makes room for the rivalry of hierarchies within science; while this rivalry generally relies on arguments from research, researchers and their disciplines do not operate in complete isolation from other actors.[94] Universities need external support, and this need causes them not only to engage in broad educational outreach but also to walk the tightrope between being the king's useful advisor and a funny, harmless court fool.

The terminology of the humanities is often ambiguous.[95] The very notion of learning can denote the acquisition of skills and the domain that took shape as philosophy advanced.

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92 Sloterdijk, *Art of Philosophy*, pp. 21–22, 35.

93 'The other Lublin-based university' refers to the Catholic University of Lublin. (translator's note)

94 Sloterdijk, *Art of Philosophy*, pp. 33–34.

95 L. Lambeinová, 'Tłumaczenie tekstu naukowego z zakresu psychologii i pedagogiki wczesnoszkolnej w parze języków czeski-polski—uwagi tłumacza,' [in:] *Interdyscyplinarność i wielowymiarowość*

Philosophy, which is today mostly associated with inquiry into the most general things, is known to have been equated with the acquisition of knowledge as such, and other scholarly and scientific disciplines are often regarded as having originated from philosophy. Whether we uphold this viewpoint or accept that, at the very outset of the development of learning, there was already a rivalry between physics and philosophy, or between Ionian and Italian philosophies, we can still discern some signs of terminological or organisational rivalry in the field. If accumulation of examples from various disciplines comes with the risk of slipping into what Michał Węsierski refers to as 'naive eclecticism,' by which he means citing a plethora of authorities without any order or interconnectedness,[96] a partial survey of developments across disciplines might usefully illustrate phenomena inherent in the rivalry of scientific hierarchies at this stage of work on the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory. Yet one can also try to capture the totality of science-related phenomena by addressing the most general issues. In respect of the methodology of sciences, understood as an ensemble of tenets at the core of individual sciences, the rivalry of hierarchies can be analysed both in terms of highly theoretical aspects and in terms of its institutional dimension. The awareness of the theoretical situatedness and legacy of individual sciences and the potential that research and scholarly reasonings anchored in various sciences hold for influencing the public[97] can be regarded as aspects of rivalry between disciplines of learning.

The separateness of a science can be asserted, for example, by defining the shared foundation of research carried out in

nauk filologicznych, eds. D. Gonigroszek, A. Stanecka, Piotrków Trybunalski 2016, p. 43.

[96] M.R. Węsierski, *Problemy integracji wiedzy a badanie zjawisk politycznych: W stronę idei jedności nauki*, Warszawa 2011, p. 218.

[97] A.W. Nowak, *Wyobraźnia ontologiczna: Filozoficzna (re)konstrukcja fronetycznych nauk społecznych*, Poznań 2016, p. 73.

this science,[98] yet what this model presents as the foundation can also be viewed as the top of the hierarchy or as the original presupposition. In the Aristotelian vein, the first principles of every science are considered to be obvious truths and, as such, are eligible to be axioms from which to derive propositions characterised by certainty.[99] This mode of constructing sciences is attractive because it promises certitude.[100] However, as Bolesław Kuc explains, disciplines are usually brought forth in science either by a massive development of a part of a discipline or by research in which two disciplines are amalgamated.[101]

The separation of a discipline can be fuelled by aspirations to focus research on a selected issue, or it can be driven by the realisation that such research is actually in progress. Identification of existing sciences and proposals to establish new sciences are persistent efforts in the methodology of sciences. In Comte's overview: 'To facilitate the habitual use of our formula of classification, it is very convenient, when great encyclopedic precision is not wanted, to group its terms two and two, so reducing it to three couples, the first mathematico-astronomical, the last biologico-social, separated from and linked to one another by the intermediate physico-chemical couple.'[102]

The methodology of sciences resembles a logical system in a way, and the number of logical systems is potentially unlimited.[103] Attention can be paid to what is known as the theory of types, which is not considered a logical system, but an

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[98] Th. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 4th ed., Chicago–London 20212 [1962], p. 44.

[99] A. Nowaczyk, *Gramatyka i prawda*, Warszawa 1999, p. 103.

[100] Nowaczyk, *Gramatyka*, p. 104.

[101] B.R. Kuc, *Funkcje nauki: Wstęp do metodologii. Nauka nie jest grą*, Warszawa 2012, p. 30.

[102] Comte, *Discourse*, pp. 164–165.

[103] The logical system is understood 'as a set of theses of a logical calculus, a set of logical tautologies or the relation of logical entailment'; Nowaczyk, *Gramatyka*, p. 81.

interpretation 'with, as its field, the so-called absolute hierarchy of types erected over the complete set of individuals.'[104] In logic, what is lower in the hierarchy is usually a kind of that which is higher in the hierarchy, and by the same token an upper element controls a lower element in the hierarchy in organisations. Yet, in a scientific theory, hierarchical relations can also be interpreted in other ways, for example, in view of the fact that research situated lower in the hierarchy is more advanced, more detailed and based on assumptions higher up in the hierarchy.[105] The logical systems focused on the form of operations, rather than on the content, are sometimes called 'formal logic,' where 'the notion of formality would have to be relativised to an arbitrarily selected set treated as the basis of the hierarchy.'[106] If there is a rivalry between various logical systems,[107] surely there is also a rivalry between various methodologies of sciences?

According to Andrzej Biłat, at least four languages underpin the development of any theoretical science: '1. Object languages of theories (belonging to respective sciences); 2. Metalanguages of theories; 3. Disciplinary jargon; 4. The language of philosophical interpretation of the principles formulated in languages 1–3.'[108] This distinction concerns the difference between more specialised notions and less specialised ones.

Although correlating multiple notions is difficult, notions are sometimes explained not only by means of elaborate definitions but also by bringing in notions with a similar content, if not by suggesting that some notions can be replaced with other notions. Such a popular-science approach

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[104] Nowaczyk, *Gramatyka*, p. 97.

[105] S.N. Salthe, 'Hierarchical Structures,' *Axiomathes* 22, 2012, p. 358.

[106] Nowaczyk, *Gramatyka*, p. 101.

[107] 'Can there be rivalry among logical theories? Yes. Not only can there be rivalry among logical theories; there *is* rivalry among logical theories'; J. C. Beal, *Logic: The Basics*, New York 2010, p. 21.

[108] A. Biłat, *Metaontologia: O naturze pojęć i teorii ontologicznych*, Kraków 2018, p. 103.

is usually deplored as a methodological error, but it can also be a communication avenue for specialists from different fields or a device for indicating the likeness of sciences or teaching disciplines. Besides, it can be an element of the rivalry of hierarchies in attempts to eliminate, or at least reduce, the significance of a rival discipline.

The rivalry of hierarchies in selecting conceptual systems in science[109] is revealed in scholarly disputes, which are usually entangled in the rivalry of organisations. Crucially, scholarly disputes in many ways subsume a rivalry over the use of selected notions, which, more often than not, involves efforts to retain correctness within a given hierarchy and is coupled with a rivalry of various hierarchies, such as those embodied in outlooks or theories. The institutionalisation of science is a highly relevant factor in the formation of a hierarchy and then its rivalry with other hierarchies. Both the rise of new sciences or subdisciplines and the establishment of schools, understood as groups of scholars or as public facilities, can be conceived of as the onset of new hierarchies or as a reinforcement of some hierarchies and undercutting of others. Scholarly discussions and organisational work, such as the foundation of journals or the convening of conferences, evince the existence and rivalry of hierarchies; besides, they occur in certain settings, which are also part of the picture of the rivalry of hierarchies. If a school or an outlook prevails, its success has an effect on political hierarchies and individuals' choices between various hierarchies, such as, among others, normative systems. Thus, science contributes to the system of norms, for example, those regulating its own practice protocols, and has an impact on the validity of norms by influencing their interpretation and the endorsement of some norms that govern people's interactions with each other and with the environment.

The hierarchical arrangement in science is believed, on the one hand, to facilitate the achievement of goals and, on the other, to be harmful to the group, depending on the duties

[109] Biłat, *Metaontologia*, p. 75.

to be handled and the leaders' personalities. Additionally, the hierarchy can constructively motivate researchers by helping them concentrate on the important tasks at hand or detrimentally constrain their ingenuity. Research has shown that if people have a strong power drive, power easily 'go[es] to their head' when they ascend to leadership positions.[110] Leaders of hierarchies are selected on the basis of their personalities, with self-confident individuals tending to be preferred, and the choice is strongly informed by the candidates' personal characteristics, such as gender, age and appearance.[111] These preferences result not only from envisaging the prospective leader's influence on intra-hierarchy relations but also from anticipations concerning their effectiveness in rivalry with other hierarchies.

Science continues to cement certain ways of hierarchising people on the basis of their social background. It is easier for individuals from privileged groups to take higher positions in the academic hierarchy, and research is sometimes used to give grounds to a given social order complete with discrimination and privilege.[112]

Rivalry in science occurs both between schools with different understandings and between individuals within different hierarchies. These two aspects of rivalry in science concern things as different as self-promotion skills and the significance of being the first to make a discovery. Often, two scholars who work on the same issue do not collaborate but vie for the reputation of the greater researcher, which illustrates a rivalry within the hierarchies of fame, citation statistics and organisations, whereby what matters is not only the headship

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[110] C. Anderson, C.E. Brown, 'The Functions and Dysfunctions of Hierarchy,' *Research in Organizational Behavior* 30, 2010, no. 4, p. 17, doi:10.1016/j.riob.2010.08.002.

[111] Anderson, Brown, 'Functions,' p. 18.

[112] M.F. Fox, 'Gender, Hierarchy, and Science,' [in:] *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*, ed. J. Saltzman Chafetz, New York 1999, p. 453.

position but also membership in certain associations.[113] Importantly, citation figures and impact factors constitute a separate hierarchy, which sometimes barely coincides with the hierarchy in scholarly organisations.[114] Evaluations of journals and research institutions contribute to the establishment of hierarchies by determining, for example, the amount of funding.[115] In many cases, the order forged through such assessments overlaps with the hierarchy of institutional prestige, but on occasion it tends to reward institutions well-connected to power centres, which sparks outrage of scholars affiliated to other institutions.

Personal contacts are an important channel for sharing knowledge[116] and help spread information about available possibilities. In academia, such personal contacts promote an unfettered exchange of views and prevent people from being ashamed to articulate doubts or admit ignorance, even though restraint, for example, in critiquing others' views, also results from the sense of propriety, which should be appreciated among scholars. Sometimes personal contacts add up to what can be called the 'dark network,' which operates in a variety of ways, such as by making formal positions available only to the individuals who will not pose a threat to the members of the hierarchy in place.

Typical of science, a degree of conservatism can be seen, for instance, in that the hierarchy of universities, which is largely correlated with the chronology of their foundation, is mostly immune to change. This does not make universities

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[113] F.C. Fang, A. Casadevall, 'Competitive Science: Is Competition Ruining Science?,' *Infection and Immunity* 83, 2015, no. 4, p. 1229.

[114] A. Bejan, 'Two Hierarchies in Science: The Free Flow of Ideas and the Academy,' *International Journal of Design & Nature and Ecodynamics* 4, 2009, no. 4, p. 393.

[115] E. Kulczycki, 'Zasady oceny czasopism humanistycznych i ich rola w parametryzacji jednostek naukowych,' *Nauka* 3, 2014, p. 117.

[116] A. Jolaee, K. Nor, N. Khani, R. Yusoff, 'Factors Affecting Knowledge Sharing Intention among Academic Staff,' *International Journal of Educational Management* 28, 2014, no. 4, p. 425.

exempt from rivalry. There are well-known rivalries between two universities for primacy in a city or in a country. The historical anteriority may be demobilising, but on the whole both prestige and the lack thereof can be motivational, and while prestigious universities committed to their tradition of high standards continue to enjoy their reputation, the efforts younger universities launch to prove their quality are sometimes observably effective. Importantly, one's affiliation to a given university is mostly impressive to those who know something about the field in question; and professionals primarily appreciate what one has to show for oneself and how one shows it. At scholarly events, keynote speakers from renowned research hubs sometimes fail to live up to the reputation that precedes them, while presentations of arrivals from less prestigious universities leave a very good impression. A music critic should not be afraid to judge a performance or a piece without knowing who the performer or the composer is, and likewise a reliable researcher should reject biases and be guided in their assessment by the quality of scholarship alone. Still, some people simply should not be cited. At the same time, it is necessary to emphatically express respect for an authority on certain occasions. These two issues are bound up with belonging to certain hierarchies and rejecting others.

In scholarship, a master is someone who teaches future researchers and/or serves as a role model for them. A person who holds a superior place in the academic hierarchy is also a model to follow. Notably, these aspects are interdependent in many dimensions and, besides, the influence of many scholarly masters radiates onto the broad public, via the schooling system if not through any other avenue.[117]

Diogenes Laertius pictures the succession of philosophers in a catalogue of consecutive masters and disciples, with the line stretching from Thales to Plato's Old Academy and

[117] Z. Wiatrowski, 'Kariera w świecie uczonych w czasach cywilizacji postindustrialnej,' *Labor et Educatio* 4, 2016, p. 65.

then further on to the later leaders of the Academy.[118] Greek philosophy (or the Ionian school, opposed to the Italian school associated with Pythagoras) can, of course, be a source of other succession lines comprising philosophers from other countries who, broadly speaking, subscribed to one or another Greek philosopher's views or explored similar issues using similar methods. As time passes, even radically different old masters tend to amalgamate into what is perceived as a totality which individuals respect or defy; in the light of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, this can be regarded as submitting to or rejecting a given hierarchy. Of course, some rebellions, even the most resolute ones, are revealed to be simply a rehearsal of old objections. Sometimes, succession in science is not easy to identify, and using manifold sources or starting from different points of view bespeaks the availability of multiple conceptions and the needs of the moment, including the autotelic need of knowledge: '(W)ith respect to discipline, we must sometimes begin, not from the first, and the principle of a thing, but whence learning may be most easily acquired.'[119] Even what is but the legend of a past personage, irrespective of how far it departs from reality, can have a mobilising effect and inspire individuals to emulate the person in their own research careers[120].

The hierarchy of academia is clearly seen in the system of education. The education system is supposed to mould students through mechanisms such as school rituals related both to the assessment of knowledge and to modes of conduct. The school sustains the system of domination of prevailing actors and inculcates obedience, though it also fosters development, which is believed to make it possible for individuals to advance in the hierarchy.[121]

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[118] Laertius, *Lives*, Prologue [13].

[119] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Book V, chapter 1, p, 109.

[120] A. Malewski, *O nowy kształt nauk społecznych: Pisma zebrane*, Warszawa 1975, p. 31.

[121] A. Witkowska-Tomaszewska, 'Rytualne sposoby oporu uczniów edukacji wczesnoszkolnej na przemoc symboliczną szkoły,' [in:]

Organisations that assemble practitioners of a science have a part in selecting leaders of scientific hierarchies.[122] Some scholars engage in lobbying and/or serve as advisors who influence decision-making processes. As members of organisations, researchers may find themselves caught up in a range of obligations, which in our context can be viewed as implicated in the rivalry in which the hierarchy of a scientific organisation engages with other hierarchies with the aid of the political hierarchy, such as local government or a group of people in the central government.[123] In this respect, the impact of hierarchies—from party and/or ideological hierarchies to scientific hierarchies embodied, for example, in methodological views—on research as such and the HR policies in academia is explicit in reforms launched by new ministers and more implicit in changes introduced by new rectors or department heads. Of course, changes can aim to reform the institutions involved, but they can also be geared to cultivating the former head's legacy, particularly if their student takes the helm.[124] Leadership change is important to an organisation even though the influence of people in top positions in academic hierarchies is circumscribed by the expectations of the scholarly community.

Schools are patently entangled in economic and social inequalities,[125] and the correlations between academic

Między dwiema edukacjami: Dziecko/uczeń wobec czasu zmiany, eds. I. Adamek, J. Bałachowicz, Łódź 2016, pp. 91–92.

[122] D.S.M. Buist, P.A. Kanetsky, J.L. Studts, L. Li, M.B. Terry, A. Trentham-Dietz, S. Chang, 'Recruiting and Training Leadership through Professional Societies: A Report from the American Society of Preventive Oncology Junior Members Interest Group,' *Cancer Epidemiology, Biomarkers & Prevention* 15, 2006, no. 7, p. 1422.

[123] J.M. Scott, J.L. Rachlow, R.T. Lackey, 'The Science-Policy Interface: What Is an Appropriate Role for Professional Societies?' *BioScience* 58, 2008, no. 9, p. 869.

[124] I.F. Kesner, T.C. Sebora, 'Executive Succession: Past, Present & Future,' *Journal of Management* 20, 1994, no. 2, p. 328.

[125] T. Gmerek, 'Selekcje szkolne, strukturalna segmentacja i nierówności społeczne w Anglii,' *Forum Socjologiczne* 2, 2012, p. 219.

aptitude and various factors are a matter of (sometimes heated) controversy.[126] Privilege, which can be understood as the ascendancy of certain hierarchies, permeates not only the system of education but also the system of research. The Western, capitalist, Anglophone, Christian, and sexist viewpoint is pervasive in today's academia, which privileges people from the dominant hierarchies whose views are associated with objectivity and universality, whereas other notions and ways of reasoning tend to be belittled as curiosities.[127]

Eurocentrism, which regards European history as universal, believes that the linear development of science entails its increasing capacity to shape the environment. In this context, science is harnessed to subjugate other hierarchies to the European hierarchy by assimilation and institution of colonial dependences.[128] As part of such projects, ideas about the purported savagery of non-European cultures are instilled, and views concerning the methodology of sciences are imposed on members of other hierarchies, along with the acknowledgement of the achievements of the European scientific hierarchy as superior.[129]

A rivalry also arises between teaching frameworks, which can be regarded as critical theories or metatheories. For example, in education sciences, conservative views preoccupied with the transmission of culture clash with liberal approaches, which prioritise supporting individual development, and with

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[126] A. Zawistowska, '"Płeć matematyki." Zróżnicowania osiągnięć ze względu na płeć wśród uzdolnionych uczniów,' *Studia socjologiczne* 3, 2013, p. 75.

[127] R. Grosfoguel, 'Epistemic Islamophobia and Colonial Social Sciences,' *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 8, 2010, no. 2, p. 29.

[128] G.S. Aikenhead, D. Elliott, 'An Emerging Decolonizing Science Education in Canada,' *Canadian Journal of Science, Mathematics and Technology Education* 10, 2010, p. 324.

[129] E. Lander, M. Past, 'Eurocentrism, Modern Knowledges, and the "Natural" Order of Global Capital,' *Nepantla: Views from South* 3, 2002, no. 2, pp. 245*ff.*

progressive agendas dedicated to social change.[130] Another important rivalry concerns the ways of making scientific discoveries and incorporating those into the network of science.[131] These examples illustrate other levels of rivalry than the rivalry between theories or between discoveries. From a meta-level viewpoint, the rivalries among individual scholars, broadly understood schools, and international actors are all relevant phenomena.

Those who aspire to develop their own scientific theories sometimes decide not to study others' works and, in this way, avoid yielding to other hierarchies, a surrender manifest in the adoption of somebody else's idiom.[132] Similarly, those who continue and hone a theory must faithfully adhere to its founding premises. In this case, being inspired by other schools usually entails critiquing them. When talking of schools, albeit in another sense, attention should also be given to the rivalry of schools as embodying institutional rivalry in education, where such a rivalry is mostly not so much an autonomous phenomenon as rather a process that ties in with rivalries within the social hierarchy, though the awareness of this rivalry being there at all is typically restricted to parents. Two schools located in the same neighbourhood of Cracow are an excellent case in point. One enjoys the reputation of a superior and prestigious facility, with parents fighting to enrol their children and driving them to it from all over the city, whereas the other is not famed, and the parents of its students either do not care about the educational market or do not know how to go about securing a better school for their children. However, the children who attend the two schools

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[130] J. Gnitecki, *Struktura teorii pedagogicznej*, Poznań 2007, p. 36.

[131] J.M. Żytkow, 'Automatyzacja odkryć: Nowa metodologia i filozofia nauki,' [in:] *Episteme: Z problemów współczesnej teorii wiedzy*, eds. E. Pietruska-Madej, W. Strawiński, Warszawa 1985, p. 64.

[132] R.K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* New York 1968, pp. 33–34.

mostly have no idea about their different renown, while they like and appreciate their respective schools.[133]

If citing foreign sources is thought to attest to one's erudition and learnedness, the principal expectation is to quote from the dominant language or from the literature of the leading countries in the field.[134] The rules of this game forbid equating 'central and peripheral actors,' where being peripheral comes with faulty pronunciation and publishing in journals from countries far below the top of the hierarchy.[135] Publishing the best works in the local language, as in the Enlightenment, marks an attempt to strengthen the local hierarchy, yet the best works tend to be published in the dominant language of a given science, thereby reinforcing the existing hierarchy.

The Lviv-Warsaw school first trailed the world's leaders, and then became the trendsetter and powerhouse of development,[136] but the ravages of the Second World War, which might be viewed as a strong intervention of other hierarchies, severely undercut its position. The Platonic ideal of the government of philosophers is usually ousted by a model where science is subservient and ancillary, and in various ways too, to the political hierarchy. Yet the realisation that in order to progress, science needs some autonomy makes it possible for certain scientific hierarchies to survive despite their critical attitude to the authorities.

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[133] J. Danilewska, *O wychowaniu na arenie szkolnego wieloboju: Pedagogiczna baśń o rywalizacji*, Kraków 2014, p. 116.

[134] R. Meneghini, A.L. Packer, 'Is There Science beyond English? Initiatives to Increase the Quality and Visibility of Non-English Publications Might Help to Break Down Language Barriers in Scientific Communication,' *European Molecular Biology Organization Reports* 8, 2007, no. 2, p. 114.

[135] T. Zarycki, 'Polskie nauki społeczne w świetle hipotezy peryferyjnej dualności,' *Zagadnienia Naukoznawstwa* 1, 2013, p. 69.

[136] A. Jedyna, 'Początki szkoły lwowsko-warszawskiej,' *Czasopismo Instytutu Historii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego* 2, 2016, p. 168.

CHAPTER THREE
THE RIVALRY OF TWO KINDS OF HIERARCHIES

The Rivalry of Normative Systems

In 1953, A440—that is, a frequency of 440 Hz—was made the international pitch standard by the ISO International Organisation for Standardisation.[1] Although the precision with which the pitch was defined as the standard reference for concert pitch makes it easy to bring various instruments in sync, performers anyway tune their instruments before a concert or at least test their pitch against a reference instrument (e.g. the bassoon or the piano). Previously, diapasons (in the sense of fixed standards of pitch used in instrumental music) differed from country to country (e.g. the Russian pitch was set at 460 Hz, and the Vienna pitch at 434 Hz), and different pitches were used for instrumental and choral music (the so-called Lombardy pitch and the Roman pitch), which suggests that the choice of the standard concert pitch is somewhat arbitrary and a matter of convention. When many musicians play together, their acquiescence to hierarchy is usually evident not only in the collective tuning of the instruments but also in their obedience to the conductor or band leader. Playing a given kind of music can also express a normative system conceived as a hierarchy. On a children's TV music show, a Westerner handed his cello to an African folk musician. It did not take

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[1] *Encyklopedia muzyki*, ed. A. Chodkowski, Warszawa 1995, pp. 423, 614.

the African maestro long to produce great, invigorating music from the instrument. Yet the outraged host condescendingly began to explain to him how the cello was 'properly' to be played, giving him guidelines that he heeded out of politeness. As a result, no music deserving of that name was played.

Endorsing something as a norm may be a matter of practicality[2] and informed by the experience of certain solutions as effective, but in many cases, it is indeed a matter of convention, with the conventionality often going unnoticed. Individuals frequently have no influence on the hierarchy to which they are subordinated; nor do they have any influence on the choice of the hierarchy. Sometimes, however, there are opportunities both to choose the hierarchy and to influence its top. For example, the pitch standard was originally of a somewhat lower frequency, but that changed as a result of violinists' practices. Crucially, a soloist may flout broadly accepted norms when playing their instrument, yet they more often than not abide by the norms inculcated in education or derived from the models they follow; besides, the strings of instruments tend to be tuned into harmony, which embodies a certain order in place. In this context, it is interesting to note that most children delight in playing even if the instruments they use are 'ill-tuned.'

Anomaly can be understood as a defect and a source of distress for the organism, but this understanding is, in fact, limited to pathological anomalies, whereas the notion of anomaly as such can refer, for example, to individual differences among people. In this context, the norm is an ideal type, and the normal is a multidimensional notion, though it often connotes the average and the static. Georges Canguilhem argues that, given how frequent disease is, permanent health is in fact not really a normal thing.[3] As he points out: 'When we say that

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[2] M. Bonczkowski, 'O normie parametrycznej,' *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 79, 2017, no. 4, p. 151.

[3] G. Canguilhem, *The Normal and the Pathological*, transl. C.R. Fawcett, R.S. Cohen, New York 1991, pp. 136–138.

continually perfect health is abnormal, we are expressing the fact that the experience of the living indeed includes disease.'[4] Tapping into the patent ambiguity of these issues, Canguilhem plays with his readers as he offers a paradoxical insight that '[a]bnormal means precisely nonexistent, unobservable. Hence it is only another way of saying that continual health is a norm and that a norm does not exist.'[5]

We feel the attitudinal difference in value judgments expressed through notions such as 'ordinary' vs 'extraordinary' or 'abnormal' vs 'brilliant,' where departure from the norm is assessed as, respectively, negative or positive. Sometimes, in order to grasp the nuances of meaning conveyed by a term, one needs to take a while and think or to fathom the context. 'It's a normal thing' may be a reassuring phrase, but 'it's a norm here' rather suggests a pathology inherent in a community or a place.

Acknowledging or refusing to acknowledge an artistic dimension of certain behaviour is an example of the rivalry between normative systems, which may highlight the bizarreness of some activities, lead to their condemnation, or result in their banning. Transgression of social norms is cited in many countries as the grounds for intervening in a range of practices even if they are recognised as legitimate art. At the same time, tolerance for satire or artistic experimentation as safety valves stems from the accommodation of given normative subsystems within a broader hierarchy encompassing a range of social phenomena related to political culture.

Brilliance and abnormality are both, in their different ways, connected to transgression of norms. The notion of genius, which was originally rooted in religion or mysticism, is today associated with artistic, technological, scholarly, or political pursuits. A genius's transgression of norms is favourably assessed if it comes with the flair of the extraordinary. For its part, abnormality connotes mental illness, and what is deemed

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4 Canguilhem, *Normal*, p. 138.
5 Canguilhem, *Normal*, p. 138.

abnormal behaviour is disallowed. As Andrzej Kapusta puts it: '*Mental illness is a situation of a very specific alienation and the loss of the previous sense that one's experience is indeed one's own. A range of culturally imposed models of action and expression are brought to light*.'[6]

From the viewpoint of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, it is interesting to see how strongly the transgression of norms correlates with belonging to different hierarchies understood as normative systems. Divergence from the norm often initiates a new hierarchy. An individual is no longer considered mentally ill once their political party garners a certain level of voter support.

The education system is an important element in reinforcing certain hierarchies. This reinforcement, which comes both from what is taught and from what behaviour is required,[7] can also be seen as an attempt to combat other hierarchies, whether in the sphere of beliefs or in organisational forms. Bartosz Stanek succinctly explains that '[t]extbook content transplants into the school space that which is supposed to become natural, common, familiar, proper and embraced as essential in the hierarchy of values. The notions broadly accepted by the public or aligned with the ideas upheld by the political decision-makers tend to be regarded as essential.'[8]

The realisation that the rivalry between hierarchies is part of the educational process can be associated with greater freedom in research and teaching. As students are exposed to disparate notions in lectures, they must develop their own responses, either accepting some beliefs and rejecting others, or taking whatever is taught with a grain of salt. This can be cherished as the antidogmatic quality of university.

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[6] A. Kapusta, *Szaleństwo i metoda: Granice rozumienia w filozofii i psychiatrii*, Lublin 2010, p. 155 (italics original).

[7] R.P. Wierzchosławski, 'Odpowiedzialność uczelni za kształtowanie postaw obywatelskich studentów,' *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 80, 2018, no. 1, p. 345.

[8] B. Stanek, 'Generowanie obcości, czyli recenzja współczesnej polskiej szkoły,' *Filozofia Publiczna i Edukacja Demokratyczna* 1, 2013, p. 91.

Legality is understood either as the conformity of the state of fact with the norm or as correspondence between the lower and higher levels of a normative hierarchy.[9] The same norm can be part of various normative systems. The rivalry over a norm's belonging to a certain normative system can involve citing a variety of grounds for this norm or be based on formal issues, such as the norm being invoked by the court linked to a given association or being inscribed in laws published in an official journal.

Sometimes hierarchy is better rendered in an image rather than in words. Yet, a representation of a given order can be understood not only as illustrating or elucidating conceptual structures but also as involved in the identification of concrete cases on the basis of which the knowledge of norms and of respective actors' importance is generated.[10] The celebrated literary conflict between a king's command and a sister's religiously enjoined duty to her brother,[11] as well as plentiful instances in which authorities have been challenged, and orders disobeyed, invites widely varying evaluations of the choices made and stirs ideas about the art of language and visual arts.

Approaching multiple phenomena as hierarchies is best compared to applying the pure theory of law while retaining the possibility of recognising various principles as the basic norm of a given legal order. If we consider Hans Kelsen's and Thomas Kuhn's views through the lens of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, we will see that their frameworks can be embedded in this theory, albeit in a reversed form, where the basic norm is no longer the basis but the top of the hierarchy.

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[9] S. L. Paulson, 'Hans Kelsen and Carl Schmitt: Growing Discord, Culminating in the "Guardian" Controversy of 1931,' [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Carl Schmitt*, ed. J. Meierhenric, O. Simons, New York 2016, p. 524.

[10] H. Mamzer, *Poczucie bezpieczeństwa ontologicznego: Uwarunkowania społeczno-kulturowe*, Poznań 2008, p. 74.

[11] Sophocles, *Antigone*, transl. P. Woodruff, Indianapolis–Cambridge 2001, p. 19 (ll. 450–457).

Instead of supporting the production of general statements, the paradigm points to the possibility of specification. A similar reversal can be applied to the pyramid of needs in the theory of Abraham Maslow, who claims: '*The higher the need the less imperative it is for sheer survival, the longer gratification can be postponed, and the easier it is for the need to disappear permanently*.'[12] Bearing in mind that we talk of conventions here and that the r Hierarchies Rivalry Theory does not aim to overthrow Maslow's seminal theory but to explore its utility in conjunction with rivalry between hierarchies, what we obtain having reversed the pyramid of needs is a lucid model of rivalry between the needs of individuals and between the needs of groups of people. Such hierarchies are probably engendered by the very need of existence bound up with biology and security, and below lie extensive needs studied by psychology and sociology.

Legal phenomena comprise a range of issues related to the rivalry of normative systems: '(B)ecause they [titles or grounds at law] face each other, each and all are invested with a *show* of right against which the former is defined as the intrinsically right.'[13] One can juxtapose the mutually rivalling law and lawlessness, for example, in the application of norms produced by organised crime. Defiance of a normative system has an anarchist dimension to it, tying in with the realisation that innovation has been and still is branded as a transgression in many civilisations.[14] In the process of habituation, which concerns not only customs, things come to be regarded as normal. In such contexts, crime is a relative notion because it depends on what normative system is in place, and government can be accepted not only because there is no alternative (since

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[12] A. H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, New York 1954, p. 98 (italics original).

[13] G. W. F. Hegel, *Hegel's Philosophy of Mind, Translated from The Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, transl. W. Wallace, Oxford 1894, pp. 109–110 (italics original).

[14] M. Stirner, *The Ego and Its Own*, ed. D. Leopold, Cambridge 1995, pp. 63–64.

other associations, understood as hierarchies, have been defeated) but also because people want to live a normal life under any government: '[U]utility norms are a factor that strengthens any government.'[15] The rivalry of legal systems takes various forms, some of which are correlated with leaders' preferences. It was only after President Georges Pompidou died that France ratified the European Convention on Human Rights; it was then that the European Community's Court of Justice began to cite the ECHR in its rulings because, ratified by all the member states, the Convention could be the basis of the legality of the Community bodies' lawmaking.[16] Attention should also be paid to the rivalry between judicial precedent and statutory law, as well as to the rivalry of hierarchies within the apparatuses of different branches of power, for example, in deciding what the first-instance authority should do when legal regulations state one thing but the court revokes decisions pursuant to these regulations.

The internalisation of norms is powerfully influenced by personal role models.[17] This is often founded on an asymmetry in which one person sets or suggests norms, and another person is expected to assimilate them.[18] The acquisition of specialised knowledge can be regarded as an example of socialisation. Learning detailed norms, which are originally

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[15] G.L. Seidler, *O istocie i akceptacji władzy państwowej*, Lublin 1995, p. 73.

[16] C.O. Lenz, 'Prawo wspólnotowe a Europejska Konwencja Praw Człowieka,' [in:] *Wzajemne relacje prawa międzynarodowego, wspólnotowego oraz prawa krajowego: Hierarchia norm oraz stosowanie prawa przez sądy*, ed. A. Jeneralczyk-Sobieralska, Łódź 1998, p. 80.

[17] A. Stankiewicz-Mróz, 'Kodeks etyczny jako narzędzie kreowania pożądanych zachowań organizacyjnych,' [in:] *Wartości i normy społeczne a zachowania w organizacji: Implikacje do kierowania zespołami ludzkimi w Policji*, ed. A. Letkiewicz, Szczytno 2009, p. 57.

[18] M. Ossowska, *Normy moralne*, Warszawa 2000, p. 107.

applicable only in the performance of one's job, has an effect on one's behaviour outside work settings as well.[19]

Regarding the rivalry of normative systems, a guardian's actions toward a dependant involve the choice of the norm observed by the guardian themselves or the norm recommended to the dependant. The consequences of failing to abide by the norms are also interesting in light of the rivalry between normative systems. Sometimes, the non-observance of norms indicates a struggle for independence in which one attempts to establish one's own hierarchy; however, it also often means yielding to another hierarchy, such as the normative system of a rival political force (in the patron-client relations) or the normative system of the peer group (in the guardian-growing up child relations).

Stanisław Ehrlich highlights the role of social and political leaders in forging or inspiring new normative systems. Besides, Ehrlich discusses what he calls 'a confrontation of research work and art with the layer of norms with which they clash.'[20] The 'layer of norms' is the surface of a hierarchy, understood as the parts of the hierarchy that first come in touch with its outside. Importantly, although the idea of the rivalry of hierarchies is indeed about the interpenetration of rival hierarchies, the notion of a clash, particularly in conjunction with the external parts of a hierarchy, aptly conveys certain modes of confrontation between normative systems.

The correlation between what people read and the values they cherish resembles the interaction between an individual and the group to which they belong. The interrelations between the hierarchy of values and group membership can, in many cases, be viewed in terms of the coexistence of normative systems, which often unfolds into a lasting rivalry. The similarity of various groups to families may entail a similarity between

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[19] J. Wódz, *Problemy realizacji podmiotowości zbiorowości lokalnych w świetle empirycznych badań nad ładem społecznym i normami społecznymi*, Katowice 1990, pp. 288–289.

[20] S. Ehrlich, *Wiążące wzory zachowania: Rzecz o wielości systemów norm*, Warszawa 1995, p. 88.

~~in-group~~ narratives and family stories. An array of complex phenomena related to the rivalry of normative systems can be found in families, notably exemplified by children's liberation from the family's normative system as norms of other groups and/or institutions begin to compete with it.[21]

Normative systems are defined in various ways. There are moral norms, statutory law and customs, but regimes and ideologies should not be overlooked in this context either. A regime can be regarded as embodying a normative system or part of it, specifically the norms pertaining to structures. However, as notions are polysemous, regimes, for example, economic regimes, can be thought of as ideologies. At the same time, ideologies can be understood as doctrines, views or ensembles of beliefs. The fact that 'hierarchy' can be understood as a system of norms and as an association does not mean that these are two separate issues; just the other way round, it means that they sometimes coexist in ways that make it possible to identify one with the other, or at least that they are often treated as inextricable. Building on the body/mind distinction, one may foreground either the association-facet or the normative system-facet, but one must always bear in mind that these issues are interconnected or form one whole. For example, political parties can be considered to embody political ideologies, and likewise, religious organisations can be identified with religious ideologies.[22] While such colloquial claims can be challenged with ostensible ease, they cannot be denied to effectively operate in practice. While this issue falls under the meta-rubric of classification and categorisation, one cannot fail to notice that some ideologies have indeed been appropriated by certain associations, while other ideologies have considerably influenced a wide array of associations.

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[21] Ehrlich, *Wiążące wzory zachowania*, p. 114.

[22] These issues are more complex since associations that define themselves as religious organisations sometimes produce political ideologies, while operations of political forces sometimes marshal religious machinery.

Rivalry between regimes can be considered in terms of rivalry between associations—whether parties or groups of countries. However, regimes are usually linked to certain ideologies concerning the organisation of power and economic issues. Since such ensembles of views comprise the definition of norms, rivalry between regimes can also be conceived of as the rivalry of hierarchies understood as normative systems. Rivalry between religious associations, whether evolving into religious organisations or into empires, likewise includes the rivalry of normative systems. Rivalry between religions is enhanced by the lack of communication between people from different religious hierarchies and by education focused on one's own religion while addressing other religions in ways that foreground their negative facets or condescendingly tolerate them as unthreatening.[23]

While there is rivalry between the hierarchies of associations of the same kind, there are also multiple rivalries between different types of associations and a related rivalry between normative systems. In this regard, one should note both the decreasing relevance of religious norms and the increasing importance of statutory law, as well as the clericalization of statutory law's normative systems in some countries.

In Ehrlich's succinct description, '[t]he hierarchically structured and ramified state apparatus "produces" a conveniently dense network of laws. This hierarchical structure has triggered "an explosion of complexity," which in turn requires hosts of prominent lawmakers.'[24] Meritocracy competes with inheritance, but the intelligentsia's critique of the estate-based structure of status inheritance emphasises aristocratically connoted norms not so much of conduct as of education. Common to many cultures, the juxtaposition of superior urbanity and rurality, associated with reduced

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[23] W. Schwendemann, 'Edukacja religijna—pomost do dialogu między religiami: Refleksje z okazji 50 rocznicy śmierci Martina Bubera,' trans. M. Brudny, *Studia z teorii wychowania* 7, 2016, no. 1(14), p. 72.

[24] S. Ehrlich, *Wiążące wzory zachowania*, p. 220.

participation in cultural life and a more primitive approach to political issues, seems to criticise feudalism, while at the same time reproducing the feudal opposition between nobility and peasantry. The oft-underscored hegemony of the intelligentsia in Poland,[25] which seemingly comes with inclusiveness and a democratic mindset, in fact looks back to medieval inequality as a result of the intelligentsia's religious allegiances.

Friedrich Nietzsche adulates the original domination of the barbarian caste over the civilised tradesmen and cattle breeders[26] but, regarding the rivalry of normative systems, many cultures in fact ascribe a prominent place to the successors of the Platonic class of philosophers. The subjectivity of moral norms is a salient factor in this context. The Nietzschean 'noble person' creates values on their own,[27] in doing so considering what is harmful to them to be generally harmful. The illusion at the core of this representation of things seems rooted in obliviousness to the social nature of humans and the role of education and imitation. Subjective biases, where one assesses reality from one's own point of view, are underpinned by the internalisation of norms and enactment of one's normatively determined role. In this context, moral dilemmas are rivalries between different normative systems, whereas the absence of doubt entails the dominance of a single normative system. This is not meant as an encouragement for the public to adopt a single system of norms and surmount dilemmas. Discussions and hesitations are often needed, and the sustained rivalry of normative systems seems to contribute to cultural richness.

If being strongly accustomed to a given norm is compared to addiction, we can observe that addiction is regarded as pathological, for example when it hinders one's relations

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[25] R. Smoczyński, T. Zarycki, *Totem inteligencki: Arystokracja, szlachta i ziemiaństwo w polskiej przestrzeni społecznej*, Warszawa 2017, pp. 204, 207, 211.

[26] F. Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*, ed. R.-P. Horstman, J. Norman, transl. J. Norman, Cambridge–New York 2002, p. 151.

[27] Nietzsche, *Beyond Good*, p. 154.

with the world or when it has perceptible adverse effects on one's health. Such unwelcome symptoms of addiction can be regarded as a reason for opposing certain norms with recourse to norms of another normative system. The notion of being accustomed to something, which suggests the role of custom, is another factor in addiction. The necessity to increase the amount of the substance to which an individual is addicted is an example of both a modification of the norm and a departure from the norm. The unpleasant sensations of drug withdrawal seem to be analogous to the feelings experienced by an individual stripped of power. Being accustomed to a substance or a norm need not be construed as negative and may indicate the ability to digest and assimilate certain foods or to perform occupational duties. In this context, being accustomed to something means considering it normal, that is, consistent with the norm. Normative systems compete with one another by imposing different norms on individuals. When these norms are mutually contradictory—whether concerning the same issue or precluding compliance with one norm if another is observed—the rivalry becomes perceivable or comes to be perceived as a rivalry in the first place, because as long as an individual harmoniously meets the requirements of different normative systems, it makes more sense to talk of the interpenetration or peaceful coexistence of normative systems.

Corruption destroys trust by undercutting the certainty of norms, such as those stipulated by statutory law.[28] Like hypocrisy, corruption tends to be equated with applying a norm that is at odds with the normative system one declares to observe. The rivalry between normative systems is connected with both the expansion and the combating of corruption, and, similarly, the exposure of mendacity vies with its acceptance. In all these cases, efforts are made to fix the

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[28] K. Dendura, 'Korupcja jako patologia kapitału społecznego,' [in:] *Zarządzanie bezpieczeństwem w sektorze publicznym i biznesie*, eds. T. Białas, M. Grzybowski, J. Tomaszewski, Gdynia 2009, p. 34.

norm that should be observed. A patent repudiation of certain practices may seem to be part of combating them, but if the proclaimed fight against corruption or hypocrisy is belied by actual practice, they are in fact reinforced because trust in actions supposed to prevent them is dented.

The coexistence of incompatible principles can be part of a normative system,[29] and indeed the principle of freedom tends to be pitted against the principle of equality in debates on the interpretation of the constitution, which is sometimes equated with Kelsen's basic norm. I prefer to regard the constitution as, among other things, a collection of the tops of hierarchies understood as normative systems, and from this viewpoint, debates over the interpretation of the constitution exemplify rivalries among normative systems. Importantly, it does not go unnoticed that, in this context, the initially contrasted principles are later brought together, with democracy and *Rechtsstaat* (rule of law) being an excellent case in point.[30]

The theoretical construct of a lucid hierarchy of normative acts vividly comes into life when it needs to be defended. Adoption of lower-rank normative acts that contravene higher-rank acts and prioritisation of the norms of by-laws or statutes, both illustrating the enactment of what is known as the reversed hierarchy of normative acts, are observable and rightly combated practices.[31] However, they can be regarded both as elements of rivalry within a hierarchy and as rivalries of normative systems as such. Refusal to recognise the norms defined in legislative acts or in the constitution as binding in

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[29] J. Blicharz, 'Związek między zasadą równości a zasadą sprawiedliwości społecznej w polskiej Konstytucji i orzecznictwie Trybunału Konstytucyjnego: Próba spojrzenia ogólnego,' *Przegląd Prawa i Administracji* 64, Wrocław 2018, p. 59.

[30] D. Minich, 'Współczesny konstytucjonalizm a czysta teoria prawa Hansa Kelsena,' [in:] *Normatywizm Hansa Kelsena a współczesna nauka prawa*, ed. A. Bosiacki, Warszawa 2017, p. 47.

[31] R. Raszewska-Skałecka, 'Miejsce statutu i regulaminu w systemie źródeł prawa: Kwestie wybrane,' *Przegląd Prawa i Administracji* 77, Wrocław 2008, p. 282.

a public institution or a company represents the rivalry of normative systems, which is in a way akin to a rivalry between statutory law and, say, family norms,[32] as well as between statutory law and the norms of criminal organisations. If a mafia is involved in governance in one way or another, the rivalry of normative systems noticeably weakens statutory law. Yet families, public institutions and companies are also settings in which their normative systems come to bear on an individual's position more than the norms of statutory law do. My situational theory of the state is helpful here, as it holds that various entities can, in fact, be states and that an individual is simultaneously part of multiple states. A critique of the totalitarian state can be regarded as a praise of the rivalry of hierarchies or of a hierarchy that engages in rivalry against the totalitarian normative system.[33] Normative systems locked in mutual rivalry lessen the supremacy of a single system,[34] just like the separation of powers is supposed to rein in absolutist tendencies.

Bringing a society's ethical normative system into alignment with statutory law is a process impacted by various actors. Sometimes, the very systematisation, that is, a descriptive account, of the normative systems in place may be a huge legislative, religious or philosophical undertaking,[35] but such a systematisation may stem from a subjective or wishful-thinking view of the state of things and be an expression of a rivalry between normative systems, for example, by

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[32] W. Tyc, 'Mechanizm społeczno-ekonomicznej transformacji rodziny,' *Nierówności społeczne a wzrost gospodarczy* 13, 2008, p. 264.

[33] A. Wrzyszcz, 'Hierarchia aktów prawnych wprowadzonych przez okupanta niemieckiego w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945,' *Studia Iuridica Lublinensia* 22, 2014, p. 707.

[34] Nevertheless, they may also weaken the system whose smooth operation is desirable; see P. Lisowski, 'Aksjologia samorządu terytorialnego—in rebus angustis?,' *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 79, 2017, no. 3, p. 58.

[35] R. Jezierski, 'Społeczny mechanizm kształtowania się systemu etycznego,' *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 23, 1961, no. 3, p. 304.

highlighting the significance of the selected normative system. Authoritarianism surfaces in the interpretations of legal provisions that are geared to bending legal entities to the will of the current lawmaker.[36]

Both law-related policies designed to shape individuals' behaviour and channel social or economic developments, and moralising practices that sometimes resemble lobbying, are attempts to exert influence between normative systems and associations.

Efforts to achieve consistency and smooth coexistence, as well as elements of rivalry, can be found in the relations between the federal and state legal systems in the US and between the laws of EU member states and the Union's law. The focus on common elements, commitment to the major goals, and current benefits all reinforce the hierarchies of the two associations, while financial corporations and other empires that compete against them seek to promote their own normative systems in the world. The role of the judiciary in the rivalry of normative systems should not be overlooked[37] either in the law of individual countries,at the Union/federal level or globally. The freedom of contract and the possibility to choose an arbiter[38] both exemplify the establishment of and search for norms, to which multiple actors contribute, including at the international level.[39]

Attention to a statement can be fleshed out in a commentary. A commentary 'singles out what is vital in a text and thereby

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[36] A. Kotowski, *Wykładnia orientacyjna: Teorie wykładni prawa i teorie orientacyjnego badania wykładni operatywnej*, Warszawa 2018, p. 201.

[37] J. Zajadło, 'Sumienie sędziego,' *Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny* 79, 2017, no. 4, p. 36.

[38] M. Croce, 'All Law Is Plural: Legal Pluralism and the Distinctiveness of Law,' *Journal of Legal Pluralism* 65, 2012, p. 26.

[39] P.S. Berman, 'Global Legal Pluralism,' *Southern California Law Review* 80, 2007, p. 1230.

makes it significant.'[40] In the context of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, if critiques aim to fight a hierarchy from the standpoint of a rival hierarchy, commentaries elevate a statement within a hierarchy and can even serve as a testament to the top hierarchical position of a given work or principle. Of course, commenting can have a critical facet to it as well, but it is customary to regard commenting as an acknowledgement of the rationality of the work commented on. This explicitly invites associations with the assumption of the lawmaker's rationality. Though legal commentaries sometimes explain rather little and are published with the idea of being purchased, for example, by public administration entities, in mind, they at least formally seem to underscore the relevance of the normative act in question. Of course, the commented-on normative act should not become more impactful than an uncommented-on act, yet the commentary sometimes affects interpretation and may have a bearing on the legal position of the addressee of that normative act. This seeming contradiction between the irrelevance of commentary and its impact on relevance is, in a sense, similar to the contradiction in the statutory law system, where judges are seemingly not bound by precedents, yet prior court rulings, particularly those of courts high in the hierarchy, are cited and widely applied.

Social norms concern not only fashion or customs but also forms of rivalry. Ridicule can be used as an instrument of social control to affect the mocked person's behaviour.[41] The ridiculous is, in this context, incompatible with the normative system in place, but at the same time the admissibility of resorting to mockery is determined by the normative system as well. Slandering competitors by spreading untrue information that their products fail to meet norms is yet another point worth

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[40] M. Bogdanowska, *Komentarz i komentowanie: Zagadnienia konstrukcji tekstu*, Katowice 2003, p. 129.

[41] H. Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*, transl. C. Brereton, F. Rothwell, London 1911, pp. 16–17.

looking into.[42] Art performs its educational function, among other things, by illustrating norms, such as those associated with a community's cultural legacy. Of course, education may be an indoctrination in which normative patterns at odds with people's needs are imposed.[43] Stefan Morawski argues:

> We may be aware (through reflection) that we are immersed in an axiological texture, or this may go unrecognised by us; yet in both cases, a given hierarchy of values is usually accepted through interiorisation in line with the dominant canon, if not indeed with the axiological paradigm. Only when it becomes disrupted or faces destruction do we fully realise in what complex of goods we are steeped.[44]

Rivalry of Associations

The effect of synergy, or the organisation effect, is illustrated by equations such as 2+2=5 or 1+1=3. This symbolically shows the benefits of cooperation.[45] Of course, the so-called Apollo effect, which describes the non-viability of cooperation between outstanding individuals, and the many intra--organisation pathologies suggest a far greater intricacy of processes behind the outcomes of individuals' collaboration, but both the division of labour and specialisation often help achieve considerable effectiveness and produce complex effects. As has been observed, '[t]he paradigm of organisational

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[42] T.D. Chat, Z. Neja, W. Wawrzyniak, 'Spór Wietnamu i Stanów Zjednoczonych o sumy rekinie (pangi)', [in:] *Pogranicze bezpieczeństwa człowieka*, eds. W. Wawrzyniak, T. Zaborowski, Gorzów Wielkopolski–Poznań 2014, p. 239.

[43] S. Morawski, *Na zakręcie: Od sztuki do po-sztuki*, Kraków 1985, p. 329.

[44] S. Morawski, *Niewdzięczne rysowanie mapy... O postmodernie(izmie) i kryzysie kultury*, Toruń 1999, p. 279.

[45] The possibility of cooperation between hierarchies was brought to my attention by Professor Piotr Lisowski, and I take this opportunity to thank him for this insight.

play is founded on the recognition of conflict and cooperation as two interrelated universal social phenomena and at the same time as two general models of individual and group interactions.'[46] Cooperation between hierarchies can be thought of as the opposite of rivalry between hierarchies, but cooperation among smaller hierarchies can also be regarded as an element of rivalry among larger hierarchies. In many cases, an association is equivalent to an organisation, as both involve the collaboration of a group of individuals. The notions of organisation and association are often used in conjunction with the identification of some formalised cooperation within groups of individuals; consequently, both are linked to a—potential at least—element of action.

To clarify, I do not really rely extensively on the well-known distinction between communities and associations[47] in my argument, and it does not play a significant role in the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory. The notion of community is more closely related to cultural aspects, while that of association is more closely related to organisational aspects, with the latter being more of my focus. In my terms, associations are also mostly communities, which means that organisational issues are interwoven with cultural ones. Of course, there are ethnic, demographic and artistic communities (comprising both artists and audiences), but if their impact is noticeable, they are, as a rule, organised, which means they also form an association or a series of associations.

Associations are established on the basis of the friend/enemy relation or at least on the basis of the familiar/known vs. the strange/unknown relation, and in this context fear is often

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[46] H. Groszyk, A. Korybski, *Konflikt interesów i prawo*, Warszawa 1990, p. 98.

[47] F. Tönnies, *Community and Association*, transl. Ch. P. Loomis, London 1955. Tönnies's book, originally titled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, was also published in English as *Community and Society*, but the distinction between community, or union, and association is drawn in it as well. (translator's note)

interpreted as the motive behind cooperation.[48] Associating is predicated on information flow and can be understood as overcoming the unknowability of the two partners' worlds, which enables these partners to act together.[49] This coexistence of cooperation and rivalry among both individuals and associations resembles the double subordination principle.

The double subordination principle can be viewed as a method for preventing excessive centralism and excessive localism at the same time,[50] and it is sometimes interpreted as an opportunity for the central government to influence territorial government.[51] Double subordination (like in Goldoni's *The Servant of Two Masters*) and subordination to multiple authorities are obvious examples of the rivalry of hierarchies over an individual.[52] Of course, within the territorial government itself there can also be a rivalry of hierarchies spawned both by party allegiances and by the impact of local interest groups.[53]

Societies are governed by privileged minorities, which are called the ruling class.[54] The rivalry of associations for individuals and the formation of a larger hierarchy by smaller hierarchies (which occurs, for example, in coalitional politics, where two or more party hierarchies form the government

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[48] H. Plessner, *Political Anthropology*, transl. N.F. Schott, ed. H. Delitz, R. Seyfert, Evanston, IL 2018, p. 53.

[49] C. Kostro, *Funkcjonalna teoria moralności Niklasa Luhmanna*, Kraków 2001, p. 124.

[50] *Encyclopedia of Soviet Law*, Dordrecht–Boston–Lancaster 1985, p. 635.

[51] R. Maruste, 'Judicial Review, Public Liability and Compensation,' [in:] *Administrative Discretion and Problems of Accountability*, Oxford: 1995, p. 140.

[52] R. Hauser, *Podporządkowanie poziome w systemie rad narodowych i terenowych organów administracji państwowej*, Poznań 1981, pp. 7–22.

[53] A. Ptak, *Rywalizacja polityczna w samorządach lokalnych: Studium wybranych gmin*, Poznań–Kalisz 2011, p. 134.

[54] M. Stefaniuk, *Teoria elit Vilfreda Pareta*, Lublin 2001, p. 129.

hierarchy[55]) can be regulated by the provisions of statutory law but can also be enmeshed in unlawful conduct. Besides, associations often change laws, thereby transferring certain forms of rivalry between the legal and illegal spheres.

Actorhood is closely bound with action, but in many cases the process (or the object) and the subject are considered separately. The notion of association refers either to the broadly understood establishment of associations or to the foundation of a particular association. The notion of organisation understood as an actor can be contrasted with the notion of organising, but the organisation of a project certainly refers to the objective aspect. In fact, 'association' might be replaced with 'organisation' in the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, but that change would have to be consistent. My division of the rivalry between normative systems and the rivalry between associations is meant to highlight the human factor in hierarchies. Of course, the rivalry of hierarchies could also be studied among, say, social insects, and then the human factor would be placed in an entirely different context, so addressing humans should best be treated as resulting from the subjective scrutiny of individuals who belong to associations that we know best.

It is easier to view an association as a hierarchy if it has an ordered structure.[56] The state system is formalised by drawing up a constitution, but the foundation of a sports federation, for example, is also an instance of formalisation. Many sports associations entrust leadership to a chairperson, have executive boards, control bodies and local structures. The mutual influences between the chairperson and the board or between the central management and local structures depend on the organisation's culture, individual personalities and impacts of other hierarchies, such as party leadership and

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[55] A. Antoszewski, 'Proces formowania koalicji gabinetowych,' [in:] *Administracja i polityka: Proces decyzyjny w administracji publicznej*, ed. L. Habuda, Wrocław 2000, p. 43.

[56] D. Antolak, 'Hierarchia w sporcie,' [in:] *Hierarchia i dialog*, ed. P. Szreniawski, Lublin 2017, p. 6.

sponsors. An association can be regarded as one hierarchy, but since the complexity of actual relations within this hierarchy should be recognised, it is not off the mark to see a number of hierarchies within a large association.

Types of associations vary widely, including countries (or states as understood by international jurisprudence), political parties, trade unions, religious organisations, societies, families and others. Notably, the various conventions (not as defined by international jurisprudence) on the typification of associations include different numbers of types; regarding the types of organisations most frequently recognised as associations, I subconsciously rely on the legacy of Polish research on administrative law.

To emphasise the relevance of the territorial dimension, I refer to the state in its currently dominant sense as an internationally recognised political body, a country. The term 'country' is sometimes used to denote more or less sovereign bodies, which are thus not so much weaker or stronger hierarchies as hierarchies more or less independent of other hierarchies (with these two aspects—of internal and external strength—being interconnected). Still, the 'country' is the semantically closest notion to the traditionally defined 'state.' In the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, such bodies are mostly called countries, whereby their spatio-temporal aspect must not be overlooked. One should bear in mind that the state is a highly ambiguous notion, as it intersects, for example, with ownership; for example, the land owned by a feudal lord was, for a peasant, fundamentally the state. Therefore, I adopt the notion of the state as defined in my situational theory. This does not mean that I reject the legacy of international jurisprudence; consequently, if the context implies that notions are understood in the manner proper to this discipline, the notion of the state need not be considered to be at odds with the situational theory of the state. If international rivalry is discussed, one must gather from the context whether it is all about a cultural rivalry between ethnic communities or a rivalry between political bodies. The situational theory of the

state holds that an individual can belong to various states, and that the situation determines which authority matters most to that individual.

The Canary Islands were 'the laboratories, the pilot programmes' for Spain before the empire's colonising campaign in South America.[57] A regular pattern is known to have been repeatedly implemented; namely, missionaries were first sent to persuade the local population to forego armed resistance and to provide excuses for an armed intervention, a military invasion and the displacement of the local inhabitants to inferior areas; this process went hand in hand with the colonisers' appropriation of some components of local culture, though the imposition of the invaders' culture was far more extensive. Colonialism forces the colonised to accept the vision of the world imposed by the dominant foreign system.[58] Historical instances of the invaders adopting the culture of the conquered are fewer and can be analysed as the domination of the local culture's normative system coupled with the supremacy of the invading association. When discussing colonialism, attention should also be paid to the transfer of diseases, plants and animals, which are part of the operations mobilised to impose dominant culture.

The notion of high treason indicates the various contexts of understanding synonyms or terms used interchangeably with others to denote political bodies that are internationally recognised as and traditionally called states. From the perspective of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, high treason exemplifies serving a foreign hierarchy and thus can be regarded as a species of betrayal of hierarchy. To betray an association means to double-cross it, which is the opposite of adherence to its norms and of fidelity to other members of this hierarchy. Commitment to the entire hierarchy and/or

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[57] A.W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*, Cambridge–New York 2004, pp. 79–100.

[58] J. Kieniewicz, *Ekspansja, kolonializm, cywilizacja*, Warszawa 2008, p. 120.

submission to the actors ranked higher in the hierarchy often stem from appreciation for the top of the hierarchy, though disliking people or smaller hierarchies that govern a bigger hierarchy need not be tantamount to rejecting the hierarchical order and allegiance to the association. Yet it can be associated with a desire for revolution.

Rivalries between neighbour countries and between empires can unfold on many planes. Geographical factors, such as location in important regions and coveted areas, are noticeable and often instigate armed rivalry. Colonialism and imperialism often involve a military component, but they also concern culture. The multilayered issue of wars, a classic example of the rivalry of hierarchies, encompasses armed struggle as part of attempts to overcome opponents, but the multifariousness of international rivalry also encourages identifying the processes it involves in peacetime.

Generalisations should be based on an ample array of pertinent examples. The issues under discussion should be illustrated with at least a handful of instances, bearing in mind that particular cases may differ from general tendencies, and that the very idea of a general tendency depends on the perspective one adopts. The commonly known example of the US, where what was just a group of colonies went on to become an empire, can be framed as related to the competition among European countries. Interactions between countries can be constructive, as evidenced by cultural exchange, but they tend to be destructive. Sometimes the fight for resources such as, prominently, oil not only sparks hostilities between neighbour countries but also drives the rivalry of empires.[59]

Continental China wants Taiwan, and Taiwan has territorial claims to entire China.[60] The centuries-old rivalry between China and Japan has seen a series of developments, ranging

[59] E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York 1994, p. 20.

[60] A. Kościański, 'Czemu służą "małe wojny"? Krótki esej o konfliktach terytorialnych między Chinami, Japonią a Tajwanem,' [in:] *Spory terytorialne na zachodnim wybrzeżu Pacyfiku*, eds. Lê Thanh Hái, A. Kościański, Warszawa 2013, p. 109.

from military clashes to cultural influences. Rivalries between empires involve not only efforts to seize land but also the very processes of becoming an empire. In this context, the geopolitics of the development of the Mongol Empire and Russia, to cite but two examples, are of prime interest. Russia was the West to the countries of Central Asia, but from the Central-European viewpoint, Finland, Turkey and Poland typically exemplify countries located between the East and the West.[61]

The union of Poland and Lithuania can be understood as a joining of forces to oppose a neighbouring power, but this must not obscure the rivalry within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The oft-noted underappreciation of the Lithuanian partner is sometimes labelled as occupation (where the exploitation of the Ukrainian lands and population should not go unnoticed), but the considerable achievements of the entity that came into being in this way are also recognised. The Commonwealth's later defeat by the neighbouring states vividly epitomises cooperation of empires.[62] Besides their potential for collaboration, empires are often dedicated to sowing discord between other entities. After the partitions of Poland, the government of the Austrian Empire became a party in the Polish-Ukrainian relations.[63]

In evaluating imperialism, one should take into account a variety of factors contributing to the events at hand. Within the framework of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, the most important issues include those related to the supreme authority, structures, and normative systems. The coexistence of unequal entities may take a variety of forms. Free trade treaties which are imposed on weaker countries, forcing them to supply food and raw materials and to be a commercial outlet

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[61] J. Kieniewicz, *Ekspansja, kolonializm, cywilizacja*, Warszawa 2008, p. 169.

[62] A. Nowak, *Imperiological Studies: A Polish Perspective*, Kraków 2011, pp. 135–144.

[63] R. Szporluk, *Zachodni wymiar kształtowania się współczesnej Ukrainy*, Warszawa 2004, p. 12.

for the empire, show that the notion of free trade is indeed ambiguous and that there are multiple facets to colonialism.[64]

Known for introducing an equivalent of the English term of 'competition' or 'contest' into Japanese, Fukuzawa Yukichi transplanted a range of Western practices, such as public speaking and debates, onto Japanese soil, penned books in a far less formal style and initiated popular-science writing in Japan. 'Theory of opening the country,' that is, the opening of Japan to Western culture in the Meiji period, was initially a pre-emptive response to Western imperialism but, with time, itself became a springboard for Japanese imperialism. Culture-related issues must not be overlooked when discussing the rivalry of empires; for example, the Meiji reforms sought to introduce gender equality into the Japanese schooling system, but they can also be regarded as an endeavour to construct an internationally impactful hierarchy. Sometimes analogies between Japan and England are drawn to show not only the paramount relevance of military and cultural dimensions to imperial success but also the relevance of realism to the successful implementation of plans. The prior rivalry between Spain and England vividly illustrates how essential the capacity to capitalise on democratic potential is to the building of empires, even though the example of ancient Rome seems to suggest the tendency of centralising imperial power in an individual's hands. Robert Michels's iron law of oligarchy indicates that, besides an individual, a group of strategists and diplomats with broad insight is of pivotal importance to the empire.

There is also a local species of imperialism, which means the outward influence exerted by a hierarchy in order to ensure that it is the only, or at least the dominant, one. A similar intra-hierarchy influence tends to be called authoritarianism. If an association is defined as a cooperating group of people, examples of associations include not only subjects of international law

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[64] F. Ilkowski, *Imperializm kapitalistyczny we współczesnych ujęciach teoretycznych*, Toruń 2015, p. 97.

but also towns. A village can be regarded as an economic entity that relies on a range of natural processes, while a town is primarily an entity defined by services delivered to people. An urban body, which connotes housing and transport, can be thought of as a dwelling place. These different dimensions of the urban setting encompass the spatio-temporal totality of the collaboration of people inhabiting a given area. The notion of *polis* (a city-state) shows that power can be held by an urban body. Cities are known to have sometimes engendered empires, and it is usually in cities that economic and cultural life thrives and impacts the surrounding area.

Philosophical inquiry usually entails a degree of solitude, combined with the possibility of dialogue. Yet, a substantial impact on the surrounding world is only made possible by sizeable clusters of people, which can be perceived as hierarchical. If the capital is recognised as the top of the hierarchy, it controls towns and areas ranked which are lower in this hierarchical model. It is in the capital that the most important operations are carried out and crucial decisions are made; at the same time, religions arise at the peripheries of empires, and these peripheries must be protected in order to display the power of the empire, if for no other reason.

The outcomes of rivalry for position can be determined by geographical factors or political decisions, and as many urban hubs are also affected by broader economic and civilisation processes, cities not only compete against each other but also must adjust to external conditions. The size measured by population volume is an important criterion in estimating the relevance of cities. Population flows are correlated with the perceived opportunities for individuals and families. In this context, rivalry between cities pivots on the skill of attracting newcomers; conversely, a broader perspective, or the idea of keeping the city for a defined group, drives attempts to curb the influx of people.

The power of a country can be proportional to the size of its capital, but local life may also matter a lot. Centralised countries can be represented as hierarchies in which the capitals are

situated close to the hierarchical tops, with metropolises also forming their own hierarchies that have a considerable edge over local hierarchies. Opportunities for remarkable careers outside the capital often hinge on the presence of politically strong glocal hubs of economic and cultural life. At the same time, the weakness of cities as such, the centrality of agriculture and the legal standing of landowners generate another configuration in which the metropolitan hierarchy does not play the key role in the country.

The quality of life in a city is, to some degree, correlated with its organisational saturation. Individuals' capacity for cooperation often depends on the activities of associations, including political parties and societies. Many spheres of life rely on synergy, which facilitates cooperation and multiplies individuals' achievements. Interestingly, some associations are preoccupied with their internal processes, while others design their operations to exert influence on the outside world. Not only political parties but also religious organisations and trade unions should be studied in this context. Of course, the pursuits of associations dedicated to culture, sport and the like can also be examined for their external impacts and rivalry with other associations.

A person belongs to hierarchies and represents hierarchies as well. The rivalry of hierarchies concerns both attracting members and supporters, as well as winning elections and debates. Inter-party rivalries encompass a range of efforts, from recruiting members and supporters to influencing normative systems or particular decisions on the economy or other sectors. Elections and debates are not only examples but also forms of rivalry. The rivalry process thus comprises making people endorse one's views, in which verbal convincing is not the only form of persuasion, and other forms, such as violence, should not be overlooked. Of course, discussion processes use not only rational argumentation but also lies and manipulation. Arguments, attitudes and examples marshalled by party leadership tend to be evoked and replicated in local campaigns as well. At the same time, local models, whether

positive ones from one's own party or negative ones from the opposite party, are often used in campaigns on all levels and across the territory where the party is active.

The mediatory function of the political system lies in solving conflicts in the political game of forces with conflicting group interests.[65] The party system includes the foundation of parties, a process that can differ in terms of how easy it is to establish a political party. If the potential an issue holds for mobilising activists and voters is recognised, new political parties are founded, or the existing parties remodel their activities. In a two-party system, which often goes hand in hand with the polarisation of society,[66] the major parties sometimes come to approximate each other, including in identifying new problems even if each party takes a different position on them. It is rivalry, metaphorically rendered as a unique dialogue, that affects what parties do and how they do that.[67]

Trade unions can be regarded as representing workers vis-à-vis employers,[68] but that does not rule out their internal rivalries. The union oligarchs not only compete with the outside world, conceived of as hierarchies other than the trade union, but also must face up to the demands of the union membership.[69] The rivalry of leaders can redirect the course of history,[70] though it often simply centres on who will be in charge. The winners

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[65] M. Podolak, M. Żmigrodzki, 'System polityczny i jego klasyfikacje,' [in:] *Współczesne systemy polityczne*, eds. M. Żmigrodzki, B. Dziemidok-Olszewska, Warszawa 2007, p. 13.

[66] A. Wójtowicz, 'Populizm a demokracja,' [in:] *Integracja gospodarcza i handel: Rywalizacja i współpraca we współczesnym świecie*, eds. K. Budzowski, J. Świerczyńska, Kraków 2012, p. 151.

[67] M. Chmaj, W. Sokół, M. Żmigrodzki, *Teoria partii politycznych*, Lublin 2001, pp. 76–78.

[68] F. Ilkowski, *Wybrane ruchy społeczne współczesnego kryzysu: Rewolucja i kontrrewolucja arabska,* Indignados, Tea Party *i* Occupy Wall Street*, związki zawodowe*, Warszawa 2016, p. 109.

[69] S.M. Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, Garden City–New York, 1960, pp. 38–39.

[70] J. Cummins, *Great Rivals in History: When Politics Gets Personal*, London 2008, p. 8.

of such rivalries exert influence through their personalities, but they can also be perceived as representatives of a given culture and a given hierarchy. Personal clashes can obviously unfold as rivalries between factions or social circles, which are understood as hierarchies, but at this point a hierarchy primarily refers to a particular trade union whose rivalry-related activities partly result from its role in protecting its members' interests and partly from its leaders' ambitions. In this context, issues to examine include both rivalries between various trade unions and a range of relations, such as between the union hierarchy and the hierarchy of party leadership or state government.[71] Trade-union monism is often associated not so much with the strong position of one trade union as with the enlisting of trade-union structures as supporters of the country's industrial policy.[72]

Sometimes trade unions dedicate themselves to fighting the system, which implies that this hierarchy makes the rivalry of hierarchies its priority. In the aftermath of the Solidarity counterrevolution in Poland, the largest Polish trade union apparently could not see a clear purpose for itself although labour rights, the traditional object at the core of trade unions' work, were on a downward slope at the time.[73]

If controlling smaller hierarchies is in the interest of a larger one, the latter also benefits from the productivity of lesser loyal hierarchies; hence, those at the top may actively support a smaller, subordinate hierarchy on account of the general

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[71] J. Sztumski, 'Społeczno-polityczne konsekwencje pluralizmu związkowego,' [in:] *Związki zawodowe w procesie przemian społeczno-gospodarczych w Polsce i wybranych krajach Unii Europejskiej*, eds. M. Bsoul, F. Bylok, Katowice 2013, p. 14.

[72] A. Kowalczyk, *Pojęcie i skutki prawne zasady reprezentatywności związków zawodowych w prawie polskim*, Rzeszów 2014, p. 25.

[73] J. Wratny, 'Samorząd załogi przedsiębiorstwa państwowego: Przedstawiciele pracowników w przedsiębiorstwach postpaństwowych,' [in:] *Związki zawodowe a niezwiązkowe przedstawicielstwa pracownicze w gospodarce posttransformacyjnej*, eds. J. Wratny, M. Bednarski, Warszawa 2010, p. 78.

utility of its operations.[74] Leaders of smaller hierarchies and, generally, subordinate individuals heavily depend on the overall power-wielders of a given hierarchy, which makes individuals more talented than those in charge vulnerable and puts them at risk of being destroyed. One way dictatorships prevent revolutions is by suppressing the autonomy of smaller hierarchies. Similar processes are observable in state governments, party managements and leaderships of trade unions, religious organisations and societies. For their part, these types of associations resemble families in many respects.

It has been observed that '[f]or the most part, the operations of religious organisations that pivot on the indisputable authority of their leaders are based on the power structure.'[75] Controlling individuals at lower positions in the hierarchy is an important factor in the effectiveness of policies implemented by many religious organisations. Rivalry between religious organisations extends over multiple fields and is channelled through ideological fight and the imposition of solutions useful to the organisation on as broad social groups as possible; this involves a varied array of activities, such as discussion, propaganda, spreading hate and genocide. In terms of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, stamping out religious rivals entails both rivalry-related actions undertaken individually by members of a religious organisation and the enlistment of other hierarchies to destroy the rivals.

In many countries, legislative policies are affected not only by religious factors that impact the material content of laws but

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[74] T. Zaborek, 'Pomoc publiczna w systemie prawa podatkowego,' [in:] *Badania operacyjne i systemowe: Decyzje, gospodarka, kapitał ludzki i jakość*, eds. J.W. Owsiński, Z. Nahorski, T. Szapiro, Warszawa 2008, p. 465.

[75] A. Zarębska-Mazan, *Sacrum i neoplemienność: Nowe związki wyznaniowe w Polsce i zasady ich funkcjonowania społecznego*, Tychy 2002, p. 47.

also by relations with religious organisations.[76] Such influence concerns both the laws on devotional issues and relations with some empires. A monarch may have enough power to use religious organisations to execute the monarch's own goals, but sometimes the opposite is the case, with a religious organisation leeching off taxpayers' money and interfering with political and economic processes. In the republican system, one of the optimal models presupposes a distance between the hierarchy of state government and the power hierarchy of religious organisations.[77]

If associations come into being for a variety of purposes, they are mostly expected to deal with culture and related matters today, while workers' rights, religion and political issues are entrusted, respectively, to trade unions, religious organisations and political parties. Obviously, terminology in this regard may differ, depending on criteria or customs, but associations are generally thought of as actors committed to less controversial fields (even though some themes in these fields are highly controversial). In many statutory systems, associating is premised on the performance of certain formal actions, mostly reporting to or registering with an authorised body. There are also groups that are not associations in formal terms but pursue similar aims and employ similar methods; such entities simply announce their existence rather than register or report, unless they wish to remain secret.

Sometimes individuals cooperate in the field of culture without formalising their cooperation. Another issue to consider is that associations are supposed to be basically voluntary. Nevertheless, it is a well-known fact that one needs to join one association or another if one wants to achieve certain goals in education or succeed in sports or the arts. A person's membership in an association and/or serving

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[76] E. Bilska-Wodecka, *Człowiek religijny i związki wyznaniowe w przestrzeni miasta w XX i na początku XXI wieku*, Kraków: Instytut Geografii i Gospodarki Przestrzennej 2012, p. 47.

[77] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe w II Rzeczypospolitej: Studium historycznoprawne*, Warszawa–Poznań 1988, p. 319.

a certain function in one tends to be favourably appraised and construed to evince the person's resourcefulness or broad interests. Having a certain position in one hierarchy may help one succeed in other hierarchies, but membership in a hierarchy may of course also come with a risk of being negatively assessed in other hierarchies either because of the former's bad image or because of a direct rivalry between the associations in question.

Rivalry between associations largely unfolds as competition between associations in a given field, although associations also compete for the standing of the field to which they are dedicated. Such competitions centre on both attracting individuals (members and supporters) and obtaining resources or winning the authorities' favour.

The top position in the hierarchy of associations is often taken by its founder. At the beginning, individuals in this position organise the association's activities and give orders, but at later stages, the initial goals may still be relevant to the association's pursuits. Of course, the original ideas are sometimes forgotten, distorted, and/or adapted to new realities, but the very fact that the association exists, as a rule, helps sustain the memory of the people who were instrumental to it early on. Sometimes the symbolic evocation of the individuals who were important at the hierarchy's inception morphs into a cult and helps the current hierarchs, so to speak, act on behalf of the hierarchy's founders.

Family plays a special role in the thematic field of associations. Both biological reproduction and education of individuals are primarily associated with families. Modes of courtship and starting families often involve rivalry, yet the theme of the rivalry of hierarchies as related to families comprises a multitude of other issues, regarding both relations between families and relations of families with other hierarchies in politics, economy, scholarship, sport, and art.

Rivalry over time, in which family duties clash with work or public duties, affects family relations and forces other hierarchies to forge solutions. Some associations rely on

the activities of individuals without family responsibilities, yet the pursuits of other associations require the ability to balance family commitments with the demands of other fields. Sometimes, the spheres of family- and work-related activity coalesce. Loyalty to one's family may interfere with one's dedication to the public good, yet dynasties may also be regarded as guarantors of greater stability.

In many societies, individuals' family background determines their position in society as a whole. While family considerably moulds an individual's beliefs, the rivalry in which the family hierarchy and other hierarchies compete over the individual also targets this sphere. The necessity to choose between loyalty to one's family and allegiance to other hierarchies sometimes breeds moral conflicts. Mafias, which are organisations that pursue their goals through legal and illegal means and endeavour to influence various social groups, including governments and authorities,[78] considerably rely on family bonds. Criminal groups somewhat resemble and sometimes replace families. At the same time, civil disobedience is informed by a greater commitment to the system of equity principles than to orders from authorities, and even to the normative system of statutory law.

Emphatically, the separation of powers is a multidimensional issue, and in some cases it can be regarded as a rivalry of hierarchies. This is true not only of the most conspicuous *trias politica* principle since the existence of illegal parties, the activity of anti-system forces and the rivalry of various associations for loyalty are also often connected with the division of power. Some actions involved in a rivalry for individuals' loyalty result in changes at the top of the hierarchy, which come to pass either through revolution or through invasion.

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[78] J. Sztumski, *Systemowa analiza społeczeństwa*, Katowice 2013, p. 97.

CHAPTER FOUR
CHANGE AT THE TOP OF A HIERARCHY

Revolution

In the title of Copernicus's revolutionary work, the Latin *revolutio* refers to rotations, and apparently the word was not associated with political events at first. In our times, 'revolution' mostly denotes developments that transform the entire social texture.[1] In relation to technological changes, the term is sometimes used not only in a purely metaphorical way but also in reference to their immense impact on social life.[2] The Neolithic Revolution, which was set off by the discovery of agriculture, the Industrial Revolution, which was powered by improvements to the steam engine, and the digital revolution, which was ushered in by electronic devices, are all examples of how the application of technologies has an effect on individuals' daily lives, the economy and politics alike. However, 'revolution' is most frequently used to describe abrupt and often violent political changes, with the French Revolution and the October Revolution widely considered paradigmatic examples.

In the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, the notion of revolution refers to changes at the top of hierarchies, caused by rivalry

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1 J. Janiszewski, 'Rewolucja jako przejaw zmiany społecznej,' *Seminare. Poszukiwania naukowe* 32, 2012, p. 100.

2 M. Olender-Skorek, 'Czwarta rewolucja przemysłowa a wybrane aspekty teorii ekonomii,' *Nierówności Społeczne a Wzrost Gospodarczy* 51, 2017, no. 3, p. 38.

within them, for example, an individual's seizure of power in an association or a transformation of the founding norm of a normative system. Importantly, the traditional understanding of revolution is not dismissed in this context. Historical revolutions are not stripped of their revolutionary quality; on the contrary, the notion of revolution can be applied to many other cases.

A revolution in normative systems does not mean constructing all norms anew; rather, it means instituting a new norm at the top of the hierarchy. In this context, the initial norm does not refer to the formation of a new hierarchy but to processes within the existing one. Similarly, the establishment of a new association need not involve any revolution understood as a change at the top of the hierarchy, though the foundation of new associations tends to affect the already existing ones.

The notions of revolution, civil war and coup, which describe events resulting in a change of government in a country,[3] differ in a range of characteristics. Yet if we accept that all abrupt power changes are covered by the umbrella term "revolution", changes caused by elections also fall under this category. However, in practice, 'revolution' primarily describes a violent and momentous political change, while in other contexts 'revolution' is usually meant metaphorically, including as an element supposed to promote a phenomenon or even a product. At the same time, the metaphorical aspect of revolution sometimes wanes, and multiple changes unrelated to politics, state systems or organisational matters are labelled as revolutionary. This is exemplified by scientific revolutions.

Scientific revolutions make it difficult to go back to unaltered pre-revolutionary communities because of, for example, the assimilation of a new specialised disciplinary

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[3] M. Bankowicz, *Zamach stanu: Studium teoretyczne*, Kraków 2009, pp. 88*ff*.

or theoretical idiom.[4] Thus, a scientific revolution changes the way a segment of reality is perceived; besides, scientific revolutions can serve as a prelude to changes in many other areas, which are induced, for instance, by opportunities to use new discoveries. Technological revolutions impact the life of societies even more directly. Technological revolutions both refashion the ways individuals operate and exert a meaningful and observable influence on the economy and communication of entire societies. Revolutions in culture and education, such as mass access to schooling and cultural participation, are known to have a considerable impact on the economy and everyday life of societies as well.[5]

As can be seen, the line between the metaphorical and literal meanings of 'revolution,' as a notion rooted in language and denoting certain political, economic and social developments, is to a degree a matter of convention and thus shifting. Besides, one should bear in mind that metaphorically conceived revolution is a second-order metaphor, which means that some developments are not understood as rotations but as being similar to violent and momentous political changes.

One should also bear in mind that many revolutions are followed by a long transitional period, for example, a stint in a mixed economy. During the Neolithic Revolution, agriculture did not replace gathering overnight; it gradually took over as the primary source of nourishment. The Palaeolithic assimilative hunter-gatherer economy was incrementally supplanted by the Neolithic productive economy based on farming and animal husbandry, which changed the size of community populations and remodelled multiple areas of living.[6] The later political

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[4] X. Chen, P. Barker, 'Continuity Through Revolutions: A Frame-Based Account of Conceptual Change During Scientific Revolutions,' *Philosophy of Science* 67, 2000, p. 221.

[5] B. Dymek, *Zwrot polityczny 1948 r. (przesłanki, przebieg, skutki)*, Warszawa 1989, p. 404.

[6] W. Hensel, S. Tabaczyński, *Rewolucja neolityczna i jej znaczenie dla rozwoju kultury europejskiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, pp. 28-29.

revolutions exhibit an array of similarities. The repeated patterns, or even algorithms, of the public's behaviour include the spread of ideas about conspiracy and a hidden enemy,[7] which recur in many revolutionary contexts, as well as the rivalry of the elites.[8]

One prevalent belief is that revolutions result from a confluence of certain conditions, and another frequently embraced understanding is that revolutions—and, in general, any collective actions—are sums of people's individual calculations.[9] Revolutions are fed by evocations of the future, and individuals may regard the advent of revolutions as a promise of coming changes.[10] In this context, counterrevolutionary efforts involve predictions of a worse future, while support for revolution highlights hopes of change for the better. Leaders of revolutions fight a given power system rather than power as such,[11] and individuals who are placed lower in the hierarchy back revolutions for a variety of reasons, ranging from their own desire to advance in the hierarchy to pursuit of a better society.

The line between a revolution and an invasion depends on the degree of external support for change in a hierarchy. Of course, the recognition of a shift in power as a revolution or an invasion hinges on one's perspective and available knowledge, so any case can be described as either, depending on a range of factors. External support can be given not only to the revolutionary forces but also to the champions of the pre-

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[7] B. Baczko, *Jak wyjść z terroru: Termidor a rewolucja*, Gdańsk 2005, p. 30.

[8] K. Brzechczyn, 'Rozwój teorii rewolucji w socjologii historyczno-porównawczej: Próba analizy metodologicznej,' [in:] *O rewolucji: Obrazy radykalnej zmiany społecznej*, eds. K. Brzechczyn, M. Nowak, Poznań 2007, p. 59.

[9] J. Chodak, 'Dylemat działanie—struktura w teoretycznej refleksji nad rewolucją,' *Annales UMCS, Sectio I* 33, 2008, p. 13.

[10] B. Baczko, *Rewolucja: Władza, nadzieje, rozterki*, Gdańsk 2010, p. 35.

[11] T. Bekrycht, 'Prawo pozytywne—faktyczność i obowiązywanie—przemoc i przymus,' *Principia* 61–62, 2015, p. 196.

revolutionary order,[12] and the acknowledgement of a given development as an invasion or a revolution can be combined with quite different assessments of it. Yet, some distinctive elements of an invasion, such as the incursion of a foreign army, are usually quite easily perceivable, so revolutions and invasions can be clearly distinguished in many cases.

A failed revolution involves an attempted recasting of the top of the hierarchy, meaning either an unsuccessful effort by some political forces to seize power or a miscarried endeavour to change the top of a normative system. In the latter case, the question is (not only regarding a failed revolution) whether it was solely about changing one foundational norm or rather about converting the normative system as a whole, including the top of this hierarchy. Both the adjustment of norms to political and economic circumstances and the restructuring of reality through changes to the system of statutory law norms or religious norms often involve redrawing many norms. Such issues certainly deserve further research. A norm may operate in various normative systems (e.g., in legal norms of many countries or in religious norms of different religions), yet at the same time normative systems differ from their counterparts in some characteristic norms; consequently, changes that shift the position of such norms in the hierarchy can be regarded as revolutionary.[13] Norms regarding ownership often bear systemic relevance in the economic context, as exemplified by the revolutionary change from the slavery-based system to feudalism, where the crucial shift was from the centrality of owning slaves to the centrality of owning land; similarly, in this context, capitalism and socialism give hierarchical pre-eminence to the norms that safeguard either the ownership of the means of production or social ownership. Notably, constitutions emphasise the salience of various norms,

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[12] E. B. Bax, *The Story of the French Revolution*, New York 1922 [1890].

[13] W. Kula, *Teoria ekonomiczna ustroju feudalnego*, Warszawa 1983, p. 129.

whether regarding individual freedoms, the position of a given religion or the good of a given political entity.

While in my view constitutions bring together the tops of multiple normative systems, it must be borne in mind that 'constitution' denotes both a country's actual system and a document in which a country's most important principles and governing entities are inscribed. The distinction between written constitutions and material constitutions does not alter the way in which a revolution is conceptualised in their context. A revolution may involve changing the constitution, whether it is understood as a document or as a real system of power and customs.

Of course, all revolutions and kinds of revolutions, such as scientific and technological ones, have their distinctive features each, but the way the notion of revolution is used in the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory is informed by the belief that changes at the top of hierarchies—both associations and normative systems—are similar to political revolutions, that is, those which are most frequently labelled as such. Plato famously observed that 'in every form of government revolution takes its start from the ruling class itself, when dissension arises in that.'[14] If we agree that there is a pattern to political revolutions, understood as an abrupt change of the political system, we can list developments, such as economic problems perceived by active individuals, that herald the onset of a revolution. In this pattern, attempted reforms are regarded as signs of the government's weakness and shrugged off. Then, the administrative apparatus is plagued by problems across its organisational tiers, followed by the revolutionaries' takeover of power. Subsequent developments, such as a counterrevolution and a partial resumption of prior practices, the removal of moderate revolutionaries from positions of power and, later, the condemnation of radicals

[14] Plato, *Republic*, in *Plato in Twelve Volumes. Vols. 5 & 6*, transl. P. Shorey, Cambridge, MA–London 1969, Book VIII, 545d.

and gradual stabilisation, are also known from many historical revolutionary upheavals.[15]

Attention should also be given to revolutions instigated by powerful states in other countries. In the framework of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, such events embody a combination of revolution and invasion, but revolutions may also be responses to a foreign power's excessive interference with a country's governance. What crucially matters in a political revolution is the mobilisation of the masses, but winning the support of the uniformed forces, in particular, the military, is equally important.

When seeking to capture the causes of revolutions, we can note, for example, that revolutions tend to break out when the power apparatus lags behind societal development, such as in terms of population growth. The utter centrality and supremacy of Paris are cited as one of the main triggers of the French Revolution and the fall of many subsequent cabinets.[16] At the same time, revolutions can be propelled by aspirations to remake societies or the global power system. Marx recommended reforming the most developed countries, and his call can be construed as his anticipation that the revolution would be suppressed if it failed to spread to the world's superpowers. When applying the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory, a global revolution can be regarded as change at the top of the hierarchy of, for example, the world's economy. Changes in the most developed entities facilitate their victory in rivalry with other entities and also help influence the latter.

The economic foundations of revolutions make it possible for some association previously lacking certain rights to seize power and to export revolution. Revenues from the sale of oil enabled the USSR to export revolution to Africa and South

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[15] J.H. Muhl, *The Iranian Revolution: Revalidating Crane Brinton's Model of Revolutions for the Operational and Strategic Planner*, Fort Leavenworth 1990, p. 4.

[16] A.de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, transl., J. Bonner, New York 1856, p. 100.

America,[17] and the influence of post-revolutionary France on other European countries stretched beyond the latter, launching partial reforms as an attempt to stave off revolution; specifically, France's reshaped society also impacted the societies that less effectively used their populational potential, whether in the economic or in the military pursuits. Even this simplified glance at the recurrent patterns in revolutions helps appreciate the multidimensional similarities between revolutions despite their divergent ideological underpinnings, or perhaps precisely because ideologies are crucial to political revolutions. For example, there is a striking analogy between the French Revolution and religious revolutions in touting a particular ideology.[18] At the same time, the ideological factor helps perceive the ideological neutrality of the administration, which is very much alike before and after a revolution in spite of changes in nomenclature or organisation.[19] This observation concerns political revolutions, but not technological ones. The Neolithic Revolution produced administration, marking a crucial change between the pre- and post-revolutionary conditions; similarly, the digital revolution has been changing the modes of information processing in administration.

Revolutions may be sparked by the identification and acknowledgement of certain needs, where hunger for stimuli resembles hunger for food.[20] Counterrevolutions arise where the divide between the supporters and the opponents of the revolution is too big to bridge, and not only where the majority are against the revolution.[21] Discrimination and privilege,

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[17] M. Słoniewski, 'The Role of the Olympic Games in Moscow and Sochi in the Context of International Relations,' [in:] *Social Sciences of Sport: Achievements and Perspectives*, eds. J. Kosiewicz, E. Małolepszy, T. Drozdek-Małolepsza, Częstochowa 2017, p. 107.

[18] De Tocqueville, *Old Regime*, p. 24.

[19] De Tocqueville, *Old Regime*, p. 83.

[20] E. Berne, *Games People Play: The Psychology of Human Relations*, London 1968, p. 4.

[21] C. Tilly, 'State and Counterrevolution in France,' *Social Research* 56, 1989, no. 1, p. 86.

whether in one's own community or from the distanced intellectual's perspective, can be ascertained by comparing the lives of individuals in one country or the solutions implemented in different countries. Foreign models can be used for entire systems or for their selected, specialised domains. Notably, using foreign models to reform, for example, a city can be associated with aspirations to compete against the country's other cities.[22]

Capacity for discussion is of utmost relevance to democracy. Citizens' activity decreases as inequality, including unequal political rights, increases.[23] Democracy can be regarded as an institutionally organised revolution in which changes at the top of the hierarchy occur through elections. Granted, my argument at this point may be oversimplified, but the importance of acknowledging the wide array of possible solutions in democracy must not be ignored. Authoritarian systems obstruct the expression of views and impose one vision of reality.[24] Children in whom a fear of articulating their opinions was instilled grow up into adults unable to form their own judgments.[25] Revolutions in normative systems can be compared to persuading a person to change their idea of what is normal. Of course, the interdependence of all components is the key feature of any system, yet if norms are accepted as hierarchical, only a change in beliefs about the most essential issues—that is, those at the top of the hierarchy—can be regarded as revolutionary. Importantly, a revolution and one normative system's victory in its rivalry with another are two different things, and plenty of changes within a normative system need not take place through a revolution conceived

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[22] D. Wiktor-Mach, 'Transformacja miasta i jego wizerunku na podstawie kultury: Studium tureckiego Eskişehiru,' *Zarządzanie w Kulturze* 2, 2017, pp. 103, 111.

[23] E. Nowak, 'Demokracja zaczyna się w umyśle: Rozwijając osobowość demokratyczną,' *Principia* 57–58, 2013, p. 23.

[24] S. Tyrowicz, *Światło wiedzy zdeprawowanej: Idee niemieckiej socjologii i filozofii (1933–1945)*, Kraków 2009, p. 195.

[25] Nowak, 'Demokracja zaczyna się w umyśle,' p. 37.

of as a change at the top of the normative hierarchy. While a researcher's role simply lies in recognising which case they are facing, sometimes it makes a lot of sense to try and produce an account of how revolutions in normative systems actually happen. Such accounts should perhaps be based on examples of transitions between systems or even epochs.

The transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance may be attributed to an array of factors, including appreciation for and emulation of the cultural and scholarly development in Arab countries, the foundation of universities and the dissemination of printing. The dominant medieval system of social norms receded as the role of the Catholic clergy in the government of countries and individuals diminished. In contrast, the Iranian Revolution of 1979 enhanced the role of the leaders of one religious organisation and curbed the role of other associations. These briefly sketched examples are meant to underscore how relevant changes in associations are to normative systems. There are also other facets of normative changes that deserve attention.

A glimpse at normative changes in sports and, say, music makes it clear that not all changes in rules and principles are considered revolutionary. Actually, defining a change as revolutionary or minor is largely arbitrary. A change in the rules of the game that does not lead to the establishment of a new sport tends to be dubbed revolutionary if it affects the image of that sport or the way typical events unfold. The remaking of a sport, which often involves renaming it and concerns the organisational practicalities of practising it, should be regarded as the creation of a new hierarchy. Music is another exemplification of revolutionary change in a normative system. Revolutionary changes lead either to widespread imitation, to comprehensive transformations of ways of making music, or to the emergence of new music genres. One related question is whether only a change that affects other music genres should be considered revolutionary, or whether a change that results in the development of a niche music culture can also be classified as such.

Transformations in normative systems are to a considerable degree linked to information. The power-media relations encompass not only the authorities' better access to information but also their greater capacity to transmit information.[26] Changes in access to knowledge and in opportunities to disseminate information can also be regarded as revolutionary because they contribute to changes across various fields, including politics. Technologies that enhance people's access to information and increase their possibilities of communicating their views are known to have often reduced the privilege of the ruling group in a revolutionary manner, though such changes usually benefited the groups in positions of relative privilege rather than those at the bottom of the hierarchy.[27]

Scholars' access to power often hinges on their consent not to criticise power-wielders and the consequences of their actions.[28] Under late capitalism, the university has largely surrendered its prior role, one corresponding to that of agitators who discouraged soldiers from suppressing the revolution by telling them that it was against their own interest,[29] and has become a provider of paid services. The university can be viewed as a link in the distribution chain of a certain knowledge downward in the hierarchy and also as a site of experimental research collaboratively produced by the academic community.[30] The latter role makes the university

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[26] K. Łyżwa, 'Rewolucja czy naturalna ewolucja? O roli nowych mediów w komunikowaniu politycznym,' [in:] *Dziennikarstwo i Media, T. 1: Przestrzenie komunikowania*, eds. I. Borkowski, K. Stasiuk-Krajewska, Wrocław 2010, p. 145.

[27] M. Jankowska, 'Algorytmiczna rewolucja: Sztuka, płeć i maszyna,' *Sztuka i Dokumentacja* 19, 2018, p. 53.

[28] K. Gadowska, M. Rymsza, 'Od socjologii transformacji do socjologii sfery publicznej: Nowe możliwości syntezy wiedzy o zmianie systemowej,' *Studia Socjologiczne* 4, 2017, no. 227, p. 29.

[29] W. Toporowicz, *Rewolucja Październikowa: Polska—Polacy*, Warszawa 1998, p. 54.

[30] M. Neary, 'Student as Producer: An Institution of the Common? [or how to recover communist/revolutionary science], *Enhancing*

more like a place of discussion, which is one form of the rivalry of hierarchies.

Creative explorations are often a response to a crisis,[31] which can involve not only the injustice one feels when comparing oneself with the elites and thus is spurred to try and seek advancement, but also the belief that reality must be looked at in a different way. Such a change in perception may bring about a change in the normative system endorsed by an individual and broader circles. Avant-garde attitudes are in a way associated with elitism, which can be interpreted not only as proximity to feudal power but also as an obstacle to capitalist sale because there is no broad target group.[32]

Joining or combating a revolution can be judged both in terms of courage and noble-mindedness and in terms of belonging to certain associations. Loyalty and betrayal have their public and private dimensions,[33] and what people decide to do often depends on how their families and friends respond to certain processes, for example, those involving shifts in variously conceived power. There is a noticeable similarity between the rivalry of various hierarchies for the individual and the rivalry of various revolutions, for example, the Iranian Revolution and the Socialist Revolution.[34] While an urge to restrain women's equal rights was one of the sources of the Iranian Revolution,[35] the Socialist Revolution proposed a reduction of inequality. Normative systems copy desired norms from rival systems or, the other way round, introduce norms that are supposed to

Learning in the Social Sciences 3, 2012, no. 3, p. 2, DOI: 10.11120/elss.2012.04030003.

31 M. Kmiecik, 'Porządkowanie awangardy,' *Wielogłos: Pismo Wydziału Polonistyki UJ* 2, 2012, no. 12, p. 107.

32 I. Stokfiszewski, *Zwrot polityczny*, Warszawa 2009, p. 237.

33 J. Czubaty, *Zasada 'dwóch sumień': Normy postępowania i granice kompromisu politycznego Polaków w sytuacjach wyboru (1795–1815)*, Warszawa 2005, p. 13.

34 J. Dul, *Rewolucja Chomeiniego*, Warszawa 1990, p. 93.

35 Dul, *Rewolucja Chomeiniego*, p. 49.

clearly set them apart from other systems. In both cases, the rivalry of hierarchies can be regarded as the source of change.

Invasion

There is a lot of hostility and frustration among people; when people do not feel that the Hobbesian Leviathan is around, these attitudes manifest as various forms of aggression, from badmouthing and direct verbal assaults to spiteful behaviour to physical violence. Pushing for change, for example, in the distribution of goods or rights, can result in both a revolution and the extermination of all competition. The ability to channel the crowd's aggression onto a scapegoat is characteristic not only of country leaders but also of biased journalists and priests of imperialist religious organisations. In this context, the lack of objectivity is paired with attempts to harm disliked individuals or groups, while imperialism refers to striving to exert influence on external entities.

'Invasion' denotes the takeover of one hierarchy's top by another hierarchy. In many cases, an invasion is connected to a revolution, and indeed, the colloquial understanding of a revolution and an invasion is, to some extent, aligned with the way these concepts are used in analyses within the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory. For example, the exclusionary division into high and low culture must confront the digital revolution, yet the penetration of digital technologies into high culture can be construed as an attempted invasion.[36]

Unable to rationally dispute with Diogenes, Plato would insult him, but as insults implied that Plato acknowledged Diogenes as a rival, they might be considered recognition as

[36] T. Szlendak, W. Goszczyński, M. Krajewska, 'Praktyki pozametropolitalne: uczestnictwo w kulturze w małym i średnim mieście,' *Studia Socjologiczne* 2, 2019, no. 233, p. 68.

such.[37] Centuries later, the reader can apparently be a disciple of the two rival philosophers at once, but interpretations of old thinkers' works are usually filtered through the disputes that take place in the reader's day. People mostly adopt a passive stance and adjust to the requirements defined by the victorious hierarchy: 'It is due to laziness and cowardice that we do not devote all our resolve, strength and courage to having the relationship of autonomy with ourselves which enables us to make use of our reason and our morality.'[38] Being on the fringes of two hierarchies can mean that one is capable of adapting to each of them,[39] but it can also entail being excluded by either; for example, borderland populations are sometimes treated as foreign by the governments of both neighbouring countries.

Some ideological disputes are not limited to verbal sparring but, as part of political struggles, resort to physical violence. The ideological and military engagements are often interconnected; hence, ideology both inspires and justifies actions. Brutality tends to be justified, among other things, by labelling certain developments as wars. The hunt for political opponents and counterrevolutionary terror are both often enveloped in war-style propaganda.[40] Of course, verbal arguments can in fact serve to avoid embroilment in military conflicts. One theory about why the Goths stopped invading Byzantium holds that their aggression was effectively redirected onto the Western Roman Empire.[41] Transformations in dominant political views

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[37] P. Sloterdijk, *Critique of Cynical Reason*, transl. M. Eldred, Minneapolis–London 1987, p. 104.

[38] M. Foucault, *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the College de France, 1982–1983*, ed. F. Gross, transl. G. Burchell, Basingstoke–New York 2010, p. 33.

[39] J. Nikitorowicz, *Pogranicze, tożsamość, edukacja międzykulturowa*, Białystok 1995, p. 11.

[40] P. Szelegieniec, '"Brudna wojna" jako strategia kontrpowstańcza: Doświadczenia Algierii i Argentyny,' [in:] *Od wojny sprawiedliwej do wojny robotów: Rozważania o stałości i zmienności fenomenu wojny*, ed. A. Nyzio, Kraków 2018, p. 112.

[41] T. Kotula, *Barbarzyńcy i dworzanie: Rzym a barbarzyńcy w dworskiej literaturze późnorzymskiej*, Kraków 2004, p. 111.

can induce revised perceptions of the same historical event, while the event itself can also be differently perceived by different countries and political forces.[42]

Journalists and scholars, who are often skilled analysts and presenters of events, sometimes become propagandists, yet they can also retain their integrity and refrain from lying or suppressing information. Being happy about one's belonging to a given hierarchy is mostly premised on a degree of (self) deception, such as not noticing the ugly facet of politics. Of course, sorting out the system of ethics can be a way to fight political chaos. Confucian ethics, 'which was the driving force of feudal morality and civilisation for more than two millennia,' recommended that exceptionally virtuous people support the prince in upright governance.[43]

Commended, for example, by Aristotle, belonging to a system is not a matter of focusing on intra-hierarchy issues but of commitment to the common good or service to the hierarchy as a whole, rather than merely its top. The notion of service, where service means performing one's responsibilities to the best of one's ability, corresponds here to the ideals cultivated by various ethical systems that underlie empires. At the same time, such behaviour can be fuelled by different motivations. Cicero claimed that the only thing a gladiator wanted was to please his master or the people,[44] and such an internalisation of a larger hierarchy is what drives individuals to commit self-destructive acts. Still, individuals' service sometimes simply results from the lack of freedom.

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[42] R. Kowalczyk, *Katastrofa Wielkiej Armii Napoleona w Rosji w 1812 roku*, Łódź 2007, p. 7.

[43] Y. Huanyin, 'Confucius (K'ung Tzu),' *Prospects* 23, 1993, p. 213, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02195036.

[44] Cicero, *The Tusculan Disputations; Also Treatises on The Nature of the Gods and On the Commonwealth*, trans. C. D. Yonge, New York 1888, p. 80.

The structures of informal and emergent formal organisations are largely based on their members' interactions.[45] Leadership positions are not the only important positions in a hierarchy since many other skills, such as expertise and ability to defuse tense situations, can be equally meaningful. The two-party system is an interesting model, although, on the whole, various systems tend to promote trusted individuals to certain positions. The two-party system is well known not only to make it difficult for other parties to make change but also to be a likely catalyst of social polarisation.[46] Still, a party's strong position can attract ideologically indifferent individuals. Of course, support for a hierarchy is strongly spurred by financial motivation. The formation of private armies is perhaps an extreme example of this,[47] and allegiance to an organisation can simply result from wanting to win bids or, quite mundanely, to having a job.

Relations between territorial government bodies, such as whether a mayor is backed by the municipal council or not,[48] may reflect nationwide politics or produce distinctive local conditions. The rivalry between local government and central government, to an extent, combines the central government's designs to invade local hierarchies and the skill to bring local and national interests into alignment.

A legend about the foundation of Lublin says that the settlement was first established to defend a ford against robbers. Astionyms Oxford and Frankfurt indicate that oxen were once

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[45] B. Wojciszke, D. Doliński, 'Psychologia społeczna,' [in:] *Psychologia—podręcznik akademicki*, vol. 2, ed. J. Strelau, D. Doliński, Gdańsk 2008, p. 407.

[46] A. Wójtowicz, 'Populizm a demokracja,' [in:] *Integracja gospodarcza i handel: Rywalizacja i współpraca we współczesnym świecie*, eds. K. Budzowski, J. Świerczyńska, Kraków 2012, p. 151.

[47] R. Wiśniewski, 'Prywatne Firmy Wojskowe (Private Military Companies): Prywatyzacja wojny w XXI wieku,' [in:] *Współpraca—rywalizacja—walka: Studia przypadków z zakresu współczesnych stosunków międzynarodowych*, ed. A. Potyrała, Poznań 2008, p. 104.

[48] A. Ptak, *Rywalizacja polityczna w samorządach lokalnych: Studium wybranych gmin*, Poznań–Kalisz 2011, p. 134.

driven across the river at the former location and the Franks crossed the river at the latter. *Traiectorium*, the Latin name for Utrecht, also suggests the riverine origins of the city. It is quite tempting to posit that the rivalry of hierarchies—a prince-founded polity and a robber organisation—sometimes influenced settlement processes and that the replacement of pay-offs for robbers with legal tariffs and taxes represents a form of invasion.

Urban and transportation issues are entangled in the rivalry of hierarchies in many various ways.[49] If the incorporation of a smaller town into a bigger one as its district is a fairly straightforward instance of invasion in this context, there are plentiful less obvious examples. Making a town an administration centre may weaken its rival town; the competition among universities based in neighbouring cities is a far more complex issue. Prospective students' decisions about where to study are often influenced by geography (the proximity of the university to where they live), though economic, ideological, and prestige-related factors should not be underestimated either. To attract students from remote areas, universities must ensure that the incentives they offer outweigh the geographical distance, with specialities and the quality of universities having a considerable part in that.

Rival universities may choose the path of specialisation, but competition often leads them to become similar to one another. Likewise, in political struggles, it is sometimes necessary to copy the enemy's solutions,[50] including by utilising the skills of individuals who pass from one hierarchy to another as a consequence, for example, of their home regions being seized

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[49] Transport is not only a convenient illustration of the theory (e.g., the right of way and the police officer/traffic lights/road signs hierarchy, which serve as allegories here) but also a suitable object to be analysed from the perspective of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory.

[50] M. Rouche, *Atylla i Hunowie: Ekspansja barbarzyńskich nomadów*, transl. J. Jedliński, Warszawa 2011, p. 103.

by the enemy.[51] Still, the millennia-long and polymorphous conflict between nomads and town dwellers usually did not involve mimicking solutions but instead involved the slaughter of the invaded population and adjustment to the reality in which a sudden invasion was always looming.

When historical events are assessed in hindsight in terms of which hierarchy was doomed to failure or destined for victory, such judgments are often affected by the knowledge of the events in question. The pitfalls of functionalism and teleologism, as well as the perception of meaning and order in contingent events and disregard for the arguments of the losing party, can be regarded as expressions of the rivalry of hierarchies of reasoning.[52] Of course, investment in propaganda, which provides grounds for actions and only admits one vision of the events, is also typical of military campaigns being launched at a given moment.[53]

The way individuals are perceived in a hierarchy tends to be influenced by their membership in other hierarchies. Even a modest position in one hierarchy may make one interesting in another hierarchy, and ideas about the social hierarchy may impact individuals' opportunities related to gender or descent.[54] A coach's or a doctor's smoking addiction may undercut their credibility, but often the exceptionality mechanism can be observed, where people conclude that 'despite this or that feature, s/he is doing fine,' or a person's

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[51] Similar processes are observed in corporate takeovers, as the staff of the company being taken over must adapt to changes, and repeated ownership shifts increase the stressfulness of such changes. See C. Zając, *Społeczne i organizacyjne problemy przejęć i fuzji przedsiębiorstw*, Wrocław 2006, p. 68.

[52] M. Janowski, '"Nie rozumiemy was, panowie." Esej o wyobraźni w epoce przemian,' [in:] *Metamorfozy społeczne: Perspektywy przegranych i zwycięzców Wielkiej Wojny. Zbiorowe tożsamości i indywidualne doświadczenia w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej (1914-1921)*, ed. A. Nowak, Warszawa 2018, p. 208.

[53] K. Kubiak, *Grenada 1983, Panama 1989*, Warszawa 1995, p. 48.

[54] M. Ridley, *The Origins of Virtue*, London 1996, pp. 92–93.

membership in a pernicious organisation is condoned because they behave properly in other spheres of activity.

Based on the cult of the emperor, the Roman hierarchy was a model for later developments, for example, absolutism, though republican frameworks also looked back to the traditions of ancient Rome.[55] It is not unusual for a single entity or era to be the source of quite discrepant models, but sometimes such inconsistencies are associated with ostensible and real pursuits of certain solutions. For example, a slew of guides for women encourage them to serve their families under the guise of emancipatory literature.[56] One should, of course, bear in mind that there are various family patterns and that the domination of a certain family model in a given community is related to the rivalry of hierarchies and the invasion of some normative systems by others.[57] Importantly, all hierarchisation is basically found to involve issues of primacy and value-judgments.[58]

The idea of the unity of all phenomena has persistently reappeared throughout the history of philosophy and religion.[59] While this view of reality seems absolutely innocuous, it actually often leads to imposing a single approach to the world in attempts a hierarchy makes to extend its influence. A rivalry for influence not infrequently resorts to an array of sometimes radical means: '*The romish political supremacy might employ whatever was conducive to it*: war and devastation, fire and

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[55] A. D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Coventant and Republic*, Oxford–Malden, MA 2008, p. 82.

[56] J. Sieracka, 'Fit is the new sexy: Współczesne oblicze "terroru piękności"?' [in:] *Ciało, medycyna, sport w kontekstach kulturowych i społecznych*, eds. M. Wieczorkowska, J. R. Stempień, Łódź 2015, p. 170.

[57] D. Jabłoński, L. Ostasz, *Zarys wiedzy o rodzinie, małżeństwie, kohabitacji i konkubinacie: Perspektywa antropologii kulturowej i ogólnej*, Olsztyn 2001, p. 59.

[58] P. Brzozowski, *Wzorcowa hierarchia wartości—polska, europejska czy uniwersalna? Psychologiczne badania empiryczne*, Lublin 2007, p. 26.

[59] A. Schopenhauer, *Basis of Morality*, transl. A. Brodrick, London 1903, pp. 270–271.

sword, death and imprisonment, forged writings, perjury on the holy sacrament, inquisitorial tribunals and interdictions, poverty and disgrace, temporal and eternal misery.'[60] The rivalry between various Christian religious organisations and denominations in Africa is an interesting case[61] since it largely relies on Christians' highly divisive proselytising. As Zygmunt Bauman proposes, plurality of power and plurality of views may check the genocidal potential of modernity.[62] Multiple religions and disciplines of learning adopt a certain premise, or *arché*, conspicuously epitomised by Pythagorean oneness. In fact, the very existence of certain disciplines is predicated on a defined starting point; for example, biology must presuppose that there is life, while mathematics presupposes that there is quantity. If the practice and teaching of a discipline are ousted by another discipline, the situation can be construed as an invasion even though such changes are occasionally onomastic rather than conceptual.

Submission may be liberating.[63] Love is one of the ways of overcoming loneliness.[64] Multiple factors promote a person's identification with or adaptation to a group. The social hierarchy is based on unequal relations between individuals in unequal positions and produces a network of bonds between individuals in similar positions, on which they can construct similar identities,[65] must collaborate and may engage in rivalry within the hierarchy. In this context, invasion encompasses

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[60] J. G. Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man. Volume 2*, transl. T. Churchill, London 1803, p. 506.

[61] J. Krzywicki, *Wprowadzenie do imaginarium literatury afrykańskiej. Część II: Rozliczenie z kolonializmem*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 123–24.

[62] Z. Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Cambridge-Malden, MA 1991.

[63] G. G. Brame, W. D. Brame, J. Jacobs, *Different Loving: The World of Sexual Dominance & Submission*, New York 1996, p. 54, 74.

[64] E. Fromm, *The Art of Loving*, New York 1956, p. 9.

[65] H. Domański, D. Przybysz, *Homogamia małżeńska a hierarchie społeczne*, Warszawa 2007, p. 16.

socialisation, with an individual's adaptation to family being one element of the process.

Problems may arise with the army's loyalty both to their homeland and to the commanders, for example in the event of a civil war.[66] The army also has policing functions in maintaining order during peacekeeping operations, occupation and incorporation of territories into their own country.[67] The army can be treated as a model and serve as a metaphor for the organisation of the administrative apparatus or in the description of a political party. As explicated by Sun Tzu, the commander receives orders from the rulers, gathers the troops, mobilises the population and only then, having moulded his forces into a harmonious unity, sets out against the enemy.[68] Importantly, both commanders and outstanding, though hierarchically inferior, individuals may earn a hero's reputation. Heroes' biographies usually frame them as epitomes of their societies' values while, at the same time, they are distinguished from the rest or boast an advantage over average community members by performing extraordinary or brave deeds.[69] The recognition of certain individuals as heroes can buttress the development of the hierarchical system and reinforce hierarchical structures, be it only by promoting them as models to follow. The institution of norms and/or procedures is equally important since this influences not only the military, or other, hierarchy but also the broader public; for example, the army and the religious organisation powerfully

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[66] N. Rogosz, 'Kwestia lojalności armii L. Korneliusza Sulli wobec Republiki Rzymskiej w początkowym okresie pierwszej wojny domowej (88 r.)', [in:] *Armia, systemy obronne i ideologiczno-religijne aspekty wojny w imperium rzymskim*, eds. H. Kowalski, P. Madejski, Lublin 2015, p. 135.

[67] M. Wrzosek, *Wojny przyszłości: Doktryna, technika, operacje militarne*, Warszawa 2018, p. 387.

[68] Sun Tzu, *The Art of War: Complete Texts and Commentaries*, transl. L. Giles, Leicester 2000, pp. 25–29.

[69] K. Kwaśniewski, *Społeczne rodowody bohaterów*, Warszawa 1977, p. 131.

nurtured the discipline of Prussia's society as a whole.[70] Nevertheless, as pointed out by Hegel himself, there is a rivalry between instinct and intellect,[71] which, in the army context, can translate into choosing either to act strictly by the book or to take a more informal approach and get along with a bit of mutual compromise. While the military often connotes the structural promotion of unthinking, obedient, and uncritical attitudes toward structures, military literature offers opulent examples of clashes of personalities, where commanders often put down outstanding personalities, though occasionally they back the development of the latter.

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[70] D. Łukasiewicz, 'Narodziny mentalności pruskiej,' [in:] Z. Szultka, A. Kamieński, G. Kucharczyk, D. Łukasiewicz, B. Wachowiak, *Prusy w okresie monarchii absolutnej (1701–1806)*, Poznań 2010, p. 894.

[71] G. W. F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, transl. A. V. Miller, Oxford 1977, p. 217.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE RIVALRY OF HIERARCHIES IN TIME-SPACE

The Rivalry of Hierarchies: The Process

The process of the rivalry of hierarchies should be regarded as time-space. The sequence of formation, operation, and dissolution of a hierarchy is characteristic of both associations and normative systems. Again, a distinction should be drawn between this process as pertaining to a single hierarchy and the rivalry of hierarchies, which involves two or more hierarchies.

Objects and hierarchies exist in time, and temporalities can be seen to have an impact on hierarchisation and hierarchies.[1] Over the course of an individual's career, the significance of their achievements may change, and changes can also happen in their values and/or needs.[2] On the one hand, it is easier to be a classic since works by renowned authors tend to be examined for well-reasoned concepts rather than for mistakes, which are eagerly hunted in works by less well-known people. On the other hand, the old is ousted by the new,[3] which is usually possessed of superior technologies. Hierarchies must adapt

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1 A. Nowaczyk, *Wprowadzenie do logiki nauk ścisłych*, Warszawa 1990, p. 98.

2 B. Mróz, *20 lat później: Osobowość i hierarchia wartości wybitnych aktorów polskich. Badania podłużne*, Warszawa 2015, p. 99.

3 Frequently, whether an element is indeed old or new matters less than whether it is regarded as a novelty or a repetition. A repeat tends to take a lower position in the hierarchy. See M. Foucault, *Archeologia wiedzy*, transl. A. Siemek, Warszawa 2002, p. 165.

to changes in their environments, but they also themselves contribute to the status quo. The process of the rivalry of hierarchies is reported in history textbooks as struggles of the world's powers or as campaigns of rulers, which mirrors the tendency to identify the hierarchy as a whole with its top.

The transition from the Middle Ages to modernity was channelled by an array of factors, with the expansion of intellectual horizons being one of these. The inception of a new philosophical era was marked by the rejection of the distrust of philosophy as such. In a considerable part of Europe, philosophy was closely associated with scholasticism, which had reached its limits by that time. The emergence of new hierarchies was triggered by transformations in the ways of thinking embraced by the ruling and scholarly elites. Rather than criticising Aristotle, Descartes wanted to take his place.[4] Importantly, as epochs change, not only the tops of hierarchies but also people's daily lives are remodelled.[5]

In many cases, inquiry into the process of rivalry between hierarchies should take spatial issues into account; the increasing power of individuals or countries is sometimes easily captured through examining their expanding possession of land. The rivalry of hierarchies based on birth and land ownership is relevant under some circumstances,[6] but it is mostly material wealth that generates privilege and conditions for the following generations. A rivalry in space can pivot on resources, and technological transformations sometimes considerably influence both individuals' pursuits in enlarging their wealth and powerful countries' outward-directed actions. The Industrial Revolution altered people's habits as coal began to replace wood as a popular fuel. The history of

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4 E. Gilson, *The Unity of Philosophical Experience*, New York 1950, p.125.

5 A. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge 1984, p. 69.

6 Smith, *Cultural Foundations*, p. 81.

oil is sometimes said to be the history of imperialism.[7] Being able to use resources bolsters a hierarchy, and the depletion of resources necessitates finding alternative technological solutions or competing for the scarce resources.

As Bauman explains, the modern state took control of space to make sure it was legible to the central authorities.[8] If the development of cities depends on certain geographical factors, economic and political processes are no less relevant in this respect. A town's location on a trade route influences its urban economy, as does making it the seat of government. There are many similarities between processes of the rivalry of hierarchies at various levels; for example, a small town of local political relevance competes against a neighbour town the way a metropolis competes against another aspiring city; and, likewise, roads leading to small towns and big cities indicate where the tops of hierarchies are to be found.[9]

The hierarchical scale, which makes it possible to compare phenomena or entities on the basis of their sizes, is applicable to spatial location, but it is also often pertinent to the hierarchy of connections, which determines relations between hubs regarding administration, health care, culture, etc.[10] Dedication to the local hierarchy at the expense of a larger one can transpire, for example, when deciding on the territorial division or the distribution of budgetary funds; this can happen through exerting pressure to establish more territorial administration units (in Poland, *województwa*: voivodships) or through prioritising particularist interests, such as a selected

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[7] A. Giddens, *The Politics of Climate Change*, Cambridge–Malden 2011, pp. 33–34.

[8] Z. Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, New York 1998, p. 28.

[9] D. Sokołowski, *Funkcje centralne i hierarchia funkcjonalna miast w Polsce*, Toruń 2006, p. 155.

[10] M. Mularczyk, *Regionalny system miast—hierarchia czy sieciowy układ poziomy? Na przykładzie Województwa Świętokrzyskiego*, Kielce 2016, pp. 43–44.

industry. To prevent small hierarchies from destroying a large one, responsibility for the common good must be promoted.[11]

Memory, which is axial to the existence of a dynasty or government, comprises both remembrance of a few past generations and an elaborate historical mythology, which is taught at schools and rehearsed in literature and art. Forgetting is inevitable, and it does not automatically entail an erosion of power; rather, it requires taking a certain stance on past developments from today's perspective, for example, by concealing unpopular details from the beginnings of the dynasty.[12] The rivalry between the old and new hierarchies can reflect a shift from one epoch to another and lie at the core of that shift. One should bear in mind that a shift from one epoch to another takes place gradually, even if some historical events are not merely symbolic but indeed considerably transfigure reality.[13] Similarly, changes in an empire's or its neighbour's rule of a territory often span decades, if not centuries, of back-and-forth boundary redrawing, but history also knows many cases of vast areas being suddenly seized by expanding empires. The process of the rivalry of hierarchies concerns not only wars between empires but also smaller associations and normative systems.

The process of rivalry among hierarchies is premised on the existence of people capable of defending the hierarchy in place. Engagement in a series of situations that eventually add up to the process of the rivalry of hierarchies requires doing one's duties and sometimes takes courage. Courage is easily confused with fundamentalism and fanaticism. 'Fundamentalism may be understood as an assertion of formulaic truth without regard

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[11] L. Habuda, *Transformacyjne decyzje i decyzyjne procesy*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 56, 102, 189.

[12] H. Bozarslan, *Przepych i przemoc: Dominacja i kontestacja w myśli Ibn Chalduna*, transl. K. Pachniak, Warszawa 2016, pp. 31–33.

[13] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Harmonsworth–Melbourne–Cape Town 1924, p. 322.

to consequences,'[14] which means that when some traditions and rituals are overwhelmingly rejected, fundamentalism abides by them and strives to counteract change.

Fanaticism can also be observed across a sequence of situations that cumulatively constitute the process of rivalry within certain hierarchies. As an example, at a scholarly gathering I attended some time ago, a priest of Poland's currently dominant religious organisation was patently flattered by a few participants, including the protagonist and the organiser. Asked by the organiser to comment, the priest said that he knew little about the issue, added a handful of shallow questions, and was then applauded by several people who vocally admired his wisdom and depth of thought. Fanaticism interferes with people's perception of reality and strips them of an objective view.

Multiple contradictory systems exist side by side and assert their presence in and through discussion.[15] Discussion can be considered a disease that often breeds an illusion that people will be freed of anxiety if only they accept the authority,[16] yet discussion may also be a path to coexistence, including through the flow of information. Discussion is a milder form of rivalry than physical violence, but it sometimes carries the seeds of violence. As one attempts to impose one's views on others, one may be regarded as seeking to subjugate them within a hierarchy. To remind, intra-hierarchy relations tend to be expressed in practices such as affording opportunities for

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[14] A. Giddens, 'Living in a Post-traditional Society,' [in:] U. Beck, A. Giddens, S. Lash, *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, Stanford, CA 1994, p. 100.

[15] K. Estreicher, *Leon Chwistek: Biografia artysty (1884-1944)*, Kraków 1971, pp. 238–239. Chwistek's concept of the hierarchy of logical systems related to the framework of the plurality of realities is noteworthy in the context of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory. See L. Chwistek, *The Plurality of Realities: Collected Essays*, transl. K. Chrobak, Kraków 2017.

[16] L. Flaszen, *Grotowski & Company: Źródła i wariacje*, Wrocław 2014, p. 119.

critique or correction. Obviously, discussion-related language issues, such as a language's international standing or its use in discussion, can also be viewed as meaningful aspects of the process of rivalry of hierarchies.

Identifying recurrent patterns of rivalry and their typical modes is a salient part of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory. It seems that sustaining its own existence is often a hierarchy's major aim, which translates into efforts to strengthen the hierarchy and to invade rival hierarchies. Of course, the good of a hierarchy need not be promoted by direct fight against other hierarchies if such efforts are considered pointless; instead, it may be furthered by isolation or self-limitation. Crucially, an attack on another hierarchy is mostly justified as necessary defence or a pre-emptive strike against its anticipated assault.

The process of the rivalry of hierarchies can rely on the takeover of individuals from other hierarchies, with the effectiveness of this policy hinging on the successful adaptation of new arrivals to the norms of the hierarchy. Of course, sometimes it may be acknowledged that a hierarchy needs renewing, which happens by enabling the new members to make change. These issues concern hierarchies at various scales, such as companies that hire new staff members (including managers) and countries that take in immigrants. A family's policies can also anticipate the influence of individuals who are accepted into the family, though love, religion, and a range of other factors must be recognised as relevant to processes such as starting a family and procreation.

Being part of a hierarchy is comforting, and if its actions are endorsed by the whole of the hierarchy, individuals are assured of their place in the world.[17] Statistically speaking, it is safer to be within a hierarchy than on its edges.[18] The rivalry of hierarchies process has the potential both to consolidate the individual-hierarchy relationship and to spawn inner conflicts

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[17] A. Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Stanford, CA 1991, p. 32.

[18] I would like to thank my son for coming up with this idea.

among individuals who belong to competing hierarchies. Political engagement may result from striving to advance within a hierarchy or to fortify one's own hierarchy. Of course, what a person considers their own in this context can be expressed in quite various ways, as illustrated by involvement in espionage or using subversion to overthrow a given system. Importantly, political activity comprises actions for recasting the hierarchy, for conserving its status quo, for surpassing other hierarchies[19] and for climbing up the hierarchy as high as one can; the latter can come in different variants, including settling for a lower position in a larger hierarchy, the foundation of or accession to power in a smaller hierarchy and potential later attempts to take over the tops of other hierarchies. Attention should be paid to a diversification of political rituals, for example, to conventional and non-conventional participation in the mainstream of or, for that matter, beyond the system.[20]

Changes in social classes, which are bound up with the division of labour in society (with most jobs once available in agriculture, later in the industry and today in the service sector), indirectly affect the top of the political hierarchy,[21] but more often than not an observable impact on what position individuals take around the top of the hierarchy is exerted by one of the Weberian factors (i.e. charisma, tradition and rational legality). Breaking with tradition, which makes it possible for politically weaker hierarchies and their members to take part in the power struggle on the scale of the entire society, should be regarded as a rivalry between hierarchies that together make up politics. It is thus not only about the rivalry between representations of social groups embodied in political parties, but also about political parties as hierarchies

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[19] T. Pugacewicz, *Teorie polityki zagranicznej: Perspektywa amerykańskiej analizy polityki zagranicznej*, Kraków 2017, p. 189.

[20] K. Skarżyńska, 'Aktywność i bierność polityczna,' [in:] *Podstawy psychologii politycznej*, ed. K. Skarżyńska, Poznań 2002, pp. 27–31.

[21] A. Giddens, *Europe in the Global Age*, Cambridge-Malden, MA 2007, p. 59.

strengthened by winning individuals to themselves (as members or supporters).

Stanisław Staszic's later works contain fewer reformatory and critical suggestions and more encouragement to construct things, and likewise, many individual biographies gradually shift from revolutionary to evolutionary attitudes, with an increasing acceptance of the solutions in place. Such changes can be accounted for in various ways, with frequent explanations including people's changing social and occupational positions, their depleted strength, and many other factors, but what these accounts have in common is the shared perception of youth and desire for change as inherently interconnected.[22] While the recognition of others' similarity to oneself and of the correspondence between one's notions and others' assessment of various developments matters a lot,[23] imitation is a highly relevant aspect not only in performing a certain role in a particular situation but also in long-term actions and even in self-identification with a defined social role.[24]

Deliberations about who is a viable leader or who can be at the helm of a hierarchy should look into people's personalities, knowledge, skills and health status, as well as their biographies, in the sense of their record of operating within hierarchies. Importantly, even education, which is obviously about individuals' acquisition of certain information, entails the internalisation of habits for functioning within a hierarchy, and this is also true of experience. Of course, voicing views that differ from those of the majority takes courage, and such courage is also trained—or suppressed—within a hierarchy.[25]

Inequality can be explained in a variety of ways and seen in a variety of manifestations, one of them being that some people

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[22] B. Szacka, *Teoria i utopia Stanisława Staszica*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 126–127.

[23] A. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* ed. K. Haakonssen, Cambridge 2002, pp. 20–21.

[24] T. Parsons, *The Social System*, London 2005 [1951], p. 162.

[25] R. Bierstedt, *The Social Order*, Bombay–New Delhi 1970, p. 18.

possess more of some things than others do.[26] As a result of inequality, upper and lower places in a hierarchy are taken by individuals from different classes or groups, but processes concerning individual people, as well as people's features related to these processes, or to conditions and expectations, are also consequential in this regard.

The notion of structure can be contrasted with notions such as variability and chaos.[27] Dynamic stability describes the capacity to maintain a given pace of structural changes in a society.[28] The process of rivalry of hierarchies brings together elements of stability and variability and concerns both social and psychological developments. The concepts of natural and historically produced inequality carry different implications for the possibility to even out differences and to advance within a hierarchy,[29] with other factors, such as technological changes, also having an important part in this respect.[30] The ability to effectively compete against rivals is one element that helps achieve success. The application of non-standard methods sometimes yields great success. Observations of people in various jobs suggest that work success is not always founded on integrity.[31] In this context, integrity can be thought of as meeting the expectations set by the hierarchy. These expectations are met in two dimensions: if individuals succumb to the group's general influence and develop expected

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[26] H. Domański, *Struktura społeczna*, Warszawa 2007, p. 27.

[27] J.M. Szymański, *Życie systemów*, Warszawa 1991, p. 53.

[28] J. Kossecki, *Cybernetyka społeczna*, Warszawa 1981, p. 284.

[29] K. Čapek, *Talks with T.G. Masaryk*, transl. M. H. Heim, North Haven, CT 1995, p. 163.

[30] U. Swadźba, 'Praca i konsumpcja: Dwa czynniki decydujące o stratyfikacji społecznej,' [in:] *Ład społeczny i jego przedstawienia: Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Jacka Wodza*, eds. T. Nawrocki, W. Świątkiewicz, Katowice 2016, p. 146.

[31] M. Meyer, *Hierarchie wartości jako wyznaczniki zachowań sprzecznych z prawem: Polsko-niemieckie studium porównawcze*, Kraków 2003, p. 131.

identities,[32] and also if they conduct themselves in expected ways in concrete situations.

The Rivalry of Hierarchies: The Situation

Defining something as illegal is a clear example of the rivalry between hierarchies. Whether it concerns organised crime, inmates' normative systems, plagiarism, cheating at exams, or the non-acceptance of certain entities and ways of action in the international arena, the notion of illegality presupposes a system of legal norms[33] and the existence of a hierarchy locked in rivalry with this system. The notion of situation may denote something temporary, but the study of more permanent phenomena, such as systems or social structures, provides a good starting point for examining particular situations of hierarchical rivalry.

Individual identity is one site of the rivalry of hierarchies. The accomplishment of different goals, say, acquiring knowledge, making a fortune, or gaining power, requires different character traits, such as calm focus, entrepreneurship, and courage. These differences tie in with (non-)adherence to a certain way of thinking ('a prudent man, so far as and while he is so, will not be a genius, and a man of genius, so far as and while he is so, will not be a prudent man'[34]) or with (dis)obedience to a given political organisation. The situation of choosing between following tradition and heeding a superior's command, and between experimenting with one's own path and acting in line with external orders, can be viewed as a rivalry between two hierarchies. The fact that observance of certain customs and

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[32] H. Mamzer, *Tożsamość w podróży: Wielokulturowość a kształtowanie tożsamości jednostki*, Poznań 2003, p. 87.

[33] K. Płeszka, *Hierarchia w systemie prawa*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: Prace z Nauk Politycznych* 921, 1988, p. 98.

[34] Schopenhauer, *World*, p. 245.

traditions is taken for granted is rooted in the socialisation process since 'it is a certain thing that assimilation of the effects of others' thinking (that is, making them *one's own*) always involves bringing them over to oneself, which means identifying with them,'[35] as Adam Stögbauer elucidates in his introduction to the Polish edition of Schopenhauer's *On the Freedom of the Will*.

Still, Schopenhauer claims in 'The Art of Controversy' that it lies in human nature that if a difference of opinion arises, one tends to seek flaws in the opponent's reasoning, rather than revising one's own views.[36] Interestingly, a footnote to the following paragraph in the Polish edition relates that three words—'yet I believe'—were crossed out in the manuscript by Schopenhauer himself. If he removed this passage, it might mean that people are sometimes capable of accepting others' thoughts, might it not? This is highly probable in the light of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory. Let me explain that these statements were advanced in the context of logic, analytics, philosophy, dialectics, rhetoric, and eristics, which focus either on the search for truth or on persuasion. In many respects, I agree with Schopenhauer that thinking and talking have much in common, and that differences between them can be identified, though with difficulty. To underline not only the meaning but also the ambiguity of the notions, let me add that the original German title is *Die eristische Dialektik*, and that Schopenhauer's hesitation evoked above concerned logic and dialectic. It may well be that hesitation, which I associate with the Socratic method for reasons I am not quite able to put my finger on, was the source of profound deliberations. Schopenhauer's celebrated and vivid sentence 'A dog stands

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[35] A. Stögbauer, 'Wstęp,' [in:] A. Schopenhauer, *O wolności ludzkiej woli*, Kraków 2016, p. 6.

[36] A. Schopenhauer, *Erystyka czyli sztuka prowadzenia sporów*, transl. B. & Ł. Konorski, Kraków–Wrocław 1983, p. 24. For the English translation, see, A. Schopenhauer, 'The Art of Controversy,' [in:] *The Art of Controversy and Other Posthumous Papers*, transl. Th. Bailey Saunders, London 1921, p. 3.

hesitatingly between the call of his master and the sight of a she-dog'[37] is a clear illustration of his views on the choice between different hierarchies.

Why one hierarchy wins can be determined by the personal or personality factor, but the so-called base, that is, the economy and technique, must not be underrated; nor must the circumstances or serendipities. Of course, in some cases in which sheer luck seems to have been the determining factor, the issue was in fact decided by fraud or hidden sponsors. Knowledge of history can, to a degree, suggest how similar developments will pan out, but our knowledge of past events is often incomplete, and the similarities we discern between some occurrences may be very superficial or inaccurate.

An array of factors, from contempt and respect to formal authority to discussion skills, affect one's capacity to accept some people's arguments, and the skill of listening often determines not only the internal order of a hierarchy but also forms of rivalry between hierarchies. Prejudice against people from certain regions or members of certain social groups can significantly affect their chances of success in academia or politics. Sometimes, to communicate a certain message, one must master the language of another hierarchy or play a fool. At the same time, mockery often serves to reject information coming from another hierarchy. Notably, there are many other ways of expressing contempt, and they exemplify attempts to invade hierarchies or to reinforce one's own hierarchy by subjugating other people to it. Pulling people in either by encouraging immigration or by proselytising is associated with parading one's superiority.

Varying interpretations of the status quo and historical events, as well as identification of different causes behind them, are by no means a novelty, and, likewise, our disparate experiences and the diverse lenses we employ lead us to discern multiple different hierarchies when we portray the

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[37] A. Schopenhauer, *Essay on the Freedom of the Will*, transl. K. Kolenda, Mineola–New York 2005, pp. 40–41.

situation of the rivalry of hierarchies.[38] Cities influence individuals' behaviour not only through education processes and various events they host but also through their atmosphere and presence of interesting people.[39] Such presence can be stimulating and inspiring, and it can also prompt one to try to outdo a given person in fame or political influence. There have been arch-rivals who have made their imprint on a city's architecture, a period's music, or a nation's literature. Known to dislike each other, Juliusz Słowacki wrote in the spirit of European Romanticism while Adam Mickiewicz cultivated its national variety. Mickiewicz's work catered to the needs that were rife in Poland after the fall of the November Uprising (1830–1831).[40] Some defiant individuals act against destiny either as conquerors or as creators, and it is interesting to ponder how far transformation is always against something,[41] and to what extent, in order to accomplish certain goals, one must be rooted in a hierarchy, defeat a competing hierarchy or found a new hierarchy.

Action is sometimes claimed to be change,[42] but representing a strong hierarchy, even without attempting to transform reality, is often a calmer thing to do, even though individuals who perform such calm tasks also contribute to larger processes, including a rivalry with a competing hierarchy. Besides, it often matters, in particular situations, which student one is and which hub one comes from, with rivalry taking place both between associations and between thoughts in an individual's mind, where their hang-ups can be overcome by identification

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[38] P. Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians,* New York 2005, pp. 443–444.

[39] G. Węcławowicz, *Geografia społeczna miast*, Warszawa 2007, p. 22.

[40] A. Całek, *Adam Mickiewicz–Juliusz Słowacki: Psychobiografia naukowa*, Kraków 2012, pp. 305–306.

[41] A. Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays*, trans. J. O'Brian, New York 1955, p. 65.

[42] A. Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies*, 2nd ed., Cambridge–Malden MA: 1993 [1976], pp. 116–117.

with a strong brand they represent. Democratic and feudal approaches, for example, to discussion can be analysed in similar terms because the multidimensionality of the rivalry of hierarchies encompasses both how the treatment of rivals is judged and the weight of selected factors in acknowledging others' reasons. It would be possible to construct a single model of the rivalry between hierarchies, but that would be a formalist venture. What should be recognised instead is that the modalities of the rivalry of hierarchies are complex and elusive, which does not preclude identifying the rivalling hierarchies with clarity and directness. Individuals fulfil or play multiple social roles, and likewise participate in the competition within many hierarchies. When spotting a police officer pulling over a driver, we are able to make inferences about the social roles we consider relevant in this situation.[43] Similarly, when faced with a necessary choice between behaviours dictated by two normative systems or between membership in two organisations, we are able to name the two most conspicuous hierarchies involved. At the same time, we may also realise that many other, ostensibly latent hierarchies are involved. A basketball match and a sumo fight are rivalries not only between two competitors but also between a range of hierarchies.

When running around a cemetery where the founder of basketball was buried (a fact another runner shared with me), I felt that we were in touch with the sacred, the origin, the first principle. When watching people playing clumsily somewhere on the other hemisphere, one may feel that one has to do with rather low segments of a given hierarchy. Yet one may know that the same hall will soon be entered by first-league volleyballers. These things are seemingly unrelated, but it is interesting to note that volleyball purportedly came into being because basketball was too difficult for many people. The fixed

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[43] The police can not only use enforcement measures but also engage in social and organisational activities. S. Pieprzny, *Policj: Organizacja i funkcjonowanie*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 107 *ff*.

sequence in which the practice hall is used by players from various sections is one example of the coexistence modes of hierarchies. When a country, a school, or a club supports many sports, such coexistence, or perhaps interpenetration, of hierarchies implies rivalry among larger hierarchies than sports teams—hierarchies such as countries, schools, and clubs.

Not only learners but also teachers find themselves in a difficult situation when trying to keep up with current knowledge,[44] and when one is unable to cope with complicated tasks, a need for some kind of limits becomes urgent, with such limits found either in specialisation or in explanations coming from a variety of hierarchies, whether related to science, religion, journalism, an individual's charisma or a promise of profit. A systematic account of developments can be produced by virtue of the identification of the rivalry of hierarchies and pertains not only to processes but also to situations in which we are able to spot hierarchies relevant to the situation at hand.

The multidimensionality of developments associated with the rivalry between the hierarchies of needs results, for example, from various actors' needs being at odds or from those needs being rooted in very different spheres. A quiet life amid family and friends, which students tend to report as their most appreciated value, stands in contrast with their beliefs that the pursuit of material goods is other people's primary goal.[45] Generalising this example, we can conclude that people's assessments of what pertains to themselves and to others are essentially divergent.

People's identification with their work has a range of facets, including their job-related identities, exertions for the good of

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[44] B.W. Biriukow, J.S. Geller, *Cybernetyka w naukach humanistycznych*, transl. J. Sarna, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1983, pp. 224–225.

[45] E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, 'Hierarchia wartości (celów życiowych) i siła dążeń (aspiracji) uczniów klas czwartych i ósmych: Analiza porównawcza,' [in:] *Hierarchia wartości i plany życiowe dzieci z Zaolzia*, ed. T. Lewowicki, Cieszyn 1992, pp. 86–87.

the company and obedience to the company's management.[46] Yet the good of the company may be at odds with the manager's good, which can be construed as a contradiction between a larger hierarchy and a smaller one within it. Attempts to eliminate a potential young rival to an individual placed high in the hierarchy can be framed as a rivalry over administration or access to fame. Situations of the rivalry of hierarchies can also be seen in rivalries involved in the fulfilment of a particular need, as well as in rivalries of various needs, concerning, for example, competition on the market[47] or business people's motivations behind the choice of funding forms.[48] The notion of the hierarchy of needs is also used in relation to the respective needs of humans and nature as linked to humans, for instance, in agriculture.[49] These examples indicate the variety of approaches that can be adopted in analysing needs.

The notion of 'social structure' was borrowed from architecture, and 'stratification' stems from geology. Both are metaphors for relations between elements of a whole. To talk of the social hierarchy is certainly somewhat restrictive since the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory simply explores hierarchies as such, but the notion of the social hierarchy provides a context in which a range of issues are associated with the whole of society. The social hierarchy is based on the unequal standing of actors. Differences in strength, power and seniority formatively affect relations of individuals, and social hierarchies can be thought of as sums of such unequal

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[46] G. Petriglieri, S. J. Ashford, A. Wrzesniewski, 'Agony and Ecstasy in the Gig Economy: Cultivating Holding Environments for Precarious and Personalized Work Identities,' *Administrative Science Quarterly* 64, 2019, no. 1, p. 125.

[47] J. Szwacka-Salmonowicz, Z. Zielińska, *Hierarchia potrzeb żywnościowych w 1993 roku na tle potrzeb 1986 roku*, Warszawa 1996, p. 85.

[48] J. Kubiak, *Hierarchia źródeł krótkoterminowego finansowania przedsiębiorstwa*, Poznań 2005, p. 142.

[49] P. Kowalczak, *Hierarchia potrzeb obszarowych małej retencji dla województwa zachodniopomorskiego*, Warszawa 2002, p. 65.

relations. Unequal standing can be symbolically pictured as a top-bottom relation, which can be seen in struggles for and demonstrations of dominance in many species.[50] Individuals are regularly subjected to competitive tests of strength and aggressiveness whenever hierarchies are established by various species. The durability of thus-established hierarchies can be explained by citing the magnitude of effort required to change one's position and the impact of brain-produced substances. Specifically, Jordan Peterson has found the brains of individuals higher up in the social hierarchy to produce more serotonin, which is called a happiness hormone, than the brains of individuals situated lower in the social hierarchy.[51] However, Peterson's findings came from research on crayfish, and any analogies with human societies in this respect must be very tentative and include reservations. Apparently, in humans, the highest level of serotonin is reported in infants, while infatuated individuals characteristically experience sudden fluctuations in serotonin levels.[52]

Coordination of actions, including through shared understandings of certain issues, is an important component of a hierarchy's capacity to persist.[53] The possibility to use language is also based on the fact that there are relations between its elements.[54] Not only the frequency of using certain words but also the process in which the value of some achievements or things is constructed should be recognised.

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[50] J. Wasilewski, *Retoryka dominacji*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 41–42.

[51] J. B. Peterson, *12 Rules for Life: An Antidote to Chaos*, Toronto 2018, p. 9.

[52] W. Grochala, 'Szczypta (al)chemii i nauk pokrewnych... dla humanistów. Wykład X: Chemia mózgu,' Uniwersytet Warszawski, Centrum Nowych Technologii, http://beta.chem.uw.edu.pl/people/WGrochala/AL_10.pdf, p. 12.

[53] Ł. Jochemczyk, M. Ziembowicz, 'Sieci wiedzy. Perspektywa dynamiczna,' [in:] *Układy złożone w naukach społecznych*, eds. A. Nowak, W. Borkowski, K. Winkowska-Nowak, Warszawa 2009, p. 54.

[54] J. Pogonowski, *Hierarchiczne analizy języka*, Poznań 1991, p. 21.

Things can be deemed valuable because they are possessed by people from the upper segments of the social hierarchy.[55]

Norms are linked to status, but status can be regarded either relationally in conjunction with position in the hierarchy or as a notion akin to the social role, or simply as a trait, although even then the effect of status on individuals' positions in hierarchies should be registered.[56] The position one takes in a hierarchy influences one's self-perception as a member of an organisation, and this applies to both formal and informal hierarchies. The adoption of a social role and the internalisation of norms contribute to one's self-perception as part of a team.[57]

In many social roles, individuals are capable of influencing people who are subordinate to them in one way or another; relevant examples include the teacher/student, boss/employee and expert/non-specialist relations, as well as a more primary parent's role vis-à-vis a child. The perceivability of the social structure can also be related to differential ownership (not only to differences in wealth but also to a variety of forms in which a person can possess or be dependent on another). Notably, social relations of dominance are interwoven with legal norms of both substantive law and state law, which define individuals' positions, as is plainly visible for the positions of a police officer and a judge.[58]

An individual from a lower social class may try to elevate their rank either by passing to a class above or by increasing the significance of their class as a whole. Climbing up the social ladder is, to an extent, considered a system-reinforcing

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[55] S. Kozyr-Kowalski, *Klasy i stany: Max Weber a współczesne teorie stratyfikacji społecznej*, Warszawa 1979, p. 11.

[56] R. Bierstedt, *The Social Order*, Bombay–New Delhi 1970, p. 242.

[57] M. Alvesson, H. Willmott, 'Identity Regulation as Organizational Control: Producing the Appropriate Individual,' *Journal of Management Studies* 39, 2002, no. 5, p. 631.

[58] J. Wasilewski, *Retoryka dominacji*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 252–349.

mechanism, while refashioning the relations between social classes is rather viewed as a revolutionary action.[59]

While paradigms are relevant to a community,[60] they are also relevant to the hierarchy that forms this community. Inequality mostly arises at the family level,[61] but other communities, for example those associated with the education process, play an important part in individuals' socialisation, and this impact should not be overlooked. Many factors that affect individuals and are linked to various hierarchies are interconnected, which is useful in the context of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory as an indicator of rivalry among larger hierarchies, such as those in the entire social structure, rather than only in schools and families. Still, a lot depends on minor decisions about who one meets up with or what clothes one wears,[62] even though many solutions are undeniably imposed by the hierarchy. Sometimes the performance of social roles is correlated with differential standing in a hierarchy perceived in a given context (e.g., teacher/student and doctor/patient), yet on other occasions what matters most is convincing the decision-maker, such as in a plaintiff/defendant conflict.[63]

The two main outlooks on the sources of rivalry among humans hold that it has either genetic or cultural origins.[64] Notably, these two views can be regarded as the founding premises of hierarchies that clash in a rivalry as well. In education

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[59] J. A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism & Democracy*, London–New York, 2003 [1943], pp. 6–7.

[60] Kuhn, *Structure*, p. 43.

[61] E. Karpiuk, 'Równość i efektywność jako wymiary współczesności,' [in:] *System oświaty w Polsce a poziom nierówności społecznych*, eds. J. Osiński, A. Chmielewska, I. Dobrowolska, Warszawa 2017, p. 81.

[62] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p. 81.

[63] R. F. Baumeister, K. Catanese, 'Victims and Perpetrators Provide Discrepant Accounts: Motivated Cognitive Distortions about Interpersonal Transgressions,' [in:] *The Social Mind: Cognitive and Motivational Aspects of Interpersonal Behavior*, eds. J. P. Forgas, K. D. Williams, L. Wheeler, Cambridge 2001, p. 274.

[64] J. Danilewska, *O wychowaniu na arenie szkolnego wieloboju: Pedagogiczna baśń o rywalizacji*, Kraków 2014, pp. 20–21.

studies and psychology, ideas about inborn predispositions and upbringing tend to be portrayed as contradictory, but from a certain perspective, the two factors are regarded as jointly determining individuals' behaviour.[65] Socialisation can be thought of as becoming embedded in a hierarchy.[66] The sense of community tends to be fundamentally forged through interaction and/or acquaintanceship (if only the recognition of faces) even if it includes an element of rivalry; conflicts within one hierarchy sometimes translate into dislike in other contexts, though.[67]

In many cases, moving in the hierarchy of positions is an indicator of career,[68] but disentangling oneself from a hierarchy (e.g. a serf's escape) sometimes shows that one can improve one's life only by abandoning a given hierarchy.[69] Nevertheless, exclusion is mostly the harshest punishment.[70]

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[65] I. Singh, 'Human Development, Nature and Nurture: Working beyond the Divide,' *BioSocieties* 7, 2012, no. 3, p. 308.

[66] W. Segiet, 'Edukacja naznaczona obecnością rodziny: Kontekst społecznej reprodukcji uprzywilejowania. Ujęcie teoretyczne. Weryfikacje empiryczne na przykładzie Polski i Niemiec,' [in:] *Edukacja—stratyfikacja społeczna—tożsamość młodzieży: Studium z pedagogiki porównawczej i socjologii edukacji*, ed. W. Segiet, Poznań 2012, p. 74.

[67] E. Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*, New York 1966, p. 112.

[68] A. Cybal-Michalska, 'Kariera jako domena hierarchizująca przestrzeń społeczną a problem nierówności społecznych,' [in:] *Edukacja i nierówność: Trajektorie sukcesu i marginalizacji*, eds. A. Gromkowska-Melosik, M. J. Szymański, Poznań 2015, p. 107.

[69] Th. Munck, *Seventeenth Century Europe: State, Conflict and the Social Order in Europe, 1598–1700*, New York 1990, p. 266.

[70] L. Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*, trans. M. Sainsbury, L. Dumont, B. Gulati, Delhi 1960, pp. 177–178.

Conclusion

This book should not be treated as conclusively capping research either on social life or on the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory. Rather, it is meant to encourage the development of this theory and its application as a lens for examining social life. Critical analysis of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory as a whole or its particular issues should neither be prompted by complexes nor focus on showcasing one's competence in other theories that address similar matters analysable in the framework of Hierarchies Rivalry Theory. Rather, the focus should be on refining the language and methods of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory and on actual implementations of this theory in inquiries into selected aspects of social life.

The further development of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory requires a systematic effort to develop its conceptual and methodological apparatus. Although modification of its vocabulary may deprive the theory of continuity and make it increasingly difficult to determine what belongs to the theory and what constitutes an external interpretation of it, we should observe and realistically change the terminology when it's needed. The development of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory should involve a continuing balance between preserving its conceptual identity and constructively transforming its conceptual apparatus. Its basic notions should remain sufficiently stable to make cumulative research possible, while it should be open to refinement in response to theoretical criticism and the results of further inquiries.

One particularly important task for further research is to determine more precisely the conditions under which a social phenomenon should be described as a rivalry of hierarchies. The notions of hierarchy and rivalry are intentionally broad in the present formulation, but their usefulness depends on

the possibility of distinguishing rivalry from phenomena that merely resemble it. Further research should therefore examine the boundaries between rivalry within a hierarchy, cooperation between hierarchies, coexistence, dependence, domination and transformation. It should also investigate situations in which hierarchies overlap, contain one another, intersect only partially, or compete for the same individuals.

Another important direction concerns the empirical development of the theory. The arguments presented in this book should be confronted with particular social cases in a systematic manner. Research could examine, among other things, the rivalry of legal and non-legal normative systems, political hierarchies, scientific disciplines and competing schools of thought, religious and secular normative orders, as well as situations in which individuals are simultaneously subject to several hierarchies. Comparative studies may be especially valuable because they could reveal whether similar mechanisms of rivalry occur in different societies, historical periods and institutional settings.

Further development should also address the temporal dimension of the theory. Hierarchies are understood as phenomena that emerge, operate, change and dissolve. Research into the formation of new hierarchies, the transformation of established hierarchies, changes in their positions within wider arrangements, and processes leading to their dissolution may contribute to a more dynamic formulation of the theory. In this respect, particular attention should be paid to moments in which a hierarchy must simultaneously preserve its identity and alter its internal structure.

The theory may also benefit from a more explicit investigation of the relation between rivalry among hierarchies and its influence on what is considered legitimate. The rivalry of hierarchies can concern the criteria by which reality is interpreted.

The consolidation of the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory will depend on the emergence of a research community capable of subjecting it to independent criticism and development.

The institutionalisation of a theory should create conditions in which the theory can be criticised, modified and applied by many researchers. Conferences, research projects, publications, seminars and cooperation between academic institutions may all contribute to such a process. If the Hierarchies Rivalry Theory is to continue and develop, it must be promoted, including abroad. Given this, the premises and tenets of the theory should be translated into various languages, and it should be used in various social and perhaps also historical contexts.

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The book addresses a key issue in the social sciences and humanities: the phenomenon of rivalry within and between hierarchies. The most interesting element of the work under review is the subsection titled "The Rivalry of Hierarchies in Science." It offers an intriguing analysis on the emergence of scientific disciplines and the rivalry between them in explaining phenomena and processes within the social world. It is also worth noting that the author identifies a hierarchy in the relationship between European and non-European traditions and cultures.

from the review by
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