Postmodern societies – Postmodern families?*

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INTRODUCTION

Speaking of 'postmodern societies' entails what may be called (with reference to Karl Mannheim's formula) making a 'diagnosis of our times'. The term almost inevitably provokes objections to a certain arrogance inherent in its construction. For critics, the word modern means contemporary; thus speaking of postmodernity seems to involve a contradiction. Critics also ask how we could possibly judge the present historically? These objections imply meta-theoretical and methodological considerations which are being debated in connection with philosophical notions of 'postmodernism'.

In this contribution I will basically concentrate on the connection between 'postmodernism' as a perspective used to analyze contemporary societies and its fruitfulness for the study of contemporary families.[1] In the first part I will attempt, to outline a few theoretical and empirical implications of the concept of 'postmodernity' – as opposed to modernity. In the second part I will present a few thoughts on how the conception that we live in a postmodern society is supported by the observations we make in family research. In this connection I shall refer to the following thesis: Changes in public societal structures and private life styles, thus also the family, and changes in our knowledge and our notions of them mutually influence and intensify one another; in this way the development of the family contributes in a specific manner to social developments.[2] This thesis mirrors ideas connected with the concept of 'famiglia autopoetica' (Donati, 1989a).

POSTMODERN SOCIETIES

Postmodernity – toward a sociological definition

The word postmodern evokes associations with 'postindustrial'. This is a label which enjoys wide acceptance among sociologists because it refers to the domi-

nance of certain modes of production that – as evidence suggests – are being increasingly superseded. 'Postmodern' seems comparatively more general, and in this sense, more ambitious. It displays a certain polysemy which provokes interpretation. Overall, it refers especially to culture as a dominant sphere of social change.

This observation is confirmed by the origins of the concept. Although we can find scattered references to the term in the thirties, forties, and fifties (in the work of Arnold Toynbee), a genuine debate on postmodernism began in the sixties in American historiography, literary criticism and the field of 'American Studies'. From there, it spread to architectural criticism and the discourse on art and music (see Koehler, 1977 for an outline of the history of the term).

Thus, it is an empirical fact that there is an ongoing discussion of cultural manifestations for which the label postmodern is used. If we agree that works of art can be seen as symbolic manifestations of major societal concerns, a basic connection can be assumed between artistic, literary and architectural 'interpretations' and sociological interpretations of current themes concerning human sociability.

I shall argue that this is even more the case for postmodernism than for other periods of art, because the attempt to judge this art in epocal terms is occurring extremely close to its point of creation. In other words, production and evaluative commentary take place simultaneously. This also means that we have to pay attention both to works and their interpretation. There seems to be a special unity between production and its general labeling. This in itself is – meta-theoretically speaking – characteristic of the postmodern, namely the awareness that like works of art, 'texts' in general are not inherently meaningful, for they acquire meaning only through context-dependent interpretation. This is of course also true for the texts created, collected and analyzed by sociologists, both in their qualitative and their quantitative versions, for case studies as well as for tables.

Examples of postmodernity

What is postmodern literature, architecture, art and music? One could say, and here I follow Gitlin: 'It is Michael Graves's Portland Building and Philip Johnson's AT&T, ... it is photorealism, ... Rauschenberg's silkscreens, Warhol's multiple-image paintings and Brillo boxes, ... William Burroughs, Italo Calvino, ... Donald Barthelme, ... the Kronos Quartet, ... Laurie Anderson, ... the Centre Pompidou, the Hyatt Regency, ... it is Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan, Jean Baudrillard ...' (Gitlin, 1989a: 100). – These artis-

tic manifestations are closely interwoven with everyday behaviors and experiences like 'brocilage fashion ... news commentary cluing us in to the image-making and "positioning" strategies of candidates: it is remote-control-equipped viewers 'zapping' around the television dial' (ibid.).

From a similar account by Boyne and Rattansi (1990: 9-11), the following references are of special relevance to my argumentation: 'There is, in the first place, an attempt to dissolve the boundaries between "high" and "mass" culture, to find new languages which synthesize and reconstitute new forms out of and beyond the old divisions ... Warhol's Pop Art, with its recycling of popular images, and the combination of features from "jazz" and "classical" music in Cage and Glass furnish some well-known instances. There is also a concern to merge "art" and "life", again reminiscent of an earlier avant-garde, which is evident in "happenings" and other art forms. An eclectic mixing of codes and styles, as in architecture, which uses motifs from Egyptian, classical and modernist styles – James Stirling's Neue Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart is often cited ... The exploration of ethnic minority and feminist perspectives is a significant element of postmodernism .... The term postmodernism, then, has some purchase on a set of aesthetic and cultural projects. But it is often extended to include poststructuralist work in literary theory, philosophy and history (Derrida, Foucault, Lyotard), Rorty's form of pragmatist philosophy, post-positivist philosophy of science (Kuhn, Feyerabend), the textual movement in cultural anthropology (Clifford, Marcus), and so on. However, this is arguably an over-extension of the term.'

What do works of 'postmodern art' have in common? Let me first give a few shared qualities on a preliminary level of generalization:

– Most works use a plurality of stylistic and aesthetic means. Their structural logic cannot be easily detected. Works of visual art look like collages or like patchwork, with elements of different sizes, shapes and colors. Often there is a strong concern for surface. The formal perfection (and the expenditure it requires) may contrast sharply with the banalities of content.

– There is a free use of materials and a mix of media. For example, compare a performance by the Julliard String Quartet with one by the Kronos Quartet. Julliard plays on a neutral stage with uniform lighting; the four musicians wear dark suits. The Kronos members appear on stage in stylized costumes; there are subtle differences in their clothing, just enough to attract attention. During the performance, the lighting changes in color and intensity. Chamber music thus becomes a multi-media spectacle.

– All sorts of quotations are frequent in works of postmodern art and architecture. 'To quote' can be called a stylistic means. A seemingly vast combinato-

rial or synthetic freedom creates the impression that 'everything goes'. Juxtapositions appear in rich profusion. In this way, the familiar is used in an unfamiliar way. As a consequence, the context of artistic expression has no clear boundaries. This is also true in regard to the contents. Different genres as well as different media are interwoven. Temporal references mix. Playing with chance and contingency is frequent.

Some of us may object with references to works created earlier in this century, especially in the teens and twenties. What about the literature of Joyce, of Doeblin, of Pirandello, of the Dadaist movement or the music of Charles Ives? Looking or sounding like artistic patchwork quilts, they cross over the boundaries of genres. Mixing styles, they delight in provoking without being too serious. One may consider three tentative answers:

- First, one may argue that these artists engaged in a program to create a new aesthetic canon for a language of meanings with an internal logic of its own. In short, they were working within the project of modernity (to use Habermas' term). Postmodern artists no longer seem to follow this ideal. They just do what they like to call art. They do it here and now. They experiment, but without an obvious purpose, not even engaging in the search for purpose.
- Second, works of postmodern art are produced (and I mean produced) mostly within a context of abundance, a context of wealth. I am not thinking only of financial resources, although they may be important. Even more relevant is the abundance of materials and techniques. And there is, most importantly, the abundance of media. Postmodern art may be seen as play within contemporary media ecologies.
- Third, large segments of the population, so to speak the masses, are exposed to postmodern cultural works and manifestations. Not only do artists use different media, they work in societal situations which allow them to refer to and draw upon the general public's familiarity with these media, with postmodern television patchworking, the perfection of the trivial, playing with chance and the fragmentation of information. This again marks a difference from the movements and the developments of the early decades of our century.

Theories of postmodernity and their relevance for social theory and sociology

Increasing numbers of scholars are trying to interpret the postmodern within a sociological framework. One group tries to locate it in an ideal-historical spectrum. Thus Gitlin argues: 'The premodernist work aspires to a unity of vision.

It cherishes continuity speaking with a single narrative voice or addressing a single visual center. It honors sequence and causality in time and space. – The modernist work still aspires to unity, but this unity ... has been constructed ... – In the postmodernist sensibility, the search for unity has apparently been abandoned altogether. Instead we have textuality, a cultivation of surfaces endlessly referring to, ricocheting from, reverberating onto surfaces ... The work interrupts itself. ... Anything can be juxtaposed to anything else. Everything takes place in the present, 'here', that is nowhere in particular.' (Gitlin, 1989a: 101-102).

In this context Gitlin also relates the postmodernist spirit to the culture of multinational capitalism, where 'authentic use of value has been overcome by the universality of exchange value'. Politically, 'postmodernism plays in and with surfaces'. Referring to intergenerational relations, he locates postmodernism as 'an outlook for ... Yuppies – urban professional products of the late baby-boom born in the late fifties and early sixties' ... Among other things 'they cannot remember a time before television, suburbs, shopping malls'. Finally, he sees postmodernism as specifically, although not exclusively, American. He refers to juxtaposition, which is – in his words – 'one of the things we do best.'

A somewhat similar historical view is offered by Boyne and Rattansi (1990). They distinguish two sides of modernity which perhaps could be encapsulated in two pairs of key concepts: enlightenment and oppression, emancipation and alienation. Modernism, in Boynes and Rattansis' view, represents a critical approach to modernity, an interest in its dark sides, which are to be uncovered and brought to consciousness.

Donati (1989b: 167) interprets the transitions from an epistemological view: the passage from the pre-modern to the modern happens if the reality of such things and of phenomena is no longer taken for granted, but becomes problematized. This leads to an interest in modes of experience and of cognition. But modernity still presupposes the existence of 'subjects'. Postmodern thinking arises out of radical doubts about this convention.

A second category of interpretation elaborates on specific features of postmodernity. Thus, Welsch (1987) emphasizes what he calls radical plurality. The term radical is meant in its true sense: as reaching to the roots of and including all spheres of experience and of expression. In this sense, for Welsch, pluralism is fundamentally related to democracy. Welsch also states that each form of knowledge, each life project and each pattern of action stands on its own. It can claim legitimacy by itself. Consequently, we must speak of truths, of justices and of humanities in the plural.[3]

Also, postmodern culture, as Welsch interprets it, is radically anti-authoritarian and anti-monopolistic. Finally, for Welsch, the coincidence of postmodern phenomena in literature, architecture, the arts and in society generally can be seen as evidence that the term refers to a cultural and social reality.

My own approach (Lüscher, 1988; 1993) to interpreting the major implications of postmodernity is based – as mentioned in my opening remarks – on a pragmatistic perspective. To repeat: its main proposition is to understand postmodernism in literature, architecture and art as a symbolic expression of dominant features of social life in contemporary western societies. Furthermore, I consider it as useful to account for the different discourses in which the concept is used (Lüscher, 1997). Postmodernism is primarily analyzed in terms of the way it draws upon everyday experience. It displays the contradictions, ambiguities and ambivalences which ultimately lead to what, from a pragmatistic perspective, may be called the problematization of personal identity. This may be true for the comprehension of personal identity as such, e.g. the notion of self, as well as for its enactment and acquisition.

The pluralism of our time not only displays a high level of differentiation: it extends across all spheres and levels of social life, its private as well as its public domains, the economy as well as the arts. This omnipresence is highly correlated with the mutual interpenetration and mutual interdependence of domains and of systems of knowledge. To put it simply: there is a notion and a feeling that everything seems to depend upon everything else; that, in our daily actions, we are dependent upon and bound to large numbers of other people. We may not know them; but we can include them in our thinking on the social world. The media often suggest that we may have access to them. Reference-groups become numerous, and in specific ways partially abstract, partially personalized. Thus, life in the contemporary world is life under conditions of overwhelming multi-perspectivity.

One may use the concept of perspectives in two different ways. First, one may define it – in a way approximating that of everyday usage – as the organization of perception and related experiences. Multi-perspectivity, then, refers to the awareness of different points of view. It bears the probability of juxtapositions and of contradictions. Again, art may be a successful way to bring them to our attention. I recall, as a single example, the picture series of one of the Belgian predecessors of postmodern art, René Magritte, entitled 'This is not a pipe.'

Within a sociological theory of action, we may use a second definition of the concept of perspectives. It draws upon the ideas of G.H. Mead, and more generally speaking, on pragmatistic orientations. Here, a perspective is defined as the objective expression of an interpretation of the interrelationships between a

person and the world in which he lives. Perspectives contain an element of reflection, and this makes them constituents of personal identities (Lüscher, 1990). If one accepts the pragmatistic notion of perspectives, one can also accept the idea that most people are living under conditions of continuous exposure to choices and to claims of how to best define personal identity. This entails a high probability of ambiguities and ambivalence.

To summarize: To talk of 'postmodern society' implies, first, an attempt to make a 'diagnosis of our times'. It could be summarized in the simplifying thesis: postmodernity entails, in relationship to society, the notion that the accomplishments of the modern world, also including the emancipation of the individual, are being radically problematized today. This means that it is not only asked (as by the critics of modernism), whether these developments have been realized, but whether they are at all realizable or – a variant – if it is meaningful (in view of the results of development) to want to realize them. Thus, radical pluralism, multiperspectivity and the problematization of identities may be considered key concepts for a characterization of postmodernity within a pragmatistic approach to sociological analysis.

In regard to sociological work, it is a matter of doing justice to multi-perspectivism. This requires reconstructing objective social contents and social developments from the perspectives of as many participants as possible. The sociological perspective represents an attempt to do justice to the multiplicity of perspectives, which are now considered appropriate. Thus postmodernist sociology rejects the claim that scientific knowledge is superior to other forms of knowledge, at least *a priori*.[4]

'POSTMODERN FAMILIES'

Not only the characterization of contemporary societies as postmodern, with its implied objective content, but also the implications of such a characterization represent, in my opinion, an exciting challenge for family sociology - and conversely the latter may be suitable for judging the scope and importance of the postmodern perspective. In the following section I would like to illustrate this on the basis of a few topics in family sociology.

Interpreting recent changes in families

Over the last three decades, most western societies have witnessed – to varying degrees – a decline in the number of children in families, larger proportions of couples or of women who decide to remain childless, a historically rising number of divorces, remarriages, and redivorces. There are also women who want to

have a child without living with their child's father; there are lesbian and gay couples with children who claim to be families.

As a result, we can observe a plurality of family forms. But family historians tell us that this is nothing really new. However, historically novel is the widespread knowledge of the diversity of family forms in connection with the claim to tolerate this diversity and to recognize the new forms as families. A brief but apt empirical illustration is the variety of designations for families which today are suggested in public and in sociological literature. To offer just a few examples from recent publications in the German and English literature: commuter marriage, living-apart-together, serial marriage, successive marriage and family, multiple parenthood, fragmented parenthood, patchwork family, matrix family, hybrid family.

Here we are doubtlessly moving within a 'postmodern' topical area. The consciousness and problematization of plurality are an expression of multi-perspectivalism. To refer again to the general thesis presented at the beginning: what has changed over the last 30 years is not the forms of family life alone, but the conceptions that large segments of the population have of family life. They are not all compatible with each other. Consequently, we are witnessing a public discourse over the meaning of the concept of family. Some arguments refer overtly to the definition of family, others do so covertly; the latter is the case in connection with mothers' participation in the work force or in debates on abortion, the so called 'politics of motherhood'. There are obvious contradictions. For instance, representatives of the state refer to the family as a haven for emotional support and mutual personal acceptance. But forms of living together based solely on emotional ties without formalized relationships are denied the status of being families.

Defining 'family' [5]

In this situation it is increasingly difficult, and particularly so in sociological work, to define the concept of family. In our research we attempt to deal with this problem by explicitly referring in the definition of the family to the tensions between behavior and legitimation and by distinguishing among various levels of comprehending the family. The following definition results from this:

- The concept of family (as a social category) refers, in contemporary western society, to life styles constituted primarily through the structuring of intergenerational relationships between parents and children and between parents themselves which are as such (as groups or relations sui generis) societally recognized (legitimized).[6]

- In a narrower sense a family is a relationship between parents and children, as well as between parents themselves. In a broader sense, a family includes (certain) relatives.
- We speak of family types, if individual features or constellations of features (qualities, modes of behavior) are regarded as characteristic for the structure and development of families.
- We refer to an individual family when we think of features (qualities, modes of behavior) which are viewed by members of a family or by outsiders as the expression of personal experiences or of a personal understanding of the family.
- The concept family policy designates public activities, measures and institutions whose aim is to recognize, to influence and to modify family behaviors and patterns. This implies the legitimization of the private life forms which ought to be accepted as families. In other words: family policy not only presupposes a notion of family, but is also a means to stimulate change and/or to reject or deligitimize certain social definitions of the family.

Plurality, identity and pragmatic attitudes toward institutions
As for our thoughts about plurality, I tend to the following understanding. On closer examination it is apparent that various distinct dimensions can be employed to characterize family types. Specific dimensions refer to marriage or to the consequences of divorce, others to the household and still others to the process of beginning a family. If one holds the dimensions constant, it appears that there are in fact hardly any new family forms. There have always been step-families, some created after widowhood, some after separation and divorce. There has always been 'single parenthood'.

Thus, in regard to partnership relationships, for example marriage, parenthood and household, we can say that the spectrum of possibilities is basically the same today as in earlier historical periods (with which meaningful comparisons can be made). However, the quantitative distribution has changed, at least in the course of the last few decades. Previously dominant forms have declined, and certain other forms have increased in importance. On the whole, the spectrum is more evenly occupied. This also means that there has been a decline in the importance of forms which, viewed from a quantitative perspective, were previously regarded as normal. From a qualitative perspective this is related to a weakening or retrenchment of older conceptions of normality.

This concepts of plurality and of pluralization were worked out for example in a study of the different patterns in the temporal interrelationships between

conception, birth of the first child and marriage, (or the rejection of marriage), in Switzerland and Baden-Württemberg (Lüscher/Engstler, 1991; Engstler et al., 1992). To interpret these sequences we draw on the following considerations and pose the following thesis: the weakening or retrenchment of concepts of normalcy means that the societal significance of institutions, namely of marriage, has declined. For women or couples this has led to increasing options. They can deal with institutions more pragmatically. They can weigh the question of whether it is individually, thus subjectively, worthwhile to marry. They can thus decide on a more personal basis. To be sure: they also must decide on a more personal basis. Thus plurality and general knowledge are related to individualism and lead to a pragmatic 'use' of institutions.

More generally speaking, pluralism and options for individual choice not only concern the products we buy and the services we use, but also, within the family, affect existential decisions for the individual life course. To have or not to have children, the timing of birth, marriage, divorce, remarriage: these and many other choices are, at present, options of which large segments of the population are aware, even if they are not always available to them. The options suggest a freedom of choice, which has grown as traditions, customs, the experience and authority of parents have lost much of their binding power. In turn, and because of the weakness or even the absence of these constraints, choices must be made. They are – so to speak – imposed upon individuals from without (see also: Stacey, 1990, 1998).

Now to be sure one can justifiably object that there are many population segments which do not live in abundance and which accordingly do not have the opportunity to choose among a variety of options. Naturally we should consider that most members of these population segments are consumers of modern mass media, especially of television. In the picture of reality which they are exposed to on TV, there is a thoroughgoing plurality, a permanent 'juxtaposition', a weakening of conceptions of normalcy. To the degree that media influence people's day-to-day thinking and feeling, they certainly participate in the experience of 'postmodernity'. This also applies with particular weight to topics like love, partnership, family and kin. These have a privileged place in media programs and people's awareness, including – not insignificantly – those of children and older people.

There is one further point to be elaborated: for large segments of the population this should be seen within the broad context of everyday living situations. The plurality of options in and across all spheres of life, and the knowledge of them multiplies the perspectives individuals may have on their interrelationships

to the world in which they live. To define one's own identity in acting out decisions which are inevitable, even imposed, becomes a permanent preoccupation of large segments of the population in contemporary society. As life-spheres interpenetrate and boundaries become blurred, the constitution of personal identity becomes more difficult. For some it is a major preoccupation, although many people may be unaware of it, at least not continuously. What has been seen as a major concern of modern thinking becomes problematic.

CONCLUSIONS

Indeed – how do people react to these features of the postmodern situation? One reaction may be seen in a high sensitivity to risk and chance. Another reaction concerns the rising awareness of ambiguities and ambivalences in intergenerational relations (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). It is a reflection of aleatory aspects of social structures. In daily behavior, it seems to be related to certain kinds of irrationalism. The permanent claim to construct personal identity may furthermore be seen in connection with tendencies toward radical forms of subjectivism. It may also favor the submission to totalitarian (or even fascist) forms of personal identity. Both of these tendencies can be observed in the analysis of works related to postmodernism. To raise the public awareness of these possibilities is certainly an important task of the sociological analysis of contemporary societies. It is in this sense, too, that the notion of 'postmodern society' may be a useful sensitizing concept.

In relation to the family and the tasks of a sociology of the family a number of exciting challenges arise. I would like to present them in the form of questions: Can an understanding of the 'family', i.e., of the tasks to be achieved in and by the family be attained which is not simply 'restorative', but pluralistic, individualistic and solidary? What would a so-oriented 'family policy' be like?

Relative to the criteria for such a family policy, I would like to formulate the following five points:
- Family policy should basically recognize the services performed in and by the family.
- Family policy should offer help for self-help in cases of special burdens.
- Family policy requires reliable data on the actually experienced family forms.
- Family policy requires a plurality of bearers.
- Family policy should promote the family as an institution in which all members are able to realize their right to the free development of their personalities.[7]

Understandably with these considerations I have by no means completely demarcated the broad field of relationships between society and family under postmodern conditions. Especially to be considered is the role of the state in the development of family policies, and more recently, the relevance of the process of European unification will play. The theses presented should – if the methodological premises of postmodernism are taken seriously – be considered from the perspectives of women and children. And obviously much of what I have presented ought to be differentiated on the basis of exact observations. That we can pose many such questions, taking into account the contemporary societal situation and the latest scientific developments, clearly shows that family sociology has become an important part of general sociology.

NOTES

1   This presentation continues my many discussions with Wilfried Dumon on this topic. I also rely on my presentations made within the Erasmus and Socrates programs.

2   This thesis is based on propositions which have their roots in a pragmatistic (not pragmatic!) approach to sociological theorizing and research. In brief, it states that any knowledge of social reality is bound to language (which in turn can be conceived as the most general social institution or the base of human sociality). Consequently, in doing sociology, we have to take into account the conditions, processes and interests under which (scholarly) statements on social reality become possible and are made. Thus while social reality is not simply 'constructed' (as the propositions of a 'naive' constructivism state), our awareness of it is always bound to conceptions and methods of observation which have historical roots and are interrelated with human sociality. Doing research means to focus on specific topics, consequently, making exchanges between one field of knowledge and another is an important strategy. It underlies the argumentation in this paper, insofar as it is an attempt to connect the notion of 'postmodern' developed in art criticism with a sociological analysis of the family.

3   For an excellent recent assessment of the connections between pluralism and postmodernism in the perspective of sociology see Thompson (1996).

4   To be added is that – as was mentioned initially – sociology is to a very considerable degree obligated to the project of modernism; it is, in fact, practically a child of modernism. The works of the classic sociologists – Comte, Durkheim, Weber – express this unambiguously. With them as well, where they made critical comments on modernization, this was done with a, shall we say, constructive intention, namely with the intention to expose false developments and, as a whole, with the intention of rationally contributing to the program of modernism. Possibly this is also true of Marx. If contemporary societies are then analyzed as postmodern and thereby – more or less explicitly – it is established that radical doubt is forthcoming as to the modernist program, indeed may even be appropriate, then this is not without consequence for its theoretical and methodological program. In this connection, Agger

(1991) sees a close interpenetration between critical theory, poststructuralism and postmodernism.

⁵ The task to 'define' what is meant by 'family' in the context of contemporary (western) societies is a major concern of Wilfried Dumon. See for instance the elaborated treatment of the topic in Dumon (1993). This text also testifies to Wilfried Dumon's long-term commitment to creating a bridge between the worlds of international organizations and academia.

⁶ This definition includes the notion or the belief (in Peirce's understanding of this concept) that the family 'is' a reality (or a 'relation') sui generis. However, this idea, which has a long history, must be confirmed, and this confirmation occurs, sociologically speaking, through processes and struggles over the 'legitimization' of specific forms as 'family'. The proposed 'definition', oriented towards research, points to the necessity, for social scientists, to look for the explicit and implicit processes of this acknowledgement or legitimization, and, especially, to the struggles over them. This can be done by looking at how certain forms are debated in public, or how they are integrated into (or excluded from) family policy.

⁷ This criterion should be seen in the context of a historical view of the family and of the changing role of women. Let us agree that families need a certain amount of solidarity in order to fulfill their task. Historically speaking, and especially in the reality and – even more – the idealization of the 'bourgeois family', creating this solidarity was overwhelmingly the duty of the wife and mother. Given the practical and political advances of women's emancipation (which certainly cannot and should not be reversed), and family policy should promote conditions which favor – in this sense – more equity between the sexes.

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THE FAMILY

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES AND CHALLENGES

FESTSCHRIFT IN HONOR OF WILFRIED DUMON

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Koen Matthijs
With the collaboration of Ann Van den Troost
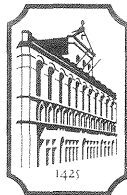
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