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Original article

The relationship with the Other as a platform for discussion about conflicts.

Comments on the Orzesze coal mine project

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ABSTRACT

An analysis was made of comments in media reports on the selected case, the "Orzesze" mining project, posted by Internet users on news websites during the period July 2014 - December 2016 This article is an attempt to examine the relationship with the Other/Alien when thinking about conflicts around investment projects which will interfere with the surrounding social and natural environment. The article considers the theories on the sources of conflict and the development of the conflict process and its consequences and suggests possible courses of action to prevent the escalation of such conflicts particularly with respect to the "Orzesze" mining project in the Upper Silesia, Poland. Taking into account that the Data, Relationship, Value, and Interest conflicts can all be sources of conflict, it should be underlined that good social communication is extremely important in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and the mitigation of their destructive influence. In a cooperation/communication oriented environment it would be much easier to focus on finding solutions rather than finding the guilty party as this can lead to an escalation of the conflict as searching for the guilty party is inextricably linked with the desire to win or to take revenge.

KEY WORDS: socio-environmental conflicts, mining projects, conflict management techniques, relationship, Other/Alien ARTICLE HISTORY: received 9 February 2017; received in revised form 1 April 2017; accepted 5 June 2017

1. Introduction

Contrary to popular belief, conflict doesn't always mean a disaster; on the contrary - it can provide an opportunity for positive change. The threat from conflict arises when it is badly managed, or neglected, and then it can have a devastating impact on the relationship between the parties involved and their surroundings. The development of any conflict can be divided into five stages: disagreement, recognizing and personalization, strategy, open conflict and the result (Table 1).

As can be seen, Stage 5 - Result, can be either destructive or constructive. Destructive, because it may lead to intensification of antagonisms, mutual hostilities, fear, and frustration. One of the consequences is the appearance of bias "against

someone". A prolonged situation leads, amongst others, to: 1) Stress, fear of social disapproval; 2) Negative emotions that lead to aggression; 3) Deterioration of relationships and communication disorders between the parties involved in the conflict; 4) Wasting of time and resources.

The constructive outcome teaches mutual respect and is oriented towards the search for solutions aimed at meeting the needs of all parties, resulting in, e.g.: 1) Increased trust between the parties; 2) A sense of justice; 3) Finding more possible solutions. The development of a positive constructive outcome of the conflict requires a willingness to go beyond your comfort zone and look for solutions leading to a change in the situation in which both sides of the conflict find themselves (IDZIAK, 2014).

Table 1. The conflict process (Idziak, 2014)

Stage	Description
Stage 1 - Disagreement	The causes of conflict include, among others, inappropriate communication, over-excitement, inadequate structure and personality differences
Stage 2 - Recognizing and Personalization	Being in conflict (as a party)/Recognition of the conflict by an external observer, boss, etc.
Stage 3 - Strategy	Adoption of a strategy (competition, avoidance, submission, compromise, and cooperation ¹
Stage 4 - Open conflict	Behaviour of the parties and the people around them, reactions to behaviour
Stage 5 - Result	Improving the efficiency of the group or improvement of relations; finding solutions. Decrease in the efficiency of the group, prolongation of the conflict

¹Confrontation (competition) – This often leads to escalation of the conflict, as the parties want to win at any cost and are ready to sacrifice what objectively is beneficial for them, as long as it will help to defeat the opponent. This often leads to a stalemate, because the parties do not accept a solution beneficial to the opponent (even if the other party would obtain similar benefits). Avoidance – both sides "ignoring" the conflict, the apparent calm. Both sides avoid each other, or avoid sensitive topics, increasing the distance between the parties. Unresolved problems are growing, preventing cooperation. The conflict is prolonged, no visible signs. The prolonged avoidance can result in sudden emotional outburst in the least expected moment, the so-called "straw that broke the camel's back". Compromise – Parties to the conflict do not feel satisfied with the settlement of the dispute, because each of them has to give up some of their expectations. This leads to attempts to renegotiate the agreements and return to open conflict. A compromise can be reached when there are a number of issues that hold a different level of importance for each party. This allows giving up the least important things. Submission (adaptation) – is submission to others just "for the sake of peace". This may be a good strategy in less important issues. The threat is that the submission to others leads to the situation where the parties are accustomed to the situation where one party achieves its goals at the expense of the other. Over time, the escalation of demands and decreasing reciprocity can be observed. Cooperation – represents a desire to develop a mutually satisfactory solution. Often costly and time-consuming, it enables to reduce the distance and build trust between the parties. Strategies based on cooperation are showing results, also in the context of future conflicts both parties are more likely to avoid destructive behaviors (see Idziak, 2014, pp. 7-8).

2. Potential sources of conflict

The American mediator Ch.W. Moore (2009) distinguished five potential types of conflicts and "locked" them in the so-called Circle of Conflict (Table 2). This breakdown is universal and therefore extremely useful when creating a platform for analysis of conflict or conflictual situations.

A conflict situation can result from several causes; in addition, each side can focus on another issue, depending on the level of importance to each party. Furthermore, the first three conflict types can form a chronological sequence of an escalating conflictual situation: an unresolved data conflict can transform into a relationship conflict, and the latter, if prolonged, leads to escalation and a much more serious conflict: value conflict. In such a situation there is no chance for a constructive solution, so it is suggested that some common ground should be found in order to reach an agreement. The most preferred option is to reduce the conflict to a level of interest conflict or a structural conflict.

In a situation of real conflict it is extremely difficult to reduce the conflict to the above mentioned levels. This is due to the fact that conflict usually involves strong emotions, which are usually unconscious (BELZYT, 2005, 2015).

These emotions arise during a meeting with the Other/Alien which is always a potentially conflictual factor due to the fact that anything that arouses anxiety moves away from a state of homeostasis and leads to cognitive dissonance (SCHUDSON, 1984; ROSENBERG, 1990, 1991; KUZMICS, 1991; HALBENSTADT ET AL., 2001; SCHILLING, 2003; TURNER & STETS, 2005; KOWALIK, 2007). According to WALDENFELS (2009, p. 11): The otherness or strangeness of the other "is a liminal phenomenon par excellence", because what belongs to me or the Other/Alien is relative to each other and, in all its separateness, Own and Alien's are, to a smaller or larger extent, intertwined with each other (WALDENFELS, 2009) and the borders between myself and others (what is mine and what is yours) can be determined only in relation (opposition) to the "others"; it is possible to look at ourselves through the eyes of others and respond to the basic question: "Who am I?" (BACHTIN, 1986; ORŁOWSKI, 2016). In the case of a meeting, individuals (Me-You) can benefit from seeing different things from each other's point of view. Therefore, the Other/Alien may have, (next to potential threats and fears), development potential; just like in the case of the "outcome" of the conflict (Table 1), the encounter with the Other/Alien can be constructive or destructive.

Table 2. Types of conflicts according to Ch.W. Moore (2009), own work (JIB) based on Ch. W. Moore (2009)

Types of conflicts	Causes	Description
Data conflict	- Lack of information - Wrong, or different understanding, and interpretation of data - Different data collection procedures	Occurs when the parties to the conflict do not have the necessary data, have different/conflicting information or interpret them differently. This leads to exacerbation of the conflict; the sides are accused of withholding data, manipulation of information, and intentional misrepresentation
Relationship conflict	 Wrong perception Inadequate/poor communication Strong emotions Stereotypes and prejudices Negative retaliatory actions 	Associated with strong, difficult emotions experienced in a relationship with a given person. It may arise even when there are no objective reasons for the conflict, the reasons may include stereotypes or poor communication
Value conflict	 Religious and ideological differences, resulting from tradition The values associated with the sense of one's self (identity of the person) The values of everyday life (individual habits, social conventions) 	Arising from different value systems, different philosophies, but also as a result of different principles and importance attributed to daily activities, e.g. work attitude and ethics of the profession
Interest conflict	 Physical assets (money, time, the division of labor) Procedural issues (how conversation should be conducted) Psychological issues (self-esteem, dignity, respect, trust) 	Associated with an inability to meet the needs, or achieve the objectives
Structural conflict	 Structural inequities in control Uneven distribution of competencies Spatial distribution Time limits Excess tasks Different social roles 	Stems from the structure of the situation - the limited resources (depending on the context), the structure of the organization (e.g. vaguely defined competencies for individual positions), performed roles, time constraints. It is independent of people's will

Each individual will constantly experience a contact zone/border, which gives the ability to recognize one's own and the other's thoughts, beliefs, and experiences (BACHTIN, 1986; ORŁOWSKI, 2016). At the same time, in the theatre of life (GOFFMAN, 2000), individuals perform different roles, which inevitably lead to situations of tension and ambivalence. Each individual taking part in the "We-They/Me-They" conflict may be a member of several groups fighting each other at the same time. Therefore, the individual involved at various levels of the conflict can suffer from a sense of identity dispersion.

3. The discussion around the "Orzesze" mining project

Typical examples of situations evoking completely different opinions are conflicts connected with industrial investments, especially new mining projects (HILSON, 2002; CAMPBELL & ROBERTS, 2010, and many other publications). The aim of the "Orzesze" mining project is the extraction of bituminous coal from the "Żory-Suszec 1" deposit in Orzesze in the Upper Silesia, Southern Poland,

without the need to build a new coal mine. Instead, opening the deposit using the currently existing "Krupiński" coal mine in Suszec is expected. The project is being implemented by the Polish Silesian Coal Company S.A., which is linked to the German HMS Bergbau AG company. Currently, the procedures for obtaining a coal mining license from the Ministry of the Environment, including, among others, a decision of the Regional Directorate of Environmental Protection in Katowice on environmental conditions of the project, are underway.

An analysis of comments on media reports on the selected case (the "Orzesze" mining project which were posted by Internet users on seven news websites (see note for links to articles with publication date)¹ during the period July 2014 -

¹ Links to articles with publication date: http://nettg.pl (6.12.2016), http://nettg.pl (24.10.2016), http://www.dziennikzachodni.pl (22.04.2016), http://www.dziennikzachodni.pl (19.04.2016), http://www.dziennikzachodni.pl (31.07.2015), http://forum.wnp.pl (1.07.2014), http://gornictwo.wnp.pl (1.07.2014)

December 2016 was performed by using document analysis (RIPLEY, 2008). Documentary analysis refers to the various procedures involved in analyzing and interpreting data generated from the examination of documents and records relevant to a particular study (RIPLEY, 2008).

In the case of conflict around the "Orzesze" mining project, a number of different groups can be defined. However, it should be noted that certain individuals can "move" between the mentioned groups, depending on which categories are the most important to them at a given time. The available comments refer to a number of threads and various interest groups (e.g. posts signed as: Ziutek, Mike Tajson, or Objective). The most characteristic comments were selected for the analysis.

3.1. Young vs. older/working vs. non-working

Young people perceive coal mines as a source of potential income, especially in the context of the restructuring process, including, amongst others, the closure of unprofitable mines. The protests of others are considered by them as a threat to their financial security, especially since they identify the protesters as elderly and being in opposition to "the young" as highlighted in the post: "Where should we (young people) work, when all around are protesting?" [DAW6]. The protesters can also be identified as unemployed people: "They got 500 PLN from Kaczor (...) They will procreate and receive unemployment benefits)"2 [ano], those who are not interested in working and are opposed to any changes that may arise as a result of coal mine exploitation. Another issue pointed out by some of the Internet posters is the concern that the mining company are employing pensioners, in order to reduce the operating costs of the mine: "The worst part is that instead of jobs for young people they will be employing pensioners" [m], "the new investor will cut some privileges, introduce a six, and then a seven-day work schedule (a lot of savings), hire retirees for next to nothing and youngsters for even less" [Mike Tajson]. Others, however, point out that the mine is a chance for young people to make a living and gain the experience needed to find a better job: "After all, there will be new jobs, maybe not very well paid, but the young can always earn something, and after gaining experience it is possible to work for another company" [obiektywny]. In the quoted statements it is possible to identify the different types of conflict (according to MOORE, Table 2) e.g.

² Quotations in the Silesian dialect are given in the original and translated into English in parentheses

data conflict, relationship conflict, value conflict, and interest conflict.

Interestingly, people commenting on the articles indicate that they do not understand the protests of local residents: "(the protesters) *The Orzesze residents do not want work or money!*" [SW7], "It is always wrong for the residents, is it that bad that someone wants to give jobs to several thousand people? I don't get it" [gość]. In this case, the gaps in the flow of information, due to limited access to the news and impaired communication are clearly visible (data conflict and relationship conflict according to MOORE, Table 2).

3.2. The ecological approach and industrial approach/status quo vs. change

The comments presented below are dominated by an anti-mining sentiment. Coal mining is considered to be a threat to:

- 1) the natural environment "coal mining means irreversible environmental damage on the surface, including flooding of large forest areas" [Ziutek], "No one speaks about the huge underground salt deposit, which can be washed out and cause an ecological disaster not only in Orzesze but also in Żory and Bełk" [Ziutek], "if (…) they build something, they will destroy this beautiful place" [Mariusz];
- 2) the quality of life in the area "I don't want a mine. I built a house two years ago to move away from an industrialized area. I wanted the forest, peace of mind and nature, not a coal mine. I do not agree with that" [gość], "The times when people settled in industrial areas are long gone. Now we are looking for peace and quiet there are less and less places like Orzesze" [gość], "(...) people from other agglomerations build houses here mainly because it is a peaceful place without large industrial plants, without mines" [Mieszkaniec];
- 3) the existing infrastructure "coal mining means irreversible destruction (...) of roads connecting villages" [Ziutek].

The residents are not against the mining activity as such, but are against coal mining in the vicinity of their homes, as indicated by persons posting comments under articles describing the protests of residents: "Half of the protesters are mine workers, when you were (...) making a fortune out of mining under my cottage in Łaziska you didn't have (...) any objections back then. But when it is about your home, now it hurts. Half of the Zgonie villagers worked in coal mines, now you protest!!!" [Ślusorz md], "(...) All who live near the "Żory Suszec-1" mining field, remember many of you are working at the KWK KRUPIŃSKI coal mine exploiting deposits - this has a direct impact on the natural environment in

the Suszec Municipality. What am I trying to say? You can work there to make a living but not in my backyard - "We say NO". Why the residents of Suszec won't take to the streets to protest against coal mining "out of our homes?" I see you are conducting an organized campaign AGAINST ... and everybody is screaming NO but no one thinks about the benefits for the local area. The residents of Orzesze and surrounding areas, give up your jobs in coal mines because you are contributing to the negative impact on the environment in other municipalities and that is what you are fighting against" [TAki TAM]. This approach is referred to in the literature as NIMBY, which is the acronym for "Not In My Backyard" (BADERA, 2010, 2016). This attitude is characteristic for many situations and is related to numerous conflicts outside of coal mining when citizens fight against proposed facilities near their homes, e.g. centres for addicts, people with disabilities, people with mental health problems, etc. It has been shown that the closer the Other/Alien is, the less tolerance and openness to otherness is observed (GAIDZICA, 2013).

It is possible to identify the data conflict, relationship conflict, value conflict, and interest conflict (According to MOORE, Table 2) in the comments quoted above.

3.2. Poles vs. Germans

In this aspect of the conflict, a group perceiving German investors as "exploiters", introducing a new kind of "slavery" through reduction of employee benefits and lowering wages, can be observed. The post: "And we, Silesians, mean nothing to Schwabs" [Untermensch]3, as well as other comments also fall into this trend: "(...) The Polish deposits, on Polish land - Silesia (...) mined by Poles under the rule of a foreign investor. (...) Foreigners investing in our country do not pay taxes while their income is taxed in the investor's country of residence. People will work there because of unemployment. And then what? Slavery? Instead of appreciating Polish mining, Silesian miner, his work and salary (...) you care about Germans? Are you a Pole? You should use all of your power to save the local mining and take care of it. Because miners need their jobs and salaries to be guaranteed" [Erica], "the new investor will cut some privileges, introduce six, and then seven-day work schedules (a lot of savings), hire retirees for next to nothing and youngsters for even less" [Mike Tajson], "Germans

³ Schwab – a Polish derogatory term for German; Untermensch – a subhuman (in German) will extract coal in Poland, just like during "the good old years" while Polish mines will be destroyed because of the system, trade unions, daughter companies, and corruption. Well done Poles, now the only way for you is to be slaves in the German colony and to accept their terms. No single mine, whether Piast or Marcel, will not withstand the competition with this mine. How can you give it to Germans for free?" [Lolo].

Those commenting on the potential contribution of the foreign investor point to an unclear situation and the lack of reliable information (data conflict according to MOORE, Table 2). According to them, the source of this situation lies in "suspicious transactions" - "A German will buy (...) for 1 PLN doing the best deal of his life. This is our paradox our mines are permanently unprofitable, while just one part of the deposit can be used by the private investor for 30 years" [Paweł1990], "Looks like Poles fire their employees, so a good uncle from Germany offers a job. I wonder who has an interest in firing and hiring again" [Wrrrr]. Direct references to the ethnic identity conflict - "Polish coal for Poles" [Wrrrr] and emotional reactions can also be observed "Without Germans, you would have to come down off your high horse, Poles)!!!!" [Hyniek] (relationship and ralue conflicts according to MOORE. Table 2). Other comments condemn the indifference of the Polish authorities to the fact that Polish enterprises are being acquired for next to nothing: "Unfortunately, Poland is slowly becoming a German colony while Germans are controlling us through the EU climate policy. They are using the legislation, our stupid politicians, and traitors in order to finish off our mines; then they will build their own mines or buy those, the best ones, for next to nothing" [Lolo], "A German will buy (...) for 1 PLN doing the best deal of his life" [Paweł1990], "a great deal to take over one of the most modern coal processing plants in Poland for pennies (JSW S.A. pumped a lot of money in it recent years) and open a mine. Everything falls into place - open coal processing plant - close (mines) - take over the plant for next to nothing - SAVIORS" [Rzók].

3.3. The society vs. the state

The comment quoted at the end of the previous subsection refers not only to ethnic animosities, but also to the conflict between society and the state (state level, local level). The majority of web site posters refer to the authorities at the local level, criticizing them for not taking into account the lack of social acceptance for their decisions regarding the coal mine activities - "You do not have to agree with the construction of a new mine,

because they already have one, they only need to open up a deposit, and your local government has already approved it!" [Zorientowany], "there is no, and there will not be any agreement - the local government cannot make decisions without taking into account the opinion of residents, and they did not agree to that. The rural administrative unit has its own decision making body, the so called "zebranie wiejskie" which has the power to adopt resolutions" [Ziutek], while there are voices in the local community that are not opposed to the investment - "There are protest letters in numerous educational institutions in Orzesze to be signed by the locals. So far, no one has signed!" [Gość], which suggests that the conflict was arranged by a group who has an interest in it. Other comments, however (see 3.2. sub-section), indicate that residents are actively protesting and clearly define their goals.

The involvement of citizens in issues important to the community is very important from the point of view of implementing the idea of civil society. This approach is clearly visible in the comments that specify the information contained in the articles: "Some residents of the three villages of the Orzesze municipality do not want the new bituminous coal mine in the vicinity of their homes. The mayor points out that in the last few months the Regional Directorate for Environmental Protection (RDOS) has received more than 1.200 registered claims, letters, and objections from residents"4. The posted comment stated: "Not "some residents", but all of them, as evidenced by the number of letters sent to the RDOS in this case" [Mieszkaniec Orzesza6] or explain issues that are the most important for the discussed situation: "The mine has already been built. You need to understand it no one will be building a new mine; instead, they will use the Krupiński coal mine and open up a deposit in Orzesze!" [Zorientowany]. These issues once again emphasize how important it is to provide information to the parties involved in the conflict, so that the conflict won't escalate (the data conflict and relationship conflict according to MOORE, Table 2).

Regarding the stages of the conflict process, the comments about media reports on the "Orzesze" mining project posted by Internet users on news websites allow us to conclude that people posting their comments are definitely involved in the conflict. Meanwhile, their comments confirm the difficulties in communication, excessive emotions, and personality differences (Stage 1 – Disagreement, Table 1). As shown above, they are

⁴ http://nettg.pl/news/139520/gornictwo-protest-przeciwko-budowie-kopalni-w-orzeszu (6.12.2016)

strongly in favour of one side of the argument, thus they take a strong stand in the dispute (Stage 2 – Recognizing and Personalization, Table 1).

The discussed conflict can also be analyzed by using the Circle of Conflict by CH. W. MOORE (Table 2), while the cited comments indicate that almost all types of conflict - data conflict, relationship conflict, value conflict, and interest conflict - can be observed.

4. Topics temporarily not taken into consideration

Given the relatively substantial comments (compared to comments regarding various types of other mining investments) in the discussion on the investment project in Orzesze, there is a need for further analyses identifying the potential importance of the theory of attribution, social perception, and cognitive scheme in thinking about conflicts and their resolution. Meanwhile, the mentioned analyses should take into account the aforementioned theories regarding the sources of conflict (Moore, 2009) and the development process of the conflict and its consequences (IDZIAK, 2014).

It would also be of interest to analyse the different measures taken by the parties involved in the conflict in order to convince public opinion, local communities or their opponents (assuming that the opponents are ready for compromise and cooperation), about the way of presenting the situation in the media and the media's role in the dispute (BADERA & JAKSOŃ, 2011).

There is a need for further analyses which take into account the indicated methods of influence used by the parties of the conflict. The key principles of persuasion by CIALDINI are especially worth noting (CIALDINI, 1993):

1) Social proof - Providing information about people being satisfied, or not satisfied, with something as a proof supporting the thesis claimed by the parties. In this case, one of the parties involved in the conflict presents examples of the investments that satisfied residents of other municipalities "30 years ago the reactions to the construction project of the Budryk coal mine were exactly the same. The same concerns about the flood-prone villages, devastation of land, and environmental devastation were also expressed. Just visit Ornontowice or Chudów and see their economic development. For me it is a kind of déjà vu". The other party, using the same tools, argues that "we are heading towards a catastrophe similar to that which occurred in Wapno in the Greater Poland Voivodeship, where, in 1977, Water flooded the closed salt mine, leading to the collapse of many houses".

2) Authority – The parties in the conflict are presented as renowned experts on the subject. The authorities in the field, related to the subject-matter of the conflict, perform important positions (which suggests that they have earned their reputation due to their knowledge, competence and skills) – *President, professor, hydrogeology expert, researcher, doctor, geologist (researcher)*.

Interestingly, one can also find a reference to Goffman's idea of the theatre of everyday life (GOFFMAN, 2000), which sees social life from a theatrical narrative perspective. Human being appears as another "personality" emerging from different "dramatic" interactions and the social reality is a series of episodes and performances (RADZIEWICZ-WINNICKI, 2004). This is particularly evident in subsequent media reports published on various sites where readers can find out more information about the "heroes" involved in this kind of "game". The information that one of the persons presented as a researcher and scientist, considered as an independent expert in the field, turned out to be the president of the association representing the people of Orzesze, declaring its full support for their demands and taking actions aimed at stopping the activities leading to environmental degradation, can serve as an example⁵.

The aforementioned example is undoubtedly responsible for the psychologically uncomfortable ambivalence, also known as cognitive dissonance, experienced by both parties involved in the conflict, as well as by readers and observers. As a result of cognitive dissonance, the described situation can be perceived as an unpleasant experience resulting in frustration (RADZIEWICZ-WINNICKI, 2004).

With regard to the topics outlined above and taking into account that the data conflict, relationship conflict, value conflict, and interest conflict can all be a source of conflict, it should be underlined that good social communication is extremely important in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and the mitigation of their destructive influence (BADERA, 2016). Taking into account the mentioned chronological sequence of an escalating conflictual situation (unresolved data conflict transforms into the relationship conflict, and the latter, if prolonged, leads to the escalation and more serious value conflict), optimal conditions for the communication process (clearly defined rules and procedures) are required. In addition, there is a need to take care of

⁵ Based on: http://www.dziennikzachodni.pl/ (19.04.2016)

communication skills of the parties. However, the latter issue may prove difficult to implement. In a cooperation/communication oriented environment it will be much easier to focus on finding solutions, rather than finding the guilty party⁶.

Such an attitude radically reduces conflicts while the search for solutions offers the chance to reach a satisfactory agreement for all of the parties involved in the conflict. It should be noted that poor communication, that is expecting that others will guess what you want, is a frequent cause of conflicts (IDZIAK, 2014) while creating a space for expressing own needs to others allows to search for solutions.

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⁶Searching for the guilty party is inextricably linked with the desire to win or revenge, which leads to escalation of the conflict (Idziak, 2014)

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