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6. Phenomenology, Fieldwork
and Folk Religion

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Phenomenology, Fieldwork and Folk Religion

This paper was triggered by discussion of phenomenology of religion with some Japanese students on the Comparative International Studies programme at Bath College of Higher Education. When the time came for Study of Religions examination revision, we dutifully went over various points concerning phenomenology - epoché, eidetic vision, Smart's dimensions and so on. I told the students they would have to be prepared to discuss the pros and cons of phenomenology, and this produced some interesting reactions. One student was perplexed, as she could only think of positive things to say of phenomenology. Another, however, put forward the old accusation that phenomenology was merely descriptive.

Descriptive - yes; merely descriptive - no. I am not for a moment suggesting that there is no need or place for analysis in the study of religious traditions. I am, however, suggesting that it is necessary to remember that description, in the sense of accurate, judgement-free reporting, is invaluable in the study of religions. Analysis without phenomenological fieldwork can be suspect at best, dangerous at worst. Unless we check our analyses against what is actually happening in the field, we risk perpetuating false assumptions and blatant inaccuracies.

The need I perceive for phenomenological fieldwork stems from my own particular area of interest, which is popular or folk religion, by which I mean what people actually do, say, think,

believe in the name of religion. Another way of putting it might be to say that I am interested in the Little Tradition, but the Little Tradition does not exist in isolation from the Great Tradition and vice versa, so that is not how I would normally choose to put it. They are not terms with which I feel particularly comfortable. Having read Religious Studies at Lancaster University and Folklore at Memorial University of Newfoundland¹, I am happier with the term folk religion. Don Yoder defines folk religion as 'the totality of all those views and practices of religion that exist among the people apart from and alongside the strictly theological and liturgical forms of the official religion'.² Obviously, where appropriate, 'theological and liturgical' could be replaced by philosophical and ritual.

I am, of course, aware that the 'folk religion' can and has been used in a variety of ways, and that is why I am careful to nail my colours very specifically to Yoder's mast. In his article 'The Folk Religion of the English People'³, for example, Edward Bailey comments on the use of the term folk religion among Church of England clergy since the 1970's, citing John Hapgood's 1983 definition of it as '... a general term for the unexpressed,

¹ A good, brief survey of the history and present state of folklore studies is given in the first chapter of Gillian Bennett's Traditions of Belief (London: Penguin, 1987).

² Don Yoder, 'Toward a Definition of Folk Religion,' Western Folklore, 33, No 1 (Jan 1974), 14.

³ In Religion, State and Society in Modern Britain, ed. Paul Badham (London: Macmillan, 1987).

inarticulate, but often deeply felt religion of ordinary folk who would not usually describe themselves as Church-going Christians yet feel themselves to have some sort of Christian allegiance.' While rejecting this as too narrow a view of what folk religion is, it is only fair to point out that Yoder's definition is itself based on the term 'religiose Volkskunde', which he translates as 'the folk-cultural dimension of religion, or the religious dimension of folk culture.'⁴ This term was originally coined in 1901 by a German Lutheran minister, Paul Drews, whose concern was to investigate religious folklife so that young ministers were better equipped to deal with rural congregations whose conception of Christianity was often radically different from the clergy's official version. In Drews case, the term folk religion came from 'an attempt, within organized religion, to narrow the understanding gap between pulpit and pew.'⁵ There might still be a need to narrow the understanding gap between the study of religions and the religions studied.

I would like to suggest that accounts of religion which do not take into account folk religion risk telling less than the whole story, and that phenomenological fieldwork is often the only means of gathering such information. I have certainly found this to be the case in my own fieldwork experiences.

Frequently, when scholars talk of religion they tend to mean

⁴ Yoder, 14.

⁵ Yoder, 3.

official religion, usually perceived in terms of theology or philosophy and ritual, which is just one aspect of most people's religious experience. Believers live according to their own perceptions of the religious traditions to which they adhere, and if their beliefs and practices do not always accord with the official view they remain religious nevertheless; their faith does not become any less sincere or worthy of study. As Susan Tax Freeman has pointed out, 'That the personal system of faith may elevate the unsanctioned objects of belief to at least the same level as the sanctioned ones and draw them coherently together has either been ignored or is obliterated by the definitions of religion in use.'⁶

Ninian Smart claims that 'to understand human history and human life it is necessary to understand religion'.⁷ It is tempting to suggest the corollary that to understand religion it is necessary to understand the relationship between official, folk and individual beliefs and practices. In religion, as in so many aspects of human endeavour, theory and practice do not necessarily coincide, nor do people behave in exactly the same way. To study the practice as opposed to the theory of religion, ordinary people's ideas and behaviour must be taken into account.

⁶ Susan Tax Freeman, 'Faith and Fashion in Spanish Religion: Notes on the Observation of Observance,' Peasant Studies, 7, No 2 (Spring 1978), 121.

⁷ Ninian Smart, The Religious Experience of Mankind (Glasgow: Fount Paperbacks, 1977), p.11.

It is thus helpful to view religion in terms of three basic components -- the official, the folk and the individual. The official is concerned primarily with theology/philosophy and ritual, and is the aspect of religion which tends to receive most scholarly attention. The folk can be described as 'the totality of all those views and practices of religion that exist among the people apart from and alongside the strictly theological and liturgical forms of the official religion,'⁸ a vast but comparatively neglected field. The individual component is basically each person's understanding of religion and the part it plays in his or her life.

These components are rarely analysed, or indeed recognised, in relation to each other. Believers and observers have tended to be unaware of the extent to which these components are interrelated, and this can lead to inaccurate and/or misleading appraisals of religious phenomena. In order to comprehend religion in its broadest sense it is necessary to appreciate how official, folk and individual ideas and behaviour interact with each other.

There is a carefully cultivated 'solidity' about official religion, but it is not a well-defined, static entity. Theological notions can be developed, modified or abandoned. Previously condoned ideas or practices can be actively opposed, or just quietly dropped. However, a belief can continue to be

⁸ Yoder, 14.

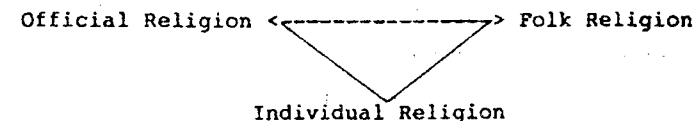
acted upon, regardless of the fact that it is no longer officially approved. It slips from official to folk religion. Conversely, folk religious ideas and practices can gain approval and become official. The process works both ways. Folk religion thus 'exists in creative tension with official religion and involves a body of belief and practice that overlaps with that of official religion in both directions - the permitted forms overlapping inward into official religion, the unpermitted or unsanctioned forms remaining outside the strict edge of official religion.'

At the individual level, religion is a mixture of a received religious tradition and a personal belief system. In talking of the received tradition, I am making the point that in many cases what the individual learns of religion does not come from purely orthodox sources. Relatives, contemporaries and others make their mark by example and by passing on their interpretations of religious matters, and it can be quite difficult for the individual to know what actually comprises official religion. The personal belief system evolves from the received tradition, but it is affected by the individual's outlook, experience and suchlike. Even if a number of people were to receive a similar tradition, there would still be scope for individual interpretations of it, 'for each person's religion has to do with

⁹ Yoder, Introduction, Western Folklore, 33, No 1 (Jan 1974), 1.

himself and his own autonomous needs.'¹⁰ On occasion the ideas of an individual, such as Augustine or Aquinas in the Christian tradition, can radically affect official religion. A personal belief or practice can likewise pass into folk religion.

In diagrammatic form the relationship between official, folk and individual religion might be expressed thus:



In drawing attention to the relationship between official and folk religion, and the lack of standardisation in people's received traditions and personal belief systems, I wish to make the point that there is considerable scope for variety and variation in religion.¹¹ Indeed, it seems almost inevitable. However, there is a tendency towards concentration on homogeneity in religion and minimisation of diversity. But there is no such thing as pure religion, whatever the religious tradition. Official, folk and individual components interact to produce what, for each person, constitutes religion. To understand

¹⁰ Mary Douglas, Natural Symbols (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1973), p 26.

¹¹ Neither this variety, nor the reasons it occurs, are confined to religion. See Paul S. Smith, 'Communication and Performance: A Model of the Development of Variant Forms of Cultural Traditions,' in Language, Culture and Tradition, ed A. E. Green and J.D.S. Widdowson (Sheffield: The Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies and The Centre for English Folk Cultural Tradition and Language, 1981), pp. 16-32.

religion in its broadest sense it is therefore necessary to take into account not just theology or philosophy and ritual, but the perceptions, beliefs and behaviour of those practicing it. I am not, of course, suggesting that to say anything about any religion it is necessary to talk to everyone involved. I am, however, appealing for a realistic view of religion, and the recognition that folk religion, as defined by Yoder, is not an aberration, but an important and constant element of religion per se. Folk religion, I believe, should be a descriptive, not a pejorative term.

This brings us back to the value of phenomenology. The subject of my MA thesis was devotion to St Gerard Majella in Newfoundland. In brief, St Gerard was born in Muro, Southern Italy, in 1726; a remarkably pious child and exemplary adolescent who suffered from delicate health, he became a Redemptorist lay brother but died in 1755. He was not beatified until 1893 and was finally canonised in 1904. Although a seemingly incongruous role for a sickly male virgin who died young, he has been best known and most vigorously promoted in Newfoundland as patron of Expectant Mothers. I first became aware of him because it seemed to me that a disproportionately high number of Newfoundlanders were named Gerard, and this impression was confirmed by others. A St John's judge, for example, claimed that 'every other young fellow hauled up' before him was a Gerard, while a female friend remarked that 'practically every second chap' in her community was a Gerard. The names were a reflection of the high level of devotion to St Gerard.

Much of what has been written of the saint system has either been by Catholic apologists or by theologians and historians complaining of 'abuses' of it at popular level.¹² As a result, we know comparatively little of how the saint system has operated in the lives of ordinary Catholics. The range of beliefs and practices associated with this type of devotion has received comparatively little attention. This is partly because religion has often been studied in terms of what people should do or think; whatever has not conformed to that has either been condemned or, more frequently, simply ignored.

There are also practical difficulties. It can at times be very hard to judge whether some aspect of religious belief is official, folk, or simply idiosyncratic; the boundaries between official, folk and individual religion are not well-defined and they can be virtually indistinguishable. Frequently folk ideas and behaviour are so much part of a religious tradition that participants and observers alike consider them normative. In addition, much of religious life takes place outside a ritual setting and is not easily observable. Religion can be very a personal matter, and it is therefore necessary to consult those involved in religious activity to ascertain what is actually happening. Since the relationship between an individual and a holy or supernatural figure in whatever tradition is essentially

¹² A notable exception is William A Christian Jnr's Person and God in a Spanish Valley (New York and London: Seminar Press, 1972).

a personal affair, the minutiae of devotion and the part it plays in the lives of individuals can only be discovered through consultation with devotees.

In the study of folk and individual beliefs and practices, the flesh on the bare bones of official religion, I believe that phenomenology provides an invaluable methodological basis.

While what follows is probably now so familiar as to seem like a collection of clichés, let me nevertheless restate some of its underlying principles. Phenomenology of religion, Bleeker claims, 'must begin by accepting as proper objects of study all phenomena that are professed to be religious'.¹³ As it 'attempts to describe religious behavior rather than explain it'¹⁴, debates as to the existence or reality of the focus of devotion are futile and inappropriate. As Smart points out, 'God is real for Christians whether or not he exists.'¹⁵ We do well to remember that scepticism is every bit as biased an outlook as belief. The personal experience narratives of devotees of whatever persuasion provide evidence which must have the status of religious fact. As Kristensen cautioned, 'Let us never forget that there exists no other religious reality than the faith of the believer.'¹⁶

¹³ C.J. Bleeker, 'Comparing the Religio-Historical and the Theological Method,' Numen 18 (1971), 16.

¹⁴ Joseph Dabney Bettis, Phenomenology of Religion (New York & Evanston: Harper and Row, 1969), p.3.

¹⁵ Ninian Smart, The Science of Religion and the Sociology of Knowledge (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p.54.

¹⁶ W.B. Kristensen, Religionshistorisk studium, p. 27, translated and quoted by Eric J. Sharpe in Comparative Religion: A History (London: Duckworth, 1986), p.228.

One can analyse and contextualise, certainly, but to condemn, dismiss or ignore the experiences of those living a religion is to diminish our understanding of the tradition, and to tamper with evidence in a way which we would consider improper in other disciplines.

When I first started interviewing Newfoundland women about their devotion to St Gerard, I quite expected some reticence as I was asking about deeply personal matters, but people were remarkably candid and forthcoming. Women generally seemed pleased to share their experiences with an interested listener, such as the one who started 'Oh yes, we had a miracle here a few years back' with the same aplomb and in much the same tone as describing what they had had for lunch. I mention this because it seems to me that frequently it is the investigators who are somewhat coy or uncomfortable about this sort of exchange rather than the informants, for whom it is all just part of their experience.

An extreme example of mundanity in connection with religious experience is contained in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, collected c.1971:

Mrs Elizabeth March . . . always chewed gum. One night about 18 years ago she put her wad of gum on her bureau and went to bed. The next morning when she went to take up the gum to chew [it] again the gum had changed into a small statue of the Blessed Virgin. (She was a Roman Catholic.) She was very surprised and told everyone about it. She also

showed it to people. People who saw it and heard about it thought that this was a kind of reward for her having had to work hard all her life. (MUNFLA 71-9-32)

In similar vein, in March and April of 1990 the British media briefly showed interest in the appearance of aubergines (eggplants), which, when split lengthways, were said to reveal the Arabic script for 'Allah', or some verse from the Koran, picked out in the aubergine seeds.¹⁷ The BBC Radio 4 'Today' programme's report on 29th March 1990 featured both an Islamic scholar claiming that there is no place in Islam for miracles, and a person who had seen one of the aubergines declaring it a miracle. We should remember that much folk religious belief is empirical, so if people have seen an aubergine containing the holy name written in seeds, they are not going to accept from anyone that such things do not or cannot happen.

Putting this event in context, we might say that here was a community, to some extent socially disadvantaged, feeling marginalised and misunderstood (over the Salman Rushdie affair). Similarly, at times of social and religious tension in Europe, the Virgin Mary has appeared to some of the Catholic faithful. The ordinariness of the owners of the aubergines, like the recipients of visions of the Virgin in the Catholic tradition, makes the event all the more remarkable; the people involved are neither particularly holy, nor professionally religious - one

¹⁷ For a fuller treatment of this incident, see my article 'Aubergines from Heaven: Folk Religion and Legitimation,' Talking Folklore, 9 (Summer 1990), 1-7.

reason why the officials of any religion frequently look askance at such happenings. But if you have complete faith in a supernatural figure, why should anything surprise you? Literally anything might be possible, and why would you doubt what you have experienced for yourself?

When I lived in Bahrain (1980-2), some young men playing football on wasteland fell through the ground into what was immediately declared the grave of a holy man. While scholars protested that there was no record of such a holy man, far less his grave, some people could smell sweet perfume emanating from the grave and people with various afflictions were cured after visits to it; it was also said that people who took earth away from the grave developed headaches. Lack of documentary evidence about the holy man seemed a pretty poor excuse for doubt in the face of such tangible experiences.

It should therefore be stressed that frequently, when phenomenological fieldwork is undertaken, it becomes obvious that people do not just pull ideas or practices that are beyond the pale of official religion out of nowhere. Efficacy and experience are important shapers of belief and behaviour. I discovered at an early stage that devotees of St Gerard knew remarkably little of the saint's biography (although many of them possessed booklets containing such information); what I was told repeatedly were stories of the saint's help to friends and relatives, or personal experience narratives. What mattered was that St Gerard worked - a criterion common to the faithful

most religious traditions.

When dealing with devotion to saints, a frequent complaint by apologists and scholars has concerned the 'misuse' of devotional objects such as medals and relics. Many Newfoundland women wore St Gerard medals, for example, to show they had placed themselves under the saint's protection, but there were occasions when the medal was clearly acting as more than a mere memorial or aid to contemplation. That people were prepared to go to considerable lengths to get a medal in some circumstances is demonstrated by the following incident, related by a woman in a remote Newfoundland outport¹⁸:

Well, her first baby, you know, she had a lot of trouble, and they come to my place to get the medal, . . . her mother come to my place in the middle of the night, twelve o'clock in the night, to get the medal. Yeah, and you know 'twas a rough night, see, in the winter, and she come and asked for the medal . . . And she said, 'Don't think she [the midwife] is going to save her', so she come after the medal twelve o'clock in the night. And eh, she went in and put the medal on her, and the next morning they come out and said she was all right, she had a baby boy.

The fact that someone was prepared to venture out on a stormy night to obtain a medal indicates an assumption that the power of the saint could in some way be more effectively appropriated

¹⁸ 'Outport' is the Newfoundland term for a small coastal settlement; many outports are quite isolated, and some can still only be reached by sea.

by the presence of his medal; conversely, the fact that the situation improved after the medal had been obtained could be taken as justification of that assumption.

There was a lot of interesting material in this respect to be gained from popular devotional literature. Because this type of material tends not to be taken seriously by scholars, its influence at popular level can be underestimated. In the case of devotion to St Gerard, for example, three magazines published by the Redemptorists (Eikon, Mother of Perpetual Help and Madonna) were particularly influential. Such literature demonstrates how religion has been presented to the masses, and although it might emerge from an official source, its concern with popularising its message and contents seem on occasion to override strictly theological considerations. Madonna magazine, for example, ran various articles on medals. Readers were reminded that 'the effects don't depend upon the medal itself, but upon the mercy of God who regards the prayers of the Church and the dispositions of the wearers of the medal'¹⁹; nevertheless, the contention that 'Medals in your life, if worn with faith and devotion, can obtain God's protection for you and endless Blessings'²⁰ would appear to imply that medals could be sources of divine power, thus reinforcing folk religious practice.

¹⁹ 'Medals In Your Life,' Madonna, 33, No 2 (Feb 1960), 27.

²⁰ Ibid.

The extent to which the intermingling of official, folk and individual beliefs and practices is a constant feature of religion should not be underestimated, as comparisons between pre-Reformation and contemporary Catholicism show. Ronald Finucane, for example, writes 'In practice the distinctions between what is now called "folk remedy", faith-healing and proper medical attention are inappropriate to the Middle Ages. The sick drew upon all at the same time or went from one to the other.'²¹ Such behaviour is not unique to the Middle Ages. One woman told me that her mother used to treat sties by crossing them with her wedding ring (an established folk-religious cure), crossing them with her picture of St Gerard (of whom she was particularly fond), and bathing them with boracic acid (a widely recognised folk remedy). Another woman said 'You don't ask the impossible of St Gerard, you know, you go to the doctor too . . . but his help, his intercession along with your medical.' There is nothing peculiar about making use of what are seen as complementary resources at times of need.

Another rather typical contention is that 'An outstanding characteristic of the "barbarian" [sic] Christianity of the early Middle Ages was the belief in relics that worked wonders.'²²

Briefly, there are three different classes of relics: first class - remains of the saint's body; second class - objects with which the saint came into contact when alive; third class -

²¹ Ronald C. Finucane, Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), p.68.

²² Ibid, p.25.

objects which have been in contact with a first class relic. A Madonna article 'What Do You Know About Relics?'²³ told readers that 'Of themselves relics do NOT possess any miraculous powers,' but asserted that 'Miracle upon miracle attests to the power of the Saints, WHEN INVOKED THROUGH THEIR RELICS.'

I was told a number of personal experience narratives by mothers, a midwife and a Redemptorist father involving relics, of which the following is an example. The woman involved has particular devotion to St Gerard and possesses a third class relic of St Gerard.

When I had me last one we was having trouble, and there was no doctor in the bay, so that's what I used, me relic of St Gerard, and I always says that's who helped me . . .

[The midwife] she said, 'I know you've got devotion to St Gerard,' she said, 'so pray to him.' And I said to her, I said, 'You pass over the relic,' I said, 'St Gerard will do whatever he can.' So that's what she done, she passed the relic and crossed me stomach, and next pain me daughter was born. Now, I never haemorrhaged one bit afterwards, but I was haemorrhaging before.

This perfectly normal woman is no barbarian. She merely accepts the commonly held view that a saint can operate most effectively through his relic, and has had this view reinforced by her own experience.

²³ Madonna, 29, No 1 (Jan 1956), 4-7.

We should remember that the difficulties of keeping abreast of what actually comprises official religion are considerable. In Newfoundland, for example, the only theology most people knew had come from the pulpit, from popular devotional literature, from nuns, from fellow Catholics - none of them necessarily reliable sources. A priest had told an informant, who was carrying his bag at the time, that helping a cleric earns 200 days indulgence. It was interesting to compare a young Redemptorist priest who actively squirmed when an older woman with great devotion to St Gerard tried to cross him and me with her St Gerard medal with the older Redemptorist who had told me about a miracle he had helped effect with the aid of a relic of St Gerard, and who himself frequently crossed people with a St Gerard medal. To be more extreme, we might compare a Vatican II theologian with the nun who told me that her third class relic of St Gerard (a medal containing a tiny piece of cloth which had been touched to a first class relic) was 'more powerful' than a medal because it was 'a piece of the saint'. It should be remembered that whatever a professional religious person in whatever tradition tells a lay person, albeit a folk or purely idiosyncratic belief or practice, is liable to be believed and taken as official because of that person's status.

I drew attention earlier to the fact that beliefs and practices can slip from official to folk, and vice versa. In the Catholic tradition, an element of folk belief and behaviour is implicit in the official procedure for the creation of a saint. Similarly, I would like to conclude with a good example of

something slipping from official to folk religion - devotion to St Christopher. St Christopher is commonly known in Newfoundland as 'patron of the cars', and when he comes up in conversation people tend to quip things like 'He guarantees nothing over sixty, mind.' Most people simply do not mention the fact that St Christopher has fallen from official favour. However, one man explained the apparent contradiction:

See, since the new liturgical calendar, there's been a lot of changes. St Christopher was erased. Everybody prays to him. They seemed to take him off the calendar. But actually, he was only taken off the liturgical calendar to make room for later saints, you know? As far as I'm concerned, he's still active.

One example of a fairly typical St Christopher narrative involving a variety of aspects of folk belief was related to me in relation to a particular spot in Newfoundland:

You see this stretch of road here? Well, there was an accident here a while back. Car just didn't make that last bend there, just left the road, and went down on those rocks there, see? Driver should've been dead but he got out that car and walked back up the road. See, he had one of them little St Christophers, and he says himself, 'twas only the statue on his dashboard saved him.

Contextualising, one could say that at a time when devotion to saints is being played down in official circles, narratives affirming the efficacy of devotional objects can be seen as a

means of expressing and upholding traditional folk piety.¹⁹ However, without the phenomenological fieldwork, without recognising that this aspect of belief and practice is a coherent part of what comprises religion for these people, we would have a much less accurate picture of their religious life. If we were simply to condemn or ignore such behaviour as unofficial, there would be nothing to put in context and our understanding of popular religion would be the poorer for it.

I am thus suggesting that phenomenology, far from being merely descriptive, is an important methodological tool if we are to attain a realistic view of religion as it is lived, as opposed to some sanitised ideal of how it should be. I am suggesting, furthermore, that religion can be viewed in terms of three basic components - official religion (meaning what is accepted orthodoxy at any given time, although this is subject to change), folk religion (that which is generally accepted and transmitted belief and practice, regardless of the official view) and individual religion (the product of the received tradition, plus personal beliefs and interpretations). I have tried to show something of the interplay between these categories, and the problems of distinguishing between them for both the participant and the observer.

The difficulties of keeping abreast of what actually comprises

¹⁹ For a fuller treatment of this phenomenon see "'Twas only the statue on his dashboard saved him": Narratives Affirming the Efficacy of Devotional Objects,' Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore, Vol 37 (1981), 7-10.

official religion are considerable, and innumerable people's religious ideas and behaviour contain a proportion of folk religion of which they are unlikely to be aware. I think we can safely assume that the woman who ventured out on a stormy night to obtain a St Gerard medal for her daughter is unlikely to have thought 'Expecting this to do any good is just folk religious and not officially sanctioned, but I'll give it a try anyway.' It was all part and parcel of what comprised religion for that person.

Yoder, you may recall, describes folk religion as 'the totality of all those views and practices of religion that exist among the people apart from and alongside the strictly theological and liturgical forms of the official religion.'²⁰ I would like to suggest that both believers and scholars tend to overestimate the strictly theological or philosophical content of most people's religious beliefs and practices, and consequently underestimate the extent and importance of folk religion. To dismiss folk religion as aberrant religion or regard it as a deviation from the norm is to misunderstand what is normative. To ignore it is to impoverish our understanding of religion.

Phenomenology of religion may be descriptive, but it is not merely descriptive. Accurate, judgement-free reporting is invaluable in the study of religions, and we undervalue it at our peril.

²⁰ Yoder, 14.