The Interaction between Technology and Modernity as a Source of the Constitution of Romanticism and Implicit Religion

Michal Černý / e-mail: mcerny@phil.muni.cz
Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Černý, M. (2024). The Interaction between Technology and Modernity as a Source of the Constitution of Romanticism and Implicit Religion. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 16/2024/2, 16–45.
https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2024-009

The study aims to analyse the relationship between technology and modernity on the one hand and Romanticism on the other. The study examines the recurrent interactions between these two styles of thinking and acting in history. It uses them as a methodological tool to interpret the relationship between society and history and digital technologies in the age of the information revolution. The study emphasises the concept of implicit religion as a form of a particular interpretation of technology in the life of society. Analysing concrete examples, it draws on the specifics of Czech realities and points out some aspects of Czech-digital-romanticism formation.

Keywords: *modernity; digital technology; information revolution; romanticism; industrial revolution; implicit religion; mythologisation*

Introduction

Technology is entering a new and unprecedented way of shaping everyday human life in the modern world. The analysis of modernity is a rewarding sociological and historiographical topic that has received considerable attention.[1] However, less attention has been focused on the phenomenon of romanticism, which has its origins in literature at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries and which represents a form of reaction to modernity, its limits

[1] Latour, B. (1993). *We have never been modern*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press., Latour, B. (2018). *Down to earth: Politics in the new climatic regime* (English edition.). Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity Press., Beck, U. (1998). Politics of risk society. *Environmentalism. Critical Concepts*, pp. 256–266., Lefebvre, H. (1995). *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959–May 1961*. Londýn: Verso., Bauman, Z. (2007). *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Reprint.). Cambridge: Polity Press., Bauman, Z. (2013). *Liquid modernity*. New Jersy: John Wiley & Sons., Arendtová, H. (1996). *Původ totalitarismu I–III. Imperialismus, III: Totalitarismus.* Praha: Oikoymenh.

and reductionism,[2] the inability to offer man a framework for living in which he is not in the grip of technology and bureaucracy.[3] In the *Deutsches Romantik-Museum* in Frankfurt am Main we can find the sentence that Romanticism never ended. This thesis forms the core of the analysis of this study.

How Romanticism - not as a literary style, but as a cognitive-behavioral style of thinking and acting[4] - interacts with modernity, how it interprets and reconceptualises it, will be gradually analysed. In doing so, we will focus on a concept that we perceive to be under-reflected in historiography, namely the process of mythologising and the creation of implicit religion,[5] which is an essential prerequisite for Romanticism.

Specifically, we will apply this methodological approach to digital technologies and the information revolution,[6] which shape contemporary people's basic structure of everyday life.[7] The study builds on the critique of unfinished modernity and offers a reinterpretation of it.[8] In doing so, it uses Czech realities to describe selected phenomena to emphasise that the construction of romanticism occurs in a culturally sensitive manner with a strong influence of local determinants and realities. It is also in this flight to the locals that the difference between modernism and romanticism is manifested.

Modernity and Romanticism

If we analyse the history of the emergence of modernity, we can link it to two significant changes in the European space.[9] The first possibility is to tie

[2] Šíp, R. (2014). Globalization, nationalism and Europe: The need for trans-national perspectives in education. *Human Affairs*, *2*, pp. 248–257.

[3] Heidegger, M. (2013). *Věk obrazu světa*. Praha: Oikoymenh.

[4] Šíp, Radim. (2019). *Proč školství a jeho aktéři selhávají*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

[5] Eliade, M. (1993). *Mýtus o věčném návratu*. Praha: Oikoymenh., Latzer, M. (2022). The Digital Trinity—Controllable Human Evolution—Implicit Everyday Religion: Characteristics of the Socio-Technical Transformation of Digitalization. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*/S1, pp. 331–354., Luckmann, T. (1967). *The invisible religion*. New York: Macmillan.

[6] Neyland, D. (2019). *The Everyday Life of an Algorithm*. Cham: Springer International Publishing. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-030-00578-8

[7] Sedlák, P. (2013). Každodennost jako předmět a koncept dějepisného poznání. *Soudobé dějiny*, *20/*01–02, pp. 120–157., Petrusek, M. (2020). Každodennost. *Velký sociologický slovník*. https://encyklopedie.soc.cas.cz/w/Ka%C5%BEdodennost, Le Goff, J. (1992). *History and memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

[8] Šíp, R. (2019). *Proč školství a jeho aktéři selhávají*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

[9] Šíp, R. (2019). *Proč školství a jeho aktéři selhávají*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita., Munch, R. (2010). *Understanding Modernity: Toward a New Perspective Going Beyond Durkheim and Weber*. Milton Park: Taylor & Francis., Beck, Ulrich. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. Theory, culture & society. London; Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications., Lefebvre, H. (1995). *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959–May 1961*. Londýn: Verso.

modernity to the phenomenon of the Enlightenment. This consistently examined the world methodologically through man's eyes, not God's. At the same time, it is characterised by an emancipatory movement. As Bělohradský points out, modernity is a history of emancipation: the state's emancipation from the church, women from the social subordination of men, and subjects from the aristocracy.[10] The Enlightenment is linked - as Arendt points out - to the constitution of a new religion, a religion of reason, which in the French context was to dictate new values, social orders, and state structures.[11] Religion is the critical axial force, the source of legitimacy for much of social values and order. In this context, the Enlightenment unlearned nature, and Descartes separates mind from body, rationality from emotionality.[12]

The second source of modernity often cited is the Industrial Revolution, which came almost a century after the Enlightenment and brought other significant changes to social discourse.[13] There is a massive entry of technology into people's lives, necessitating changes in the organisation of time and work; the concept of working hours and leisure time emerges, the education system is transformed, and people move to cities. Technology has done more to change people's everyday lives in a short period than a prolonged 'grand history' of political change.

In literature, Romanticism can also be associated with a form of reflection on the Napoleonic Wars, which fundamentally globalised and interconnected the European region and introduced several modern practices and concepts (in this respect, they are the culmination of a form of pre-modernity) in industry and lifestyle and strongly influenced the culture of urban life. At the same time, they bring to literature the concept of the hero - the charismatic leader or warrior - who transcends the boundaries of the self. The fractured hero is then a kind of adaptation of this model of the charismatic leader, who has no political or military influence but strives for genuine authenticity, often by rebelling against society or escaping into nature. [14]

Finding the exact date of the emergence of modernity is not easy - it is evident that its constitution occurred gradually between the 17th and 18th centuries. Century in the developed parts of Europe and some places, modernity has not

[10] Bělohradský, V. (1997). *Mezi světy & mezisvěty: Filosofické dialogy*. Velká řada. Praha: Votobia., Bělohradský, V. (2021). *Čas pléthokracie: Když části jsou větší než celky a světový duch spadl z koně*. Praha: Nakladatelství 65. pole.

[11] Arendt, H. (2006). *On revolution*. New York: Penguin Books.

[12] Damasio, A. R. (1994). *Descartes' error: Emotion, reason, and the human brain*. New York: Putnam.

[13] Arendt, H. (2006). *On revolution*. New York: Penguin Books., Arendtová, H. (1996). *Původ totalitarismu I–III. Imperialismus, III: Totalitarismus.* Praha: Oikoymenh., Freeman, J. B. (2018). *Behemoth: A history of the factory and the making of the modern world* (First edition.). New York London: W.W. Norton & Company.

[14] Stuhlemer, J. (2017). *Romanticism as a Transition to Modernity: The Romantic Period in Literature as a Transitional Phase*. Munich: GRIN Verlag., Chaplin, S. – Faflak, J. (2011). *The Romanticism Handbook*. London: A&C Black.

arrived in any respect (we are not referring now to the problem of unfinished modernity or the conclusions of Latour's essay "We were never modern",[15] but to the simple fact that in many places in Eastern Europe, modernity has not yet arrived, and on a global scale we could find many more such areas). However, it is evident that three phenomena play a crucial role in it, and we would like to focus on them in this study - rationality, distance from institutionalised religion, and technology.[16]

In the Czech environment, the emergence of modernity is undeniably linked to the Theresian and Josephine reforms from the last quarter of the 18th century. What is specific in the Czech environment is the experience of Hussitism (and the minority Protestantism that followed) in the context of Pietas Austriaca.[17] Here, we can see the formation of modern society in a particularly acute way, in the sense that among a large part of society, there is a noticeable scepticism towards the institutionalised concept of religion and state (Josephism), strongly linked to the government. In these particular conditions, speaking of specific forms of modernity is possible.[18]

It will be significant for our analysis that, although 19th-century society is already commonly referred to as modern in the Czech environment, we can simultaneously see a specific artistic reaction to this kind of social change - namely romanticism, which takes shape as a direct reaction to the modernist reduction of the world,[19] as a form of escape, distance or adaptation, which is connected with the culminating national revival, which here no longer has the character of systematic work, but becomes a myth, a form of religious narrative.

We do not have the space to analyse Romanticism's forms and representatives in the Czech cultural complex. Still, we would like to show here that more than a contrast to the Enlightenment, it is indeed a counterpoint to modernity, which does not end with the 19th century but carries with it a specific permanent pattern of the relationship between Romanticism and modernity, which is essential for the contemporary understanding of society. However, much of our reflections will be more general and can be extended to reflect on the whole of modern society; the Czech story and realities are interesting to us in that the less inclined Czech society is to institutionalised churches, the stronger the need for a different kind of religiosity or mythologisation seems to be.

Czech society is fascinating, unlike many neighbouring countries, because it lacks demythologising experience. Czechs seem to have no event in their

[15] Latour, B. (1993). *We have never been modern*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
[16] Adorno, T. W. – Horkheimer, M. (2009). *Dialektika osvícenství: Filosofické fragmenty*. Praha: Oikoymenh.
[17] Coreth, A. (2013). *Pietas Austriaca: Fenomén rakouské barokní zbožnosti*. Velehrad: Refugium.
[18] Tinková, D. (2022). *Osvícenství v českých zemích: Formování moderního státu (1740-1792)*. Praha: NLN.
[19] Stuhlemer, J. (2017). *Romanticism as a Transition to Modernity: The Romantic Period in Literature as a Transitional Phase*. Munich: GRIN Verlag.

collective memory in which a failure, a disruption of the continuous narrative of a nation that was never to blame for any of its problems - from the White Mountain (paradoxically interpreted in this way only in Romanticism) and the Munich Agreement, to the occupation by Soviet troops, to the dictates from Brussels, there is a compact national positive myth. Let us stress that, according to Thomas's theorem, the relationship between society and history is not about how events happen but about how events are read and interpreted in society. The Czech environment appears to be strongly myth-making. This aspect is not found in most neighbouring countries and constitutes a particular Czech specificity that allows in some respects to sharpen the characteristic of modernity - the (neo)romantic field.

Three Illustrative Probes into Czech Historical Collective Memory

It is not our ambition here to describe the historiography of individual events but rather to illustrate one of the basic concepts of unfinished modernity - that is, its inability to integrate man into its reading of the world in such a way that he does not need to define himself against it radically. Modernity creates a particular space of culture, thought and action, but it is not complete, which seems too violent and brutal, too unifying to be able to dominate public opinion. We see this balancing or tension between romanticism and modernity as essential for explaining contemporary phenomena.[20]

In the three probes, we work repeatedly with two critical concepts. The first is that romanticism represents a kind of adaptive mechanism of reducing objective reality and transforming it into a narrative in which some essential parts are concealed and, in turn, a particular concept is created to legitimise human endeavour, national identity and uniqueness. Therefore, It is a myth-making process that provides people with a foothold in their life situation. A story is mainly emerging outside the possibility of any controlled creation process. This is what makes it different from the usual cults of personalities of leaders like Stalin and Lenin or even the more positively understood and completely differently cultivated personalities of Masaryk and Benes.

The second essential feature of romanticisation is the connection with the religious framework. Religion is not understood here as an institution but rather as an invisible religion,[21] as a particular set of values, activities, modes of human interaction and named goals that relate to a substantial part of society and create a space of shared understanding of certain phenomena. Luckmann thus justifies,

[20] Stuhlemer, J. (2017). *Romanticism as a Transition to Modernity: The Romantic Period in Literature as a Transitional Phase*. Munich: GRIN Verlag., Adorno, T. W. – Horkheimer, M. (2009). *Dialektika osvícenství: Filosofické fragmenty*. Praha: Oikoymenh.

[21] Besecke, K. (2005). Seeing invisible religion: Religion as a societal conversation about transcendent meaning. *Sociological Theory*, *23*/2, pp. 179–196., Luckmann, T. (1967). *The invisible religion*. New York: Macmillan.

for example, why marriage or funerals make sense even in a secular society where, on a purely rational description, they have or may have no specific place.

We have selected three "myths" to illustrate the process of romanticisation as an adaptation to modernity, which is anchored in the Czech environment of the 19th and 20th centuries. The selection is eclectic. We could similarly analyse many other historical phenomena. Our aim here is to illustrate the method of our analysis rather than to provide a complete and utterly accurate analysis because, on a small scale, we must commit many simplistic shortcuts.

The myth of Bata. Tomáš Baťa is remarkable in that his mythologisation is linked to technology and the technical transformation of society. The narrative that emerged around Bata (partly during the First Republic and entirely after 1989) can be summarised roughly as follows: an entrepreneur who, based on his talent and diligence, takes advantage of the new possibilities of the Czechoslovak state and helps to build the new city of Zlín, a town that embodies romantic notions of an ideal future life; a man who used technology for the benefit of humanity, which ultimately destroyed it.[22]

The romanticising myth is evident in the construction of Tomáš Baťa as a hero who sacrifices his commitment and wit for society and its good. Similarly, we can see clear elements of romanticism in the utopian reflections on Zlín as the city of the future or in the manner of death. To this day, we can still see his business principles quoted (however inapplicable they may be in reality and referring to entirely different contexts) or some politicians trying to style themselves after Bata and his style.[23]

The myth of Bata is significant in the Czech environment for at least two reasons. Firstly, he embodies the Czech version of the "American dream", the idea that we can transform persistently unfavourable living conditions into global success and greatness if we are hard-working enough. This form of narrative has a clear value anchor in Masaryk's value system of a specific individual Christianity, emphasising the importance not of the institution but of small, honest work. Theologically, we can see here the same elements applied to Transcendentalism in the United States in the 19th century and are now back in vogue with the popularity of David Thoreau and his work.[24]

Bata was unquestionably a technocrat who could use modern technology and management and was a man with excellent business talent capable of generating profits in many sectors of industry and services. Key components of his success were the professionalisation and isolation of individual activities, which could be carried out more efficiently than in more complex and less

[22] Pokluda, Z. (2014). *Baťa v kostce: Rozšířené vydání*. Praha: Albatros Media a.s., Pospíšil, J. (2012). *Rub a líc baťovských sporů*. Praha: Albatros Media a.s.

[23] An example is the electoral "book" Babiš, A. (2017). *O čem sním, když náhodou spím*. Praha: Andrej Babiš.. It forms a certain modernizing element to the text of Tomas' brother Jan Antonín - BAŤA, Jan Antonín. *Budujme stát (pro 40,000.000 lidí)*. Tisk, 1937.

[24] Thoreau, H. D. – Searls, D. (2009). *The journal, 1837-1861*. New York Review Books classics. New York: New York Review Books.

atomised factories. He achieved economic success by using machines to reduce the cost of human resources.

In this example, we can see an example of a man who stands on the success of a technician society, probably in the purest form of the First Republic, who acquires - with time - in conjunction with the state's implicit religion (Masaryk values) a romantic ethos that allows broad layers of the population to relate to him and to constitute their identity about him. At the same time, it represents a way in which man can come to terms with his relationship with technology to try to control it to secure a better environment.

The Dubček Myth. Alexander Dubček is also the subject of several myths in contemporary historiography. At the core of the Czech popular (i.e. collective - historical memory) interpretation is an apparent attempt to understand 1968 as a process leading to democracy, but which was forcibly stopped by the invasion of Warsaw Pact troops. At the same time, there is a level of "socialism with a human face", i.e. a certain Czech novelty, something that makes the spring of 1968 unique and extraordinary, something that was not only made possible but stimulated by the person of Dubček.[25]

The romanticisation is again evident here in the attempt to identify a national hero, who is supposed to be Alexander Dubček, who was neither a conservative nor a mainly reformist communist (unlike Smrkovsky or Mlynář) but rather a centrist populist. What distinguished him from other communist officials in Czechoslovakia was his emphasis on expressions of humanity - from bathing at the swimming pool to a little thing like a smile. Dubček systematically abandons the concept of the tired, dehumanised and largely anonymous communist functionary and becomes a deliberately romantic hero - patiently fighting against all odds, having feelings, relationships, and a humanity that was almost absent in the system of political representation of the time.[26]

The question of what socialism with a human face is has been addressed by historians and political scientists alike, and it seems apparent that it is a concept that is incompatible in thought with what the romanticising myth of the Prague Spring (even spring is a solid romantic metaphor here) brings. Either it was a democratisation process, but then it was no different from democracy as such, or it was an adaptation of the communist regime to the new social climate. Still, it retains its inherent (in the Czech environment, legally declared) criminality. Romanticisation requires uniqueness, so it effortlessly combines the Czechoslovak New Wave, the coming out of banned authors (i.e. an optically concentrated quality) with the Dubček myth.[27] The essential element of romanticisation is - like Bata - the story's conclusion, i.e. the occupation

[25] Banáš, J. (2011). *Zastavte Dubčeka!: Příběh člověka, který překážel mocným*. Praha: Knižní klub.

[26] Londák, M. – Michálek, S. (2019). *Alexander Dubček: The Symbol of Spring*. Bratislava: Veda.

[27] Hauser, M. (2019). Pražské jaro 1968 jako progresivní konstrukce národní identity. *Paidea*, *16*/1–2, pp. 1–6.

in August 1968, interpreted as a betrayal. Crucially, just as little is said publicly about Bata's relationship to public funds or competition (monopolisation), in Dubček's case, his normalisation constitutes a blind spot in broader society. Again, external conditions prevent a hero from achieving his goal and, thus, a particular national success.

But the modernist core is also strongly present here - Dubček and the entire structure of the Communist Party is technocratic, using the various elements of the party secretariat to create a totalitarian order of society in which there is no such thing as public space. His political rise from the 1950s onwards forms almost the archetypal career of a communist in the Slovak space. His political moves can hardly be described as democratising or romantic. However, his basic negotiating strategy was to seek friendship and minimise conflict, thus mainly avoiding various clashes within the party. Dubček was able to use the means offered to him to achieve political power, that is, his party apparatus, but also, for example, the radio or the press. The radio, which can be seen as a technical means, was a handy tool for his political ambitions.

While the myth of Bata arises in the religious space of Masaryk values, the Dubček myth is constituted in a different religious climate. Communist historiography adopted Hussitism as the central motif of Czech history, but it had to be stripped of Christianity. Thus, a particular form of religion without transcendence emerges, one that is strongly nationalistic and explains the need for a struggle for justice within an unjust system. This struggle may have heroes (see Vávra's Hussite trilogy of 1954-1956), one that is supposed to lead to social justice, requiring everyone to come together under a unified idea, but also working with the strong value of living in subordination, in a kind of normalisation. Dubček thus becomes the main protagonist of this religion without God,[28] a religion showing a Czech uniqueness that was violently interrupted by external intervention and betrayal (Sigismund of Luxembourg in communist historiography), and which at the same time made it possible to legitimise and interpret the situation of normalisation, that is, a defeated Hussitism without Christianity, which is undeniably a dimension that was not present in Nejedlý's original conception.

The mining myth (in the 19th century). We have focused on phenomena associated with the person in the previous two probes, but this is not an exclusive example of romanticisation. A myth can also be associated with a particular profession or occupational group, especially where a specific culture surrounds it. The choice of the mining myth for our analysis is not accidental. First of all, it represents a phenomenon with a long tradition, essentially linked to the emergence of modernity (for example, mining in Karviná has been going on since the last quarter of the 18th century), and combines an inherently technical dimension, which fundamentally influenced and enabled mining, and a romantic

[28] Halík, T. (2021). *Odpoledne křesťanství: Odvaha k proměně* (Roč. 2021). Praha: Lidové noviny.

dimension (the identity of the miner, specific greetings, festivals, mine names), which was associated with it.[29]

The romanticisation of mining is primarily connected with a particular mystery of the underground or its attraction. The underground is associated with the underworld or hell, a space to venture to demonstrate a specific heroism and human quality, like Heracles in Greek myth or Christ in Christian tradition.[30] Mining also carries the dimension of transforming a world that is not easily visible, to which few have access, which implies a dimension of a certain divinisation of their work. Essential to Romanticism, then, beyond this religiosity, is the fact that mining was a high-risk occupation - cave-ins or explosions in mines were relatively common between the 18th and 20th centuries, and balancing on the edge of life and death represented both a powerful social aspect (it was a collectively shared and reflected experience) and an essential element of economic status.[31]

The religious reading of mining must be collectivist and conservative while working intensely with a certain degree of fatalism - the miner does not primarily decide his life and death himself. Still, nature, fate, chance, and an external factor have the decisive word. Into this understanding of events we must also project the dimension of personal responsibility for industry and society that can be seen in miners individually. Religiousness is a kind of external view of the whole phenomenon, the view of those far removed from mining - and they will exclude from it the view of technology and technical change. Still, to some extent, they will make miners into the dwarfs or permonites of fairy tales. The fairy-tale-axiological-fatalist dualistic religion of the 19th century excludes the importance of reason, progress, technology, and education.[32] It manifests Romanism, out of which an implicit religion is formed.

At the same time, few occupations will be so strongly associated with mechanisation - to mine coal efficiently, a range of mining machinery had to be operated, from elevators to pumps to train tracks. Other downstream industries usually developed around the mining sites near Ostrava, Kladno, and other places. The industrial way of life brought the presence of technical professions

[29] Gaba, P. (2011). Takové mezi sebou nechceme! Formování negativního obrazu špatného pracovníka v hornictví a jeho prezentování na stránkách Havířské pravdy. *Historica: Revue pro historii a příbuzné vědy (Historica: Review in history and related sciences)*, *1*/2, pp. 60–66.

[30] Hunt, W. (2019). *Underground: A Human History of the Worlds Beneath Our Feet*. New York: Random House Publishing Group.

[31] Hájek, M. (1972). Sociologie a praktické úkoly RVHP v hornictví: (Zpráva ze symposia). *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. G, Řada sociálněvědná*, *21*/ G16, pp. [89]–91., Glassheim, E. (2005). Etnické čistky, komunismus a devastace životního prostředí. Vytváření nové identity severočeského pohraničí (1945–1989). *Soudobé dějiny*, *XII*/ 03–04, pp. 432–464.

[32] Hunt, W. (2019). *Underground: A Human History of the Worlds Beneath Our Feet*. New York: Random House Publishing Group.

- from mining engineers, mechanical engineers or occupational safety experts to economists and logistics people. Wherever deep mines appeared, lifestyles were dramatically transformed relatively quickly. In the Czech context, we can see this in the example of the village of Karviná, which takes its name from the village where the cows graze to the town, which has a gymnasium, an industrial school and a network of shops, all of which were built in a very short period.

The mythicisation of mining thus represented for the inhabitants of the region (but also for the newcomers) a form of coping with change and life transformation, with the loss of a way of working and living that meant only minimal possibilities of passing on experiences between generations that would have been meaningful outside the mine area. Thus, mining in the 19th century creates a time-resistant anchor of a narrative that resists change and has the character of a narrative for the inhabitants of the whole region, which allows them to understand and legitimise their way of life, often moreover burdened by alcoholism or high mortality rates due to working in a health hazardous environment.[33] The rejection of modernity here thus has the character of a form of conservatism or sentimentality.[34]

Technology and Religiosity in the Formation of Modern Society

The previous three examples have in common that the religious framework in which they are interpreted is not linked to any institution and has no fixed institutional structure. They can be understood in the context of Luckmann's concept of invisible religion, which the German sociologist sees as a kind of response to the process of secularisation.[35] As late as the middle of the 20th century, there was still a general idea that secularisation led to the end of religion to atheism. For Luckmann, however, religion is a broader concept; it is a set of practices and attitudes exercised in society, even when their explicit connection with a religious institution disappears. Religion can be described - even in the context of our previous analysis - as a metaphysical model shared in society, the purpose of which is to structure action in the world and to understand it. Religion is thus a social hermeneutic inscribed in the practices of society.

[33] In fiction, this phenomenon is captured, for example, in Lednická, K. (2020). *Šikmý kostel: Románová kronika ztraceného města : léta 1894-1921*. Praha: Bílá vrána., Lednická, K. (2021). *Šikmý kostel 2: Románová kronika ztraceného města, léta 1921–1945*. Praha: Bílá vrána., Lednická, K. (2024). *Šikmý kostel 3: Románová kronika ztraceného města, léta 1945–1961*. Praha: Bílá vrána.. It is the fictional structure - and commercial success - that shows the structure and significance of this myth in contemporary Czech society.

[34] Latour, B. (2018). *Down to earth: Politics in the new climatic regime* (English edition.). Cambridge, UK; Medford, MA: Polity Press.

[35] Luckmann, T. (1967). *The invisible religion*. New York: Macmillan.

Since the late 1990s, Czech society has described itself as a non-atheist state or a society of non-believers. However, closer religious studies show that religiosity as such in the Czech environment has not declined significantly in recent years, and the number of believers and believers has remained similar.[36] There are relatively few genuinely religious atheists (atheism is a form of religiosity as well) in society. Two crucial (partially related) features of religiosity are typical for the Czech environment.[37] There is a long tradition of distrust towards religious institutions, i.e. churches. Interpretations of the post-Blohemian period in the national revival, communist historiography and philosophy, but also natural elements of historical memory, create a model of religion as an institution much less credible than it was, for example, in the noughties in Poland or still is in the United States.

The distrust of institutions seems to be a broader manifestation of the transformations of modernity in society; fluid modernity has eroded both trust in institutions and institutions themselves.[38] This crisis is much stronger in the Eastern Bloc area - in the Baltic States, Poland, the Czech Republic and other countries - than in Western Europe. According to Bauman, even the post-communist transition narrative contained strongly anti-institutional elements that were attractive to citizens: the concept of the invisible hand of the market (in a very different understanding of this concept from Smith's original understanding), the emphasis on deregulation, a minimum of legal norms or the ostracisation of civil servants (bureaucrats) - emphasises institutions as illegitimate forms of social ties that should ideally be got rid of as much as possible.[39] The notion of an 'evil Brussels', or a Eurosceptic critical attitude towards European integration, also fits into this narrative.

This crisis of religious institutions leads to a growing number of people who subscribe to a form of generationally transmitted religion. Still, in an equally private way and without participation in religious rituals or liturgy or to a simple conviction that "something transcends man", this form of agnostic belief and the separation from institutions is essential for the Czech environment. Its

[36] Halík, T. (2021). *Odpoledne křesťanství: Odvaha k proměně* (Roč. 2021). Praha: Lidové noviny.

[37] Kettnerová, L. – Šigut, V. – Volfík, R. (b.r.). Religiozita a spiritualita jsou jen nešťastné nálepky. *PAnorama Forum*, 34, pp. 28–31., Nešpor, Z. R. (2020). *Česká a slovenská religiozita po rozpadu společného státu: Náboženství Dioskúrů*. Praha: Karolinum Press.

[38] Bauman, Z. (2013). *Liquid modernity*. New Jersy: John Wiley & Sons., Bauman, Z. (2004). *Individualizovaná společnost*. Praha: Mladá fronta.

[39] Bauman, Z. – Donskis, L. (2018). *Tekuté zlo: Život bez alternativ*. Praha: Pulchra.

consequence is low spiritual or religious literacy.[40] There is no reproduction of theological reflection, which has significant social consequences.[41]

According to available studies, spiritual literacy has at least two important aspects that shape society. The first is a general resistance to disinformation, conspiracy theories, and ideologies.[42] This aspect is easily traceable to communist propaganda, which fared considerably better in areas of lower religiosity or general religious experience. Purely socio-demographic interpretations emphasising the relationship of communism to the working class are more a part of the propaganda of the time than a sociological fact. However, the absence of explicit religious beliefs can be expected to lead to lower levels of spiritual literacy in society (with understandable exceptions). The fact that a low level of institutionalised religiosity characterises the Czech environment can thus easily be correlated with the susceptibility of society to various manipulations - from communist ideology to the current sensitivity of society to hoaxes and disinformation. Technicalized power can easily exploit and work systematically with this sociological characteristic of a culture. Still, perhaps a more significant modern element lies in a particular sensitivity of people to a specific climate, manifested in the spread of chain mail without any connection to institutions or states.

The unreflected religiosity forming a specific core of folk romanticism standing in opposition to the technicized society of logic and rationality opens man to the external vulnerability of manipulation. With the development of modern technology, it can be said that on a scale that is quite unprecedented. Romanticism accentuates freedom, but by its internal structure, it can quickly lose it.

The second aspect of the paradox of spiritual literacy is the emphasis on gratitude, relationships, and meaning.[43] Frankl would see characteristics essential to survival in a concentration camp, and modern psychology would see them as the core of resilience. Romanticism is thus open to vulnerability precisely because of its unreflected religiosity. The opposites are not faith and unbelief, religion and atheism, but spiritual literacy and ignorance. The reduction of man to a being without spirituality, which was part of the communist scientific worldview (i.e. the explicit religion of the time), leads to his easy vulnerability and manipulation. Religion, as an element of romanticism,

[40] Jirásek, I. (2023). Spiritual literacy: Non-religious reconceptualisation for education in a secular environment. *International Journal of Children's Spirituality*, *28*/2, pp. 61–75., Holmberg, Å. – Jensen, P. – Vetere, A. (2021). Spirituality – a forgotten dimension? Developing spiritual literacy in family therapy practice. *Journal of Family Therapy*, *43*/1, pp. 78–95.

[41] Taggart, G. (2002). Spiritual Literacy and Tacit Knowledge. *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, *23*/1, pp. 7–17.

[42] Taggart, G. (2002). Spiritual Literacy and Tacit Knowledge. *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, *23*/1, pp. 7–17.

[43] Seligman, M. E. P. (2011). *Flourish: A visionary new understanding of happiness and well-being* (1. Free Press hardcover ed.). New York, NY: Free Press.

can be used to control society where the emphasis on critical reflection and the individual's approach is lacking.

Jung points out that man is incurably religious - while Jung meant by this a relation to the transcendent in any form, in the light of Luckmann's concept, we can say that this incurable religiosity refers to metaphysical patterns leading to life practices on socially broad scales. If Belohradsky claims that the significant feature of the Enlightenment is emancipation from the church,[44] he is probably right, but emancipation from the church is not emancipation from religion.

And it is precisely the formation of religious - in this broader frame of thought - ideas about the world that can be understood (from the second half of the 18th century at the latest) as a source of adaptive strategy to the transformation of society by technology, the Enlightenment, and industry. In other words, romanticism has a fundamental religious dimension; it creates a form of anchor against the changes in the world we live in; it is a metaphor or a mental shortcut that enables people to act in the world—religion in terms not of a formal institution but as a particular field of thought shaping society.

Digital Technology as a Form of Religion

We would divide the following argument into two steps. First, we will try to show that digital technologies (especially artificial intelligence) create social structures, metaphors and assumptions that constitute a form of religion in a broader sense without institutional support. In a second step, we will focus on the extent to which (or how) this religiosity is associated with romanticism. Thus, we will try to show that the essential constitutive manifestation of modernity in the form of digital technologies can represent for some people a fundamental sense of threat,[45] which they interact with through a set of tools that different layers of romanticism have created for such cases of relationship with modernity.

Latzer argues in his study that digital technologies have become a form of implicit religion.[46] Thus, for our research, it will not be intriguing to observe how institutional religions (technologies can sometimes be understood as a form

[44] Bělohradský, V. (1997). *Mezi světy & mezisvěty: Filosofické dialogy*. Velká řada. Praha: Votobia.

[45] Francis. (2024). LVII Giornata Mondiale della Pace 2024—Intelligenza artificiale e pace. *La santa sede*. https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/it/messages/peace/documents/20231208-messaggio-57giornatamondiale-pace2024.html

[46] Latzer, M. (2022). The Digital Trinity—Controllable Human Evolution—Implicit Everyday Religion: Characteristics of the Socio-Technical Transformation of Digitalization. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*/S1,pp. 331–354.

of institution) cope with or work with technologisation but to observe that everyday implicit religion is associated with technologies.[47]

The first dimension can be seen in the idea that technology represents a particular next stage of human development. The Abrahamic religions provided man with the support of being the pinnacle of creation. The hymn in Genesis places man at the ontological pinnacle of the entire universe (right after God) and gives him all power over nature - hence the naming of all the animals in Eden; naming implies mastery and ontological subjugation. Floridi speaks of modernity being carried by four revolutions that shook man's certainty.[48] Copernicus (here Floridi places the beginning of modernity, as early as 1543, although it is clear that the natural consequences did not become apparent until much later) showed that man and the earth are not at the centre of the universe; Darwin deprived man of his sense of uniqueness and centrality in the evolutionary process; Freud showed that man could not even govern himself. He calls the Fourth Revolution Turingian - blurring the boundaries between the human and the technical. The gradual loss of man's privileged position in the ontological order is - in our view - the source of the loss of the field of ontological certainties, which is compensated by the development of new forms of implicit religions that are supposed to bring a certain sense of certainty against the logic of science and technology.[49]

According to Harari, man projects his evolution into technology - he sees it as the next step towards perfection, growth, and exceeding his possibilities.[50] For example, this religious dimension of evolution is strongly evident in Buddhism. Still, it also forms the core of Hegel's whole conception of history,[51] so that the whole of Marxism, i.e. communist religion, rests on it. In another form, however, the evolutionary plane is also evident in Nietzsche and his Übermensch, and similar concepts of man's ascent to God can be found in Catholic spirituality. Technology is interesting in this respect because it represents another step in evolution and allows man to participate in the work

[47] Kao, G. – Hong, J. – Perusse, M. – Sheng, W. (2020). Dataism and Transhumanism. In G. Kao, J. Hong, M. Perusse, W. Sheng (Ed.), *Turning Silicon into Gold: The Strategies, Failures, and Evolution of the Tech Industry* (pp. 173–178). Berkeley, CA: Apress. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4842-5629-9_25

[48] Floridi, L. (2014). *The fourth revolution: How the infosphere is reshaping human reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[49] Francis. (2024). LVII Giornata Mondiale della Pace 2024—Intelligenza artificiale e pace. *La santa sede*. https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/it/messages/peace/documents/20231208-messaggio-57giornatamondiale-pace2024.html, Latzer, M. (2022). The Digital Trinity—Controllable Human Evolution—Implicit Everyday Religion: Characteristics of the Socio-Technical Transformation of Digitalization. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*/S1, pp. 331–354.

[50] HARARI, Y. N. (2016). *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow*. Harvill Secke.

[51] HEGEL, G. W. F. (2020). *The Philosophy of History*. Library of Alexandria; MCCARNEY, J. (2012). *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Hegel on History*. Routledge.

of creation. Man is the creator, the maker of technology. As we will show later, self-divinization[52] will constitute an essential concept of this implicit religion.

Harari speaks of Homo Deus, who, thanks to technology, acquires qualities previously reserved only for deities.[53] Digital technology allows for omniscience through easy access to arbitrary information. Floridi even writes about the loss of the right not to know.[54] Tracking the flow of data, the datafication of society, and the erosion of the concept of privacy, all reinforce the narrative of omniscience possible where humans control technology. Omniscience is not technology itself, nor man, but the interconnection of the two in some form of totemic or shamanic interaction.[55]

Technology empowers people, which is also reflected in the language we use to refer to people who use technology - they can be computers or prompt wizards. These people can use technology better than others, who are not controlled by it but instead use it to control others. Technology companies are a source of hard-to-regulate and regulate power increasingly subjugating young people's lifestyles, self-esteem, and educational environment.[56] In some ways, it is totalitarian because it crosses the boundaries between private and public; it is omnipresent, another of its divine characteristics.

Digital technology makes it possible to ensure immortality - death in the physical world does not mean the loss of a digital footprint, an erasure from social media. Tools such as ChatGPTs[57] make it possible to teach an AI to have a dialogue concerning corpora of prepared texts so that one can live "forever" just by creating a sufficiently broad training base of data. Or rather, the boundaries of his death become constituted in an entirely new way, with little connection to physical death per se.

The last dimension Latzer talks about is the expansion of human possibilities. On the one hand, technology using artificial intelligence has gained the ability to easily beat humans at chess in the game of Go or at many practical tasks

---

[52] Latzer, M. (2022). The Digital Trinity—Controllable Human Evolution—Implicit Everyday Religion: Characteristics of the Socio-Technical Transformation of Digitalization. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*/S1,pp. 331–354.

[53] Harari, Y. N. (2016). *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow*. London: Harvill Secker.

[54] Floridi, L. (2013). *The Ethics of Information*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[55] Latzer, M. (2022). The Digital Trinity—Controllable Human Evolution—Implicit Everyday Religion: Characteristics of the Socio-Technical Transformation of Digitalization. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*/S1,pp. 331–354.

[56] West, M. (2023). *An ed-tech tragedy? Educational technologies and school closures in the time of COVID-19*. New York: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000386701?locale=en

[57] Kim, J. H. – Kim, J. – Kim, C. – Kim, S. (Sam). (2023). Do you trust ChatGPTs? Effects of the ethical and quality issues of generative AI on travel decisions. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *40*/9, pp. 779–801; Zhou, T. – Zhang, Y. – Cao, S. – Li, Y. – Wang, T. (2023). Complementary Advantages of ChatGPTs and Human Readers in Reasoning: Evidence from English Text Reading Comprehension. arXiv. https://arxiv.org/abs/2311.10344

in standardised maths tests or law exams. This has undeniably led to a weakening of the position of man in the ontological order shaped by the concept of performance, which is typical of liberalism and capitalism, as well as of communist and Nazi regimes - from the 18th century at the latest, performance becomes the fundamental value measure of an occidental society, it is at the heart of the industrial revolution or educational policies. Man is losing the ability to compete on his own. Still, he can be much more productive with technology - science is getting faster, communication tools allow the creation of large globalised teams, and we can track subatomic particles and galaxies. In this respect, technology is an unprecedented extension of human possibilities and self-enrichment.

The religious dimension can also be seen in Welle's study of metaphors when he speaks of two essential metaphors (in his conception, cognitive shorthand, i.e., statements about structuring the world's ideas). In the first metaphor, he says that considerations about technology in education are related to the metaphor "education is broken", and the role of technology is to fix this brokenness - either by some fixing or by creating an entirely new model of education. In this metaphor, we can see the idea of technology as divine in a very explicit way - it is digital technologies that will transform the world we live in, that will become a source of happiness and well-being so that they leave both the plane of critical discourse and the dimension of the tool entirely and acquire their autonomous value.

The second metaphor that Weller works with is the VAR (Video assistant referee) metaphor, the metaphor of technology as a kind of judge, control and justice of everything one does. In religion, there is talk of "caricatures of god" in this context, in the form of "god as policeman", who examines whether one is doing the right thing. Weller elaborates this metaphor in the context of an evidence-based approach. Still, for example, the UNESCO report on EdTech during the COVID-19 pandemic describes its effects on children's actions and experiences.[58] Technology is not only omniscient, it creates behavioural regulations to which people must adapt. This is where religiosity comes into full play - on the one hand, there are no fixed and permanent norms and requirements; on the other hand, there is the notion that norms and requirements must be met.

Three more critical aspects of religiosity need to be mentioned, which together form a specific basic outline of the religiosity of digital technology in a social context. The everyday and ubiquitous, in some ways, builds on what Weller has argued.[59] Technology has become such a fixed part of human life that it is omnipresent and impossible to avoid - the mobile phone has gradually

[58] West, M. (2023). *An ed-tech tragedy? Educational technologies and school closures in the time of COVID-19*. New York: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000386701?locale=en

[59] Weller, M. (2022). *Metaphors of Ed Tech*. Athabasca: Athabasca University Press. https://www.aupress.ca/books/120309-metaphors-of-ed-tech/

replaced the book, the torch, the alarm clock, the map, the camera, the radio, the notebook, and the desktop computer for many people. And at the same time, it is always at hand unlike all these particular objects. We have become accustomed to having our daily lives algorithmic, that algorithms decide our way to work as ubiquitously and invisibly as search results or automatic corrections of errors in the text. If we have characterised Czech society above as largely agnostic, technology undeniably fulfils this belief of transcending forces affecting people's lives. At the same time, the transformation of lifestyles, forms and modes of communication, and everyday rituals constitute an essential component of the religion we work with here. Zlatuška explicitly names it:

> *"Information processing is becoming a major economic activity that both permeates traditional economic or social activities and creates entirely new opportunities and activities that significantly affect the nature of society."*[60]

The second important attribute is autonomy. Bridle shows that in the case of services such as YouTube, it is not easy to find a responsible person who can take moral or ethical responsibility for how the tool works.[61] With the development of artificial neural networks, this fact is highlighted by the fact that while they learn on specific datasets and have specific initial settings, there is minimal control over their particular responses. The programmer or designer has only a minimal ability to influence the answers to specific questions (for example, in dialogue systems - Gemini or ChatGPT) or the appearance of the generated image (in tools such as StableDiffusion, Dalle-3 or Midjourney). The systems have an increasing degree of autonomy and the possibilities of controlling them are becoming more limited. As Bělohradský argues - large technology companies have more power than the national governments of the world.[62] At the same time, these corporations do not have complete control over what constitutes the core of their business. Technology is becoming increasingly autonomous. This is not just about technical practice (which is much more complex) but about the social perception of this phenomenon.

Related to this is the third divine characteristic of technology, namely impenetrability. Technology has become highly complex and impenetrable for most people and has lost its character of concreteness (mechanical machines, often tied to schooling, so that everyone understood the basic principles, and the stands were mechanically transparent). At the same time, the complexity of technology leads to the fact that no single person understands even the individual components as a whole. Cognition is team-based and collaborative, but on a personal level, this can lead to technology as a kind of magic, a secret, a magical aid that can be controlled and directed by someone who is omnipresent. One has experience with technology but no knowledge

[60] Zlatuška, J. (1998). Informační společnost. *Zpravodaj ÚVT MU*, *8*/4, pp. 1–6.
[61] Bridle, J. (2018). *New dark age: Technology and the end of the future*. London: Verso Books.
[62] Bělohradský, V. (2021). *Čas pléthokracie: Když části jsou větší než celky a světový duch spadl z koně*. Praha: Nakladatelství 65. pole.

of it; technology influences one's life but does not give a set of transparent rules. There is a clear distinction between religious professionals (IT experts) and laymen (ordinary users) as well as a group having power by their degree of initiation (IT enthusiasts, geek communities, ...). We can also attribute the same characteristic to the deity as such.

These individual sub-attributes together create the idea of technology as a form of implicit religion having two basic levels. The first is self-deification through technology, the formation of Homo Deus, as a new evolutionary type, transcending all the limitations of the four revolutions eroding the certainties of man.[63] This line is more Marxist than Hegelian (it is more concerned with material aspects than the spirit). Still, it represents an essential characteristic of the relationship between man and technology. At the same time, however, there is also a second distinctive dimension - the idea of digital technology as a phenomenon with divine elements. Our analysis shows that it is a religion of a totemistic kind that can be used to influence reality through appropriate rituals, a source of power and lifestyle change in which the new religious professionals play a central role.[64]

In the Czech environment, we can trace two more fundamental phenomena that accentuate this religiosity or create a specific dimension. The first is the emergence of computer science faculties and the discussion around them in the 1990s. The Faculty of Informatics, founded in 1994 at Masaryk University as the first faculty of informatics in the Czech Republic, carried a very similar ethos to that associated with creating theological faculties. It is necessary to say that the choice of some courses (information society, culture of postmodernity, psychology in informatics, later computer music) also tended towards an understanding of informatics not only as a form of technology but towards its social and cultural interconnection, to a certain extent its deification. Informatics thus assumed in the case of Masaryk University the same role as the Faculty of Theology at Charles University. To this day, it strongly influences its ethos and identity.

In the case of school teaching (primary and secondary schools), it can be said that the concept of computer science as a separate subject was unique and unique in Europe (its transformation is only now taking place with the curriculum reform) and essentially fulfilled the role of teaching religion in schools in the 19th century, including similar cross-curricular overlaps - it was built as a form of mental instrumentalisation of pupils so that they could appropriately navigate the world. Such a form of education is unique to the Czech experience.

[63] Latzer, M. (2022). The Digital Trinity—Controllable Human Evolution—Implicit Everyday Religion: Characteristics of the Socio-Technical Transformation of Digitalization. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*/S1,pp. 331–354.

[64] Eliade, M. (1993). *Mýtus o věčném návratu*. Praha: Oikoymenh.

Digital Technologies and Romanticism in the Czech Context

In the previous chapter, we have extensively analysed digital technology as a religious phenomenon of a non-institutionalised nature. In this section we would like to proceed to the core phenomenon of this study - namely, the constitution of romanticism associated with the digital environment, for which we have established a sufficiently theoretical solid field. We will try to approach the relation of the Czech climate to the romanticism connected with digital technologies through four themes, which always have a global dimension and unique Czech realities or manifestations, to which we will pay particular attention. The choice of these elements is mainly eclectic, but at the same time we believe sufficiently representative to show a specific historical facet of this phenomenon.

It is clear from the previous chapter that digital technologies are a kind of implicit religion in society. One of the robust features of the Czech environment is the attempt to institutionalise this religious dimension. At the same time, it connects it with the myth of digitalisation as a struggle of good against evil. The goal of digitalisation in the Czech environment is to fight against bureaucracy, which has strong negative connotations in the Czech space. At the same time, we believe that digitalisation will bring economic growth and prosperity. However, individual projects that fail in digitalisation in the Czech environment are perceived as a manifestation of a particular heresy or schism, an apostasy from orthodoxy, and are expected to be severely punished. The religious notion of digital technologies has no formal institutional form (although there was a Ministry of Informatics in 2003-2007). Still, at the same time, it is intensely reflected in institutional forms.[65]

Connectivity culture and hyperlocal journalism. The emergence of Web 2.0 around the year 2000 represented a fundamental change in the understanding of the Internet globally, as it opened up the space for content creation to all users - from the encyclopedia Wikipedia to blogs, to custom websites, to the gradually emerging social media, a fundamental change in the understanding of what the Internet is and what it enables could be seen between 2000 and 2010.[66] It has deprofessionalised and democratised creation, leading to a widespread

[65] Latzer, M. (2022). The Digital Trinity—Controllable Human Evolution—Implicit Everyday Religion: Characteristics of the Socio-Technical Transformation of Digitalization. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*/S1, pp. 331–354.

[66] Bell, F. (2011). Connectivism: Its place in theory-informed research and innovation in technology-enabled learning. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*, *12/*3, 98–118., Downes, S. (2008). Places to go: Connectivism & connective knowledge. *Innovate: Journal of Online Education*, *5*/1, pp. 6., Siemens, G. (2005). Connectivism: A theory of learning for the digital age. *International journal of instructional technology and distance learning*, *2*/1., Dunaway, M. (2011). Web 2.0 and critical information literacy. *Public Services Quarterly*, *7*/ 3–4, pp. 149–157.

belief that the internet can be essential in building democracy.[67] It represented a technological change not unlike the fire that Prometheus brought from Olympus in Greek mythology. Technology available to a limited group of people began to rapidly change the behaviour of a large part of the population.

The notion of the Internet as the source of a new connected society (a society of connectivity) represents an essential ideological element in the romantic understanding of technology as a source of remediation for a world in which everyone will be able to participate in free access to information, create new digital artefacts and continuously learn.[68] In the Czech environment, this form of utopia has evident roots in Comenius and his early 20th-century update.[69] But the reality has turned out to be much more complicated - free information is intertwined with disinformation and media campaigns, the world of connectivity has been replaced by an environment dominated by large technical monopolies (platforms),[70] and the growth of democracy on a global scale is not observed.

The manifestation of a culture of connectivity was to be hyperlocal journalism, bringing news and updates to people in a tiny region or city.[71] It was to stand on two important principles - journalism loses its professional form, and everyone can participate. At the same time, people will take an interest in what is happening in their region and participate in it. The Czech project with the greatest ambition in this respect was Našeadresa.cz, financed by PPF Group and launched in 2009.[72] A year later, however, it was clear that there was neither interest in the service nor that it could generate high-quality and relevant content. Yet this project epitomises the Czech internet's connectionist utopian ethos.

The Czech Way. Romantic myth as a specific cognitive shortcut or metaphor can also have a national dimension - from sports fandom to forms

---

[67] Webster, F. (1999). Knowledgeability and democracy in an information age. *Library Review*., Dijck, J. van. (2020). Governing digital societies: Private platforms, public values. *Computer Law & Security Review*, *36*, 105377.

[68] Siemens, G. (2005). Connectivism: A theory of learning for the digital age. *International journal of instructional technology and distance learning*, *2*/1., Webster, F. (1999). Knowledgeability and democracy in an information age. *Library Review*.

[69] Patočka, J. (1997). *Komeniologické studie*. Praha: Oikoumenh.

[70] Fukuyama, F. – Richman, B. – Goel, A. (2021). How to Save Democracy from Technology: Ending Big Tech's Information Monopoly Essays. *Foreign Affairs*, 100/1, pp. 98–110., Ouellet, M. (2019). Capital as power: Facebook and the symbolic monopoly rent. Digitalization of Society and Socio-political Issues 1: Digital. *Communication and Culture*, pp. 81–94., West, M. (2023). *An ed-tech tragedy? Educational technologies and school closures in the time of COVID-19*. New York: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000386701?locale=en

[71] Harte, D. – Howells, R. – Williams, A. (2018). *Hyperlocal Journalism: The decline of local newspapers and the rise of online community news*. London: Routledge., Paulussen, S. – D'heer, E. (2013). Using Citizens for Community Journalism: Findings from a hyperlocal media project. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(5), 588–603. London: Routledge.

[72] Zandl, P. (2009). Našeadresa startuje aneb PPF zkouší hyperlokální média. *Lupa.cz*. https://www.lupa.cz/clanky/naseadresa-startuje/

of protectionism.[73] An interesting example for our consideration is Seznam.cz, which represents almost the only national product in the field of web search engines in democratic countries. While globally Google holds around 90% of the market, it only has around 80% in the Czech environment.[74] But Seznam.cz is also successful in e-mail and other services. In terms of rationalistic modernity, such a concept makes no sense - the user does not get the best services, but neither does it break the global monopoly,[75] which could lead to Bing services, for example. The romanticisation of national products may have a rational core, but considerations over the competitiveness and innovativeness of the economy cannot justify this data.

In the duel (often described in journalistic terms) between 2010 and 2014, it was possible to watch the duel between the "little Czech David" and the "global giant Goliath", which was a clear illustration of the romantic duel commonly found in literature or fairy tales. These first two examples proved decisive at the time, having concrete economic and social impacts, but at the same time, in some ways, outdated and exhausted. The romantic narrative allows for a short-term adaptation or creation of a narrative rather than a long-term, lasting aspect of societal change unless it manages to create a niche it uniquely fills. This seems to have failed in the case of internet search engines or platform companies. Therefore, the following two examples will focus on elements that can still be identified in contemporary society and whose importance is growing.

Influencers. When Bauman analyses the difference between fluid and rigid modernity, i.e. the social change in the occidental cultural circuit that has been taking place since the late 1960s, he cites the relationship to authority as one example of such a difference. Authorities are essential for the formation of social order, and especially in Romanticism, we can encounter them as certain archetypal actors in literature - the charismatic leader, the leader, the personality who transcends ordinary boundaries and who can tear others down. For rigid modernity, authority derives from the formal role a given person plays in society - the authority figure is a parent, a priest, a president, a director, and a policeman. Bauman argues it doesn't matter too much, the particular personality of the person in question. In contrast, in liquid modernity, authority emerges as a celebrity - someone whose influence is shaped by their life story (or part of it), usually not influencing the form of office, but able to reach broad groups of people with their life story (athletes, actors, business people).[76] In the environment of Czech politics, we can see this kind of "new politicians" in the examples of successful businessmen (Andrej Babiš, Pavel Drobil),

[73] Liessmann, K. P. (2012). *Universum věcí: K estetice každodennosti.* Praha: Academia.

[74] Search Engine Market Share Czech Republic. (b.r.). *StatCounter Global Stats*. https://gs.statcounter.com/search-engine-market-share/all/czech-republic

[75] Fukuyama, F. – Richman, B. – Goel, A. (2021). How to Save Democracy from Technology: Ending Big Tech's Information Monopoly Essays. *Foreign Affairs*, 100/1, pp. 98–110.

[76] Bauman, Z. (2013). *Liquid modernity*. New Jersy: John Wiley & Sons.

bankers (Jozef Síkela), doctors (Jan Pirk), university rectors (Petr Fiala, Mikuláš Bek) or the president of the Academy of Sciences (Jiří Drahoš).

However, the technologisation of society brings a further shift away from these celebrities, i.e., the story-created authorities who still have relatively high social permanence and access to traditional media. Digital technology has brought a new type of hero or authority: influencers.[77] Whereas celebrities were typically celebrated, influencers are all about influence, the ability to establish a theme, a fashion, a perspective on a particular issue, and often ostracise a specific action or person. Influencers do not typically have a long duration; their influence is "here and now", usually not even associated with a real name but only a nickname. It is the influencer who is the perfect fulfilment of the romantic notion of the charismatic leader, albeit often in a very unusual way - without dignity and seriousness, often with irony or self-mockery. He represents the type of person who can enter the public space, tear others down, and establish a theme. At the same time, he does not dwell in the world of certainties and admiration; he remains a fractured, temporally finite actor of social interactions, one who enters (for better or worse) into the everyday life of others and shapes it. He does not stand - like formal authorities or celebrities - in the stream of incredible history, but his site of action is the everyday.

The role of AI in society and the new humanism. In his novel War with the Newts, Karel Čapek describes the interaction of the human and the non-human as something at first sight appealing but at the same time challenging to sustain within the limits of control. The novel is remarkable in two respects - firstly, the same sentences he utters about newts can now be read about artificial intelligence while at the same time showing that the problem lies not in the newts themselves, that evil is not out there, but in the behaviour of particular people and society. It is the individual actors interacting with the newts, the sense of comfort, superiority, disregard for nature or ethics, the new slavery, and the moral decay that ultimately destroys human civilisation in the novel. This romantic concept of the struggle between good and evil, the tornness of man within himself, forms an essential interpretive framework for artificial intelligence.

Artificial intelligence is a strongly anthropomorphised theme in public space, into which Goethe's interpretation of Faust's contract with the devil can easily be projected, as well as Čapek's novels and plays. Artificial intelligence will deprive people of jobs, transforming education and many human activities.[78]

---

[77] Han, J. – Balabanis, G. (2024). Meta-analysis of social media influencer impact: Key antecedents and theoretical foundations. *Psychology & Marketing*, *41*/2, pp. 394–426., Kim, E. – Duffy, M. – Thorson, E. (2021). Under the Influence: Social Media Influencers' Impact on Response to Corporate Reputation Advertising. *Journal of Advertising*, *50*/2, pp. 119–138.

[78] Oschinski, M. (2023). Assessing the Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Germany's Labor Market: Insights from a ChatGPT Analysis. MPRA Paper, https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/118300/, Hirsch-Kreinsen, H. (2016). Digitization of industrial work: Development paths and prospects. *Journal for Labour Market Research*, *49/1*, pp. 1–14., Fauzi, F. – Tuhuteru, L. – Sampe, F. – Ausat, A. M. A. – Hatta, H. R. (2023). Analysing the

There is a differentiation of discourses in the social debate between Industry 4.0[79] (which no one is worried about but relies heavily on AI) and AI, which could take over humanity and must be regulated.[80] This is not to diminish the importance and need for regulation but to point out that thinking of AI as a human with will and freedom is a cognitive shortcut to a relatively complex technical phenomenon.

From the romantic point of view, artificial intelligence brings another strong impulse - man cannot succeed with a machine in the performance sense of humanity - he will never have such quick judgment, good memory, or access to information. Almost every field of science and technology can - sooner or later - be better realised by a machine than by a human.[81] There is thus room for a new romantic humanism that emphasises the importance of limits for humanity as such, working with emotions, relationships, a particular escape into nature, and questioning what is important in life when we remove work and external scenery from it. The technological revolution has brought about a new humanism - not in the sense of an emphasis on a comprehensive education, but in an inquiry into the specific qualities of humanity.[82]

Conclusion

The study aimed to analyse the conceptualisation of Romanticism as a form of social reaction to specific manifestations of modernity and modern society. Methodologically, the study relied on implicit or invisible religion as a manifestation of the mythologisation[83] of complex reality. It depends on

Role of ChatGPT in Improving Student Productivity in Higher Education. *Journal on Education*, *5*/4, pp. 14886–14891.

[79] Ghobakhloo, M. (2020). Industry 4.0, digitization, and opportunities for sustainability. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, *252*, pp. 119869.

[80] Hoppner, T. – Streatfeild, L. (2023). Chatgpt, bard & co.: An introduction to ai for competition and regulatory lawyers. *An Introduction to AI for Competition and Regulatory Lawyers* (p. 9)., Tischbirek, A. (2020). Artificial Intelligence and Discrimination: Discriminating Against Discriminatory Systems. *Regulating Artificial Intelligence* (p. 103–121). Cham: Springer.

[81] Where does AlphaGo go: From church-turing thesis to AlphaGo thesis and beyond. (2016). *IEEE/CAA Journal of Automatica Sinica*, *3*/2, pp. 113–120., Bory, P. (2019). Deep new: The shifting narratives of artificial intelligence from Deep Blue to AlphaGo. *Convergence*, *25*/4, pp. 627–642.

[82] Benedikter, R. – Fathi, K. (2021). "Humanised" Technology Instead of a New Humanism? *The Coronavirus Crisis and Its Teachings* (pp. 63–69). Brill. https://brill.com/display/book/9789004469686/BP000013.xml, Lollini, M. (2022). Time of the End? More-Than-Human Humanism and Artificial Intelligence. *Humanist Studies & the Digital Age*, *7*/1. https://journals.oregondigital.org/hsda/article/view/5756, Mejia, S. – Nikolaidis, D. (2022). Through New Eyes: Artificial Intelligence, Technological Unemployment, and Transhumanism in Kazuo Ishiguro's Klara and the Sun. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *178*/1, pp.303–306.

[83] Eliade, M. (1993). *Mýtus o věčném návratu*. Praha: Oikoymenh

Thomas's theorem[84] and the premises of the social construction of reality,[85] which allow one to look away from the material objective truth and to observe more of its social and sociological perception, which has an impact on people's everyday life, thus inscribing itself in the way history is shaped.

Our focus was specifically on the information revolution[86] and the constitution of the ethos of the new romanticism associated with it. The creation of this hermeneutic narrative allows for a deeper interpretation of contemporary events and, at the same time, their perception concerning local specifications. We see the emphasis on Czech realities and Czech society as an original methodological approach in that it allows for an understanding of the local determinants and elements that make up the layers of Romanticism and implicit religion while at the same time preserving it within the globalised framework of an interconnected world in which it is usually analysed concerning a specific new colonisation through digital technologies.[87]

The study has demonstrated that a complex and modernist society cannot be interpreted solely through a rational reductionist framework[88] but that romanticism and a specific unconscious creation of implicit religion are relevant responses to such a world's mutability and abstractness. We see it as a fundamental goal of education to seek a balanced position between modernist and novelistic approaches that are not dualistic but offer a broader phenomenological[89] approach to the world.

References:

Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (2009). *Dialektika osvícenství: Filosofické fragmenty*. Praha: Oikumenē.

Arendt, H. (2006). *On revolution*. New York: Penguin Books.

Arendtová, H. (1996). *Původ totalitarismu I–III. Imperialismus, III: Totalitarismus.* Praha: Oikoymenh.

Babiš, A. (2017). *O čem sním, když náhodou spím*. Praha: Andrej Babiš.

Banáš, J. (2011). *Zastavte Dubčeka!: Příběh člověka, který překážel mocným*. Praha: Knižní klub.

[84] Berger, P. L. (2012). Dobrodružství náhodného sociologa: Jak vysvětlit svět, a přitom nenudit. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.

[85] Berger, P. L. – Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality*. Palatine: Anchor books.

[86] Robertson, D. S. (1990). The Information Revolution. *Communication Research*, *17/*2, pp. 235–254. SAGE Publications Inc., Mathews, J. T. (2000). The Information Revolution. *Foreign Policy*, 119, pp. 63–65. Washingtonpost.Newsweek Interactive, LLC.

[87] Hall, M. (1999). Virtual colonization. *Journal of Material Culture*, *4/1*, pp. 39–55.

[88] Šíp, Radim. (2019). *Proč školství a jeho aktéři selhávají*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita., Latour, B. (2021). *After lockdown: A metamorphosis*. Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity Press.

[89] Lloyd, A. (2021). *The qualitative landscape of information literacy research: Perspectives, methods and techniques*. London: Facet Publishing., Heidegger, M. (2006). *Básnicky bydlí člověk*. Praha: Oikoymenh., Heidegger, M. (2017). *Nač básníci?* Praha: Oikoymenh.

Baťa, J. A. (1937). *Budujme stát (pro 40,000.000 lidí)*. Zlín: Tisk.
Bauman, Z. (2004). *Individualizovaná společnost*. Praha: Mladá fronta.
Bauman, Z. (2007). *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Reprint.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
Bauman, Z. (2013). *Liquid modernity*. New Jersy: John Wiley & Sons.
Bauman, Z., & Donskis, L. (2018). *Tekuté zlo: Život bez alternativ*. Praha: Pulchra.
Beck, U. (1998). Politics of risk society. *Environmentalism. Critical Concepts*, pp. 256–266.
Beck, Ulrich. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. Theory, culture & society. London ; Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications.
Bell, F. (2011). Connectivism: Its place in theory-informed research and innovation in technology-enabled learning. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*, *12/*3, 98–118.
Bělohradský, V. (1997). *Mezi světy & mezisvěty: Filosofické dialogy*. Velká řada. Praha: Votobia.
Bělohradský, V. (2021). *Čas pléthokracie: Když části jsou větší než celky a světový duch spadl z koně*. Praha: Nakladatelství 65. pole.
Benedikter, R., & Fathi, K. (2021). "Humanised" Technology Instead of a New Humanism? *The Coronavirus Crisis and Its Teachings* (pp. 63–69). Brill. https://brill.com/display/book/9789004469686/BP000013.xml
Berger, Peter L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality*. Palatine: Anchor books.
Berger, P.L. (2012). Dobrodružství náhodného sociologa: Jak vysvětlit svět, a přitom nenudit. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.
Besecke, K. (2005). Seeing invisible religion: Religion as a societal conversation about transcendent meaning. *Sociological Theory*, *23*/2, pp. 179–196.
Bory, P. (2019). Deep new: The shifting narratives of artificial intelligence from Deep Blue to AlphaGo. *Convergence*, *25*/4, pp. 627–642.
Bridle, J. (2018). *New dark age: Technology and the end of the future*. London: Verso Books.
Coreth, A. (2013). *Pietas Austriaca: Fenomén rakouské barokní zbožnosti*. Velehrad: Refugium.
Damasio, A. R. (1994). *Descartes' error: Emotion, reason, and the human brain*. New York: Putnam.
Dijck, J. van. (2020). Governing digital societies: Private platforms, public values. *Computer Law & Security Review*, *36*, 105377.
Downes, S. (2008). Places to go: Connectivism & connective knowledge. *Innovate: Journal of Online Education*, *5*/1, pp. 6.
Dunaway, M. (2011). Web 2.0 and critical information literacy. *Public Services Quarterly*, *7*/ 3–4, pp. 149–157.
Eliade, M. (1993). *Mýtus o věčném návratu*. Praha: Oikoymenh.

Fauzi, F., Tuhuteru, L., Sampe, F., Ausat, A. M. A., & Hatta, H. R. (2023). Analysing the Role of ChatGPT in Improving Student Productivity in Higher Education. *Journal on Education*, *5*/4, pp. 14886–14891.

Floridi, L. (2013). *The Ethics of Information*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Floridi, L. (2014). *The fourth revolution: How the infosphere is reshaping human reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Francis. (2024). LVII Giornata Mondiale della Pace 2024—Intelligenza artificiale e pace. *La santa sede*. https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/it/messages/peace/documents/20231208-messaggio-57giornatamondiale-pace2024.html

Freeman, J. B. (2018). *Behemoth: A history of the factory and the making of the modern world* (First edition.). New York London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Fukuyama, F., Richman, B., & Goel, A. (2021). How to Save Democracy from Technology: Ending Big Tech's Information Monopoly Essays. *Foreign Affairs*, 100/1, pp. 98–110.

Gaba, P. (2011). Takové mezi sebou nechceme! Formování negativního obrazu špatného pracovníka v hornictví a jeho prezentování na stránkách Havířské pravdy. *Historica: Revue pro historii a příbuzné vědy (Historica: Review in history and related sciences)*, *1*/2, pp. 60–66.

Ghobakhloo, M. (2020). Industry 4.0, digitization, and opportunities for sustainability. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, *252*, pp. 119869.

Glassheim, E. (2005). Etnické čistky, komunismus a devastace životního prostředí. Vytváření nové identity severočeského pohraničí (1945–1989). *Soudobé dějiny*, *XII*/ 03–04, pp. 432–464.

Hájek, M. (1972). Sociologie a praktické úkoly RVHP v hornictví: (Zpráva ze symposia). *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. G, Řada sociálněvědná*, *21*/ G16, pp. [89]-91.

Halík, T. (2021). *Odpoledne křesťanství: Odvaha k proměně* (Roč. 2021). Praha: Lidové noviny.

Hall, M. (1999). Virtual colonization. *Journal of Material Culture*, *4/1*, pp. 39–55.

Han, J., & Balabanis, G. (2024). Meta-analysis of social media influencer impact: Key antecedents and theoretical foundations. *Psychology & Marketing*, *41/*2, pp. 394–426.

Harari, Y. N. (2016). *Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow*. London: Harvill Secker.

Harte, D., Howells, R., & Williams, A. (2018). *Hyperlocal Journalism: The decline of local newspapers and the rise of online community news*. London: Routledge.

Hauser, M. (2019). Pražské jaro 1968 jako progresivní konstrukce národní identity. *Paidea*, *16/*1–2, pp. 1–6.

Hegel, G. W. F. (2020). *The Philosophy of History*. Alexandria: Library of Alexandria.

Heidegger, M. (2006). *Básnicky bydlí člověk*. Praha: Oikoymenh.

Heidegger, M. (2009). *Věda, technika a zamyšlení*. Praha: Oikoymenh.
Heidegger, M. (2013). *Věk obrazu světa*. Praha: Oikoymenh.
Heidegger, M. (2017). *Nač básníci?* Praha: Oikoymenh.
Hirsch-Kreinsen, H. (2016). Digitization of industrial work: Development paths and prospects. *Journal for Labour Market Research*, *49/1*, pp. 1–14.
Holmberg, Å., Jensen, P., & Vetere, A. (2021). Spirituality – a forgotten dimension? Developing spiritual literacy in family therapy practice. *Journal of Family Therapy*, *43*/1, pp. 78–95.
Hoppner, T., & Streatfeild, L. (2023). Chatgpt, bard & co.: An introduction to ai for competition and regulatory lawyers. *An Introduction to AI for Competition and Regulatory Lawyers* (p. 9).
Hunt, W. (2019). *Underground: A Human History of the Worlds Beneath Our Feet*. New York: Random House Publishing Group.
Chaplin, S., & Faflak, J. (2011). *The Romanticism Handbook*. London: A&C Black.
Jirásek, I. (2023). Spiritual literacy: Non-religious reconceptualisation for education in a secular environment. *International Journal of Children's Spirituality*, *28*/2, pp. 61–75.
Kao, G., Hong, J., Perusse, M., & Sheng, W. (2020). Dataism and Transhumanism. In G. Kao, J. Hong, M. Perusse, & W. Sheng (Ed.), *Turning Silicon into Gold: The Strategies, Failures, and Evolution of the Tech Industry* (pp. 173–178). Berkeley, CA: Apress. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4842-5629-9_25
Kettnerová, L., Šigut, V., & Volfík, R. (b.r.). Religiozita a spiritualita jsou jen nešťastné nálepky. *PAnorama Forum*, 34, pp. 28–31.
Kim, E., Duffy, M., & Thorson, E. (2021). Under the Influence: Social Media Influencers' Impact on Response to Corporate Reputation Advertising. *Journal of Advertising*, *50*/2, pp. 119–138.
Kim, J. H., Kim, J., Kim, C., & Kim, S. (Sam). (2023). Do you trust ChatGPTs? Effects of the ethical and quality issues of generative AI on travel decisions. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *40*/9, pp. 779–801.
Latour, B. (1993). *We have never been modern*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
Latour, B. (2018). *Down to earth: Politics in the new climatic regime* (English edition.). Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity Press.
Latour, B. (2021). *After lockdown: A metamorphosis*. Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity Press.
Latzer, M. (2022). The Digital Trinity—Controllable Human Evolution—Implicit Everyday Religion: Characteristics of the Socio-Technical Transformation of Digitalization. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *74*/S1,pp. 331–354.
Le Goff, J. (1992). *History and memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Lednická, K. (2020). *Šikmý kostel: Románová kronika ztraceného města : léta 1894-1921*. Praha: Bílá vrána.

Lednická, K. (2021). *Šikmý kostel 2: Románová kronika ztraceného města, léta 1921–1945*. Praha: Bílá vrána.
Lednická, K. (2024). *Šikmý kostel 3: Románová kronika ztraceného města, léta 1945–1961*. Praha: Bílá vrána.
Lefebvre, H. (1995). *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959-May 1961*. Londýn: Verso.
Liessmann, K. P. (2012). *Universum věcí: K estetice každodennosti.* Praha: Academia.
Lloyd, A. (2021). *The qualitative landscape of information literacy research: Perspectives, methods and techniques*. London: Facet Publishing.
Lollini, M. (2022). Time of the End? More-Than-Human Humanism and Artificial Intelligence. *Humanist Studies & the Digital Age*, *7*/1. https://journals.oregondigital.org/hsda/article/view/5756
Londák, M., & Michálek, S. (2019). *Alexander Dubček: The Symbol of Spring*. Bratislava: Veda.
Luckmann, T. (1967). *The invisible religion*. New York: Macmillan.
Mathews, J. T. (2000). The Information Revolution. *Foreign Policy*, 119, pp. 63–65. Washingtonpost.Newsweek Interactive, LLC.
Mccarney, J. (2012). *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Hegel on History*. London: Routledge.
Mejia, S., & Nikolaidis, D. (2022). Through New Eyes: Artificial Intelligence, Technological Unemployment, and Transhumanism in Kazuo Ishiguro's Klara and the Sun. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *178*/1, pp.303–306.
Munch, R. (2010). *Understanding Modernity: Toward a New Perspective Going Beyond Durkheim and Weber*. Milton Park: Taylor & Francis.
Nešpor, Z. R. (2020). *Česká a slovenská religiozita po rozpadu společného státu: Náboženství Dioskúrů*. Praha: Karolinum Press.
Neyland, D. (2019). *The Everyday Life of an Algorithm*. Cham: Springer International Publishing. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-030-00578-8
Oschinski, M. (2023). Assessing the Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Germany's Labor Market: Insights from a ChatGPT Analysis. MPRA Paper, https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/118300/
Ouellet, M. (2019). Capital as power: Facebook and the symbolic monopoly rent. Digitalization of Society and Socio-political Issues 1: Digital. *Communication and Culture*, pp. 81–94.
Patočka, J. (1997). *Komeniologické studie*. Praha: Oikoumenh.
Paulussen, S., & D'heer, E. (2013). Using Citizens for Community Journalism: Findings from a hyperlocal media project. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(5), 588–603. London: Routledge.
Petrusek, M. (2020). Každodennost. *Velký sociologický slovník*. https://encyklopedie.soc.cas.cz/w/Ka%C5%BEdodennost
Pokluda, Z. (2014). *Baťa v kostce: Rozšířené vydání*. Praha: Albatros Media a.s.
Pospíšil, J. (2012). *Rub a líc baťovských sporů*. Praha: Albatros Media a.s.

Reidenberg, J. R. (1997). Lex Informatica: The Formulation of Information Policy Rules through Technology. *Texas Law Review*, *76/*3, pp. 553–594.

Reich, R. B. (1995). *Dílo národů: Příprava na kapitalismus 21. Století*. Praha: Prostor.

Robertson, D. S. (1990). The Information Revolution. *Communication Research*, *17/*2, pp. 235–254. SAGE Publications Inc.

Search Engine Market Share Czech Republic. (b.r.). *StatCounter Global Stats*. https://gs.statcounter.com/search-engine-market-share/all/czech-republic

Sedlák, P. (2013). Každodennost jako předmět a koncept dějepisného poznání. *Soudobé dějiny*, *20/*01–02, pp. 120–157.

Seligman, M. E. P. (2011). *Flourish: A visionary new understanding of happiness and well-being* (1. Free Press hardcover ed.). New York, NY: Free Press.

Siemens, G. (2005). Connectivism: A theory of learning for the digital age. *International journal of instructional technology and distance learning*, *2*/1.

Stuhlemer, J. (2017). *Romanticism as a Transition to Modernity: The Romantic Period in Literature as a Transitional Phase*. Munich: GRIN Verlag.

Šíp, R. (2014). Globalization, nationalism and Europe: The need for trans-national perspectives in education. *Human Affairs*, *2*, pp. 248–257.

Šíp, Radim. (2019). *Proč školství a jeho aktéři selhávají*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Taggart, G. (2002). Spiritual Literacy and Tacit Knowledge. *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, *23*/1, pp. 7–17.

Thoreau, H. D., & Searls, D. (2009). *The journal, 1837-1861*. New York Review Books classics. New York: New York Review Books.

Tinková, D. (2022). *Osvícenství v českých zemích: Formování moderního státu (1740-1792)*. Praha: NLN.

Tischbirek, A. (2020). Artificial Intelligence and Discrimination: Discriminating Against Discriminatory Systems. *Regulating Artificial Intelligence* (p. 103–121). Cham: Springer.

Webster, F. (1999). Knowledgeability and democracy in an information age. *Library Review*.

Weller, M. (2022). *Metaphors of Ed Tech*. Athabasca: Athabasca University Press. https://www.aupress.ca/books/120309-metaphors-of-ed-tech/

West, M. (2023). *An ed-tech tragedy? Educational technologies and school closures in the time of COVID-19*. New York: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000386701?locale=en

Where does AlphaGo go: From church-turing thesis to AlphaGo thesis and beyond. (2016). *IEEE/CAA Journal of Automatica Sinica*, *3*/2, pp. 113–120.

Zandl, P. (2009). Našeadresa startuje aneb PPF zkouší hyperlokální média. *Lupa.cz*. https://www.lupa.cz/clanky/naseadresa-startuje/

Zhou, T., Zhang, Y., Cao, S., Li, Y., & Wang, T. (2023). Complementary Advantages of ChatGPTs and Human Readers in Reasoning: Evidence from English Text Reading Comprehension. arXiv. https://arxiv.org/abs/2311.10344

Zlatuška, J. (1998). Informační společnost. *Zpravodaj ÚVT MU*, *8*/4, pp. 1–6.