# REVIEW OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

**CCSE**

Canadian Center of Science and Education

# Editorial Board

# Contents

# Contents

# António Lobo Antunes: Production
# and Consumption of Subjectivity

Aino Rinhaug (PhD)

Institute of Germanic & Romance Studies

School of Advanced Studies, University of London

Senate House Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU, UK

Tel: 44-0-77-221-26417     E-mail: aino.rinhaug@ilos.uio.no

**Abstract**

António Lobo Antunes (1942-) is one of Portugal's leading contemporary authors, whose reputation as a world-class writer is confirmed by the number of publications, translations and dedicated readers. The present article is concerned with his latest novel, *O arquipélago da insónia*, or *The Archipelago of Insomnia*, if translated into English. The text represents a great challenge insofar as reading and understanding of contemporary literature is concerned. As in several of his earlier works, Lobo Antunes continues to explore the limits of narration and readability by experimenting on narrative structure and voice. The focus of my analysis is the organisation and structure of the work, which I regard as autopoietic, or self-generating. I intend to look at how the various voices, or subjectivities in the novel relate in a productive, but also consumptive fashion, in order to maintain the continuous process of making literature.

**Keywords:** António Lobo Antunes, Postmodernist fiction, Autopoiesis, Intersubjectivity, Interdisciplinarity, Production, Consumption, Food

## 1. What kind of book is this?

As in several of his earlier works, Portuguese author António Lobo Antunes continues to explore the topics of literature, intersubjectivity and family relations in the novel, *O arquipélago da insónia* (2008), or *The Archipelago of Insomnia* if translated into English. (Note 1) From the opening pages, the impression is that the narration occurs in a place of utter solitude and desolation; more specifically, it is set in the abandoned family home: "De onde me virá a impressão que na casa, apesar de igual, quase tudo lhe falta?" ["Where could I be getting the impression from that in the house, despite being the same, almost everything is missing"?] (Antunes 2008:13) Similar to the house itself, the text transmits a sense of an infinite emptiness on the one hand, and, on the other hand, insists on its overwhelming richness. Out of the void and silence of the dead, as if brought back to life by way of the imagination of the narrator, appears one voice after another or one voice of the other. Chained to each other like connected pieces in the construction of the literary work, a connected whole – the image of a family – emerges in the course of the narration of past events. The latter are being remembered from the multiple points of view of the narrator and his mute brother, the sole living beings left in the house. On the basis of these intermingling and combined perspectives, voices, times and sites the assumption can be made that the novel of Lobo Antunes exemplifies a particular mode, pattern or behaviour of contemporary fiction. In a time, which in the words of William R. Paulson could be called "post-literary," it is imperative to insist on a continuous questioning of what literature is. As Paulson writes on the topic of "knowing literature": "Trying to understand the place of literary texts in this [computerized] world may seem a perverse or self-defeating exercise, for it means speculating on the role of literature in a postliterary culture" (Paulson 1988:vii). Paulson's observation supports the idea of how literature should be seeking not so much to pronounce as to produce meaning in a new context: "It is a kind of meaning that can be legitimately discussed only if we are willing to move away from the dead center of the literary disciplines, namely, from the implicit assumption that literature is an object of knowledge" (ix-x). The emphasis of a contemporary inquiry into knowing literature, then, should be on *how* the text operates in order to know knowledge *as* literature and, furthermore, on what that kind of knowledge literature really *is*. What Paulson seems to indicate is that literature as we (think we) know it has been effaced by time and can now be seen to reinvent itself anytime, anywhere, constantly changing, circulating attuned, as it were, to its fast changing and increasingly more globalised surroundings.

Echoing these observations, towards the end of *O arquipélago da insónia* the narrator asks what kind of book this is that costs so much to write (Antunes 2008:172). The question is bracketed, inserted in the midst of an ongoing reflection on the nature of the dictating voices. And not only does the narrator "I" question the status of these appearances and the past events contained within them, but also is he intrigued by the present and of his own self: "(quem se lembra do que fui e de quem fui?)" ["who remembers what and from whom I was?"] (172).

In order to approach these questions concerned with what *kind* of book or construction this is, the following examination of Lobo Antunes' text will focus on the operative forces that are at work in a text which seems as exhilarating as it is frustrating, as singular as it is universal. Is it at all possible to speak of the text, or should we allow the work to speak for and of itself only? What behavioural patterns can be identified in the text, and how can we acknowledge them in a meaningful way?

## 2. From Modernism to Postmodernism

In comparison to his earlier phases, the novel *O arquipélago da insónia* demonstrates that Lobo Antunes' work has grown out of an era of modernity in order to find its place within the ambiguous confines of post-modernity. (Note 2) From a tendency to give "thematic" priority to historical events, the later phase of the author shows a change of interest invested in the literary work. As such, the change of concern corresponds to what Steven Connor, with reference to Brian McHale, suggests, namely that "there has been a shift in the dominant tendency of twentieth-century fiction" (Connor 1997:130): whilst the modernist novel is concerned with epistemological questions, postmodernist fiction is characterised by its ontological concern and, we may add, by the engagement with form. And to paraphrase McHale, the ontological aspect of postmodernism might be expressed in a number of questions, such as:

What is a world? What kinds of world are there, how are they constituted, and how do they differ?; What happens when different kinds of world are placed in confrontation, or when boundaries between worlds are violated?; What is the mode of existence of a text, and what is the mode of existence of the world (or worlds) it projects?; How is a projected world structured? And so on. (McHale: 1987:10).

The shift of emphasis, from the question of knowledge and understanding to the nature of being, existence and the making of autonomous worlds, could be seen as a reflection of the altered function of subjectivity and voice in literature. Indeed, if the work questions its own nature and status as well as that of the world in which it partakes and of which it is a projection, then that is a sign of a growing awareness of the particular relation between the work, the world and the voice that mediates between them. Furthermore, the literary work seems to exist on the basis of a relation between world, work and word. The text as a literary commodity is still invariably concerned with notions of identity, knowledge and understanding, but in a way which looks upon the role of literature in a new way. More specifically, as in the case of Lobo Antunes, there is a decisive shift of focus from essentiality to functionality, where, in light of the latter, the work demonstrates a will to communicate and to *construct* rather than deconstruct language and a literary world. Moreover, "knowledge" as a concept is re-appropriated by literature in a functional, operational "know how" sense, because "truth" in a traditional philosophical sense does not exist. McHale, therefore, emphasises the "construction" of postmodernist literature; a belief in the givenness of the category of literature, or the literary system and underlying systematicity of postmodernist literature (Connor 1997:131). In light of these considerations, it does not seem wrong to suggest that it is on the one hand the acknowledgement of the inexistence of "truth" and on the other hand the resulting sense of creative freedom that encourages early examples of postmodernist literature. Like in the case of Beckett, literature surfaces from the dark in the form of an entity and an event and from that moment onwards may develop into operational constructions. (Note 3)

In light of these considerations, literature as a construction underlines the aspect of order despite disorder, or the significance of order (structure, law) within a disorderly textual whole. For the "wholeness" of the textual event, order is the sign of the text's capacity to "totalise" and to behave as one. With reference to Derrida's "events-texts," Asja Szafraniec writes:

The event archived in a literary work has two faces. It is defined as 'what does not return, what is not repeated' – or, in other words, as 'nothing' (for otherwise it would fall prey to the principle of iterability and precisely be repeated) – and, significantly, as an excess of iterability, being repeated in everything else. It is this excess of iterability that allows the work 'to gather, by translating, all figures into one another, to totalize by formalizing'." (Szafraniec 2007:31-32)

Here, according to Derrida, the concept of literature is composed of two opposite forces, or desires: the singularity and the universal. If the first is the disorderly (unruly) "nothing" (31) and the latter the iterable order of the general (32), then the assumption could be made that a text like the novel by Lobo Antunes demonstrates an imperative to construct, to create and thereby to reintroduce a reflection on the nature of literature and textuality. One may speak of the apparent paradox of "essential artificiality," characteristic of literature, which can be elucidated through an examination of the relation between order and disorder, the numerous voices vs. the one, singular voice. Lobo Antunes' novel operates according to its meta-fictional, playful state, demonstrating its qualities as artificially real as they are unknowingly

knowable, or unnameably nameable, and the process of working through and working out this event as past and present, singular and universal is what makes it possible to speak of the several voices in one. In an interview from 2004, Lobo Antunes, quite significantly, denies the general impression of his novels being polyphonic; they are not, he says, insisting on the fact that it is always the same voice that speaks. Furthermore, it is the wish of the author that the voice may be that of the reader, or rather, the voice which does not speak, but which we hear (Arnaut 2008:454). Reflecting, thus, the idea of order within disorder, the one within the many and the self within selves, these voices in the singular pinpoint a contemporary experience of existential absurdity, nothingness, bewilderment and alienation, which, however, nourishes a creative process. The Antunian writing is no longer merely an echo *of* existential absurdity (trauma, loss, shock); rather, it is absurdity itself, which transmits an imperative and a necessity to narrate. Antunes' writing is, to speak with Connor, a work grown out of modernist tantrums, which combines a tough-minded knowledge of the worst of incoherence and alienation with a benignly well-adjusted tolerance towards them […] (Connor 1997:122). As such, the order of literature which operates against a general tendency towards entropy transpires in the form of a structural organisation and a behavioural pattern of the text.

*2.1 Law of the living*

If Postmodernism could be seen as a kind of "Dionysiac virus within modernism" (Connor 1997:118), then the attention must be brought to how that virus has developed into an autonomous condition defining both life as well as art. Literature, in this regard, is an idiosyncratic entity that continues to grow and live according to its own laws. On the basis of Lobo Antunes' most recent text, where history is inscribed (as singularity) *and* re-inscribed (as generality) at the turn of every page, there is also a boundary or limit to how open to the world and to our interpretative scrutiny the literary work can be. Even in light of the absence of "truth," there is a definitory self-imposed, self-regulative limit to the textual entity which must be respected, should the questioning of literarity not dissolve. The difficulty resides in the fact that in order for literature to be identifiable, there is a law of its behaviour. However, this law, from the point of view of the observer, can only be clarified by looking at the functional aspects of the operation of the work itself. This is a highly problematic issue as the law of literature may be silent, wordless and defying observation to the extent that we are as if blind to it. Any tentative description (or critique) of it can strive to metaphorically and functionally *mirror* the processes taking place within the confines of the literary system. Szafraniec observes with respect to the topic of the law of literature: "The minimal observation we can make is that in order for the law to apply to the text's event, there must be a movement of communication between the text and its law that reflects on the relationship between this law and the literary institution in general" (39). What is permanent and decisive in this regard is the relation of the text to its law and also to the larger literary institution (39), which makes it possible for the textual construction to become identifiable. The desire of the critic or reader to identify and to know this peculiar relation is possibly as natural as the wish to look for the origin of life itself. If the contention here is that the law of literature is inscribed as a double communication in the operative doing or making of literature, then behavioural patterns can be examined according to their inherent dispositions and capacities for communication and transmission. Indeed, the view that laws characterise a certain activity of nature (Note 4) suggests that Lobo Antunes' literary construction could be examined as a "living system," a *kind* of self-generating, but also self-annulling entity of literature, whose form of communication and conversation is twofold: first, it is similar to a form of trade taking place within the system itself; secondly, its communication of that first communication occurs in the relating activity between entity (system) and reader (the latter a system in its own right). (Note 5)

**3. Poiesis, praxis, autopoiesis, linguallaxis**

The form of communication which occurs in the novel of Lobo Antunes demonstrates that the function of exchange plays a decisive role both on a functional as well as on a metaphorical level. In both cases, writing "happens" as a way of coupling and relating, producing and annihilating text by the text itself. In regards to this apparently inexhaustible practice, the behaviour of the literary work underlines the similarities between the literary system and procedures found in natural (biological) processes. As such, communication as a form of exchange functions like the *praxis* or activity of literature as event. Giorgio Agamben points to a double aspect of praxis as productive activity when he comments on the original difference between *poiesis* and *praxis* (Agamben 1999).

*3.1 Communication and consumption*

For Agamben, man's "doing" or productive activity is equated with a praxis which determines the very status of the self. Prior to this contemporary understanding of praxis, however, was the old Greek meaning of the term, according to which two aspects of "doing" were clearly distinct from each other: the first *poiesis* (to produce, as in bringing into being), the second *praxis* (to do, as in "acting"):

[C]entral to praxis was the idea of the will that finds its immediate expression in an act, while, by contrast, central to poiesis was the experience of pro-duction into presence, the fact that something passed from nonbeing to being, from concealment into the full light of the work. (1999:68-69)

Whilst praxis was associated with the living and the principle of motion, poiesis determined a mode of truth and of unveiling (69):

[W]hile poiesis constructs the space where man finds his certitude and where he ensures the freedom and duration of his action, the presupposition of work [praxis] is, on the contrary, bare biological existence, the cyclical processes of the human body, whose metabolism and whose energy depend on the basic products of labor. (69)

According to the modern meaning of praxis, the two aspects blur into one and become suggestive, first of an expression of the will and secondly, of how the object was produced. For the work of art, according to Agamben, it is possible to follow its development and crossing over "from the sphere of poiesis to that of praxis [where it] eventually finds its status in a metaphysics of the will, that is, of life and its creativity" (72). More specifically, in regard to the modern notion of praxis and its relevance for literary communication as a relational practice, two features seem to be central to its activity: appetite, or hunger (as will) and production (as procedure) of knowledge. In light of these observations, the intersecting narrative voices and perspectives in Antunes' novel "couple" and relate by way of consumption and production. The capacity of literature to communicate meaning and knowledge by way of functionality is based on the fact that the narrative body relates the two original meanings of "doing" – producing and acting – in *auto-poiesis*. Moreover, when the literary body self-generates and brings itself into life through self-activation, it happens as a consequence of a certain structure and organisation of the will.

*3.2 Autopoiesis and linguallaxis*

Initially, Chilean biologists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela introduced the term autopoiesis as a way of understanding "the organization of living systems in relation to their unitary character" (Maturana/Varela 1980:75). (Note 6) Living systems, like machines, are defined according to their ability to self-generate and develop from simple cell to complex systems. They are, in more elaborate terms:

a network of processes of production, transformation and destruction of components [that] produces the components which: i) through their interactions and transformations regenerate and realize the network of processes (relations) that produced them; and ii) constitute it as a concrete unity in the space in which they exist by specifying the topological domain of its realization as such a network. (Maturana/Varela 1980:135)

The original concept of an autopoietic, unitary organisation and structure, suggestive of systemic autonomy has, in turn, been applied in disciplines as different as sociology, computer science, physics, psychotherapy, economy and law, to name a few. What seems to be the common denominator of these systems is the emphasis on transferability, or the organisation of how to get productive information across by way of communication. This is also a highly problematic aspect, since operational concepts must be "translated" from one system area to another. As Siegfried Schmidt notes, if the concept of autopoiesis is transferable to other areas of research other than biology, then there is always going to be a question of whether it is possible to speak of a "real" or only a metaphorical transfer (Schmidt 1989:53). For example, in the case of literature, as Schmidt writes, what are these systemic unities, or components involved in the literary system and how can we *exactly* determine the ways in which they relate? How do their systemic encounters or elementary couplings take place?

In spite of obvious difficulties, in the case of literature in general and of Lobo Antunes' novel in particular, the question of whether the transfer of concepts from one system to another is regarded as real or metaphorical is based on the system's appropriation or interpretation of the concepts. If the *real* of literature is equated with the fact that literature *is* per definition metaphorical, then the functional communication of the system can only be as real as it is metaphorical, and the system can, consequently, only operate according to this double nature. There is, thus, a case of communication between the functional operations (activity) and metaphorical "bringing into being." In light of the latter, Lobo Antunes' text demonstrates the capacities of production and consumption of components, voices or subjectivities within the system. Furthermore, the structural coupling and intersubjective relations in the text can be seen to construct, but also deconstruct the literary entity. What it is that makes this procedure a literary form of exchange is precisely the mode of transaction, or coupling between the functional and the metaphoric: the literary system – consisting, as it does, of language – is kept "alive," first, by its generation of information, or communicative substances; secondly, by the systemic consumption and digestion of these substances. In the same way as a living body internalises and digests a nutritional substance as "information" – be it for the sake of its preservation or destruction – *language* passes through the literary body in order to secure its identity and maintenance. An explicit reference to these connections between literature, language, production and consumption can be found in Paul Bains' brilliant book, *The Primacy of Semiosis, An Antology of Relations* (2006). In addressing how autopoiesis, languaging, relational interaction and coupling are formative of all human and animal systems, Bains writes:

Among most social insects, the mechanism of structural coupling occurs through a chemical coupling called trophallaxis, or "food sharing" (from the Greek 'flow of foods'). There is a continuous flow of secretions between the

members of an ant colony through sharing of stomach contents each time they meet. (Bains 2006:101-102) (Maturana/Varela 1987:186).

The point here is, as Bain notes, "these couplings or interactions form a network of coordinations of actions, which generate phenomena that an isolated organism could not generate" (102). Bearing on the aspect of language as "communicative foods," Maturana and Varela coined the term "linguallaxis," referring to how human beings couple in a similar way as insects. Also, it must be specified that the distribution of substances throughout a whole population is responsible for the resulting differentiation as well as for the specification of roles and functions (Bains 2006:107). As Maturana and Varela observe:

Remove the queen from her location, and immediately the hormonal imbalance that her absence causes will result in a change in the feeding of the larvae which develop into queens. Indeed, all the ontogenies of the different members of an ant colony are bound together in a co-ontogenic structural drift as they arise in a network of continuously changing trophallactic interactions (Maturana/Varela 1987:186).

As Bains notes, "the queen is only a queen as long as she is fed in a certain way" (107), and her ontogeny, status and position rely on the circulation of language and of the transportation and production of food. In light of the above, let us turn our attention to the "social field" of *O arquipélago da insónia*, where these matters can be examined in closer detail. Here, the protocol of literature establishes its own boundaries of accepted behaviour of the system, according to a law of "coordinations of coordinations of consensual interactions" (Bains 2006:104). First, based on a definition of the components and basic relations involved in the coordination of the literary system, it will become clearer how various familial lineages are related by way of "food exchange" as forms of communication (consumption and production). Secondly, the attention will be brought to how the production of subjectivities or voices is founded on this *kind* of systemic self-consumption.

### 4. A devouring perspective: eye / mouth

The systemic components of the literary system can be regarded as textual entities, which, by being related to one another (as a "family"), contribute functionally to the formation and structuring of metaphorical subjectivity. However, according to an autopoietic organisation, whilst subjectivity is produced, it is also consumed, or annulled by the same system, in order to maintain a systemic production. Moreover, we may identify a circular organisation of productive consumption (or consumptive production) in the novel by Lobo Antunes. By looking at *how* family members and voices are related, description ("naming") seems as functional as the functional ("doing") is nameable and the point is that the "name" does not *mean* anything unless it has a functional signification, in other words, is capable of urging further production of text. One way of looking at this relational structure and its production of subjectivities in the novel is by examining the function and role observation and perspective.

*4.1 Orders of observation*

In connection with "perspective" and "observation," Bains refers to Maturana and Varela, for whom "the self is generated as a fourth order recursive distinction" (Bains 2006:109). The preceding "orders" can be identified by way of their observational position. Bains writes:

Basic coordinations are a first-order linguistic domain (i.e., a domain of coordinations of actions). 'Observing' and 'languaging' are constituted as a second-order recursion in consensual coordinations of action. The self (fourth-order recursion) arises through a coordination of a coordination of a coordination of a coordination of actions. The observer, (third-order) arises with the distinction of the operational realization of observing in a bodyhood. Thus, fourth-order recursion is 'I am observing' (Bains 2006:109).

In other words, for Maturana and Varela, as Bains notes, the systemic orders of coordinating instances are as follows: "basic coordinations (first order), observing (second order), observer (third order, observing observing), and self-consciousness (fourth order)" (109). (Note 7) Several points need to be made here, especially in regard to the aspect of observation as communication. As Siegfried Schmidt writes, the role of observation in connection with autopoiesis must be approached carefully and there has to be a clear distinction between the observer *of* the system and the observer *in* the system (Schmidt 1989:36). In the case of the text by Lobo Antunes the problem of observation can be worked around by emphasising the double metaphorical-functional status of language, hence observation as a language activity. This, in turn, defines a "communicative" relation between the *eye* that sees and the *mouth* that speaks; in other words, a form of observation that situates the observer instance inside as well as outside the system and whose double function is to consume as well as generate narration. A corresponding observation of these languaging orders can be found in what Szafraniec sees as Deleuze's three stages of "exhaustion of the possible" in the work of Beckett (2007:102). Here, the first stage is that of nomination, of the language of words ("language I"), where language exhausts the possible with words, but, as Szafraniec writes, not the words themselves. For the latter, another meta-language is needed ("language II"), where words are seen as a mixing flow of voices that, in turn, exhaust the words by "drying up" and tracing the voices to their owners (104). If so far the correspondences between the first and second order and the Deleuzian

Language I and II can be made, it is more problematic in connection with the third and fourth order ("observing observing" and "self-consciousness"). For Deleuze, the third stage means "getting beyond," or becoming external to the voices (without being a voice). A solution to this problem of limitation can be had in positing the possibility of an immanent limit, anywhere in the flow of voices (104). From the point of view of the orders of observation and co-ordination, this limit, or act of going beyond words (and voices) is found in the split or double function of the observer position. The latter is, as we have seen, both inside and outside the systemic operations and between the third and fourth order arises the split between self and other, subject and object, function and metaphor ("I am observing me"). This last stage, or order, is also the point where the system – by opening its eye and becoming self-aware – exhausts itself, consumes its communication from within and thereby reaches the limit of its exhaustion.

*4.2 I + me: going beyond subject and object*

The observations made so far can be exemplified in *O arquipélago da insónia* where the basic domain of action is, metaphorically speaking, the family home. Based on their oscilliating position between the role of observing and observer in the domain, the generators of the narrative are the narrator ("I") and his brother, figuring and functioning as mirror images of one another, as subject and object – (I + me) – where one is constantly facing the other, either in the present, observing:   "continuamos na cozinha um diante do outro" (36) ["we are still in the kitchen, one in front of the other"]; or in the past, observing observer observed: "dei pelo meu irmão a observer-me consoante se observava a si mesmo no poço…" (37) ["I noticed my brother, observing me, as if he was observing himself in the well"].

The two are united in the production of the story: ("foi o meu irmão que escreveu estas páginas muito mais devagar do que se passou de facto, não fui eu quem o disse)" (104) ["it was my brother who wrote these pages more slowly than how it actually happened, I was not the one who told"], and the basic structuring "narrative behaviour" of observing and languaging "fills" the house with memories through the generation of recursive voices, hence of family constellations. The house, as such, becomes a space of memories, made up of, or inhabited by a collection of objects such as handkerchief, moustache, horse, perfume, teacup, etc, which, in turn, develop into larger, more complex substances, or "products" like smaller archipelagos or autonomous ontogenies. These resulting objectified subjectivities or "selves" behave and speak like grandfather, father, grandmother, mother, but also like sons and brothers. They do not *exist*, yet they are *operative*, so that virtual, systemically real beings may speak from their positions within the domian: "…somos personagens da moldura, sorrisos confundidos com os estalos do soalho, não existimos e portanto o que digo não existiu, que caçadeira, que sacho, que baús, que dedos escrevem isto…" (23) ["…we are framed characters, smiles that are mistaken for cracks of the floor**,** we do not exist, hence what I am saying did not exist, what hunting rifle, what pick axe, what trunks, which fingers are writing this…"].

From their position of "observing observers" the voices of the brothers united in a languaging entity generate subjectivities that are, paradoxically *and* literally, identical to themselves as others. Furthermore, we note that it is the productive recursive conduct that constitutes a boundary of the production. This is to say that the form of behaviour demonstrated by the literary system goes beyond the difference between "I" and "brother" to the extent where the subject-object constellation has been cancelled, or annulled ("consumed" through observation). Consequently, the system remains identical to itself ("*I* am observing *me*" = "I am consuming/producing me") and the autopoietic organisation secures the controlled self-regulation and maintenance of its (self)-production and of its own space.

*4.3 "Self-consumption"- "self-production"*

In light of the circular pattern of autopoietic behaviour, we can now identify more precisely the literary system as a *kind* of self-regulating communication, or relation between production and consumption of objectified subjectivities. The point to be made, once again, is that the created subjectivities maintain the identity of the initial basic structure, in spite of differences in order within the system. The system, thus, remains identical to itself by the fact that the produced substances are being consumed by that which generated them. In regard to the various family constellations, it is obviously not a case of traditional self-reflection, or a subject-object dualism in the text; regardless of the apparent multi-voiced narrative, Lobo Antunes's novel, by way of a devouring, yet productive activity is functionally a *singular* entity, identical to itself. According to the systemic logic or law, the grandfather *is* the father, like the father *is* the son, etc, and it may be assumed that the "familial" topic, which occupies the writing of Lobo Antunes can also be transferred to the literary production itself. From the way in which consumption is also a form of production, the relations between family members in the novel are maintained by what may be called "literary cannibalism." To borrow a term from Cosima Lutz, we have to do with "literary eating-procedures": "Inwieweit aber können literarische Eßvorgänge – als Metaphern für literarische Kommunikation – überhaupt als kannibalistisch gedeutet werden, wenn es sich dabei doch nie um echte, sondern nur um virtuelle Speisen handelt?" (Lutz 2007:206). ["To which extent can literary eating procedures – as metaphors for literary communication – be interpreted as cannibalistic, when it is not a case of real, but only virtual meals?"].

It now becomes clearer how the languaging activity in the novel is as metaphorical as it is functional; indeed, communication is upheld by the exchange between the two sides of the same story and it is the double aspect which

makes it a *literary* communication. On the basis of this duplicity, the notion of productive consumptive cannibalism can be transferred metaphorically and functionally to the production of *subjectivity*. By referring back to the orders of coordination and observation, the productive "cannibalism" in the case of Lobo Antunes can be identified by aligning the "orders of observation" ("eye") with the "orders of consumption" ("mouth") of the text. If "observation" is equated with "consuming," there are numerous passages in the novel which can illustrate how "consumption" occurs in the form of address, hence as a devouring communication. In one scene, the narrator is convinced that the "incomprehensible" house could crush them all to pieces "between two tables, two angle-irons" (106). The same notion of a gaping mouth chewing and swallowing everything back into a basic circulation emerges quite literally *within* the system, or house, in a scene where the "mute" brother asks: "Qual a minha idade hoje em dia e quantos anos passaram desde aquilo que contei?" (163) [How old am I today and how many years have passed since what I told?] Here, his interrogations refer both to a the present situation in which he is situated in the house (observing observer) and to the observing activity, or observation of the selves as *others*, metaphorically functional, objectified and virtual appearances in the produced narrative (of the past). One of these subjectivities or appearances from the past is a certain blind machinist, who is remembered as being pulled out of a well in a bucket and who starts speaking to the boy (the observing observer in the observation):

-Onde fica o poço menino?

sem que lhe distinguisse a cara na aba do chapéu, percebia os olhos a boirarem não no lugar das sobreancelhas, na boca, mastigue-os que não lhe servem de nada […]. (163)

[-Where is the well, boy?

without recognising the face under the brim of the hat, I saw the eyes floating, not in their usual place of the eyebrows, in the mouth, he chews them, as they are of no use […].

Here, the situation is one in which the narrator is narrating an observation of his observation *within* the observation, where he (self) figures as self and other ("Menino", "boy"). Hence, self-awareness of the observing instance ("I") is related – metaphorically and functionally – to a self as *other-yet-identical*. There might even be the case of a presumed *fifth-order* of self-as-other(s) – in this case the machinist – and the recursive structure of the system can be identified from how the voice of the metaphorical fifth-order self is intersected in the produced/consumed narrative (-"Onde fica o poço menino"). The text, by representing the machinist in the form of a fragment, illustrates the process in which the image has not yet become a definite subject-other, and rather is an entity that is still unclear, or in the making ("sem que lhe distinguisse a cara") absurdly composed ("os olhos a boirarem…na boca").

## 5. Reading Lobo Antunes: the voice we keep hearing

With reference to *O arquipélago da insónia*, it is now possible to return to the opening question: what kind of book is this that costs so much to write? As for the novel's production of subjectivities, voices and family relations, the above considerations have tried to look at how the inserted ontogenies of a possible fifth-order in the text are generated, but also consumed as nutrition by the literary system in the course of narration. Here, it is a matter of co-ordinating the different orders of perspectives ("I," "brother", "father," "mother," "grandfather," etc) for the purpose of maintaining the identity of the system or self. Communication becomes an act, or eating procedure, which is a way in which the system eats itself up from the inside, that is, from the point of view of the created subjectivities. In other words, these virtual figures operate as both the mouth and the "food" in the maintenance of their own production and communication, and the aspect of linguallaxis can be observed in the relation between "I" (consumer, narrator) and "me" as object (consumed, narrated). In the novel the "eye in the mouth" relation constitutes a form of self-observation, whose structure of recursive communication ("Come here", "Menino", "Idiot") shows how the text is being swallowed up in and by itself in a process of continuous digestion and production. In metaphorical terms, the situation is illustrated in the scene where the blind machinist is swallowed by the well (166). In the same way as the "poço" can figure as a well, a dark hole, both a blind gaze and a gaping mouth, in a functional sense, it develops from a simple fragment into a subjectivity, a voice, a mouth ("machinist") that, in turn, is consumed in order to circulate and reproduce in and by the system. The reading of the novel has sought to demonstrate that by moving from a narrative strategy based on essentiality to one of functionality, it becomes obvious that literature as a system in its own right is productive of its own laws, which, in turn, produce a virtual narrative, its objectified subjectivity, a functional metaphor. The system, thus, secures its maintenance and, most importantly, its identity and literarity. There is, obviously, no plot or meaning to speak *of*, only an order or a chain of events, of exchanges of communications that speaks by doing, or that knows by knowing "how to" produce and consume.

The fascination of Lobo Antunes' writing originates in its capacity to challenge the readers, or literally, consumers of the text. It does not seem wrong to suggest that anyone engaging with the text becomes blindly related to the textual system as if from a *sixth* order position. As living systems in our own right, readers are active components in the maintenance of literature. When there is no longer a question of making sense, of understanding or knowing literature,

the interpretative strategy is based on an involvement that is similar to the operations at work in the text itself: it is a question of making. If metaphors have become as nonsensical as they are functionally significant, then the textual production as well as interpretation is based on a languaging activity that cannot be but blindly aware of itself. This kind of work is full of a will or appetite to simply carry on exploring new ways in which fiction can make sense (quite literally) or communicate its artificial essentiality.

Objections can certainly be made as to the question of observation, communication and the various orders involved in the system. However, to speak of "observation" in this case the reader is forced to look at it as a mode of "seeing" through a language activity. As such, observation (of self, of other) is not a matter of naming, but of feeding into, develop and ultimately consuming subjectivity and otherness. Consequently, the other is brought back to sameness, enclosed in and limited by the system. Literarity is communicated as this kind of language activity and is observable from our own engagement's "blind" point of view, from where blindness transmits a sensation of engagement with the text. Could it be that the sound of literature – of the system that never sleeps – is that silent voice we keep hearing and coming back to in our own reading activity? Lobo Antunes would wish it to be so, and by constantly returning to it himself, his writing expresses nothing but that wish.

**References**

Arnaut, Ana Paula (ed.). (2008). *Entrevistas com António Lobo Antunes (1979-2007)*. *Confissões do Trapeiro*. Coimbra: Almedina.

Bains, Paul. (2006). *The Primacy of Semiosis. An Ontology of Relations*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.

Cabral, E. et al (eds.). (2003). *A Escrita e O Mundo em António Lobo Antunes. Actas do Colóquio Internacional da Universidade de Évora.* Porto: Publicações Dom Quixote.

Chalmers, A. F. (1999). *What is this thing called Science?* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Connor, Steven. (1997). *Postmodernist Culture. An Introduction to Theories of the Contemporary*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Derrida, Jacques. (1999). *Sur Parole: Instantanés Philosophiques*. Paris: Éditions de l'au.

--- (1992). *Acts of Literature* (1992) (ed. Derek Attridge). New York and London: Routledge.

Lobo Antunes, António. (2008). *O arquipélago da insónia*. Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote.

Lutz, Cosima. (2007). *Aufess-Systeme. Jean Pauls Poetik des Verzehrs.* Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.

Maturana, H., & Varela, F. (1980). *Autopoiesis and Cognition. The Realization of the Living*, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, Vol. 42. Dordrecht, Boston and London: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

--- (1998). *The Tree of Knowledge. The Biological Roots of Human Understanding* (trans. R. Paolucci). Boston and London: Shambhala.

McHale, Brian. (1987). *Postmodernist Fiction*. London and New York: Routledge.

Paulson, William R. (1988). *The Noise of Culture: Literary Texts in a World of Information*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Schmidt, Siegfried. (1989). *Die Selbstorganisation des Literatursystemsim 18. Jhdt*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Szafraniec, Asja. (2007). *Beckett, Derrida and the Event of Literature.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Wulf, Catharina. (1997). *The Imperative of Narration. Beckett, Berhard, Schopenhauer, Lacan*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

**Notes**

Note 1. *O arquipélago da insónia* has not yet been translated into English. All present translations are mine.

Note 2. These remarks seem contrary to what Svend Erik Larsen writes with reference to Lobo Antunes and modernity: "Disintegration, liquid identities, amalgamation of history and imagination, intertextuality – these could be keywords to describe a series of postmodern novels, mixing haphazardly all value systems, playing freely with historical reality, discarding any importance of temporal order. But with his choice of reference, Antunes shows a much stronger affiliation to pre-WW II high modernism. [...] There is destruction of values but no relativism, there is imagination but abolition of material history, there is disintegration but no elimination of a sequential time structure for the sake of the ever present now as the only reality. The past and the future are basic temporal components in their own right." (Cabral et al 2003:332). What will become clearer in the course of the present examination of Lobo Antunes' writing is that so-called postmodernity, as postliterarity, is far from being a mix of value systems haphazardly thrown together, or as free playing as it may seem. Indeed, it would rather seem to be the opposite case, whereby literature as a system feeds

on historical reality and integrates an experience of that reality in its systemic process of digestion and production of literary discourse.

Note 3. As Catharina Wulf observes in relation to Beckett's prose, his novels "are characteristic of a gradual movement from the outside world into the internal sphere of the writer/narrator, attributing the principal role to the narrator's imagination." (Wulf 1997:57) Cf. Derrida's remark: "le concept de littérature est construit sur le principe du 'tout dire'." (Derrida 1999:24) According to Derrida, the "texts-events" are "texts which in their various ways were no longer simply, or no longer only, literary" (Szafraniec 2007:30).

Note 4. Cf. A. F. Chalmers' observation of laws and causality in science and nature. He observes that "[t]he view that laws characterise the dispositions, powers, capacities or tendencies of things has the merit that it acknowledges at the outset what is implicit in all scientific practice, namely that nature is active. It makes it clear what makes systems behave in accordance with laws, and it links laws with causation in a natural way" (220). However, as is further noted, "there are fundamental laws in physics that cannot be construed as causal laws, such as in the case of thermodynamics and conservation laws. In the case of the latter, these non-causal laws "just do" operate (Chalmers 1999:225).

Note 5. By emphasising the connection between procedures observed in life (natural systems) and literature, it is possible to refer to what Szafraniec notes on the difference between Derrida and Deleuze in relation to literature: "Whereas Derrida's 'grammatology' attempts to extrapolate the relevance of the notions traditionally associated with writing to other domains of life, Deleuze's project goes in the reverse direction: to show the manifestation of 'life' in literature. It is neither as writing nor as signature but as life, 'becoming,' that literature intervenes in life." (100)

Note 6. Humberto R. Maturana and Francisco J. Varela, *Autopoiesis and Cognition. The Realization of the Living*, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, Vol. 42, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Boston and London, 1980, 1st ed. 1972/3.

Note 7. The scope of this article does not allow for a more thorough examination of autopoiesis and self-consciousness in literature. I address the topic elsewhere.

# Environmental Education for Sustainable Architecture

Dr Sergio Altomonte

Department of the Built Environment, Faculty of Engineering, University of Nottingham

University Park, NG7 2RD Nottingham, United Kingdom

Tel: 44-115-951-3170     E-mail: sergio.altomonte@nottingham.ac.uk

**Abstract**

Awareness of the role that buildings play in the current climate crisis poses new onerous tasks for architectural educators and practitioners. The promotion of sustainability in the design of the built environment is a key-factor for addressing the challenges that mankind faces in response to finite resource availability, ecological deterioration and climate alteration. No longer can the global environmental system support fully-serviced carbon-intensive buildings with the energy consumption and $CO_2$ emissions they trigger. In response to these challenges - and considering the swift development of construction methods and techniques in the building industry - nowadays the professional market demands graduates of architectural disciplines endowed with a number of competences that range from creative design and visualization skills up to detailed technical and environmental competence. A new pedagogical methodology has consequently to be developed in order to overcome existing educational and professional barriers and act as a communication platform that facilitates the transfer of knowledge between sustainability-related building sciences and creative design in the architectural curriculum. The aim of this paper is to critically analyze the hindrances to the successful integration of sustainable environmental design in the pedagogy and practice of architecture and introduce a European Action set to promote the comprehensive implementation of environmental sustainability in building design.

**Keywords:** Education, Architecture, Environment, Sustainability, EDUCATE

## 1. Introduction

Buildings are accounted for around half of worldwide energy consumptions, significantly contributing to global warming and the alteration of natural ecosystems, as proved by recent reports (IPCC, 2007a).

In the context of the current climate crisis - and in consideration of the impact that buildings have on the environment (IPCC, 2007b) and the growing ecological awareness required by new regulations concerned with the construction sector (e.g. the European Directive on Energy Performance of Buildings, 2003) - the role of higher education as a means of comprehensively introducing new generations of architects to the principles and practices of sustainable environmental design is becoming highly significant, although this faces a number of pedagogical and professional barriers.

The need to initiate a change in the formation of building practitioners that supports the successful implementation of environmental considerations in the practice of architecture - including issues of climatic design, choice of materials, construction techniques, passive and hybrid strategies, resource efficiency, reduction of impacts, and so on - is mainly triggered by three factors:

- The current building practice has been slow to consistently respond to the demands of enhancing sustainable environmental design within a creative architectural discourse;

- Existing accreditation and qualification criteria established by professional bodies do not succeed in contributing towards the systematic promotion and diffusion of environmental sustainability in the design of buildings;

- University curricula have shown to be relatively ineffective in methodically integrating sustainable environmental design in the education of students of architecture.

The aim of this paper consists in critically analyzing the hindrances to the successful integration of sustainable environmental design in higher education and the practice of architecture and, consequently, recognising some of the efforts and endeavors which are required to facilitate such integration at a global level. In this context, a European Action set to promote the comprehensive implementation of environmental sustainability in building design is presented, together with its research methodology, result indicators and expected outcomes.

## 2. The Architectural Profession

The architectural profession is recently witnessing a significant resurgence in the request for the integration of passive and hybrid environmental strategies and techniques in building design, in order to mitigate the impacts on the ecosystem and promote the adaptation of built environments to expected climate alterations (IPCC, 2007c).

After several decades where - following a highly-compartmented educational system - the responsibility for designing energy efficient buildings had been ceded exclusively to the specialist engineering profession, new requirements are now forcing the technical spotlight back on to the architect, therefore reversing a tendency where architectural practice had been biased towards formal stylish design rather than to effectively address the challenges presented by environmental sustainability (Altomonte, 2008).

Most professional firms nowadays claim sustainable design as a key element of their approach to architecture. However, only few buildings recently produced have lived up to these claims, especially in relation to energy efficiency. Conversely, not many buildings hailed for environmental excellence have impressed architecturally, whereas carbon neutrality and reduction of consumptions have, more often than not, been prioritised over creative design, quality of life and psycho-physiological comfort of occupants, thus hindering the architectural value of the buildings being produced. With relatively few exceptions, a general lack of integrated technical skills amongst architects has manifested itself in a profession largely ill-equipped to handle the substantial paradigm shift involved in environmentally-responsible design.

This is epitomised primarily by the ambiguous nomenclature of terms such as 'sustainable', 'bioclimatic', 'ecological', 'green', 'eco-friendly' or 'environmental', which are recurring labels that, although rarely ascribed a precise meaning, are repeatedly and undistinguishedly attached to buildings in architectural competitions, magazines and debates, increasing confusion and misconceptions.

Indeed, the much abused term 'sustainability' has to go beyond the natural environment alone, satisfying the tangible and intangible needs for economic prosperity and social harmony through the complex interplay of a number of diverse dimensions. The need for sustainable development has, in fact, to concurrently embrace many different aspects of human activity, which include economic, socio-cultural, ethical and aesthetic values in addition to the environmental and technical issues surrounding energy consumption, management of resources and reduction of $CO_2$ emissions that can ensure that tomorrow's generations will be able to satisfy their needs at the same level of today (WCED, 1997). To effectively promote sustainability in the design of the built environment, it is hence essential that technical principles and environmental targets are embraced within an adequate and creative design process, which is, without doubt, a prerogative of the architectural profession (Orr, 2002).

As a matter of fact, architecture is by its own definition the product of a creative process, which measures its success by its capacity to provide an answer to economic, aesthetic, ethical, socio-cultural and physio-psychological human needs. To promote sustainable design in the built environment, architecture must therefore assume a further dimension, conscientiously responding to the context where it is built and to the environment as a whole (Olgyay, 1963).

Design constraints are normally a stimulus to strive for more creative solutions. As a consequence, drawing on the recommendation to tap 'the power of limits' (Stokes, 2006), the requirement to meet technical and environmental targets can constitute inspiring design constraints that have in themselves the potential to lead to a generation of novel architecturally significant - and thus 'sustainable' - buildings. Lawson likens the role of a designer to a juggler keeping a number of balls in the air simultaneously, and states that the process of architectural design requires the architect to maintain and resolve a number of parallel lines of thought (Lawson, 2006). As in the physics of light, only when all the different wavelengths of visible radiation are balanced, in the right amount and proportions, pure white light will be visible. Sustainable design can hence be compared to white light, as the result of a thorough and composed interplay between different dimensions and design considerations.

In summary, to endorse a comprehensive definition of sustainable development in building practice and safeguard the environment and its finite resources within the context of an ethically, culturally and socially valuable design process, it is fundamental that architecture is informed by an overarching approach the supports the combination of energy efficient measures *together* with the need to secure people's comfort and quality of life , consistently integrating environmental awareness, knowledge and technical skills within a creative design discourse (Graham, 2002).

Clearly, this is an approach that has to be embraced since the very early stages of development of a design and cannot be left as an after-thought once the main formal and technical features of a building have already been resolved by the architect. To facilitate this process, it is necessary that mandatory requirements of enhancing sustainable environmental design in the practice of architecture represent a core issue within the formation of professional competence and ethos of the practitioners, therefore challenging a radical change in the way in which the architect's progression toward the profession is sustained by educational methodologies and delivery of contents.

The comprehensive embrace of sustainability in building design is demanding a substantial revision of the training process that grants access to the architectural profession, starting from the curriculum in higher education up to the

continuing professional development of practicing architects. To consistently inform this process, it is however primarily necessary to:

- Ascertain the existing state of play with respect to the level of technical and environmental awareness, knowledge and requirements within architectural practices;

- Relate such demands to the pedagogical methods in use in higher education and architectural training with a view to converging on a series of criteria which can be proposed as the pedagogical basis for implementation within the architectural curriculum.

Such criteria will have to be fully embraced at the various stages of the curricular progression towards the practice of architecture and, most importantly, will have to be acknowledged by the institutional bodies that currently regulate access to the profession. Yet, some considerable barriers may need to be overcome to achieve this target.

## 3. Accreditation and Qualification Criteria

In the path towards preparing emerging practitioners for global practice, a potential obstacle to the comprehensive implementation of sustainable environmental design in architecture is represented by an apparent gap in the conditions for accreditation of higher education curricula and in the qualification criteria established by most professional bodies worldwide. This gap is most evident in the idiosyncrasies of an environment-related architectural education.

Across the world, there exist numerous prescription and validation criteria which control entry into the architectural profession. Indeed, these criteria are often inhomogeneous and characterised by loose requirements especially in ascertaining an effective balance and integration between creative and technical skills. Accreditation of educational programs in architecture and criteria for qualification of practitioners seek primarily to ensure that the standards attained by successful graduates of an architectural program are appropriate with respect to the design and professional ability and ethical formation required for competent practice. Obviously, the criteria in any accreditation/qualification policy should permit flexibility of approach and will - for reasons including cultural choice, tradition and so on - vary significantly from country to country. However, the weighting of the various criteria to be met for accreditation and qualification have to ensure adequate standards both in the educational system as in the professional practice.

The mission of all accreditation and qualification bodies - like the RIBA (Royal Institute of British Architects) and the ARB (Architects Registration Board) in United Kingdom - is generally to "*advance architecture by demonstrating benefit to society and promoting excellence in the profession*", and therefore "*champion for architecture and for a better environment*" (ARB/RIBA, 2002).

Nevertheless, although the objectives of the criteria established by professional bodies are almost unanimously to "*develop professional education to respond to a changing environment*", the emphasis often lies on the central generalist role of design, whilst technical and environmental knowledge is frequently assigned only a seemingly marginal role.

Although environmental targets are regularly mentioned within validation criteria (albeit at times in an ambiguous manner), there seem to be no measurable indicator for quantifying and qualifying these aspects of education, or a clear set of principles defining the level of environmental awareness, knowledge, understanding and skill that students must acquire at each stage of the process of qualifying as architects and/or building practitioners. Consequently, since environmental validation criteria are often not explicitly or specifically described - and remain thus open to interpretation - in general they cannot be considered as systematically beneficial to protecting a sustainable future in building design.

This lack of quantifiable measures assumes a further relevance especially in Europe in cognisance of the EC Directive 2005/36 on the mutual recognition of professional qualifications within European Member States, which in 2007 replaced the previous regulation (European Commission, 2006). A number of changes have been introduced by this Directive, including greater liberalisation of the provision of services, more automatic recognition of qualifications on the basis of common platforms and increased flexibility. Specifically, concerning the practice of architecture, the EC 2005/36 states:

"*Architectural design, the quality of buildings, their harmonious incorporation into their surroundings, respect for natural and urban landscape and for the public and private heritage are a matter of public interest. Mutual recognition of qualification should therefore be based on qualitative and quantitative criteria which ensure that the holders of recognised qualifications are in a position to understand and translate the needs of individuals, social groups and authorities as regards spatial planning, the design, organisation and realisation of structures, conservation and the exploitation of the architectural heritage, and protection of natural balances.*" (Art. 27, 2005/36/EC)

It is important to point out that, in this legislative act, the only criteria that embrace a clear approach towards environmentally responsible design reiterate the need to understand "*the relationship between people and buildings, and between buildings and their environment, and the need to relate buildings and the spaces between them to human needs*

*and scale*" (Section 8 – 'Architect', Article 46 – 'Training of Architect', point 'e') and the requirement for practitioners to have "*adequate knowledge of physical problems and technologies and of the function of buildings so as to provide them with internal conditions of comfort and protection against the climate*" (Section 8 – 'Architect', Article 46 – 'Training of Architect', point 'i') (European Commission, 2006).

So, although qualitative and quantitative criteria are mentioned in the EC Directive 2005/36 to achieve conditions for qualification of building practitioners and a balance between aesthetic and technical requirements is deemed necessary, no explicit direction is given concerning the integration of environmentally sustainable principles in building design. In essence, as far as qualification criteria are concerned, the EC 2005/36 simply repeats the prescriptive principles already listed in the Architects' Directive of 1985, the fundamental regulation that for 22 years had provided the basis for the recognition of architectural qualifications within the Member States of the European Union (European Council, 1985). Undeniably, the priorities behind the environmental agenda have changed considerably over the past two decades, therefore a substantial revision of these criteria must be addressed.

A global enquiry actually reveals that the implementation of sustainable environmental design in the curriculum of architects and in the conditions that regulate access to the profession is a theme which sits at the core of the activities of many academic and professional bodies and association of educators and practitioners (Stevenson, et al., 2009).

In the United States of America, for example, the American Institute of Architects is at present "*seeking to inject ecological literacy and sustainability principles into architecture education*" (AIA, 2006). It is also worth noting that, in the USA, sustainability has been added since 2004 to the 'Conditions for Accreditation for Professional Degree Programs in Architecture', with a particular emphasis on the "*understanding of the principles of sustainability in making architecture and urban design decisions and in the creation of healthful buildings*" (NAAB, 2004). The US Educators Practitioners Network is also closely working with the Society of Building Science Educators, the AIA Committee on the Environment, and the AIA Sustainability Discussion Group to generate a Carbon Neutral Design Resource for educators and professionals (Boake, 2008). This resource will provide invaluable practical guidelines that will support the process of design and planning of carbon-neutral projects, including case studies that illustrate successfully constructed buildings and an extensive bibliography of available software and tools (Wasley, 2007).

Concurrently, in the United Kingdom, to address current pedagogical and professional challenges and facilitate discussion between academics, designers and representatives from qualification bodies, in 2008 the 'Designs on the Planet' workshop series was set up as a forum by Oxford Brookes University, the University of Nottingham and Cardiff University, with the primary aim of contributing to the development of environmental responsibility as a creative factor in the practice and pedagogy of architecture (Stevenson, et al., 2009). The workshop series was sponsored by the Centre for Education in the Built Environment (CEBE) and supported by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), which is at present working with the UK Architects Registration Board (ARB) to review existing criteria for qualification so as to meet contemporary professional demands and legislative requirements (e.g. the Code for Sustainable Homes, DCLG, 2007).

In consideration of these endeavours, it is clear that there is a global request for novel qualification criteria that regulate access to the profession and can nurture the fundamental importance of sustainability and an environmentally-responsible approach to design in the training and practice of architecture. To thoroughly embrace this challenge, it is however needed that combined efforts aim to:

- Normalize differences between learning outcomes of academic curricula and prescriptions for qualification of professionals, reiterating the fundamental role of sustainability and environmental thinking in the training and practice of building design;

- Propose a set of unambiguous measures for establishing quantitatively and qualitatively the knowledge of sustainable environmental design that is required at each level of progression towards the profession, for these to be consistently provided by pedagogies offered in academic curricula.

Yet, in consideration of current educational methods and curricular structures, meeting these challenges might have to surmount significantly impending difficulties.

## 4. Architectural Curricula in Higher Education

Environmentally responsive design and energy efficiency in buildings have been taught at many schools of architecture all over the world for many years. However, most such programmes have run in parallel to, and often in competition with, more mainstream options. For years, architectural education has been slow to respond to a new set of requirements, tending to assume the general view that the environmental aspects of buildings were the role of the engineering profession. It is only very recently that the perception of environmental design and energy efficiency has shifted from specialist technical concern to a more relevant position on the agenda of architectural education. However, while this is appreciable, this change of perception has not yet been consistently matched by a pedagogy fully embedding sustainable environmental design at the core of the architectural curriculum.

An international enquiry into architectural education reveals that the achievement of a truly design-oriented integrated 'sustainable' curriculum is one that still proves elusive, compounded by the nature of the subject itself. As a matter of fact, contemporary architectural education has changed little over the last decades, whereas almost every school of architecture still makes a basic curricular split between theoretical and applied teaching units (Rutherford and Wilson, 2006). Specialist knowledge is generally delivered in satellite ex-cathedra lectures, with studio serving as the forum for synthesising the ideas, concepts and skills introduced into coherent design. In the lectures, it is assumed that students will learn the general principles and fundamental bodies of knowledge, which will then, in the studio, guide and inform all aspects of the design to respond to an assigned brief (Gelernter, 1988).

Invariably, however, lecture courses are often fragmented and alienated (physically and temporally) to applied coursework so that students are not able to fully engage with an integrated design process. Although apparently delivering the targeted learning outcomes, in reality this naive and misleading conception of how knowledge is acquired and applied only holds the result of increasing the remoteness between creative inspiration in design and acquisition of technical knowledge. In addition, more often than not, design studio projects are complex and time-demanding, to the extent that students are not able, in the temporal span of a semester, to achieve a mature and in-depth level of analysis which includes awareness and comprehensive implementation in design of technical and environmental mandates (Kock, et al., 2002).

Further to this, the emphasis currently given to an active-learning studio-based tutorial environment in most of the cases intensifies the struggle to reconcile creative design work and technical analysis and verification, since the mentioned cognitive discrepancies are not only related to students but also to their studio tutors, who are seldom proficient in the technical aspects of environmental design, whilst academic personnel teaching the technical subjects is often not associated with the design studio team. The experience of many architectural educators would support the view that by employing this pedagogy, technical knowledge is rarely integrated in any meaningful manner within design studio, this being a perennial problem that has taxed architectural educationalists for some time (Schon, 1984).

Research shows that architects generally employ a solution-focused rather than a problem-focused strategy in the development of design (Rutherford and Wilson, 2006). This cognitive style probably derives from educational practices where architectural students learn through a series of different design exercises and receive a criticism which is mostly focused on the solution they put forward rather than the methodology they apply. More often, students are not inherently asked to analyse a specific problem, but instead are required to propose a solution, thus focusing more on the achievement of a desired result rather than to a critical investigation of the complexity of the problem they face.

This cognitive style obviously hinders the development of critical thinking and personal development amongst students, and - in the best cases - only favours the mere (albeit often short-lived) acquirement of information. Conversely, to guarantee effective learning, a process of knowledge construction should be put in place "*through active engagement, participation, and collaboration between learners and educators*" (Datta, 2007).

The generalist nature of the architectural curriculum covers an extremely broad range of technical and non-technical areas, seeking to equip students with the awareness, knowledge, understanding and ability needed to perfect their design skills whilst making informed decisions in response to project briefs. Due to the complexity of the problem at hand, there can obviously be a plurality of approaches that could be adopted to address sustainable design in architecture, making it difficult to formulate any changes in the curriculum unless these are directly responsive to the modes and cultures of the teaching involved (Guy and Moore, 2007). Kolb's (1984) experiential learning theory identifies four different types of abilities that could support the successful achievement of effective deep learning and development of critical thinking: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation, and active experimentation. And, as Warburton (2003) suggests, due to its inherent interdisciplinary nature, the achievement of effective deep learning becomes particularly important in the case of education for sustainability, since in this case holistic insight and the ability to organise and structure disparate types of information and knowledge into a coherent creative design whole is central to the achievement of the targeted pedagogical objectives.

A critical awareness of key concepts and the scope, limitations and complementarity of interdisciplinary paradigms are therefore primary aims of education for sustainability (Warburton, 2003). However, the achievement of such aims requires that the students engage in comparative and synthetic thinking at diverse levels, combining 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches to a specific envisaged design solution. Students should also be encouraged to emphasise reflection and critical self-evaluation in order to take full ownership of the challenges involved in balancing design integrity with environmental responsibility. Conversely, in current pedagogies, environmental design is still often viewed as a mere positive addition to a successful scheme rather than a basic, essential and integrated requirement (and valuable input) of the design exercise itself. Clearly, in cognisance of contemporary challenges, this attitude is no longer acceptable and there is substantial pressure to re-evaluate the priorities that sit at the core of the architectural education.

It seems obvious therefore that to ensure that deep environmental competence is integrated with creative skills of students, a new interdisciplinary educational program that supports effective, deep learning and knowledge transfer is

required to bridge the 'historic' divide between the disparate and often conflicting domains of the technical lecture and the imaginative studio. Such a program should equip graduates of architecture with a meaningful level of environmental competence, where technical knowledge is synthesised within studio, i.e. the natural forum for creative exploration of design solutions. Evidently, this challenge requires an intrinsic restructuring of most of the existing educational practices, and achieving a balance will pose several interesting challenges, whereas the implications of sustainability should be widely shared by both students and educators, in the environmental laboratory / lecture theatre as in the design studio.

As Yannas (2005) suggest, a good theoretical background is an essential requirement to provide students with the ability of translating physical laws in creative architectural forms. This, however, has to be supported by empirical knowledge and evidence-based learning so as to understand how different principles can be applied into practice, and by analytical tools and simulation techniques that can facilitate the testing and comparison of different hypotheses and make performance predictions starting from the early stages of design. These three cognitive domains have to be thoroughly delivered in architectural curricula without marginalising them in the form of technical or specialist studies.

Amongst existing opportunities, a way to leave room for self-reflection, deep learning and cultural understanding - whilst combining theoretical knowledge, empirical skills and analytical tools - may be, as an example, given by employing new advanced educational techniques derived from information technology. In this context, the use of e-learning pedagogies and methodologies is an area that is rapidly becoming core to many teaching and learning institutions worldwide, in the effort to enhance their educational provision and meet current professional demands (Mizban and Roberts, 2008).

The applications of e-learning in fields such as medicine, engineering, computer-aided design and manufacturing have actually proven it to provide the necessary learning environment to facilitate multi- and inter-disciplinary collaboration between specialists in distinct areas, skills that are fundamental to the achievement of an integrated design process. Similarly, it can be argued that its popularity in both primary and secondary education is a proof to the confidence that educationalists are placing on its effectiveness in meeting the learning outcomes associated with the various key stages of these curricula. It is undeniable therefore that through such inspiring examples, e-learning holds the potential to provide a breakthrough in interdisciplinary integration also within architectural education, and mark a significant step forward in blending creativity with practical skills within the profession as a whole. In the same way, it is obvious that the architecture students of today would expect that such ICT methodologies and technologies are employed in their teaching and learning due to their exposure to these systems throughout their education pathway and in the professional environment.

In essence, it is evident that there still exist a number of pedagogical barriers that hinder education for sustainability to be consistently endorsed in current architectural curricula. Nevertheless - drawing from cognate disciplines and exploring inter-, intra- and extra-disciplinary contributions to improved pedagogical methods - there also exist some potentially groundbreaking opportunities for the technical material associated with sustainable design to move beyond the final line of the calculation and converge in a more central position on the agenda of architectural education.

A collaborative approach to the delivery and assessment of an environment-related design programme must therefore be embraced, this representing a substantial departure from existing curricular structures. Yet, if the development of an educational methodology for the enhancement of sustainable environmental design in university curricula proves successful, graduates of the near future could significantly contribute towards improving the energy performance of new and existing buildings and, ultimately, contributing to meeting global challenges within the realms of a creative design process.

## 5. The EDUCATE Action

### 5.1 The Mission of EDUCATE

To overcome the pedagogical and professional barriers that currently hinder the implementation of sustainable environmental design in the education and practice of architecture, the EDUCATE Action (Environmental Design in University Curricula and Architectural Training in Europe) - funded by the European Commission - has been built on a consortium of seven European academic partners: the University of Nottingham (UK, Coordinator); the Architectural Association School of Architecture (UK); the Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium); the Technical University of Munich (Germany); the Department ITACA, University of Rome La Sapienza (Italy); the Seminar of Architecture and Environment (Spain); and the Budapest University of Technology and Economics (Hungary) (Note 1).

The Action - started in June 2009 - has also received the support of all the Chambers of Architects in the six participating countries, of internationally renowned building professionals in the field of sustainable architecture, of experts of cognate disciplines (e.g. education, engineering, information technology, ecology, etc.) and of associations of educators and practitioners, which will support the consortium in fostering the integration of sustainable environmental design in architectural education and practice and propose the harmonisation of academic curricula as well as of the

criteria and conditions for accreditation and professional qualification across European Member States.

The mission of EDUCATE is to "*foster knowledge and skills in sustainable environmental design aiming to achieve comfort, delight, well-being and energy efficiency in new and existing buildings. This will be promoted and demonstrated within a culturally, economically and socially viable design process, at all stages of architectural education*" (EDUCATE, 2009).

To these aims, EDUCATE is set to achieve the following objectives:

- Remove pedagogical barriers to the integration of environmental design principles within a creative architectural discourse;

- Define and test a curriculum and pedagogical framework which bridges current divides between sustainability-related technical information and the design studio at different levels and stages of architectural education to meet current professional demands and expectations;

- Develop an intelligent portal on sustainable environmental design that facilitates such integration in higher education and supports continuing professional development for building practitioners;

- In concert with Chambers of Architects, propose homogeneous criteria for accreditation of architectural curricula and professional registration that clearly establish the level of awareness, knowledge, understanding and skill in sustainable environmental design expected of graduates qualifying as architects;

- Promote and disseminate environmental know-how and exempla of best practice amongst students, educators, building professionals and the public, fostering change of behaviour and expectations towards the integration of sustainable design in architecture (EDUCATE, 2008).

*5.2 Research Methodology*

Throughout the 36 months of its duration, the EDUCATE Action will build on existing synergies and intra/inter-university programmes in place at participating institutions and draw from parallel experiences currently undertaken worldwide.

The Action will primarily analyse and consolidate the international state-of the-art of curricular structures and professional requirements at a European and global level. To this aim, the partners will conduct an exhaustive analysis of the state of play in terms of environmental education at university level (including curricular contents and structure, course syllabuses, delivery methods, assessment criteria, etc.), and will investigate how these relate to the conditions for accreditation of academic curricula and requirements for professional qualification as established by competent bodies in the various country considered. This task will include a general overview of education literature and a comparison of the state-of-the art with contemporary theories/practice. In addition, partners will ascertain (via specifically designed surveys) the level of awareness, knowledge, ability-base and requirements of environmental design within the practice of architecture, so as to identify strengths and weaknesses of various pedagogical methods, extrapolate exempla of best practice and define an agenda for sustainable architectural education that consistently responds to the demand of enhancing environmental design in buildings and therefore contributes towards a sustainable built environment.

Throughout the second phase of the Action, the work will concentrate on the development of a pedagogical framework and curricular structure enabling the adoption and incorporation of the principles and practice of environmentally sustainable design at the different levels and stages of architectural education. Basing on the outcomes previously obtained, inter-, intra- and extra-disciplinary contributions to a restructured pedagogy will be explored (also drawing from seemingly distant disciplines such as engineering, aeronautics, medicine, computer science, etc.), together with the appraisal of applied/experiential learning, new analytic visualisation tools and the integration of up-to-date technical and didactic insights from pedagogical research. In this task, partners will be assisted by specialists in educational science in order to facilitate the definition of curricular methodologies that foster knowledge transfer between technical and creative domains.

Concurrently, in collaboration with professional bodies, building practitioners and associations of educators, partners will benchmark the needs and expectations of the market and identify pedagogical objectives and technical knowledge of environmentally sustainable design to be embedded at the different stages of the training of architects. Combining these activities with the creation of a broad knowledge-base on environmental design, the project will propose a curriculum enabling the successful incorporation of principles of sustainable design at every stage of progression towards professional qualification. The curriculum will be constructed in accordance with the Bologna structure of higher education (European Higher Education Area, 1999), thus embedding relevant principles and practice of sustainable design across 6 years of architectural education (3 years undergraduate, 2 years graduate, 1 year postgraduate) and within continuing professional development (CPD). Whilst providing homogenous criteria for measuring the learning outcomes on a scale that encompasses both conventional architectural principles and those of environmental performance, the curriculum will be based on a pedagogical framework that will allow sufficient

flexibility for it to be adapted to a diversity of contexts, backgrounds, educational systems, teaching approaches and environmental targets.

The outcomes of this phase of the work will be trialled across participating institutions during the subsequent stage of the Action, in order to test the pedagogy devised and measure its success in terms of incorporation of environmental sustainability within a creative architectural discourse. Partners will exploit the development of an interactive portal on sustainable environmental design in architecture to consolidate information and facilitate exchange of know-how and remote collaboration amongst staff and students, whilst external professionals will be involved in interactive education. At the conclusion of the testing phase, the final results will be evaluated by an Advisory Board composed by representatives of professional bodies and internationally renowned architects in the field of sustainable environmental design, which will contribute to validate the pedagogical outcomes achieved and measure the success of the proposed curriculum in effectively embedding principles and practices of environmental sustainability within creative design.

The results obtained will inform the following activities in terms of formulation of principles for sustainable architectural education and proposition of professional qualification criteria. In this phase, the partners will appraise and validate the results obtained during the testing of the curriculum in terms of learning outcomes and achieved educational objectives. In addition, the Action will acknowledge feedback from relevant key actors and target groups in order to improve and refine the pedagogical framework proposed. The developed pedagogy will be compared with the state-of-the-art of higher education so as to facilitate adaptation of the curriculum to respond to different backgrounds, cultural contexts, teaching approaches and environmental targets and will be consolidated in the production of a final document that will be disseminated to educators and academic institutions at a European and global level. Concurrently, a set of conditions for accreditation of academic curricula and criteria for professional registration to be implemented by regulatory bodies will be proposed. The tasks will initially consist in ascertaining the level of technical competence acquired by students and graduates under the proposed curricular structure and compare it against current criteria for professional qualification. Therefore, a series of guidelines establishing the level of knowledge and ability in environmentally sustainable design expected of graduates at every level of their education will be formulated. These criteria will have a prescriptive nature, but will still allow some flexibility for them to be potentially embraced by regulatory bodies in different countries.

Throughout the project, EDUCATE will engage academics, practitioners, representatives of industry and professional bodies, as well as the general public, in a series of workshops and symposia that will be organised to reach target groups, disseminate exempla of best practice and sustainable environmental know-how, and encourage change of behaviour and demands towards the intelligent integration of environmental principles in the conception, construction and operation of buildings.

*5.3 Result Indicators and Expected Outcomes*

Building on the existing state of play of environmental awareness, knowledge and ability-base in architectural education and practice, EDUCATE is set to provide an effective platform for implementing environmental design as a creative factor in the practice of architecture with significant impacts, in the short and long term, on the sustainability of the built environment. To measure the success of the proposed research methodology, the main indicators will consist in:

- Learning outcomes of architecture students as incorporating environmental principles in building design. This indicator will be measured on the analysis of trends in students' grades in design subjects that integrate environmental/energy-related taught modules; increase of students' satisfaction on the architectural curriculum (e.g. students evaluation of teaching); and feedback from academics, practitioners, external examiners and validation authorities concerning the implementation of the curriculum and the results of the testing at participating institutions.

- Adoption of the proposed pedagogical framework, curricular structure and qualification criteria by academic institutions and professional bodies. This will contribute to deconstruct the pedagogical barriers to the effective integration of sustainable environmental design in higher education and in the practice of architecture, and will fill a 'gap' in current accreditation and registration prescriptions as reflected in the loose requirements of most regulatory bodies concerning the implementation of energy-related environmental principles in the training of professionals.

- Dissemination of understanding, knowledge and skills of sustainable environmental design amongst students, educators, practitioners and the general public. In the long term, this will be measured by an expected increase in awareness of environmentally sustainable design by architects and change in behaviour by the public (e.g. clients, homeowners), with measurable impacts on the achievement of targeted environmental objectives at a local and global level, in terms of energy efficiency, $CO_2$ emissions and management of resources.

## 6. Concluding Remarks

To respond to the challenges of the current climate crisis and guarantee a sustainable future to human settlements, the marketplace nowadays demands graduates of architectural disciplines able to face a range of integrated problems which include, other than abilities in creative design, also competence of environmental issues. For this to take place, a comprehensive process of revision of higher education and professional development is needed, so as to guarantee that the promotion of sustainable environmental design sits at the core of the curriculum towards the practice of architecture.

A number of potential pedagogical and professional barriers can hinder the successful implementation of such process, although also several opportunities can foster the attainment of the targeted objectives. Efforts and initiatives promoted by educational and professional bodies at a global level testify the growing appreciation of the need to break out of conventional academic and curricular disciplinary compartments and bridge divides between creative arts and technical sciences, theory and practice, and learning in academic and non-academic environments.

This is leading to a new focus upon the notion of integrated and deep learning, which, supporting the emphasis on the collaboration between disparate disciplines, can reiterate the need for a holistic approach in the pedagogy and training of building professionals, where design is not only seen as a creative problem-solving exercise but where analytic skills, cross-referencing, imaginative reconstruction and independent thinking can form the basis of a restructured architectural culture fostering meaningful dialogue across seemingly distant fields of knowledge and specialised expertise.

The promotion of deeper and more integrated architectural education that cultivates not only students' creative approach but also interconnected understanding of subjects and disciplines, self- and other-awareness combined to purposeful, ethical action is to be promoted. It is hoped that initiatives such as the European EDUCATE Action will give a contribution towards the achievement of such educational goals and reiterate the role that 'technical' environmental inputs can have on the overall quality of design, reinforcing their role as truly creative factors in the practice of architecture.

### Acknowledgments

### References

AIA American Institute of Architects. (2006). *Ecological Literacy in Architecture Education*. COTE Report and Proposal: AIA.

Altomonte, S. (2008). Climate Change and Architecture: Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for a Sustainable Development. *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 1(1): 98-114.

ARB/RIBA. (2002). *Prescriptions of Qualification*. London: Architects Registration Board.

Boake, T.M., et al. (2008). Carbon Neutral Design Project. [Online] Available: http://www. sparksdesigns.co.uk/workingfiles/bluezulu/oxfordconference/presentations/pdfs/01_3_2.pdf (October 10, 2009)

Datta, A. (2007). Gender and Learning in the Design Studio. *Journal for Education in the Built Environment*, 2(2), 21-35.

DCLG, Department for Communities and Local Government. (2007). *Building a Greener Future: policy statement: Towards Zero Carbon Development*. London: Crown.

EDUCATE. (2009). *Environmental Design in University Curricula and Architectural Training in Europe*. Description of the Action and Work Programme.

EDUCATE. (2009). *Mission Statement*. Action Kick-off Meeting, Nottingham, 7th July 2009.

European Commission. (2003). Directive 2002/91/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 December 2002 on the Energy Performance of Buildings. *Official Journal of the European Union*, 4 January 2003.

European Commission. (2006). Directive 2005/36/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 September 2005 on the Recognition of Professional Qualifications. *Official Journal of the European Union*, 30 September 2005.

European Council. (1985). Council Directive 85/384/EEC of 10 June 1985 on the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualifications in architecture, including measures to facilitate the effective exercise of the right of establishment and freedom to provide services. *Official Journal of the European Union,* 21 August 1985.

European Higher Education Area. (1999). The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999. Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education. [Online] Available: http://www.esib.org/index.php

/documents/external-documents/426-bologna-process-documents (October 21, 2009)

Gelernter, M. (1988). Reconciling Lectures and Studio. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 41(2), 46-52.

Graham, P. (2002). *Building Ecology: First Principles for a Sustainable Built Environment*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Guy, S., Moore, S.A. (2007). Sustainable Architecture and the Pluralist Imagination. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 60(4), 15-23.

IPCC. (2007a). *Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* [S. Solomon, D. Qin, M. Manning, Z. Chen, M. Marquis, K.B. Averyt, M. Tignor and H.L. Miller (Eds.)]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

IPCC. (2007b). *Climate Change 2007: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* [M.L. Parry, O.F. Canziani, J.P. Palutikof, P.J. van der Linden and C.E. Hanson (Eds.)]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

IPCC. (2007c). *Climate Change 2007: Mitigation. Contribution of Working Group III to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* [B. Metz, O.R. Davidson, P.R. Bosch, R. Dave and L.A. Meyer (Eds.)]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kock, A., Schwennsen, K., Dutton T.A., Smith, D. (2002). *The Redesign of Studio Culture. A Report of the AIAS Studio Culture Force.* Washington: AIAS-American Institute of Architecture Students.

Kolb, D.A. (1984). *Experiential Learning: experience as the source of learning and development*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

Lawson, B. (2006). *How designers think: The design process demystified*. London: Architectural Press.

Mizban, N., Roberts, A. (2008). A Review of Experiences of the Implementation of E-learning in Architectural Design Education. *CEBE Working Paper*, 13.

NAAB National Architectural Accrediting Board. (2004). *NAAB Conditions for Accreditation for Professional Degree Programs in Architecture.* New York: AIA.

Olgyay, V. (1963). *Design with climate: bioclimatic approach to architectural regionalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Orr, D. W. (2002). *The Nature of Design: Ecology, Culture and Human Intention*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rutherford, P., Wilson, R. (2006). Educating environmental awareness: creativity in integrated environmental design teaching. In Shannon, S., Soebarto, V., Williamson, T., (Eds.) *Challenges for architectural science in changing climates: Proceedings of the 40th annual conference of the Architectural Science Association ANZAScA*. Adelaide: School of Architecture.

Schon, D.A. (1984). The Architectural Studio as an Exemplar of Education for Reflection-in-Action. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 38 (1), 2-9.

Stevenson, F., Roberts, A., Altomonte, S. (2009). Designs on the Planet. A workshop series on architectural education and the challenges of climate change. In *PLEA Passive Low Energy Architecture Conference 2009*, 22-24 June 2009, Quebec, Canada.

Stokes, P. (2006). *Creativity from Constraints: The psychology of breakthrough*. New York: Springer.

Warburton, K. (2003). Deep learning and education for sustainability. *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education*, 4 (1), 44-56.

Wasley, J. (2007). The SBSE Wingspan Conference on the Carbon Neutral Design Studio. [Online] Available: http://www4.uwm.edu/cds/PDF/researchInitiatives/WasleyWingspreadCarbonNeutralStudio (October 10, 2009).

WCED World Commission on Environment and Development (1987). *Our Common Future, Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (Bruntland Report).* Annex to General Assembly document A/42/427, Development and International Co-operation: Environment.

Yannas, S. (2005). Towards Environmentally Responsive Architecture. In *PLEA Passive Low Energy Architecture Conference 2005*, 13-16 November 2005, Beirut, Lebanon.

**Notes**

Note 1. Further information on the EDUCATE Action, news, events and related initiatives, are available on http://www.educate-sustainability.eu

# A Study on Perceptions of Open University Students about the Use of Effectiveness of Collaborative Teaching Methods during the Tutorial Group Meetings

Valkanos Efthymios

Lecturer, University of Macedonia

Egnatia, 156, PO Box.1591, zc. 54006, Thesaloniki- Greece

Tel: 30-2310-891-386     E-mail: evalkan@uom.gr


Papavassiliou-Alexiou Ioanna

Lecturer, University of Macedonia

Egnatia, 156, PO Box.1591, zc. 54006, Thesaloniki- Greece

Tel: 30-2310-891-524     E-mail: ipapav@uom.gr


Fragoulis Iosif

Tutor, Hellenic Open University

Sokratous 18, Kastelokampos, Rio, zc. 26504, Patra- Greece

Tel: 30-2610-910-066     E-mail: sfaka@otenet.gr

**Abstract**

Theorists in adult education tend to believe that in order to increase effectiveness, instructors-tutors should respect adult learning characteristics. Trainees - students should be in the center of the educational process and instructors-tutors should use collaborative training techniques that offer adult trainees opportunities for real participation. Our study aims at identifying and analyzing the perceptions of postgraduate students of the Hellenic Open University (E.A.P.), as regarding the use and the effectiveness of teaching techniques during the Tutorial Group Meetings (O.S.S.)

**Keywords:** Cooperative learning, Cooperative teaching methods, Adult education, Distance education, Effective teacher

## 1. Introduction

There is a wide acceptance in the international literature, that adult learning should avoid passive approaches, while embracing ones that serve student involvement. In adult learning environments, instructors-tutors are there to create the right conditions and the appropriate atmosphere that attracts the participants to learning. Under such conditions the adult learner is the center of teaching, even more he is responsible for his/her learning (von Foerster & Poerksen, 1998:65; Poerksen 2005: 472).

Heraclitus said that learning has nothing to do with the filling of vats but everything with the lighting of torches, whereas Socrates, with his maieutic method, actually did not teach; by creating the appropriate learning conditions and a motivating environment, Socrates introduced the personally achieved knowledge, which has been widely developed nowadays in the context of adult learning (Poerksen, 2005:478).

**2. Cooperative learning in adult and distance education**

*2.1 Use and Effectiveness of cooperative teaching methods among adults*

Cooperative, collaborative, action or investigative learning are some of the terms that are used, as partially synonyms in the literature, in order to define "the instructional use of small groups or teams, where peer interaction plays a key role in learning" (Yazici, 2005:217). The following elements have been defined as common characteristics in action learning models for adult participants (Zuber-Skerritt, 2002: 114): 'Learning by doing'; 'experiential learning'; reflecting on practice'; being open'; 'sharing ideas; 'collaborating'; 'synergy'; 'learning to learn'; 'lifelong learning' and 'learning in the workplace'. These characteristics are cooperating well with teaching techniques such as case studies, role plays, group working, simulations, projects, which have being proved effective in adult learning environments.

Resent research has shown that cooperative learning is highly valued especially among adult or non traditional students (Barkely, 2005 in Rowland, 2006: 328). Older mature students are often more motivated in working in small groups and learning through interaction, because of their richer life experiences and life roles (Hill et al., 2003:19).

In his study with business students Yazici (2005) tried to combine learning styles with teaching styles. His finding that "teaching for graduate and undergraduate groups requires different strategies" interests our study. Thus, older graduate students showed traits of *participant/collaborative/independent* learning styles, which were found to be compatible with *facilitator/personal model/expert* teaching styles (ib. 226). (Note 1) The facilitator's tutor role can be effectively performed in the classroom through the use of cooperative teaching methods, which increase the learner's participation in the learning process.

Bourner (1997) draws a clear connection line between teaching methods and teaching aims. He argues that one shouldn't choose and implement appropriate teaching methods, without connecting them to specific learning outcomes. Widening the instructors' repertoire of teaching methods provides wider opportunities to academic staff to choose the most effective method, in order to achieve a particular learning aim.

If some of the central aims in adult education are:

(a) to develop the learner's ability to generate ideas and evidence

(b) to facilitate the learner's personal development

(c) to develop the learner's capacity to plan and manage their own learning,

then, the use of collaborative teaching techniques, such as group working, workshops in problem solving, role plays, action learning, projects, work placement etc, is strongly recommended (Bourner, 1997: 346).

Other studies have dealt with the influence of team learning in the development of specific learner skills. Collaborative teaching methods were found to increase learner's involvement, improve social skills and learner's achievement (Bacon et al., 1999; Caldwell et al., 1996; Deeter-Schmeltz & Ramsey, 1998; Hampton & Grudnitski, 1996; Miglietti, 2002, in Yazici, 2005, 217). Yazici shared the same way of thinking through his study with graduate management students. The study showed that developing critical thinking, communication and implementation skills is a result of using collaborative instructional tools, such as role plays, discussions, computer simulations and projects (Yazici, 2005: 226). All the above mentioned skills are part of the nowadays so called 'key competencies', which everyone should acquire in order to achieve the goals of self fulfilment, employability, lifelong learning and social inclusion (OECD-DeSeCo, 2005; Trachtenberg et al., 2002).

*2.2 The Role of the Instructor-Tutor*

2.2.1 The Effective Teacher

There is a large number of studies about the teachers effectiveness or the effective teacher, that have been conducted in the last five decades, which suggests that this topic attracted more than any other issue researchers and educators.

Traditional concepts of teacher effectiveness describe the effective teacher as someone who achieves the goals he/she sets by him/herself or the goals set by school administrators and parents. Furthermore, effective teachers should have an –essential for teaching– body of knowledge and the 'know how' to apply it, that is to possess professional knowledge, skills and attitudes (Anderson, 1991; Ornstein, 1991 in Cheng & Tsui, 1996).

Moreover, more modern concepts parallel effective teachers to effective managers, who use different styles of managing learning situations and processes in the classroom. According to Analui (1995:17-18) among five different teaching styles, (Note 2) that of the 'effective teacher' describes the instructor, who "takes his/her work seriously" and tries to satisfy the socio-psychological needs of the learners. He/she achieves high quality learning by motivating participation through the use of collaborative techniques. The list of conditions, which should be encouraged by an effective teacher, in all learning situations (Salter, 2003:140), supports our study:

• a learning environment rich in resources;

- multiple representations of content;
- authentic tasks and assessment;
- active engagement;
- opportunities for practice;
- modeling of metacognitive strategies;
- social negotiation and
- collaborative learning.

2.2.2 The instructor in Adult Distance Education: The case of the Hellenic Open University

The characteristics of the effective teacher, as described above, may remain common in all teaching-learning environments, but the instructor-tutor's roles differ from one learning environment to the other. Especially in the context of adult distance education the tutor's role differs in comparison to that of an instructor within a formal university context. This has to do with certain conditions, which are present in the field of distance education and demand a differentiation in the instructor-tutor's role:

1. The printed teaching materials' (e.g. workbooks) structure in distance learning guides the learner's study by giving him/her all the necessary material for knowledge, support and evaluation of his/her progress. Central aim of the workbooks is actually to 'teach', which means to compensate the limited direct communication between instructor and learner (Race, 1999: 99; E.A.P., 2002: 31).

2. The participants' age profile attending the open university and the variety of roles they are often called upon to play (working individuals, family keepers, active citizens, learners, etc) contrast sharply to those of the students who attend full time university studies. Subsequently, this requires from the tutor to know and use regularly teaching techniques, which are effective in adult learning, e.g. collaborative, active learning methods. The principles of effective communication between tutor and learner are of great importance in this context too (Kokkos & Lionarakis, 1998:16).

3. In an open university the formal faculty lectures do not take place as the common communication form between instructors and learners do. Furthermore, alternative communication forms have to be developed: tutors should have more frequent and essential contact with learners, such as e-mails, faxes, letters or telephone calls. Regular meetings among the instructor-tutor and the learners' groups are of a great importance (E.A.P., 2002:36; Kokkos, 1998: 43).

The communication developed between the adult distance learner and his/her instructor-tutor is decisive for the learning outcomes. Contact with peers and students is recognized by distance learners as the most important among six learning support features (Ul- Haq et al., 2003). (Note 3) This one-to-one relationship between teacher and student is described as 'unique' and 'beneficial' (Bartlett et al., 2006: 4). In comparison to students in a traditional classroom, distance students are more motivated to continue and finish their education by having this relationship. Moreover, knowledge process is supported, when learners are provided by the instructor with methods, which enable interaction not only between the instructor-tutor and the students but among learners, too. Therefore, distance instructors need to spend more time in preparatory activities than traditional teachers (ib.).

According to Bartlett et al. (2006: 4) communication between the instructor-instructor and the adult learner grows deeper and becomes more effective, when teacher and students have the chance to meet in regular meetings. Group meetings with the tutor form actually a constituent part of the function of the Hellenic Open University. These meetings, known as 'Tutorial Group Meetings' (O.S.S.) take place five times per academic year and are considered an essential part of each course. The meetings' duration is about four hours. During these meetings, information and guidelines about the educational material, the workbooks and the written essays are given by the tutor, relevant questions are asked and discussed, learning support is offered, next study steps are planed, dialogue and group work are practiced (E.A.P., 2002:37). Within this framework the use of collaborative methods is strongly recommended (Kokkos, 1998: 125.).

Below we describe a research that examined the perceptions of the Hellenic Open University postgraduate students about the use and effectiveness of collaborative methods, during the O.S.S.. (Note 4)

## 3. Purpose of the study and research questions

The purpose of the study is to identify and analyse the perceptions of postgraduate students of the Hellenic Open University (E.A.P.), as regards the use and the effectiveness of teaching techniques during the O.S.S.

The research objectives were: a) the identification of E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions concerning the way of organizing the educational process in the O.S.S., b) the identification of E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions concerning the role of the Instructor-Tutor in the O.S.S., c) the identification of E.A.P. postgraduate students'

perceptions concerning the use of traditional and action oriented teaching methods in the O.S.S., d) the identification of E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions concerning the quality and effectiveness of teaching techniques that are used in the O.S.S..

Based on the research objectives mentioned above, we came up with the following research questions:

- E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions which concern the way of organizing the educational process in the O.S.S. depend on their demographic data (questions: 1-13).

- E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions which concern the role of the Instructor as a Tutor in the O.S.S. depend on their demographic data (questions: 1-11 and 14).

- E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions, which concern the use of traditional and action oriented teaching methods in the O.S.S. depend on their demographic data (questions: 1-11 and 15-21).

- T E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions, which concern the quality and the effectiveness of teaching methods that is used in the O.S.S. depend on their demographic data (questions: 1-11 and 22-25).

### 4. Method

*4.1 Research instrument*

A survey questionnaire was used as the technique of data collection, an instrument that is utilized widely in social sciences, since a large amount of data is collected in a short period of time. The parts of the questionnaire were based on the research questions as follows: (a) E.A.P. postgraduate students' demographic data, b) E.A.P postgraduate students' perceptions concerning the role of the Instructor-Tutor, c) E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions concerning the use and effectiveness of teaching methods that are used in the O.S.S. d) E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions concerning the quality and effectiveness of teaching methods that are used in the O.S.S..

Concerning the validity assurance, a pilot study was conducted to ensure that adequate time was allowed for the questionnaire's completion and that all students were capable of comprehending its items. The questionnaire was first given to 20 students of the postgraduate program "Adult Education" and to 18 students of other E.A.P. postgraduate programs. As a result of the pilot study, the revised questionnaire could identify postgraduate students' perceptions concerning this research.

*4.2 Sample*

A total of 162 E.A.P. postgraduate students, enrolled in the program "Studies in Education", in the 2007-2008 academic years, completed the questionnaire.

**Table 1.** Demographic data

### 5. Data analysis and results

*5.1 E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions, concerning the way of organizing the educational process in the O.S.S.*

In the question "*Do you wish your education to be more autonomous than dependent?*" 31 subjects (19.1%) answered that they wish their education to be autonomous in an *extremely high degree*, 68 subjects (42%) answered in a *very high degree*, while 63 subjects (38.9%) answered in a *high degree*.

**Table 2**. Autonomous Education

Concerning the subjects' wish *that the content of O.S.S. is based on their experience and their previous knowledge* 31 subjects (19,2%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree*, 106 subjects (65,4%) in a *very high degree*, while 25 subjects (15,4%) in a *high degree*.

**Table 3.** Wish that Structure of the O.S.S. content is based on students' experience and previous knowledge

As regards the subjects' wish *to be in the centre of the educational activity during the O.S.S.* 64 subjects (39,5%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree*, 63 subjects (38,9%) in a *very high degree*, while 35 subjects (21,6%) in a *high degree*. Based on the two-variable analysis, statistical significance (a < 0,05) was observed among the variables Sex (p = 0,000) and Age (p = 0,00 0) of the subjects.

In the question "*Do you wish your learning objectives and preferences to be taken into consideration by the instructor-tutor during the learning activity?*", 129 subjects (79,6%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree*, while 33 subjects (20,4 %) in a very *high degree*.

In the question "*Do you wish the 'self- directed learning' method to be followed during the O.S.S.*?" 94 subjects (58%) answered *positively in an extremely high degree,* while 68 subjects (42%) in a *very high degree*. Based in the

two-variable analysis, statistical significance (a<0,05) was observed among the variables Age (p = 0,000) and Profession (p = 0,000) of the subjects.

**Table 4.** Wish that "Self-directed learning" method is followed during the O.S.S

In the question "*Do you wish the O.S.S. content to contribute to the development of critical thought?*" 104 subjects (64,2%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree*,   33 subjects (20,4%)   in a *very high degree*, while 25 subjects (15,4%) in a   *high degree*.

**Table 5.** Contribution of the *O.S.S. content* to the development of critical thought

As regards the subjects' wish *to participate more actively during O.S.S.,* 94 subjects (58 %) answered positively in an e*xtremely high degree*, while 68 subjects (42%) in a *very high degree*. Based on the two-variable analysis statistical significance (a < 0,05) was observed among the variables Age (p = 0,000) and Profession    (p = 0,000) of the subjects.

*5.2 E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions, concerning the role of the instructor as a tutor in O.S.S.*

In the question "*would you wish the instructor-tutor to be supportive during the O.S.S.?*" 91 subjects (56,2%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree*, while 71 subjects (43,8%) in a *very high degree.* Based on the two-variable analysis statistical significance (a < 0,05) was observed among variables Sex (p = 0,000), Age (p = 0,000) and Profession    (p = 0,000) of the subjects.

Concerning the subjects' wish that *the instructor-tutor should act as a catalyst, during the O.S.S.* 127 subjects (78,4%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree*,    while 35 subjects (21,6 %)   in a *very high degree.*   Based on the two-variable analysis statistical significance was observed among the variables Sex (p = 0,000), Age (p = 0,000), Profession (p = 0,000) and University Graduate Degree (p = 0,01) of the subjects.

As regards the subjects' wish *that the instructor-tutor should act as an authority during the O.S.S.,* 64 subjects (39,5%) answered    positively in an *extremely high degree*,   60 subjects (37 %) in a *very high degree*, while 38 subjects (23,5%) in a *high degree*. From the two-variable analysis statistical significance (a < 0,05) was observed among the variables Sex    (p = 0,000) and Age (p = 0,016) of the subjects.

**Table 6.** Wish that the instructor-tutor should act as an authority during the O.S.S.

Concerning the subjects' wish *that the instructor-tutor should act as an animator during the O.S.S.* 73 subjects (45,1%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree,* 58 subjects (35,8 %) in a *very high degree*, while 31 subjects (19,1%) in a *high degree*.

In the question *"would you wish the instructor-tutor to act as a mediator during the O.S.S.?"* 91 subjects (56,2%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree*, 71 subjects (43,8%) in a   *very high degree*. From the two-variable analysis statistical significance (a < 0,05) was observed among the variables Sex (p = 0,00), Age (p = 0,0 0 1) and Profession (p = 0,002) of the subjects.

As regards *the subjects' wish that their instructor-tutor should act as a collaborator during the O.S.S.* 71 subjects (43,8%) answered positively in an *extremely high degree*, while 91 subjects (56,2%) in a *very high degree*. From the two-variable analysis statistical significance (a < 0,05) was observed among the variables Sex (p = 0,00), Age (p = 0,0 0 1) and Profession    (p = 0,001) of the subjects.

*5.3 E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions concerning the use of traditional and collaborative teaching methods in O.S.S.*

In the question *"Does the instructor-tutor use the lecture as the main teaching method during the O.S.S.?"* all subjects answered positively. Justifying their opinion the subjects answered as following: 38 subjects (23,5%) because *it is effective*, 31 subjects (19,1%) because of *saving time*, 33 subjects (20,4%) because *of the certainty it provides to the instructor-tutor*, 25 subjects (15,4%) because   *it is commonly used* and 35 subjects (21,6%) because of *attracting the students' interest*.

**Table 7.** Justification of the use of lecture in O.S.S

In the question *"Are you satisfied from the use of lecture as a teaching method during the O.S.S.;"* 25 subjects (15,4%) reported *too much*, 33 subjects (20,4%) *very much*, while 104 subjects (64,2%) *very little*.

In the question "*Which from the following collaborative teaching methods does the instructor-tutor use as an alternative to the lecture during the O.S.S.?*" the subjects' answers were: 25 subjects (15,5%) reported *Brainstorming*, 34 subjects (20,9%) *Teamwork*, 12 subjects (7,4%) *Role-playing*, 15 subjects (9,3%) *Case Study*, 35 subjects (21,6%) *Questions - Answers*, 22 subjects (13,6%) *Simulation*, while 19 subjects (11,7%) *Demonstration*.

**Table 8.** The use of collaborative teaching methods in O.S.S.

Concerning the *frequency of the use of collaborative teaching methods during the O.S.S.* the subjects' positive answers to the question were 137: 35 subjects (25,5%) reported *once* at the beginning of the O.S.S., 33 subjects (24,1%) *once* during the O.S.S., while 69 subjects (50,4%) *more than once*.

**Graph 1.** Frequency of the use of collaborative teaching methods in O.S.S.

*5.4 E.A.P. postgraduate students' perceptions, concerning the quality and effectiveness of the teaching methods, used during the O.S.S._*

In regard to the subjects' perceptions in the question "*Do you think that the effectiveness of the O.S.S. is increased through the use of the above mentioned collaborative teaching methods?*" 137 subjects (84,6%) answered positively, while 25 (15,4%) negatively.

**Table 9.** Effectiveness of O.S.S. through the use of collaborative teaching methods

The reasons for answering positively were: 15 subjects (10,9%) because the use of collaborative techniques promotes a more self-directed learning, 54 subjects (39,4%) because it contributes to an essential communication, 31 subjects (22,6%) because it promotes an effective evaluation, while 38 subjects (27,1%) because it improves the quality of education. From the bivariate analysis statistical significance ($a < 0,05$) was observed among the variables Sex ($p = 0,00$), Age ($p = 0,001$) and Profession ($p = 0,002$) of the subjects.

In the question "*Do you consider that the use of the collaborative methods mentioned above ensures better learning results for the participants?*", all the subjects answered positively. The reasons given were the following: 73 subjects (45,1%) because the use of *collaborative methods* increases their *motivation*, 31 subjects (19,1%) because it promotes *better team-working*, 33 subjects (20,4%) reported that it contributes to the *Development of New Learning Styles*, while 25 subjects (15,4%) because it contributes to *Skills Development*. From the bivariate analysis statistical significance ($a < 0,05$) was observed among the variables Sex ($p = 0,0\ 0$), Age ($p = 0,000$), and University Graduate Degree ($p = 0,0\ 02$) of the subjects.

**Table 10.** Effect of collaborative methods in learning results

## 6. Conclusions - Discussion

Examining the results of this research, we realize that all participants, no matter what their demographic data are, wish their education, in the framework of O.S.S., to be more autonomous and not dependent. Below, we present our basic conclusions grouped according to the research questions.

*6.1 1st Research Question*

The Subjects' perceptions, with regard to their wish to find themselves in the centre of the educational process, during the O.S.S., were differentiated based on Sex and Age. Women, as well as the individuals aged 25-35, wish to be in the centre of the educational process to a higher degree than men. Having that in mind, firstly, women participate in the O.S.S. having left behind many obligations (family, social, professional duties) and, secondly, bearing in mind that they have little spare time, we realise that they wish the attendance of the O.S.S. to have meaningful content (Rogers, 1998).

The way which leads to knowledge is considered to be an effective method by the teachers, to a higher degree than all the other subjects. This perception stems from their professional experience, during which they find that knowledge discovered by the students and which is connected to their pre-existing experiences, is qualitatively differentiated from the one that is offered by the instructor (Frey, 1986, Chrisafidis, 1994).

Differentiations were observed in the subjects' perceptions, with regards to the degree of their wish for more active participation, during the O.S.S. Individuals of 36-45 years, as well as the graduates of educational departments and departments of economics and administration wish they had a more active role in the layout of the O.S.S.'s content. The perception of older subjects derives from the fact that they have important professional and social experience, which they wish to use at the layout of the O.S.S.'s content. This finding agrees with the results of other international research (Yazici, 2005). On the other hand, teachers and graduates of economics and administration departments, due to the nature of their work, take decisions and solve problems daily, which could explain their need for more active attendance of the O.S.S. (Kalaitzopoulou, 2001).

*6.2 2nd Research Question*

As for the subjects' perceptions concerning the role of the Instructor- Tutor, women, the elder individuals and the civil servants wish that the Instructor-Tutor had mainly an instructive role, in the framework of O.S.S. The elder individuals,

due to their formal education, are expected to have adopted the traditional model of instructor- knowledge carrier as the model of "good instructor". On the other hand, public employees, due to the hierarchical model of their organization, hesitate to take initiatives during their work and prefer to be guided by their superiors (Fragoulis, 2008).

However, the majority of the answers showed that they wish the Instructor-Tutor to have concrete characteristics/ competencies, so that he/she is able to perform successfully in his/her work. This opinion agrees with that of the experts, who support that the role of the adult instructor is multi-dimensional and should have concrete competencies and characteristics so that they are effective in their work (Rogers 1998, Kokkos 2005, Jarvis 2007).

*6.3 3rd Research Question*

Instructors-Tutors in O.S.S. use basically lectures and sometimes participative educational techniques. Differentiation was observed as for the type of the used participative techniques and the frequency of their use. The participative techniques (dialogue, questions- answers, brainstorming) that require less preparation than others, such as role playing and case studies, which demand much time and special education, are preferred more (Kokkos & Lionarakis, 1998).

Women participants and the graduates of economics departments declared, in a higher degree, that they do not like lectures. The individuals of these categories have important social, educational and work experience and, consequently, they need practical knowledge and competencies, which can be applied in their daily life. (Fragoulis, et.al, 2008).

However, most of the participants prefer the use of participative educational techniques during the O.S.S., since they consider that they create motives for learning, they cultivate the team spirit, they strengthen the discovery of new ways of learning and they promote some important competencies (Kolb 1984, Goleman 2000, Fragoulis & Fillips 2008). (Note 5)

In conclusion, we ascertain that the research questions were verified to a great extent, since the demographic data of subjects appear to influence a lot their perceptions regarding the O.S.S. organization, the role of the Instructor-Tutor and the use and effectiveness of the educational techniques.

## References

Al-Issa, A. & Sulieman, H. (2007). Student evaluations of teaching: perceptions and biasing factors. *Quality Assurance in Education*, 15, 302-317

Analoui, F. (1995). Teachers as managers: an exploration into teaching styles. *International Journal of Educational Management,* 9, 16-19.

Attwell, G. (1999). New roles for vocational education and training teachers and trainers in Europe: a new framework for their education. *Industrial and Commercial Training*, 31, 190-200.

Ballantine, J. & Larres, P. (2007). Cooperative learning: a pedagogy to improve students' generic skills. *Education and Training*, 49, 126-137.

Bartlett, L.P. et al. (2006). *Distance Learning for the Adult Learner. Improving Percistence and Effectiveness*. California: Departure of Education.

Bourner, T. (1997). Teaching methods for learning outcomes. *Education and Training*, 39, 344-348.

Bridger, J. ( 2007). From passive to active learners. The "lived experience" of nurses in a specialist nephrology nursing education programme. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, 19, 78-91.

Cheng, Y.C & Tsui K.T. (1996). Total teacher effectiveness: new conception and improvement. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 10, 7-17.

E.A.P. (Greek Open University). (1998). *Studying in the Greek Open University*. Patras: E.A.P (in Greek).

Fragoulis, J. & Papadakis, S & Fillips, N. (2008). The contribution of self- evaluation exercises in blended adult education. *Training and Management Development Methods,* 22, 25-38.

Fragoulis, J. (2008). *Communication for each category needs in public organizations*, Athens: Koinoniko Polykentro (in Greek).

Fragoulis, J., Valkanos, E. & Florou, P. (2008). Trainees perceptions of the quality and effectiveness of in- house education and training techniques. *Training and Management Development Methods,* 22, 45-63.

Frey, K. (1986). *Project Method*. Athens: Kyriakides (in Greek).

Gauld, D. & Miller, P. (2004). The qualifications and competencies held by effective workplace trainers. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 28, 8-22.

Goleman, D. (2000). *Emotional Intelligence in the Workplace.* Athens: Ellinika Grammata (in Greek).

Hill, Y., Lomas, L. & MacGregor, J. (2003). Students' perceptions of quality in higher education. *Quality Assurance in Education*, 11, 15-20.

Hrisafidis, K. (1994). *Experimental Communicative Instruction*. Athens: Gutenberg (in Greek).

Jarvis, P. (2007). *Adult & Continuing Education: Theory & Practice*.UK: Rootledge.

Kalaitzopoulou, M. (2001). *The Educator as a Thinking Professional.* Athens: Tipothito - G. Dardanos (in Greek).

Kokkos, A. (1998). Principles in Adult Learning, in Kokkos A. & A. Lionarakis *Open and Distance Education. Relations between Trainers and Trainees.* Patra: E.A.P. (in Greek).

Kolb, D. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development.* New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Koo, L. (1999). Learning Action    learning. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, 11, 89-94.

Krishnaveni, R. & Anitha, J. (2007). Educators' professional characteristics.*Quality Assurance in Education*, 15, 149-161.

Mehra, S. & Rhee, M. (2004). Enhancing educational learning through some TQM principles. *International Journal of Quality & Reliability Management*, 21, 801-816.

OECD-De.Se.Co. (2005). "Definition and Selection of Key Competencies": Executive Summary (30 June 2005). [Online] Available: http://www.portal-stat.admin.ch/deseco/news.htm (August 20, 2008).

Poerksen, B. (2005). Learning how to learn. *Kybernetes*, 34, 471-484.

Race, P. (1999). *The Handbook of Open and Distance Education*. Athens: Metexmio (in Greek).

Rogers, A. (1998). *Adult Education.* Athens: Metexmio (in Greek).

Rowland, M. (2006). "Collaborative Learning Techniques". Book Review, *Adult Education Quarterly*, August 2006.

Salter, G. (2003). Comparing online and traditional teaching – a different approach.*Campus-Wide Information Systems*, 20, 137-145.

Trachtenberg, L., Streumer, J. & S. van Zolingen. (2002). Career Guidance in the emerging post-industrial society. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance*, 2, 85-99.

Von Foerster, H. & Poerksen, B. (1998). *Wahrheit ist die Erfindung eines Luegners Gespraeche fuer Skeptiker*. Heidelberg: Carl-Auer-Systeme.

Yazici, H. (2005). A study of collaborative learning style and team learning performance. *Education and Training*, 47, 216-229.

Zuber-Skerritt, O. (2002). The Concept of action learning. *The Learning Organisation,* 9, 114-124.

**Notes**

Note 1. According to the Teaching Style Inventory (Yazici, 2005: 225):

(a) teachers, acting as *experts*, are considered to transmit knowledge and information and pay great attention    to the students'    preparation, (b) instructors, who follow the *personal model* style , teach through their personal example and guide students to emulate them, and (c) through their teaching style *facilitators* try to develop in students responsibility, initiative and independent action skills.

Note 2. The other four teaching styles are: (a) *soft teacher*, (b) *hard teacher*, (c) *run-down teacher* and (d) *So-so teacher* (Analui 1995:18)

Note 3. The research aimed to examine the learning style expectations of 135 Henley MBA distance learners. Six learning support elements are used, based on two learning styles: the cognitive and the experiential. The six elements were: workbook, groupware, workshops, World Wide Web (WWW), telephone links and business simulation.

Note 4. O.S.S.: The Greek abbreviation for Tutorial Group Meetings in Hellenic Open University (E.A.P.)

Note 5. See results of other researches mentioned in this article.

Table 1. Demographic data

| Demographic data | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| *Gender* | | |
| Males | 71 | 43.80% |
| Females | 91 | 56.20 % |
| | | |
| *Age* | | |
| 25-35 years | 38 | 23.50% |
| 36-45 years | 38 | 23.50% |
| 46-55 years | 68 | 41.90% |
| 56-65 years | 18 | 11.10% |
| | | 23.50% |
| *University Graduate degree* | 38 | 37.00% |
| Schools of Education | 60 | 19.10% |
| Schools of Economics | 31 | 20.40% |
| Schools of Philosophy | 33 | |
| Schools of Health - Social Welfare | | |
| | | |
| *Profession* | | |
| Teachers | 69 | 42.60% |
| Bank Employees | 68 | 42.00% |
| Civil Servants | 25 | 15.40% |
| | | |
| **Total** | **162** | |
| | | **100%** |

Table 2. Autonomous Education

1.    EXTREMELY HIGH DEGREE …..…………………… 9.1 %

2.    VERY HIGH DEGREE …………….…………………42.0 %

3.    HIGH DEGREE ………………………………………38.9 %

Table 3. Wish that Structure of the O.S.S. content is based on students' experience and previous knowledge

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | EXTREMELY HIGH DEGREE …………………….19.2 % | |
| 2. | VERY HIGH DEGREE ..………………………….. . 65.4 % | |
| 3. | HIGH DEGREE …………………………………………15.4 % | |

Table 4. Wish that "Self-directed learning" method is followed during the O.S.S.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | EXTREMELY HIGH DEGREE .....................................58 % | |
| 2. | VERY HIGH DEGREE .....................................................42 % | |

Table 5. Contribution of the *O.S.S. content* to the development of critical thought.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | EXTREMELY HIGH DEGREE .........................................64.2 % | |
| 2. | VERY HIGH DEGREE .......................................................20.4 % | |
| 3. | HIGH DEGREE ….……………………………………… 15.4 % | |

Table 6. Wish that the instructor-tutor should act as an authority during the O.S.S.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | EXTREMELY HIGH DEGREE .......................................39.5 % | |
| 2. | VERY HIGH DEGREE .......................................................37.0 % | |
| 3. | HIGH DEGREE …………………………………………….23.5% | |

Table 7. Justification of the use of lecture in O.S.S

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | EFFECTIVENESS ...............................................................23.5 % |
| 2. | SAVING TIME ........................................……………….19.1 % |
| 3. | CERTAINTY…………………………….......................... 20.4 % |
| 4. | COMMON USE……………………………………. 15.4 % |
| 5. | INTERESTING……………………………………... 21.6 % |

Table 8. The use of collaborative teaching methods in O.S.S.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | BRAINSTORMING ...............................................................15.5 % |
| 2. | TEAMWORK ........................................................................20.9 % |
| 3. | ROLE-PLAYING.....................................................................7.4 % |
| 4. | CASE STUDY ………………………………………………9.3 % |
| 5. | QUESTIONS - ANSWERS ...................................................21.6 % |
| 6. | SIMULATION ....................................................................13.6 % |
| 7. | DEMONSTRATION …………………………………….11.7% |

Table 9. Effectiveness of O.S.S. through the use of collaborative teaching methods

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | POSITIVE ANSWER ..........................................................84.6 % |
| 2. | NEGATIVE ANSWER ........................................................15.4 % |

Table 10. Effect of collaborative methods in learning results

1.     MOTIVATION …………………………………………… 45.1 %

2.     TEAM WORKIN…………………………………………… ..19.1 %

3.     DEVELOPMENT OF NEW LEARNING

       STYLES    ……………………………………….………… …20.4%

4.     SKILLS DEVELOPMENT ……………..……………………… 15.4 %
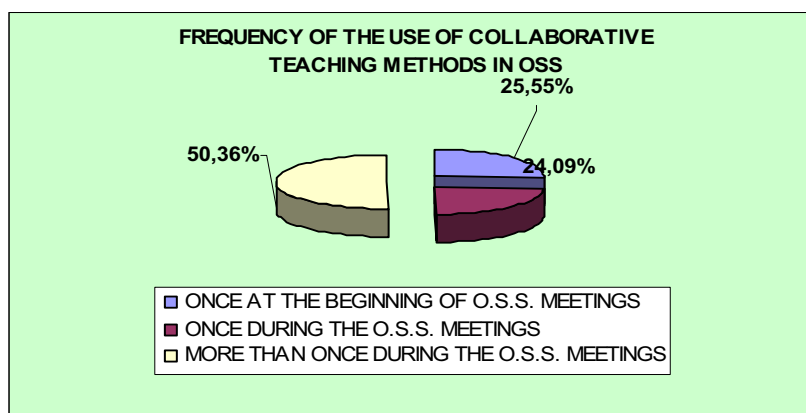


Graph 1. Frequency of the use of collaborative teaching methods in O.S.S.

# Contradiction Leads to a Miracle

# A Rethinking of Hans Christian Anderson and His Fairy Tales

Ruizhen Feng

School of Foreign Languages, Jiangsu University

301 Xuefu Road, Zhenjiang 212013, China

Tel: 86-511-8879-1205    E-mail: zf825@163.com

**Abstract**

Hans Christian Anderson is the most renowned fairy tale masters throughout the history. His works have been translated into different languages and spread all over the world. This paper intends to discuss Anderson's works via a review of newly obtained literature relevant to his works. There is contradiction between Anderson's actual life and dreams; both the natural revelation of children's spirit and the profound expression of adults' thinking contrastively exist in his works; not only the casual style in folk writing but also the poetic creation of literature are simultaneously employed in his works. These three aspects are contradictory but also uniform as well in Anderson. It is just in this contradiction and unity that Andersen's works can be so splendid and simple, so bright and profound. Based on the above reason, the author points out that Anderson's success is by no means an accidental phenomenon and his works can not be interpreted in a narrow sense as just fairy tales only for children, they have a profound influence on the adult literature.

**Keywords:** Hans Christian Anderson, Contradiction, Fairy tales

## 1. Introduction

Hans Christian Anderson, a Danish poet, novelist, and an immortal storyteller, was Denmark's most famous figure. His name may not be familiar to some readers, but more than likely almost everyone has read some of his fantastic fairytales that have captured the hearts of many over the last two centuries. He wrote as many as 350 stories and his books are read all over the world. All of the stories Anderson wrote were with a great desire to make people laugh. He wrote because he didn't want children to have a sad childhood as he did. He also wanted to fill little girls and little boy's hearts full of joy and laughter. He always wrote with a sly humor. Through his writings, Anderson felt more self fulfilled. Even after his death Hans Christian Anderson is still remembered today. After he died people read his stories and loved them just like when he was alive.

## 2. A life full of Contradiction

Hans Christian Andersen's own life had some of the aspects of a fairy tale: he was born the son of a poor cobbler and he died a rich and famous man, celebrated around the world, the intimate of kings and queens. Although today Andersen is primarily known as a writer of stories for children, during his lifetime he was also celebrated for his other literary works, including six novels, five travel journals, three autobiographies, and numerous poems and plays. The modern image of Andersen (as portrayed in the sugary 1952 film *Hans Christian Andersen*, starring Danny Kaye) is of a simple, innocent, child-like spinner of tales, a character from one of his own stories. Letters and diaries by Andersen and his contemporaries, however, draw the picture of a very different man: a sharply intelligent, ambitious writer with a hardscrabble past, a love of high society, and a tortured soul. Likewise, Andersen's fairy tales, when read in the original Danish (or in good, unabridged translations), are far more sophisticated and multi-layered than the simple children's fables they've become in all too many translated editions, retellings, and media adaptations. The writer was no innocent naïf recounting fancies whispered by the fairies; he was a serious artist, a skillful literary craftsman, a shrewd observer of human nature and of the social scene of nineteenth century Denmark.

*2.1 A Childhood of Suffering and Dream*

Like the Ugly Duckling, born in a humble duck-yard yet destined to become a swan, Andersen was born the son of a poor cobbler in the city of Odense, where the family shared a single room and lived a hand-to-mouth existence. There was always food, but never quite enough; there were books on the shelf, but no money for grammar school. Andersen was sent to the Poor School instead, and expected to learn a trade.

When Andersen was 11, his father died, leaving the family more destitute than ever, and the boy was sent off to factory work, at which he lasted only a few days. In 1819, at the age of 14, he left home and Odense altogether, traveling alone to Copenhagen to make his fame and fortune. Determined to join the Royal Theater, he presented himself to the theater's director, who bluntly advised the uneducated youth to go home and learn a trade. Undaunted, the boy sought out a well-known critic, then the city's prima ballerina, both of whom turned the scruffy urchin out and told him to go home. Growing desperate, running out of money, Andersen pestered every luminary he could think of until he turned up on the doorstep of Giuseppe Siboni, director of the Royal Choir School. Weyse, an accomplished composer, happened to be dining with Siboni that day. He had risen from poverty himself, and he took pity on the boy. Weyse promptly raised a sum of money that enabled Andersen to rent a cheap room and to study with Siboni and others connected to the Royal Theater.

Tall and gawky, ill at ease with other children, the boy spent his time reading, dreaming, sewing costumes out of scraps for his puppet theater, and haunting the doorway of the city's theater when traveling players came to town. Odense, at that time, was a provincial city still rooted in its rural past, with a living tradition of Danish folklore and colorful folk pageantry. In The True Story of My Life, Andersen relates how he learned Danish folk tales in his youth from old women in the spinning room of the insane asylum where his grandmother worked. "They considered me a marvelous clever child," he recalls, "too clever to live long, and they rewarded my eloquence by telling me fairy tales and a world as rich as that of The Thousand and One Nights arose before me." The Arabian tales of The Thousand and One Nights also fired the boy's imagination, for this was one of the few precious books owned by Andersen's father.

Andersen began writing at an early age (an unusual preoccupation for a boy of his class), but his true ambition was to go on the stage as an actor, dancer, or singer. He memorized scenes from plays and poems and loved to declaim them to anyone who'd listen; he also possessed a fine singing voice (he was know as the Nightingale of Odense), and this talent in particular began to open doors for him. The boy received invitations to sing at dinner parties in rich men's houses, where his precociousness, combined with his shabby appearance, provoked as much amusement as admiration. This was Andersen's first taste of "superior" society (as it was called in those days of rigid class demarcation), a taste that he never lost as he subsequently climbed into Denmark's highest circles.

Thus began a new period in Andersen's life. By day he studied and loitered in the theater, rubbing shoulders with some of the most famous men and women of Denmark's Golden Age; by night he lived in a mean little room in one of the city's most squalid neighborhoods, often going without meals and spending what little money he had on books. As in Odense, the boy was called upon to sing and recite at distinguished dinner parties — and once again the smiles of his hosts were often at his own expense. The aid he received for the next three years was sporadic and precarious, never quite enough to keep hunger from the door, bestowed with a mixture of generosity and condescension that left lasting marks on Andersen's psyche. He practiced scenes from famous plays, he tried his hand at writing a tragedy, and he began to study dance at the Royal Theater's Ballet School. But by the age of 17, his voice had changed; his gawky physique had proven unsuited to ballet. He was dismissed from school, informed that he had no future on the stage.

Another youth than Hans Christian Andersen might have crumbled under this blow, but throughout his life he possessed a remarkable (even exasperating) degree of confidence and never lost faith in his worth, no matter how often he faced rejection. He would drew upon this experience years later when creating tales such as The Little Mermaid, in which the heroine submits to loss and pain in order to cross into another world — only to find she'll never be fully accepted, loved, or understood. Yet despite the hardships he endured, and the humiliations he suffered through, the young Andersen was thrilled to be on his way to a theatrical career... or so he thought.

*2.2 A Gentle Nightmare of Educational Experience*

Determined to find success in Denmark's theater but barred from a performance career, Andersen focused on his remaining talent: he'd become a writer of plays. He'd already submitted one play to the Royal Theater, which had promptly been turned down. Now the boy dashed off another play, this time an historical tragedy. It, too, was turned away. Yet the play had shown a glimmer of promise, and this brought him to the attention of Jonas Collin, a powerful court official and the financial director of the Royal Theater. Collin perceived what everyone else had perceived: the boy was badly handicapped by his lack of formal education. Collin, however, decided to do something to solve the problem of Andersen, arranging an educational fund to be paid by the King of Denmark.

Andersen was sent away to grammar school in the town of Slagelse, 57 miles from Copenhagen in the west of Zealand. He was six years older than his fellow students, far behind them in general education, and temperamentally unsuited for

long, dull days sitting in a classroom. Nonetheless he persevered, determined to prove himself worthy of Collin's interest, the King's patronage, and the faith of his small circle of supporters back in Copenhagen.

But life as a grammar student would prove to be especially difficult, even for a youth whose life had hardly been easy to this point. Andersen's headmaster was a pedagogue who could have stepped from the pages of a Dickens novel, fond of using ridicule, humiliation, and contempt to bully his students into learning. He was particularly vicious to dreamy young Andersen, determined to crush the boy's pride, conceit, and especially his high ambitions — and to teach him that his place in the world (due to his origins) must be a humble one. In particular, Andersen was strictly forbidden to indulge in any creative work such as creative writing — a deprivation that the boy, who'd been writing since he was small, found particularly hard.

For four years, Andersen endured this tyranny, suffered, worried that he was going mad, and wrote despairing letters home — which Jonas Collin calmly dismissed as adolescent self-pity. In 1826, at the age of 21, Andersen's emotions came to a boil; he defied his headmaster by writing a poem titled "The Dying Child".

Based on a common nineteenth century theme (in the days of high infant mortality rates), this poem was unusual in being told from the child's point of view, and it evoked a haunting sadness fueled by the author's own misery. Andersen's headmaster pronounced the poem rubbish (it became one of the most famous poems of the century) and heaped such abuse on Andersen that a young teacher became alarmed. The teacher spoke to Jonas Collin directly, and Collin swiftly pulled Andersen out of school. Andersen remained haunted by nightmares of his headmaster for the rest of his life.

### 2.3 A Sweet Bitter Social Circle

Andersen was now allowed to return to Copenhagen, where he lived in a small, clean attic room, studied with private tutors, and took his meals with the Collins and other prominent families, in rotation. His particular attachment to the Collin family solidified during this period and would become a steady source of both joy and pain in the years that followed. Jonas, he loved as a second father; the five Collins children were as dear to him as brothers and sisters; and the Collins, in turn, grew used to this odd young man sitting at their hearth. Much has been written by Andersen scholars about the complicated relationship he forged with the family, who were pillars of Danish society and moved in the highest court circles. Jonas Collin's support of Andersen was both generous and unwavering, and Collin's household provided the young man with the family and stability he craved. But although they opened their home to him, included him in family gatherings, and assisted him in countless ways, Andersen was never allowed to forget that he was not entirely one of them, for he was not a member of their class. Even in the days of his world-wide fame, when he was home with the Collins family he was still the cobbler's son from Odense. . . the Royal Theater's charity boy. . . the Little Match Girl with her nose pressed to the glass of a rich family's window.

Despite this bright beginning, the early years of his career were rocky ones — full of lows as well as highs and marred by unsympathetic reviews in the Danish press. It was not until his books and poems began to excite attention abroad, particularly in Germany, that critics started to take him seriously in his native land. This mixture of praise (from abroad) and censure (at home) was hurtful and confusing to Andersen, as were the intermingled messages of acceptance and rejection he received from his upper-class friends. He grew a protective armor of wit, but kept a tally of each hurt, each blow; and in later years, no praise was ever enough to balance the scorecard. He grew into a man with two distinct and conflicting sides to his nature. In his talents he was supremely confident, speaking candidly of his high ambitions and rhapsodizing over each success — which made him something of an oddity to his friends (and a figure of ridicule to his enemies) in a social milieu where displaying signs of personal ambition was frowned upon. Yet Andersen could also be sensitive, emotional, and hungry for approval to a debilitating degree. This made him, at times, an exasperating companion, but many found his friendship worth the trouble, for he was also capable of great warmth, humor, kindness, and moments of surprising wisdom.

## 3. Contradiction in the Style of his Works

### 3.1 Stories for Children, Ideas for Grown-up

While the majority of Andersen's tales can be enjoyed by children, the best of them are written for adults as well and lend themselves to varying interpretations according to the sophistication of the reader. Reading Andersen's prose after growing up with abridged and altered versions of his stories can be a surprising experience. Andersen wrote children's stories into which he carefully, skillfully embedded comedy, social critique, satire, and philosophy aimed at adult readers. Andersen pioneered this style, and many writers are indebted to him. "I seize on an idea for grown-ups," Andersen explained, "and then tell the story to the little ones while always remembering that Father and Mother often listen, and you must also give them something for their minds." His fairy tales can be read simply as magical adventures, but for the discerning reader they contain much more, bristling with characters drawn from Andersen's own life and from the many worlds he traveled through in his remarkable life's journey.

It's impossible today to fully understand the sensation these little stories caused, for nothing quite like them had ever been seen in Danish literature. The tales were revolutionary for several reasons. Across Europe, the field of children's fiction was still in its very early days and was still dominated by dull, pious stories intended to teach and inculcate moral values. Andersen's magical tales were rich as chocolate cake after a diet of wholesome gruel, and the narrative voice spoke familiarly, warmly, conspiratorially to children, rather than preaching to them from on high. Despite the Christian imagery recurrent in the tales (typical of nineteenth century fiction), these are remarkably earthy, anarchic, occasionally even amoral stories — comical, cynical, fatalistic by turns, rather than morally instructive. And unlike the folk tales collected by the Grimms, set in distant lands once upon a time, Andersen set his tales in Copenhagen and other familiar, contemporary settings, mixed fantastical descriptions with common ordinary ones, and invested everyday household objects (toys, dishes, etc.) with personalities and magic. Even the language of the stories was fresh and radical, as Jackie Wullschlager points out in Hans Christian Andersen: The Life of a Storyteller: "The raw and unpolished Danish of these first stories was so radical as to be considered vulgar at a time when literary convention demanded rigorous, high-flown sentiment of the sort practiced by the playwright Heiberg. Andersen, by contrast, was deliberately direct and informal."

Part of the problem was that Andersen spoke virtually no English, which led London society to view the writer as something of a simpleton. Also, his tales had been rendered into the English language by translators with limited literary skills, working from German texts, not the original Danish. Thus the versions of the tales that were best known to English readers (a problem that persists in some modern editions) were simpler, sweeter, less comic and ironic, than the ones that Andersen actually wrote.

This lack of sophistication in the English text caused Andersen to be labeled as a writer for children only, contrary to his broader reputation in the rest of Europe. His quiet, confused demeanor as he traveled through England (due to his inability to communicate) made the clever and witty Andersen appear as naive and child-like as his tales — and a myth was born, later portrayed on film by the actor Danny Kaye. Andersen himself railed against the notion of being viewed as a man who'd spent his life with children when he objected to the designs for a statue surrounding him with a circle of tykes. "I said loud and clear that I was dissatisfied . . . that my tales were just as much for older people as for children, who only understood the outer trappings and did not comprehend and take in the whole work until they were mature — that naiveté was only part of my tales, that humor was what really gave them their flavor."

Andersen carefully crafted the narration of his tales to evoke the power of oral storytelling, yet the narrative voice is a distinctive one, not the impersonal voice of most folk tales. He perfected his stories by reading them aloud within his social circle, and many a dinner party ended with children and adults alike clamoring for a story. As Andersen's fairy tales became known and loved, he found himself much in demand as a dinner guest, and he also began to receive requests to read his work in public. Though he hadn't been destined for an acting career, his youthful theatrical training served him well.

### 3.2 Stories of Tearful Joy

Andersen used to read his fairy tales in public. When people heard the story of the Little Girl with the Matches, they did not think of the author at all, but wept like a child, unconscious of everything around them; Adult are always reduced to tears by Andersen's tales — which are startling, fresh, and urgent in ways that we can only image, now that Andersen's stories have acquired the patina of age and familiarity. Nineteenth century readers were particularly affected by the way the tales gave voice to the powerless — the young, the poor, the very old — and imbued them with special strength, wisdom, and connection to the natural world (in opposition to the artifice of reason or the follies of society).In Snow Queen, Gerda, for instance, goes up against her rival (the rich, dazzling, coldly intellectual Snow Queen) armed only with her youth and compassion; in The Emperor's New Clothes, a child displays more wisdom than the King. We find this theme in traditional folk tales (the good-hearted peasant girl or boy whose kindness wins them riches or a crown), but Andersen gave such figures new life by placing them in contemporary settings, layering elements of sharp social critique into their stories.

Though Andersen's humor is indeed a salient characteristic of the tales (when they are well translated), what many readers remember most about Andersen's work is its overwhelming sadness. The Little Match Girl dies, the Little Mermaid is betrayed by her prince, the Fir Tree lies discarded after Christmas, sighing over past glories. Even tales that end happily — The Snow Queen, The Ugly Duckling, Thumbelina, The Wild Swans — are heart-wrenching in their depiction of anguish endured along the way. Many readers find reading Andersen's tales a particularly wrenching experience — and yet they read them over and over, both attracted to and disturbed by their unflinching depiction of pain.

The febrile clarity and propulsion [of the story] is accomplished at the expense of the reader's nerves. Especially taxing are the claims on the reader by both Kay and Gerda. Who has not, like Gerda, been exiled from the familiar comforts of one's world by the departure or defection of a beloved?

In Cassel (also part of Germany), he introduced himself to folklorist Jacob Grimm, then ran away mortified because Grimm had never heard of his stories. Wilhelm Grimm, who had read Andersen's tales, later sought him out in Copenhagen, and Anderson grew quite friendly with the Brothers Grimm and their Cassel circle of folklore enthusiasts.

## 4. Contradiction in Anderson's Love

Andersen himself was a physically awkward and homely man. "I shall have no success with my appearance," he once wrote, appraising himself with blunt honesty, "so I make use of whatever is available." And he was prone to harboring passions for people he could never have. Publicly, Andersen courted two women during his lifetime: the sister of a student friend, who soon became engaged to another, and the Swedish singer Jenny Lind, who could offer him only friendship. (He wrote his lovely tale The Nightingale for Jenny Lind.) Privately, he was more deeply obsessed with men: first with Edward Collins, then with a young theology student, and finally in, his later years, with a handsome young ballet dancer — the later of whom returned his interest, at least to some degree. This was an aspect of his life that was long ignored by Andersen scholars until Wullschlager explored its impact on the writer's work in Hans Christian Andersen: The Life of a Storyteller. Wullschlager notes that if Andersen had been alive today, his life — and thus his art — would have been very different.

Passion repressed is a very important theme found just below the surface of Andersen's fairy tales. We see this theme most clearly in The Steadfast Tin Soldier, written in 1838. The story is unusual among Andersen's early tales, both in its emphasis on sensual desire and in its ambiguities. Blind fate, not intention, determines all events. Moreover, the narrative questions the very decorum it praises. The tin soldier's passive acceptance of whatever happens to him, while exemplifying pietistic ideals of self-denial, also contributes to his doom. Were he to speak and act, the soldier might gain both life and love. Restrained, however, by inhibition and convention, he finds only tragedy and death. The tale is often read autobiographically, with the soldier viewed as symbolizing Andersen's feelings of inadequacy with women, his passive acceptance of bourgeois class attitudes, or his sense of alienation as an artist and an outsider, from full participation in everyday life.

And that would have been a great pity, for Andersen achieved something remarkable: he created tales that are read and loved and told anew by each new generation; that are still inspiring writers, artists, and dramatists to this day. The most prestigious award in children's books is called the Hans Christian Andersen Medal, and Andersen's influence can also be seen in fiction written for adults.

## 5. Conclusion

As a dramatist, Andersen failed almost absolutely. But many of his poems are still a part of living Danish literature, and his most enduring contributions, are fairy tales, his travel books and his autobiography. It is just in this contradiction and unity that Andersen's works can be so splendid and simple, so bright and profound. Does life imitate art? Does art imitate life? It is a question full of contradiction in Hans Christian Andersen's case, although he had made quite a name for himself. Contradiction leads to a miracle. In 1867, when he was 62 years old, Andersen returned to Odense. A choir sang, and the entire city was illuminated in his honor. "A star of fortune hangs above me," Andersen once wrote. "Thousands have deserved it more than I; often I cannot understand why this good should have been vouchsafed to me among so many thousands. But if the star should set, even while I am penning these lines, be it so; still I can say it has shone, and I have received a rich portion." Andersen, the ugly duckling, now became a swan, died in 1875, and his stories live on all over the world. Indeed, Europe, as well as the world, loves him forever. Anderson's success is by no means an accidental phenomenon and his works can not be interpreted in a narrow sense as just fairy tales only for children, they not only act as the children and adolescents' primers, but also have profound influence on the adult literature.

## References

Jackie Wullschläger. (2000). *Hans Christian Andersen. The Life of a Storyteller*, Penguin.

Norton, Rictor (ed.) (1998). *My Dear Boy: Gay Love Letters through the Centuries*. Leyland Publications, San Francisco.

Ruth Manning-Sanders. (1949). *Swan of Denmark: The Story of Hans Christian Andersen*, Heinemann.

Stig Dalager. (2006). Journey *in Blue*, historical, biographical novel about H.C.Andersen, Peter Owen, London 2006, McArthur & Co., Toronto.

# Flexible Working, Professional Success and Being Female:

# Are They Incompatible?

Julie A. Waumsley (Corresponding author)

Lecturer of Psychology, Centre for Sports Studies

The University of Kent

Chatham, Medway, Kent, ME4 4AG, U.K.

Tel: 11-44-01634-888816     E-mail: J.A.Waumsley@kent.ac.uk


Diane M. Houston

Professor of Psychology, Dean of the Graduate School

The University of Kent

Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7NF, U.K.

Tel: 11-44-01227-827933     E-mail: D.M.Houston@kent.ac.uk

**Abstract**

The UK's flexible working strategy has developed progressively since 2000, reflecting changes in the economic, political and social climate. Research has shown employees to be concerned about the effects of flexible working on career success. This paper (N=266 & N=1093) examined male, female, managerial and non-managerial evaluations of employees who either used flexible working practices, worked long hours or worked regular hours. It also compared attitudes towards employees and their perceived success as a function of the reason as to why they used flexible working practices. Results showed individuals working the longest hours were perceived to significantly outperform all those who worked regular hours or who took part in some kind of flexible working option. Women with caring responsibilities were consistently viewed as less productive and more likely to leave their employment than men. Findings on promotion show overwhelming bias towards long hours being compatible with career success. Despite the positive effects on work performance, the effects of working long hours are recognised as detrimental to work-life balance. The implications for women in the workplace and work-life balance policy are further discussed.

**Keywords:** Flexible working, Professional success, Gender, Work-life balance, Performance

## 1. Introduction

The UK's flexible working strategy has developed progressively since 2000, when the former Prime Minister, Tony Blair, launched the Government's campaign to promote a better work-life balance at a business breakfast at 10 Downing Street. Key areas highlighted by the government for action by employers are: knowing that both employers and employees benefit from work-life balance; understanding that part-time does not mean half hearted; wanting employees to enjoy their full holiday entitlement; encouraging them to work from home when appropriate; enabling employees to share jobs and adopt flexible hours in school holidays; and allowing their employees pain maternity and paternity leave (DTI, 2009). The aim of this campaign is to encourage employers to introduce flexible working, with the initial emphasis on work-life balance for all employees, not just those with caring responsibilities. However, legislative change has focused on care. UK employees can request a flexible working arrangement, and those with children up to the age of 16, disabled children under 18 or those with caring responsibilities for a spouse, partner or relative have a statutory right to request flexible working arrangements and to have this request considered seriously. If the employer refuses to grant their request, they have to demonstrate there is a reasonable business case for not being able to do so.

The promotion of work-life balance in the UK reflected changes in the economic and political climate as well as social changes. Within business, globalisation and the new economy, changes have resulted in customer demands and expectations for access to goods and services twenty-four hours a day. Increasingly this means that organisations must operate outside the traditional nine to five structure. Therefore organisations have to employ people who are prepared to work flexibly outside traditional working hours. Within families the traditional model of fathers who work and mothers who remain at home to care for children and/or the elderly are decreasing. One key aspect of women's increasing economic participation has been the employment rates of women with preschool children which almost doubled from 28% in 1980 to 53% in 1999 (McRae, 2003). Another is the dramatic growth in the number of one-parent households from 9% in 1971 to 25% in 2001. The increase in women's work participation is predominantly reflected in part-time work; 42% of women work part-time compared to just 9% of men (LFS, 2005).

The tensions between employers' need for greater flexibility and individuals' desire for work-life balance are reflected in employees' attitudes and work behaviour. Within this context, work-family research has its conceptual roots in role conflict theory (Katz & Kahn, 1978) whereby participation in one role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in another (Dierdorff & Ellington, 2008). Employees in the United Kingdom are amongst those who work the longest hours of any European country (FedEE, 2008) with long hours particularly common amongst men who have partners and children (Houston & Waumsley, 2003; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2007). Examination of dual-earner couples showed that, for those working in the same organisation, men experienced higher job prestige and less turnover than women (Moen & Sweet, 2002). When examining employee turnover, Boshoff and Mels (2000) found commitment to the profession and the organisation to be important antecedents of intention to resign. In addition, Van Dick et al., (2004) used a social identity approach to show organisational identification feeds into job satisfaction, which in turn, explained turnover intentions. Key reasons for women wanting to move from working in organisations to self-employment are greater freedom, autonomy, balance and the ability to live by a personal value system threatened by the organisation (Mallon & Cohen, 2001).

Dual earner couples have become the norm, but women's participation in, and commitment to, the workforce continues to be limited by the presence and age of a dependent child. The birth of children continues to perpetuate traditional divisions of work and caring roles in most couples, despite an expressed desire to share these roles more equally (Houston & Marks, 2002, 2005; Houston & Waumsley, 2003). Most women with children move into part-time work, but part-time working and career breaks negatively impact upon women's lifetime earnings and the gender pay gap (Anderson, Forth, Metcalf & Kirby, 2001; Manning & Petrongolo, 2004; Walby & Olsen, 2002). The employment disadvantage experienced by many female part-time workers is illustrated in findings from a survey of 643 qualified National Health Service nurses (Lane, 2004) which shows the career progression of part-time nurses continues to lag behind that of their full-time counterparts. A key reason for this is the low status of part-time work. Contrary to the belief that part-time workers are uncommitted to their careers, prioritising family responsibilities over work, they reported high levels of under achievement. Managers report no formal policy not to employ part-time nurses in higher grades but usually the higher grades are only advertised as full-time posts (Lane, 2004).

In contrast to seeking to understand the disadvantages of women in the workplace, recent research highlights the possibilities of women being able to balance family and career success (Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009; Jones & Gittins, 2009). Within this remit, evidence was still found that women face certain obstacles when trying to reach the top in organisations, exacerbated in male-dominated cultures (Jones & Gittins, 2009). Women's success appeared to be founded on the right mental approach to balancing family and work, a choice many men do not have to face (Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009; Jones & Gittins, 2009). In addition, successful women were prepared to work long hours if necessary (Jones & Gittins, 2009). Social support was found to be an important resource in women's advancement and well-being (Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009) illustrating women as more communal (i.e. showing warmth and selflessness) than agentic (i.e. showing assertiveness and instrumentality) and men more agentic than communal. Outsourcing domestic responsibilities was also found to be common amongst successful career women. Thus, where career and mothering roles are maintained, domestic responsibility is subcontracted (Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009).

In contrast, however, strategies for coping with work-family conflict further highlighted women's struggle to combine work with family responsibilities, with results showing greater work family conflict for those women whose commitment to work was hindered by family demands (Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2007). These findings suggest little change within the last decade in terms of women trying to combine work and family life (Duxbury, Higgins & Lee, 1994; Somech & Drach-Zahavy, 2007). This is further echoed in the findings of Linehan and Walsh (2000; 2001) who suggest work-family conflict prevents many female managers from progressing to senior management because they typically have to choose between a career and family. More female than male managers have to decide between an international career and family commitments because of the relative inflexibility of organisations, the assumptions by senior management and society that the primary role of a woman is that of mother and for responsibility for home and family and not as an international manager. Career success is still based on a male career model which ignores the influence of marriage, pregnancy, children and household duties. Moreover, if women do achieve leadership roles, they

are more likely to receive greater scrutiny and criticism than men and are evaluated less positively (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Further, the leadership positions that women occupy are likely to be less promising than those of their male counterparts, an effect known as "the glass cliff effect" (Ryan & Haslam, 2005, p.87)

Whilst flexible working policies were meant to provide employee choice and release employee pressure from long working hours, tensions are further reflected in the ways in which employees demonstrate conflicting attitudes towards flexible working. In a survey of over 1500 members of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union, Houston and Waumsley (2003) found that while the majority of men and women in this study thought that flexible working was beneficial to both employers and employees, with women more interested in uptake than men, there was a high level of concern that flexible working would damage their promotion prospects and their relationship with their colleagues. Furthermore, fifty per cent of respondents agreed that to be viewed favourably by management they have to put their jobs ahead of their personal life.

The Houston and Waumsley (2003) findings are in many ways consistent with those from The Third Work-Life Balance Employee Survey (Hooker, Neathey, Casebourne & Munro, 2007). While this report presents a very positive perspective on flexible working, thirty-two per cent of respondents agreed that people who work flexibly are less likely to get promoted and forty-two per cent felt that leaving work on time would negatively affect their career, as would taking leave to look after children or other dependants (37 per cent), working different working patterns (37 per cent), or working from home (25 per cent).

These recent findings demonstrate that there are still significant tensions between a desire for work-life balance and career achievement, despite legislative and culture change. This remains consistent with research from the 1990s. Kossek & Ozeki (1999) conducted a review of studies that examined the effects of family-friendly policies on a variety of outcomes. They concluded that work-family policies result in higher levels of actual individual productivity and positive attitudes to the employer/organisation. However, they also found that perceptions of turnover and organisational commitment were more strongly linked to traditional notions of long hours demonstrating commitment.

Government initiatives designed to change both legislation and work place culture are clearly limited by the culture within a specific workplace and the management of flexible working. Whilst improvements in turnover, emotional well-being and commitment have been shown by making flexible working arrangements widely available for part-time employees who are only able to invest limited time in their careers (Baruch & Winkelmann-Gleed, 2002) and while the availability of flexible working practices is an essential precondition to their uptake by employees, this does not necessarily lead to uptake. Thompson, Beauvais, and Lyness (1999) and Allen (2001) found that both perceived supervisor support and perceptions of family support within the organisation were positively related to overall use of flexible working arrangements. Thompson et al., (1999) provided evidence to suggest that the type and number of work-family programmes offered is not as important as the culture of an organisation, which, in itself, is crucial for determining not only whether people will use benefits, but also their general attitudes towards the organisation (Galinsky & Stein, 1990; Lewis & Taylor, 1996; Thompson et al., 1999). Bond and Wise (2003) found that the management of family leave policies was one of the increasing number of HR practises that are devolved to line managers and that managerial discretion was often a critical part of the formal provision within an organisation. However, they also found that most operated with little training or liaison with HR specialists and that there was a low level of awareness of recent statutory changes in relation to parental leave. Decisions about the implementation of flexible working have considerable impact on individual managers. Powell and Mainiero (1999) found that flexible working arrangements make managers' jobs more complex and difficult by placing demands that are over and above traditional supervisory demands. In the context of research evidence that shows that managers are primarily rewarded for the results of their work, rather than for any concern shown to their employees, they argued that it was not surprising that managers tend to focus on their own short-term best interests when making decisions about the implementation of the organisation's flexible working policies. More recently, and in keeping with differences in attitudes between managers and employees, Turnipseed and Rassuli (2005) found that managers place more emphasis on measured performance whilst 'helping others in the workplace' is seen as a significant contributor to performance by employees.

In the following two studies we investigated the effects of flexible working patterns on a number of aspects of work performance. A series of vignettes were created describing men and women who worked different patterns of hours for a fictitious 'successful' company. No information was given about their work performance, only about their working patterns and reasons for using these patterns. With the exception of the long hours worker, all worked the same number of actual hours. Participants were asked to evaluate a selection of employees. The aim was to control the type and amount of information available to participants in order to gain a clearer sense of how employees are perceived as a result of differing work patterns and interests/responsibilities outside work.

In the context of the literature described above, the first hypothesis was that individuals who worked long hours would be perceived to have better work performance when compared to those who either worked regular hours or who worked flexible hours. Following Hogarth, Hasluck, Pierre, Winterbotham, and Vivan's (2000) findings that a substantial

number of employers felt flexible working practices were unfair to some staff, the second hypothesis predicted that those who worked regular hours would be perceived with greater approval as work colleagues than those who worked long hours or some kind of flexible working option. In the context of the mixed results of the review by Kossek and Ozeki (1999), the relationship between working patterns and perceptions of turnover intention was also investigated. In addition, it was considered that there might be a hierarchy of justifications for working flexibly and to this end, the study also examined relative evaluations in the context of reasons for working flexibly. Finally, it was also expected that the raters would recognise the negative effects of working long hours and rate these employees as having low levels of work-life balance. As flexible working has a higher uptake and is perceived more positively by women (Houston & Waumsley, 2003), the effects of gender of both participant and target on the evaluations were also examined.

**2. Study 1**

*2.1 Method*

2.1.1 Participants

Participants were 266 final year undergraduate students. The sample consisted of 97 males and 169 females, with a mean age of 20 years. Average work experience was between one and two years of part-time work.

2.1.2 Materials

A booklet was designed which contained a description of a 'successful' UK company and descriptions of six employees within the organisation. Each employee was described as having a different working pattern: long hours; working 9-5, flexible hours to look after a child, flexible hours to look after an elderly parent, flexible hours to play sport, and flexible hours to play music. Information was only given about their working patterns and their hobbies and commitments outside work, no information was given about their work performance and all employees were described as having outside interests regardless of working pattern. With the exception of the long hours worker, the regular hours worker and all the flexible workers had the same number of actual hours.

Participants were asked to rate each employee on a series of 7-point Likert scales designed to measure work performance, turnover intention, colleagality, and work-life conflict.   These scales were based on items employed in previous research (Houston & Marks, 2003; Houston &   Waumsley, 2003).

Work Performance was measured using 10 items, (e.g. John's work productivity is above average), Cronbach's Alpha = .90.

Turnover Intention was measured using 2 items, (e.g. Jane will leave the company within the next two years), Cronbach's Alpha = .75.

Colleagues' Approval was measured using 2 items, (e.g. Sarah's colleagues enjoy working with her), Cronbach's Alpha = .76.

Work-Life Balance was measured using 3 items (e.g.   Sarah is able to balance work and life outside work) Cronbach's Alpha = .73.

2.1.3 Procedure

Participants took part in the study in a large group in a lecture theatre. All were asked to read the description of the organisation and of all six employees and then to rate each employee. In order that any perceived differences by male and female participants toward male and female targets using different working styles could be measured, two questionnaires were used, counter- balancing gender within scenarios.

*2.2 Results*

The data were analysed using a Participant Gender (Gender) x Target Gender (Target) x Work Pattern (Pattern: Regular, Long Hours, Child Care, Elder Care, Hockey, Music) MANOVA on the four measures relating to Performance, Turnover, Colleague Approval and Work Life Balance. Target was a between participants factors and Pattern was a within-participants variable. As shown in Table 1, there were no significant multivariate main effects or interactions among Gender and Target. However, the multivariate effects of Pattern, Pattern x Target and Pattern x Target x Gender were significant. We therefore turn to examine the significant univariate effects.

-----------------------------------------------------

Insert Table 1 about here

-----------------------------------------------------

Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations as well as significant pairwise differences for the main effects of Pattern, which were significant ($p < .001$) for all four measures, and showed large effects in the case of both Performance and Work Life Balance.

-----------------------------------------------------

Insert Table 2 about here

-----------------------------------------------------

For performance, participants believed that people who work long or regular hours outperform all those who use flexible working, and that those using flexible working for elder care perform the least well. Specifically, the Long Hours worker is viewed as performing significantly better than all others (all $p$ <.001), and the Regular worker is viewed as performing significantly better than all remaining others (all $p$ <.001). The Musician is viewed as performing significantly better than all remaining others (p's all <.05). The Child Carer and Hockey player do not differ significantly from one another, but the Elder Carer is viewed as performing significantly worse than the Child Carer (p < .005).

For turnover intention participants believed that people who used flexible working for elder care, sport or musical pursuits were more likely to leave their organisation than people who worked long or regular hours or used flexible working for child care reasons. Pairwise differences within these two subsets were all non significant, whereas pairwise differences between the subsets were all highly significant (all $p$ <.001).

For approval from colleagues, pairwise differences among patterns revealed that regular working was regarded as significantly more collegial than all other patterns, including long hours working (p<.02), child care (p<.01) and music (p <.001). All of these were judged to attract more approval than hockey and elder care which also did not differ from one another.

Participants believed that people who worked long hours or who used flexible working for elder care or child care were viewed as having less good work life balance than those who worked regular hours or worked flexibly to pursue sport or musical interests. Pairwise comparisons reveal that the Long Hours pattern was regarded as having significantly less balance than all others (all $p$ <.001), and the Elder Care worker was perceived as having significantly less balance than all remaining others (all $p$ <.001). The Child Carer was perceived as having significantly less balance than all remaining others (all $p$ <.001), whereas the Regular worker, Hockey Player and Musician were seen as relatively more balanced and did not differ significantly from one another.

### 2.2.1 Interactions Involving Participant Gender and Target Gender

Performance, Turnover and Colleagues' approval were all affected by a Pattern x Target interaction. For all three variables there was a significant difference in judgments about male versus female targets who worked flexibly to engage in childcare.

For performance, $F(1,262) = 8.99$, $p$ <.005, partial $\eta^2 = .033$, male targets who worked flexibly to do child care ($M = 4.45$, $SD = 0.64$) were judged to perform better than female targets who did so ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 0.69$). For turnover, a similar effect appeared $F(1,262) = 9.50$, $p$ <.005, partial $\eta^2 = .035$, male targets who worked flexibly to do child care ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 0.90$) were judged to be less likely to leave than female targets who did so ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.95$). For approval from colleagues, $F(1,262) = 6.95$, $p$ <.01, partial $\eta^2 = .026$, male targets who worked flexibly to do child care ($M = 4.98$, $SD = 0.84$) were judged to attract greater approval than female targets who did so ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 0.79$). Thus male workers who work flexibly to look after children are perceived to be more productive, less likely to leave and more likely to be approved by colleagues than are female workers in an identical situation.

In addition, regular hours male workers were perceived to be less inclined to leave ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.07$) than regular hours female workers ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 0.95$), $F(1,262) = 3.87$, $p$ <.05, partial $\eta^2 = .015$.

Judgements about turnover and colleagues' approval were further affected by a Pattern x Gender x Target interaction. These interactions indicate that Gender and Target interact to affect judgments for some patterns but not others. Therefore we investigated the simple interactions involving Gender and Target within each Pattern.

For turnover intentions, the Gender x Target interaction was marginally significant for Regular Working, $F(1,262) = 2.93$, $p$ < .09, partial $\eta^2 = .011$, and Long Hours working, $F(1,262) = 3.73$, $p$ < .06, partial $\eta^2 = .014$, and was significant for Child Care, $F(1,262) = 6.60$, $p$ < .02, partial $\eta^2 = .025$. We therefore inspected pairwise comparisons for these three patterns. These revealed significant gender differences only when the Target was female. Male participants ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.21$) believed less than female participants ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.28$) that a woman working Long Hours was less likely to leave, $F(1,262) = 4.85$, $p$ < .05, partial $\eta^2 = .018$. However male participants believed more ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.87$) than female participants ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 0.93$) that a woman working regular hours would leave, $F(1,262) = 10.03$, $p$ < .005, partial $\eta^2 = .037$. Male participants were also more likely ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 1.05$) than female participants ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 0.93$) to believe that women working flexible working due to child care would be more likely to leave, $F(1,262) = 4.21$, $p$ <.05, partial $\eta^2 = .016$.

For colleague approval none of the simple interaction effects were significant, but some were marginally significant. Examination of the simple main effects of Gender and of Target within each pattern revealed that males judged the

approval of a flexible worker looking after children differently if the worker was male ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 0.92$) versus female ($M = 4.67$, $SD = -.70$), $F(1,262) = 6.94$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .025$. In addition, a marginal Gender x Target interaction on the Long Hours pattern, $F(1,262) = 3.62$, $p < .06$, partial $\eta^2 = .014$, was due to the fact that females working long hours were judged more positively by males ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 1.28$) than by females ($M = 4.72$, $SD = 1.02$), $F(1,262) = 4.82$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .018$ whereas males working long hours were judged similarly by both genders ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 0.95$, $M = 4.83$, $SD = 1.01$, judged by males and females, respectively).

## 3. Study 2

### 3.1 Method

#### 3.1.1 Participants

Four thousand questionnaires were posted to the home addresses of members of a large UK trade union. Cooperation with the trade union made it possible to send equal numbers to men and women and to managerial and non managerial employees. Participants were asked to complete the questionnaire and return it in a post-paid envelope. A thirty percent response rate was achieved. Once partially completed questionnaires were eliminated from the sample, 281 male managers, 375 female managers, 210 male non-managers and 227 female non-managers responses were analysed.

#### 3.1.2 Materials

Participants were given the same booklet used in Study One, containing descriptions of a UK company and its employees and were asked to rate the employees on the same dimensions of work performance, turnover intention and colleague's approval. In addition participants in Study Two were asked to rate the employees on an established measure of work-life and life-work conflict and to evaluate promotion prospects.

Work-life and Life-work Conflict were each measured using 2 items selected from Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian (1996) family-work conflict scale in order to represent 'life' rather than specific family items (e.g. Matt's job produces strain that makes it difficult to fulfil home responsibilities and the demands of Kate's home life interfere with her responsibilities at work).

Promotion prospects were measured by asking participants to state which employee would be most likely to be promoted and which would be the least.

#### 3.1.3 Procedure

In order that any perceived differences by male and female participants toward male and female targets using different working styles and any differences between work categories could be measured, four questionnaires were used, crossing gender and work category within scenarios. Questionnaires differed only in that questionnaire one depicted male managerial employees, questionnaire two depicted female managerial employees, questionnaire three depicted male administrative employees, and questionnaire four depicted female administrative employees. Male and female managerial participants were asked to complete the male and female managerial employee questionnaire. Male and female non-managerial participants were asked to complete the male and female administrative employee questionnaire.

#### 3.1.4 Evaluation Scales

Work Performance: Cronbach's Alpha = .83.

Turnover Intention: Cronbach's Alpha = .76.

Colleagues' Attitudes Cronbach's Alpha = .84.

Work-Life Conflict: Cronbach's Alpha = .77.

Life-Work Conflict: Cronbach's Alpha = .82.

### 3.2 Results

The data were analysed using a Participant Gender (Gender) x Target Gender (Target) x Role Status (Managerial vs Non Managerial) x Pattern ( Regular, Long Hours, Child Care, Elder Care, Hockey, Music) MANOVA on the five measures relating to Performance, Turnover, Colleague Approval, Work Life Conflict and Life-Work Conflict. Gender, Target and Role were between participants factors and Pattern was a within-participants variable. As shown in Table 3, there were small but significant multivariate main effects of Gender, Target and Role, but no significant multivariate interactions among these variables. Table 3 also shows a very large significant multivariate effect of Pattern, and significant multivariate interactions between Pattern x Gender, Pattern x Target and Pattern x Role.

-----------------------------------------------------

Insert Table 3 about here

-----------------------------------------------------

The relevant means and standard deviations, as well as significant pairwise differences, are provided in Table 4. None of the three or four way interactions were significant.

---------------------------------------------------

Insert Table 4 about here

---------------------------------------------------

We focus first on the overall differences in judgements of each pattern (the Total column in Table 4), and then on each of the significant two way interactions at the univariate level, investigating the simple effects of the between participants variable for each pattern.

What is immediately striking from Table 3 is that the large multivariate effect of Pattern is attributable mainly on the performance, work life and life work measures. For the first two of these, all pairwise differences were significant, mostly $p$ <.001. For the last, only Hockey and Music did not differ significantly. The highest performance is attributed to long hours and regular workers, and similarly these have the lowest life-work conflict scores.

The interaction between pattern and participant gender also showed a consistent picture. Males believed that all of the flexible working arrangements would result in worse performance than did females. Males, more than females, also believed that long hours and regular working were associated with lower turnover intention, but that child and elder care were associated with higher turnover intention. Males rated work-life and life-work conflicts as higher than females for all patterns.

The interaction between pattern and target gender showed a slightly smaller multivariate effect size. However, this showed that flexible workers doing child or elder care were seen as more likely to leave the organisation if they were female than male.

The interaction between role and pattern was also quite clear and was significant for all patterns. Managers believed long hours and regular working affected performance and turnover intention less positively than did non-managers. Managers believed flexible working affected performance and turnover intention more positively than did non managers. Managers also perceived less collegial approval of longer hours and regular working, but also of flexible working for child care than did non managers. However managers thought there would be more approval for flexible working to play music than did non managers. Managers rated higher work-life scores for long hours working and lower scores for all forms of flexible working than did non-managers. Managers also rated lower life-work scores for all forms of flexible working than did non-managers.

3.2.1 Recommendation for Promotion

The proportion of participants who recommended promotion for each target varied significantly, Chi-square (5) = 684.118, $p$ <.001, eta squared = .511. Pairwise comparisons revealed highly significant differences (*p's* <.001) between recommendations between all patterns in the following order of preference: Long hours working (42.6%), regular working (25.6%), flexible working with children (16.1%) flexible work for music (7.3%), and both flexible working for hockey (4.7%) or elder care (3.8%). The latter two did not differ significantly.

Of further interest is whether these patterns varied as a function of Gender, Target or Role. Given the absence of two and three way interactions in the preceding analysis it was not surprising that hierarchical loglinear analyses revealed no significant higher order interactions between promotion recommendations for each type of pattern and these three variables. However there were significant simple associations between each variable and promotion recommendation for each pattern.

The results of Chi-Square tests comparing the proportions that would recommend promotion for each pattern are provided in Table 5.

---------------------------------------------------

Insert Table 5 about here

---------------------------------------------------

This shows that males are more likely to promote longer hours workers and less likely to promote those who work flexibly to care for children. Participants are more likely to promote male targets than female targets who work flexibly to care for children. Managerial participants are less likely than non managerial participants to recommend promotion in recognition of long hours working, and more likely to recommend promotion for someone working flexibly to care for children, or playing sport.

## 4. Discussion

Across both the undergraduate and working samples there is clear evidence that flexible working is seen   as detrimental to work performance and career progression when compared to long or regular hours of work. There is also clear acknowledgement of the work-life benefits of flexible working. Both the undergraduate and the working samples show strong indication that some reasons for working flexibly are more 'acceptable' than others; where hobbies are driving flexible working patterns this is taken as a sign of increased turnover intention.

The effect of gender of target and gender of participant produced some perhaps surprising results. In the undergraduate sample, men who were working flexibly in order to look after children were rated more positively on work performance and colleagues' approval, as well as being seen as less likely to want to leave the organisation, than women who were doing the same thing. Women working long hours were seen as having greater colleague approval by males than females, whereas men working long hours were rated similarly by both genders. Gender differences in attitudes to working hours are also reflected in the findings. Female participants were more likely than male participants to view a woman working long hours as likely to leave, whereas male participants were more likely to think that women working regular hours, or flexible working to cover childcare would leave. From this it can be concluded that young men believe that women are more likely to leave their jobs than men, unless they are demonstrating high work commitment through long hours.

There were also important findings in relation to gender in the working sample. Male participants indicated that all of the flexible working arrangements would result in worse performance than did female participants. Male participants also perceived long hours and regular working to be associated with lower turnover intention, and child and elder care to be associated with higher turnover intention, more than did female participants. Male participants also perceived both work-life and life-work conflicts to be higher than did females for all patterns. These findings concur with those of Moen and Sweet (2002) who found men experienced less turnover than their female partners working in the same organisation. In addition, perceptions of women struggling to combine work and childcare is in keeping with the findings of Linehan and Walsh (2000; 2001), Ryan and Haslam (2005) and Somech and Drach-Zahavy (2007).

In general managers presented more positive views about flexible working than non managers. It is not clear whether this is due to positive experiences of managing flexible working or a greater understanding of the rationale behind work-life balance policies.

The findings on promotion show an overwhelming bias toward long hours and traditional working patterns, as well as strong gender differences. Male participants were more likely to promote long hours workers and less likely to promote those doing flexible working in order to cover childcare. However male targets using flexible working for childcare were more likely to be nominated for promotion than females using the same pattern. These findings support those of Houston and Waumsley (2003), Lane (2004) and Hooker et al., (2007) where a high level of concern was evident over flexible working damaging promotion prospects. However, the current findings add to these the negative demise of women struggling with child care and career commitments.

Overall our findings are consistent with recent research by Heilman and Okimoto, (2008) which also asked undergraduate students and working adults to evaluate hypothetical workers described in vignettes. They found that anticipated job commitment and anticipated achievement striving were negatively affected by parental status, in both men and women. Both mothers and fathers were expected to be less dependable than non parents and mothers in particular were perceived to be less competent in work related behaviour.

Of interest in our study and that of Heilman and Okimoto (2008) are the undergraduate attitudes, which are not coloured by current or specific organisational culture but preconceptions that are likely to be carried forward into the workplace. These are not only likely to perpetuate the long hours culture in the UK but to be of continuing detriment to women. Whilst general attitudes towards an organisational culture have been shown to be important in terms of uptake of flexible working options (Galinsky & Stein, 1990; Lewis & Taylor, 1996; Thompson et al., 1999) this study has highlighted that traditional views about women, work performance and working patterns still persist. Successful career women, as demonstrated in recent studies by Jones and Gittins (2009) and Ezzedeen and Ritchey (2009) suggest this success is achieved by long hours work when necessary.

Our findings indicate that flexible working practices will not necessarily change attitudes towards the patterns of work currently found in the UK, despite the governments initiate on work-life balance. Since the majority of employees using flexible working practices are women with childcare responsibilities there is a danger of exacerbating   a two-tier workforce and further widening the gender gap in the workplace: those who use flexible working practices (mainly women) and whose careers will not progress, and those who work long or regular hours, and who are professionally successful. Furthermore, the introduction of the statutory right to request flexible working hours from their employer for those with childcare responsibilities may only serve to widen the career gap between those who use flexible working (mostly women with childcare responsibilities) and others in the workplace.

Our study shows that working long hours is still viewed as one of the key ways of obtaining career success and flexible working hours are seen as detrimental to work performance and career progression. HR strategy should be to examine the impact of flexible working on individual performance, productivity and success. For many, work-life balance will only become a realistic option when we can demonstrate that working styles and patterns are unrelated to success, or, that flexibility is actually associated with these outcomes. Currently, it appears that flexible working, being female and having a successful career are still perceived by many to be incompatible.

*4.1 Limitations and Future Directions*

Our findings must be evaluated in light of limitations with regard to the generalisability of the vignette design. Hypothetical scenarios do not offer 'real' conditions and can, thus, skew attitudes and perceptions that may otherwise be different given inclusive circumstances of individual employees. The information provided about the target was purposely sparse and uncomplicated to enable us to clearly and precisely manipulate our independent variables. Conversely, though, this sparseness may have facilitated the use of stereotypes because of the absence of individuating information. Moreover, our studies all used a paper-and-pencil format, did not necessitate actual interaction between the subjects and those whom they were rating, and sometimes used single-item measures. These, too, are potential limitations of the research. It may be argued that the nature of the undergraduates work experience might limit the generalisations that we can make from the study 1 data. However, we put forward the argument that the attitudes shown by our results offer strong evidence that preconceptions about females in the workplace antedate graduates moving into full time employment. Given that similar attitudes were found in a 'real' workplace setting, it would also appear that pre-conceived workplace attitudes held by undergraduates, and attitudes held by more experienced employees in the workplace, are contrary to UK government initiatives.

All this strongly suggests that our concepts should be tested in ongoing workplace settings, perhaps by obtaining attitude ratings from males and females in different types of job categories and industries. Future research is needed to identify whether there are conditions under which flexible working can be undertaken without detriment to professional success, where professional success can be achieved without resorting to long hours of work, and where work-life balance can be obtained without compromise to either.

## References

Allen, T. D. (2001). Family-supportive work environments: The role of organizational perceptions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 58, 414-435.

Anderson, T., Forth, J., Metcalf, H., & Kirby, S. (2001). *The gender pay gap*. Women and Equality Unit (Cabinet Office), London.

Baruch, Y. & Winkelmann-Gleed, A. (2002). Multiple commitments: A conceptual framework and empirical investigation in a community health service trust. *British Journal of Management,* 13, 337–357.

BERR. (2007). Flexible working: The right to request and the duty to consider. [Online] Available: http://www.berr.gov.uk/employment-legislation/employment-guidance/page35663.html (August 8, 2008).

Bond, S. & Wise, S. (2003). Family leave policies and devolution to the line. *Personnel Review*, 32, 58-72.

Boshoff C. & Mels G. (2000). The impact of multiple commitments on intentions to resign: An empirical assessment. *British Journal of Management,* 11, 255–272.

Dierdorff, E.C. & Ellington, J.K. (2008). It's the nature of the work: examining behavior-based sources of work-family conflict across occupations. *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 93(4), 883–892.

DTI. (2009). Work-life Balance. [Online] Available: www.dti.gov.uk/work-life balance/   (September 1, 2009).

Duxbury, L. Higgins, C. & Lee, C. (1994). Work-family conflict (1994). *Journal of Family Issues*, 15, 449-466.

Ezzedeen, S.R. & Ritchey, K.G. (2009). Career advancement and family balance strategies of executive women. *Gender in Management,* 24(6), 388–411.

FedEE. (2008). The Federation of European Employees. [Online] Available: http://www.fedee.com/workinghours.shtml (August 1, 2008)

Galinsky, E. & Stein, P.J. (1990). The impact of human resource policies on employees. *Journal of Family Issues*, 11, .368-383.

Heilman, M.E. & Okimoto, T.G. (2008). Motherhood: A potential source of bias in employment decisions. *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 93, 189-198.

Hogarth, T., Hasluck, C., Pierre, G., Winterbotham, M., & Vivan, D. (2000). *Work-Life Balance 2000: Baseline study of work-life balance practices in Great Britain*. Institute for Employment Research, DfEE.

Hooker, H. Neathey, F. Casebourne, J & Munro, M. (2007). *The third work-life balance employee survey: Main*

*Findings*. Employment relations research series no. 58, DTI.

Houston, D.M. & Marks, G. (2002). *Paid and unpaid work in early parenthood.* End of award report to the Economic and Social Research Council. Report Number: L212252076. [Online] Available: http://www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk/ESRCInfoCentre/ViewOutputPage. (September 2, 2009)

Houston, D.M. & Marks, G. (2003). The Role of Planning and Workplace Support in Returning to Work after Maternity Leave. *British Journal of Industrial Relations, 41,* 197-214.

Houston, D.M. & Marks, G. (2005). Working, caring and sharing: Work-life dilemmas in early motherhood. In D.M. Houston (Ed.), *Work-life balance in the twenty-first century* (pp. 80–105) UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Houston, D.M., & Waumsley, J.A. (2003). *Attitudes to flexible working and family life.* Joseph Rowntree Foundation, UK: The Policy Press.

Jones, T. & Gittins, M. (2009). *High performing women: How women reach the top*. Lane 4 Publication, UK.

Katz, D. & Kahn, R.L. (1978). *The Social Psychology of Organisations.* Wiley, New York, NY.

Kossek, E. E., and Ozeki, C. (1999). Bridging the work-family policy productivity gap: a literature review. *Community, Work & Family,* 2, 7 - 32.

Lane, N. (2004). Women and part-time work: The careers of part-time NHS nurses. *British Journal of Management,* 15, 259–272.

Lewis, S, Taylor, K. (1996). Evaluating the impact of family-friendly employment policies: a case study, in Lewis, S, Lewis, J (Eds),*The Work-family Challenge: Rethinking Employment*. London: Sage.

LFS (2005). Labour Force Survey. Office for National Statistics, London.

Linehan, M. & Walsh, J.S. (2000). Work-family conflict and the senior female international manager. *British Journal of Management,* 11, S49-S58.

Linehan, M. & Walsh, J.S. (2001). Key issues in the senior female international career move: A qualitative study in a European context. *British Journal of Management,* 12, 85-95.

Mallon, M. & Cohen, L. (2001). Time for a change? Women's accounts of the move from organisational careers to self-employment. *British Journal of Management,* 12, 217–230.

Manning, A. & Petrongolo, B. (2004). *The part time pay penalty*, Women and Equality Unit, London.

McRae, S. (2003). Constraints and choices in mothers' employment careers: a consideration of Hakim's Preference Theory. *British Journal of Sociology,* 54, 317-338.

Moen, P. & Sweet, S. (2002). Two careers, one employer: Couples working for the same corporation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 61, 466-483.

Netemeyer, R.G., Boles, J.S., & McMurrian, R. (1996). Development and validation of work-family conflict and family-work conflict scales. *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 81, 400-410.

Powell, G. N., & Mainiero, L.A. (1999). Managerial decision making regarding alternative work arrangements. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology,* 72, 41-56.

Ryan, M.K. & Haslam, S.A. (2005). The glass cliff: Evidence that women are over-represented in precarious leadership positions. *British Journal of Management,* 16, 81–90.

Somech, A. & Drach-Zahavy, A. (2007). Strategies for coping with work-family conflict: The distinctive relationships of gender role ideology. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 12, 1-19.

Thompson, C.A., Beauvais, L.L. & Lyness, K.S. (1999). When work-family benefits are not enough: The influence of work-family culture on benefit utilization, organizational attachment, and work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 54, 392-415.

Turnipseed, D. & Rassuli, A. (2005). Performance perceptions of organizational citizenship behaviors at work: A bi-level study among managers and employees. *British Journal of Management,* 16, 231–244.

Van Dick, R., Christ, O., Stellmacher, J., Wagner, U., Ahlswede, O., Cornelia, G., Hauptmeier, M., Höhfeld, C., Moltzen, K., & Tissington, P. (2004). Should I stay or should I go? Explaining turnover intentions with organizational identification and job satisfaction. *British Journal of Management,* 15, 351–360.

Walby, S. & Olsen, W. (2002). *The impact of women's position in the labour market on pay and implications for UK productivity*. Women and Equality Unit, London.

Table 1. *Study 1: Multivariate and Univariate ANOVA Effects* of Different Work Patterns, Target of Worker and Gender of Worker

| Multivariate Effects | | Univariate Effect | F | *p* | Partial Eta Squared |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between Participants | (4,259df) | | | | |
| | Target Gender | | 1.353 | .251 | .020 |
| | Participant Gender | | .992 | .413 | .015 |
| | Target x Participant | | 1.502 | .202 | .023 |
| Within Participants | (20,243df) | (5,1310df) | | | |
| | Pattern | | 62.910 | <.001 | .838 |
| | | Performance | 228.715 | <.001 | .466 |
| | | Turnover | 11.721 | <.001 | .043 |
| | | Colleagues' Approval | 7.296 | <.001 | .027 |
| | | Work- life Balance | 334.125 | <.001 | .560 |
| | Pattern x Target | | 2.223 | .003 | .155 |
| | | Performance | 2.299 | .043 | .009 |
| | | Turnover | 3.585 | .003 | .013 |
| | | Colleagues' Approval | 3.189 | .007 | .012 |
| | | Work- life Balance | 1.732 | .124 | .007 |
| | Pattern x Gender | | 1.441 | .104 | .106 |
| | | Performance | 1.296 | .263 | .005 |
| | | Turnover | 2.646 | .022 | .010 |
| | | Colleagues' Approval | 1.957 | .082 | .007 |
| | | Work-life Balance | .712 | .615 | .003 |
| | Pattern x Target x Gender | | 2.135 | .004 | .149 |
| | | Performance | 1.683 | .136 | .006 |
| | | Turnover | 3.880 | .002 | .015 |
| | | Colleagues' Approval | 2.903 | .013 | .011 |
| | | Work-life Balance | 1.964 | .081 | .007 |

Table 2. *Study 1: Means for Evaluations of Different Work Patterns (Standard Deviations are Italicised).*

| Measure | Working Pattern | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | (Non Flexible) | | (Flexible plus….) | | | |
| | Long Hours | Regular Hours | Child-Care | Elderly-Care | Hockey | Music |
| Performance | 5.78[a] | 4.85[b] | 4.33[d] | 4.20[c] | 4.30[d] | 4.41[c] |
| | *0.88* | *0.71* | *0.68* | *0.64* | *0.67* | *0.61* |
| Turnover Intention | 3.36[b] | 3.38[b] | 3.39[b] | 3.67[a] | 3.73[a] | 3.72[a] |
| | *1.27* | *1.01* | *0.95* | *0.71* | *0.74* | *0.72* |
| Colleagues' Approval | 4.83[b] | 5.03[a] | 4.86[b] | 4.70[c] | 4.74[c] | 4.82[b] |
| | *0.71* | *0.78* | *0.73* | *0.66* | *0.71* | *0.71* |
| Work-Life Balance | 2.96[d] | 5.05[a] | 4.78[b] | 3.42[c] | 5.05[a] | 5.03[a] |
| | *0.97* | *0.82* | *0.93* | *0.83* | *0.76* | *0.79* |

Note: Means sharing a superscript within a row do not differ significantly.

Table 3. Study 2: *Multivariate and Univariate ANOVA Effects* of Work Patterns, Target and Role

| Multivariate Effects | Univariate Effect | F | p | Partial Eta Squared |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between Participants (5, 1044df) | (1,1048df) | | | |
| Participant Gender | | 11.152 | <.001 | .051 |
| | Perform | 16.441 | <.001 | .015 |
| | Turnover | .031 | .859 | <.001 |
| | Colleagues | 10.683 | .001 | .010 |
| | Work-Life | 24.808 | <.001 | .023 |
| | Life-Work | 49.266 | <.001 | .045 |
| Target Gender | | 3.052 | .010 | .014 |
| | Perform | 5.944 | .015 | .006 |
| | Turnover | .093 | .760 | <.001 |
| | Colleagues | 8.262 | .004 | .008 |
| | Work-Life | .695 | .405 | .001 |
| | Life-Work | 6.983 | .008 | .007 |
| Role Status | | 14.534 | <.001 | .065 |
| | Perform | .003 | .956 | <.001 |
| | Turnover | 1.702 | .192 | .002 |
| | Colleagues | 17.060 | <.001 | .016 |
| | Work-Life | .003 | .958 | <.001 |
| | Life-Work | 11.920 | .001 | .011 |
| Gender x Target | | .528 | .755 | .003 |
| Gender x Role | | 1.852 | .100 | .009 |
| Target x Role | | 1.227 | .294 | .006 |
| Gender x Target x Role | | .948 | .449 | .005 |
| Within Participants  (25, 1024df) | (5,5240df) | | | |
| Pattern | | 132.617 | <.001 | .764 |
| | Perform | 215.454 | <.001 | .171 |
| | Turnover | 84.288 | <.001 | .074 |
| | Colleagues | 48.784 | <.001 | .044 |
| | Work-Life | 347.460 | <.001 | .249 |
| | Life-Work | 585.669 | <.001 | .359 |
| Pattern x Gender | | 1.945 | .004 | .045 |
| | Perform | 3.164 | .007 | .003 |
| | Turnover | 7.633 | <.001 | .007 |
| | Colleagues | 0.379 | .863 | <.001 |
| | Work-Life | 3.432 | .004 | .003 |
| | Life-Work | 4.006 | .001 | .004 |
| Pattern x Target | | 3.396 | <.001 | .077 |
| | Perform | 1.623 | .150 | .002 |
| | Turnover | 6.878 | <.001 | .007 |
| | Colleagues | 0.406 | .845 | <.001 |
| | Work-Life | 5.088 | <.001 | .005 |
| | Life-Work | 3.576 | .003 | .003 |
| Pattern x Role | | 6.386 | <.001 | .135 |
| | Perform | 17.668 | <.001 | .017 |
| | Turnover | 28.650 | <.001 | .027 |
| | Colleagues | 7.078 | <.001 | .007 |
| | Work-Life | 17.327 | <.001 | .016 |
| | Life-Work | 10.170 | <.001 | .010 |
| Pattern x Gender x Target | | 1.117 | .314 | .027 |
| Pattern x Gender x Role | | 1.243 | .190 | .029 |
| Pattern x Target x Role | | 1.292 | .153 | .031 |
| Pattern x Gender x Target x Role | | 1.465 | .066 | .035 |

Table 4. Means and Standard Deviations for the Main Effect of Work Pattern and its Interactions with Gender Target and Role.

| Dependent Variable | Pattern | | Gender Male 473 | | Female 583 | | Target Male 510 | | Female 546 | | Role Manager 631 | | Non Manager 425 | | Total 1056 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Performance | Long Hours | | 5.37 | 1.097 | 5.18 | 1.099 | 5.33 | 1.126 | 5.39 | 1.116 | 5.24 | 1.081 | 5.53 | 1.157 | 5.36 | 1.121 |
| | Regular | | 5.03 | 0.890 | 5.04 | 0.936 | 4.98 | 0.876 | 5.10 | 9.52 | 4.92 | 0.896 | 5.21 | .918 | 5.04 | .915 |
| | Childcare | | 4.61 | 0.955 | 4.84 | 0.907 | 4.71 | 0.925 | 4.77 | 0.943 | 4.81 | 0.873 | 4.64 | 1.014 | 4.74 | .936 |
| | Elder Care | | 4.26 | 0.919 | 4.49 | 0.911 | 4.36 | 0.903 | 4.41 | 0.939 | 4.47 | .901 | 4.26 | .938 | 4.39 | .921 |
| | Hockey | | 4.46 | 0.971 | 4.76 | 0.940 | 4.47 | 0.981 | 4.68 | 0.928 | 4.64 | 0.908 | 4.48 | 1.025 | 4.58 | 0.960 |
| | Music | | 4.51 | 0.925 | 4.74 | 0.879 | 4.60 | 0.891 | 4.67 | 0.923 | 4.67 | .871 | 4.58 | .958 | 4.64 | .908 |
| Turnover | Long Hours | | 3.90 | 1.468 | 4.17 | 1.535 | 4.12 | 1.526 | 3.98 | 1.494 | 4.37 | 1.280 | 3.57 | 1.568 | 4.05 | 1.511 |
| | Regular | | 3.25 | 1.145 | 3.53 | 1.235 | 3.48 | 1.212 | 3.33 | 1.192 | 3.46 | 1.151 | 3.32 | 1.272 | 3.40 | 1.203 |
| | Child Care | | 3.26 | 1.126 | 3.07 | 1.115 | 3.04 | 1.103 | 3.26 | 1.133 | 3.11 | 1.084 | 3.23 | 1.176 | 3.16 | 1.123 |
| | Elder Care | | 3.47 | 1.077 | 3.28 | 1.072 | 3.27 | 1.074 | 3.45 | 1.076 | 3.30 | 1.036 | 3.46 | 1.132 | 3.36 | 1.078 |
| | Hockey | | 3.90 | 1.223 | 3.86 | 1.234 | 3.93 | 1.261 | 3.82 | 1.228 | 3.81 | 1.194 | 3.97 | 1.31 | 3.87 | 1.244 |
| | Music | | 3.68 | 1.161 | 3.56 | 1.082 | 3.56 | 1.111 | 3.67 | 1.125 | 3.56 | 1.099 | 3.69 | 1.145 | 3.62 | 1.119 |
| Colleagues | Long Hours | | 4.55 | 1.135 | 4.63 | 1.232 | 4.55 | 1.145 | 4.64 | 1.175 | 4.44 | 1.093 | 4.82 | 1.232 | 4.59 | 1.166 |
| | Regular | | 4.99 | 0.937 | 5.08 | 1.047 | 4.97 | 0.986 | 5.11 | 1.001 | 4.93 | 0.948 | 5.21 | 1.042 | 5.04 | 0.996 |
| | Child Care | | 4.68 | 1.032 | 4.75 | 1.049 | 4.65 | 1.035 | 4.78 | 1.041 | 4.62 | 1.006 | 4.86 | 1.077 | 4.72 | 1.041 |
| | Elder Care | | 4.49 | 0.985 | 4.62 | 1.024 | 4.52 | 0.986 | 4.61 | 1.028 | 4.55 | 0.977 | 4.59 | 1.053 | 4.56 | 1.008 |
| | Hockey | | 4.50 | 0.991 | 4.67 | 1.041 | 4.54 | 0.986 | 4.65 | 1.058 | 4.59 | 0.984 | 4.61 | 1.077 | 4.60 | 1.022 |
| | Music | | 4.55 | 0.924 | 4.72 | 0.968 | 4.55 | 0.956 | 4.73 | 0.946 | 4.62 | 0.889 | 4.68 | 1.038 | 4.64 | 0.952 |
| Work Life | Long Hours | | 4.39 | 1.868 | 4.40 | 1.996 | 4.58 | 1.927 | 4.23 | 1.936 | 4.65 | 1.863 | 4.03 | 1.992 | 4.40 | 1.936 |
| | Regular | | 2.48 | 1.224 | 2.32 | 1.243 | 2.45 | 1.275 | 2.33 | 1.194 | 2.44 | 1.189 | 2.32 | 1.302 | 2.39 | 1.236 |
| | Child Care | | 3.30 | 1.428 | 2.91 | 1.348 | 3.04 | 1.416 | 3.14 | 1.386 | 3.00 | 1.251 | 3.22 | 1.456 | 3.09 | 1.397 |
| | Elder Care | | 4.04 | 1.341 | 3.64 | 1.442 | 3.76 | 1.432 | 3.87 | 1.390 | 3.74 | 1.293 | 3.94 | 1.430 | 3.82 | 1.411 |
| | Hockey | | 2.79 | 1.259 | 2.50 | 1.226 | 2.63 | 1.263 | 2.63 | 1.238 | 2.56 | 1.155 | 2.74 | 1.371 | 2.65 | 1.246 |
| | Music | | 3.15 | 1.202 | 2.84 | 1.211 | 3.01 | 1.225 | 2.95 | 1.209 | 2.89 | 1.185 | 3.10 | 1.253 | 2.98 | 1.216 |
| Life-Work | Long Hours | | 1.95 | 1.256 | 1.76 | 1.211 | 1.85 | 1.211 | 1.85 | 1.177 | 1.81 | 1.118 | 1.90 | 1.295 | 1.85 | 1.193 |
| | Regular | | 2.19 | 1.070 | 2.01 | 1.034 | 2.12 | 1.083 | 2.07 | 1.026 | 2.17 | 1.044 | 1.98 | 1.1058 | 2.09 | 1.054 |
| | Child Care | | 3.73 | 1.582 | 3.18 | 1.497 | 3.56 | 1.577 | 3.30 | 1.534 | 3.30 | 1.511 | 3.61 | 1.614 | 3.43 | 1.559 |
| | Elder Care | | 4.41 | 1.467 | 3.86 | 1.606 | 4.17 | 1.595 | 4.05 | 1.540 | 3.88 | 1.543 | 4.44 | 1.549 | 4.11 | 1.569 |
| | Hockey | | 3.49 | 1.557 | 3.01 | 1.526 | 3.39 | 1.624 | 3.06 | 1.477 | 3.09 | 1.504 | 3.41 | 1.616 | 3.22 | 1.557 |
| | Music | | 3.55 | 1.439 | 3.04 | 1.350 | 3.37 | 1.417 | 3.18 | 1.403 | 3.18 | 1.267 | 3.40 | 1.468 | 3.27 | 1.412 |

Note SDs are italicised. Pairwise comparisons between levels of a between participants factor: $+.05 > .001$, $*p < .001$.
Pairwise differences between patterns within a dependent variable are denoted by different superscripts

Table 5. Differences in Promotion Recommendations as a Function of Work Pattern and Gender, Target or Role.

| Work Pattern Promoted | Independent Variables | | Total | Pearson's r | Chi Square |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gender of Participant | | | | |
| | Male | Female | | | |
| Long Hours | 46.6 | 39.2 | 42.6 | .074 | 5.482* |
| Regular Hours | 24.2 | 26.8 | 25.6 | .030 | 0.869 |
| Child Care | 12.5 | 19.0 | 16.0 | .087 | 7.583** |
| Elder Care | 4.4 | 3.3 | 3.8 | .027 | 0.738 |
| Hockey | 4.8 | 4.6 | 4.7 | .004 | 0.019 |
| Music | 7.5 | 7.1 | 7.3 | .008 | 0.061 |
| | Gender of Target | | | | |
| | Male | Female | | | |
| Long Hours | 41.8 | 43.3 | 42.6 | .015 | 0.232 |
| Regular Hours | 24.1 | 26.1 | 25.6 | .012 | 0.137 |
| Child Care | 18.4 | 13.7 | 16.0 | .064 | 4.076* |
| Elder Care | 4.3 | 3.3 | 3.8 | .026 | 0.694 |
| Hockey | 3.5 | 5.9 | 4.7 | .056 | 3.071 |
| Music | 6.8 | 7.6 | 7.3 | .016 | 0.245 |
| | Role | | | | |
| | Managerial | Non-managerial | | | |
| Long Hours | 36.7 | 50.8 | 42.6 | .141 | 19.678*** |
| Regular Hours | 25.9 | 25.2 | 25.6 | .008 | .059 |
| Child Care | 19.0 | 11.9 | 16.0 | .095 | 9.045** |
| Elder Care | 3.6 | 4.1 | 3.8 | .013 | 0.161 |
| Hockey | 6.4 | 2.4 | 4.7 | .092 | 8.381** |
| Music | 8.4 | 5.6 | 7.3 | .055 | 2.974 |

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

# The UltraS: An Emerging Social Movement?

Dr. Alberto Testa (Corresponding author)

School of Sport and Education, Brunel University

London UB8 3PH, UK

Tel: 44-0-18-952-67382      E-mail: a.testa@brunel.ac.uk

**Abstract**

In recent years, there has been a rise in the conflict between the Italian police forces and football fans. This situation is a result of the resurgence of the UltraS (the S capital is a neologism of this study to suggest neo-fascist oriented fans' and to differentiate them from the wider hardcore football supporters -ultra'). However, despite their popularity among the Italian *curve* (football terraces*)*, the UltraS have been the subject of fairly little ethnographic research. This paper is the result of ethnographic research conducted continuously between 2003-2006 and updated from 2007 to the first part of 2009. The research sought to evaluate the UltraS phenomenon via an examination of the internal and external dynamics of two nationally well-known groups located in the Italian capital of Rome (the Italian centre of the political power). The groups are the *Boys Roma* and the *Irriducibili* of Lazio who enact their performances on their respective curve (football terraces) of the city's Olympic stadium. The present paper argues that the ideological alliance between the UltraS of Lazio and Roma (followed as example by other UltraS groups throughout Italy) , the death of Lazio fan Gabriele Sandri in 2007 (and concomitant violent UltraS' reaction against the police) together with the existence of the *UltraS Italia* (a national organisation which unites the main Italian Ultras groups) are all elements that signify the beginning of a common meaningful opposition to the perceived repressive Italian State. Most importantly these elements appears indicating the UltraS as an emerging social movement.

**Keywords:** UltraS, Fascism, Football, Social movement, Mobilization

## 1. Introduction

*Since the beginning of our constitution, we have had clear ideas about politics in the stadium. We believe it cannot be avoided, because every man, hence, every UltraS, has his own ideals and beliefs, and it seems right that especially in this place of aggregation he can manifest them* (Juventude Crociata -Crusade Youth), (Note 1)

Neo-fascist manifestations are not new phenomena in the Italian *curve*. However the UltraS, as they exist today, are different to those who preceded them. The above statement of the *Juventude Crociata*, an UltraS group of Padova, well represents the progressive sense of ideologisation of the Italian *curve*. This study argues that there are adequate ideological, behavioural and cultural elements manifest in the *UltraS* to conceive them- similar to the arguments of Gentry (2004) regarding gatherings of extreme right skinheads- as manifestations of an emerging social movement.

Taylor (in Klandermans and Mayer 2006) argues that social movements never originate from a vacuum but they arise from precedent experiences. The UltraS would support this claim and indeed find their roots in both the Italian youth neo-fascist and the hardcore football supporters movements (Note 2). However, before delving into the UltraS as Social Movement hypothesis, it is fruitful to outline their historical emergence. What follows illustrates the UltraS origin from the wider Italian hardcore supporters (ultrá) (Note 3) and allows us to see how the *UltraS* constitute at least in part a particular response by one section of Italian youth towards the social, cultural and political restrictions that they encounter within the broader social system.

## 2. Ultrá to the UltraS

The UltraS grew out of ultrá gatherings. The term ultrá was used to indicate generically (regardless of political orientation) all hardcore Italian football fans (invariably males between the ages of 16 and 40) that manifest behaviours that at times exceed that considered the 'norm' in linguistics, bodily comportment and ultimately violent practices. The word finds its etymology in French political discourse. During the Restoration period (1815–1830) the word *ultrá-royaliste* indicated partisan loyalty to the Absolute Monarchy. The *ultrá-royaliste* championed the interests of property-owners, the nobility and clericalists. They were the supporters of authority and royal tradition in contraposition

to the philosophies of human rights and individual freedoms proseletysed by followers of the Enlightenment.

During the 1950s Italian football was characterised by a - generally - relaxed and informal football fan culture. Fan club offices were places to buy match tickets and gather with the like-minded to collectively listen to the state radio match commentary when the team played outside the town. The football match was a parochial town event; it was a social gathering and whilst episodes of violence were present they never acquired tragic tones. Aggressive acts were often remarkably comical; umbrellas were occasionally thrown at referees by furious fans. There were, on occasion, scuffles between opposing fans usually around long-standing district and regional rivalries and, sometimes fights were evidenced amongst groups supporting the same team over both on-the-pitch incidents (Cf. Roversi, 1992). In this era, violence in the stadium was not correlated to notions of a 'social problem'. Acts of supporter intemperance and aggression were explained as individual predispositions or as a result of the match events causing mass distemper (Le Bon 1895; Zimbardo 1969).

The chronology of the appearance of such ultrá (hardcore football fans) groupings is hotly debated. While Roversi (1992) argued that the first violent clashes between Italian rival fans occurred during the 1970s, the English sociologists from the Leicester University Centre for Football Research criticise this native-born assertion, claiming that such episodes have occurred since the origin of modern Italian football and cite an event in 1959 during a Napoli versus Bologna match when 65 people were injured following a pitch invasion. This dissertation favours the interpretation of Roversi whilst accepting that the debate arises out of a misunderstanding of that considered fan intemperance to that which defines the presence and practices of those considered ultrá. The late 1960s are the crucial fulcrum between these two paradigms.

The first half of the 1970s witnessed large sectors of Italian youth, from diverse social classes, practicing a form of socio-political insubordination. When combined with an exaggerated hostility against any form of authority and the elaboration of stylistic (subcultural) peculiarities a general juvenile tumultuousness was manifest. In this temporal frame emerged the hardcore ultrá football supporter gatherings in and around the football stadium. According to Italian sociologist De Biasi (1993), this extreme form of support was novel to Italy and intentionally innovative, rebellious and carnivalesque. The appeal of such gatherings to Italian youth at the end of the 70s was a sign that Italian politics (and trade unions) had lost any monopoly they may once have had of mobilising both youthful and general public opinion and indeed their behaviours (Triani, 1994). In a 1975 poll conducted by the Italian magazine *Panorama,* Italian youth were found to be generally in favour of leftist ideology (86,8%) with just 7% favouring the right and a mere 6% claiming to be moderates (cited in Marchi, 1994). The majority of the football *curve* also proclaimed a tendency towards left-wing ideology.

A geo-political logic was evident between place and belief. Ideological divisions of Italian society, reflected in cities and regions, were usually mirrored in the political sympathies manifest at the local football stadia. The Veneto region, customarily hostile to communist ideology, saw the majority of their football supporters sympathetic to either the conservative Christian Democrats or to neo-fascist parties. In this era one could find Left-wing hardcore football fans groups included the AC Milan *Brigate Rossonere* (Red-Blacks Brigades), and the *Brigate gialloblue* (Yellow-Blue Brigades) of Modena. On the opposite side, it was possible to find the Verona's *Brigate Gialloblu* (Yellow-Blue Brigades), and the *Boys SAN* of Inter–Milan (constituted by members of the *Fronte della Gioventu* –the Youth Front Organisation of the Italian neo-fascist party *Movimento Sociale Italiano*). These groups together with the *Boys Roma* can be considered the first manifestation of what this study indentifies as the UltraS movement.

Apart few exceptions mentioned earlier, the hardcore football fandom of the 1970s was not meaningfully political. Grispigni (1993) argues that the 'death' of politics and the associated disillusionment were characteristics of Italian youth of the time:' *which returning from the disappointment of the movement of protest of 1968 and 1977 transferred the generational conflict from the political to the sports arena* ' (quoted in Triani 1994, p. 75). The youthful pursuit of collective identification, excitement and conflict were to be satisfied henceforth in the football context via identification with colours, symbols and territories of football-related belonging. This pursuit could be very consequential.

*2.1 The Rise of the UltraS*

On the 28th of October 1979 a petard fired from the *curva sud* by Roma supporters during the Rome derby killed a Lazio supporter named Vincenzo Paparelli (Cf. Mariottini, 2004). The same day, football-related violence occurred in the cities of Ascoli, Milan and Brescia causing many injuries and widespread criminal damage. This was an important date for Italian football; football spectators' violence from now became a key issue in media discourse, state institutions and public opinion. The latter called for repressive measures from the State to eradicate the *teppisti'* (ruffians). Many house searches of suspects were subsequently made by the police targeting the most notorious individuals. Headquarters of hardcore football fans groups were raided and banners, drums and choreographic materials seized (Borghini, 1987).

The escalation of the hardcore football fans' violence, between the seventies and early eighties, indicates transformations in the movement during the second phase of its development. It was in the eighties that the Italian hardcore football fans movement reached its apex for participants and episodes of violence. The development of a

complex of friendships and rivalries regulated at first glance by the logic of the 'Bedouin Syndrome' ensured ostensibly that the friends of an ally became friends, and the enemies of an ally were enemies. (Bruno, cited in Marchi, 1994). This simplistic formula was, however, open to challenge arising out of historical antecedents and personal and political negotiations. The organising took on new dimensions. The exacerbation of security measures – such as CCTV surveillance and hand-held metal detectors at stadium entrances – manifested most notably a 'militarisation' of the stadium. Stadia took on the appearance of a fortress with police surrounding the vicinities and parading internally in large numbers clad in riot gear. This forced a polarisation of groups in the hardcore football fans gatherings that had hitherto co-existed. While the policing impositions reduced episodes of violence in the stadium a 'dislocation effect' saw a concomitant rise in violence outside the stadium in town centres, railway stations and tube stations (Roversi, 1992).

The 1980s ended with serious incidents of fans violence (Marinelli & Pili, 2000). In 1988 during an Ascoli versus Inter-Milan match, Nazareno Filippini was killed by a group of Inter Milan hardcore fans having been repeatedly struck by kicks and punches. On the June 4th 1989 during a Milan versus Roma game, a Roma supporter Antonio De Falchi died of a heart attack following an assault carried out by rivals from Milan. Amongst the traditional factions, younger formations appeared who celebrated their boundary breaking. By the mid-1980s new gatherings had joined the *curve*. These were the *cani sciolti* ('mug wumps') a neologism which equates to 'Hot Heads', i.e., those difficult to control - a term applied to youngsters by the organised ultrá groups (Vincenti, 2000).These youngsters did not recognise themselves in any pre-existing fan groups – nor did they seek such a correlation - and did not collaborate with pre-existing supporter formations. They did not originate out of schisms within the established groups; they were autonomous from all pre-existing fan constitutions. The majority of this new demographic, invariably aged between 14-16 years, was lacking in political consciousness and had little historical knowledge of the ultrá movement. These gatherings were significant in being more interested in self presentation than preserving links that stressed historical solidarity and wider group cohesion (Roversi, 1992). Having no pre-existing social framework from which to learn or act; theirs was a clean slate but one that was on occasion more vicious in its form of opposition, and less responsive to those who shared their football loyalties.

The new *curve* formations represented an Italian society that during the 1980s celebrated individualism, self-indulgence and ostentation. As a consequence the era saw a refusal in much of its young generation to engage or participate in matters that were political or required a sense of dedication. The nomenclature of the curva groups reflected this ethos. Names with political connotations were substituted by those linked to psychological conditions and drug and alcohol consumption. Example of these gatherings were the *Sconvolts* (Deranged) and *Kolletivo Alcoolico* (Alcoholic Group) *Wild Kaos* and *Arancia Meccanica* (Clockwork Orange- from the controversial 1971 Stanley Kubrick film with its dystopian vision of violence nihilism)( Note 4). The dislike and opposition to such metamorphosis was showed in the constitution of groups in the more notorious *curve* such as Roma, Milan, Bergamo, Naples and Genova which took on them the title *Vecchia Guardia* (Old Guards). The UltraS groups continued the cult of masculine 'hardness', quasi-military organisation, and attachment to territory but added values now more meaningful based in the doctrines of fascism**.** Neo-fascist philosophy gained the same revolutionary significance as the communist ideology once had with its myths, particularly those around Che Guevara. From the early 1990s *UltraS* groups throughout Italy started to display more and more on their banners common emblems or mottos related to neo-fascism (Marchi, 1994).The *Boys Roma*, and others like them in Cagliari, Palermo, Sora, and Turris used the two-edged axe symbol of *Ordine Nuovo* (New Order) as an identifier.

That such displays were evident in and around football should not surprise a reader. The 1990s were a decade of profound political and economic crisis for Italy. An entire political system was falling apart under the acts of *Tangentopoli* (Bribesbille) (Note 5); public opinion was tiring of corrupt politicians. The electorate punished the distrusted political parties which were decimated in the corruption inquiries of the Italian magistrates. Sentiments of political renewal were represented by extreme parties such as the *Movimento Sociale Italiano* (Italian Social Movement) that subsequently became *Alleanza Nazionale* (National Alliance) in 1995, or by new political parties such as the *Lega Nord* (founded in 1996) and Silvio Berlusconi's *Forza Italia* founded in 1994 (Pagani, 2003). Both parties have recently (in 2009) merged in the newly constituted *Partito delle Libertá* (Freedom Party) chaired by Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. The era also saw the increased popularity of national revolutionary movements on the extreme right spectrum such as *Forza Nuova* (New Force) and *Fronte Nazionale Sociale* (National Social Front), and the reaffirmation of extreme left ideological parties such as *Rifondazione Communista*.

At the moment of writing (2009), the extent and diffusion throughout Italy of gatherings that share the same *Irriducibili* and *Boys'* ideology and logic is remarkable (see Table1). In 2009, the *National Observatory on Sport Events* of the Italian Minister of the Interior (Note 6) confirmed the existence of 58 UltraS groupings and circa 15000 members throughout Italy. The UltraS are, thus, a relatively large nation-wide grouping that interacts across regions. Whilst they are not a threat to parliamentary democracy, their very existence is a stain on the Italian body politic. The political concern that they carry with them is two-fold; they are prepared for violence and they are unpredictable having unknown potential.

### 3. The UltraS Collective Identity

Over the past 20 years it has been possible to witness in the *curve* not only a rise in ideologisation but a concomitant increase in UltraS' politicisation. Simi et al. (2004) stress the main elements of the process of politicization which can be applied to the UltraS namely the belief in the possibility to resist /change things for a common cause. For the UltraS the common cause is predominantly their very survival, having common opponents (these are the police, media and football institutions); resorting to tactics such as 'supporters' strike' (where they refuse to support the football teams during the match to voice their discontent). Further shared elements are willingness to violence, public protest campaigns and a recognisable organisation, which in the last two years is starting to emerge into the newly found *UltraS Italia* (see later). The politicisation process among the UltraS marks the development of their collective identity; an important attribute of any social movement. Collective identity is a sense of 'we' based on cohesion and solidarity around which individuals act (Cf. Simi et al. 2004; Klandesmans 1997). Traditional rivalries among the UltraS groups, as this study indicated, can be forgotten to resist a perceived persecution of the State against their common way of life.

The capital of Italy, Rome, can be considered a good example about the capability of the *UltraS* in their struggle against the Italian State. The UltraS of Roma and Lazio have gradually preferred the resistance against the State, its repressive laws and the police, to 'ordinary' clash against rival fans. Whilst aware of differences, 'Marco' of the Boys underlines the *cameratismo* (comradeship) between the two gatherings of the Boys and Irriducibili while indicating at the same time the common ideological based logic:

*The leader of our group had a personal friendship, based also on the same ideological outlook of life, with one of the Irriducibili leader. When he died in 2005 all the Direttivo* [management board] *of the Irriducibili attended his funeral and raised their hands doing the roman salute in sign of respect. We are more explicit and openly political than the Irriducibili. We produced a banner stating 'No American peace on my land!!' We are anti-Nato* [they do not want American Bases in Italy]. *We are against Italian soldiers in Iraq; we do not want to waste Italian blood for an American war'*

Similar dynamics are emerging among *other UltraS throughout* Italy. Few in Italy would ever imagine the possibility of the hardcore *tifosi* (fans) of Juventus and Roma sitting together in the stadium and watching a football match. This is actually happening with the *UltraS Italia* who gather to watch and support the national team as the symbol of the concept of *Patria*. In 2009, I asked 'Todde'of the Boys, who had recently been involved with the group, about the *UltraS Italia*. Namely, I questioned if there were aspects in this group to consider the *UltraS Italia* as an expression of the ability of the *UltraS* to organise themselves at a national level. The answer was positive; he told me that currently the number of the members was approximately 600 and that the *camerati* of Lazio, Roma and Inter had recently joined the project. Other members were drawn from Juventus, Ascoli, Verona, Udine, Trieste, Napoli, Genova and elsewhere. In 'Todde's analysis the same logic valid to explain the *Irriducibili* and the *Boys*, was valid for the *UltraS Italia*. Even if many of the members were neo-fascist sympathisers they considered themselves autonomous from any political party. The national mobilization of the UltraS, which is pertinent to their being considered a social movement, is manifest by their 'direct' actions. Direct action takes several forms. At its most 'primitive' it is exercised by banners containing messages of accusation and defiance displayed in the stadium. At a high level it is evidenced by social campaigns aimed to what the UltraS perceive as 'just'. Direct action is also demonstrated at an organizational level via their radio programs that proselytise and propagate their ideas against the 'system'. Whilst these typologies have become a constant 'background noise', when the issue is considered meriting, *the* UltraS can mobilise and attack the State.

Although I cannot affirm yet that the UltraS structures and connections are formally delineated among the groups, the sense of an emerging movement is present and is certainly based on a common foe and a common strategy of opposition. In 2007, the death of the Lazio UltraS Gabriele Sandri (Gasport, 2007) - killed by a police officer who intervened to control a fight between Juventus and Lazio fans at a petrol station near Arezzo- provoked an unprecedented violent reaction expressed by UltraS groups throughout Italy. UltraS from Atalanta, Taranto, Fiorentina, AC Milan, Inter Milan, Parma, Torino, and Juventus attacked police and police properties in protest both against the killing but also in rage against the militarisation of the football stadia and the cumulative repressive measures the Italian state had undertaken against them. A common theme of the chants was *'Polizia Assassini'* (Police - Murderers); graffiti on Milan and Rome walls threatened revenge upon police. In Rome the reaction of the Roma and Lazio UltraS in the streets of the Capital - assisted by the clumsy decision of the authorities to cancel the AS Roma-Cagliari match a few hours before its beginning –was extremely violent. Some 20 police officers were injured in the disturbances. At the time of the disorder four *UltraS* were arrested and charged with offences pertaining to terrorism. In March 2008 a further 16 Lazio *UltraS* were arrested in police raids in connection with the events (Note 7). The same year during the match Triestina-Rimini in *Curva Furlan* was displayed a banner to honour Sandri and the UltraS of Lazio (Note 8).

The disorders, which followed Sandri's death, were in the words of the former Italian Minister of Interior, Giuliano Amato, a manifestation of *'a blind rage, led by madly criminal minds subversive against the police, its vehicles and its symbols'* (Radioradicale, 2007). Amato informed the Parliament of planned disorder, subversive articulations, and

diversionary tactics employed by those seeking *'to attract the police and Carabinieri around CONI (Italian Olympic Committee), to leave unattended the police barracks with the intention of making their attack easier'* (Radioradicale, 2007). In this case the behaviour of the Italian police force was exemplary. The police could have reacted and shot; in one instance the UltraS attacked the *Maurizio Giglio* barrack which was full of weapons, ammunition and vehicles; the law allowed them to shoot in that circumstance to protect the public but with great skills and professionalism they avoided the tragedy (Bonini, 2009).The images of the riots, globally broadcasted, were not good for the reputation of Italy.

## 4. Deprivation: as reason of the UltraS mobilization?

The identification of the UltraS as an emerging social movement does not end our attempt to complete a macro analysis of the phenomenon. The task of the researcher remains one of trying to understand the emergence of a social movement. One answer may lie in the Relative Deprivation Theory (RDT), a construct which, according to Walker and Smith (2001), is a compelling topic for research and is employed in various ways to make sense of the rise of a variety of collective identities and social movements.

RDT argues that: *whenever groups find a benchmark that implies they could or should be better off than they are, a condition of relative deprivation exists and a psychological strain (cognitive dissonance) triggers participation in collective behavior* (Buechler quoted in Snow et.al., 2004, p. 49). Deprivation- or the sense of deprivation - is a condition that has resonance in both the individual and the socio-cultural setting. According to the RDT, when groups develop legitimate expectations (in the case of the UltraS the main expectations are to be present and voice their beliefs in the stadium while keeping control of the *curve*) and- at the same time- a conviction that these expectations will never be satisfied (in the case of the UltraS their expectations are strongly opposed by the Italian State via tough repression policies and legislation), they may develop a cognitive dissonance that focuses on feelings of prejudice and discrimination (Morrison, 1971). This condition, in a power-oriented movement such as that of the UltraS, can lead to forms of resistance which may comprised of violence but also staging demonstrations and lobbying the Italian parliament.

The RDT highlights the elements that may lead to the emergence of such movements, as well as providing reasons for their consolidation. Research consequently should be aimed at investigating the objective conditions that lead to discontent and, ultimately, action (Kornhauser 1959; Davies 1971).

The UltraS have always considered their cause legitimate; furthermore they consider the *curve* their territories upon and within which they have the right to voice their opinions and ideology. The recent and sudden escalation of tougher laws and State repression have promoted a perception among them of blocked expectation and a concomitant sense of outrage around notions of injustice and inequity. Such sense of grievance increasingly leads the UltraS to see themselves as societal 'outcasts' and foster conflict with the State and the media; the latter, according to the groups, have sided with the State-oppressor. Consequently the group rhetoric of stigma and discrimination have increased. At the same time, such feeling is not necessarily negative in the immediate sense of the gatherings and in the wider sense of the movement. Klandermans and Mayer (2006), focusing on youth neo-fascist gatherings, highlight different ways of coping with discrimination all of which are applicable to different degree to the UltraS. Among the most relevant is 'social creativity', whereby the groups respond by defining themselves as superior to others (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). The UltraS*'* feeling of superiority towards other hardcore supporters is evidenced considering themselves as 'pure' not polluted like the 'others' by the commercialized logic of modern *calcio*, where mercenaries (players) are idolized. In comparison to the 'ordinary' youth; they stress their 'elitism' and 'superior' values. They feel their ethical stance justifies and makes bearable the perceived social stigma; it is 'morally' worth it. However, the key strategy to cope with discrimination/stigma lies in what Klandermans and Mayer (2006) define as social support and feelings of belonging. The ideological and cultural traits based on ideology that make the UltraS feel strong are also able to create a similar feeling of belonging and strength throughout the movement. As Todde argues: *although there was an attempt to organise ourselves at national level before Sandri's death* [he refers to the first emergence of a national group called Vikings Italia] *after Sandri's death and the injustice carried out against one of us, there are more interactions among all the groups, one of the result is the UltraS Italia.* On the occasion of Sandri's death for the first time, many UltraS throughout Italy displayed banners in their stadium and wrote about the death on their websites in honour of both Sandri and in solidarity with the UltraS of SS Lazio.

There may be, however, another facet of the UltraS' grievance that deserves evaluation: this relates to the UltraS nature of an 'extreme' youth movement. The pervasive sense of dissatisfaction by the Italian youth is mostly related to the legitimate expectations by youth of an efficient political class that works in their interest.Traditionally the Italian politics has been unsympathetic and blind to youth. The UltraS do not trust Italian politics and of course oppose it. Such anti-politics discourses were a common and persisting pattern in many interactions I had with the UltraS and are diffused in the whole movement. As youth, the UltraS do not miss any chance to declare their dislike for Italian politics and their incompetent youth policies; this hostility is well represented in the following 'Marco' statement: '*I do not like*

*politics and do not follow it!! I am an extra-parliamentary; I follow the Third Position - the 'revolutionary' position. The Italian system is putrid; if the tree is sick to the root it cannot give good fruits. The problems are not the fruits that need to be changed but the tree that needs to be eradicated or at least cured. Sometimes I agree with Bertinotti* [the leader of the extreme left party *Rifondazione Communista,* and former president of the Chamber of Deputies]. *The extreme left and right converge on some issues...'*

The term 'putrid' used by Marco can be considered a fair representation of the mood of the youth of the *curve,* an important part of the Italian youth. In 2009, the international organization *Transparency International* polled Italians to determine what they believed to be the most corrupt organization in the country. Astonishingly, 44% of the participants indicated the Italian political parties (La Repubblica –online- 03 June, 2009).The Italian journalist Bosetti in his article '*why is the political power in the hands of the old?'* (2008) argued that the current Italian political class is based on *gerontocrazia* (democracy by elders); young politicians are still underrepresented and not in key places to exercise power. Moreover, according to Abravanel (2008), Italy is far from achieving the requisite of any just society -namely having a system based on meritocracy. In Italy a career , especially in State controlled domains, is accomplished because of personal recommendations and seniority that, according to Abravanel , greatly de-motivates the youth.

In addition, Italian sociologist Carboni (2008) in his most recent study about Italian political class affirms that in the Italian parliament individuals of poor political skills but loyal to the party function merely to reinforce the leadership which has chosen them. Too Many MPs still are old professional politicians. According to Della Loggia (2008), Italy is also a country existing on political immobility, a society fragmented and lacking a strong political institutional framework. A country which has a significant public debt and which instead of introducing much needed reforms related to education, health and justice - to name but a few- is instead blocked by litigious local and national leaders who promote *de facto* a system based on political parties and not on people. Furthermore, Italy is the country wherein governments regardless of political line are unable to erase organised crime in the regions of the South; not by chance these regions experience higher unemployment rates among youth (Note 9). Roberto Saviano (2007), a young and courageous Italian journalist, argues, that since his birth in 1979 the *Camorra* (Naples's network of organised crime clans) had taken the lives of 3,600 men and women, many more that the Sicilian Mafia has on its conscience over the same period.

Della Loggia (2008) believes that this status quo is due to a society which is prisoner of its past focusing on the same political discourses, contrapositions, and the same old 'low politics'. As Clark (1996) acknowledges, such milieu can be defined as a systematic way of doing politics where concessions and favouritism become institutionalised and where conceding favours to obtain votes develops into a consistent and non-written rule.

The majority of Italians politicians have never worked; politics is their only means of income making them inclined to a systematic and methodological administration of power to survive and obtain monies. This situation creates conflict, protest and resistance especially amongst youth who are the most penalised. The protest of the Italian people for politics, political parties and their protagonists has already provoked reaction and resistance by sections of the electorate in their search for an idealistic alternative. The well-known Italian journalist Eugenio Scalfari (2007) writes:

*...grows the numbers of Italian citizens who totally refuse this political class…. This attitude can be defined as anti-politics or political because it is not the result of indifference but of active and aggressive participation* [against political parties and politicians] *but this does not change the reality. There is a growing refusal of 'these' political parties, of 'these' politicians…..It is a total refusal on all levels: taxes, public order, legality, inequalities, and freedom. Thumbs down on everything. They* [the political class] *need to go* (Scalfari, 2007).

The statement of Scalfari was supported by the recent emergence of a popular movement organized by the renowned Genoan comedian Beppe Grillo who, during his stage and broadcasting career, has always been a vociferous critic against the malpractice of Italian politics and its politicians.

*We are against 'right' and 'left'; we do not have hope anymore. This should have been the government who would have changed everything. We need young people and new ideas not policies originating from 'pensioners' of 70 years* [referring ironically to the existing politicians] *they are all old!! The aim* [of this manifestation and movement] *is to 'kick them out from the palace' and most of all to express our dislike and weariness of a politics which is more and more millions of miles away from the citizens and their needs* (Grillo, 2007).

The protest took shape gradually via the comedian's Internet blog and, during his Italian tour, it found its first public manifestation with a protest meeting held in Bologna's Piazza Maggiore in September 2007. The main objective of the movement was to 'clean' Italian politics from its so-called rationalisation, wipe out its professionalisation and expose its lack of ideals. The Bologna meeting called 'V-Day' (i.e. Vaffanculo Day, or Fuck Off Day) aimed to collect signatures for a petition for a new law to prescribe the ineligibility for the future with criminal records (25 MPs in Parliament in 2007 held such a status). The movement also sought to make it invalid for any Italian citizens to be elected as an MP if holding a criminal conviction or in the legal system awaiting a verdict. The purpose was also to get rid of 'the

professional politician'. To this end the protesters proposed that no Italian citizens could be elected as an MP more than twice and anyone elected had to come from a grass-root selection procedure and not be parachuted in by some party system. Some 50,000 signatures were collected as the Piazza was linked via the Internet with 179 cities (30 of them foreign). In March 2009, Grillo launched an electoral list closed to his movement throughout Italy for the forthcoming administrative elections. Commenting the event Grillo said: *The parties are dead. We are the only virus that crosses our disappeared 'little' Italy: perhaps we lose today, but our ideas are the ones that will win in the future* (Grillo, 2009).

The inability of the Italian State to respond to the concrete needs of people, especially its youth, who see their existence increasingly uncertain in this political framework, can be said to contribute to the creation of an ideological vacuum. The search for security and certainty can then promote the diffusion of any extreme ideologies founded on 'action'. The attraction of a political formula like fascism professed by the UltraS is, thus, not hard to see. The esteemed sociologist (and novelist) Umberto Eco (1995) lists various characteristics of what he terms 'Ur Fascism'; the most relevant for this study is   irrationalism. 'Ur Fascism' is based on the cult of action for the sake of action; there is no struggle for life, but rather a 'fight for life'. According to this formula, Pacifism is collusion with the enemy; action is good in itself, and must be implemented without reflection.

This will to act by UltraS movement is the opposite of the immobilism dominant in Italian politics. The groups will fight for their ideas no matter the outcome and no matter the medium used. As Eco recognised in his reflection on fascism, in any mythology the 'hero' is an exceptional being closely linked to the cult of death. Heroism is the norm. The Fascist hero aspires to death as the ultimate reward for a heroic existence. As 'Antonio' of the Boys argues: *'who dies or is a victim of this state in our groups is not forgotten and will be always remembered'.* The heroes celebrated by Italian UltraS are people that fight for their ideals and if necessary pay for it with their lives. Their heroes are the deceased – their 'fallen' are such as Paolo di Nella (Note 10); others are the 'victims' of the DASPO (Stadium banning order) or those imprisoned for being UltraS. As Eco (1995) notes for those devoid of alternative social identities, *Ur-Fascism*, presents a privilege - to be born with a sense of nation going back to the Roman Empire, of being Italian, the inheritor of the values, cults and histories. Significantly the *Boys* and *Irriducibili* sport the colours of the Italian flag in their merchandising.

The UltraS have parallels elsewhere. For many, modern society lacks meaningful relationships, beliefs, strong values and a sense of place (Klapp 1969, p. 318). In modern cities there is absence of strong identifications of strong point of reference. In this context many correlate themselves with the most unlikely of individuals and movements. The 'Boxer' , one of leader of the Irriducibili group, recognizes this and has his logic for the response it provokes:

*When we speak about issues such as the Palestine Intifada and Saddam Hussein's Iraq they do not like it; they do not like political topics at the stadium because they could create a consensus; this scares politicians who cannot control votes. This is the reason for this strong police repression…*

In distant places, in obscure texts and in myths of origin are found the UltraS narratives and practices to aspire to, even if the causation has no relevance to the Roman or Italian context. The sympathy to the Irish Republican, which is present among the groups, cause arises out of their perceiving in Ireland a nation forever resisting an imposed discourse via myth, legend and songs - and ultimately violence. The Irish nationalist populations celebrate the warrior; the nationalist murals are admired, stressing, as they do, a sense of identity through symbols, non-conformist heroes, national (and submerged) identities. The Palestinian cause offers the same admiration-logic. Such support is not required, it is what such people symbolise that matters.

The wish of the UltraS to be heard and counted is evidenced by 'Giovanni   of the Irriducibili ':

*I can tell you even more; for a while a well-known and popular extreme left-leaning newspaper* [Il Manifesto] *dedicated articles about us and praised us for our social battles against drugs and pedophilia; ironically they said we were fascist that did not know how to be communist. How ignorant! Many do not know the social doctrine of fascism has many things in common with the revolutionary left.   Unfortunately in Italy fascism has been always depicted as reactionary whilst in origin it was nothing like that; unfortunately these things are taught in history books that our children study where many things are represented following dominant ideology … for us communism has been reactionary while real fascism was revolutionary'.*

## 5. Concluding remarks

The ideology of the Italian neo-fascists, as expressed by the UltraS, has potential in the Roman (and in the Italian) *curve*; it has revolutionary power and has found in the stadium an outlet. As 'Giovanni' elaborates:

*Until the emergence of our group, everyone thought that the typical UltraS was an imbecile who goes to the stadium to watch the match, perhaps drunk and seeking violence. We want to send a message to the public; the Irriducibili showed the public that UltraS can think beyond football. We did this firstly with our fanzine and then with our radio broadcast. Via these tools we can express our opinions and defend ourselves from media attacks; this was the main reason why we started radio broadcasting.   The fanzine pushed the Irriducibili thought at the games, our radio show keeps it alive all*

*week. We wanted to underline that the Irriducibili are Lazio UltraS but they are also citizens wishing to have their opinions heard. We have been pioneers; we tried to make other UltraS realize that we are a potent lobby and we can make a difference at the elections.*

Giovanni's statement underlines the status of Agorá of the football stadium. The Agorá is an ancient Greek term meaning public meeting place (Camp, 1992). It is a location in Ancient Greece primarily for public assembly. The Agorá is the location where the oikos (private dimension) and ecclesia (public dimension) meet. It is the location where private problems are dealt with in a meaningful way. This locale is used to articulate, not just to draw narcissistic pleasures or to search for some relief through public display, but to collectively seek the tools that are powerful enough to lift individuals from their privately suffered misery. It is the space where ideas may be born, take shape and be considered the 'public good'. It pursues the 'just society' or at least provides comfort in a sense of 'shared values'. (Bauman, 1999). The Italian football stadium is one of the few remaining Italian modern social Agorá. It is a site where not only football, but also ideological opinions – often the antithesis of notions of political correctness – and direct actions are freely expressed in the pursuit of a wider consensus and resistance. 'Todde' affirms :

*The football stadium allows us to bring our battles -via the media- to 40 million Italians. Before in the stadium you would rarely find socio-political issues raised by UltraS. It is the only place that we can speak freely about our ideas without being charged with subversive association. In other places we would be repressed. We are people that do not want to be made stupid by consumerist repression, we want to discuss and to confront. The stadium ends are ours and here we can express who we are and impose our rules. We go to the stadium and articulate our ideas because the State does not allow the individual to freely speak out because of rampant political correctness. We fight this lack of freedom mainly with negative campaigns but when the State allows us to express our values; we also send constructive and positive messages.*

In their Agorá -stadium, the *UltraS* have a liminal arena for the public performance of stigmatised behavior. In ritual and display, they have words and symbols and, similar to Rappaport's (1979) debate on religious protagonists and performance, the believer 'gives substance to the symbol, as the symbol gives him form' (p. 200). The Agorá -stadium becomes for the *UltraS* another means of identification; it can be considered at the same time a place for the outlaw and socially excluded and a locale where the *UltraS* can resist repression. Football support coupled with a strong ideology induces notions of the 'Fundamental', but as Vrcan and Lalic (1999) have argued in the context of post-1991 Croatian football and football-related political ideology, the escalation of conflict makes it possible to die because of symbolism.

*5.1 An Ethnographic Note*

This ethnographic study adopted a Triangulation strategy, using more than one method to collect information (Denzin 1989, 2000, 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.230). I used Participant observation (Gold, 1958), semi-structured interviews focusing on influential members (7 individuals) and casual conversations with 21 individuals Furthermore, I employed documents such as the groups' fanzines, newspapers articles and information retrieved from Internet. To attain an outcome both trustworthy and authentic. (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).The Names used in this paper are fictional.

**Acknowledgements**

**References**

Abravanel, R. (2008). *Meritocrazia. Per rilanciare la societa' italiana.* Milano: Garzanti.

Bauman, Z. (1999). *In Search of Politics.* Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Balestri, C., & Vigano', G. (2004). Gli Ultrá: Origini, storia e sviluppi recenti di un mondo ribelle. *Quaderni di Sociologia,* 34, 3-62

Bonini, C. (2009). *ACAB. All Cops are Bastards.* Milano: Einaudi.

Borghini, F. (1987). *La violenza negli stadi.* Firenze: Manzuoli.

Bosetti, G. (2008, November 20). Perché il potere è nelle mani dei vecchi. La Repubblica, [Online] Available: http://www.repubblica.it/2008/11/sezioni/politica/paese-sbloccare/poteri-vecchi/poteri-vecchi.html.   (December   14, 2008).

Buechler, S. (2004). The Strange Career of Strain and Breakdown Theories of Collective Action. In D. Snow; S. Soule, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (pp. 47-66). London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Camp, J. (1992). *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens (New Aspects of Antiquity).* London: Thames & Hudson.

Carboni, C. (2008). *La società cinica. Le classi dirigenti nell'epoca dell'antipolitica*. Milano: Laterza.

Clark, M. (1996). *Modern Italy.* London: Longman.

Davies, J. (1971). *When men revolt and why: A reader in political violence and revolution.* New York: Free Press.

De Biasi, R. (1993). *Le culture del calcio. Un' analisi comparativa delle forme e dei rituali del tifo calcistico in Italia e in Inghilterra.* Trento-Italy: Universitá di Trento.

Della Loggia, E. (2008, October 25). L'Italia Immobile. Il Corriere della Sera, [Online] Available: http://www.corriere.it/editoriali/08_ottobre_25/dellaloggia_22106116-a252-11dd-9d1b-00144f02aabc.shtml. (November 18, 2008).

Denzin, N. (1989). *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods.* New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Denzin, N. (2000). The Practices and Politics of Interpretation. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 898–922). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. (2003). *Performance Ethnography: Critical Pedagogy and the Politics of Culture.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Eco, U. (1995, 22/06). Eternal Fascism. Fourteen Ways of looking at a Blackshirt. *New York Review of books,* pp. 12-15.

Gasport. (2007, November 11). Agente esplode un colpo. Morto tifoso della Lazio. Gazzetta dello Sport, [Online] Available: http://www.gazzetta.it/Calcio/Primo_Piano/2007/11_Novembre/11/mortotifoso.shtml. (December 14, 2008).

Gentry, C. (2004). The relationship between New Social Movement theory and terrorism studies: The role of leadership, membership, ideology and gender. *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 26(2), 274-293.

Gold, R. (1958). Roles in sociological field observations. *Social Forces*, 36, 217-223.

Grillo, B. (2007, September 9). Grillo: "Non voglio fare un partito io i partiti li voglio distruggere". La Repubblica, [Online]                                          Available:                                          http://www.repubblica.it/2007/08/sezioni/cronaca/grillo-v-day/grillo-sabaudia/grillo-sabaudia.html?ref=search. (October 14, 2008).

Grillo, B. (2009, March 8). Grillo lancia le liste civiche."Governo incostituzionale". La Repubblica, [Online] Available: http:// www.repubblica.it/2009/03/sezioni/politica/grillo-liste/grillo-liste/grillo-liste.html. (April 14, 2009).

Grispigni, M. (1993). Combattenti di strada. La nascita delle culture giovanili in Italia. In A.A.V.V, *Ragazzi senza tempo. Immagini, musica, conflitti delle culture giovanili.* Genoa: Costa & Nolan.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* London: Routledge.

Klandermans, B. (1997). *The social Psychology of Protest.* Oxford and Cambridge, Ma: Blackwell.

Klandermans, B., & Mayer, N. (2006). *Extreme Right Activists in Europe.* London: Routledge.

Klapp, O. (1969). *The Collective Search for Identity.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kornhauser, W. (1959). *The politics of mass society.* Glence, IL: Free Press.

La Repubblica. (2009, June 03). Corruzione, i partiti battono tutti ma in pochi decidono di denunciare. [Online] Available: http:// www.repubblica.it/2009/06/sezioni/politica/corruzione-barometro/corruzione-barometro/corruzione-barometro.html

Le Bon, G. (1895/1960). *The Crowd (translation of* Psychologie des foules*).* New York: The Viking Press.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry.* London: Sage.

Marchi, V. (1994). *Ultrà. Le sottoculture giovanili negli stadi d'Europa..* Roma: Koine'.

Marinelli, M. and Pili, F. (2000). *Ultrá'.* Brescia: Centro Studi Ricerche Polizia [National Police Research and Study Center].

Mariottini, D. (2004). *Ultrasviolenza.* Torino: Bradipolibri.

Morrison, D. (1971). Some Notes Toward Theory on Relative Deprivation, Social Movements, and Social Change. *American Behavioral Scientist,* 14, 675-690.

Pagani, P. (2003). Forza Italia. Come è nato il movimento che in 5 mesi ha cambiato la politica italiana*.* Milano: Boroli Editore.

RadioRadicale. (2007, November 13). Il ministro Giuliano Amato riferisce alla Camera sull'uccisione di Gabriele Sandri e sugli         incidenti         di         domenica**.**         Radioradicale         News,         [Online]         Available:

http://www.radioradicale.it/il-ministro-giuliano-amato-riferisce-alla-camera-sulluccisione-di-gabriele-sandri-e-sugli-inc identi-di-domenica. (December 14, 2008).

Rappaport, R. (1979). *Ecology, Meaning and Religion.* Richmond: North Atlantic Books.

Roversi, A. (1992). *Calcio, tifo e violenza.* Bologna: Il Mulino.

Saviano, R. (2007). *Gomorrah: Italy's Other Mafia.* London: Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc.

Scalfari, E. (2007, September 16). Il popolo che cerca il giudizio universal. La Repubblica, [Online] Available: http:// www.repubblica.it/2007/08/sezioni/cronaca/grillo-v-day/scalfa-16sett/scalfa-16sett.html. (October 14, 2008)

Simi, P., Brents, B. G., & Futrell, R. (2004, 14/08). The Politicization of Skinheads: Gangs as Social Movements. Annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. [Online] Available: http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p110400_index.htm (December 11, 2008).

Tajfel, H., and Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of inter-group behavior. In S. Worchel, & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Triani, G. (1994). *Bar Sport Italia.* Milano: Eleuthera.

Vincenti, L. (2000). *Diari di una domenica ultrà. 29 gennaio, Claudio Vincenzo Spagnolo.* Milano: Franco Angeli.

Vrcan, S., & Lalic, D. (1999). From Ends to Trenches and Back. In G. Armstrong, & R. Giulianotti (Eds.), *Football and National Identity* (pp. 176-189). Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Walker, I., & Smith, H. (2001). *Relative Deprivation: Specification, Development, and Integration.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zimbardo, P. (1969). The Human Choice: Individuation, Reason and Order versus Deindividuation, Impulse and Chaos. In W. Arnold & D. Levine (Eds.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (pp. 237-307). Nebraska: University Nebraska Press.

**Notes**

Note 1. Citation retrieved June 11, 2001, from http://www.tifonet.it/free/juventudepd.

Note 2. The notion of a social movement used in this study is that of a *'collectivity acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside institutional channels for promoting or resisting change in the group, society, or world order of which it is a part'* (Simi et.al, 2004, p.3). More specifically the study refers to 'power-oriented' movements, which contrarily to participation-oriented movements, act in concert to achieve group influence to make or block changes (Morrison, 1971).

Note 3. A reader is directed to the seminal work on the topic written in 1992 by Italian Sociologist Antonio Roversi titled *Calcio, tifo e violenza* [Football, tifo and Violence] for a more detailed and dedicated analysis.

Note 4. For an in depth account on the history of the Italian hardcore football supportrs movement cf. C. Balestri, & G. Vigano. Gli Ultra': Origini, storia e sviluppi recenti di un mondo ribelle. *Quaderni di Sociologia, 34.*

Note 5. The *Tangentopoli* scandal erupted in full in the late 1980s; it did not only reveal the illicit financing of political parties and bribery of politicians but promoted a loss of faith amongst the Italian electorate in the integrity of their country's political life and indeed in wider Italian society.

Note 6. In 2009, questions were asked to the *National Observatory on Sport Events* of the Italian Ministry of the Interior; the questions aimed to evaluate the efficiency of the police strategy in tackling violence at the football stadium (of which the UltraS are an integral part).

Note 7. Retrieved January 11, 2008, from http:// www.ecn.org/antifa/article/1831/Arrestati20estremistididestra

Note 8. Retrieved April 09, 2009, from http:// www.curvafurlan.forumfree.net

Note 9. Recently Eurostat (the statistics department of the European Community) in his study about the European youth unemployment situation has documented that six Italian south regions have reached the alarming threshold of 30% with Sicily at the 37 % (Cf. http://blog.panorama.it/economia/2009/02/16/disoccupazione-giovanile-6-regioni-del-sud-tra-le-prime-in-ue).

Note 10. Paolo di Nella is considered by Italian neo-fascism as one of their martyrs against the communists. He was honoured in 2005 by the former center-left Mayor of Rome, Walter Veltroni with a street dedication in a historical Roman Park. In February 1983, Di Nella was acting as a member of the *Fronte della Gioventú* (Youth Front-the youth organization of the neo-fascist political *Movimento Sociale Italiano)* placing posters at Piazza Vescovio aiming to raise environmentalist issues concerning the preservation of the historical park of Villa Chigi. He was attacked by a group of the extreme left; he died after seven days in coma (Cf. http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2009/02/10/alemanno-cambia-la-targa-del-martire.html).

# Milan Kundera's *Slowness* – Making It Slow

Tim Jones

PhD Candidate

School of Literature and Creative Writing, Faculty of Arts and Humanities

University of East Anglia

Norwich, Norfolk, NR4 7TJ, England

Tel: 44-798-087-7751      E-mail: timjones21183@yahoo.co.uk

**Abstract**

The Czechoslovak author Milan Kundera's first novel in French, *Slowness*, compares the heady speed of contemporary life unfavourably with the slowness of the eighteenth-century, epitomised for Kundera's narrator by Vivant Denon's novella *No Tomorrow*. A deconstruction of *Slowness*' arguments reveals that its narrator is complicit with the trends he decries and so his own rhetoric is as malignly influenced by speed as that of the twentieth-century characters he denounces. His representations of both *No Tomorrow* and the eighteenth-century phenomenon of libertinism are little more than deceptively happy soundbites. By glorifying the qualities of slowness but failing to demonstrate them, however, the novel encourages a transformation within its implied ideal reader that allows her to rise above the problematic conceits of its narrator and make of his work a genuinely slow text.

**Keywords:** Milan Kundera, Slowness, Vivant Denon, No Tomorrow, Point de Lendemain, Libertinism

## 1. Introduction

Francois Ricard's postscript to the French 1998 edition of Milan Kundera's *Slowness* documents the 'two traits' (Kundera, 1998: 185) that separate the work from the artistic norms of the six Czech novels that Kundera had written in the previous decades, namely its remarkable brevity and the simplicity of its structure. Despite these obvious variations, to which we can add the use of a language that Kundera had previously reserved for his non-fiction, *Slowness* continues his familiar project demonstrated throughout his earlier Czech novels and specifically attested to in both the fictional *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* and the theoretical *The Art of the Novel*, that of investigating 'the trap the world has become' (Kundera, 1984/1994: 215; Kundera, 1986/1988: 26). This novel's main preoccupation is a dissection of the late twentieth-century's increasing obsession with speed and the malign effects of this on our existential situation. *Slowness* documents the events of a single night, split into two time-periods separated by over two hundred years. A character in his own right, as in previous novels, Kundera's narrator compares our era unfavourably with the libertine France of the eighteenth-century, exemplified for him by Vivant Denon's novella *No Tomorrow*, first published in 1777. In this earlier, less hasty period, all actions, chiefly the erotic, are performed with a slowness that gilds them with a grace and significance of which the narrator's contemporary characters can only dream.

The narrator's stance is initially convincing, particularly for a reader tricked by the novel's slightness into imagining that it requires less serious engagement than Kundera's previous work. An attentive reading, however, reveals that the narrator's complicity with the trends he decries makes his stance untenable. *Slowness* can be approached most rewardingly as a novel about a poor reading of *No Tomorrow*, one infected by the contemporary trends Kundera's narrator condemns and that resultantly misrepresents a literary investigation into libertinism as a straightforward affirmation of the lifestyles it propounds. Just as a longer look at *No Tomorrow* than the narrator of *Slowness* evidently has time for exposes his reading as erroneous, a resistance of the seductive masks worn by *Slowness* itself leads us beyond its flimsy surface and produces a longer, *slower* text than we at first imagine, which urges the implied ideal reader - performatively as well as constatively - not to be deceived by the speedy, sound-bite arguments that are not only critiqued within the narrative but simultaneously comprise it. Despite the faults of the narrator's rhetorical strategies, the novel ultimately succeeds by propounding a way of life that it itself fails to demonstrate, encouraging a positive transformation in the reader through its hypocrisies as she is encouraged to retrieve from *Slowness* an experience genuinely slow.

## 2. The speediness of *Slowness*

The facet of the aforementioned "trap" dissected by *Slowness* - that of our tumultuous relationship with speed - is well documented and far from a recent concern. Walter Benjamin's analysis of the nineteenth-century French poet Baudelaire is the key starting point for a historicization of rising anxieties regarding the changing pace of life. For the nineteenth-century writer, Benjamin argues, 'no subject' demands more attention than 'the crowd' (Benjamin, 1970/1992: 162) that dominates the rapidly expanding European cities. Benjamin cites a wide range of authors, including Poe, Engels and Valéry, and collates their reactions as ones of 'fear, revulsion and horror' (Benjamin, 1970/1992: 170) at the speed, the bustle and the anonymity that characterised the city streets, which deliver to their inhabitants a constant bombardment of new stimuli that seizes the nervous system like a perpetual electric shock. Writing in the early twentieth-century, Georg Simmel documents the city space's 'rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions' (Simmel, 1903/1997: 175), which contrasts vividly with the slower, more even rhythm of small-town and rural existence and engenders a blasé attitude and a generalising uniformity. Two of the most influential postmodern cultural theorists, Frederic Jameson and David Harvey, cite the worries of Benjamin and Simmel respectively, both in a similarly dismissive manner suggesting that no matter how worried were the modernists, their descendants were to face far worse. For Jameson, Benjamin's account of modernism emerging from the new bodily experiences forced upon us by the city is 'singularly antiquated' (Jameson, 1997: 45) by the emergence of technologies vastly beyond what Benjamin could have envisaged. For Harvey, Simmel's concerns can only 'pale into insignificance' (Harvey, 1992: 286) beside the sensory overload delivered by rampant consumerism, though he accepts that the psychological consequences of a blasé attitude and excessive simplification are similar. These concerns all manifest within Kundera's novel, though not only within the arguments his narrator makes but also via the manner in which he makes them, causing a kind of rhetorical short-circuit marked by a worrying collusion with the trends he decries that leaves a seductively promising thesis shot through with holes.

The two primary narratives of *Slowness* compare and contrast the speed of the modern era with the sweet languor of the eighteenth-century, via the erotic adventures of their respective characters. Before and during the entomology conference that comprises the bulk of the contemporary narrative, hosted at the same hotel at which the narrator and his wife Vera are spending the night, we are introduced to a heavily flawed cast. Chief among the entomologists is Cechoripsky, a former Czechoslovakian scientist forced by the Communist regime into manual labour. Also present is the intellectual Berck, 'the martyr-king of the dancers' (Kundera, 1996: 17), who epitomises the modern trend of performing as though permanently in front of a camera and excels at transforming complex phenomena into totalised soundbites. We also meet the historian Pontevin, who prefers to dance not for the benefit of invisible millions, but for a small audience at the trendy Café Gascon. Pontevin's young disciple, Vincent, an admirer of the eighteenth-century and especially the Marquis de Sade, is ordered to attend the conference in order to disrupt Berck's ambitions and 'raise some hell' (Kundera, 1996: 27). Following the conference, Vincent attempts a seduction of the typist Julie that quickly descends into farce, literally alongside the plunge into chaos of the relationship between the television producer Immaculata and her cameraman boyfriend.

Against this madness, the narrator's vision of the eighteenth-century indeed appears an idyll. This second narrative, juxtaposed with the beginning and closing sections of the above, but absent during the novel's middle portion, recounts the plot of Vivant Denon's *No Tomorrow*. A 'gentleman of twenty' (Kundera, 1996: 6) meets at the theatre with the enigmatic Madame de T and is transported by coach back to her chateau for a night of erotic enchantment. After strolling and exchanging kisses on the lawn outside, the young man, labelled by Kundera's narrator as a Chevalier, is taken by Madame de T first to a pavilion and then subsequently to a secret chamber in the chateau itself, where slow lovemaking passes the time until morning. The next day, the Chevalier learns that he has been used: Madame de T is attempting to mask the identity of her true, long-term paramour, the Marquis, by displaying the Chevalier to her husband. The Chevalier is instructed to enjoy the night for what it was and return to his true love, the better partner for having both gained sexual experience and learnt a valuable life-lesson.

The closing chapters of *Slowness* carry the Chevalier beyond the final pages of *No Tomorrow* and directly compare his attitudes towards his experience with those of Vincent towards his own. Vincent is unconcerned by his failure and excited about reciting to Pontevin and his followers a heavily edited version of events that depicts him as a glorious libertine. The Chevalier, though unsettled by having been duped by Madame de T and her lover, realises that the beauty of the previous night remains unaltered by the morning's revelations. As the two time periods collapse into one another, with the narrator, Vincent and the Chevalier all present outside the chateau, the Chevalier grows disturbed by Vincent's obsession with talking about the previous night and 'instantly loses his taste for saying anything at all' (Kundera, 1996: 129). While Vincent now epitomises a modern dancer no less than Berck, the Chevalier decides to eschew both the dangers and the rewards of public confession. Earlier in the novel, the narrator tells us that 'there is a secret bond between slowness and memory, between speed and forgetting' (Kundera, 1996: 34). The final chapters consolidate this bond by suggesting that the slowness of the Chevalier's experiences has preserved them within a solid form less

susceptible to desecration. Vincent's memories, so hastily created, become infinitely mutable, granting him a certain freedom but also leaving him exposed to the caprices of "dancers" more skilled than he. The link between speed, dancing and sound-biting is stressed further in the novel's final paragraphs, where the narrator watches sadly as Vincent roars away on his motorcycle, presumably towards the Café Gascon, impatient to give the performance of his lifetime; the Chevalier, meanwhile, departs sedately in his chaise, no audience waiting, no performance required. The narrator concludes that on the Chevalier's 'capacity to be happy' with these existential choices 'hangs our only hope' (Kundera, 1996: 132).

It does not take a remarkable astuteness to notice the novel's complicity with the trends it decries. The narrator pours scorn upon the speedy, sound-biting tendencies of Berck and Vincent, within a text that is no more than 30,000 words itself, denying its own representations the opportunity to become more than one-dimensional. A. A. Mendilow states that 'the time people are prepared to devote to novel-reading does in no small measure determine the length of novels' (Mendilow, 1952/1972: 65). That *Slowness* is so short implies that its narrator considers his audience thoroughly attention-deficit. Whilst his reactionary stand is well-intentioned, the narrator remains oblivious to how deeply entrenched he is within his culture and though he genuinely despises sound-biting, his arguments are so rapidly outlined that they perfectly encapsulate the trend themselves.

The clearest showcase of Berck's "dancing" occurs in Chapter 21, where he reduces the complexity of Cechoripsky and his national culture to a series of speedy observations designed to showcase his gargantuan sensitivity. While waxing lyrically about the plight of Cechoripsky and his countrymen, Berck confuses Prague for Budapest and Eastern Europe for Western Europe, mistakes the Polish Romantic poet Mickiewicz for a Czech and describes Communist Czechoslovakia inaccurately as 'an enormous concentration camp' (Kundera, 1996: 64). Most important for Berck is not the factual content of his utterances, but the fact of his stating them and their passionate sincerity, given flight by their sheer pace. The narrative documents the scientist's objections and so the reader of *Slowness* is, importantly, aware that Berck's representations are incorrect. Cechoripsky's final objection, however, is interrupted by the arrival of Immaculata and her camera and so the reader never learns from where Mickiewicz actually originates. The speed of the narrative, like the speed of Berck's discourse, refuses to be restrained by the time-consuming delivery of facts and marches inexorably on to the next chapter, in which Berck's interpretation of Cechoripsky is consummated by Immaculata's recording process and Cechoripsky becomes mute and irrelevant. Because the reader is privy to Cechoripsky's internal monologue and so knows him better than Berck does, she is aware of the gulf separating the entomologist from the representation born from Berck's performance. This fact reveals the most rewarding way of reading *Slowness*. Just as Berck performs for the camera wielded by Immaculata, the narrator performs for his own audience, doing to his various subject matters what Berck does to Cechoripsky. The task of the reader is to mount a more successful resistance than the entomologist and not allow these representations to pass for reality. Cechoripsky's resistance demonstrates a subject defying its own objectifying representation, while my reading demonstrates the intended audience of such representations destabilizing the practice itself by rupturing the chain of supply and demand.

Though not as neglected as Kundera's later two French novels *Identity* and *Ignorance*, *Slowness* has received little critical attention, especially in English. The body of academic writing on this novel comprises only a small selection of articles, none of which engage in close or concerted enough a reading to be comprehensive. Karen von Kunes' essay focuses too greatly on the representations made by the novel, holding them as sacrosanct without realising that the novel's questioning of Berck and his fellow "dancers" affects the novel's own representations like a backfiring gun. Kunes' argument that Cechoripsky illustrates 'the didactic, narrow-minded "Cezchism" of a nonadapting provincial mentality' (Kunes, 1999: 259) is spectacularly indecorous, blaming the entomologist for refusing to reflect Berck's erroneous representation, rather than vice versa. Maria Nemcová Banerjee's piece is more convincing, noting the compromised nature of the novel's arguments via its observation that its 'accelerated narrative pace… works at cross purposes with the lead theme of slowness' (Banerjee, 1999: 265). The narrator's hypocrisy is made apparent when Banerjee describes the naming of his wife, Vera, as 'a sudden flash of magnesium, exposing the travelling couple to the unnatural glare of celebrity' (Banerjee, 1999: 267), illuminating the correlation between the potential viewers of Berck's representational liberties and the potential readers of the narrator's own, who become spectators of the narrator's personal life. Banerjee ultimately falls prey to the allure of the narrator's representations, however, describing *Slowness* as 'a homage to Denon's novella' (Banerjee, 1999: 265), which is akin to calling Berck's performance a "homage" to Cechoripsky, rather than a blatant manipulation.

Most relevant to this paper is Natasa Kovacevic's essay, which focuses on *Slowness*' 'fetishized imagery' (Kovacevic, 2006: 639) and so at least questions it on a representational level. Kovacevic laments of the narrator's idealised eighteenth-century that 'the hungry, overworked, and diseased multitudes remain absent from the pastoral landscape' and so *Slowness* 'overlooks vast historical complexities and plays into the reductivist logic it denounces' (Kovacevic, 2006: 644). Kovacevic focuses, however, on the political and historical clichés forged via this mentality, while I agree with Fred Misurella that Kundera's aesthetic system gives 'art, especially ironic art… primacy over politics, and the novel… primacy over history, psychology and philosophy' (Misurella, 1993: 3). While crediting Kovacevic's

observation that the soundbites decried by the narrator are matched by those emerging *from* him as inspiring my own approach, I am more concerned with the ramifications of the "trap" of speed not on history or politics but on art and textuality and their resultant potentials to probe and illuminate. Kovacevic also strongly equates the narrator of *Slowness* with Milan Kundera himself, a link that the narrative's blurring of the transparency between representation and original constantly belittles.

The arguments made by *Slowness*' narrator, then, are not to be passively accepted, but actively challenged, even deconstructed, hopefully with more success than Cechoripsky's silenced challenge of Berck. Many critics of Kundera agree that a deconstructive approach to his work is not only the best way of elucidating its meaning, but one encouraged from within the texts themselves. Nina Pelikan Straus thus goes against the grain when she argues that Kundera's work demonstrates that 'the circular discourses of… structuralism and deconstructionism are murderous… [and] not only enable the vaporization of cultural ideas but of human beings who live by these ideas' (Straus, 1987: 75). John O'Brien, in an article that specifically refutes Straus' thesis, states that Kundera's frequent authorial intrusions - which Straus contends work to fetter wild interpretations and so make the text un-deconstructable - actually 'add a sense of *play* by admitting that characters are not real, questioning motivations… and so on' (O'Brien, 1992: 6), encouraging the reader's imagination to take flight. The gulf between Straus and O'Brien's interpretations perhaps stems from their different understandings of deconstruction. Straus portrays the discipline as an orthodoxy no less homogenizing towards its victims than Soviet imperialism towards the cultures it demolished (Straus, 1987: 69, 74). O'Brien, on the other hand, suggests Kundera's critics apply the 'soft-core' deconstruction envisaged by David Lehman in *Signs of the Times: Deconstruction and the Fall of Paul de Man*, which 'does not deny a text its basic reference points or interpretive contexts – only the idea that there is only *one* reference point or context' (O'Brien, 2005: 67). A deconstructive reading of *Slowness*, then, does not involve becoming an embittered textual nihilist, but simply questions the specific "interpretive context" provided by its narrator and raises the possibility that the extreme speed with which he makes his arguments means that the representations generated in support of them go beyond and against his intentions. His interpretation of his material is not necessarily the most instructive or beneficial way of extracting meaning from it.

Stanislaw Baranczak raises the bar for critics interested in misreading *Slowness* when he witheringly describes its 'overbearing and pontificating' narrator, who 'leaves no doubt whatsoever that he represents the author' and 'relieves us of the tiresome task of guessing [his] message' (Baranczak, 1996: 42-3). In *Testaments Betrayed*, Kundera states with force that he has 'always deeply, violently, detested those who look for a position… in a work of art' (Kundera, 1992/1995: 89). The work of art in question here, however, outlines a number of clear positions in only its opening chapter, regarding twentieth-century society as having turned 'indolence… into having nothing to do' (Kundera, 1996: 4-6) and the sensuality between Chevalier and Madame de T arising from the gentle pace of their journey, which is starkly championed over the speed of the narrator's contemporaries. It is no great leap of faith to hypothesize that the elements of the subsequent narratives that unsettle the narrator's theses - which he would perhaps notice if only he had the time to re-examine them - are intended to shroud the reader in the doubt so cherished by Kundera himself.

*Slowness* itself is filled with clues that a deconstruction of its narrator's theses is a wise approach, even beyond the novel's demonstration via Cechoripsky that a representation may only survive by stampeding over its subject's objections. One such clue stems from the ramifications of the novel's choice of tense. *Slowness* is the only novel by Kundera written predominantly in the present tense. Gerard Genette explains that it is almost impossible to tell a story without locating it 'in time with respect to the narrating act, since [a narrator] must necessarily tell the story in a present, past or future tense' (Genette, 1980: 215). While all of Kundera's novels bar his first, *The Joke*, slip into the present tense during the extra-diegetic sections in which their narrators address us directly or question their characters, the intra-diegetic layers of *Slowness* themselves appear simultaneous to the narrating act. What Genette describes as the 'time of the narrating' (Genette, 1980: 215) does not occur months, weeks or even days after the story being narrated, but concurrently. Mark Currie warns that 'the form of the present tense in the English verb… does not guarantee that the time reference will be in the present' and so 'a narrative which is written in the present tense should not be thought of as being tensed… differently from one written in a past tense' (Currie, 2007: 139). The verb tense does not *necessarily* illuminate anything important about the temporality of a story's narration. Jonathan Harvey agrees that 'present-tense narratives cannot easily escape from having a "pastness"' (Harvey, 2006: 82). *Slowness,* however, establishes clearly in both the opening and closing chapters that the narrator both arrives and departs from the chateau simultaneously to Vincent, consolidating the impression that the contemporary narrative is unfolding simultaneously to its narrating act. Genette states that 'the narrating *place* is very rarely specified, and is almost never relevant' (Genette, 1980: 215). In *Slowness* this place is specified repeatedly as the same as that of the "story place", consolidating this sense of immediacy, with the story and its narrating process cohabiting not only temporally but geographically also.

James Goodman and Britt Jorgensen lament that in our speed-obsessed world reflections 'on decisions, our relationships with people and the world around us go out of the window' (Goodman and Jorgensen, 2005: 136). The narrator demonstrates a similar concern when he states that 'when things happen too fast, no one can be certain about anything, about anything at all, not even himself' (Kundera, 1996: 114). This applies not only to his contemporary

characters but also himself, for his narrative being produced so close to its subject matter robs him of reflective time and so he cannot himself claim any certainty. Monika Fludernik explains that analysis of the temporal duration of an 'act of narration by a narrator' is necessarily compromised because the 'minutes and hours of speaking or writing time… are usually not determinable from the text' (Fludernik, 2003: 119). *Slowness* clearly suggests that the temporal duration of its narrating process is identical to that of its story, beginning as the narrator and his wife approach the hotel and ending as they leave the next morning, the act of narration occupying, like its subject matter, only one night. If only the narrator had given himself geographical distance between the "story place" and the "narrating place"; if only he had given himself temporal distance, likewise, and enjoyed time for reflection; if only the temporal duration of the narrating act had stretched to more than a few hours. With these caveats, the narrator's arguments may have formed less vulnerable to deconstruction. Or perhaps not: the opening line itself, 'We *suddenly* had the urge to spend the evening and night in a chateau' (Kundera, 1995: 114), clearly defines the following narratives as the result of an impulse, and so the one sentence written in the past tense, providing space for reflection between the urge and its reporting, sees the narrator fail to notice that his narratives' hurried genesis leaves them born compromised.

It can be argued conversely that the narrator's choice of the present tense is, given his ambitions, a logical one. Firstly, the narrative thus reflects Harvey's notions of time-space compression, which propose that the compressed time horizons produced by the exponential increase of travelling speed leave a world 'where the present is all there is' (Harvey, 1992: 240). The present tense is therefore the only means by which the narrator can precisely communicate those aspects of the world he finds so problematic. Secondly, we can view *Slowness* through Derrida's argument that an archiving process 'produces as much as it records the event' (Derrida, 1998: 17). The cause-and-effect sequence by which an event occurs prior to its recording or its subsequent representation is ruptured; individuals no longer perform actions and then subsequently relate them, but the potential for relation is what births the temporally prior but consequentially successive original, this trend growing ever more frenzied thanks to the archiving opportunities offered by advanced technology. This model of a present structured and formed 'in anticipation of its recollection' (Currie, 2007: 13) perfectly describes Berck, whose grand displays of sentiment are engendered by the possibility of their dissemination by the cameras controlled by journalists such as Immaculata. Vincent fails to perform the perfect libertine orgy but welcomes the possibility of reciting a revised account the next day, with this version the one "archived" via the memories of his audience. Future representations both determine Berck's present and encourage Vincent's revision of his recent past. The idealized counterpoint to both is the Chevalier, for whom 'no tomorrow' exists and so his experiences remain unpolluted (Kundera, 1996: 132). Narrative theory posits that any narrative written in the past tense evokes the future time of the narrating act, in relation to which the narrative content is *past*. Narrating Vincent's exploits via the past tense would necessarily evoke the moments in-between the story and the narrating act, during which Vincent dazzles the Café Gascon with his doctored orgy, or Berck's interview is broadcast to rapturous acclaim; relative to the temporal position from which the narrator was telling the story, these events would already have happened. The narrator's use of the present tense, then, seeks to disempower the dancers by removing from the novel's temporality the spaces in which the spoils of their dancing are enjoyed. In seeking to cut the dancers off from their sustenance, however, the narrator chooses a mode of offensive that simultaneously damages his own position by contradicting his call for slow reflection.

In this he reflects his fellow characters, most notably Vincent. The nobly intentioned gestures of its cast being frequently undercut is a common phenomenon within *Slowness* and a further call that its extra-diegetic gestures deserve an undercutting of their own. No stance is allowed to stand unquestioned and no character achieves a position that escapes compromise. Early in the novel, for example, Pontevin's criticism of Berck and his fellow dancers is immediately countered by Vincent's suggestion that Pontevin is 'a great dancer' (Kundera, 1996: 24) himself. The resultant debate is described almost in script-form, devoid of much narrative commentary surrounding the exchange of ideas, so that each man states his position without the narrative granting either a degree of agency that empowers one enough to subsume the other. Later in the novel, Vincent's denunciation of dancing becomes even more compromised than Pontevin's. While describing Vincent's passionate description of 'the dancers and the deal they have struck with the Angel', which strongly evokes the links established between angelic purity and totalitarian zeal in Kundera's earlier *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, the narrator states that Vincent 'climbs his hyperboles as one climbs the steps of a stairway to *heaven*' (Kundera, 1996: 71), blurring any distinction between the young man and his enemy. Vincent's speech deconstructs itself via the clash of intentions between its constative and performative elements, much like the narrator's own lightening-fast denunciation of speed. The narrator's primary attack on modernity is itself challenged, by a young man who fatalistically describes the 'gaze of the cameras' as 'part of the human condition from now on' (Kundera, 1996: 72) and suggests to Vincent that if he lived in any of the past eras he and the narrator idealize he would arbitrarily rail against other novelties, such as the new cathedrals of the twelfth-century. This nameless character's dismissal of Vincent and, by extension, the narrator as embittered reactionaries appears logical and stands uncontested. Indeed, Vincent is portrayed as pathetic for being unable to summon a suitable riposte.

Most damagingly, by the novel's close the thematic scaffolding the narrator constructs in the opening chapters has been buffeted to near-collapse. On the first page we are told that the addictive ecstasy of speed results from the driver being able to focus 'only on the present moment', which frees him or her from the future and so leaves 'nothing to fear' (Kundera, 1996: 3). Speed, then, leaves us in a timeless present. But the associations made between speed, the dancers and the cameras are soon compromised when we realise that the dancers live not in the present but anticipating the future, from which they are therefore far from free. And the idea of a timeless present is soon reframed not as the dangerous product of driving at speed, but as the luxurious mode of being resulting from the slowness and anonymity enjoyed by the Chevalier. By the novel's close, the phrase 'No Tomorrow' is clearly positively loaded, yet on the opening page, applied to a contradictory situation, it represents what the narrator finds most problematic. Similarly, the speed of the motorcyclist comes by the final pages to evoke not a timeless present but a race towards the future. We cannot say that the narrator's argument changes organically with these shifting conceptions, because by the novel's close the basic stance propounded at the start still stands and the Chevalier's slowness remains fetishized. In his world of constant motion, however, the narrator cannot realise that his argument is a web of hypocrisies and contradictions. Harvey explains that one major consequence of the postmodern world's 'speedup in the turnover times of capital' is the accentuation of the 'volatility and ephemerality of fashions, products… *ideas* and ideologies, *values* and established practices' (Harvey, 1992: 285). For the narrator's argument to have a chance of success, he requires access to ideas and values that remain stable enough to provide firm rhetorical foundations. *Slowness* suggests that the pervasiveness of the postmodern condition lies in its very cultural mechanics rendering unviable any stance that seeks to destabilize it from within; the rhetorical fixity from which we could build a counter-argument is irreparably effaced.

Paul Virilio is fascinated by the phenomenological change in awareness produced by fast travel and argues that 'speed metamorphoses appearances', as 'the ground of the landscape rises up to the surface [and] inanimate objects are exhumed from the horizon and come each in turn to permeate the varnish of the windscreen' (Virilio, 2008: 101). The continuous movement forward means that 'the object that hurls itself upon the layer of the windscreen will… be as quickly forgotten as perceived' (Virilio, 2008: 101). If we view the narrative of *Slowness* through this lens, we see that its movement mimics that of the vehicles from its opening chapter. Successive chapters abandon the extra-diegetic narrative and perform a swift succession of introductions, rushing past Vivant Denon's various careers and the novella *No Tomorrow*, Epicurean notions of hedonism, an absurdly truncated definition of libertinism, a summary of Choderlos de Laclos' four-hundred page *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, a brief return to the narrator and Vera, Berck and his battles with the politician Duberques and, finally, Pontevin and the Café Gascon, all in just the first twenty pages. This sheer onrush evokes the exhausting psychological conditions of Simmel's metropolis, the bewildering array of consumer choices observed by Harvey and the multiplicity of surface levels that Jameson argues is post-modernism's most self-effacing trademark. With Pontevin the narrative finally settles down for a few brief chapters, before returning to a fuller discussion of *No Tomorrow*, where the brakes are applied with more force and the subject matter remains in focus for an entire ten pages. The narrative constantly generates new ideas but refuses to dwell on any at length, rushing exhaustingly onwards and letting each new diegetic layer make only a brief impression before falling back towards the horizon, the minute chapters encouraging the reader onwards and so increasing this bewildering momentum. The sections where the narrative settles for the longest time are ironically during the entomologist conference, which is reported uninterrupted from Chapters 16 to 25 and from Chapters 29 to 42, again compromising their progenitor's argument, for the slowest sections of the novel document our era and it is the eighteenth-century represented most disruptively as a rush of surface images.

Virilio says of a driver's passengers that 'those who partake of the violence of driving must remain as controlled as the images, immobilized by the straps recalling the restraints of youth[;] they can only impotently observe the exposition of the scene… passing rapidly before their eyes' (Virilio, 2008: 103). The reader of a novel is a passenger of sorts, born along by the motion of the narrative, yet one in a safer position than Virilio's fellow traveler, for the reader can break her restraints and force the driver to slow down without risking a fatal collision. We can hijack control of the narrative vehicle, become drivers ourselves and force the voyage to maintain a sensible speed. Mendilow explains that 'different novels lend themselves to being read at different speeds' (Mendilow, 1952/1972: 65). The clue is in the title and *Slowness* is a book begging to be read slowly. Currie describes the unique temporality of a novel by explaining that though 'in written texts, the future lies there to the right, awaiting its actualization by the reading', the presents of various readings of the same book 'will all differ from each other, so that some will finish, and so know the future, before others' (Currie, 2007: 18, 21). We can combat the dancers via a similar technique as that the narrator attempts with his use of the present tense, avoiding the rush for the future epitomized by Vincent in the closing chapter, neutering his and Berck's "future orientation" by reading *Slowness* slowly and so deferring the arrival of its future. Our stand can succeed where the narrator's fails, because his narration, in needing to remain contemporaneous with its subjects, is forced to match their heady speed, while we have the completed narrative preserved in front of us and so can afford to take time out for the reflection that reveals the aforementioned inconsistencies. We can also use the future, once it arrives and *Slowness* is finished, for a nobler cause than Berck and Vincent. While for them the future is an

appropriated space in which their sound-biting representations will be delivered and the rewards enjoyed, for us it can be reclaimed as a space in which we challenge such practice.

It is very possible to agree with the narrator's denunciation of speedy, soundbite representations but be disappointed with its execution.   The reader can redeem the narrator by doing his job for him and truly questioning such representations *wherever* encountered. Mary F. Rogers explains that 'after readers have finished a novel, [the] horizon remains as an amplitude of possibilities' and so 'meaning-fulfillment often continues after readers have returned novels to their shelves' (Rogers, 1991: 105). On the closing page of *Slowness* we encounter the phrase 'no tomorrow', given increased significance through occupying a paragraph of its own. A reader bewitched by the narrator will feel, evoked by this phrase, both wonder at the Chevalier's nonchalance and nostalgia for the century he supposedly epitomizes. For the attentive reader, who considers the narrator's aims worthy but wonders just how deeply his complicity with the trends he decries is ingrained, the phrase will be a call to *read* Denon's *No Tomorrow* for herself, an activity that extends the "meaning-fulfillment" of *Slowness* by continually inviting comparison with its own interpretation. The truly worthy reader will then re-read *Slowness* itself – an activity described by Barthes as 'an operation contrary to the commercial and ideological habits of our society, which would have us "throw away" the story once it has been consumed' (Barthes, 1974: 15) and so one that furthers the narrator's reactionary ambitions far more efficiently than anything he does himself – with the potential to become what the narrator wishes he were but is not, a true advocate of the cause against hasty, falsifying representations.

### 3. Slowing *Slowness* down – A longer look at libertinism and *No Tomorrow*

The narrator of *Slowness* states that the most 'interesting' aspect about an African famine is 'that it cut down only children' (Kundera, 1996: 12-12), alluding to the media's decision to leave adult suffering away from the cameras. The famine killing only children is an illusion generated by its representation, but one that achieves a degree of concrete actuality through its ability to produce real-world consequences of increased charitable support. Media representations are shaped by manipulation behind the scenes that encourages its audience to support causes that otherwise would not provoke the same degree of interest. Throughout *Slowness*, characters perform similar manipulations, designed to encourage support not for worthy causes but for the public images of Berck and Vincent. We are unlikely to be swayed by these manipulations because the narrator lays the mechanics behind them bare and we observe them from a distance as they unfold. Support is constantly encouraged, however, for another arguably still less deserving cause. The narrator clearly disapproves of Berck and Vincent, which explains why their own machinations are made visible, while his love of the eighteenth-century phenomenon known as libertinism means the manipulations executed in its favour occur at an extra-diegetic level and so remain veiled. By researching libertinism and bringing our findings to a re-reading of *Slowness*, we can unravel the narrator's propaganda and determine for ourselves whether or not the cause is as worthy as insinuated.

A slower look at the narrator's own representations, particularly of libertinism and of Denon's *No Tomorrow* in its role as a typical piece of eighteenth-century fiction, proves him to be no better than the "martyr-king of the dancers" himself. Jameson describes how the process by which 'the history of aesthetic styles displaces real history' woos its audience via features that 'program the spectator to the appropriate "nostalgia" mode of reception' (Jameson, 1997: 20). This "mode of reception" is pushed onto the reader of *Slowness* during the opening chapter, where the narrator waxes lyrically about 'loafing heroes of folk song, those vagabonds who roam from one mill to another and bed down under the stars' (Kundera, 1996: 5). 'Have they vanished', the narrator asks, 'along with footpaths, with grassland and clearings, with nature?' (Kundera, 1996: 5), demonstrating a performance of kitsch that would give his counterpart from Part Six of *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* major cause for concern. The opening sentence of this chapter's final paragraph narrows the target of the narrator's lyrical nostalgia down to eighteenth-century France, his use of the luxuriant noun phrase 'the inexpressible atmosphere of sensuality' focussing the positive impressions made by his earlier descriptions of a generic past onto this specific case-study (Kundera, 1996: 5). The narrator begins his narration already convinced of the period's superiority to his own and is desperate to ensure that his audience works from the same interpretive context. The final pages work to certify that the reader remains "programmed" to the "nostalgia mode of reception" long after closing the book, so that any further meaning-fulfilment is unlikely to destabilise the narrator's portrayal of libertinism. The happiness and comfort of the Chevalier is stressed as his chaise departs, whilst phrases such as 'he will be trying to stay as close as he can to the night as it melts inexorably into the light' and, starting the final sentence itself, 'the chaise has vanished in the mist', lend these luxuries a poetic fragility that suggests we should work to preserve them or, this proving impossible, cherish them before they fade for good (Kundera, 1996: 132). Any interrogation of the Chevalier's era is thus made to appear less a perfectly valid inquiry and more an undue cruelty.

But libertinism does not necessarily deserve the plaudits the narrator attaches and is far from the lovely yet defenceless counterpoint to the ills of our era he strives to make it appear. Libertinism has enjoyed increased critical attention in recent years, with fresh publications of key libertine texts and an entire issue of *Yale French Studies* devoted in 1998 to unpacking libertinism's links with modernity. Michael Feher's lengthy introduction to *The Libertine Reader – Eroticism*

*and Enlightenment in the Eighteenth Century France* offers the most accessible analysis of the phenomenon, discussing facets both positive and problematic. The term 'libertinism' did not always refer to sexuality and appeared in the sixteenth century within a theological context. French theologian John Calvin, for example, used the word to denounce a sect of dissident Anabaptists (Feher, 1997: 11). The specifically eighteenth-century variety of libertinism evoked in *Slowness*, however, can be defined as 'the licentious ways of the declining French aristocracy' (Feher, 1997: 11). The death of Louis XIV in 1715 curbed the increasing demand that the nobles assembled around him at the court of Versailles demonstrate a strict morality and led, in the subsequent Regency of Philippe d'Orleans, to a 'relaxing of spirits' and a 'slackening of morals' (Feher, 1997: 13). This trend quickly filtered down to the general aristocracy, which continued to be stigmatised by such claims under the reigns of Louis XV and XVI, its increasing decadence contributing in no small way to the Revolution of 1789. The absolutism of the new, revolutionary governments mirrored that of Louis XIV and so ended the 'hiatus in monolithic authoritarianism' (Kavanagh, 1998: 79-80) started by the Regency that had allowed libertinism's cult of individuality to flourish.

Libertinism posits that the natural process of desire faces derailment by the artificial morality enforced by the social state, which mostly functions through its policing of women, the vanity of whom is shrewdly manipulated so that they feel admirable when they uphold the arbitrary virtues of modesty and constancy. The problem this causes for libertine men – one conveniently ignored by Kundera's narrator, for it contradicts his main argument – is that the '*delays* imposed on lovers [by the social state] - that is… the unreasonable extension of the interval between the emergence of a fantasy and the sexual act that both fulfils and dissipates it' (Feher, 1997: 17) provoke a dangerous idealisation that springs the fatal trap of love. The Vicomte de Valmont from Laclos' *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, for example, declares 'I really need to have this woman, to save me from the stupidity of being in love with her. For where does frustrated desire lead a man?'(Laclos, 1782/2007: 18). Slowness may be an important component of a libertine sexual encounter, but libertinism is better characterised by the need to conquer a fantasy's object as swiftly as possible, before the reason that illuminates love's perversity is eroded. Catherine Cusset goes as far as arguing that 'the opposite of libertinage is love, as a deep, *long-lasting* sentiment' (Cusset, 1998: 2), which suggests that the antidote to modern culture that the narrator of *Slowness* seeks is in the last place he would think of looking.

It is impossible to give an impartial account of libertinism without discussing its ramifications on gender. Two types of libertine can be discerned, the petit-maitre and the dangerous man (Feher, 1997: 20-31). The former delights in clever wordplay and the skilful seizing of opportune moments during which the vanity of a targeted woman becomes compromised, leaving her susceptible to the libertine's advance. The role of the woman is to 'pay at least lip service to received ideas about vice and virtue', so that even when submitting she must feign reluctance (Feher, 1997: 22). The petit-maitre must end the following liaison in a timely manner, for the successful functioning of a community of such relations depends on the constant flow of short but satisfying affairs; these adventures are 'all the more intense when they are new' (Feher, 1997: 21) and so a conquered woman must be "returned" to society so that she can become the quarry of another man. Lest this not seem misogynist enough, the dangerous man takes the objectification of women a step further. For him, the modest libertinism of the petit-maitre is contemptible. The dangerous man's "grand libertinism" begins with the similar goal of encouraging a woman to depart from the principles she professes to cherish, but his ultimate victory stems from exposing this departure to the largest audience possible and so laying bare women's status as 'the most faithful guardians of worldly hypocrisy' (Feher, 1997: 25). Just as Laclos' Valmont targets the famously unimpeachable Madame de Tourvel, the 'attraction that a dangerous man finds in a woman is directly proportional to the complexity of the plan' (Feher, 1997: 26) her conquest demands, for the subsequent revelation of his victory will then attract maximum admiration. And so while the petit-maitre and dangerous man alike must be experts at detecting the moments during which a woman's virtue becomes vulnerable, the dangerous man must be additionally what Feher describes as a 'skilful propagandist' (Feher, 1997: 28). Here also the rhetorical use to which libertinism is put by the narrator of *Slowness* fails his argument: the dangerous man at least is entirely "future orientated", his actions determined by the possibility of his representing them to a future audience, and so he is no less a dancer than Berck or Vincent.

Libertinism, then, is neither especially slow nor especially private. This fair conclusion exposes the largest manipulation attempted by *Slowness*' narrator, which sees him state that Denon's *No Tomorrow* 'figures among the literary works that seem best to represent the art and the spirit of the eighteenth-century' (Kundera, 1996: 8). Many critics would disagree and with good reason. For Feher, *No Tomorrow* 'gives a *rare* example of duplicity's joyful triumph' and comprises 'a unique manifesto in favour of libertine politeness' (Feher, 1997: 43). Nancy K. Miller is particularly keen to stress that the sexual freedom supporters of libertinism cite as its main strength is primarily androcentric and relegates women to the role of 'launching' the careers of young men, who ultimately become sexual oppressors and, biologically and socially, will never face the negative consequences of promiscuity that threaten the women they subordinate (Miller, 1995: 9; Miller, 1998: 18-19). Miller specifically cities *No Tomorrow* as the only libertine text that allows a woman to perform a libertine seduction of her own and 'escape the rule of consequence' (Miller, 1998: 18). James A. Steintrager explains that *No Tomorrow* does not reiterate contemporary discourses but sees 'the semantics of

the libertine novel and of the literary female orgasm undergo important modifications' (Steintrager, 1999: 31). While eighteenth-century representations of sexuality typically constructed female pleasure as clearly discernable via obvious signs, which a libertine would need to read in order to identify his own sexual capability, *No Tomorrow* frames Madame de T's sexuality as undecipherable, via the suggestion of her true paramour, the Marquis, that she is anorgasmic, which Steintrager argues leaves the narrator unsure of whether or not she was "faking it" during their night together. Earlier libertine fiction presumes a transparency between the sign and the signified of female pleasure as 'a relatively unproblematic given' (Steintrager, 1999: 36). The process of canon formation, which selects particular texts as intrinsically representative of their eras, is often unrelated to a text's actual commonality with the dominant mood of a period and more the product of a particular social group selecting the texts that posit their own interests as universal values. We can discern a similar agenda behind the narrator of *Slowness*' selection of *No Tomorrow*. He begins convinced of libertinism's superiority to his own era and so is forced to select an entirely unrepresentative text that elides most of its problematic conceits. A counterattack against the trend towards generalisation decried by Simmel, Harvey and Jameson and epitomised by Kundera's narrator can be launched by exposing the fallacies of the latter's argument and restoring *No Tomorrow*'s *a*typicality.

The narrator's manipulation does not stop at the process of textual selection and affects his representation itself. Selecting as brief a text as *No Tomorrow* to propound the slowness of its era of origin over the speed of our own is clearly not the wisest of rhetorical manoeuvres. If the typical length of fictional texts from a given era parallels that era's experience of consciousness or availability of leisure time, as has been posited by writers such as Calvino, then positioning *No Tomorrow* as typical of the eighteenth-century suggests an era even flightier than our own. But despite my criticism of his methodology, I believe that the narrator's commitment to slowness is relatively pure, as is demonstrated by his most obvious interference with Denon's story, which transforms it from a continuous piece of prose into an account punctuated and fragmented by numerous digressions, chiefly those of the twentieth-century narrative. Roman Ingarden explains that 'every concretization of a literary work is a temporally extended formulation. The time span occupied by a given concretization may be greater or smaller according to circumstances…' (Ingarden, 1973: 343). By concretization, Ingarden means the process by which the dormant words and structures of the text acquire meaning via each reading process to which they are subjected. *Slowness*' narrator successfully produces a slower version of *No Tomorrow*, in which the reader's concretization of Denon's story occurs over a longer period of reading time - unless she becomes so absorbed by the narrator's version that she skips ahead to discover its outcome sooner - but again a nobly intentioned act backfires. Because of what occurs during the gaps between each instance of relation a different *No Tomorrow* emerges, one the reader is very unlikely to concretize in the same way she would its original. Assuming her reading of *No Tomorrow* is uninterrupted by other literature – which its brevity makes unlikely – its concretization will be far purer than that made possible by the narrator's version, where each section of his variation will be unavoidably coloured by its juxtaposition with the intervening material. It becomes an effort for the reader's interpretation of *No Tomorrow* to avoid paralleling the narrator's own inability to concretize the story from any perspective other than that of a facile comparison with our own era. Every act of Denon's characters is given an unconditional positive framing by its opposition to the farcical nature of Vincent and his contemporaries, beyond the horizons of the original text. The reader is impelled against forming her own, impartial judgements regarding the Chevalier or Madame de T's behaviour, since the narrator's value system hovers over the fragments of Denon's text and constantly threatens the displacement of her own. A successful retrieval of a pure *No Tomorrow* that allows the reader her own opinions, which necessitates retrieving the original text, thus becomes akin to avoiding an attempted seduction on the part of the narrator, one mirroring those performed by the libertine characters he evidently idolises.

Further interferences with Denon's text are relatively inconsequential, such as the 'bench' (Kundera, 1996: 28) on which *Slowness*' Chevalier and his mistress sit being, in the original, 'a grassy bank [that] appeared' (Denon, 1777/1997: 736) before them. While the bench is merely found, implying that it has been placed there and sat statically awaiting discovery, the verb 'appeared' implies that the original's 'bank' has arrived spontaneously in order to facilitate the evening's events, better evoking an unfolding conspiracy to which even the natural landscape is privy. A further modification occurs during the interruption of the lovers' first exchange of kisses: in *Slowness*, Madame de T realises that her seduction is proceeding too speedily and so 'stands and decides to turn back' (Kundera, 1996: 29). Denon's narrator, however, reports that 'silence fell all around us. We heard it… and we were frightened. We stood up without saying another word and began to walk again' (Denon, 1777/1997: 735), which portrays the break as jointly instigated. We could argue that Denon's narrator fails to notice Madame de T's manipulation of the event and assumes that he enjoyed equal agency, but given that ideologically-driven misrepresentation is a dominant theme in *Slowness*, it is safe to assume that the narrator's valorisation of Madame de T as 'lover of pleasure' and 'guardian of happiness' leads him to provide her with the greatest degree of agency in shaping the night's course as is possible (Kundera, 1996: 120). More damaging than these minor misrepresentations is one that unseats the logic that causes *Slowness*' narrator to cite *No Tomorrow* in the first place. The Chevalier's journey from the theatre to the château is described as a 'smooth and pleasant' (Kundera, 1996: 6) opposite to the speed of the narrator's contemporaries. In Denon's original, however, the

pair change horses twice, while phrases such as 'lightning speed', 'the lurching of the carriage' and 'an unexpected jolt' (Denon, 1777/1997: 733) create a sense of hurried momentum leading almost to chaos. At the start of Chapter 11, *Slowness*' narrator admits that his description of Madame de T's 'bodily roundness' is his own invention; elsewhere, he discloses that Denon's narrator is never actually labelled as a Chevalier (Kundera, 1996: 32, 6). Drawing attention to these interpellations serves to veil those *not* directly acknowledged, for the reader may trustingly assume that all similar manipulations are likewise laid bare, when the alterations that most forcefully prostitute *No Tomorrow* to the narrator's argument are those uncovered only by a direct comparison of both texts.

We must also consider how the changes in *No Tomorrow*'s form and perspective between original and representation affect its meaning. The former is told in the first-person past tense, the latter summarised in the third-person present. This shift in narrative voice transforms the story from confessional to exposé and robs the original narrator of the agency to describe his own experiences, paralleling him with Cechoripsky, whose life-story is similarly appropriated for the motives of another and who is likewise unable to prevent the usurper's trail of misrepresentations. More important is the shift in tense. At the close of *No Tomorrow*, the narrator states 'I looked hard for the moral of this whole adventure… and found none' (Denon, 1777/1997: 747). As explained, use of the past tense evokes the future space of the discourse itself, in relation to which the story being reported is *past*. The title of the novella itself suggests this future space, with Cusset arguing correctly that 'a title that contains the word "tomorrow", even if only to deny this word, is obviously not ignorant of tomorrow' (Cusset, 1997: 723). The form of the aforementioned verbs 'looked' and 'found' anchor them to the mentality of the narrator as he is leaving the chateau, not of his reporting future self. He is not saying that the story has no moral, or that he has not discovered a moral *since*, but merely that he was unable to divine it so near - temporally and geographically - to the night's events. Placing this statement at the very close of his narration leaves it lingering in the reader's mind and arguably encourages the reader to deduce a moral that the narrator wishes he had discerned sooner.

Few texts suggest how large or small is the temporal gap between the time of the story and the time of the narration. *No Tomorrow* makes no explicit statement, but the beseeching 'I beg the reader to remember that I was twenty years old' (Denon, 1777/1997: 740) suggests the narrator is embarrassed by his youthful naivety and so implies a gap of many years. There has thus been plenty of time for the moral to be discovered. *Slowness*' narrator writes a moral into the novella, but this relates to the actions of Madame de T within the time of the story and does not explore the possible consequences of these actions on the Chevalier, which would become apparent only some time between the story and the narrating act, a time that Kundera's narrator effaces. Feher's description of the "dangerous man" brand of libertine experiencing 'a strange nostalgia for the time of his own innocence, that former time when he was in love with the woman who so brutally introduced him into society' (Feher, 1997: 30) suggests a probable fate for *No Tomorrow*'s narrator, whose arguable humiliation and abandonment by Madame de T - combined with his realisation that her sensitivity is merely a front for her sexual pursuits – may well turn him into a "dangerous man" himself. Viewing *No Tomorrow* as a utopian manifesto for libertinism is only possible if we take its title at face value, as the narrator of *Slowness* does brazenly. But the state of "no tomorrow" valorised on *Slowness*' final page is not only a counterpoint to the future orientation of Berck and Vincent, but a mode of existence that robs us of the time needed to illuminate both the morals and the consequences that will prove certain courses of action are less fruitful than they initially appear. The narrator's use of the present tense to remove from *Slowness*' temporality the future space in which Berck and Vincent will enjoy the spoils of their dancing is perhaps most misguided because it places too much emphasis on the likelihood of their dancing succeeding, demonstrating the narrator's strong internalisation of his era's mentality. The broadcast of Berck's interview with Cechoripsky may be critically panned; Vincent may fail in his performance at the Café Gascon and become a laughing stock. The future space that the narrator denies these characters would then become one of consequence and, perhaps, of realising that forging a reputation through misrepresentation is unviable.

*Slowness* tellingly dodges the question of Madame de T's possible anorgasmia. In *No Tomorrow*, once the narrator has been told that Madame de T 'herself feels nothing [and] is made of stone', he nonchalantly replies 'I wouldn't have guessed...' (Denon, 1777/1997: 745) and his lengthy conversation with the Marquis continues. Either the lack of direct commentary on the remark implies that the narrator wishes to rush past it, embarrassed by having been deceived by a performance suggesting the opposite, or, conversely, the ellipsis suggests a smug satisfaction at having given his partner what the unskilled Marquis evidently cannot. We could also presume that the Marquis is lying in order to unsettle the narrator's confidence. It is impossible to resolve from the narrative whether or not Madame de T is anorgasmic, or, extrapolating from this, whether or not a representation can be said to hold true to its suggestions. In the sound-biting present day, however, there is no room for the narrator's reading of *No Tomorrow* to preserve this ambiguity. After describing the aforementioned conversation, he informs us that 'the Chevalier could laugh up his sleeve, because [Madame de T] had just proven the opposite to him' (Kundera, 1996: 120). The narrator does not state that it is correct for the Chevalier to presume this, but the show of confidence is entirely his invention and the Chevalier's counterpart in *No Tomorrow* demonstrates no such surety. *Slowness*' narrator reads into *No Tomorrow* a much stronger link between representation and reality than the text supports, which subtly mirrors an overly trusting reader's conclusion that the

representation of *No Tomorrow* within *Slowness* is faithful to its original. By comparing the two texts and discovering the differences outlined here, the reader ceases to be *Slowness'* Chevalier and becomes instead his counterpart from Denon's original, in a much stronger position to combat the manipulations of Berck and Vincent because disabused of the faith that speedy representations can claim sovereignty.

## 4. Conclusion

Reader-response theory provides a model useful for consolidating my reading of *Slowness* as a dissection of how the speedy culture decried by its narrator derails our ability to unpack and learn from ambiguous texts like *No Tomorrow*, or *Slowness* itself. Wolfgang Iser explains that 'communication in literature… is a process set in motion… by a mutually restrictive and magnifying interaction between the explicit and the implicit, between revelation and concealment. What is *concealed* spurs the reader into action, but this action is also controlled by what is *revealed*; the explicit in its turn is transformed when the implicit has been brought to life' (Iser, 1978: 168-9). If we can describe a reader who follows this model as what the thematic concerns of *Slowness* would position as a good reader, then the narrator of *Slowness* is a bad reader of *No Tomorrow*. To make of *Slowness* a truly novelistic experience, we must be the opposite sort of reader to its narrator, one with far more time on our hands. What is concealed about libertinism must spur the reader into a process of revealing, one simultaneously inspired by the gulf within the contemporary narrative separating what Berck reveals about Cechoripsky to the camera - and what Vincent plans to reveal to Pontevin about his night with Julie - from what the implied ideal reader will notice these revealings veil. Likewise, the reader's unveiling of libertinism's true colours will be guided by what the narrator reveals about *No Tomorrow*, which provides its original as a logical starting-point. And what is made explicit within *Slowness* about both *No Tomorrow* and libertinism will be transformed by the knowledge brought by a re-reading, from a fair argument that offers libertinism as a viable alternative to our contemporary era into just another symptom of this era's conversion of difference and complexity into happy but manipulated soundbites.

*Slowness* becomes an effective antidote to the trends it criticizes precisely because of the contradictory situation of it proposing a promising set of values that it consistently fails to put into practice. Iser and Hans Robert Jauss both agree that the value of a work of literature is directly proportional to its refutation of a reader's expectations (Iser, 1974: 278; Jauss, 1982: 25). An initial expectation is set up and then demolished as soon as the reader first spots the novel on a bookshop shelf, the promises of its title at odds with its slimness. This trend continues throughout the reading process, as the novel's peformative and constative elements continue to be at war with one another.   If *Slowness* were already slow, out of the box, the reader would finish it without being compelled to perform the future meaning-fulfilment that makes a genuinely slow text of both Kundera's work and *No Tomorrow*. The latter text becomes especially valuable via its metamorphosis into a site in which the expectations of it conceived through the narrator's representation are demolished, so that the ambiguities *No Tomorrow* already establishes within its own universe are joined by those it casts upon the text that seeks to manipulate it. *Slowness* thus encourages a transformation within the reader, one that lifts her above the problems of her era, as she is not just told by the narrator but experiences for herself the deficiencies of speed and the truths illuminated via a slower way of living and reading.

## References

Banerjee, M. N. (1999). "Nostalgia con Brio: Kundera's *Slowness*." In Petro, P. (Ed.) *Critical Essays on Milan Kundera*. New York: G.K. Hall and Co.

Baranczak, S. (September 1996). The Incredible Lightness. *The New Republic*.

Barthes, R. (1974). *S/Z*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Benjamin, W. (1992). On Some Motifs in Baudelaire. *Illuminations*. London: Fontana Press.

Currie, M. (2007). *About Time – Narrative Fiction and the Philosophy of Time*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Cusset, C. (1997). A Lesson of Decency – Pleasure and Reality in Vivant Denon's *No Tomorrow*. In Feher, M. (Ed.), *The Libertine Reader – Eroticism and Enlightenment in Eighteenth Century France*. New York: Zone Books.

Cusset, C. (1998). The Lesson of Libertinage. *Yale French Studies* No. 94.

Denon, V. (1997). "No Tomorrow." In Feher, M. (Ed.) *The Libertine Reader – Eroticism and Enlightenment in Eighteenth Century France*. New York: Zone Books.

Derrida, J. (1998). *Archive Fever – A Freudian Impression*. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Feher, M. (Ed.) (1997). *The Libertine Reader – Eroticism and Enlightenment in Eighteenth Century France*. New York: Zone Books.

Fludernik, M. (2003). Chronology, Time, Tense and Experientiality in Narrative. *Language and Literature,* Vol. 12, No. 2.

Genette, G. (1980). *Narrative Discourse – An Essay in Method*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Goodman, J. and Jorgensen, B. (2005). Time and Technology. In Aldrich, Tim (Ed.) *About Time*: *Speed, Society, People and the Environment*. Sheffield: Greenleaf Publishing Ltd.

Harvey, D. (1992). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Harvey, J. (2006). Fiction in the Present Tense. *Textual Practice,* Vol. 20, No. 1.

Ingarden, R. (1973). *The Literary Work of Art*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Iser, W. (1974). *The Implied Reader – Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction From Bunyan to Beckett*. London: The John Hopkins University Press.

Iser, W. (1978). *The Act of Reading – A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. London: Routledge.

Jameson, F. (1997). *Postmodernism – or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Jauss, H. R. (1982). *Toward an Aesthetic Theory of Reception*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

Kavanagh, T. M. (1998). The Libertine Moment. *Yale French Studies,* No. 94.

Kovacevic, N. (Autumn 2006). History on Speed: Media and the Politics of Forgetting in Milan Kundera's *Slowness*. *Modern Fiction Studies,* Vol.52, No.3.

Kundera, M. (1984). *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.

Kundera, M. (1988). *The Art of the Novel*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.

Kundera, M. (1995). *Testaments Betrayed – An Essay in Nine Parts*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.

Kundera, M. (1996). *Slowness*. London: Faber and Faber Limited.

Kundera, M. (1998). *La Lenteur*. Editions Gallimard.

Kunes, K. (1995). The Art of Buffoonery: The Czech Joke a la Commedia Dell'Arte Style in Kundera's French Novel *Slowness*. In Petro, P. (Ed.) *Critical Essays on Milan Kundera*. New York: G.K. Hall and Co.

Laclos, C. (2007). *Dangerous Liasons*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Mendilow, A. (1972). *Time and the Novel*. New York: Humanities Press.

Miller, N. K. (1995). *French Dressing – Women, Men and Ancien Régime Fiction*. London: Routledge.

Miller, N. K. (1998). Libertinism and Feminism. *Yale French Studies,* No. 94.

Misurella, F. (1993). *Understanding Milan Kundera – Public Events, Private Affairs*. University of South Carolina Press: Columbia.

O'Brien, J. (1992). Milan Kundera: Meaning, Play and the Role of the Author. *Critique: Studies in Modern Fiction*, Vol. 34, No. 1.

O'Brien, J. (2005). *Milan Kundera and Feminism – Dangerous Intersections*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Rogers, M. F. (1991). *Novels, Novelists and Readers – Towards a Phenomenological Study of Literature*. Albany: State University of New York.

Simmel, G. (1997). The Metropolis and Mental Life. In Frisby, D. and Featherstone, M. (Eds.) *Simmel on Culture – Selected Writings*. London: SAGE Publications.

Steintrager, J. A. (1999). Are You There Yet?: Libertinage and the Semantics of the Orgasm. *Differences* Vol. 11

Straus, N. P. (Winter 1987). Erasing History and Deconstructing the Text: Milan Kundera's *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. *Critique: Studies in Modern Fiction,* Vol. 28, No. 2.

Virilio, P. (2008). *Negative Horizon – An Essay in Dromoscopy*. New York: Continuum.

# State Official – Public Official – Pedagogic Official

# Development of the Teaching Profession in

# Austria, France and Germany in the 18th Century

Ulrich Binder

Institute of Pedagogics, University of Berne, Switzerland

Muesmattstrasse 27, 3012 Berne, Switzerland

E-mail: ulrich.binder@edu.unibe.ch

**Abstract**

What fundamental factors make up the teaching profession? This is a question that is currently at the heart of various pedagogic and also public debates. This work will look at the role, duty and ethics of the teaching profession – subjects that are widely discussed today – in terms of their historical contexts. The focus will be on the 18th century, which was the period when the modern teaching profession began to develop in Europe. With this, three lines of development will be reconstructed, which depict the profession as a state department, a public service and an appointee of pedagogic service; three perspectives that have shaped the profession in a dynamic way to this very day.

**Keywords:** Teacher, Modernization, 18th century, France, Austria, Germany

## 1. Introduction

Various modernization processes – with political, cultural, economic, technical and scientific characteristics – led to the first developments of a public schooling system in Europe in the late 17th and 18th century. At this time, the teaching profession took on the shape that it is still based on today.

Just as clearly as the activities and the institutionalized scope of the teaching profession seem to be represented at first glance, the understanding of these varies just as much within pedagogics. While other professions not only develop on the basis of modernization, but rather also take their understanding and their profile from it, pedagogic discussions struggle with such modernization trends that first created the teaching profession. Throughout these theoretical and practical pedagogical discussions, the question always remains unanswered as to what actually constitutes the modern teaching profession. Invariably, a well-known trichotomy is then called upon, and representatives of the practice-orientated pedagogics ask, for example "Is teaching an art, a trade or a science?" (Dreyer 2005). And those in the field of theoretical pedagogics question whether it is a "job or vocation?" (Scheunpflug 1999) and place the teaching profession in a conflicting area of institution, public domain and pedagogical assignment (Heitger 1975 and 1979). The teaching profession emerges as a tension-filled trichotomy, and "professionalization and professional ethics" (Schach 1987) is debated in three perspectives:

– "technical-pragmatic" and "functional" (ibid., p. 44 et seqq.),

– "geared towards society" and "political" (ibid., p. 36 et seqq. and p. 113 et seqq.) and

– "religious" and "idealistic" (ibid., p. 80 et seqq. and 94 et seqq.).

These three perspectives have not only continually developed the debates of the What/Where/Why etc. of the teaching profession throughout history; they also have a relatively clear historical origin. The professionalization of teaching a) takes place within the scope of an administrative state, and the teaching profession develops and places itself b) within the scope and with regard to the public domain and its demands and procedures. 'Education and teaching as a profession' thus is unthinkable without system formation and organization, as well as without regard for the problems posed by a public-social context. The state and public development factors are thereby always accompanied by a third perspective. Ever since the teaching profession has existed in an institutionalized form, i.e. for more than 200 years,

public institutionalized education in traditional pedagogics has been a problem. A third well-established, stable perspective on the teaching profession continually plays a role, a perspective that is based on an original, genuine pedagogical assignment and the related value of "*being* a teacher".

This work shall explore the early stages of the three understandings of the modern teaching profession. For the reconstruction of perspective 1: an explicit administrative program, and for that of perspective 2: a program designed explicitly in and for the public domain we will go back to the start of professionalization in the 18th century. The analysis will look at the institutionalization of the modern teaching profession in "Enlightened Absolutism" Austria, and will then look at a democratic liberal school organizational program in France of the same era, which sees the teaching profession to be *in* and *for* the public domain. Perspective 3 will be exemplified through pedagogical theory positions, in which, aside from structural, administrative and bureaucratic condition structures, and through skeptical distancing and differential assumptions relating to problems of society and public expectations, the view of the teaching profession is created.

## 2. Teachers as 'public service workers' in enlightened absolutism: A profession with functional competency

In the multi-ethnical state of Austria in the late 18th century, a profound structural change occurred, which is commonly seen as the original point at which the modern Austrian state and the civil society were formed. Internal cultural tensions along with huge structural and financial problems led to an administrative reform, with which virtually all social and economic areas were placed under central control, so that they could be managed and controlled. So it was not "the philosophy" that called for reform, but rather very practical constellations and problems identified a very specific type of modernization as existential necessity. Thus, the Danube Monarchy was transformed into a modern state of administration, law and culture, from *above,* as a reform of the authorities.

The education system played an important role in all this. In the large Theresian reform it was not just the main goal, it was also the medium. On the one hand, in a very practical way, this type of reorganization simply requires well-educated people, the type of person that had not existed in the previous feudal and agrarian state, and above all the large number of public servants who were now needed for the administrative state would need to be educated. On the other hand, it was about educating a "new state awareness"; School became a medium for "guaranteeing the spiritual basis or requirement for the gradual transition from the pre-modern to modern state and society order" (Brezinka 2000, p. 3). The goal of a specific "*Austrian national education"* was "a moral and useful citizen, who is passionately linked to his homeland and the dynasty" (ibid. 2000, p. 8 et seqq.).

An agent was appointed for the extensive reform of the elementary education system: Johann Ignaz von Felbiger. His "General school regulation for the German standard, main and trivial schools in the whole of the Imperial-Royal ancestral countries" from 1774 formed the basis for a standard regulation of the schooling system. Felbiger's school reform – and that is the interesting thing here – affected teachers. "A key point in his considerations was that only better trained and uniformly acting teachers could improve schooling" (Engelbrecht 1984, p. 106). The 'general schooling system' therefore sets standards for teachers in elementary schools and institutionalized teacher training at so-called normal schools. The "characteristics and duties of 'righteous teachers' were defined, the elements that were to be taught, the methods that were to be used, maintaining catalogues for inspections" etc. were made binding (ibid.).

In Felbiger's measures catalogue that relates to this, the direction of the teacher's profession is depicted in the administrative political system. It is broken down into "properties, sciences and recognition of honest school people" (Felbiger 1780/1958). The "properties" relate to professional knowledge and composure, when it is first requested that the teacher makes the learning material "understandable and comprehensible" and that it "(must) be expertly ascertained, whether they (the pupils) have understood it correctly and whether they can actually make use of the newly acquired knowledge" (ibid., p. 33 et seqq.). The virtue catalogue, which is only mentioned after such profession-related directives, focuses – in addition to "being an honest Christian", a virtue that naturally applied for the Catholic Felbiger – on "effort", "accuracy", "punctuality", "frugalness", "patience" etc. (ibid. p. 36 et seqq.).

Felbiger's measures are aimed fully and entirely on the contemporary nation building, which was to bring together 'state' and 'religion', in the sense "that you couldn't be a good Christian without being a good citizen" (Felbiger n.d., cited in Krömer 1966, p. 59): "Children (should) in schools and by school teachers... be taught skills..., made into useful assets for the state, sensible people, honest Christians, i.e. become part of temporal and everlasting blessedness" (ibid. p. 35; for more extensive comments on the integration of secular and sacred aspects cf. Binder 2009). In the very sense of the aforementioned enlightened absolutism, Felbiger is also convinced of a specific enlightenment education to reason, as it is supposed to hold together the new state and community structure. For him "without question… the moral improvement depends on the tuition that the young experience in the first use of their *reason*" (Felbiger 1762, cited in Lambrecht 2004, p. 201). "First and foremost in teaching... the ultimate goal should be… enlightenment of the mind" (Felbiger 1776, in Weiß 1904, p. 152).

The "properties … of honest school people" are followed by the "sciences of virtuous school masters" (ibid., p. 47), and

the enlightened and informative, profane way of thinking mentioned, can also be seen in Felbiger's image of the school master. School masters must therefore first and foremost understand the main object and aim of the lessons. This is followed by notes on how you can "make pupils think in the right way", "how you can get them used to working" (ibid., p. 49), what it "means, to really understand something" (ibid., p. 51) etc. "Clarity" and "order" were indispensable (ibid., p. 53) in teaching, while at the same time "make learning easy and appealing" (ibid., p. 54). All this is not just preamble: his work goes on to provide specific behavior guidelines, for example "teaching through questions" (ibid., p. 62) or the famous "alphabet method" for learning to write (ibid., p. 68 et seqq.).

The "third main section" talks about "illustrating a school master in his position". From a management point of view it is, among other things, clearly specified "what a school master should do before school" (ibid., p. 77) and what he should "do during school" (ibid., p. 79) etc. An account should be kept of all activities to guarantee an external inspection.

From this brief outline is it clear that the teacher's profession strictly defined as a "state position" and is defined according to professional standards. The teaching profession is thus distinguished in this administrative perspective through

1    specialist knowledge about school,

2    accordingly chosen pedagogical procedures, which above all focus on skills and experience;

3    reliability in various regards and accountability (transparency).

It was possible to train and manage teachers in the same way throughout the whole country. Elementary schools and elementary education were to be stabilized and effective management made this possible. This "Order through ordinance" was successful: not only did the "teachers who were in the focus of the school renewal experience (a) considerable revaluation", the "quality of the lesson was also able to be improved, because teaching and education was designed according to standardized, useable methods" (Engelbrecht 1984, p. 116). The "organizational implementation in the Habsburg multi-ethnical state was a mighty cultural deed with effects that stretched beyond its limits" (Brezinka 2000, p. 10). Within a few years, a "'uniformity' and institutionalized level existed, which was also meaningful for the whole of Europe and set an example" (Lambrecht 2006, p. 600).

## 3. Teaching as a service *in* and *for* the public domain in the French Enlightenment. A profession with a public mandate

Let's move from late 18th century Austria to the same time period in France, to look at a school program that was designed against the backdrop of the French Revolution and which is said to "contain equal shares of regulatory principles of modern school organizations and 'education planning'" (Schepp 1966, p. 7). This refers to Marie-Jean-Antoine Condorcet's work "General organization of the public school system" from 1792. Condorcet's reorganization of the then public, standard and well-planned schooling system was to help to "finally show the world a nation, in which freedom and equality for all is actually a positive reality, which they are pleased about and the value of which they understand" (Condorcet 1792/1966, p. 58). "In Condorcet's work, the school political and school pedagogical ideas of the French, and furthermore the European Enlightenment are composed" (Schepp 1966, p. 8); in this, enlightenment and state would programmatically be brought together under consideration of modern democracy.

At the center of Condorcet's work is the general volition of the intelligent public that discusses all problems openly. Not individual authorities, not the power of disposal of an administrative state, but rather the public domain of free citizens with equal rights including all their specific rational negotiation processes was to be the authority that would deal with all issues of common welfare. Not only is this the basis for all considerations of the education system, the education system also *serves* this, as it is to prepare citizens for participating in such a contractualized society. Through the corresponding democratized and democratizing education, finally the new "democratic sovereign" in the form of the citizens was to be created.

Education is public in every regard: it is geared towards the openness of free and equal citizens, and above all to serving these, which according to Condorcet in particular was to be achieved through spreading knowledge. The public administration and spreading of knowledge was to lead to a participation (opportunity) of everyone in all public needs (including women, slaves and Jews for example). "We do not want", wrote Condorcet, "that even a single person in the whole Empire can say: the law assigns me full equal rights, but I am not given the means to know what these are" (ibid., p. 65).

This also means that the teaching profession positioned itself as a key profession *for* and *in* the public domain. The public adopts the part of the rationally reasoned 'instruction publique'. Condorcet planned, for example, from a development and a national educational perspective, that in "public conferences" of teachers, "which all citizens can attend", there is the opportunity, "to fully develop the principles and rules of morality and to specify the part of the national law..., the ignorance of which must stop a citizen from knowing and using his rights" (ibid., p. 29; p. 24). Also

"parents will be witnesses of the education their children receive"; this way at the same time "the young people would to some extent be exposed to the eyes of the public and... would learn early on to speak confidently, with ease and with manners..." (ibid., p. 45). "The elementary educational books" then "shall be chosen through a competition that all citizens can take part in, all those who would like to add something to public education.." (ibid., p. 56), the "public force should determine the books that it considers right for learning..." (ibid., p. 57). Knowledge of the profession, its contents and how it emerged were not allowed to be virulently separated from public control, this way the influence of individual people – teachers, inspectors etc. – on the whole teaching system was not to fall victim to the "spirit of imperiousness" and "personally-orientated world view" and "market-crier teaching" (ibid., p. 71; p. 73). In contrast, Condorcet focused on the "rational sciences", that were to form the basis of school education, that for its part had to add to the "advance of sciences, philosophy and craftsmanship" (ibid., p. 74).

In almost every regard, the teaching profession is clearly closely connected to the public. Here it can only be understood in public structure conditions. It is characterized by the following:

1 It is a profession that is integrated into the learning processes requested by the public.

2 That way, justification and control by the public are also central.

3 The basis is rational knowledge and corresponding pedagogical procedures are used, which above all focus on knowledge dimensions.

According to Condorcet's liberal concept of democracy, the public is the most significant guarantor for maintaining order and freedom: "la liberté de la presse, l'usage presque universel de la lecture, la multitude de papiers publics, suffisent pour préserver de ce danger" (Condorcet 1791/92, cited in Osterwalder 1993, p. 157), and as a consequence, teaching content and goals, teaching methods and means as well as the overall teacher behavior are not separate parts of the profession; but rather they are developed and stabilized through public interest and public control.

### 4. The teaching profession as *being* a teacher. A 'pedagogical' activity within and for itself

Until now, we have seen that the professionalization of teaching occurs as the state and society recognize the importance of pedagogical institutions and the corresponding agents. At the same time, throughout history critics voiced their opposition from widely different fields such as Pietism, Jansenism and Philanthropism, from Herbartianism, Progressive Education (deutsche "Reformpädagogik") and Humanitarian Science Pedagogic ("Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik") etc. Institutionalized and public education was altogether opposed in favor of an alleged independent, own-law pedagogical activity and the related professional ethics of the teacher. As different as the discussions relating to this and the levels of critic are, they are unified in their idea that in the teaching profession there is always something "more", whatever its nature. The professional field of the teacher is here not explained together with the education, but rather with the "devotion" (Zillig) to original pedagogics, to that of the "mission" (Diesterweg) in the "spirit of education" (Pestalozzi).

Accordingly, the ethics of the teacher moves to the forefront of the job description and the 'personality' becomes the central variable. Pedagogical theories, which in the early 19th century were closely linked to the teaching profession, have the character of professional ethics, such that it can or should no longer be fixed in the perspectives of before. Accordingly, it focuses positions and opinions with regard to duties and tasks. Such theories are then "a type of knowledge for the teacher or the educator..., just as his theory is for any other artist", wrote Ziller (1876, p. 51). Education theory gives the teacher duties "that he can't deviate from, without experiencing an internal accusation as if of a better I" (ibid.). Virtues such as the 'teacher conscience' offer guidance in terms of a profession that is characterized by 'educational talent', 'educational virtuosity', 'gift of education' and above all 'teacher personality' . A consequence of this is the creation oaths (e.g. by Salzmann 1806/1960), which – in the same way as when entering into a religious community – the candidates must take on    professional ethics.

In contemporary "Theories of the art of teaching" (cf. e.g. Walsemann 1912), such concepts are concentrated to describe being a teacher. They are ahead of respective expert knowledge and didactics, and go beyond it. "Historically, the complex capacity, professional competence of the teacher, ... was not elaborated with the notion of method, because there was the fear of coming close to a mechanism and the educators... were looking more for the spirit of education to be the mechanism for teaching" (Tenorth 1986, p. 293). Nevertheless, the specific professional knowledge and the competencies that were to be used and arranged were sought. The 'professional wisdom' for 'indeterminable work on the undefined' is retained in various 'scientific arts'. From Otto Willmann's "educational work" and Peter Zillig's "individual education" to Herbart's "cycle" and then Diesterweg's conceptional "natural education", even to the Pedagogical Reform and Humanistic Theories from the start of the 20th century and far beyond, there have been efforts to find methodical equivalence for the *character* of the teacher.

The individual focuses and consequences may differ; but the connecting force is the expressed opposition between education in and for itself and public state education. The teaching profession is thereby classified outside of a public role and a functional state organization. State institutions and public service in this perspective are regarded as a

guarantee for the profession in several ways, but at the same time they thwarted the pedagogical idea and thus constricted the 'actual' pedagogic activity. This ultimately is/remains in this perspective a religious connotation, if it "justifies the objective sense of the profession" and is based on "thoughts of supra-personal determination of the objective professional tasks" (Schach 1987, p. 36.; p. 45). In this regard, "society and the public... must then not continually try to give the education system new tasks regardless of their pedagogical relevance", because this would then lead to a "betrayal of the pedagogical task" itself (Heitger 1979, p. 134; p. 129). And the state organized school would bring about "institutional constriction... for the educator" (Weniger 1929, p. 76): institutional constraint would have an adverse effect on the "free flow of pedagogical ambitions" (Böttcher/Terhart 2004, p. 7).

This perspective of the teaching profession, as it calls for validity for *all* pedagogical practices, is a perspective that is based on the 'pedagogical idea', which tended to be fixed beyond "proven knowledge, factual constriction, professional standards and specialist training" (Combe/Helsper 1996, p. 19).

## 5. Conclusion

All three historical perspectives helped develop the modern teaching profession and have shaped it to this very day. It is at one point extensively integrated into organizational structures that are answerable to, administered by and controlled by the state, which results in a clear scope of activity. At the same time, it is embedded into different circles of society and discursive practices, and is thereby always bound to central socio-cultural values and consequently to public problems. Niklas Luhmann/Eberhard Schorr and Talcott Parsons said: The teaching profession is integrated into the organization of learning processes required by society, and it is an expression of an increase and imposition of rationalization for handling social concerns. Thus, both aspects are also an attribute of the modern profession, if the handling of a central scope of duties represents a central character for society.

At the same time – and this is where the profession deviates from of such professional descriptions – being a teacher is considered a product of public social and state functional factors, and furthermore of scientific obligations. It is, in fact, much more commonly seen as a *projection*, as something that is against "depersonalization and inadequacy... objectification, in short: against a contra-pedagogical technification of the teaching profession" (Terhart 1996, p. 449). In the third perspective, the teaching profession nevertheless remains formative, which can be seen just as much in public discussions about the teaching profession (cf. Peagitsch 1983) as in numerous theoretical writings, and not least in the self-image of teachers themselves (cf. Scherling 1983; Dege 2007). A professional culture is developed that is supposed to protect the *individualism* of the teacher from leveling and functionalization and instrumentalization of the 'pedagogical idea' of the time. A lot of questions certainly remain unanswered in this, of which one is how such a *vocation* can be institutionalized and taught, not least also how it can be managed and controlled, but above all, whom it should/can benefit.

## References

Anzengruber, P. (2003). Ein Schritt zur professionellen Berufssozialisation. In: Zentralverein der Wiener LehrerInnen (Ed.): *Kinder ins Zentrum einer Hochschule für pädagogische Berufe*. Aspach: Wolfgang Maxlmoser - edition innsalz, 12-14.

Binder, U. (2009). "Staatsklugheit und Religionseifer." Die Modernisierung des österreichischen Bildungswesens im 18. Jahrhundert als 'säkularsakrale' Angelegenheit. In *Pädagogische Rundschau* 09/2009, 34-48.

Böttcher, W/Terhart, E. (2004). Organisationstheorien in pädagogischen Feldern. Zur Einleitung in den Band. In: Dies. (Ed.): *Organisationstheorien in pädagogischen Feldern*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 7-18.

Brezinka, W. (2000). Pädagogik in Österreich. Die Geschichte des Fachs an den Universitäten vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts. Band 1: Einleitung: Schulwesen, Universitäten und Pädagogik im Habsburger-Reich und in der Republik. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Combe, A. (1996). Pädagogische Professionalität, Hermeneutik und Lehrerbildung. Am Beispiel der Belastung von Grundschullehrkräften. In: Combe, A./Helsper, W. (Ed.): *Pädagogische Professionalität. Untersuchungen zum Typus pädagogischen Handelns*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 501-520.

Combe, A./Helsper, W. (1996). Einleitung: Pädagogische Professionalität. Historische Hypotheken und aktuelle Entwicklungstendenzen. In: Combe, A./Helsper, W. (Ed.): *Pädagogische Professionalität. Untersuchungen zum Typus pädagogischen Handelns*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 9-48.

Condorcet, J. A. De. (1792/1966). *Bericht über die allgemeine Organisation des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens*. Weinheim: Beltz.

Dege, M. (2007). Lehrer zwischen Verachtung, Selbstverachtung und Professionalität. In: Ricken, N. (Ed.): *Über die*

*Verachtung der Pädagogik : Analysen – Materialen – Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 333-352.

Dreyer, H.P. (2005). Ist Unterrichten eine Kunst, ein Handwerk oder eine Wissenschaft? *VSH-Bulletin* 32/1, 28-30.

Engelbrecht, H. (1984). *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*. Part 3: Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz. Wien: ÖBV.

Felbiger, J.I. von (1776/1904). Was sollen Normalschulen seyn, die man in den kaiserl.-königl. Erbländern errichtet hat? Eine Frage beantwortet von einem Kenner dieser Schulen. In: Österreichische Gruppe der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte (Ed.), V. Book: Beiträge zur Österreichischen Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte. In that: Weiß, A.: Beiträge zur Geschichte des österreichischen Elementarunterrichts. Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 149-181.

Felbiger, J.I. von (1780/1958). *General-Landschul-Reglement. Eigenschaften, Wissenschaften und Bezeigen rechtschaffener Schulleute. Methodenbuch. Besorgt von Julius Scheveling*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schönigh.

Heitger, M. (1975). Der Lehrer im Spannungsfeld von Institution und pädagogischem Auftrag. *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik*, 51, 392-411.

Heitger, M. (1979). Das Bildungssystem im Spannungsfeld zwischen öffentlicher Erwartung und pädagogischem Auftrag. In: *Vierteljahresschrift für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik*, 55., 121-135.

Krömer, U. (1966). *Johann Ignaz von Felbiger*. Leben und Werk. Freiburg: Herder.

Lambrecht, K. (2004). "Die Schüler werden nicht zum Nachdenken angeleitet" – Der Schulreformer Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724-1788) und die Leopoldina. In: Conrads, N. (Ed.): *Die tolerierte Universität. 300 Jahre Universität Breslau 1702-2002*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 201-209.

Lambrecht, K. (2006). "Die nötige Erziehung in der Religion und in den bürgerlichen Pflichten" – Die katholischen Reformbemühungen Johann Ignaz von Felbigers und Karl Egon von Fürstenbergs. In: Bahlcke, J./Lambrecht, K./Maner, H.Ch. (Ed.): Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung. Koexistenz und Konflikt im Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Winfried Eberhard zum 65. Geburtstag. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 575-602.

Osterwalder, F. (1993). Condorcet – Instruction publique und das Design der Pädagogik als öffentlich-rechtliche Wissenschaft. In: Oelkers, J. (Ed.): *Aufklärung, Bildung und Öffentlichkeit. Pädagogische Beiträge zur Moderne*. Weinheim, Basel: Beltz, 157-194.

Osterwalder, F. (2004). Methode. In: Benner, D./Oelkers, J. (Ed.): *Historisches Wörterbuch der Pädagogik*. Weinheim und Basel: Beltz, 638-659.

Peagitsch, I. (1983). Motivationale Aspekte der Lehrerpersönlichkeit und des Lehrerberufs. In: Dietrich, R./Elbing, E./Peagitsch, I./Ritscher, H.: *Psychologie der Lehrerpersönlichkeit*. München; Basel: Ernst Reinhardt.

Salzmann, C.G. (1806/1960). *Ameisenbüchlein oder Anweisung zu einer vernünftigen Erziehung der Erzieher*. Neuausgabe. Bad Heilbronn: Klinkhardt.

Schach, B. (1987). *Professionalisierung und Berufsethos. Eine Untersuchung zur Entwicklung des beruflichen Selbstverständnisses, dargestellt am Beispiel des Volksschullehrers*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.

Schepp, H.H. (1966). Einleitung. In: Schepp, H.H. (Ed): *Condorcet: Allgemeine Organisation des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens*. Weinheim: Beltz.

Scherling, B. (1983). Berufsanalyse des Lehrerberufs an allgemeinbildenden höheren Schulen. Diplomarbeit, Universität Linz. Zentrale Aspekte [Online] Available: http://werner.stangltaler.at/beruf/publikationen/lehrer/ default.html #4.%20die%20idealvorstellungen%20vom%20L (2008-01-27).

Scheunpflug, A. (1999). Job oder Berufung? Gibt es eine Berufsethik für Lehrkräfte? In: *Ethik und Unterricht*, 9/1, 14-18.

Stachel, P. (2007). Das österreichische Bildungssystem zwischen 1749 und 1918. [Online] Available: www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/Pstachel2.pdf (2007-12-04). Zuerst erschienen in: Acham, K. (Ed.) (1999): Geschichte des österreichischen Humanwissenschaften, Band 1: Historischer Kontext, wissenschaftssoziologische Befunde und methodologische Voraussetzung. Wien: Passagen, 115-146.

Tenorth, H.E. (1986). "Lehrerberuf vs. Dilettantismus". Wie die Lehrprofession ihr Geschäft verstand. In: Luhmann, N./Schorr, E. (Ed.). *Zwischen Intransparenz und Verstehen. Fragen an die Pädagogik*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 275-322.

Terhart, E. (1996). Berufskultur und professionelles Handeln bei Lehrern. In: Combe, A./ Helsper, W. (Ed.): *Pädagogische Professionalität*. Unterscheidungen zum Typus pädagogischen Handelns. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 448-471.

Walsemann, H. (1912). *Die Lehrkunst in ihren Grundzügen*. (Part 1: Theorie der Lehrkunst. Part 2: Praktische Anleitung und Lehrbeispiele). Leipzig: Nemnich.

Weniger, E. (1929). Die Autonomie der Pädagogik. In: Weniger, E.: *Die Eigenständigkeit der Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis*. Weinheim: Beltz, 71-81.

Ziller, T. (1876/1884). *Allgemeine Pädagogik*. Leipzig: H. Matthes.

# Facilitating Teachers' & Educators' Effective Professional Development

Adamantios Papastamatis

Assistant Professor, University of Macedonia

156 Egnatias St. 54006 Thessaloniki, Greece

Tel: 30-2310-891324     E-mail: papastam@uom.gr


Eugenia Panitsidou (Corresponding author)

PhD Candidate, University of Macedonia

156 Egnatias St. 54006 Thessaloniki, Greece

Tel: 30-2310-420304     E-mail: epantsidou@uom.gr


Panagiotis Giavrimis

Lecturer, University of the Aegean

Tertseti & Mikras Asias str., 81 100 Mytilene, Lesvos, Greece

E-mail: pgiavrim@otenet.gr


Efstratios Papanis

Assistant Professor, University of Aegean

Tertseti & Mikras Asias str., 81 100 Mytilene, Lesvos, Greece

Tel: 30-22510-36520     E-mail: papanis@papanis.com

**Abstract**

Contemporary educational systems in Western societies are being redefined within the context of technological and scientific evolution in relation to socio-economic globalisation. Therefore, it is important for educational authorities to design staff development programmes with a view to helping professionals adjust their ideology and practice effectively in order to contribute to the implementation of a learning culture and the formation of the "knowledge-based society". The aim of the present paper is to review the field of teaching staff professional growth, identifying weaknesses, highlighting trends and practices, and providing suggestions, most important for professionals and educational authorities in Greece where staff development programmes fail to reach standards met by other European countries. It focuses on staff development models that enable facilitation of teachers' efficacy, cognitive development, and career development, as well as teacher collegiality and the improvement of school culture, reconceptualising schools as "learning organisations".

**Keywords:** Professional development, Adult learning, Teachers, Educational system

## 1. Introduction

Modern societies are pressured by the impact of socioeconomic internationalisation, digital technological advancement as well as demographic reallocation (Giddens, 1990). In this context, seeking to adapt or respond to the new socioeconomic and scientific challenges emerging from continuous change, educational system needs to undergo various structural and cultural transformations. It is believed that, under such conditions of dynamic change, professionals will excel if they learn to keep apace with changes and exert impact upon them (Fullan, 2004).

In the light of a great deal of contemporary literature, continuous professional development is viewed as an essential factor for teaching staff's efficient growth and fruitful adaptation to the new regularities which are being formed under the influence of the "knowledge-based society" (Craft, 2000; Fullan, 2001; Hargreaves, 1999; Hargreaves, 1994).

Previous work shows that in their effort to improve education, educational authorities must encounter the professionals' ethos, values and beliefs, characterized by conservatism, presentism and isolation and consequently resistance to change (Lortie, 1975). They are the inevitable response of professionals to unhealthy educational environments (Barth, 1980, 1990). In terms of knowledge, skills development, self-concept and classroom behaviour, nothing within education has more impact on students, than the personal and professional growth of the teaching professionals. When educators and teachers individually, as well as collectively, examine, question, reflect on their ideals and attempt to develop new practices, education and learners become dynamic and active. In order to change schools, it is important to deal with the frustrating conditions under which teaching professionals work, rather than replacing the professionals (Barth, 1980).

Generally speaking, the focus of staff development in most countries has been on correcting or modifying practitioner deficiencies. In-service training conducted mainly by outside has been a response to such a strategy. In the name of expedience, teaching professionals have often been excluded from any meaningful participation in planning and implementation of staff development programmes. The practitioners' learning experiences have not seriously been considered in determining how, when and where staff development programmes need to be delivered (Pellicer & Anderson, 1995:141).

This may have something to do with the fact that most professionals begin with more lack of awareness than they usually accept. There is nothing wrong in starting a teaching career without full understanding of the complexity of the profession, requiring systematic training and practice before an adequate level of proficiency can be acquired. The complexity of the teaching profession makes the transitions from training to practice rather difficult, which may influence the fundamental nature of staff development programmes, making them ineffective for practitioners (discussed later). As educational authorities have long been accustomed to operating staff development programmes from a deficiency model viewpoint, professionals quite naturally associate in-service training with a negative feeling. Not surprisingly, therefore, some teaching professionals are dissatisfied with most of the staff development programmes they have experienced over the years and have resisted the idea of retraining (Pellicer & Anderson, 1995).

It is fairly well recognized by educators that change imposed upon professionals does not work; at best it promotes momentary base subservience. On the other hand, changes that emerge from within the individual teacher are authentic. The person who has invested in the change is intrinsic to the situation, committed to both the change and making it work. Changes emanating from professionals themselves persist as long as they are committed to the idea, which is usually as long as the idea is productive for both the practitioner and students (Barth, 1980:146-47).

During the last thirty years or so, the issues surrounding staff development have attracted renewed interest, mainly for the following reasons:

1) The realization that people are the most important resource available to authorities seeking to achieve their educational objectives.

2) The growing interest of a critical mass of people in restructuring the educational system.

3) The increasing number of professionals (particularly adult educators) being recruited from fields other than education. In most cases these educators have no knowledge, if any, of teaching pedagogy.

4) The recent emphasis placed on accountability and the resultant need for educational authorities to produce quality assurance (Pellicer & Anderson, 1995:141-143).

## 2. Teaching staff development in Greece

Legislation concerning teaching staff professional development in Greece, can be traced back to 1910 with the establishment of the "Didaskaleion", a training institute for Secondary Education teachers (Law "ΓΨΙΗ", Official Gazette A´152/22-4-1910), while in 1922, Law 2857 (Official Gazette, A´ 133/1-8-1922) introduced training programmes for Primary Education teachers at the University of Athens. The most important step however, towards implementation of a coherent teacher training framework in formal education, was enforced under Law 1566/1985 (Official Gazette, A´ 167/30-9-1985), providing for a general framework for the restructuring and operation of education in Greece. As far as teacher training was concerned, earlier forms of training were repealed and initial training of newly appointed teachers, annual training of teachers having completed at least five years of service and short periodic training, were introduced. According to Article 29, teacher training could be provided by schools, Regional Training Centres (PEK), Higher Education Institutions, Higher Technological Institutions (TEI), Training School of Employees in Vocational and Technical Education (SELETE), along with the Pedagogical Institute.

Since 1985, several changes concerning purpose, curriculum content, and structure of training programmes, have been initiated, not substantially altering though, teacher development framework as established by Law 1566/1985. A major

innovation was the implementation, under Law 2986/2002 (Official Gazette, A´ 24/13-2-2002), of the Teacher Training Agency (OEPEK), a private entity based in Athens and supervised by the Greek Minister of Education, responsible for setting training policy, coordinating and implementing training activities. Moreover, the critical role of the European Community should be highlighted, as, since 1997, several training programmes, financed by the Community Support Framework, have been launched for the academic and professional upgrading of staff in the Greek educational system, addressed to newly appointed teachers of primary and secondary education, older teachers and administrative staff.

As far as teaching staff employed in the field of adult education is concerned, until 2002 there had not been any organised professional development programmes, with the exception of scattered attempts made by some organisations such as banks, companies, etc (Papastamatis & Panitsidou, 2008). The absence of specialised qualification prerequisites and systematic training programmes, along with the fact that most educators have mostly been practicing adult teaching in addition to their main occupation, highlight the insufficiency of the resources employed to effectively respond to the key role they have been appointed to, a limiting factor itself for the promotion of Lifelong Education (LLE) in Greece (Panitsidou & Zarifis, 2009). In this context, to cater for deficiencies in LLE and comply with European Union requirements for quality promotion, the Greek Ministry of Education endorsed under Law 3687/2008 art.10 (Official Gazette, A´ 159/1-8-2008), the implementation of a National Register of Adult Educators, catering, along other issues, for the ongoing training and education of adult educators (Official Gazette, Decision 4444/2008: art.2).

However, "Achilles' heel" of all teaching staff development initiatives in Greece, has been the development of programmes inconsistent with actual needs of the teaching staff. Thus, they have often been characterised by a discrepancy between theoretical framework and teaching practice, ignoring diversity among trainees, with reference to needs, professional experience and background knowledge. Participation (except initial training of newly appointed teachers) has usually been done on a voluntary basis and therefore, possibly not attended by those in greater need (Panitsidou & Papastamatis, 2009). Moreover, programme contents have been randomly selected, rather than being grounded on systematic investigation of practitioners' needs, limiting thus, their impact on teaching practice. Additionally, training provision has mostly been carried out through conventional rigid practices, lacking the necessary flexibility. Finally, there has been absence of provision for a continuous professional development scheme, in order to enable constant acquisition of necessary skills and competences to respond to overall demand for quality educational services and restructuring of the educational system (Panitsidou & Papastamatis, 2009).

A critical factor accounting for most of the aforementioned deficiencies, is the fact that in the name of transparency and merit-based management, the Greek state has been entrapped into a bureaucratic structure of the public sector, a tendency which indisputably restrains flexibility (Panitsidou & Zarifis, 2009). Thus, Greek educational policy ought to focus on setting more flexibility and granting greater autonomy to schools and educational institutions, so that they could be able to function as "learning organisations" fostering sustainable professional development of all employees. As stated in the White Paper on Education and Training (European Commission, 1995), decentralised systems are more resilient and flexible and thus, function effectively in the adoption of innovation and adaptability to changes, such as through modern European society.

At this point, it is useful to explore aspects of helping teaching professionals grow professionally.

## 3. Teachers' and Educators' professional development: Adults as learners

In most cases, adult learners have somewhat different needs and characteristics as compared to children. They are more self- directed, more mature, more experienced, more problem-oriented and live under different social circumstances and expectations. It is imperative, therefore, that educators should not equate and treat adult learners as children. Reflective adult educators have come to realise that treating adults as though they were children results in ineffective teaching and unsuccessful learning.

It is widely recognised that one of the most enduring issues with staff development programmes for professionals has been the tendency on part of staff developers to treat adult learners as children rather than as adults. Some institutions and educators tend to maintain an authoritarian teaching style, relying upon the educator teaching from the front with very little interaction with the learners. Such practice would seem unsuitable for teaching adults. If adult educators and their adult learners need to share in a positive and meaningful educational experience, it is important to acquire greater understanding of the process involved in adult learning and the methodologies that can enhance this process. Staff development planners should take this fact into account and adapt their teaching strategies and techniques accordingly. The extent and quality of the professional education and training, received by professionals, influence both the quality and the style of their teaching. The more knowledge and skills they have in planning and delivering instructions, the better their students will learn. Professionals without sufficient teaching knowledge tend to teach by instinct and are doomed to trial-and-error approaches (Arrends, 2006).

Having briefly discussed the educational needs of adult learners in relation to their professional growth experiences, we will present a model of staff development, as it is equally important to recognise the professional growth needs of teaching professionals on the basis of the stages of their career.

**4. A model of staff development**

Becoming an effective teaching professional is a developmental process. It is a journey, not a destination. Becoming truly accomplished in almost any human endeavour takes a long time. To appreciate this, professionals need to recall the fear they had at the beginning of their teaching career.

In a sense, on their journey to achieving true professional status, teaching professionals go through a series of normal and predictable stages. In this context, a number of theories have been developed to describe teachers' development. Teaching professionals develop through stages in which they focus initially on themselves and their teaching. For example, Benner (1984) and Berliner (1994) suggested that teaching professionals go through five levels of proficiency: novice, advanced beginner, competent, proficient and expert.

*1. Novice professionals* are beginner teachers who have had no experience in what they are expected to perform. Even though teaching skills are taught during pre-service many beginning professionals believe that they never acquired them. Because of the lack of practical experience, novice professionals must give an inordinate amount of their time and energy to gaining an understanding of the classroom environment, mastering the basic tasks to be performed and formulating a set of general rules to guide their daily actions in working with students.

*2. Advanced beginners* are professionals who can demonstrate marginally acceptable performance. Nevertheless, in most cases they are still unsure of how to react to specific problems when they arise and when to follow or deviate from some of the rules of teaching they acquired during the novice stage. As is also true for novices, advanced beginners in many cases fail to take full responsibility for their actions in the classroom, as they are still applying the rules of teaching in a mechanical way without really recognizing what is happening.

*3. Competent performers* are teaching professionals who have been on the job in the same or similar situation for several years, and have worked hard in honing their skills professional knowledge. Competence develops when the practitioner begins to see his (her) actions in terms of long range goals. Competent professionals are in most cases in control of their classrooms and practise their teaching skills effectively.

*4. Proficient performers* are teaching professionals who perceive situations as a whole rather than in terms of aspects and performance as guided by maxims. In so doing, they acquire a holistic sense of what occurs in the classroom and can recognize similarities and differences among events that occur in the classroom accordingly.

*5. Expert performers* are teaching professionals who perform their work in a way that is qualitatively different from others. They no longer rely on the analytic principles (rules, guidelines) to connect their understanding of the situation to an appropriate action. Expert professionals are so skilled that lessons under their direction seem to move along effortlessly.

In the same vein, Fuller (1969), Feiman- Nemser (1983) and Richardson & Placier (2001) proposed that teaching professionals experience processes as they move from novice to expert status. As a result, the above authors have developed similar theories that describe three stages of concern that professionals go through as they learn to teach. They are summarized below.

*1) Survival stage:* When people first begin thinking about teaching and when they have their first classroom encounters with students, in front of rather than behind the desk, they are most concerned about their personal survival. They wonder and worry about their interpersonal adequacy and whether or not their students and their supervisors are going to like them. In addition, they worry about classroom control and about things that might get out of hand.

*2) Teaching situation stage:* At some point, novice professionals start feeling more adequate and pass beyond the survival stage. Various aspects of interacting with students become routinised. At this stage professionals start shifting their attention and energy to the teaching situation itself. They start dealing with the time pressures of teaching and with some of the stark realities of the classroom, such as large numbers of students, inappropriate instructional materials and teaching methods.

*3) Student results and mastery stage:* Eventually, individuals mature as professionals and discover ways of coping with survival concerns. During this stage teaching professionals reach for higher-level issues and master the fundamentals of teaching and classroom management. It is only then that professionals start asking questions about the social and emotional needs of students, being fair and being concerned with the matching between teaching strategies and materials and student needs and learning.

Over the past few years there has been a gradual shift away from the stage theory described above toward a more flexible view about how teaching professionals' development occurs. This more flexible approach indicates that developmental processes for teaching professionals are evolutionary and gradual and not as precise as suggested in the previous models (Griffiths & Tann, 1992; Richardson & Placier, 2001). These models are useful for thinking about the process of learning to teach. Their principles help to put present concerns under consideration and to train novice professionals to move on to a higher level of concern (Arends, 2006). For instance, Kagan (1992: 145) concluded that

novice professionals with little knowledge of students and teaching "tend to grow increasingly authoritarian and custodial". "Obsessed with classroom control they may also begin to plan instruction designed not to promote learning, but to discourage students' misbehaviour". It could be suggested therefore that a beginner practitioner who is worried about personal concerns may need training and experiences which can improve self- esteem and encourage independence, so that if class control takes too much mental energy, he/she can be able to find ways to modify the situation.

Like theories of adult learning, theories of developmental stages of teaching have heuristic value for thinking about staff development opportunities for teaching professionals. Understanding that all teaching professionals go through readily identifiable developmental stages can help educational authorities realise that professionals at different stages, have different needs as well as different capabilities to benefit from a range of staff development activities (Pellicer & Anderson, 1995). These models suggest that learning to teach is a developmental process in which individuals move through stages that are simple and concrete at first, and more complex and abstract later. Developmental models therefore provide a framework for viewing professionals' growth (Arends, 2006).

In this context, teaching professionals can use the models to diagnose their own level of concern and development. This knowledge can help them accept the anxiety of the beginning years and plan learning activities that will facilitate growth to more mature and complex levels of functioning. Their unique staff development needs may be served best by programmes that focus on arming them with survival skills, such as workshops dealing with organisation and classroom management and the improvement of their self-concept. At the middle development stages, professionals would have little need for staff development activities designed to build skills in classroom management but might be keen to learn new teaching methods to improve student performance. At the highest levels of development, professionals should share their abilities on a broader basis with others in their schools and the profession at large.

It can be said that a major part of staff development has been an attempt to help teaching professionals progress from the lower to the higher stage. The higher stage seems to be a desirable goal for various reasons. Professionals who have reached this stage are usually in a state of reduced anxiety, while those who are in lower stages can exhibit considerable anxiety and transmit this to other professionals. Needless to say, no one learns well or work effectively in a state of high anxiety (Barth, 1990:54).

## 5. Proposals for effective staff development of teaching professionals

The foregoing discussion describes a picture of the unique professional growth needs of teaching professionals, who have been characterized as adult learners going through stages of career development. If educational authorities are to use this information wisely, they must translate it into effective reshaping of staff development programmes. It is worth mentioning that the characteristics that influence the effectiveness of professional development are multiple and complex (Joyce & Showers, 1980). It may be unreasonable therefore to assume that a single list of effective professional characteristics will ever emerge, regardless of the quality of professional development research (Guskey, 2003: 16). With this in mind, we believe that the following suggestions would seem essential for the development of such programmes.

1. *Encouragement and experimentation.* Teaching professionals should be encouraged to try out new ideas, and even conduct their own classroom research on how well those ideas work with their learners and under what conditions they work best. They need to take time to reflect about what they are doing. Educational authorities need to provide them with opportunities to do so. To use modern methods effectively, professionals need first to understand the research upon which those methods are based. Considering that they have either not been taught or be experienced in these methods, they also need to practise them. They need to practise newer methods with guidance making necessary modifications so as to develop student learning (Feden & Vogel, 2003).

2. *The teaching professional must be at the center of staff development.* Professionals must undertake the primary responsibility for their own professional growth. They must be given the responsibility for planning staff development in terms of diagnosing their own learning needs, designing and identifying programmes to meet these needs and deciding when their needs have been adequately met (Tuomi, 2004). Placing professionals at the center of the staff development process means that they will both determine the nature of programmes for their own professional growth and will assume a major responsibility for supporting each other in their efforts to grow. Sharing knowledge and experience with their peers can improve teaching practice, progress learning and foster true conceptual change (Feden & Vogel, 2003).

3. *Staff development programmes must be characterized by mutual professional respect.* Professionals who take part in professional growth need to value and respect the professional skills and abilities of their colleagues. They should honour learning, participation, and cooperation above prescription, production and competition. This is the critical factor that enables professionals to teach and learn from each other (Hargreaves, 2001). In this kind of endeavour emerges the concept of the school as a learning community. All participants, teaching professionals and learners, engage

in learning and teaching, and school becomes a place where students and professionals discover (rediscover) the difficulties and satisfaction of learning (Johnson, 1998; Pellicer & Anderson ,1995).

4. *Education and training is a lifelong process.* Teaching professionals need to think about education and staff development not merely in terms of initial courses but more fundamentally in terms of rhythms by which communities and individuals continually renew themselves. In this way education becomes a mutual developmental process between community and individuals, one that goes beyond mere socialisation. It is an investment of a community in its own future, not as a reproduction of the past through cultural transmission, but as the formation of new identities that could take its history of learning forward (Wenger, 1998).

5. *Learning must be related to the needs and expectancies of adult learners.* Adequacy provision must be made for teaching professionals to give and receive feedback in relation to the relevance of the staff development programme. The needs identified will help justify decisions by the educator and learners. The needs identified by learners and by others can be distinguished as felt needs and prescribed needs. Felt needs are those desires and wishes of the learner, while prescribed needs are premised upon educators (Brookfield, 1986: 22). It is inappropriate to plan a staff development programme for adult learners on a felt needs approach and it is equally unacceptable to plan a programme totally on needs prescribed by others. Combining felt needs and prescribed needs would seem to be a more rational approach. In this way a mutual collaborative teaching-learning environment can result that ensures greater participation and desire to persist and achieve in teaching and learning situation.

6. T*he primary focus of staff development programmes should be on sustained long-term growth.* It is common place that one-shot quick-fix approaches to staff development have little to offer teaching professionals in terms of real professional growth. The reason one-shot staff development has not been more growth enhancing for professionals, is the fact that instruction typically is delivered at the lower levels (knowledge and comprehension) of the cognitive domain. Professionals, therefore, are not afforded needed opportunities to apply and practice new skills (application), much less to adapt them to their present teaching repertoires (synthesis) or to take judgments about how well they are working (evaluation) and then determine the reason why they work or do not work (analysis) (Hammerness et al., 2005; Pellicer & Anderson, 1995). This approach to staff development overemphasizes narrowly defined, technical teaching models that minimize the complexities of teaching and encourage teaching professionals to function as technicians rather than professionals. Only when professionals are encouraged to function at the higher levels of the cognitive domain can real growth be expected (Pellicer & Anderson ,1995).

7. *Learning to teach requires that professionals come to understand teaching in different ways from what they have learned from their own experience.* Actually, they need not only to understand but also to perform a wide variety of things, many of them simultaneously. To achieve this requires much more than simply memorise facts and procedures, since there is a major difference between "knowing that" and "knowing why and how" (Hammerness et al., 2005).

8. *Teaching professionals work with diverse students and have to achieve multiple educational aims requiring trade-offs from time to time.* Although, some aspects of teaching could be routinised, what professionals do will be influenced by changing student needs and unexpected classrooms events. Many decisions in teaching are contingent upon student responses and the particular objectives sought at a given time. Therefore, these decisions cannot be routinised. Thus, helping professionals think systematically about this complexity is extremely important. They need to develop metacognitive abilities that guide decisions and reflection on practice (Hammerness et al., 2005; Jackson ,1974).

Typically, however staff development programmes attempt to cope up with the complexities of teaching as if they could be understood at a single sitting. In doing so, the education profession has effectively devalued teaching and, at the same time, turned off professionals to the potential opportunities that exist for personal and professional growth through continuous staff development. Modern professional development has a variety of purposes beyond skill training, including facilitation of teachers' efficacy, cognitive development, and career development, as well as teacher collegiality and the improvement of school culture. The broadening of professional development has been accompanied by an expanding body of literature on effective development programmes (Glickman, Gordon & Ross- Gordon, 2001).

## 6. Conclusions and suggestions

Knowledge grows within those who discipline themselves to think about what is known and what still needs to be known. The design of effective learning opportunities needs to begin with a clear idea of what we want people to know and be able to do. In this way we learn from one another and we develop new insights. Teaching professionals are people, and their personal professional growth is as legitimate a concern of education as is the cognitive and affective development of students. Learning to teach is a developmental progress from early concerns with "self" to a gradual focus upon issues related to student learning and eventually to the school climate. If we can help educators understand where they stand, and if they can stand there with dignity, security, satisfaction and competence, then everyone will make improvements (Barth, 1980).

Taken collectively, theories and ideas we have discussed in this paper can have a significant influence on the culture of

teaching professionals, since they contribute in unanticipated ways to the development of individual professionals.

It is commonplace that leadership for improving staff development is the key to unlocking that potential. Staff development offers many worthwhile benefits to teaching professionals. It can effectively provide the keys to improving professional performance, reducing isolation, providing support system, and generally improving the professional lives of teaching professionals by making them more productive.

In line with the discussion of this paper Scribner et al. (1999) identified a growing consensus of guiding principles as

• on going professional learning,

• professional development connected to the teaching practice,

• school communities that encourage shared learning , and

• professional development that is integrated into the school plans.

The major function of educational authorities is to build an educational culture that values professional development and involves teaching professionals in planning learning activities, which best support their practice. The challenge remains in creating schedules that allow time for teaching professionals to participate in continuous development.

It is therefore important to encourage professionals, namely the most critical actors in the educational process, to learn and develop, realising that this goal is apt to be met when they all work together to make it happen. Moreover, it is imperative for educational authorities to make staff development so worthwhile, so exciting, so effective, and so clearly adjusted to the growth needs of teaching professionals, that every single of them will demand to be part of the programme.

Nonetheless, it has to be acknowledged that although serious steps have been taken towards this direction in other European countries, in Greece there is still a long way to go to build effective professional growth strategies for teaching professionals (Papastamatis & Panitsidou, 2008). Until nowadays, professional development programmes have failed to reach professionals' needs while they run randomly and uncoordinatedly, ignoring most rudimentary principles discussed in the present paper. Thus, further action is required in order to make available to teaching professionals in Greece a multitude of quality professional development alternatives adapted to individual needs, meeting both quantitively and qualitatively, professional growth programmes provided in other member states.

**References**

Arends, R. I. (2006). *Learning to Teach* (7 edn). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Barth, R.S. (1980). *Run School Run*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Barth, R.S. (1990). *Improving School from Within: Teachers, parents, and principals can make the difference*. San Francisco, Ca: Jossey- Bass.

Benner, P. (1984). *From Novice to Expert: Excellence and power in clinical nursing practice*. Menlo Park, Ca: Addison -Wesley.

Berliner, D.C. (1994). Teacher expertise. In T. Hussen & T.N. Postlethwaite (eds). *International Encyclopedia of Education* (2nd edn), pp. 6020-6026. New York: Pergamon.

Brookfield, S.D. (1986). *Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning*. San Francisco, Ca: Jossey- Bass.

Craft, A. (2000). *Continuing Professional Development. A practical guide for teachers and schools* (2nd edn). London: Routledge Falmer.

European Commission (1995). *White Paper on Education and Training, Teaching and Learning: towards the learning society*. Brussels: European Commission.

Feden, P. D. & Vogel, R. M. (2003). *Methods of Teaching: Applying cognitive science to promote student learning*. Boston: McGraw- Hill.

Feiman-Nemser, S. (1983). Learning to teach. In L.S. Shulman & G. Sykes (eds). *Handbook of Teaching and Policy*. New York: Longman.

Fullan, M. (2001). *The New Meaning of Educational Change* (3rd edn). New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Fullan, M. (2004). *Leading in a Culture of Change*. San Francisco, Ca: Jossey Bass.

Fuller, F. (1969). Concerns of teachers: A developmental conceptualization. *American Educational Research Journal*, 6, 207-226.

Giddens, A.. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Glickman, C.D., Gordon, S.P. & Ross-Gordon, J.M. (2001). *Supervision and Instructional Leadership: A developmental*

*approach*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Griffiths, S. & Tann, S. (1992). Using reflective practice to link personal and public theories. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 18, 69-84.

Guskey, T. (2003). Analyzing lists of the characteristics of effective professional development to promote visionary leadership. *NASSP Bulletin*, 87, 637, 4- 20.

Hammerness, K. et al. (2005). How teachers learn and develop. In L. Darling – Hammond & J. Bransford (eds). *Preparing Teachers for a Changing World: what teachers should learn and be able to do*. San Francisco, Ca: Jossey - Bass.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). *Development and Desire: A postmodern perspective.* Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the American Research Association, New Orleans: LA.

Hargreaves, A. (2001). Emotional geographies of teaching. *Teachers College Record*, 103, 6, 1056-1080.

Hargreaves, D. (1999). The Knowledge-creating School. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 47, 2, 122-144.

Jackson, P.W. (1974). *Life in Classrooms*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Johnson, J. (1998). Embracing change: A leadership model for the learning organization. *International Journal of Training and Development*, 2, 2, 141-150.

Joyce, B., & Showers, B. (1980). Improving in-service training: The messages of research. *Educational Leadership*, 37, 379-385.

Kagan, D. M. (1992). Professional growth among preservice and beginning teachers. Review of Educational Research, 62, 2, 129-169.

Lortie, D.C. (1975). *School Teacher: A sociological study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Official Gazette. (1910). Law ΓΨΙΗ/1910, Α´152/22-4-1910 (in Greek).

Official Gazette. (1922). Law 2857/1922, Α´ 133/1-8-1922 (in Greek).

Official Gazette. (1985). Law 1566/1985, Α´ 167/30-9-1985(in Greek).

Official Gazette. (2002). Law 2986/2002, Α´ 24/13-2-2002 (in Greek).

Official Gazette. (2008). Law 3687/2008, Α´ 159/1-8-2008 (in Greek).

Official Gazette. (2008). Decision 4444/2008, Β´ 2075/7-10-2008 (in Greek).

Panitsidou, E. & Papastamatis, A. (2009). Learning organisations in education. Teacher training: trends, criticism, suggestions. Conference Proceedings of the 3rd Hellenic Conference of the Drama Society of Education Science: *The Teacher and his Work, Past - Present - Future*. Drama: Drama Society of Education Science (in Greek).

Panitsidou, E. & Zarifis, G. (2009). Implementation of a national register of adult educators: Ariadne's thread or Pandora's box? Conference Proceedings of the Inaugural Meeting of the ESREA Research Network on Adult Educators, Trainers and their Professional Development: *Educating the Adult Educator: Quality provision and assessment in Europe*. Thessaloniki: Grafima Publications.

Papastamatis, A. & Panitsidou, E. (2008). Educators & professionalism in adult education: the KEE case. Conference Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of the Scientific Association of Adult Education: *Adult Educators: their training and professionalisation.* Athens: Scientific Association of Adult Education (in Greek).

Pellicer, L. O. & Anderson, L.W. (1995). *A Handbook for Teacher Leaders*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Corwin Press.

Richardson, V. & Placier, P. (2001). Teacher change. In V. Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (4th edn), pp. 905-947. Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Scribner, J.D., Cockrell, K.S., Cockrell, D.H. & Valentine, J.W. (1999). Creating professional communities in schools through organizational learning: an evaluation of a school improvement process. *Educational Administration Quarterly,* 35, 1, 130-160.

Tuomi, M. T. (2004). Planning teachers' professional development for global education. *Intercultural Education*, 15, 3, 295-306.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

# The Knights in the Middle Ages of England

Ruijuan Yin

Faculty of Literature, Guangxi Normal University

Guilin 541004, China

Tel: 86-29-3375-3279     E-mail: zoeyinruijuan@qq.com

**Abstract**

Chivalry was a special phenomenon in the Middle Ages of Europe, and was also a part of the military system in the Middle Ages of Europe. Equites first came into military and civil posts signed by Augustus, and then the number of such posts multiplied in the course of time, and finally in the third century the Equites replaced senators in holding the highest responsibility. The chivalry of England made its infancy in the Anglo-Saxon period because of the rise of a series of wars. In the feudal relations, wars became the most important prerequisite for the existence of the relationship between knights and kings. If the feudal monarchies or feudal lords did not need knights for fighting, then the existence would lose its base. Knights' spirit was composed of moral qualities, such as bravery, loyalty, generosity, and honor as its core, all of which should be complied with a knight. The knights' spirit was virtually an aspect of the chivalry. The decline of chivalry had the extremely complex reasons, including military, economics, and religion and so on. Subsequently the rising urban aristocracy relied on the early capitalism economy and was superior to the feudal one. The decline of chivalry had a great influence upon modern Britain's development, which included social structure, economic basis and political system. After the decline of chivalry, the former stratum of knighthood began to polarize. Gentry and the middle level emerged and then the social structure changed from two-tiered structure to three-tiered structure. Chivalry's decline led to the commercialization of British agriculture and the trend of capitalism. With the vanishing of chivalry, nobility's power was reduced and the Crown was enriched, and balance shifted

**Keywords:** Knight, Chivalry, Feudalism

Knights and the chivalry accelerated the process of social civilization in the Middle Ages of England. The Equites was in the lowest level in the aristocracy. The chivalry influenced military, education and culture in Britain. And the chivalry was an important part of English feudalism.

## 1. The establishment of chivalry

Individualism is fundamental characteristic of the English people. Since King Arthur, it had the Knights of the Round fighting for freedom and equality. From the beginning of the middle of 5th century, the Anglo-Saxon began to invade England. The conquest to England speeded up the formation of the England feudal system. During the two hundred years of fighting in the war, a series of feudal kingdoms were set up. Sovereign princes gave their land to the military aristocracy by instrument. Then the military aristocracy changed their identification into land aristocracy that was very like the landholder. The land aristocracy sublet their land to farmers and collected rents, and made preparations for the cost of living and their weapons and equipments from the land entirely. As a result, sovereign princes and the land aristocracy made a close relationship, and the feudal land tenure and the obligation got closed too. These aristocracies were knights at the early time. This is the origin of the England chivalry.

The Angles and Saxons soon became the most powerful tribes in England. A lot of wars were happened between them. By the 8th century, there were only seven kingdoms. They are called the Heptarchy. After the late 8th century, Denmark began attacking England and robbing the people. By the end of the 9th century, England was invaded by Danish Vikings. In the 9th century, the invasion scale increased, the fight against Danish invasion in England was becoming the main task and mission. England's military system was made by the land aristocracy' forces and soon exposed their weaknesses at the beginning of the war. In 886, Alfred defeated the Danes and divided the country, giving them the northeastern part of England. The armed forces of England were composed of the land aristocracy. The soldiers' weapons and equipments were provided by their lords.

Alfred died in 899. During the early 10th century, Alfred's successors again conquered the Danelaw. But in the late 10th century, under the weak king Ethelred Ⅱ, fresh waves of Danish fighters attacked again. Instead of fighting them, Ethelred Ⅱ collected taxes and paid them to go away, but each year the Danish demanded more. So the poor could not bear the burden of heavy taxes and even the rich suffered. Before the invasion of Denmark, members of the communes had better economic conditions, adequate sources of troops were adequate, but anti-invasion war has seriously damaged England's economy, and a war indemnity reduced their wealth, these two greatly weakened the England army's combat effectiveness. During Alfred the Great's reigning period, the army carried out two reforms in order to enhance the combat effectiveness of the armed forces. The first was to depart the army into two parts, one served home, and the other went to the war. The second was the establishment of a regular troop. The land aristocracy at this time was different from the past because they had money. And they were professional military officers and were awarded the land and hereditary. This is the beginning of chivalry, and the formation of the Equites.

After Hastings the confiscation of Saxon estates began, and it went on gradually all over the country until the upper class of Saxon landholders were displaced by the Norman barons. There formed a hard and ruthless military caste as a new governing class, with their own ideas of law, stone castles went up everywhere. Knights were a part of the new governing class in fact.

When England made feudal system evolution slowly, Duke of Normandy had developed the feudal system rapidly across the sea. Normandy had been established a fairly complete system of knights before William became the Prince. As soon as William had been crowned, he began to establish a strong central government in England and adopt some systems which had been so successful in Normand. This was called the feudal system, and it was based on the ownership of land. The life of all classes was controlled by strict rules. William took the land away from its English owners and divided it among a number of great Norman lords and the lords' land was further divided among the 5,000 knights who had fought at Hastings. The Equites was the lowest class of the aristocracy. Knights were small landholders who were also experienced professional soldiers. And all the lords and knights should swear loyalty to the kings. The nation as the basis of economic organization was recognized.

Shortly before William's death in 1087, he sent out men to make a detailed record of all the wealth of England. The record, as the Domesday Book, was a rich source of information about England in Middle Age. It recorded how much land and other property there were in England, who held it, and what taxes and services the landholders owed the kings for their property.

Feudalism was indeed characteristic of social and governmental structure in all aspects, including military, economic, political and judicial. It made for stability in social, and was the foundation of the stability of Middle Age. When the feudalism established, the chivalry established too. The danger of feudalism was the excessive power of local territorial magnates with their powers of private rights. In England there were the shire counts and these hundreds of courts were under royal control, knights were controlled by their lords in courts but swear to the kings. Kings were careful to keep control of the sheriffs in the counties as royal officers and to keep the post did not hereditary.

## 2. The development of chivalry

Two events contributed the formation of chivalry in France in 8th century. One was the war between England and Normans in 1066, by which feudalism was brought into England. The Equites was blown up and the chivalry had its soil. The other was the marriage of Eleanor and Henry. Many behavior regulations and ideology in the battle from France were also introduced into England. And a great many troubadours brought the idea of love into the count of England. Love became an important part of the knight spirit. The kings and the aristocracy including the Equites had a mutual constraint relationship. To the aristocracy, they pledged loyalty to the kings not only because their religions but also for their political position which was based on economic benefits. But the knights had another spirit of their own thoughts as the knight spirit. They pledged allegiance and loyalty to the king, but not the lords as their obligation and highest honor.

Since the establishment of the knight estate, the chivalry including knights' behavior and etiquette regulations were developed a lot by knights' life style and knights' culture. The life style of knights changed from the 16th century. The place where knights had received education changed from court to school. University education took place of traditional family education. Knights didn't have to be knighted anymore. Tournament was not a preparation for battle but some kind of performances. Knights' behaviors that had the trend of civilization were regulated by the church and courtly culture. The church made rules to regulate the brutal character of knights and managed to make them be the loyal warriors of the God. The organizations such as the Teutonic Order and the Hospital Brotherhood set a successful example for moralizing knights. Influenced by the War, the tournament, the court and the church, knights became brave, modest, polite and pious. Those spirits of knights were written down into the literature, which later influenced reality. From *Beowulf* to *Legend of Arthur*, we would notice that connotations of chivalry were increasingly rich. Heraldry system deriving from the tournament constituted another important and essential factor of knights' culture. Heraldry was the symbol of knights and aristocracies' status.

In other countries the feudatories and the communes were so powerful that they fought for their own independence. But this was not what happened in England, because the state founded by Norman kings was too strong. The struggle of classes for power had to take place within this framework. Since Parliament became the starting-point of England's modern and law, it sought another way to limit the Crown and the great feudal baronies.

As far as the relationship between lords and tenants was concerned, William Ⅰ took two measures to control the tenants. One was to compile Domesday Book; the other was to ask his tenants to swear in Salisbury. The first character of English chivalry was that English knights were controlled directly by the kings. Owing to all these reasons mentioned above, the king of England carried out the Shield Money prior to other kings. The second character of English chivalry was that knights gradually handed in some shield money instead of implementing their obligation of fighting in the batter for their lords.

Under great pressure of a group barons and church leaders, John approved the articles on June 15th, 1215. These articles were written out in legal form as Magna Carta. It had 63 articles, which made the kings promise to give many rights to the nobles including the Equites, but ordinary people and peasants were hardly mentioned in the charter, even though they were the largest part of England's population.

From the early days, the Crown in England was restrained by the church and the aristocracy organizations, which reduced the hegemony of kings. By making this tradition continued, British had seldom tyrant and tyranny.

From the 13th to the 15th century, the knight estate was divided into two parts according to their wealth and station. This change happened inside for economic reasons. Some of the knights started to operate their lands in capitalistic way. Some merchants, bankers and lawyers, who also invested lands in the same way, shared the same interests with knights. They formed a new gentry's estate. This estate was a flowing and open estate. In addition to original group of people, it enrolled large number of industry capitalists. Spirits of knights mixed with capitalistic spirits among this estate, then the gentry's demeanor came into being. The third character of English chivalry was that spirits of knights transformed into gentry demeanor. The chivalry got the feudal and capitalism economic factors at the same time, and the knights made a dual role in this transition stage.

### 3. The decline of the chivalry

In the late Middle Age, change of weapons had finally caused knights disastrous defeat for knights in battlefield. The real force of strong, England was exerted against France. It led to the Hundred Years' War. The chivalry was a kind of military system, and its decline mainly was as a result of defeated militarily. The chivalry was a constituent of feudal system and a performance of the feudalism in militarily. Therefore change of economical domain in England had the huge influence on the military system. The decline of chivalry had the extremely complex reasons, including the military, the economy, the religion and so on. Subsequently the rising urban aristocracy who relied on the early capitalism economy had much more superiority to the feudal one. The shield money implementation urged the knight to transform to the professional soldier. Finally the knight system was vanished and the knight happened to be an empty honor.

In 1159, Henry II adopted a series designed to shake off dependence on the knights of the measures such as the recruitment of mercenaries for the war. The knights could also use money on behalf of the service and so on. These reforms showed that knight system began moved and the foundation of the Equites was weakened. Knight's system was also on the inevitable decline. In 1504, Henry VII enacted "legislation to ban soldiers home". The regulations gave legal recognition to the king who can only have the army, and the kings became the only commander in chief of the armed forces. And this showed that the chivalry system was fully declined.

### 4. Conclusion

After the Norman's conquest, the chivalry in England was based on the establishment of a powerful monarchy, which made England the political path of development comparing with Europe's fragmented political structure. Chivalry is a product of the feudal society. As a system of military, chivalry was vanished. But the Equites as a level of class and aristocratic systems were preserved. Knight became a symbol of status and honor. In May 1661, British had the opening of the parliament which was the longest one in the history was known as the parliament of knights with its members most were royalist believing in state religion. This shows that the chivalry makes influence on the British political system, and in contrast, the chivalry takes a dual role in feudal and capitalism economic of British society and seems to have more far-reaching impact.

### References

A. L. Rowse. (1943). *The Spirit of English History*. London: J. Cape.

Qian, Chengdan & Chen, Xiaolu. (1991). *Between the Tradition and Transition: Study on the British Culture and the American Culture.* Zhejiang: Zhejiang People's Publishing House.

# The Passive and the Notion of Transitivity

Monique De Mattia-Viviès

Département d'Études du Monde Anglophone

University of Provence, France

E-mail: monique.demattia-vivies@wanadoo.fr

**Abstract**

The purpose of this article is to show that passivization can be better accounted for when the phenomenon of transitivity, on which it is based, is defined on semantic grounds. The notion of transfer from the subject to the object through the verb, which corresponds to the main semantic component of transitivity, is what makes passivization possible, not necessarily the presence of an object complement of the verb in the active. It appears that the notion of object, which is the main syntactic parameter on which the notion of transitivity is founded, covers very different situations and cannot serve as a reliable tool to describe the phenomenon of passivization. It is only when the transitivity notion is envisaged through a semantic angle that passivization can be accounted for in more homogeneous terms.

**Keywords:** Active, Passive, Passivization, Transitivity, Transfer, Object complement, Syntax, Semantics

## 1. Preliminary remarks

The passive is traditionally described as being based on the phenomenon of syntactic transitivity. If the verb is followed by an object complement, then the utterance can be passivized. Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 159-171), (Note 1) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002, p. 1431) (Note 2) for instance, underline that transitive verb sentences can be either active or passive, that 'Most verbs taking just one object permit passivation :

*The hail damaged **the car**.*

***The car** was damaged by the hail.*'

They add that in addition to copula (*he is at home*) and intransitive verbs (*he is running*), which having no object cannot take the passive, a closed category of verbs or verbal phrases, which are most of the time transitive verbs used statively or stative verbs do not occur in the passive: *resemble/look like/take after someone ; suit/fit/become ; have /possess/lack ; number/hold ; mean ; mind ; boast ; befall ; fail (let down) ; cost/weigh ; marry/meet ; agree with.*

1. *They have a nice house.*
2. *He lacks confidence.*
3. *The auditorium holds 1500 people.*
4. *The dress becomes you.*
5. *John resembles his father.*
6. *His son took after him.*
7. *Will that suit you ?*
8. *The coat does not fit you.*
9. *This resort boasts the best beaches on the east coast.*
10. *He weighs a lot.*
11. *The enemy numbered over 20,000.*
12. *Three squared equals nine.*
13. *I don't think they mind your criticism.*
14. *A strange adventure befell him.*

15.     *He failed her. (= 'he let her down'.)*

16.     *John married her in June.*

17.     *I met John in the street.*

18.     *Mary agreed with Paul.*

These verbs can be divided into two sets:

*Resemble, have, mean, mind, fit, cost, weigh, measure, lack, hold, etc.* (set 1)

*Marry, meet* (set 2)

As the examples below show, these verbs permit passivization in one of their senses, when the subject of the active is agentive or partly agentive, i.e. when they refer to a process (set 1) and/or when they cease to be reciprocal (set 2):

1.     *John has a book. *a book is had (by John).* **I've been had again. (They had me again.). A good time was had by all. (We all had a good time.)**

2.     *The suit fits me. *I'm fitted by this suit.* **I was fitted by the tailor. (The tailor fitted me.)**

3.     *The car weighs two tons. *Two tons are weighed by this car.* **The letter was weighed by John. (John weighed the letter.)**

4.     *The patio measures just 7 feet across. * Just 7 feet across are measured by the patio.* **The level of anticoagulant in the blood, which is measured by a number called the INR, is hard to control.** *(Note 3)* **(A number called INR measures the level of anticoagulant in the blood.)**

5.     *This auditorium holds 500 people. *500 people are held by this auditorium.* **The cup was held by the winner. (The winner held the cup.)**

6.     *Mary married John. *John was married by Mary.* **John was married by the preacher. (The preacher married John.)**

7.     *Mary met John in the street. *John was met by Mary in the street.* **John was met by Mary at the station.** (The meeting was scheduled.) **(John met Mary at the station.)** **An accident was likely to be met in the course of the air voyage. (meet = happen)**

All these sentences are in the simple present. The utterer merely validates the relation between the grammatical subject and the predicate, and presents what he is saying as true in itself, independent of any particular point of view.

The verbs belonging to set 1 (*Resemble, have, mean, fit, cost, weigh, etc.*) have a stative value (or are used statively). Even though the structures are syntactically based on a pattern with 3 parts, and the verbs are followed by complements that have more or less the status of objects (« me » in « it fits me » can be regarded as a syntactic object but certainly not « a lot » in « he weighs a lot », which is only a complement of the verb without being an object), (Note 4) they are **semantically binary**, just as copula clauses are (S + V)) : there is one argument only (the subject) and a property of the subject is given. And this is what makes passivization impossible : utterances containing such verbs are used to attribute a property to the subject ; if the verb functions as a copula and is semantically binary (if the verb has one argument only, like intransitive verbs), the passive excluded. Besides, all the verbs belonging to set 1 function as *be* and some of them could even be replaced by it. Their binary semantic structure is identical to any utterance containing *be* (even though the meaning would be slightly different) :

*It costs 10 pounds ~ it is ten pounds.*

*He resembles his mother ~ he is like his mother, he is similar to his mother in appearance.*

*The suit fits me ~ the suit is my size.*

*I have a car ~ the car is mine.*

*It means a lot to me ~ it is important to me.*

*Marry* and *meet* (*by chance*), belonging to set 2, which are reciprocal verbs, are clearly followed by object complements. The status of what follows them is not unstable. Their pattern consists of 3 parts (*he married her : her* is the object complement of the verb) but the object cannot become subject because it cannot be promoted, both participants acting upon one another (reciprocal diathesis): *He married her. *She was married by him.* The passive could only be used with a different meaning: *she was married by him : by him = by the priest.* There is no reciprocal relationship anymore. Let's take *meet* :

*John met her in the street. *She was met by John in the street.* (The meeting was not scheduled.)

*John met Mary at the station. John was met by Mary at the station.* (The meeting was scheduled.)

If one participant acts upon the other and vice versa, the structure is semantically binary too. It is as if there were only one argument since the object cannot be promoted.

It transpires that the syntactic division of the predicative relation does not necessarily correspond to its semantic division :

• **Syntactic division :**

This suit fits me

1          2      3

**Semantic division :**

This suit fits me. Property of the subject. No passive correspondent

       1                2

• **Syntactic division :**

The car weighs two tons. No passive correspondent

1              2          3

**Semantic division :**

The car weighs two tons

1                   2

• **Correspondence between syntactic division and semantic division :**

The tailor fitted me. —> I was fitted by the tailor.

1                      2    3             1    2    3

To sum up, there are 2 kinds of verbs that cannot be passivized :

- those that are synonyms of *be* (attribution of a property to the subject, set 1.) : *weigh, cost, have, mean, fit, resemble*, etc., whose subject is never agentive. The complement of the active cannot become subject of the passive since the object cannot be promoted, both participants being equal (A=B). The complement of the verb functions as a property of the subject.

- those that are reciprocal verbs (set 2.): *marry, meet* (*by chance*). The object cannot be promoted, both participants acting upon one another.

All these verbs are syntactically based on a pattern with 3 parts, but semantically, for different reasons, they are binary. (Note 5)

**Conclusion** : Some verbs are transitive and followed by object complements (except for *weigh, hold, number, cost*, which are, in one of their uses, followed by complements of the verb which cannot be described as objects) and cannot be passivized. In some of their uses, these verbs show a discrepancy between form   (ternary pattern, pattern with 3 parts) and meaning (binary pattern). This difficulty makes it necessary to examine the notion of transitivity in further detail. The notion of object complement will be questioned as well.

**2. The notion of transitivity**

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p. 247) (Note 6) sustain that « If a core complement NP of an active clause can be converted into the subject of a related passive, then it is an object. » This corresponds to what they call « the passive test ». The object of an active clause prototypically corresponds to the subject of a related passive :

*Pat overlooked the error. [O]*

*The error [S] was overlooked (by Pat).*

The authors add that there are exceptions to the rule and that the subject of the passive does not always correspond to the object of the verb in the active. In the following example, *this glass* corresponds to the subject of the passive, but « it is functioning as complement of a preposition, not as object of *drink* » :

*He has drunk out of this glass.*

*This glass has been drunk out of.*

In other words, the passive test is not always perfectly reliable as there are intransitive structures that permit passivization.

In fact, there are 4 possible combinations:

➔ **Active transitive sentence with a passive correspondent**, typical occurrences: *the hail damaged the car. The car was damaged by the hail.*

➔ **Active transitive sentence without a passive correspondent** : *he resembles his father.*

➜ **Active intransitive sentence without a passive correspondent** : *someone has slept under this bed.*

➜ **Active intransitive sentence with a passive correspondent**: *someone has slept in this bed.*

As can be noted, the notion of syntactic transitivity works on the whole but is not entirely relevant, as many cases are left unaccounted for.

To put it simply, there are two kinds of definitions of transitivity: formal definitions, mainly based on syntactic grounds, and other definitions based on semantics, and more particularly on the meaning of the term « transitive » and the manifold situations that it covers.

*2.1 Syntactic definition*

According to traditional grammars, a **transitive verb involves two participants and contains one object** (**direct or indirect**). (Note 7) Useful as it might be, this clear-cut definition is not entirely satisfactory because the notion of object is highly problematic as the word covers a whole array of different situations.

2.1.1 Direct transitive verbs

1.     *He dug a grave :* the objet is « effected », and clearly points to a result : *a grave is dug.* The action is telic, (Note 8) i.e. viewed from its endpoint.The activity is viewed as completed.

2.     *He dug the ground :* the objet is affected ; the action is atelic because it is only partially carried out.

3.     *He ran the marathon in 3 hours:* the noun phrase (*the marathon*) refers to a distance but functions as an object (*run a race*) ; there is a passive correspondent (the passive test works here). The action is telic, viewed from its endpoint. The object is effected.

4.     *The whole choir sang the wrong words : the wrong words* corresponds to the object of the verb (affected object) but the adjective *wrong* prevents passivization : *\*the wrong words were sung by the whole choir. The words were sung by the whole choir* is perfectly acceptable.

5.     *He was thinking lewd thoughts : lewd thoughts* occupies the place of an object but the verb *think* does not refer to an opinion here as in *we are all thinking the same thing*, but to something that the subject has in mind : *he had lewd thoughts in mind.* If *lewd thoughts* is an object, it can only be indirectly so as the sentence constitutes a reduced form of *he was thinking about lewd things* (the word *things* being replaced by *thoughts,* which is reduplication of *think*, producing a 'summary effect'). Passivization is impossible here.

6.     *He kicked the bucket:* if this sentence is interpreted literally, *the bucket* is the object complement of the verb *kick* and is affected. But *the bucket* cannot be described as a direct object when the expression is interpreted idiomatically. The sentence allows the passive in its literal sense only and does not allow the passive in its figurative sense. Indeed, *the bucket was kicked (by him)* would be interpreted literally. *The bucket* and *kick* are perceived as a single lexical item when they are interpreted idiomatically. This is the reason why *the bucket* cannot be the object complement of *kick* even though the structure seems to imply the opposite. The clause is thus intransitive.

7.     *It looked like rain but I decided to chance it and left my umbrella at home:* the object *it* has no reference and is devoid of meaning (or rather its semantic value can be deduced from the context). It is part of a fixed expression. No passive correspondent can be thought of (*\*It was chanced by him*) because the subject of the passive must be discourse-old and have a clear referential value. (Note 9)

8.     *He has a car :* the noun phrase *a car* is an object complement and yet no passive is possible because *have* functions as a stative verb here.

9.     *He gave her a book : her* has the status of an indirect object for certain linguists, who consider this structure as derived from *He gave a book to her*. But it is regarded as a direct object for others, who only take the surface structure into account.

10.    *John shaved himself : himself* is the co-referential object of the verb *shave*. The structure is ternary but reflexive expressions cannot be passivized : a reflexive pronoun cannot become the subject of a sentence if it appears on its own : *\*Himself was shaved by John.* The pronoun can only be used if it is part of a larger group : *Unflattering descriptions of himself have been banned by our president.* (Jackendoff). Reflexive pronouns are very seldom part of agent by-phrases. They must be rhematic or appear in a coordinated clause : *you are hereby advised by Mary and myself that we are married.* (Note 10)

11.    *John broke a tooth on a particularly tough piece of meat:* (Note 11) *a tooth* is the object complement of the verb *break* but as the object is a part of the subject (co-referential) and that the subject (*John*) is not at all agentive, the utterance cannot be passivized (*\*A tooth was broken by John on a particularly tough piece of meat.*) A parallel can be drawn with reflexive diathesis here (example 10), as reflexive expressions cannot be passivized : *he washed himself / \*himself was washed by him.*

12.      *He married her : her* is an object but the passive is impossible because of the reciprocal meaning of the verb.

It appears that the notion of syntactic transitivity is not easy to grasp. The link between the passive and the notion of syntactic transitivity is based on shaky foundations. Therefore Huddleston and Pullum's statement (« most verbs taking just one object permit passivization») should be qualified, as it rests on syntactic grounds only.

2.1.2 Indirect transitive verbs or prepositional verbs

Prepositional verbs can often occur in the passive, but not so freely as in the active. They consist of a lexical verb followed by a preposition :

> *My mother approved of **the plan**. **The plan** was approved (of) by my mother. (of is optional here)*

> *The committee didn't face up to **these problems**. **These problems** weren't faced up to by the committee.*

> *The organisers seem to have lost sight of **the main goal**. **The main goal** seems to have been lost sight of.* (Note 12)

According to Jacques Roggero's classification (1981, pp. 15-28), (Note 13) a prepositional verb is a transitive verb followed by an indirect object complement. The preposition is stranded in the passive but it is stricly specified by the verb at the same time as it introduces the noun phrase.

Let's take ***go into***:

*The engineers [went [carefully] into the problem]*: *go into* is a prepositional verb, used idiomatically here ; *into the problem* is the indirect object complement and the prepositional phrase (PP) is part of the verb phrase. A passive counterpart can easily be found : *the problem was carefully gone into.*

*The engineers [went] [carefully][into the tunnel.]*: the verb is not prepositional here but simple (*go)*, and it is followed by a prepositional phrase. The verb is used non idiomatically and the PP *into the tunnel* is an adjunct, which is external to the verb phrase. No passive counterpart can be thought of : *\*The tunnel was gone into.*

In a nutshell, *go into* is regarded as an idiom when it is used figuratively (*go into a problem*) but not when it is used literally: *go into a tunnel*. It is followed by an indirect object complement when it is used idiomatically (in that case it is a prepositional verb) and by an adjunct when it is used non idiomatically (*go* is not a prepositional verb in that case; it is just followed by a prepositional phrase). As a consequence, there is a great cohesion between the verb and the preposition when the meaning is figurative, but not when it is literal, since the verb is simple in that case.

Talmy GivÒn (1990) (Note 14) goes in the same direction underlining that some verb-preposition combinations are partly idiomatic (*go into, approve of*, etc.) :

1. Idiomatic

*They cared for her well during her last year. (s'occuper de)*

*She was well cared for during her last year.*

2. Non-idiomatic :

*John cared for her deeply. (aimer)*

*\*she was deeply cared for by John.*

He explains the contrasting behaviour of the idiomatic vs. non-idiomatic sense by noting that idiomatic verb-preposition combinations are perceived as **single lexical items.** We might add that this is not so much a question of idiomaticity (as some idomatic expressions cannot be passivized precisely because they are idiomatic and function as a whole [*set sails, lose courage, change trains*, etc.]) (Note 15) as it is a question of link between the verb and the preposition. In 1, the verb is highly prepositional (*to care for someone, s'occuper de*) ; the link between the verb and the preposition is very close and the prepositional phrase cannot be deleted without any change of meaning (*\*he cared*). In 2., the verb is still prepositional (*to care, aimer*) but the link between the verb and the preposition is not so close. The prepositional phrase can be deleted without changing the meaning of the verb. As a matter of fact, both verbs are prepositional, both are followed by indirect object complements but one of them cannot be passivized because the link between the verb and the preposition is not close enough. But there might be another reason : *care for* is a stative verb and stative verbs cannot normally be passivized. If we compare  *John cared for her* to *They wrote a lot about it*, we note that both verbs are simple and show but a loose link with their PP (which can be deleted, *John cared, they wrote*) but only the verb *write* can be passivized. This might come from the fact that *write* is an actional verb. This question will be examined further on.

To conclude, only in their abstract, figurative uses do *go into, look at, arrive at*, etc. accept the passive because the preposition in such cases is specified by the verb. It is then perfectly natural that the passive should normally be

excluded when the preposition is less constrained, especially when it introduces an adjunct and has a temporal or a locative meaning:

> *We never worked on Sundays. *Sundays were never worked on.*
>
> *They set out despite the fog. *The fog was set out despite.*
>
> *They had died near the tree. *The tree had been died    near.*

But there are counter-examples, which we will analyse further on : it is sometimes possible to passivize an utterance when the preposition is not specified by the verb, when it introduces an adjunct and has a locative meaning, if the PP functions as if it were a complement of the verb, as if it were affected by the process :

> *This bed has been slept in.*
>
> *He hates being sat next to.*
>
> *The bridge has already been flown under twice.* (Note 16)

Also, the fact that a preposition is specified by a verb or verbal idiom is no guarantee that the verb can be passivized:

*His son took after him (tenir de).* This sentence is semantically close to *his son resembled him.* When passivized, it takes on a different meaning and is interpreted literally: *He was taken after his son* means *il a été pris après son père.* *After his son* becomes an adjunct in the passive, and the verb is not prepositional anymore. So *He was taken after his son* cannot be the passive equivalent of *His son took after him,* which cannot be passivized in that sense.

*They are crying out for justice. *Justice is being cried out for. (cry out for justice* functions as a close unit, as a fixed expression like *set sails, change buses*, etc.*).* The passive is not possible for many idioms in which the verb and the object form a close unit. (See note 15).

*2.2 Semantic definition of transitivity*

When the notion of transitivity, which originates in semantics, (Note 17) is defined semantically, the syntactic definition is presupposed (transitivity entails the presence of an object) but what comes uppermost is the idea of **semantic transfer**. **The action is transferred, carried-over, from the subject (which is more or less agentive, which can be animate or not) to the object (the patient, which can be more or less effective) through the verb.** (Note 18) As Georges Lazard underlines (1994, p. 248), « La transitivité sémantique, conformément à l'étymologie du terme, évoque l'idée de quelque chose qui passe (transit) d'un participant à l'autre, de l'agent à l'objet. » (Note 19)

The notion of transitivity is especially relevant when an action is involved, when the verb is dynamic and the subject agentive (whether animate or not), which permits the transfer :

*Peter shot Paul. Paul was shot by Peter.*

*Peter* is the performer of the action « shot ».

*The official weighed the boxer. The boxer was weighed by the official.*

*The bullet hit him in the neck. He was hit in the neck by a bullet*. (agentive inanimate subject, « bullet » performer of the action « hit »)

With a dynamic transitive prepositional verb (V+NP+PP), the transfer normally affects the first NP :

*John explained the situation to us. The situation was explained to us.*

But it is not unusual for the noun in the PP to be affected :

- *He paid too much for this car.*

- *Well, **lots of things are paid too much for nowadays**. (Note 20) Too much* should be the subject of the passive (*pay money for something*) but *for this car*, that is to say what we pay for, is taken to be the theme of the utterance here and is affected.

If we consider a more complex verb (a prepositional expression) like for example *Make mention of*, we note that the NP, *mention,* is normally affected by the transfer : *mention is made of the whole tradition in aesthetics grounded in Kant and Hegel.* (Note 21) *The whole tradition in aesthetics grounded in Kant and Hegel was made mention of.* But in the following example, the noun in the PP (indirect object complement) is affected as it is thematized in the context :

*He did not make mention of his links with the mafia, and I do not think that they will ever **be made mention of.*** (Note 22)

The transfer normally affects the first complement of the verb, but the second can be affected too if it is thematized in context.

The passive is consequently generally not allowed when there is no transfer possible (with stative verbs for instance or verbs used statively), even if the sentence contains a syntactic object :

1.    *I'll chance it.* (No transfer because « it » is non-referential.)

2.    *He has a car.* (No transfer. Stative value of the verb)

3.    *John broke a tooth on a particularly tough piece of meat.* (No transfer. Co-referentiality between part of the object and the subject. Sort of reflexive diathesis.)

4.    *John shaved himself.* (No transfer. Reflexive diathesis)

5.    *He married her.* (Reciprocal diathesis)

6.    *He kicked the bucket.* (idiom = *to die*) (No transfer. Single lexical item)

The idea of transfer on which transitivity is based presupposes that the subject of the active is agentive. In fact, the subject of the active can be more or less agentive. The degree of agentivity of the subject is variable and depends on the verb as well. **The notion of agentivity can thus be described as a *continuum*, and as a consequence the notion of transitivity as well.** In the following exemples, the subject is decreasingly agentive, the degree of transitivity lower and lower (but never absent), and in each case the passive is possible: (Note 23)

1.    *John willingly broke the vase.* (*willingly* plays a role in the agentive role of the subject, John, and in the dynamic character of the verb *break*)

2.    *John accidentally broke the vase.* (the subject is necessarily less agentive due to the role of the adverb *accidentally*, despite the presence of the same dynamic verb)

3.    *The wind broke the branch of the tree.* (inanimate subject ; the subject is necessarily less agentive than with an animate subject (John))

4.    *A broken wall girdled the low horizon.* (the verb *girdle* is stative, the subject is inanimate. But there *is* some sort of dynamism since *a broken wall* acts upon *the low horizon* by girdling it. The subject is only indirectly agentive here, and the degree of transitivity is very low.

All these utterances have a passive counterpart no matter how agentive the subject is:

1.    *The vase was willingly broken by John.*

2.    *The vase was accidentally broken by John.*

3.    *The branch of the tree was broken by the wind.*

4.    *I cannot tell what sentiment haunted the quite solitary churchyard, with its inscribed headstone; its gate, its two trees, its low horizon, girdled by a broken wall, and its newly-risen crescent, attesting the hour of eventide.* (Note 24)

But when the subject is not associated with the role of agent at all, there's normally no transfer possible from the subject to the object through the verb, and passivization is hardly acceptable :

1.    *He received the letter. ?The    letter was received by him.*

2.    *The boxer weighed 140 pounds. *140 were weighed by the boxer.*

3.    *The suit fits me. *I am fitted by the suit.* (the suit is not agentive*)

4.    *He kicked the bucket. (he died) *The bucket was kicked by him.*

5.    *His wound was oozing blood. *Blood was being oozed from his wound.*

6.    *The bush sprouted new shoots. *New shoots were being sprouted from the bush.*

7.    *The reforms will benefit women. *Women will be benefited by the reforms.*

The subject is not agentive. The object can't be affected by the subject through the verb. No transfer is possible. (Note 25)

In fact, like agentivity, **transitivity functions as a *continuum*** : the more effective an action is, the more transitive the clause is. If the action is not viewed from its endpoint, it is less effectively transferred to a patient. Moreover, the transitivity notion is not homogeneous and is made up of different semantic parameters, which are discourse-determined, and have to be taken into account. A verb can be more or less transitive if :

- it refers to an action which is punctual (punctual actions have a more marked effect on their patients)

- if the action is telic (the object is effected)

- if the action is atelic (the object partially effected)

- if the verb is volitional (the effect on the patient is more apparent)

- if the subject is high in agency (which favours the transfer)

- if the object is affected completely.

All these parameters have to be considered to define the notion of transitivity. The more agentive the subject is, the more telic the verb, the more effective the object is likely to be and the higher the degree of transitivity.

It follows that a verb is not intrinsically high in transitivity but that it can be more or less so according to the context. That is the reason why purely formal definitions of transitivity are too restrictive. In order for an utterance to be passivized, there must be some degree of semantic transitivity. But our definition of transitivity has yet to be clarified.

### 3. Transitivity as a semantic *continuum*

**Semantic transitivity does not always presuppose syntactic transitivity (the presence of an object) and syntactic transitivity does not necessarily trigger the transitive meaning.** As far as the passive is concerned, the syntactic factor is not absolute. Some clauses may contain an object without conveying any idea of transfer from the subjet to the object, making passivization impossible. As Claude Rivière points out (1997, p. 20), « la transitivité est un phénomène qui se place au niveau des relations entre actants plutôt qu'au niveau des relations syntaxiques visibles. » (Note 26)

**In other words, certain verbs can be syntactically transitive (SVO) without being semantically transitive,** without implying any idea of transfer from the subject to the object through the verb. This is the case for stative verbs (*he received the letter, the suit fits me*) : actions can be transferred from one participant to another, states cannot. The pattern with three parts plays a role in the definition of transitivity of course but what generally comes first is the semantic idea of transfer which permits passivization. The idea of transfer presupposes a certain dynamism of the verb and implies that the object is more or less affected by the subject through the verb. The passive will only be possible when the verb is semantically transitive in a given context. True passives **are thus passives producing an agentive effect**, passives containing dynamic verbs, because the notion of transfer is fully relevant here. The more agentive the subject is, the more dynamic the verb is, the **higher degree of transitivity** and consequently of passiveness the sentence will contain :

*He dug a hole and planted the tree.* Syntactic transitivity AND semantic transitivity. Passive correspondent. The transfer is carried out in its entirety. (Note 27)

*I have a car.* Syntactic transitivity (SVO) but NO semantic transitivity. Attribution of a property to the subject. NO Passive correspondent.

*He married her.* Syntactic transitivity but NO semantic transitivity. The object is affected by the subject at the same time as it affects the subject. The object cannot be promoted as it is acted upon as well as it acts (upon the subject). Reflexive diathesis.

*We all had a good time.* Syntactic transitivity AND semantic transitivity. Passive correspondent : *A good time was had by all. A good time* is not affected but it is effected and has a clear resultative value. The tense of the verb and the nature of the process denoted by the verb certainly have something to do with transitivity here. If the verb is put into the present tense, the utterance becomes hardly acceptable : *We are all having a good time.*

*? A good time is being had by us all.* The aspect of the verb, implying that the object is only partially effected, added to the stative nature of the verb, make passivization hardly possible.

*He resembles his father.* Syntactic transitivity (SVO) but NO semantic transitivity. Attribution of a property to the subject. NO Passive correspondent.

*He kicked the bucket (to die)*. NO Syntactic transitivity and NO semantic transitivity. Attribution of a property to the subject. NO Passive correspondent ; the meaning would not be preserved.

*Someone has slept in the bed.* NO syntactic transitivity (SVO) but semantic transitivity. The bed is affected. Passive correspondent (*bed* is affected by *sleep*).

**The object (of the active) must be affected in some way in order to become the subject of the passive** (as a consequence of the transfer). **There must be some kind of possible effect** (meaning result) **and/or a close relationship between the verb and its complement**. The fact that the noun phrase must be affected by the verb (as a possible result of the transfer) as a consequence of its being **effective** in some way is what makes passivization possible with intransitive verbs as well, which, by nature, are not followed by objects. This is the reason why some intransitive verbs in certain contexts permit passivization (*sleep*) : their complement is affected by the action denoted by the verb. This also accounts for the fact that certain prepositional phrases can occur in the passive, others cannot. (Note 28)

*3.1 With transitive verbs (direct or indirect) :*

*They arrived at a solution* : Syntactic transitivity AND semantic transitivity (prepositional verb, transfer from *they* to *a solution* (result) through the verb. *Solution* : result of the process *arrive*. *Arrive* followed by a non locative NP is typically effective).

Whereas: *they arrived at their cousins'* : NO syntactic transitivity and NO semantic transitivity (no transfer, no result. *Their cousins* is not affected. Intransitive verb).

*He looked at the girl* : Syntactic transitivity AND semantic transitivity (the preposition is specified by the verb when the verb is prepositional. Close relationship betweeen *look* and *at*, and the preposition introduces a NP (noun phrase) which is complement of the preposition, and the whole PP (prepositional phrase) *at the girl* is the indirect object complement of *look*.)

If we take the following passive sentence :

*So much has already been written about the Beatles. So much* (the object of the active) has a resultative value (is a metaphor for 'many books'). This is how it is affected.   The action *write* is typically effective since it has produced a result (*so much*).

*3.2 With intransitive verbs*

*He looked under the bed* : NO syntactic transitivity and NO semantic transitivity. The bed is not affected ; nor is it a participant. When it has a locative meaning, the preposition is (normally) less constrained. The cohesion between *look* and *under* (which is normal when the preposition introduces an adverbial phrase) is loose. The sentence does not allow passivization. *Under the bed*   is an adjunct.

3.2.1 The noun in the PP (prepositional phrase) is affected.

The most classical example is *Somebody has slept in the bed. The bed has been slept in. Somebody* is associated with the role of agent and the bed is affected. But *in the bed* is an obligatory adjunct, not an object complement. Yet, there is a transfer from the subject to the adjunct (more particularly to the noun included in the PP) through the verb, even though the verb is intransitive. Consequently, the verb functions as a transitive verb and the relationship between **the verb and the adjunct is close**.

It is close because of the **cognitive presupposition** (Note 29) underlying the predicative relation here: *What do you do in a bed ? You sleep in it.* That kind of presupposition reinforces the relationship between the verb and the prepositional phrase, which cannot be deleted:

*\* Somebody has slept.*

Other example : *The island cannot be walked across in an hour.* The adjunct is obligatory and the island is affected. The principle of cognitive presupposition applies here as well: the relationship between *walk* and *the island* is natural.

On the contrary, if we take *\*The road was gone across*, there is no semantic link between *go across* and *the road* and no cognitive presupposition. The passive is impossible.

Other examples including obligatory adjuncts that can become subjects of passive utterances :

*Somebody sat on the chair. The chair was sat on.* (the chair is affected.) Cognitive presupposition : *What do you do with a chair ? You sit on it.*

*Several famous people have lived in this house. This house has been lived in by several famous people.* The house is affected (*it has an aura by virtue of the people who have lived in it),* and the principle of cognitive presupposition applies : *What do you do in a house ? You live in it.* There is a close relationship between the verb and the prepositional phrase, which cannot be deleted here.

Other examples of the same type :

*Welcome To Berkeley Castle. Berkeley Castle has been lived in by the same family for over 900 years. It is where history has been made.* (Note 30)

*'You can tell it isn't Saturday night,' I said. 'Evening, Miss. Two pints.' [...]*

*'Anybody can tell it isn't Saturday night. Nobody sick.'*

*'Nobody here to* be *sick,' Leslie said.*

*The peeling, liver-coloured room* **might never have been drunk in at all***. Here, commercials told jokes and had Scotches and sodas with happy, dyed, port-and-lemon women; [...] influential nobodies revised the earth. [...] Strangers came and went, but mostly went. [...] Sometimes there were fights; and always there was something doing. [...] But that evening it was the saddest room I had ever known.* (Note 31)

The room is affected. Cognitive presupposition.

Now, here are a few examples where the notion of cognitive presupposition does not apply so well :

*Somebody put varnish on the chair. The chair was put varnish on.* The chair is affected    because it changes colour. But the explanation involving the notion of cognitive presupposition is not so relevant here. ??? *What do you do with a chair ? You put varnish on it*. The relationship between the verb and *chair* is close anyway because a chair can be varnished. The construction of the verb *put* requires two obligatory complements, *to put something somewhere* (*varnish* = direct object complement, *on the chair* : obligatory adjunct). (Note 32) But the explanation cannot lie on syntactic reasons only. If we consider another example of the same type, *I put my wallet in your bag* the passivized sentence *\*your bag was put my wallet in* is impossible (even though the structure is the same as in *somebody put varnish on the chair, V NP PP*) whereas *My wallet was put in your bag* is perfectly acceptable. We may hypothesize that what makes passivization possible with *the chair* as subject of the passive is that the chair is clearly affected. And in *I put my wallet in your bag,* it is not the bag which is affected but my wallet. Passivization depends here on the noun that is affected. Normally it should be the noun within the direct object complement (*varnish*) but sometimes, if that noun cannot be affected in the context, it is the noun from the adverbial prepositional phrase which becomes the subject of the passive.

The same could be said about :

*1 They stuck pins in his body.* (Note 33)

*2 Pins were stuck in his body.*

*Stick pins somewhere* requires two obligatory complements (object and adjunct). This sentence can normally give rise to one passive only : the object (*pins*), which is affected, becomes the subject of the passive : *pins were stuck in his body.* But if 'he' (or 'his body') is taken to be the theme of the utterance and is affected within a given context, it can become the subject of the passive :

*He has been burned,* **stuck pins in***, beheaded, all in effigy, of course.*

Here again it is the second complement (obligatory adjunct) which becomes the subject of the passive, even if there is no real cognitive presupposition. This is only possible within a given context.

*Somebody sat on the hat. The hat was sat on.* The hat is affected but there is no cognitive presupposition here either. We may hypothesize that the relationship between the verb *sit* and the noun *hat* is close because to *sit* necessarily implies *to sit somewhere*.

*They had not marked 'poison' on the bottle. However,* **the bottle had NOT been marked 'poison',** *so Alice ventured to taste it, and finding it very nice, (it had, in fact, a sort of mixed flavour of cherry- tart, custard, pine-apple, roast turkey, toffee, and hot buttered toast), she very soon finished it off.* (Note 34) Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.*

The bottle is affected. No real cognitive presupposition.

3.2.2 The noun in the PP (prepositional phrase) is not affected :

Naturally enough , *My best friend has lived in New York* cannot be passivized (*\*New York has been lived in by my best friend* : *my best friend / live in New York* does not affect the city). It is indeed more difficult for a larger entity to be affected. But *\*New York has been lived in by Barak Obama* should be possible (the city should be affected), yet it is not. One possible explanation is that there is no cognitive presupposition here and New York is too large an entity to be affected :?? *What do you do in New York? You live in it.* But *New York has been lived in by the most famous people on earth* is possible. The explanation is to be sought elsewhere than in cognitive presupposition in this case. New York can only be affected if the subject of the active refers to a larger group (more likely to affect a whole city).

Anna Siewierska's hypothesis (1984) (Note 35) is that certain sentences containing intransitive verbs like *sleep* and *live* can be passivized if the agent by-phrase is heavily rhematic :

*1 A good portion of the animal kingdom sleep through the winter.*

*2 The winter is slept through by a good portion of the animal kingdom.*

*3 \*The winter is slept through by the bear.*

According to the author, the passive becomes acceptable, even with an intransitive verb, when the agent by-phrase is **sufficiently rhematic**. *By a good portion of the animal kingdom* is more rhematic than *by the bear*. If the NP is insufficiently rhematic, the sentence is not grammatically correct : *\*The winter is slept through by the bear.* It may also be hypothesized that the passive is possible because « the winter » can be said to have a resultative value (= very few animals can be seen) and as a matter of fact, and is likely to be affected in some way.

*The winter* cannot be affected by the fact that only bears sleep through it. This also applies to *\*New York has been lived in by my best friend*: the sentence becomes correct if the agent by-phrase is heavily rhematic : *New York has been lived in by the most famous people on earth.* The agent by-phrase has to be heavily rhematic for the city to be affected.

**Conclusion** : with intransitive verbs, expecially when there is no cognitive presupposition, the passive is possible if the NP included in the adjunct of the active is affected in some way, and if the subject (which becomes the agent by-phrase) conveys a lot of information.

This also affects transitive verbs : the agent by-phrase, when present, is always rhematic, and is    sometimes obligatory for the sentence to be grammatically correct, otherwise the sentence does not convey enough information :

> 1.      *I cannot tell what sentiment haunted the quite solitary churchyard, with its inscribed headstone; its gate, its two trees, its low horizon, girdled by a broken wall, and its newly-risen crescent, attesting the hour of eventide.* (Note 36)

>    * *girdled, and its newly-risen crescent, attesting the hour of eventide.*

> 2.      *These open areas of Australia are mainly populated by farmers.*

>    * *These open areas of Australia are mainly populated.*

> 3.      *This thought was immmediately supplanted by another.* (Note 37)

>    * *This thought was immediately supplanted.*

> 4.      *I said I didn't like to think that the person who killed Wellington could be living somewhere nearby and I might meet him when I went out for a walk at night. And this was possible because a murder was usually committed by a person who was known to the victim.* (Note 38)

>    * *this was possible because a murder was usually committed.*

**With stative verbs now,** the subject not being agentive, the idea of a semantic transfer from the subject to the object through the verb poses a problem. If the object is to be affected, the verb cannot be totally stative :

> *The jar holds oil. (= is full of)*

> *\*Oil is held by the jar.*

> *The thief was held by the police*

> *I was held by the Russians in Auschwitz; this is what I saw ...* (Note 39)

> *The king possessed great wealth. (= had great wealth)*

> *\*Great wealth was possessed by the King.*

> *The city was soon possessed by the enemy.*

> *He afterwards tried several times to repeat the experience. "I was Possessed By God" is the documentary record of one such experience.* (Note 40)

Even if the agent by-phrase is heavily rhematic and the subject discourse-old, the passive remains impossible with purely stative verbs :

> *\*The oil coming from Italy that you gave us last year is held by the jar in front of you.*

> *\*The cottage was had by two families.*

*Own* could be passivized because it presupposes the act of buying (and is stative to a lesser degree). The sentence is more acceptable when the agent by-phrase conveys a lot of information:

> *The cottage was owned by two families.*

> *? The cottage was owned by John.*

> *A BUGATTI supercar stopped by cops after an alleged 130mph motorway race with a Ferrari **is owned by** a speed-loving earl.* (Note 41)

The same could be said about the verb *justify* for instance, which describes a state but is not as stative as *have, hold* and *possess* :

> *She received him with her very best politeness, which he returned with as much more, apologising for his intrusion, without any previous acquaintance with her, which he could not help flattering himself, however, **might be justified by his relationship to the young ladies** who introduced him to her notice.*

The agent is not animate but there is some of transfer from the subject (*his relationship to the young ladies*) to the object (*his intrusion*) which permits passivization.

The following examples can be accounted for in the same way :

> *I am not sleepy, or more accurately, my sleepiness **is masked by a state of tension and anxiety** of which I have not yet managed to rid myself, and so I talk and talk.* (Note 42)

> *These open areas of Australia **are mainly populated by farmers.***

> *When he began the novel he already knew what the last words would be, not only the last words of the novel but the last words **thought by** Dutch Shea before he shoots himself.* (Note 43)

*Think* is not completely stative here.

The passive should thus be impossible with purely stative verbs which presuppose that the subject is not agentive, that the object is not affected because there is no transfer.

**But the passive is nevertheless acceptable** with some stative verbs, especially with **verbs of perception and verbs of feeling** :

> *Everyone saw the accident. The accident was seen by everyone.*

> *The motor car with its blinds drawn and an air of inscrutable reserve proceeded towards Piccadilly, still gazed at, still ruffling the faces on both sides of the street with the same dark breath of veneration whether for Queen, Prince, or Prime Minister nobody knew. The face itself **had been seen only once by three people for a few seconds.*** (Note 44)

Huddleston and Pullum's hypothesis (2002, p. 241) (Note 45) is that with stative verbs, the syntactic dimension of transitivity prevails : « Seeing and disliking are not actions, but the syntactic relation between the members of these pairs is the same as that between *the police arrested her son* and *her son was arrested by the police*, so they can be classified as active and passive pairs. These sentences can be assigned to the active and passive categories on the basis of their syntactic likeness to clauses like those in *the police arrested her son* and *her son was arrested by the police.* »

Our hypothesis is that the transfer is not of the same type as in the previous examples. Here, the subject is not agentive in the same way as it was with dynamic verbs and the object is not affected in the same way either. But the subject has some sort of **responsibility** (Note 46) in the process even if it is not properly speaking agentive. The idea of transfer is here linked to the notion of **responsibility of the subject** and this responsibility permits passivization: the accident is affected by the fact of being seen. The object is completed by the fact of being seen.

> *His colleagues dislike him. He **is disliked** by his colleagues.*

> *An offering for the sake of offering, perhaps. Anyhow, it was her gift. Nothing else had she of the slightest importance; could not think, write, even play the piano. She muddled Armenians and Turks; loved success; hated discomfort; **must be liked**; talked oceans of nonsense: and to this day, ask her what the Equator was, and she did not know.* (Note 47)

> *You're **very well liked** in Gilly, Father.* (Note 48)

> *Is it possible **to be liked by** everyone ?*

The subject is responsible for seeing and for liking or disliking. This is what makes passivization possible. The notion of responsibility allows some kind of transfer and agentivity, and **should be added to the different facets or components of transitivity.**

In the following example, the nature of the verb *watch* (which is a voluntary perception verb) combined with the adverb « closely » enhance the responsibility of the subject :

> *Elizabeth soon saw that **she was herself closely watched by** Miss Bingley.* (Note 49)

This also applies to :

> *The motor car with its blinds drawn and an air of inscrutable reserve proceeded towards Piccadilly, still **gazed at**, still ruffling the faces on both sides of the street with the same dark breath of veneration whether for Queen, Prince, or Prime Minister nobody knew*

The same could be said about *the pilot sustained many injuries* / *Many injuries were sustained by the pilot*, in which the subject cannot be responsible for sustaining injuries but in which there is some agency of the subject because some sort of action is involved, the resistance to pain.

But *John cares for you* still resists passivization. Whereas *like* implies some sort of transfer which affects the object, *care for* is completely stative.

## 4. Conclusion

Passivization is based on the semantic definition of transitivity. If one does not distinguish syntax from semantics, there is no way of understanding why certain transitive verbs cannot be passivized ; no way of understanding either why some intransitive verbs followed by adjuncts can be passivized. The notion of transfer mainly affects dynamic verbs and agentive subjects, but the subject can be low in agency. In fact it is enough for the subject to have a small share of responsibility in the process for the object to be affected in some way and for passivization to be allowed. The object

can be more or less affected, and the verb more or less dynamic but never purely stative. The notion of transitivity emerges as **a property of the whole clause,** and functions as a semantic ***continuum***, which makes it necessary to take into consideration various parameters : the subject (agentive or not), the verb (dynamic or not, showing responsibility of the subject or not), the object of the active (which should be affected in order to be thematized, i.e. become the subject of the passive utterance). All such parameters account for the possibility or impossibility of passivization.

## Acknowledgement

## References

Albrespit, Jean. (2007). Atypical Passives. *Études Anglaises* 4. Paris : Klincksieck/Didier Érudition. 466-482.

Bolinger, Dwight. [1974] (1975). On the Passive in English. In Adam Makkai & Valerie Makkai. *The First LACUS Forum*. Columbia, S.C.: Hornbeam. 57-80.

—. (1977). Transitivity and spatiality : the passive of prepositional verbs. In Adam Makkai, Valerie Makkai & L. Heineman (eds). *Linguistics at the Crossroads*. Lake Bluff, IL : Jupiter Press. 57-78.

—. (1977). *Meaning and Form.* London : Longman Higher Education.

—. (1978). Passive and Transitivity Again. *Forum Linguisticum, 3*, 25-28.

Cotte, Pierre. (1996). *L'explication grammaticale de textes anglais*. Paris : PUF.

De Giorgi, Bernard. (1997). *Le Passif en anglais contemporain*. Thèse de doctorat nouveau régime, sous la direction de René Rivara. Université de Provence.

—. (1997). Le Passif en anglais – Présupposition, information et équilibre thématique. *Anglophonia/ SIGMA* 2. Toulouse : Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 130-159.

GivÒn, Talmy. (1990). *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction*, vol. II. Amsterdam : John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Granger, Sylviane. (1983). *The be + past participle Construction in Spoken English with Special Emphasis on the Passive*. *North Holland Linguistic Series* 49. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Groussier, Marie-Line. (1997). Vers une définition de la transitivité en anglais et en français. *Cahiers de Charles V* 23.

Hopper, Paul & Thompson, Sandra. (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language*. 56(2), 251-299.

Huddleston, Rodney & Pullum, Geoffrey. (2002). *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

—. (2006). *A Student's Introduction to English Grammar.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Joly, André & O'Kelly, Dairine. (1990). *Grammaire systématique de l'anglais.* Paris : Nathan.

Lazard, Georges. (1994). *L'Actance*. Paris : PUF.

Le Goffic, Patrick. (1994). *Grammaire de la phrase française.* Paris : Hachette supérieur.

Malinier, Yves-Bernard. (1999). Les énoncés passivés. *La référence à l'animé-humain indéterminé en anglais britannique actuel*, chapitre 3. Marie-Line Groussier (dir.). Paris :    Université de Paris 7.

Quirk, Randolph & al. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London : Pearson Longman.

Rivière, Claude. (1997). Transitivité et types de procès. *Cahiers de Charles V* 23.

Roggero, Jacques. (1981). *Grammaire anglaise.* Paris : Nathan.

Siewierska, Anna. (1984). *The Passive*: *A Comparative Linguistic Analysis*. London: Croom Helm.

Tseng, Jesse. (2007). English Prepositional passives in HPSG. *Proceedings of the HPSG07 Conference*. Stanford Department of Linguistics and CSLI's LinGO Lab. Stefan Muller (Editor). CSLI Publications (*Center for the Study of Language of Information*). Chicago : The University of Chicago Press.

## Notes

Note 1. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. 1985. London : Pearson Longman, pp. 159-171.

Note 2. Rodney Huddleston & Geoffrey Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, p. 1431.

Note 3. Joan Didion. 2005.*The Year of Magical Thinking.* New York: Vintage.

Note 4. Patrick Le Goffic's distinction between *direct object complement* and *direct complement of the verb* is very useful here: « la notion de complément direct ne se confond pas avec celle d'objet direct : si dans l'exemple ci-dessus [Paul rencontre Marie], Marie représente bien un « objet » (c'est-à-dire un actant clairement individualisé, affecté par le procès verbal), en revanche dans *La table mesure un mètre vingt, Ce vin sent le bouchon, Paul doit partir*, le verbe a un complément direct qui ne saurait être qualifié d'objet. *Grammaire de la phrase française.* 1994. Paris : Hachette supérieur, p. 233.

Note 5. As Pierre Cotte says, « Qu'il désigne une action ou non, un verbe passivable signifie qu'un participant en détermine un autre. […] Dans les énoncés non passivables, une telle détermination fait défaut. *Jane resembles her mother* ne signifie pas que la mère détermine quoi que ce soit chez la fille, ou l'inverse, mais qu'un tiers trouve qu'elle lui ressemble, sans que l'une ou l'autre en ait forcément conscience. […] Les procès non passivables ne sont pas transitifs mais qualificatifs : ils caractérisent le sujet. L'objet y construit avec le verbe une unité sémantique (*resemble her mother / lack confidence / cost ten pounds / hold 5000 people / fit someone*). Son référent ne valant pas en lui-même mais pour la qualification, il n'est pas envisageable de le thématiser et il n'y a pas de passif. » *L'Explication grammaticale de textes anglais.* 1996. Paris : PUF, p. 78.

Note 6. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language,* p. 247.

Note 7. Rodney Huddleston & Geoffrey Pullum. 2006. *A Student's Introduction to English Grammar.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, p. 307.

Note 8. Term borrowed from Paul Hopper & Sandra Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56(2), p. 251.

Note 9. In extraposed clauses like *it is said that John is getting married in June*, *it* can be said to be contextually referential in so far as it points to the *that*-clause it replaces.

Note 10. Example borrowed from Bernard De Giorgi. 1997. *Le passif en anglais contemporain.* Thèse de doctorat nouveau régime. Université de Provence.

Note 11. Example borrowed from André Joly & Dairine O'Kelly. 1990. *Grammaire systématique de l'anglais.* Paris : Nathan, p. 151.

Note 12. « The underlined NP in the active is an object not of a verb but of a preposition. The preposition, transitive in the active, is intransitive in the passive, hence the term prepositional passive. The preposition is 'stranded'. The construction is often avoided in formal prose. » Rodney Huddleston & Geoffrey Pullum, *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, p.1440.

Note 13. 1981. *Grammaire anglaise.* Paris : Nathan.

Note 14. 1990. *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction*, vol. II. Amsterdam : John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Note 15. The passive is not possible for many idioms constituted of a verb and a noun because they form a close unit, a single lexical item. The idiom can be regarded as intransitive :

*The ship set sail. (*Sail was set.)*

*We changed buses. (*Buses were changed.)*

*Change colour.*

*Lose courage, lose patience.*

*Keep guard.*

Note 16. Examples borrowed from Jesse Tseng, English Prepositional passives in HPSG. 2007. *Proceedings of the HPSG07 Conference.* Stanford Department of Linguistics and CSLI's LinGO Lab. Stefan Muller (Editor). CSLI Publications (*Center for the Study of Language of Information*). Chicago : The University of Chicago Press.

Note 17. The term « transitive » derives from the Latin *trans,* « across » and *ire*, « go ».

Note 18. « Transitivity is traditionally understood as a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is 'carried-over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient. » Paul Hopper & Sandra Thompson. Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse, p. 251.

Note 19. 1994. *L'Actance.* Paris : PUF, p. 248.

Note 20. Example borrowed from Bernard De Giorgi, *Le passif en anglais contemporain.*

Note 21. *bjaesthetics.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/19/2/181.pdf –*

Note 22. There are two categories of prepositional expressions : those that only have one passive, and those that can have two passives, one taking the first complement as subjet, the other taking the noun in the PP as subject.

**I. one passive only :**

**a. catch hold of, draw attention to, get the better of, find fault with, make a fool of, make fun of, lose sight of**

*They made a fool of him —> he was made a fool of.*

*He was made a fool of (by them). He was got the better of. The facts were drawn attention to.*

**b. take umbrage at, make mention of, call attention to**

*They took umbrage at my remark. —> Umbrage was taken at my remark.*

*Umbrage was taken at my remark (by them). *my remark was taken umbrage at.*

*He made mention of his unlawful activities. Mention of his unlawful activities was made.*

It is less usual to find Ø in front of the noun while the subject should have a thematic value. These sentences are more natural when a marker is used before the noun :

*To Preserve Our Trees, **Ø** Attention Is Called to Destruction in Central Park. (select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F10E16F83558137B93CBA8178DD85F4D8585F9 –)*

***My** attention was called to these two inscriptions in reading a chapter of Professor L. R.. Taylor's book. (soon to be published) on Local Cults in Etruria. (www.jstor.org/stable/295890 -)*

***Ø** Mention is made of the whole tradition in aesthetics grounded in Kant and Hegel, with which her own theory has many parallels. ... (ml.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/LV/3/362.pdf?ck=nck)*

***No** mention is made of the fact that Mahler wrote half the texts himself, let alone a collation of which texts are by Klopstock and which by Malher. (ml.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/LV/3/362.pdf?ck=nck)*

*No* adds a certain degree of determination to the noun. That kind of passive is much more natural.

**II. two passives :**

**make use of, take advantage of, take care of**

*Make use of, take advantage of, take care of* give rise to two passives but one is preferable :

*They hardly ever made use of this possibility.*

*This possibility was hardly ever made use of.*

*? Use was hardly ever made of this possibility.*

***No** use was hardly ever made of this possibility.*

In certain cases, this structure works better when the subject is more determined :

*Can **more efficient** use be made of x ray examinations in the accident and emergency department? (www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=1246007 -)*

*They took advantage of him.    He was taken advantage of. ? **Ø** Advantage was taken of him.*

***Unfair** advantage was taken of him.*

*A political heeler rewarded. How **Ø** advantage was taken of gov. Cleveland's absence from Albany. (New York Times. Saturday, June 21, 2008.)*

*However, "excusable homicide is where death results from a lawful act by lawful means, accomplished accidentally or by misfortune or misadventure, or accomplished with sufficient provocation, with **no undue** advantage and without unnecessary cruel treatment." (www.oscn.net/applications/oscn/DeliverDocument.asp?CiteID=81428)*

When the locutor may choose between two structures, the most important element is placed at the end. Discourse cohesion is also to be taken into account :

*Why is **good care** not taken of dogs that are shipped internationally ? (answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090526233708AAqVGDr -)*

*How long do hermit crabs live if **taken good care of**? (wiki.answers.com/Q/How_long_do_hermit_crabs_live_if_taken_good_care_of -)*

Note 23. See Bernard De Giorgi, *Le passif en anglais contemporain.*

Note 24. Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre.* (1847) 1986. London : Marshall Cavendish, p. 1.

Note 25. But the verb *receive* for example, used in another sense, is possible in the passive. Then the subject is partly agentive : *THE ladies of Longbourn soon waited on those of Netherfield. The visit was returned in due form. Miss Bennet's pleasing manners grew on the good will of Mrs. Hurst and Miss Bingley; and though the mother was found to be intolerable and the younger sisters not worth speaking to, a wish of being better acquainted with them was expressed towards the two eldest.* **By Jane this attention was received with the greatest pleasure;** *but Elizabeth still saw superciliousness in their treatment of every body, hardly excepting even her sister, and could not like them.* Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice.* (1813) 1986. London : Marshall Cavendish, p. 20.

Note 26. 1997. Transitivité et types de procès. *Cahiers de Charles V 23.*

Note 27. Paul Hopper & Sandra Thompson. Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse, p. 252.

Note 28. Dwight Bolinger hypothesizes that « the subject in the passive construction is conceived to be a true patient, i.e. to be genuinely affected by the action of the verb. If the grammatical object in the active construction is not conceived as a true patient (is not affected), there will be no corresponding passive. The verbs may be simple or complex, and among the latter are of course prepositional verbs. » 1977. Transitivity and spatiality : the passive of prepositional verbs. In Adam Makkai, Valerie Makkai & L. Heineman (eds). *Linguistics at the Crossroads.* Lake Bluff, IL : Jupiter Press, 57-78.

*The chair was given to John.* (*The chair is affected*, changes hands.)

*John was given the chair.* (*John is affected*, now he owns it.)

*The chair was sat on.* (*The chair is affected*.)

*The chair was put varnish on.* (*The chair is affected because it changes colour.* )

Note 29. This expression is borrowed from Bernard De Giorgi's study on the passive, *Le passif en anglais contemporain.*

Note 30. http://www.berkeley-castle.com/

Note 31. Dylan Thomas. (1951) 1994. *The Followers*. London : Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Note 32. Some linguists would regard it as a complement of the direct object complement ('attribut de l'objet').

Note 33. Dwight Bolinger. Transitivity and spatiality : the passive of prepositional verbs, 57-78.

Note 34. Lewis Caroll. (1865) 1987. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.* London : Marshall Cavendish, p. 7.

Note 35. 1984. *The Passive*: *A Comparative Linguistic Analysis*. London: Croom Helm.

Note 36. *Jane Eyre,* p. 1.

Note 37. *The year of Magical Thinking,* p. 39.

Note 38. Mark Haddon. 2003. *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time.* London : Jonathan Cape, p. 67.

Note 39. *www.fourwinds10.com/siterun_data/history/middle_east/news.php?q=1210295996 - 23k -*

Note 40. *www.cavehzahedi.com/films_god.html*

Note 41. http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/article1242784.ece

Note 42. Primo Levi. (1979) 2006. *If This is a Man*. London : Abacus, p. 44.

Note 43. Joan Didion. *The Year of Magical Thinking*, p. 52.

Note 44. Virginia Woolf. (1925) 2000. *Mrs Dalloway*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, p. 14.

Note 45. *A Student's Introduction to English Grammar*, p. 241.

Note 46. This idea is discussed at length in Bernard de Giorgi's thesis, *Le passif en anglais contemporain.*

Note 47. *Mrs Dalloway*, p. 103.

Note 48. Colleen Mc Cullough. (1977) 1984. *Thorn Birds*. London & Sydney : Futura, p. 121.

Note 49. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 269.

# European Udine Declaration: A Poststructuralist Reading

Sanja Ivic

Research Assistant

Institute of European Studies, Belgrade, Serbia

Trg Nikole Pasica 11, 11000 Beograd, Serbia

Tel: 381-64-305-1945      E-mail: aurora1@yubc.net

**Abstract**

Poststructuralist approach can offer a useful tool for refiguration of some basic concepts employed in European legal discourse. However, this approach is mostly used in gender studies, and its potential is mostly neglected in European studies. In this article, the Udine Declaration will be analyzed from the poststructuralist perspective. It will be shown that this Declaration does not represent a move toward greater freedom and broader notion of identity, because it employs essentialist concepts.

**Keywords:** Poststructuralist, Identity, European, Homogeneity, Deconstruction

## 1. Introduction

EU policy is still based on the distinction between global and local. European Parliament does not consider issues such as: good healthcare, quality of education, childcare, safe communities, etc. These problems are left to local policies. "for the European project to continue to progress, it will be vital to explain how the construction of Europe will both help citizens have greater control by their everyday lives through more empowered local institutions, while also helping to solve the great security, climate, and war and peace related challenges of an increasingly independent world." (Note 1)

Establishment of the Udine Declaration (Note 2) which considers the development of regional and European identities is a step towards the resurgence of the local and diminishing the gap between the global and the local. The Assembly of European Region's Udine Declaration attempts to remake the concepts of the "self" and "other". By AER's Udine Declaration the crucial role of regions and regional identities in establishing a common European identity is emphasized. On the other hand, the significant role of regions in strengthening regional, national and European identity is emphasized.

The expanding borders of EU and dynamic process of globalization require challenging the old concepts of citizen and alien. The new social developments require redefined concepts of pluralism and identity. Establishment of the Udine Declaration (Note 3) by AER (Assembly of European Regions ) (Note 4) which considers the development of regional and European identities is a step towards the resurgence of the *local* and diminishing the gap between the global and the local, between the rich and the poor EU's regions and between EU and its citizens. (Note 5) The Udine Declaration attempts to remake the concepts of the "self" and "other". This Declaration represents a significant contribution to the EU's cohesion policy. (Note 6)The former president of the AER, Riccardo Illy emphasized its contribution to the Constitutional Treaty and the Treaty of Lisbon. (Note 7) The crucial role of regions and regional identities in establishing a common European identity is emphasized by Udine Declaration. On the other hand, the significant role of regions in strengthening regional, national and European identity is emphasized. In the following lines it will be explored whether the Udine Declaration still employs the essentialist notion of identity based on the logic of homogeneity. This approach was criticized by poststructuralist philosophers. Although the Udine Declaration is not a philosophical text, this philosophical analysis of the conception of identity it establishes, explores whether the Udine Declaration represents a move towards greater freedom.

Poststructuralist and postmodern (Note 8) perspectives are not very often employed in European identity and European studies as a whole. In the following lines, the idea of identity represented in the Udine Declaration will be examined from the poststructuralist point of view. It will be argued that the Udine Declaration still employs the essentialist notion of identity based on the logic of homogeneity which is criticized by poststructuralist approach.

The implications of this study can be applied to the research of the concept of European identity, which is first established by the Declaration of European Identity. (Note 9) In the Declaration of European Identity the common heritage and common values of European peoples are emphasized. On the other hand, in the preamble of the Treaty of Establishing a Constitution of Europe (Note 10) religious, cultural and humanist inheritance of Europe and universal values are emphasized. The idea of European Union based on common values is also emphasized in the preamble of the Charter of Fundamental Rights EU. Subsequently, the Udine Declaration represents a regional identity which is established on the common values and common understanding of what it means to be European. In the following lines it will be argued that both European as well as regional identity should not be perceived as homogeneous categories based on common values, because this implies essentialization and does not represent a move towards greater freedom.

## 2. Poststructuralist notion of identity

Poststructuralists, in short, reject the main concepts of the Western metaphysics such as: subject, identity, truth, reality and so forth. They argue that these concepts should not be perceived as fixed, but that they are in need for reinterpretation and deconstruction. Poststructuralist authors reject essentialist notion of identity and argue that identity is dynamic, hybrid and changeable category. They argue that universalist aspirations (Note 11) are oppressive and they emphasize multiple perspectives which are discursively produced. Thus, poststructuralist approach promotes disintegration, particularity and difference.

Some critics of poststructuralist idea note that poststructuralist theory is universalist and essentialist itself: "But this sort of Nietzschean pluralism or perspectivism is fundamentally inconsistent because, in fact, the right to difference can only be held by universal principles." (Note 12) Indeed, it can be argued that poststructuralism is universalizing theory which puts the different theories under the single point of view. (Note 13) However, most of poststructuralist theoreticians reject to specify their theories under the name of "poststructuralism" or "postmodernism". (Note 14)

However, despite their diverse approaches (Note 15) authors who are considered as "poststructuralist", reject essentialist notion of identity. Poststructuralists reject Cartesian idea of the unitary subject. Descartes employs the "method of systematic doubt" to examine all knowledge in order to get firm and certain knowledge. He states: "I noticed that, during the time I wanted this to think that everything was false, it was necessary that I, who thought this, must be something. And noticing that this truth – I think, therefore I am – was so firm and so certain that the most extravagant suppositions of the skeptics were unable to shake it, I judges that I could accept it without scruple as the first principle of the philosophy I was seeking." (Note 16) Descartes makes a distinction between the mind and body, which produces binary oppositions: self/other, objective/subjective, and so forth. (Note 17) He emphasizes the difference between the rational, conscious, unified and knowing subject, on the one hand, and an object, on the other hand. Consequently, self is perceived as a homogenous identity, which excludes everything else as a difference. Poststructuralists reject the idea of stable, unitary, conscious and self-identical subject.

Poststructuralists argue that the subject is produced by discourse. Consequently, identity is shifting, fragmented and multiple. It cannot be considered as rational and it is always in the process of reconstruction. (Note 18) This approach emphasizes that meaning is not fixed, it is deferred and represents an interplay between two opposites. Thus concepts such as "identity", "difference", "equality", "nature", etc. are always open to different interpretations.

According to Lacan, subject is always dependent on language. "Lacan believes that discourse within which the subject finds its identity is always the discourse of the Other – of a symbolic order which transcends the subject. (…) One Lacanian tenet is that subjectivity is entirely relational; it only comes into play through the principle of difference, by the opposition of the 'other' or the 'you' to the 'I'. In other words, subjectivity is not an essence but a set of relationships. It can only be induced by the activation of a signifying system which exists before the individual and which determines his or her identity. Discourse, then, is the agency whereby the subject is produced and the existing order sustained." (Note 19)

Poststructuralists like Foucault (Note 20) and Derrida attempt to deconstruct the idea of humanity. They argue that human nature and reality are constructed. Poststructuralist approach neither represents objectivism nor relativism, by emphasizing that both positions "deny the partial and located position of the knowing subject." (Note 21) Poststructuralist authors argue that this partial and located concept of subject should be foundation of the new conception of objectivity.

According to Derrida the history of Western metaphysics and thought can be perceived as the history of metaphors and metonymies. He rejects fonocentrism and the priority of speech and voice over the written word in the history of Western discourse. (Note 22) According to Derrida, on this dominance of the speech, the logocentrism as the foundation of the Western metaphysics is built. In his *Of Grammatology*, Derrida argues that logocentrism is the part of his project of deconstruction. Logocentrism perceives Western discourse as based on logos (reason, law). It gives priority to identity over difference, universality over the particularity, necessity over contingency, nature over culture, etc. The first term is perceived as dominant and universal, because it is perceived as it has its origin in the reason which

is the same for all human beings. The other is perceived as contingent and particular and mostly excluded from Western discourse. The purpose of Derrida's critique is not to change power relations in these binary oppositions, because this will make another kind of metaphysics. The purpose of Derrida's critique is deconstruction of Western metaphysics and discourse. Derrida's deconstruction exposes assumptions that underlie these binary oppositions and create discrimination and inequality in a metatheoretical level.

The aim of Derrida's deconstruction is not to reject these binary oppositions, but to reconstruct them and interpret them in a different way. Derrida argues that two terms of the binary oppositions present in Western discourse (signifier/signified, objective/subjective, male/female, etc.) cannot be opposed, because every term of these binary oppositions contains in itself the phantom of the other. He introduces the concept of "difference", which overcomes the fixed identity of "difference" and it represents a constant interplay of meanings.

The purpose of Derrida's deconstruction is transformation of the hierarchic structures which create metaphysical character of philosophy. Deconstruction rejects the discourse based on the power of reason.

Derrida's idea of deconstruction was often misinterpreted. Deconstruction is often seen as a method which "consists of deliberately inverting traditional oppositions and marking the play of hitherto invisible concepts that reside unnamed in the gap between opposing terms. In the move from hermeneutics and semiotics to deconstruction there is a shift of focus from identities to differences, unities to fragmentations, ontology to philosophy of language, epistemology to rhetoric, presence to absence. According to one recent commentator deconstruction celebrates dissemination over truth, explosion and fragmentation over unity and coherence, undecidable spaces over prudent closures, playfulness and hysteria over care and rationality." (Note 23) However, this point of view is flawed. Derrida emphasizes that his deconstruction is not a method. It also cannot be perceived as a critique, because a critique presuppose a choice. However, Derrida does not aim at reversing the power relations in binary oppositions.

Derrida's deconstruction was perceived by poststructuralist feminists as a method of reconstruction and reinterpretation of the patriarchal power relations. Scott argues, "Precisely because it addresses questions of epistemology, relativizes the status of all knowledge, links knowledge and power, and theorizes these in terms of the operations of difference, I think poststructuralism (or at least some of the approaches generally associated with Michael Foucault and Jacques Derrida) can offer feminism a powerful analytic perspective." (Note 24)

Poststructuralist feminist authors argue that oppression of women can be perceived in symbolic terms which binary oppositions reflect. Irigaray, Lacan and Kristeva emphasize that binary opposition man/woman reflects the fact that women are excluded from the symbolic order and reflected as "man's other". Irigaray argues that the neutral subject of Western discourse refers only to masculine.

Scott argues that binary oppositions that exist in the Western law and discourse are not ahistorical, universal, or fixed, but constructed. In this way the power relations inside the binary oppositions are reversed, and culture has priority over nature, particular over universal, constructed over fixed, etc. Scott and many other feminists argue that politics represents a gendered concept, where gender is socially constructed. However, the problem with this definition is that gender is as determined and fixed as it was under the biology-is-destiny formulation. In such a case, not biology but culture, becomes destiny. (Note 25) As McKinnon argues, the meaning of the term "construction" is controversial. Construction can imply another kind of determinism – a social determinism which can be opposed to biological determinism.

This is also the main obstacle of any analytical method based on the social and cultural constructivism, which aims at replacing essentialism. It is contradictory and points to the essentialism of another kind. This was well perceived by Wieringa who argues that constructivism creates new metaphysics of binary oppositions who are no less oppressive than the Western metaphysical binary oppositions that were described by Derrida. „However, a 'strong' constructivism which rejects any mention of the body (...) as essentialist falls prey to reinforcing the binary opposition between the body and the social which constructivism set out to criticize in the first place."(Note 26) She argues that binary oppositions between body and mind, between nature and culture and essentialism and constructivism need to be deconstructed. On the other hand she implicitly employs binary opposition between women and men, which reflects new power relations, when she, implicitly, excludes men from the "gender project". (Note 27)

However, Derrida was neither a proponent of essentialism nor constructivism, he argues that meaning is always dispersed. It represents a free interplay of signs, and he rejects all kinds of dualisms based on the homogeneity and firm identity. That means that identity is neither essentialist nor contingent.

Poststructuralist notion of identity embraces multiple conception of culture which is an infinite source of identities and meanings. It reflects new forms of global migration and new hybridity of cultures. This idea of culture redefines the notion of membership and redefines the concept of "other".

### 3. The Udine declaration: toward the poststructuralist notion of identity?

AER's Udine Declaration asks the European institutions and national governments : grant regions the financial means and responsibility to create their own policies from which regional identities are developed to consider the principle of subsidiarity and regional identities as foundation of strong regions; to recognize interdependence between regional, national and European identity and to support regions in the process of development of European identity; "to restrict the ability of the European Commission to use State Aid policy to limit regions' delivery of cultural, media and education policies." (Note 28)

The process of globalization and Europeanization make a strong impact not only on regional but also individual identities. Additional problem is represented by regions which are based on several traditions and heritages. Thus regional identity can be studied from various perspectives: historical, anthropological, interdisciplinary, and so forth.

It is stated by the Udine Declaration (Note 29) that: „national identity is always an important factor, but at the same time, a sense of European identity is also gradually emerging. These developments have resulted in the emergence of multiple identities, as European and regional identities interact with national ones to create more complex layers of identity. It is clear that identity is not a static concept, but rather a constantly shifting phenomenon." (Note 30)

The term "constantly shifting phenomenon" is often employed in poststructuralist theory. It points to poststructuralist idea of identity which rejects essentialism and logic of sameness. As it is already argued, "Poststructuralists charge that identity politics rests on a mistaken view of the subject that assumes a metaphysics of substance – that is, that a cohesive, self-identical subject is ontologically (…) prior to any form of social injustice." (Note 31) So the question whether Europe is moving toward poststructuralist notion of identity can be asked. The further lines from the Udine Declaration seem to give a positive answer: "The challenge for Europe and its regions today is to develop this advantage by nurturing strong identities, on a regional and European level, whilst at the same time respecting existing national identities, and adapting flexibly to shifting identities.". (Note 32)

According to poststructuralists identity is not given ontologically, it is constructed as "a precarious and temporary effect of difference." (Note 33) These relations of difference are dynamic category, which is constantly being changed and reinterpreted. This notion of difference is fluid and it breaks all kind of stable hierarchical dichotomies between male and female, rationality and irrationality, nature and culture and so forth. This point of view influenced poststructuralist understanding of subject as rational, homogenous and autonomous category.

The main goal of the poststructuralist critique is overcoming the logic of homogeneity, which "imposes sameness over difference". (Note 34) Indeed, the difference and the concept of multiple identity are emphasized by the Udine Declaration: "As regional, national, and European identities combine with distinct cultural, linguistic and religious identities, Europe's diversity increases. (...) this process is still ongoing and it is the richness of evolving multiple identities (Note 35) that gives Europe and its regions a unique advantage." (Note 36)

On the other hand, it is argued that "a strong Europe requires a clear sense of European identity." (Note 37) This statement is contradictory to the idea of identity as dynamic and shifting phenomenon represented in the part A ("Context") of the Udine Declaration. Requiring "a clear sense" of identity implies a totalizing, unifying definition. It is also stated that: "Creating a strong European identity will help to improve the democratic legitimacy of the EU and to improve citizen participation in European life." (Note 38) Here European identity has only instrumental role, i.e. it is perceived as means to an end and it does not represent a substantive good (i.e. the good in itself). Subsequently, it is argued that: "A shared European identity can only develop through a shared set of values and references and a common understanding of what it means to be European." (Note 39) Further, "A European identity should be based upon a sense of belonging to a common space, as well as European principles and values." (Note 40) From these statements, it can be concluded that the concept of "multiple identity" described in the Udine Declaration is fixed. It embraces regional and national identities determined by the borders, as well as European identity, which is found on "European values". (Note 41)

Foucault criticizes the idea of space as undialectical and fixed. He emphasizes that space and borders are constructed. Thus "belonging to a common space" can be perceived as a mental construct, which can be determined by feeling and belief. On the other hand, the concept of "European values" also implies homogenization and essentialist categories and it gives priority to sameness over difference.

These statements in the Udine Declaration also oppose the idea of identity based on "complex layers" (Note 42) However, this point of view includes binary opposition European/non-European, as well as we/they, self/other, which implies that identity is a static and fixed category. Thus, it is contradictory to the idea of identity as a changeable and dynamic category represented in the part A («Context») of this Declaration. Even the idea of diversity employed in the Udine Declaration is based on binary opposition Europe/other: "Only by cultivating and harnessing the myriad identities that exist in Europe, will we be able to preserve the diversity that distinguishes Europe and represents our true competetive knowledge." (Note 43) Diversity and "myriad identities" are perceived only as an instrumental good,

which help the development of Europe: "Diversity, which arises from the preservation and integration of identities, is the best instrument for innovation and for the economic, social and cultural growth of Europe." (Note 44) According to Derrida, the difference is what constitutes European identity, which is open to the otherness and it is not self-identical. (Note 45)

Consequently, it can be argued that there are two logics that are employed inside the framework of Udine Declaration. The first is the logic of heterogeneity, (Note 46) based on concepts such as: "the emergence of multiple identities", "complex layers of identity", identity as "a constantly shifting phenomenon", "increased population shifts", "diverse societies (which do not necessarily have a strong common identity)" and so forth. The second logic employed in the Udine Declaration is the logic of homogeneity (Note 47) based on concepts such as: "clear sense of European identity", "shared set of values", "common understanding", "sense of belonging to a common space", "European principles and values", and so forth.

Subsequently, the Udine Declaration does not leave room for "a multiple, constantly shifting identities", as it asserts. The notion of identity employed in the Udine Declaration is still fixed by territory, and determined values and principles, which are labeled as "European". Therefore, diversity that it attempts to develop is "thin".

## 4. Conclusion

In this article some basic concepts employed in the Udine Declaration are examined from the poststructuralist perspective. By close reading of the Udine Declaration, various binary oppositions arise, which point to essentialist nature of the notion of identity represented in this document. Poststructuralist reading of the Udine Declaration shows that it attempts to establish multiple identities, which require the logic of difference ( i.e. heterogeneity ) by still relying on the logic of sameness ( i.e. homogeneity), which is contradictory. Therefore, poststructuralist idea of the constructed identity can help the legal discourse to extend the notion of identity it employs. Poststructuralist authors reject the idea of common values from which the modern notion of identity is derived. They argue that these common values create metaphysics which is based on the binary oppositions and reject the politics of identity based on unity and universal values. Poststructuralist authors mostly emphasize heterogeneity and dissociation. However, this study does not rely on the ideas of those poststructuralist authors who make new kinds of binary oppositions in which the difference will have priority over identity, dissociation over association, heterogeneity over homogeneity. These authors create a new metaphysics which reverses established power relations.

In this article it is argued that the conception of identity ( both regional and European ) inside the framework of European legal discourse, should not be developed from the ideas of "common heritage" , "universal values", "common destiny", and so forth. The concept of identity in the European legal discourse should not represent a metaphysical, but a political category. Only in this way identity is not fixed and can be considered as multiple and unbounded.

## References

Benhabib, S. (1994). Democracy and difference: reflections on the metapolitics of Lyotard and Derrida. *Journal of Political Philosophy,* Vol. 2, No. 1.

Bhabba, H, K. (1994). *The Location of Culture.* London-New York, Routledge.

Bridges, T. (1994). *The Culture of Citizenship: Inventing Postmodern Civic Culture*. State University of New York.

Butler, J. (1992). Contingent foundations: feminism and the question of postmodernism, Butler, J. & Scott, J, W, *Feminist Theorize the Political*. New York, Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York, Routledge.

Collinson, D. (2004). Rethinking followership: a post-structuralist analysis of follower identities. *The Leadership Quarterly* 1.

Derrida, J. (1974) *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore & London, John Hopkins University Press.

Derrida, J. (1992). *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today's Europe.* Bloomington. Indiana University Press.

Descartes, R. (1993). *Discourse on Method and Meditation on the First Philosophy*. Indianapolis.

Sarup, M. (1988). *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism.* London, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Scott, J, W. (1988). *Gender and the Politics of History.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Udine Declaration. (2007). [Online] Available: www.aer.eu/news/2007/2007110902.html.

Weedon, C. (1999). *Feminism, Theory and the Politics of Difference.* Cambridge, Blackwell.

Wieringa, S,E. (1998). Rethinking gender planning: a critical discussion of the use of the concept of gender", *Gender, Technology and Development*, 2(3) *The Foucault Reader* (1984). New York, Pantheon.

**Notes**

Note 1. Dervis, K (2007), A European 'identity' is no answer to the EU's ills", *Europe's World*, September issue, p. 43

Note 2. AER (Assembly of European Regions) General Assembly adopted Udine Declaration ("Identity: Regions as Building Blocks for Europe") in Udine (I) on November 9, 2007. The theme of the Assembly was called "Identity – Regions are the Building Blocks of Europe".

Note 3. AER (Assembly of European Regions) General Assembly adopted Udine Declaration ("Identity: Regions as Building Blocks for Europe") in Udine (I) on November 9, 2007. The theme of the Assembly was called "Identity – Regions are the Building Blocks of Europe".

Note 4. The Assembly of European Regions (AER) is an independent organization which embraces more than 260 regions in from 33 countries in Europe. It brings together 14 interregional organizations as well.

Note 5. As it is argued by José Manuel Barosso, the president of the European Commission in his speech held at Assembly of European Regions in Udine on November, 9th in 2007.

Note 6. "Cohesion policy was enshrined in the Treaties with the adoption of the single European Act (1986). It is built on the assumption that redistribution between richer and poorer regions in Europe is needed in order to balance out the effects of further economic integration. "(The New EU Cohesion Policy (2007-2013), Available: www.euractiv.com/...eu/new-eu-cohesion-policy-2007-2013/article-131988

Note 7. On the other hand, the AER Declaration on regionalism had an impact on the development of the draft of the European Charter on Regional Democracy.

Note 8. "The concept of postmodernism is ambiguous and is not yet widely understood. It has probably emerged as a specific reaction against the established forms of high modernism. For some thinkers postmodernism is a periodizing concept whose function is to correlate the emergence of new features in culture. The concept seems to be connected with the appearance, between 1950s and the 1960s, of a new social and economic order. (...) There are so many similarities between poststructuralist theories and postmodernist practices that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between them." (Sarup, M (1988), *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism*, London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 131)

Note 9. It was established by Nine Member States of the Community in Copenhagen in 1973.

Note 10. Established by the representatives of the governments of the member states EU in Brussels on October, 29, 2004

Note 11. These aspirations are immanent to entire modernist idea, see Thomas Bridges (1994), *The Culture of Citizenship: Inventing Postmodern Civic Culture*, New York, The State of New York Press

Note 12. Sarup, M (1988), *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism*, London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 166

Note 13. This problem is emphasized by Judith Butler, who states: "Do all these theories have the same structure (a comforting notion to the critic who would dispense with them and all at once?) Is the effort to colonize and domesticate these theories under the sign of the same, to group them synthetically and masterfully under a single rubric, a simple refusal to grant the specifity of these positions, an excuse not to read, and not to read, and not to read closely?" (Butler, J (1992), Contingent foundations: feminism and the question of postmodernism", in Butler, S. & Scott, J, W, *Feminists Theorize the Political,* New York, Routledge, p 5)

Note 14. According to a number of authors, these two approaches are interchangeable, and authors such as Derrida, Lyotard and Foucault can be considered as both poststructuralist and postmodernist. This perspective was criticized by Judith Butler who argues that Lacanian psychoanalysis in France rejects poststructuralism, that Kristeva denounces postmodernist, that Foucault's and Derrida's theories are diverse, and so forth.

Note 15. "Norris is particularly clear on the differences between Derrida and Foucault. Foucault's extreme epistemological skepticism leads him to equate knowledge with power, and hence to regard all forms of enlightened progress (in psychiatry, sexual attitudes or penal reform) as signs of increasing social control. Derrida, by contrast, insists that there is no opting-out of that post-Kantian enlightenment tradition. It is only by working persistently within that tradition, but against some of its ruling ideas, that thought can muster the resistance required for an effective critique of existing institutions." (Sarup, M, (1988), *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism,* London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 130)

Note 16. Descartes, R, (1993), *Discourse on Method and Meditation on First Philosophy*, Indianapolis, Hackett, India, p. 19

Note 17. According to Derrida, Descartes was not the first to produce these binaries, which can be found in the entire Western metaphysics from Plato's philosophy.

Note 18. "Rather than viewing self as an objectifiable, cognitive essence, poststructuralists argue that identity processes are fundamentally ambiguous and always in a state of flux and reconstruction." (Collinson, D (2006), Rethinking followership*: a post-structuralist analysis of follower identities*", *The Leadership Quarterly,* 17, p.182

Note 19. Sarup, M. (1988) *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism,* p. 29

Note 20. Foucault's core idea is that all social relations are power relations.

Note 21. Weedon, C. (1999), *Feminism, Theory and the Politics of Difference,* Cambridge, Blackwell, p. 182

Note 22. See Derrida, J. (1974), *Of Grammatology*, Baltimore & London, John Hopkins University Press

Note 23. Sarup, M. (1988). *An Introductory Guide to Poststructuralism and Postmodernism*, p. 59

Note 24. Scott, J. (1988). *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York, Columbia University Press, p. 45

Note 25. McKinnon. (1990). No problem problem", *Gender and Rights*, Aldershot, Ashgate, p. 45

Note 26. Wieringa, S.E (1998), Rethinking gender planning: a critical discussion of the use of the concept of gender, *Gender*, *Technology and Development* 2 (3) p.366

Note 27. Ibid, p. 368

Note 28. AER President Illy and European Commission President Barosso: Regions are building blocks for Europe (2007), Available: www.aer.eu/news/2007/2007110902.html, (November, 2007)

Note 29. "Gathered in Udine, Friuli Venezia Giulia (I), on 9th November, the elected representatives of the European regions considered and discussed the development of regional and European identities and agreed [this] declaration on the role of the regions in nurturing strong identities in Europe." (Udine Declaration (2007), Available: www.aer.eu/news/2007/2007110902.html )

Note 30. Udine Declaration (Identity: Regions as Building Blocks of Europe), A. 1

Note 31. Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York, Routledge

Note 32. Udine Declaration, A.5

Note 33. Weedon, C. (1999). *Feminism, Theory and the Politics of Difference*, p. 104

Note 34. Benhabib, S. (1994). Democracy and difference: reflections on the metapolitics of Lyotard and Derrida", *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 2, Number I, I-23, p.7

Note 35. It is also asserted that "The challenge for Europe and its regions today is to develop this advantage by nurturing strong identities, on a regional and European level, whilst at the same time respecting existing national identities, and adopting flexibly to shifting identities." (Udine Declaration, A, 5)

Note 36. Udine Declaration, A, 4

Note 37. Udine Declaration, C, 2

Note 38. Udine Declaration, C, 2

Note 39. Udine Declaration, C, 3

Note 40. Udine Declaration, C, 3

Note 41. These values are: democracy, tolerance, respect for human rights, protection and respect of minorities, and understanding of others. (Udine Declaration, C, 3)

Note 42. Udine Declaration, A, 1

Note 43. Udine Declaration, C, 6

Note 44. Udine Declaration, C, 6

Note 45. According to Derrida, it "is necessary to make ourselves the guardians of the idea of Europe, of a difference of Europe, but of a Europe that consists precisely in not closing itself off in its own identity and in advancing itself in an exemplary way toward what it is not, toward the other heading or the heading of the other, indeed – toward the other of the heading, which would be the beyond of this modern tradition and her border structure, another shore." (Derrida, J (1992), *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today's* Europe, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p. 7)

Note 46. This logic is employed in the part A ("Context") of Udine Declaration.

Note 47. This logic is represented by part C ("Developing a Shared European Identity") of Udine Declaration.

# A Stylistic Analysis of "Miss Brill" by Katherine Mansfield

Shenli Song

College of Foreign Languages, Zhejiang Gongshang University

Office of Foreign Language College at Zhejiang Gongshang University

Xia Sha City-University-Town, Hangzhou 310018, Zhejiang, China

E-mail: windyforever@gmail.com

**Abstract**

Katherine Mansfield, remembered as one of the finest writers of English short stories, enjoys enduring fame and a somewhat awesome literary status with her short stories, *Miss Brill* as one of her representative pieces. The interest of our Chinese critics, in general, locates more in the modernist techniques and devices she employs to present the inner world of the characters in her stories, than in her unique artistry in using language—commonly known as style— as a women writer. This thesis, however, is concerned primarily with the style of "Miss Brill", and aims to provide an integrative, systematic stylistic analysis of the short story, deriving its underlying theories from a method of prose text analysis, proposed by literary stylists Leech & Short. The analysis is done in three main steps corresponding to the four main "linguistic levels" of a text: lexical levels, grammatically levels, figures of speech, and cohesion and context.

**Keywords:** Style, Lexical feature, Grammatical feature, Rhetorical tool, Fine, Sensitive

## 1. Introduction

Katherine Mansfield, pseudonym of Kathleen Mansfield Beauchamp (1888-1923), was born in Wellington, New Zealand. She came and went, across the horizon of our contemporary letters, before we had quite accustomed ourselves to the thought that she belonged to us. She died at the age of 35, in the first flush of her fame, leaving behind a queerly persistent interest for virtually anything she writes, a charm that no critic has been able to fully define. Ever since the day Mansfield was introduced to Chinese readers, our critical world has been littered with numerous essays and theses on her writing achievement, yet many of them are about the second aspect, whereas about the first one, lamentably few. And the challenge remains of trying to explain the nature of that artistry, and how it integrates with the larger artistic achievement of the writer.

This thesis is not written with the ambition of depicting a comprehensive picture of the writing style of Katherine Mansfield as a writer, for even those text linguists as eminent as Geoffrey N. Leech and Michael H .Short have to concede to the fact that "it is difficult to generalize about the style of an author."(Leech & Short, 2001: 12) The major task of the paper is, therefore, to investigate how the artistic effect of the story is achieved, and how the theme of the work is successfully expressed, through the writer's choice of language. But still it is not impossible that through a stylistic analysis of this representative work of the writer, in juxtaposition with extracts from some of her other finely written stories, an illuminating glimpse of the exquisite "mind and pen" ( Warner, 2002: 88)of Mansfield as a literary artist, is to be revealed.

### 1.1 Stylistic Analysis as a Critical School

The common view that a literary text is likely to be comprehended better if it is studied in parallel with stylistic analysis which emphasizes the crucial role of the linguistic codes of the text contributes much to the development of literary criticism.

M. A. K. Halliday is one of the text linguists who sees "grammar" as a network of systems of relationships which account for all semantically relevant choices in language, which is as well the standpoint of stylistic analysis. In his Linguistic Function and Literary Style, a functional theory of language is proposed, acknowledging three major functions, which he calls "ideational", "interpersonal" and "textual". (Halliday, 1971: 330-368)  He goes on to make an analysis of the language of William Golding's novel The inheritors, the stylistic interest of which is successfully explored, by Hallidy, in the light of what he calls the ideational function of language. "His analysis is revealing in the way it relates precise linguistic observation to literary effect" (Leech & Short, 2001: 31), or in another to the theme of

the whole novel: "the linguistic pattern of choices realizes a primitive pattern of cognition, which in turn is the key to the tragic vision of the novel."(Leech & Short, 2001: 32)

Halliday being the widely acknowledged precursor of functional stylistics, the eminent German linguist-critic Leo Spitzer (1887-1960), is likewise father of literary stylistics. In his insistence that the smallest detail of language can unlock the "soul" of a literary work, he maintains the task of stylistics is to provide a hard-and-fast technology of analysis:

I would maintain that to formulate observation by means of words is not to cause the artistic beauty to evaporate in vain intellectualities; rather, it makes for a widening and deepening of the aesthetic taste. It is only a frivolous love that cannot survive intellectual definition; great love prospers with understanding. (Leech & Short, 2001: 2)

A question which is often asked in this connection is "At which end do we start, the aesthetic or the linguistic?" The image used by Spitzer of the "philological circle", the circle of understanding, however, seems to suggest there is no logical staring point. Spitzer argues that the task of Linguistic-literary explanation proceeded by the movement to and fro from linguistic details to the literary "center" of a work or a writer's art. There is a cyclic motion whereby linguistic observation stimulates or modifies literary insight, and whereby literary insight in its turn stimulates further linguistic observation. (Shen Dan. 1998: 78)

**Insert Figure 1 Here**

Halliday and Spitzer may vary in their approaches to the analysis of literary texts, the stylistic studies carried out by both, nevertheless, bear solid evidence to the plausibility of the activity in which we wish to engage in this paper: the study of style as used in "Miss Brill", with the aim of relating it to the its theme and artistic effect.

*1.2 Leech and Short's Approach*

Literary stylistics has, implicitly or explicitly, the goal of explaining the relation between language and artistic function. However, when confronted with the challenge of presenting a satisfactory and reliable methodology for prose style analysis, even Spitzer seemed helpless:

How often, with all the theoretical experience of the method accumulated in me over the years, have I stared blankly, quite similar to one of my beginning students, at a page that would not yield its magic. The only way out of this state of unproductively is to read and reread.

(Leech &Short, 2001: 3)

Who bravely stepped into the breach were two text linguists: Geoffrey N. Leech and Michael H. Short. In the year 1981, with combined strenuous effort, they published style in Fiction: A linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose, a book later becoming well established as a course text book for both students of English language and English literature. The book gives the breadth of coverage which previous studies have lacked, and, more significantly, it is in this work that an overall "theory" or "model" of prose style is put forward. Also proposed is a general informal classification of features of style as a tool of analysis which can be applied to any text. Leech and Short devise a checklist of stylistic categories which is, though not exhaustive, likely to yield stylistically relevant information, enabling us to collect data on a fairly systematic basis.

The categories are placed under four general headings: lexical categories, grammatical categories, figures of speech, and cohesion and context, under each smaller-scaled categories are enumerated, placed under further scrutiny, to give a range of data which may be examined in relation to the literary effect of the text.

A: Lexical categories

General

Nouns

Adjectives

Verbs

B: Grammatical categories

Sentence Types

Sentence Complexity

Clause Types

Clause Structure

Noun Phrases

Verb Phrases

Other Phrase Types

8. Word Classes

General

C: Figures of speech, etc

Grammatical and Lexical Schemes

Phonological Schemes

Tropes

D: Context and cohesion

Cohesion

Context

But even Leech &Short themselves have to concede the incompleteness of this overall model, for "these are attempts to give shape and system to a filed of study in which much remain unclear, and hidden beneath the threshold of observation." (Leech &Short, 2001: 33) They further confide to their readers that the study of the relation between linguistic form and literary function cannot be reduced to mechanical objectivity. In both the literary and linguistic spheres much rests on the intuition and personal judgment of the reader, for which a system, however good, is an aid rather than a substitute.

Therefore, in order to bring into the spotlight what appear to be the most significant linguistic features of "Miss Brill ", necessary adaptation is to be made of the model above, and an approach supposed to be the most suitable to analyze the target text is to be proposed, which is going to be applied in the actually analysis that follows.

**2. A Stylistic Analysis of "Miss Brill"**

*2.1 A General Overview of the Story*

Widely anthologized, "Miss Brill" is considered as one of Katherine Mansfield's finest pieces of short fiction. It is a remarkably rich and innovative work that incorporates most of Mansfield's defining themes: isolation, disillusionment and the gap between expectations and reality. It is about how the heroine, a woman by the name of Miss Brill, old, desolate, probably widowed, stubbornly defies a virtually inescapable fate, yet is finally compelled to concede defeat. The plot of the story is simple, and the themes are by no means uncanny. What merits our attention is, indeed, the way Mansfield narrates the story and the language she employs in the whole process of narration. Generally speaking, the style of this particular text, is delicate, poetic, and ironic; it is characterized by a subtle sensitivity to mood and emotion, revealing the inner conflicts her characters face and resolve.

*2.2 Analysis*

2.2.1 Lexical features—Vague words and expressions

Among the diverse salient stylistic features of the text, what particularly deserves attention, on the lexical level, is the writer's marked preference for words and expressions, with vague meanings, provoking vague feelings.  Recurring throughout the story, these expressions help create an aura of drifting and uncertainty, foreshadowing the story's heartbreaking ending. Elizabeth Bowen, when commenting Mansfield's artistic accomplishment in short story writing, attached even greater significance to writer's unique talent of being vague: "It is her trademark ambiguities that enriches her narratives and almost deceptively fuel her stories forward." (Bowen, 1956: 9)

It seems that throughout the story of *Miss Brill*, no deliberate effort is made towards a direct portrait of the heroine's predicament. Little is said about the sordidness of her "little", "dark" room, a room "like a cupboard" (Mansfield, 1981: 335). It is not until the very end of the story that the final epiphany arrives. It is only at that moment that the "secret" is given away, only at that juncture that we readers, together with the heroine herself, come to the bitter realization that she is nobody but an old woman, loneliness-stricken, poor and miserable. However, after a second reading, even the most callous reader cannot help noticing the sense of unease haunting the narrative throughout. As a matter of fact, ever since the point the story unfolds, an air of discomfort has already been there, to anticipate ominous consequences:

Although it was so brilliantly fine…The air was motionless, but when you opened your mouth there was just a faint chill, like a chill from a glass of iced water, before you sip, and now and again a leaf came drifting—from nowhere, from the sky. (Mansfield, p. 330)

It is apparent that Miss Brill is disturbed by an inexplicable restless, which stems partly from the "faint chill" she somehow senses in the motionless air. In this reiterated phrase—"a faint chill", the pre-modifying adjective "faint" is itself a rather vague term. In this context, it could mean "lacking clearness, brightness or strength", connoting that the "chill" is a feeling rather elusive, a sensation defying further articulation. As "faint" is semantically associated with

vagueness, the key word "chill" likewise embraces multi-implications. Literally, it refers to a slightly unpleasant degree of coldness. Also compiled in most dictionaries are meanings exploiting the psychological and sociolinguistic dimensions of the word. "Chill" could as well be interpreted as "an unpleasant sensation of coldness, especially from fear or discouragement", or "coldness of manner, (a state) of unfriendliness. ( Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1998: 241). Yet what that "chill" indeed is the writer does not specify. Even when the story reaches its very end, there remain questions as to how the "chill" comes into being and why it is repeatedly mentioned. Mansfield seems content, as it were, to leave these questions open and unanswered deliberately. She would rather let the enigma linger, because she apparently see no need in clarifying it. By virtue of that vagueness, a reader's imagination is given free rein. He may look at that "chill" in a dry, literal light, and surmises from it that the story is set in fall, a season characterized by slight coldness and drifting leaves (This explains why Miss Brill decides to wear her beloved fur). Or, he may understand it metaphorically. The "chill" could well be an indicator of Miss Brill's forlornness and loneliness, of a miserable feeling she is always unconsciously aware but consciously denied. And above all, it is repeatedly mentioned throughout as an indelible shadow. Even when the heroine's moods, with the tunes of the band, starts to flit, float, and fly, this faint chill somehow manages to make its way into her heart, coloring an otherwise perfectly blissful moment with an inauspicious nuance.

Apart from the "faint chill", "Words with blurred edges" such as "nowhere", "somehow", "something" also contribute to foster a pervasive sense of uncertainty:

1. And now and again a leaf came drifting, from nowhere, from the sky.

2. It must have had a knock, somehow.

3. And when she Breathed, something light and sad—no, not sad, exactly—something gentle seemed to move in her bosom .

4. And what they played was warm, sunny, yet there was just a faint chill—a something, what was it?—a something that made you want to sing.    (Mansfield, 1981: 330-334)

As a matter of fact, two contradictory points of view about vague language have long been present, both in everyday life and in literary criticism: one, that vagueness in language is a bad thing, the other, that it is a good thing. Among the various inherited beliefs about language , an important one is that "good" usage involves(among other things) clarity and precision, hence it is believed that vagueness, ambiguity, imprecision, and general wooliness are to be avoided, making vagueness, like many other linguistic phenomena, pass unnoticed. Ullmann (1962), in a section entitled "Words with blurred edges", traced from Plato to Byron a recurrent feeling of the inadequacy of language to express thought, particularly because of its lack of precision. But he also noted the converse feeling among poets and creative writers, that such vagueness is in fact an advantage. (Channell 2000: 7) This idea has also been reflected by Wittgenstein (1953) who suggests that words are like blurred photographs and adds, "Is it ever always an advantage to replace an indistinct picture by a sharp one? Isn't it the indistinct one often exactly what we need?" (Channell 2000: 11)

Appreciating "Miss Brill" is exactly like appreciating "an indistinct picture". It is saturated with vague words and phrases to trigger imagination. In it, much is left undefined, open to diverse interpretations. Moreover, this art of being vague enables the writer to stealthily infuse into the narrative an aesthetic beauty, a beauty most elusive and misty, a beauty peculiar to Mansfield's writing.

2.2.2 Grammatical Features

A: Sentence types

The sentence is the highest rank of grammatical construction. In terms of their communicative functions, sentences may be divided into four categories: statement, commend question, and exclamation. (Zhang Zhenbang 1999: 171) Most of the sentences of the short story "Miss Brill" fall into the former two types, namely, statement and commend. But it is particularly noteworthy that this textual web, generally woven out of declarative and commentary sentences, is also densely interspersed with exclamatory sentences.

When seeing a beautiful lady, so elegantly clad, should dismiss a little boy running after to hand to her a bunch of violets she had dropped, Miss Brill simply cannot help exclaiming, "Dear Me!" (Mansfield, 1981: 333) Again, as she sees a woman, with a shabby ermine toque, being brutally spurned away by a gentleman, Miss Brill's whole heart cries out for her. In her vigorous imagination, "even the band seemed to know…and played more softly, tenderly, and the drum beat 'The Brute! The Brute!'" (Mansfield, 1981: 333) In addition to exclamatory sentences indicative of judgment and evaluation, in the text there are also those inducing ironic effects. Notice how Miss Brill observes the old people sitting on the benches: "they were odd, silent, nearly all old" "as though they'd just come from dark little rooms or even—even cupboards!" (Mansfield, 1981: 332) Such an exclamation, with a glimmering of gloat—yet not without deep compassion—might very well have yielded the anticipation that Miss Brill were a young woman, vital and blooming. The conjecture, however, as the reader comes to the very end of the story, is smashed into pieces by the

appalling reality—she, just like those sitting on benches, is odd, silent, and old; she, just like those sitting benches, comes from a dark little room. Hasn't she herself ever noticed it? Or is it just the reluctance to accept the truth that prevents her from seeing it?

The paragraph where exclamatory sentences most abound is also where the climax is reached, that is, when Miss Brill coaxes herself into believing she has a part of the play and that's why she comes every Sunday:

Oh, how fascinating it was! How she enjoyed it! How she loved sitting here, watching it all! It was like a play. It was exactly like a play. Who could believe the sky at the back wasn't painted? …Even she had a part and came every Sunday. No doubt somebody would have noticed if she hadn't been there; she was part of the performance after all. How strange she'd never thought of it like that before! …No wonder! Miss Brill nearly laughed out loud. She was on the stage. She thought of the old invalid gentleman to whom she read the newspaper four afternoons a week while he slept in the garden…But suddenly he knew he was having the paper read to him by an actress! "An actress!" … (Mansfield, 1981: 333-334)

At the very beginning of the passage there lies a succession of three short exclamations: "On, how fascinating it was! How she enjoyed it! How she loved sitting here, watching it all!" The parallel structure applied here no doubt magnifies Miss Brill's intense happiness at finding the value of her existence, which makes her believer that she is needed –at least in someway! In the same paragraph exist more vivid examples: "How strange she's never thought of that before!" "No wonder!" Almost all these sentences are invariably short, emphatic, creating a powerful and strong rhythm. Yet with the thought in mind that her sweet dream is destined to smash itself against the cold hard stone of reality, how poignant a feeling these sentences will produce in the reader's heart!

B: Subordinate clause

In terms of syntactical complexity, Mansfield's style is also drastically distinguished from those of her contemporaries. Her syntax is generally simple, by no means intricate. In this particular text, the ratio of dependent clauses to independent clauses is approximately 1:10. And a considerably large proportion of the dependent clauses are in fact –ing and –ed participle clauses, which act as adverbials of accompany circumstances:

1. Only two people shared her "special" seat: a fine old man in a velvet coat, his hands clasped over a huge carved walking-stick, and a big old woman, sitting upright, with a roll of knitting on her embroidered apron.

2. (They were) an Englishman and his wife, he wearing a dreadful Panama hat and she button boots.

3. Little children ran among them, swooping and laughing.

4. And sometimes a tiny stagger came suddenly rocking into the open from under the trees…until its high-stepping mother, like a young hen, rushed scolding to its rescue.

5. Two peasant women with funny straw hats passed, leading beautiful smoke—colored donkeys.

6. …and her hand, in its cleaned glove, lifted to dab her lips, was a tiny yellowish paw.

( Mansfield, 1981: 332-333)

In the sentences listed above, Mansfield omits "and", "but" and "or", to be replaced by a prolific use of the –ing and –ed participle clauses which she uses to depict the fragmented and inconsequential sequence of a thought pattern. This technique also allows layer by layer of images to construct rapidly in front of the reader's eyes, as in "At the Bay":

Standing in a pool of moonlight Beryl Fairfield undressed herself - letting her clothes fall, pushing back with a languid gesture her warm heavy hair. ( Mansfield, 1981: 216)

Here, by means of two successive ing- participle clauses, Mansfield miraculously compresses a handful of images into a single sentence, which consists merely of 24 words. "A pool of moonlight", a woman by the name of "Beryl Fairfield", "falling clothes", " her warm heavy hair", these images are aroused, one by one, at a speed so breathlessly fast. Perhaps it is for this reason that Mansfield's writing style, at least in short stories, is more poetic than narrative, since novels, as a rule, cannot reach this concentration of experience as it has the burden of facts and explanation. Mansfield avoids the anecdotal, and instead focuses on the direct impact of words or—to put it more exactly—the images these words suggest. By arranging the above sentence into the recognizable form of a poem, the similarities between her writing style and that of the poet become all the more apparent:

Standing in a pool of moonlight

Beryl Fairfeild undressed herself-

Letting her clothes fall,

Pushing back with a languish gesture

Her warm heavy hair.

Even Mansfield herself observed of her own unique writing style: "I feel always trembling on the brink of poetry - but especially I want to write a kind of long elegy to [my brother]. Perhaps not in poetry. Not perhaps in prose. Almost certainly in a kind of special prose." ( Mansfield, 1981: 66)

2.2.3 Figures of Speech

A: Phonological Schemes

Mansfield does not neglect sound effects in impressing on us the different sensory qualities of each particular scene. The story's opening sentence again stands out as a quintessential example. As is already touched upon in the above analysis, this sentence features a detailed description of the congenial weather.   What calls for further clarification is the fact that such a sense of agreeableness is communicated not only through visual effect, but also through the auditory imagery evoked by words which are intrinsically alliterative: "Brilliantly" and "blue" start with same consonant / b /; "gold" and great" alike with the sound / g /. More interesting to observe is the coupling of "light" and "like", "white" and "wine". In addition to their respective repetition of / l / and / w /, these four words, which are placed adjacent to one another, share the same vowel sound / ai /.   These juxtaposed words combine to create a tempo which is both light and vivacious. The already finely-exploited beauty of the season's day, as a result, is presented as dynamic and fluid and thus more fascinating.

Other examples of alliteration and assonance, indeed, exist in fairly large numbers in the remaining parts of the story. And occasionally, consonant and vowel repetitions are employed in a way which lends force to semantic connections: As the reader treads his way through the second paragraph, a conductor, brimming over with vigor and self-confidence, recommends himself into the reader's attention. He directs the playing of the band with a flourish, and "scraped" with his foot and "flapped" his arms like a rooster about to crow. The brevity of the recurrent stop consonant / p / ( found in both " scraped" and " flapped") no doubt plays a part in foregrounding the forceful and strenuous features of conductor's gestures. By contrast , in the case of the old people, who "sat" on the bench, "still" as "statues", the motionlessness and stiffness characteristic of their postures , to a certain degree, derives from the three successive occurrence of the beginning sound / s / ( in "sat", "still", "statues") within the boundary of one single sentence.

As more and more people throng into the park, with more and more co-players joining her in this grand drama of life, the thrill of Miss Brill, step by step, begins to escalate. In correspondence with increasingly stirring passion of the heroine, the rhythm of the narrative also starts to gather momentum: In the description of the

$$\times \quad / \quad \times \quad / \quad \times \quad / \times$$

noisy crowd in the park, regularities of rhythm ("the couples and groups paraded,

$$/ \quad \times \quad / \quad \times \quad / \quad \times \quad /$$

stopped to talk, to greet, to buy" (Mansfield, 1981: 332)), coupled with the clogging

$$/ \quad / \quad / \quad \quad /$$

effect of   juxtaposed   heavily stressed syllables ( "   white silk bows", "stopped",

$$/ \quad \quad / \quad / \quad \quad /$$

"stared", "sat down 'flop'" (Mansfield, 1981: 332) give rise to a speeding-up effect, to which consonant clusters add vehement emphasis: / st) p /, / t): k /, / gri:t/, / sæt /, / fl) p /. These are not gratuitous embellishments—what's integrated into the sound texture of the language is a scene full of hustle and bustle, as well as an aura saturated with noise and excitement.

C: Similes and Metaphors

Another distinctive feature of Mansfield's writing style, as is revealed by a scrutiny of "Miss Brill", is her generous use of figurative languages, metaphors and similes in particular. Among the myriad similes that occur in the text, there is one of special significance:

But today she passed the baker's by, climbed the stairs, went into the little dark room—her room like a cupboard—and sat down on the red eiderdown. (Mansfield, 1981: 334)

Though it would be much exaggeration to compare a room to a cupboard, the simile, nevertheless, is by no means out of place. The comparison enables us to draw a vivid mental picture of Miss Brill's living conditions: it is a cramped little room, a poorly lighted place, probably without a window. No wonder she makes such point of going to the park every Sunday afternoon: Bathed in the brilliant sunlight, "sitting in other people's lives for just a minute" (Mansfield, 1981: 331), She seems to utterly forget about the sordid place she comes from. The park has virtually become a bridge connecting her with the outside world. It is the only window through which light is occasionally allowed in to dispel the darkness haunting her heart. But finally this window of communication is shut. It is well conceivable that Miss Brill, after realizing that who she really is, would never tread her feet again on the land of the Jardins Publiques. And the remaining days of her life is going to be spent exclusively in that dark little room—a room like a cupboard.

In addition to similes with like or as to indicate a comparison, metaphors, as another major type of figure of speech, also abound in the story. Take one in paragraph 2 for instance:

Now there came a little "flutey" but-very pretty!—a little chain of bright drops. (Mansfield, 1981: 332)

In the above example two things of distinctly different categories are compared—music reproduced by the flute and a chain of bright dewdrops. At first sight, this metaphor seems a bit far-fetched, or even inappropriate: As music appeals to the sense of hearing and drops to the sense of sight, how can an analogy be drawn between them? Yet it is still justifiable because of their defining similarities: Both the "flutey" and the drops are lovely; both are pretty and light; both capable of producing a pleasing effect in our hearts. And the discrepancy between the two things compared makes their similarities all the more striking.

**3. Conclusion**

With all the evidence listed above, at least we may conclude that Mansfield's writing style, as is revealed by an examination of the most prominent linguistic features in "Miss Brill", is   something uniquely distinctive. It is by no means quiet and level, like that of Jane Austen's; neither is it similar to that of Dickens's, which is universally recognized as being pompous, filled with sharp-edged irony, together with criticism so direct and forceful. She alternatively slips into and then out of the minds of her main character's, in a most stealthy way. She is a faithful agent of their minds' voices, sobbing out their sobs, wailing out their wails. She seems, as it were, never to allow her personal feelings and judgment to infiltrate into her story. Nevertheless, under the disguise of seemingly objectiveness lurks a passionate voice with warm humanity. That's why she takes so much pain to describe the inner conflicts her characters face and resolve; That also explains why she has a marked preference for exquisite words, vague expressions, short emphatic exclamations, figurative languages, imagery, sound—any devices that are emotively provoking. Then, so suddenly, by revealing the sharp incongruities between imagination and reality, she shoots a final blow—an irony not intending to satirize but to arouse compassion. That's her style, namely, sensitive, delicate, poetic, seemingly impersonal yet actually the most emotional.

**References**

Bowen, Elizabeth. (1956). *"Introduction" in Stories by Katherine Mansfield.* Boston: Vintage Books.

Channell, Joanna. (2000). *Vague Language*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language and Education Press House.

Chiu, Aman & Al. (1998). *Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 2nd ed. Shanghai: The Commercial Press.

Daiches, David. (1996). *The Critical Response to Katherine Mansfield.* London: Greenwood press.

Dan, Shen. (1998). *Research on Narrative and Novel Style.* Beijing: Peking University Press.

Halliday, Michael. (1971). *Linguistic Function and Literary Style: an Inquiry into the Language of William Golding's The Inheritors*, in S.Chatman,ed. Literary Style: A Symposium. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Leech, G. and Short, M. (2001). *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose Foreign Language*. Beijing: Teaching and Research Press.

Mansfield, Katherine. (1981). *The Collected Stories of Katherine Mansfield.* London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Sewell, Arthur. (1936). *Katherine Mansfield—A Critical Essay.* New Zealand: Unicorn Press.
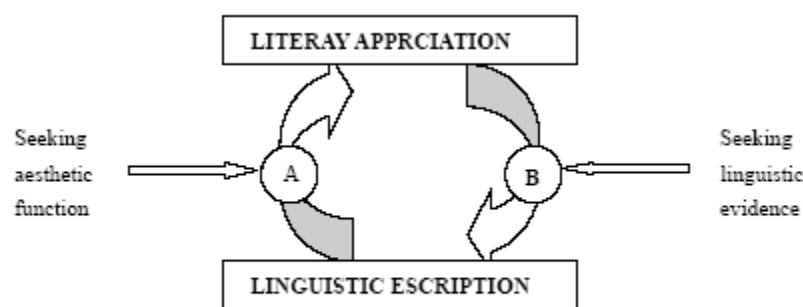
2. Leech and Short's Approach



Figure. 1

# Primary Education Teachers towards the Institution of

# Assessment: the Case of Greece

Ilias Athanasiadis

Assoc. prof, Department of Primary Education, University of Aegean

Rhodes, Greece

Tel: 30-210-6041787      E-mail: allath@otenet.gr


Christine K. Syriopoulou- Delli (Corresponding author)

Teaching assist, Department of Educational and Social Policy, University of Macedonia

156 Egnatias st. 54006 Thessaloniki, Greece

Tel: 30-210-6983603      E-mail: dellis@mfa.gr

**Abstract**

Research presents the attitudes and perceptions of Greek primary education teachers, towards the institution of a system of assessment, the members, its aims and content. This institution is centrally designed in Greece, namely by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. Teachers evaluate the conditions under which assessment can be effective, beneficial, functional and objective, define the characteristics desirable for the individual they believe suitable to carry out assessment and also express their personal opinion on assessment.

Aims of research are: the investigation of teachers' views on a controversial issue with political implications, b) the evaluation and upgrading of the education system. Evaluation of the education system has social and economic dimensions and is related to labor force and economic development, c) the development of teachers as professionals.

The research for the investigation into the attitude of teachers of Primary education assessment came from ideas of INSET teachers in the Didaskalio (INSET College) Alexander Delmouzos institution in Rhodes, during the subject "Methodology of Educational Research". A questionnaire was formulated which was distributed and codified by the teachers themselves. To these initial questionnaires another third were added to create a sample of 942 teachers from different areas of Greece.

Research findings show that the majority (74%) of teachers give priority to assessment which contributes to self-knowledge and self-esteem. A percentage over 73% maintains that "assessment can be effective, useful or functional when assessors have full pedagogical and scientific training". Over 69% accept the counseling character of assessment, more than 67% associate assessment with "well organized training". More than 77% associate teachers' assessment with the educational function and express the expectation that "assessment will contribute to the improvement in quality of educational function". A majority of 83% that an assessor's personality plays important role in assessment. 50.85% relate the acceptance of assessment to possible vocational promotion and 34.40% to salary increase. Finally, as it clears from the given answers, the sampled teachers in this present research do not reject assessment in any way.

**Keywords:** Primary teachers, Assessment, Attitudes, Education system

## 1. Necessity of research

Over the period 1950-1998 at least ten reports from experts on Public Administration detailed the Greek reality, locating contemporary needs at a European and international level and highlights suggestions for reforms (Report of Experts on Public Administration 1950-1998). As regards education and the workforce, expert's reports referred to the following: a) the level and quality of education provided at all levels as well as to the large scale production of higher education graduates lacking in vocational qualities and skills corresponding to typical criteria; b) the need for an

upgrade of the workforce through the reformation of the education system, vocational training and information c) the humanitarian nature of education at all levels d) The need for recognition of the importance of science and technology, as well as the modernization of school programmes e) the need for sufficient vocational training for teachers, plus continuous in-service training and education not only on issues related to their science but also on issues of contemporary technology and other such areas; f) the necessity of adopting an action agreement regarding the research and control of outcomes in the wider sector of public organizations, including educational institutions g) the need for the establishment of an incentive scheme to increase of effectiveness of civil servants as well as teachers.

In the field of education results are important in two main areas a) the first refers to its function as a public mechanism, which must implement concrete administrative tasks related to structure, organization and function b) the second concerns program, their targets, teaching methods and results aiming at future improvements and the effective utilization of the country's workforce.

Forms of assessment change from era to era. During the period of mass education, educational assessment concerned individual achievement and student potential, control and assessment was of the quality of educational processes, educational institutions and the teachers' work. It included public examination of students, which reflected the quality of teaching; periodical assessment by inspectors who reported their records to the Ministry; reports from supervisory councils, which controlled the materials infrastructure as well as the appearance and teacher's attribution in order to implement a control system (including disciplinary punishments, transferals, dismissals and so on) (Lefas 1942). The mechanisms of assessment that were implemented from the beginning of the 19th century in Greece, as well as in industrially developed European countries, differed: in the position they held in the administration hierarchy (for example, they belonged to the community, the municipality, the prefecture, the central authority); in the composition of members (for example, simple civilians, mayors, judiciaries, teachers of secondary or tertiary education), in the selection process and the duration of members' service (for example elected, appointed, permanent, temporary); in the possibility of appeal and the defense of people involved in assessment (Lefas 1942, Dimaras 1973).

Over the last fifteen years efforts have been made internationally regarding the construction and reformation of the teachers' assessment processes (OECD 1991, 1994, OECD-CERI 1994). After 1982 there was a change from control methods to counselling intervention and the development of incentives for improvements in the quality of educational function. In 1995 in Greece the Center of Educational Research was established and in the same year the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs entrust a special team with construction of a study – an assessment of the Greek education system. This study entitle *A Review of Greek Education – Report for OECD* was submitted to the OECD and a complete evaluation report on the Greek education system was requested from the organization.

Contemporary education as far as structure, organization, programmes content and the teachers involved are concerned, is under pressure for change in the current model of function. Under conditions of competition and the maximization of outcome of every activity, assessment plays a role (Usher and Edwards 1994). Contemporary political orientation regarding evaluation of the Greek education system began in 1996 with debates on teaching assessment, school units and students. In 1996 the Department of Assessment at the Pedagogical Institute began work on the elaboration of propositions for the assessment of educational task and the assessment of teachers. The following year an examination was implemented for the appointment of teachers in primary and secondary education. Law 2525/97 on a "United Lyceum" included the institution of processes for the assessment of teaching in primary and secondary education in order to evaluate "teacher adequacy", "the effectiveness of school units" as well as the general "effectiveness of the system".

Regulations concerning the assessment of educational task and of teachers were then specialized under the Law 2986/2002, the assessment of the educational task of school units was entrusted to the Center of Educational Research, while the Pedagogical Institute undertook the assessment of educational function and teachers. According to article 4 of Law 2986/2002 1. The aim of the assessment of educational function is the improvement and qualitative upgrade of all people involved in the education process and the continuous improvement of pedagogical communication and relations with students. The assessment of educational function aims for: the continuous development of teaching practice in the classroom, the qualitative development of school life, a precipitation in the formation of educational programs, a reduction in inequality in the functioning of school units, the identification of weaknesses of the education system, the appraisal of the efforts and activities of all members of the educational process in order to improve the overall educational result […].

According to article 5 of the same law: The aim of teacher assessment is: a) the reinforcement of self-awareness regarding their scientific knowledge, their pedagogical education and their teaching ability; b) the formation of a funded overall picture about the rendering of their work; c) an effort to improve their service to the student by apply the assessors' observations and instructions; d) an indication of their weaknesses in the provision of their teaching work and an attempt to eliminate them; e) teacher satisfaction through the recognition of their work and the provision of incentives to people that want to be promoted and work in top positions in the educational field; f) the assessment of their training needs and a definition of the content of this training g) the cultivation of a climate of mutual respect and trust.

## 2. The sample identity

Gender: The questionnaire was completed by 318 men (33.76%) and 620 women (65.82%). 4 teachers (0.42%) did not answer the question on gender

Age: 19.00% is up to 30 years old, 30.47% is 31-40 years old, 41.61% 41-50 years old, 8.49% over 50 years old, 0.42% did not answer the question on their age.

Working placement: The majority of teachers that responded to research were serving in primary schools (872 teachers, 92.57% of the sample), 54 teachers served in nursery schools, while 16 did not answer the question on working placement. 10.19% of schools were small schools, 16.14% were 6/seated (schools with six teachers), 71.44% were large schools while 2.23% of respondents did not answer this question.

Teaching experience: 392 teachers (41.61%) have teaching experience up to 10 years, 154 teachers (16.35%) 11-15 years of experience, 152 teachers (16.14%) 16-20 years, 234 teachers (24.84%) over 20 years. 10 teachers (1.06%) did not answer. As far as their working status was concerned, 842 teachers (89.38%) were permanent, 72 teachers were supply teachers (7.64%), 20 teachers were hourly waged (2.12%) and 7 teachers (0.74%) did not answer the question.

Undergraduate studies of teachers: 344 teachers (36.52%) had attended a university department of primary education or pre-school education and 327 teachers (34.71%) had graduated from Pedagogical Academies in addition to their university studies. 83 teachers (8.81%) had attended other university departments and studied a special field. 146 teachers (15.50%) are graduates of    Pedagogy Academies.

Further studies: 18.58% of teachers (175 individuals) had completed Didaskalio (INSET College) in addition to their undergraduate studies, 13.06% (123 teachers) had completed a postgraduate degree, 9.66% (91 people) had attended another university department, 5.52% (52 teachers) had finished from a university department and 3.18% (30 teachers) a higher technological institute.

## 3. Research findings

A set of seven questions aim at presenting the teachers' opinions on assessment (tables 1-7) and four supplement questions on assessment process (tables 8-11):

Assessment can be effective, useful functional when it contributes to self-knowledge and self-esteem: 74.84% of teachers (n 705) agree and completely agree, 14.23% partly agree (n 134), 9.56% (n 90) disagree and completely disagree, 13 teachers (1.38%) did not answer.

  Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when assessors have full pedagogical and scientific training: 73.15% (n 689) agree and completely agree, 16.35% (n 154) partly agree, 9.02% (n 85) disagree and completely disagree, 14 teachers (1.49%) did not answer.

Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when the "rules of the game" are clear: 71.12% (n 670) agree and completely agree, 16.88% (n 159) partly agree, 9.44% (n 89) disagree and completely disagree and 2.55% (n 24) did not answer.

Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when the counseling character dominates: 69.42% (654 teachers) agree and completely agree, 19.21% (181 teachers) partly agree, 9.92% (91 teachers) disagree and completely disagree 1.70% (16 teachers) did not answer.

Assessment can be effective, useful and functional in case there is INSET and is organized correctly: 67.62% (n 637) agree and completely agree, 19.64% (n 185) partly agree, 11.04% (n 104) disagree and completely disagree 1.70% (n 16) did not answer.

Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when it is connected with vocational development: 50.85% (479 teachers) agree and completely agree, 23.25% (219 teachers) partly agree, 24.10% (227 teachers) disagree and completely disagree, 17 teachers (1.80%) did not answer.

Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when in case of positive assessment it is connected with salary increase: 34.40% (324 individuals) agree and completely agree, 21.76% partly agree (205 teachers), 42.36% (399 teachers) disagree and completely disagree, 1.49% (14 people) did not answer.

Who would be the right assessor (multiple answers possible): More than half of the teachers indicated the school counselor (55.41%), followed by the    teachers association (35.03%, 330 teachers), the school's head-teacher (30.68%, 289 teachers), students (28.13%, 265 teachers), teacher colleagues (18.79% 177 teachers), the Director of the Office (17.54% 137 teachers), the parent association (7.11% 67 teachers) and school committee (3.82% 36 teachers)

In which cases does assessment have a role; (multiple answers possible): The teachers accept assessment when this contributes to the improvement of the educational function and the better function of school unit (77.60% and 53.61%

respectively) and to a lower degree (24.84%) when it does not have consequences on the salary and progress through the hierarchy.

Which factors could influence the objectivity of assessment? (multiple answers possible) The assessor's personality is declared (83.65%) as the most important factor for an objective assessment and then the number of students in the classroom of the assessed teacher (51.59%), the area of the school (43.21%), the well function of the school (37.90%) and the total number of students at school (20.06%).

Which is your personal attitude towards assessment? (multiple answers possible): Finally, teachers, at 54.41% are positive to the idea of self-assessment and of 51.75% of inner-assessment. A little over of one fifth of teachers (20.49%) declare that would prefer assessment did not exist and 6.79% to have a form of assessment by other school units.

The questionnaire also included the question to what degree teachers knew the questionnaire for assessment. Answers were: *not at all* (27.18%), *little* (43.21%), *sufficient* (22.19%), *very well* (6.26%). Those not answering this question amounted to 1.17%.

**4. The classification of teachers**

Individual characteristics and the way they answered the questions is reflected in the sample of 942 teachers. The answers are related to a high or low degree. The commonality of answers may lead to a proposition of classification of teachers that form the sample.

Methods of multi-variable statistical analysis are able to correlate all variables. In particular the methods of Analysis of Givens can help in the formulation of criteria for differentiation or classification of the individuals of a given sample and the classified grouping of individuals accordingly, in both cases, the commonality of characteristics, and in this case in the commonality of answers. For the criteria of differentiation or classification the method of Multiple Analysis of Correspondence (Correspondence Analysis) and the method of Hierarchical Classification (Cluster Analysis) of the SPAD software have been used.

*4.1 Results of the Multiple Analysis of Correspondence*

Of primary hierarchical importance is the criteria of differentiation (the first factoral axis according to the terminology of Analysis of Givens) which is based on the contradiction of statements *completely agree* and *agree* with the declarations *disagree completely* and *disagree* on the assessment questionnaire.

Of secondary hierarchical importance is the criteria of differentiation (the second factoral axis) which reflects the opposition of declarations that are expressed in an absolute way (completely *agree* and *completely disagree*) with the statements expressed in a less absolute way (*agree*, *partly agree* and *disagree*).

Of tertiary hierarchical importance is the criteria of differentiation (the third factoral axis) which expresses opposition, in relation to the way of answering a series of questions, for example an older, experienced male teacher working in a primary school compared to a younger, less-experienced female-teacher who working in a nursery school.

*4.2 The results of Hierarchical Classification*

The Hierarchical Classification led to the creation of seven groups of data which are split as in the diagram (1) placed at the end of the paper, extracted using the software. Along with each group the corresponding number and corresponding percentage of teachers are presented. The teachers' common characteristics in each group are as follows:

Group 1: 222 teachers (23.57% of sample)

Teachers in this group are male, over 40 years old, who work in large primary schools serving areas of 10.000-30.000 inhabitants and they have a working experience of over 15 years. They are graduates of Pedagogy Academies, and programs but some have attended supplementary training programs. They declare that they agree with all the suggestions referred to in the questionnaire in order for the assessment to become effective, useful or functional.

Group 2: 177 teachers (18.79% of the sample)

In this group teachers declare that they completely agree with the suggestions in order for the assessment to be effective, useful and functional. Teachers in this group are males who have graduated from Pedagogy Academies and programs of supplementary training, in most cases by INSET colleges (Didaskalia). Some of them have an additional university degree. In most cases they are 40-50 years old and they have been working for over 10 years. Their schools serve areas of 10.000-30.000 inhabitants. They believe that assessment should have the form of inner-assessment primarily and secondarily the form of assessment by other school units. Appropriate assessors would be, hierarchically, the head teacher, the teachers' association, the school counsellor, the Directorate of Office and colleagues. Assessment should take place when it directly contributes to the improvement of teacher's work and when it aids the development of the function of the school unit. They believe that objective assessment can be influenced, hierarchically, by the area of the school, the number of students in the classroom and the assessor's personality. This group claims to have a good knowledge of the legislation on assessment.

Group 3: 142 teachers (15.07% of the sample)

The common element of teachers in this group is that they declare that they *agree partly* with the suggestions we presented in tables 1 to 7, but they *disagree completely* with the possibility of likely salary increase and probable positive assessment. They demonstrate a preference for non-assessment to exist. This group consists of teachers of 30-40 years old, the majority of which work in large schools which serve areas of 10.000-30.000 inhabitants and have over 10 years work experience.

Group 4: 287 teachers (30.47% of the sample)

This is the broadest group of all. It includes female teachers up to the age of 40 years old that have not worked for over 10 years; they mainly serve areas of up to 5.000 inhabitants. They have university training and they are either University graduates (Department of Primary Education) or they are educated in departments of their specialization and are complementary to primary education teaching staff. This group consists of hourly-paid teachers and teachers who declare that they are not aware of legislation on assessment at all. They declare that they *completely agree* with assessment since this contributes to self-knowledge and self-esteem and is implemented by individuals with complete pedagogical and scientific training (for the latter the teachers simply *agree*). They *agree* with the suggestions for an effectively organized assessment related to training, and also related to financial and vocational incentives (regarding the second point there are also cases of teachers *who partly agree*), and during which the "rules of the game" are clear.

Group 5: 36 teachers (3.82% of the sample)

The common element of teachers in this group is that they *disagree with all suggestions that can make assessment effective, useful or functional and they believe that assessment should not exist.*

Group 6: 50 teachers (5.31% of the sample)

This group consists of female teachers who work in nursery schools and believe in the necessity of assessment since it is related to training and it is appropriately organized.

Group 7: 28 teachers (2.97% of the sample)

This final group is the smallest in size and includes all teachers who *disagree completely* with all propositions that would make assessment effective, useful or functional and believe that assessment should not exist.

We observe that both Group7 and Group 6, where objection to all proposition is expressed, are extracted from the body of the rest of groups. Group 5 includes the nursery teachers of the sample. Group 4 includes exclusively female teachers. Finally, the first four groups consist of those who agree, to a differing degree, with propositions that can give reliability to assessment.

## 5. Conclusions

-74% of teachers give priority to assessment which contributes to self-knowledge and self-esteem revealing in this way that they have undertaken the responsibility of the educational duty personally.

-It is also assumed that teachers are particularly sensitive towards the person that is going to conduct the assessment and thus a percentage over 73% maintains that "assessment can be effective, useful or functional when assessors have full pedagogical and scientific training" posing in this way the issue of specialization and scientific adequacy.

-A high percentage of the people surveyed (over 69%) accept the counseling character of assessment, rejecting in this way the inspectorate character which dominated in old forms of assessment. This is obvious from the fact that the first preference of teachers regarding the "right assessor" is the school counselor who might lead them out of likely deadlocks. More than 67% associate assessment with "well organized training"

-More than 77% associate teachers' assessment with the educational function and express the expectation that "assessment will contribute to the improvement in quality of educational function".

-Their reservation towards the assessor is expressed by a majority of 83% that an assessor's personality plays important role in assessment.

-It is interesting to note that the percentages with which teachers relate the acceptance of assessment to possible vocational promotion (50.85%) and salary increase (34.40%) are not high, a fact that highlights their other attitudes.

-Finally, as it clears from the givens answers, the sampled teachers in this present research do not reject assessment in any way (10%).

## References

Altrichter, H. & Specht, W. (1997). Quality Assurance and Quality Development in Education in Solomon, J. (ed) *Trends in the Evaluation of Education of Educational Systems: School (Self-) Evaluation and Decentralization.* Athens, Pedagogical Institute.

Andreou, A. & Papakonstandinou, P. (1994). *Power and Organization – Administration of the Education System*. Athens, Livanis Plc (in Greek).

Athanasiadis, I. (1995). *Factor Analysis of Correspondence and Hierarchical Distribution*. Athens, New Technologies Plc (in Greek).

Broadfoot, P. (1996). *Education, Assessment and Society. A Sociological Analysis*. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Deligianni, A. (2002). Teachers assessment in the frame of contemporary views of educational assessment. *Pedagogic Review*, 33: 28-32. (in Greek)

Dimaras, A. (1973). *The Reform that has never happened*. Historical Proofs, Vol.A 1821-1894, Vol.B 1895-1967. Athens, New Greek Library (in Greek)

Greek Official Governmental Gazette. Law 2525/24-12-1997 (in Greek)

Greek Official Governmental Gazette. Law 2986/13-2-2002 (in Greek).

Holevas, G. (1995). *Organization and Administration*. Athens, Interbooks Plc.

Hopkins, D., Jackson, D., West, M. & Terrell, L. (1997). Evaluation : Trinkets for the Natives or Cultural Change in Cullingford, C. *Assessment versus Evaluation*. London, Cassell.

Lefas, C. (1942). *History of Education*, Athens, OPEB Plc (in Greek).

Makridimitris, A. (2000). *Administration and Society*. Athens, Themelio Plc (in Greek).

Ministry of National Education and Religious Affaires, Department of Assessment. (1996). *Proposal Frame for the Organization of an Assessment System of Educational Function,* Athens Pedagogical Institute (in Greek).

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD-CERI). (1994). What works in innovation. The Assessment of School Performance – Strategies for the Assessment of School Performance, Paris: OECD Publishing.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) – Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education. (1991). The Effectiveness of Schooling and of Educational Resource Management: The Role of the Inspectorate and Inspectors in the Development and Monitoring of School Management and Effectiveness, Paris: OED Publishing.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) – Directorate for Education, Employment, Labour and Social Affairs (1994), Effectiveness of Schooling and of Educational Resource Management: Synthesis of Country Studies, Paris: OECD Publishing.

Report of Experts on Public Administration, 1950-1998, Athens, Papazissi Plc (in Greek).

UNESCO. (1979). Termes Relatifs a l' Evaluation, Glossaire de l' Unesco, Bep-79/ws/8, Paris: UNESO.

Usher, R & Edwards, R. (1994). *Postmodernism and Education*. London, Routledge Plc.

Table 1. Assessment can be effective, useful and functional when it contributes to self-knowledge and self-esteem

|  | n | % |  | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Completely agree | 312 | 33.12 | Agree and Completely agree | 705 | 74.84 |
| Agree | 393 | 41.72 | | | |
| Partly agree | 134 | 14.23 | Partly agree | 134 | 14.23 |
| Disagree | 58 | 6.16 | Disagree and Completely disagree | 90 | 9.56 |
| Completely disagree | 32 | 3.40 | | | |
| No answer | 13 | 1.38 | No answer | 13 | 1.38 |
| TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 | TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 |

Table 2. Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when assessors have full pedagogical and scientific training

|  | n | % |  | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Completely agree | 428 | 45.44 | Agree and Completely agree | 689 | 73.15 |
| Agree | 261 | 27.71 | | | |
| Partly agree | 154 | 16.35 | Partly agree | 154 | 16.35 |
| Disagree | 49 | 5.20 | Disagree and Completely disagree | 85 | 9.02 |
| Completely disagree | 36 | 3.82 | | | |
| No answer | 14 | 1.49 | No answer | 14 | 1.49 |
| TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 | TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 |

Table 3. Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when the "rules of the game" are clear

|  | n | % |  | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Completely agree | 309 | 32.80 | Agree and Completely agree | 670 | 71.12 |
| Agree | 361 | 38.32 | | | |
| Partly agree | 159 | 16.88 | Partly agree | 159 | 16.88 |
| Disagree | 56 | 5.94 | Disagree and Completely disagree | 89 | 9.44 |
| Completely disagree | 33 | 3.50 | | | |
| No answer | 24 | 2.55 | No answer | 24 | 2.55 |
| TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 | TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 |

Table 4. Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when the counseling character dominates

|  | n | % |  | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Completely agree | 273 | 28.98 | Agree and Completely agree | 654 | 69.42 |
| Agree | 381 | 40.45 | | | |
| Partly agree | 181 | 19.21 | Partly agree | 181 | 19.21 |
| Disagree | 63 | 6.96 | Disagree and Completely disagree | 91 | 9.92 |
| Completely disagree | 28 | 2.96 | | | |
| No answer | 16 | 1.70 | No answer | 16 | 1.70 |
| TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 | TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 |

Table 5. Assessment can be effective, useful and functional in case there is INSET and is organized correctly

|  | n | % |  | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Completely Agree | 270 | 28.66 | Agree and Completely agree | 637 | 67.62 |
| Agree | 367 | 38.96 | | | |
| Partly Agree | 185 | 19.64 | Partly Agree | 185 | 19.64 |
| Disagree | 67 | 7.11 | Disagree and Completely disagree | 104 | 11.04 |
| Completely disagree | 37 | 3.93 | | | |
| No answer | 16 | 1.70 | No answer | 16 | 1.70 |
| TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 | TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 |

Table 6. Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when it is connected with vocational development

|  | n | % |  | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Completely agree | 161 | 17.09 | Agree and Completely agree | 479 | 50.85 |
| Agree | 318 | 33.76 | | | |
| Partly agree | 219 | 23.25 | Partly agree | 219 | 23.25 |
| Disagree | 157 | 16.67 | Disagree and Completely disagree | 227 | 24.10 |
| Completely disagree | 70 | 7.43 | | | |
| No answer | 17 | 1.80 | No answer | 17 | 1.80 |
| TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 | TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 |

Table 7. Assessment can be effective, useful or functional when in case of positive assessment it is connected with salary increase

|  | n | % |  | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Completely Agree | 123 | 13.06 | Agree and Completely agree | 324 | 34.40 |
| Agree | 201 | 21.34 | | | |
| Partly agree | 205 | 21.76 | Partly agree | 205 | 21.76 |
| Disagree | 250 | 26.54 | Disagree and Completely disagree | 399 | 42.36 |
| Completely disagree | 149 | 15.82 | | | |
| No answer | 14 | 1.49 | No answer | 14 | 1.49 |
| TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 | TOTAL | 942 | 100.00 |

Table 8. Who would be the right assessor (multiple answers possible)

|  |  | n | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | School counselors | 522 | 55.41 |
| 2 | Teachers' association | 330 | 35.03 |
| 3 | School head teacher | 289 | 30.68 |
| 4 | Students | 265 | 28.13 |
| 5 | Our colleagues | 177 | 18.79 |
| 6 | The Director of the Office | 137 | 17.54 |
| 7 | Parent Association | 67 | 7.11 |
| 8 | School Committee | 36 | 3.82 |

Table 9. In which cases does assessment have a role; (multiple answers possible)

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | When it contributes to the improvement of educational function | 77.60% |
| 2 | When it contributes to the better function of the school unit | 53.61% |
| 3 | When it is not connected with economic and vocational development | 24.84% |

Table 10. Which factors could influence the objectivity of assessment? (multiple answers possible)

| 1 | Assessor's personality | 83.65% |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | The total number of students of a classroom | 51.59% |
| 3 | The area of the school | 43.21% |
| 4 | The well function of the school | 37.90% |
| 5 | The total number of students at school | 20.06% |

Table 11. Which is your personal attitude towards assessment? (multiple answers possible)

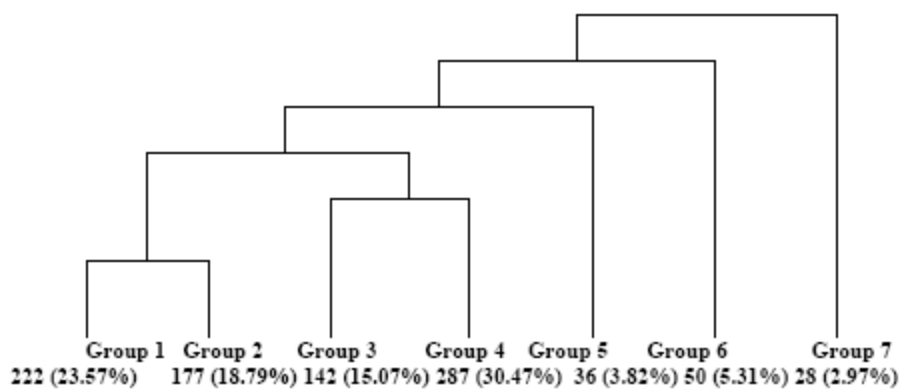| 1 | To have a form of self-assessment | 54.41% |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | To have a form of inner-assessment of the school unit | 51.75% |
| 3 | Not to exist | 20.49% |
| 4 | To have a form of assessment by other school units | 6.79% |



Diagram 1. Diagram of the Hierarchical Distribution of the sample of teachers

Group 1        Group 2        Group 3        Group 4  Group 5       Group 6        Group 7
222 (23.57%)   177 (18.79%)  142 (15.07%) 287 (30.47%) 36 (3.82%) 50 (5.31%) 28 (2.97%)

# Quasi-scientific Approaches

# Made by Impressionist Painters (Claude Monet)

# and Literary Naturalists (Emile Zola)

Jie Chang

Foreign Language Department, Beijing Institute of Petrochemical Technology

Beijing 102617, China

E-mail: changjie@bipt.edu.cn

**Abstract**

The history of Europe witnessed the triumph of science, economic expansion, social improvement, and political progress in the middle decades of 19th Century. There emerged a new cultural trend of Positivism that matched with this progress and prosperity in the society. Naturalism in literature and impressionism in paintings, in abroad sense, both belonged to the Positivistic cultural movement. Emile Zola, a French Positivistic Realism-Naturalism novelist, took Impressionism as an ally of literary Naturalism in the search for quasi-scientific procedures and finding. In his defense of Impressionism, Zola declared, "Here then is what the Impressionist painter exhibit, exact research into the causes and effects of light, flowing in upon the design as well as the color". (Note 1) This short paper, therefore, has tried to make a comparative study of quasi-scientific approaches made by literary Naturalists (Emile Zola) and Impressionistic painters (Claude Monet) and to address the reasons why Zola applauded Impressionism.

Firstly, I have put Naturalism and Impressionism into the landscape of Positivistic cultural movement in the mid 19th century, trying to find out the roots for Zola's taking Impressionism as an ally of Naturalism. Secondly, I have tried to concentrate on the Impressionism and the quasi-scientific approaches made by Impressionist painters like Claude Monet. In the following part, I have found similar scientific approaches in Zola's works, especially in *The Experimental Novel,* and *Nana*. Thus, in the last part, I can conclude that the reasons why Zola took Impressionism as an ally of Naturalism are that they were both parts of Positivistic cultural movement, and both were trying to transfer science into literature and art.

**Keywords:** Positivism, Positive movement, Impressionism, Naturalism, Quasi-scientific approaches

**1. Positive movement: From Charles Robert Darwin, Auguste Comte to Hippolyte**

**Adolphe Taine**

In the middle decades of 19th century, the social landscape was changed as a result of the triumph of science. In the political spheres, industrialisation and economic expansion led not only to the material progress, but also people's demand for democracy, equality and liberty. Liberal movements flourished throughout Europe and even influenced many countries outside Europe. In the religious spheres, Due to the growth of influence of the state and intellectual alternative, there was a declination of the influence of religion among the mass. Science was taken as a secular religion and people turned to respect science as they respect religion before. In late 19th Century, Europe was truly embraced by the triumph of natural science. Charles Robert Darwin (1809-1882), an English naturalist, firmly established the theory of organic evolution known as Darwinism. "He pointed out the existence of variations—differences among members of the same species—and suggested that the variations that prove helpful to a plant or an animal in its struggle for existence better enable it to survive and reproduce. These favourable variations are thus transmitted to the offspring of the survivors and spread to the entire species over successive generations. This process he called the principle of natural selection". (Note 2) Although Darwin himself applied these ideas only to natural world, they were soon employed in constructing social and political theories as well. Some people argued that a process of natural selection also existed within human society, which was characterized by the principle of 'survival of the fittest'. People were encouraged to

be self reliant, because, for them, inequalities of wealth, social position and political power were natural and inevitable. This kind of ideology was called Social Darwinism, which had a significant influence upon positivistic movement.

Indeed, in the mid 19th century, Positivistic science became the new theme in the society. Positivists like Auguste Comte, Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, Emile Zola, Claude Monet and Edgar Degas began to search for the social physics and to translate natural science into other domains of the society. Auguste Comte (1798–1857), a French philosopher, aimed to transform all philosophy into a philosophy of science, which he called positive philosophy. In his books *Course of Positive Philosophy* and *System of Positive Polity*, he explained the development of man by what he called "The Law of Three Stages", namely theological stages, in which events were largely attributed to supernatural forces; metaphysical stages, in which natural phenomena are thought to result from fundamental energies or ideas; and positive stages, in which phenomena are explained by observation, hypotheses, and experimentation. (Note 3) Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (1828-1893), in his *History of English literature*, used socio-historical method of analysis, which had great influence on philosophy, aesthetics, literary criticism, and the social sciences. (Note 4) Emile Zola and Claude Monet were searching for quasi-scientific procedures and finding in the domain of literature and the domain of art.

## 2. Quasi-scientific research by Impressionist painters

After the declination of Romantic Movement, some French painters launched Impressionistic movement reacting against the romantics' emphasis on emotion as subject matter and rejecting the role of imagination in the creation of works of art. They observed nature closely, with a scientific interest in visual phenomena and brought scientific analysis into their paintings.

The birth of Impressionism linked with the friendship of students of academic painter Marc Gleyre, Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Bazille. "These four met regularly at the café Guerbois in paris with Cezanne, Pissarro, and Morisot an later with Degas". (Note 5) They attempted to depict transitory visual impressions, often painted directly from nature, and by the use of pure, broken color to achieve brilliance. In the year 1874, the first Impressionist Exhibition was held in Paris with about thirty participants, including Pissarro, Sisley, Renoir, Degas, and Monet. (Note 6) This group of people was called Impressionists because of a picture by Monet entitled *Impression: Sun Rising*. (Note 7)

The characteristics of Impressionistic paintings could be summarized as (1) fidelity to first impression, (2) passive reproduction, (3) choosing to paint in the open air, (4) focusing on transitional effects and (5) trying to show the changing reality. As Zola declared in 1880, "These men propose to leave the studio where painters have cooped themselves up for so many centuries, and go forth to paint in the open air, a simple act of which the consequences are considerable. In the open air, light is no longer of a single sort, consequently there are multiple effects, which diversify and radically transform the appearance of things and beings. This study of light in its thousand decompositions and recompositions is what has been called more or less properly Impressionism ……" (Note 8)

(1) <u>Faithful to the first impression</u>. The Impressionists were faithful to the first impression of appearance of things. Their objective was merely representative, but they tried to represent things exactly at the moment when they first saw them. Henry James criticized that the Impressionists simplified the problem of art and ignored the possibility of beauty in painting. However, he did clarify that the essence of an Impressionistic painter was to give a vivid impression of how a thing happens to look at a particular moment. (Note 9)

(2) <u>Passive reproduction</u>. Passive reproduction is another characteristic of Impressionist paintings. The painters represented things just as it was, without distortion, manipulation, or effort at stylization. The Scene had been passively reproduced. In other words, they were representing reality in a very objective way.

(3) <u>Open air</u>. Indeed, open-air paintings embodied several elements of the outdoors: the natural effects of light and the surroundings, realistic and contemporary subject, quick grasp of scene at the first glance. The first large scale, finished important open-air work was Monet's *Luncheon on the Grass* (1855-1856), (not to be confused with Monet's famous 1863 work of the same name.) (Note 10) Monet's another work *Women in the Garden* (1866), his new painting approach rejecting traditional technique and compositional type, was finished entirely out doors. (Note 11)

(4) <u>Transitional Effects</u>. With the changes of the light conditions or the weather conditions, the scene was not the same as it was at the first glance. Monet, for instance tried to paint a series of pictures, which depict the same view under different light or weather conditions.

(5) <u>The Changing reality</u>. Because the Impressionists were faithful to their first impression and emphasized on transitional effects, they were being able to choose contemporary and realistic subject, and to present modern society.

Claude Monet (1840-1926) was a founder of Impressionism and was considered the most consistently representative painter of the school. Light was the God of Monet in his long life. He was enthusiastic to portray the variations of light and atmosphere brought on by changes of hour and season. Different from Romantic painters, Monet's objective was

not to arouse emotion, but to explore matters scientifically. Monet's representation of light was based on his knowledge of the laws of optics as well as his own observations of his subjects. He often showed natural colour by breaking it down into its different components as a prism does. (Note 12) In his later works Monet allowed his vision of light to dissolve the real structures of his subjects. He chose simple matter, making several series of studies of the same object at different times of day or year. For instance, he chose to paint of group of haystacks in a field, the lily-pond at Giverny or the west front of Rouen Cathedral, showing the same motif under different conditions of light and weather. (Note 13) Just as Zola said, he was doing scientific research into the cause and effects of light upon the design as well as the colour.

The scientific research in painting was developed by Edgar Degas (1834-1917), a French Impressionistic painter and sculptor. Degas was not interested in the play of light but the characteristic gesture. His favourite subjects were ballet dancers, women at their toilette, café life. In order to paint *Dancer with Bouquet* (1878) and *Women Ironing* (1884), (Note 14) he made notes and sketches from living models in motion to preserve informality of action and position. These two pictures, therefore, were very successful.

Although impressionist painters were characterized by their ability to catch their first impressions and to paint the outdoor scenes objectively and scientifically. From my points of view, however, the success of impressionist painters did not lie in their quasi-scientific research, but in their ability to suggest the mood and atmosphere in their seemingly story-less paintings. Just as Zola could not really attain his aim of objectivity, impressionists were better at subjective evocation than objective depiction.

### 3. Emile Zola and his quasi-scientific research in literature

From Monet to Degas, the quasi-scientific research was always the theme in Impressionistic paintings. Zola, similarly, was searching for the quasi-scientific procedures and finding in his own literary creed.

Emile Zola (1840-1902), a French naturalistic novelist and writer, tried to translate natural since into literature and applauded the usage of art as an experimental instrument. Fin-de-Siecle writers, Wlide for instance, were anti-utilitarian and believed that "art was useless" and "art is art as such". Emile Zola did not agree with this idea and believed that art was useful for quasi-scientific research. In Zola's large number of novels, he tried to present the characters in minute and often sordid detail, basing on scientific techniques and observation to French society under the Second Empire. In the following part of the paper, I shall concentrate on Zola's experimental method of writing through the analysis of his *The Experimental Novel* (1880) and *Nana* (1880).

"Naturalism is not at all a literary dogma, it is a scientific method. Therefore Naturalism is the transposition into literature and art of the means of investigation employed by science for the study of earthly phenomena". This was Henry Ceard's definition of the phenomenon of Naturalism in 1885. (Note 15) Admittedly, his remark was far from complete to explain literary naturalism, which was not only a scientific approach, but also a philosophical and artistic tendency. However, this remark drew our attention to the naturalist novelists' emphasis on their experimental method of writing.

The physiologist Claude Bernard had strongly influenced Zola's development as a naturalist. In his work, *Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine,* Bernard had tried to establish a method for the investigation of medicine, Zola, tried to adapt Bernard's method to literature. *The experimental Novel* (1880) manifested Zola's faith in Science. He tried to use the following three steps in writing novels: first, the observation of the subject and careful documentation before his writing and then, the experiment itself and last, the observation of the results of his experiment. In other words, a novelist like Zola was both an observer and an experimenter. As an observer, Zola interviewed experts (even including the madam who arranged prostitution before his writing of *Nana),* visited many places (including coal mines and many shabby areas in Paris), wrote thick documents based on his research, made thoughtful portrait of his protagonists, and outlined the action of each chapter. In short, his starting point of view was always based on very carefully selected scientific data. This very accurate documentation led to great success. *Nana*, for instance, was republished 10 times within a very short period of times to satisfy the large number of readers throughout Europe.

In *Nana*, the most controversial experimental novel of Zola, the author tried to prove that heredity and environment were the two main elements influencing human development. Darwinists held a view that the individual was a product of natural history. This was highly significant for Zola who came to view the individual as a product of environmental conditions. Zola examined the nature of his heroine, a prostitute who indulged in sexual exploitation and luxury life in different social surroundings. In the book, Nana changed her social roles frequently, from an actress to a skipper, from a concubine to a housewife, and lastly, from a housewife to a prostitute. The evil surroundings under the second empire moulded her human nature and her fate was doomed.

*Nana* is one of the long series called *Les Rougon Macquart,* a history of a family under the second empire of France. The family had two branches, namely, the Rougons, small shopkeepers and petty bourgeois, and the Marquarts, poachers and smugglers, some indulging in alcohol and having mantle problems. Nana (1852-1870) was the daughter of

Jacques Louis and Claude Lantier, from the Marquarts branch. (Note 16) The bad heredity from the Marquarts branch, for Zola was the other reason for her doomed tragedy.

Through the examination on Paris prostitutes, Zola was making a diagnosis of social diseases, but did not make a prescription for the ill society. He only objectively drew a vivid picture of the dark corners of the world and left enough margins for the public to draw its own conclusions. Please not to understand me wrongly at this special point, I am not trying to say that Zola's novels are a set of physical data; they are the invention of the author, implying Zola's understanding about the society.

Although Zola took his novels as experimental reports and regarded himself as a man of science, not a man of artist, he, at the end of the ends, is a man of artist, not a man of science. This is for the following reasons. Firstly, his carefully selected of data, and therefore, the facts that he portrayed could not become a "record" of social landscape. He was not recording, selecting, and classifying. He was inventing and creating! Secondly, it was Zola who controlled the characters' reactions to the circumstances in which he had chosen to place them. A real scientist, on the contrary, had little control over the reactions before he found the truth. My father, a chemistry teacher always told me that he never knew what would happen to his tube when he put chemical materials into it. Or another example, Bell never knew what a telephone would be like before his invention of it. They could predict the result, but could never control it. That is why scientists need to make experiments to prove their hypothesis. A novelist, however, has the complete control over the actions and behaviour of his fictional creations. As the controller of his characters, Zola might observe the real world very carefully and transposed his observation into his novels almost scrupulously, but he could never be possible to attain the degree of objectivity that he wished.

## 4. Conclusion

From the above comparative study about the quasi-scientific research in paintings and in literature, we may find two important reasons why Zola took Impressionism as an ally of Naturalism. First, Naturalism and Impressionism were both parts of the whole picture of positive movement. The philosophy of Auguste Comte, the writings of Hippolyte Taine, and Darwin's *Origins of the Species* significantly influenced the development of naturalism and impressionism. Secondly, Zola believed that Impressionists were researching into the caused and effects of light upon the design as well as the colour, just as he himself was researching for the influence from the social surroundings and the heredity upon the characters in his novels. As Monet found it was less challenging working in his studio than working out doors, where tones and values were transformed from minute to minute, Zola set characters in changing social surroundings and tried to examine the external influence on human development.

Although both Impressionist painters (like Monet) and Naturalistic writers (like Zola) were all emphasize on the quasi-scientific research, their successes, from my point of view, were not because of the scientific approaches, but the implied capability of their works of showing the changing reality, suggesting mood and atmosphere, implying their thorough understandings about the society.

## References

Brian Nelson ed. (1992). *Naturalism in the European Novel*. Berg Publishers, Inc.

E. Weber ed. *Movements, Currents, Trends. Aspects of European Thought in the Nineteenth and twentieth Centuries* (Lexington Mass-Toronto, 1992), 158-179.

Edward Lucie-smith. (1970). *A Concise History of French Painting*. Thames and Hudson Ltd.

George J. Becker ed. (1967). *Documents of Modern Literary Realism*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

H. Taine. "The Principles of Historical Analysis", (Introduction to History of English Literature, 1864).

M. Biddiss. "Progress, Prosperity, and Positivism: Cultural Trends in Mid-Century", in: B. Waller ed., *Themes in Modern European History* 1830-90 (London-New York 1995), 190-212.

Mains, John William. (1978). *Literary Impressionism*: *A Study in Definitions, University Microfilms International*. London.

Michael Groden and Martin kveiswith. (1993). *Guide to literary Theory and Criticism*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Northrop Frye, Sheridan Baker & George Perkins. (1985). *The Harper Handbook to Literature*. Harper and Row Publishers, New York.

Shiji Yishu ed. (1987). *Philosophy and Modernism* (in Chinese). Art Publisher, China.

**Notes**

Note 1. M. Biddiss, "Progress, Prosperity, and Positivism: Cultural Trends in Mid-Century", in: B. Waller ed., *Themes in Modern European History* 1830-90 (London-New York 1995) 190-212

Note 2. The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition.  2001

Note 3. Ibid.

Note 4. H. Taine, "The Principles of Historical Analysis", (Introduction to History of English Literature, 1864).

E.Weber ed., *Movements, Currents, Trends. Aspects of European Thought in the Nineteenth and twentieth Centuries* (Lexington Mass-Toronto, 1992) 158-179

Note 5. The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition. 2001.

Note 6. Edward Lucie-smith*, A Concise History of French Painting*, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1970, 225

Note 7. Ibid.

Note 8. M. Biddiss, "Progress, Prosperity, and Positivism: Cultural Trends in Mid-Century", in: B. Waller ed., *Themes in Modern European History* 1830-90 (London-New York 1995) 190-212

Note 9. Mains, John William, *Literary Impressionism*: *A Study in Definitions, University Microfilms International*, London, 1978

Note 10. Ibid.

Note 11. Ibid.

Note 12. Edward Lucie-smith*, A Concise History of French Painting*, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1970

Note 13. M. Biddiss, "Progress, Prosperity, and Positivism: Cultural Trends in Mid-Century", in: B. Waller ed., *Themes in Modern European History* 1830-90 (London-New York 1995) 190-212

Note 14. Ibid.

Note 15. Brian Nelson ed., *Naturalism in the European Novel*, Berg Publishers, Inc., 1992, pp.15

Note 16. This information was from google website.

# An Investigation of Greek Trainees' Re-educative Needs during the Realization of the Health Education Program

Iosif Fragoulis

Tutor, Hellenic Open University

18, Sokratous Str, Kastelokampos, Rio, zc. 26504, Patra- Greece

Tel: 30-2610-910-066      E-mail: sfaka@otenet.gr


Nikolaos Manesis

As. Lecturer, on the Department of Social Work, Technological Educational Institute of Patras

12, Trapezountos Str, z.c.26226, Patra- Greece

Tel: 30-2610-323-547      E-mail: nmanesis@otenet.gr

**Abstract**

There is a need for life long learning and continuous education of the citizens (adult-education), irrespective of their educational background, professional occupation and socio-economic status. This need is nowadays emerging as a necessity for citizens to successfully meet the challenges of modern technological, social and cultural developments.

In Greece, the General Secretariat of Adult Education (which is recently renamed to General Secretariat of Life Long Education - GGDVM) along with the Institute of Continuous Adult Education (IDEKE) are responsible bodies for Life Long Learning.

According to the Law 3369/171/6-7-2005, the Centres of Adult Education (KEE), the Schools of Second Chance (SDE), the Prefectorial Committees of Public Re-education (NELE) and the Parents' Schools were incorporated into the Public Structures of Life Long Learning. These structures are continuously expanding their re-educative activities in order to offer high quality programs to adult citizens. These educational programs are oriented to meet contemporary needs and demands of various aspects of societal requirements.

In the present study, some of the most important results of a research are presented. This research was carried out in the District of Western Greece with reference to the re-educative needs of adult trainees enrolled in the Health Education Programs.

**Keywords:** Students, Educative needs, Health Education Program

## 1. Introduction

Health Education and its promotion is a matter of extreme importance in our times. International organizations such as the *International Organization for Health*, the *Council of Europe and the European Union* agree that the program development for Health Education and its promotion is the most appropriate method towards the improvement of people's health and to the environment's protection (Catford & Nutbeam, 1984. Tannahill, 1985. Tountas, 2004. Gouvra & Kiridis & Mavrikaki, 2001).

There are many topics highlighted by the modern approach of Health Education programs such as the acquisition of knowledge, personality improvement, skills and the ability to develop decision making competency. They all contribute to the control and improvement in the quality of human life and health. (David & Williams, 1987. Ley, 1988. Sokou, 1999).

Health education in schools is an innovative activity contributing to the enhancement of one's personal enhancement and its connection to their social life. It constitutes in eliminating threatening phenomena. These phenomena threaten young people's physical and psychological health and contribute to their social exclusion and their exclusion from the job market (Tannahil, 1985. David & Williams, 1987. Gouvra et al., 2001).

The inclusion of Health education programs in schools aims to change students' attitudes towards health through innovative and experiential learning. Main purpose of the school is to re-enforce the students' accountability, self-esteem, self-confidence, personality and ability to adopt positive ways and attitudes in life (Baldwin & Williams, 1988. McCann, 1988. Tountas, 1990. Ypepth, 2002).

This purpose is successfully achieved when knowledge and skills are taught in class and also supported by the "natural" social and psychological environment of the school itself. It is this environment that mainly contributes to the change of students' attitudes. Therefore, health education is strongly linked to the school, with the environment of all students, teachers and parents, as well as to the society in general. (Ypepth, 2009).

According to the International Organization for Health, as mentioned by Doxiadis (1987) and Tountas & Garanis & Dalla-Vorgia (1993), health education priorities in 21st century are defined as follows:

➢ **Promotion of social accountability** for health: Assuming responsibility by both the public and private sector so as the health to not be jeopardized

➢ **Investments' increase** in health development: Multi-domain approach with more sources for education, residence, health services, based on special groups' needs (women, children, elderly, aboriginal, poor and marginalized populations)

➢ **Consolidation and expansion of collaborations** for health: Multi-domain collaborations having as their common target the protection of social well-being and health

➢ **Increase in community spirit** and reinforcement of the individual: Improvement of individuals and societies' skills and abilities that allow them to undertake action themselves after functional education, practice and access to resources

➢ **Securing infrastructure for health promotion:** New financing mechanisms in local, national and international level, development of motives for governmental and non-governmental organizations, educational institutions and the private sector in general.

➢ **Citizens' continuous education during all their lives:** Citizens' education-sensitization about health education matters and health promotion within the function of life long learning institutions.

## 2. Health Education's definition

According to Tountas (2002), Health Education is defined as "the procedure helping individuals to take decisions, adopt attitudes and act according to the needs imposed by their health's protection and promotion".

This definition allows both a wider and a narrower interpretation. According to the wider one, health education refers to all those experiences of an individual, a team or a community that affect its values and attitudes regarding health. This wider interpretation recognizes that many experiences, both positive and negative, affect humans' thinking, feelings and actions. That is why it does not limit health education's breadth of activities only to designed and organized activities, but also to other wider ones. These wider activities are realized using appropriate experiential interactive methods (Tountas, 1998. Athanasiou, 2000).

According to the stricter interpretation, the term "health education" means in fact the planned efforts that aim at promoting the basic Health education goals within the framework of health promotion. This second interpretation is mostly used in academics field.

Following this interpretation, health education is a necessary and important part of health promotion of all population groups, irrespective of their age and demographic characteristics. At the same time, it constitutes a substantial component of the therapeutical process and of the proper use and utilization of health services.

## 3. Re-educative needs' definition

In international and Greek bibliography, the notion "need" (and especially "educational need") is defined, based on two different approaches (Queeney, 1995. Gupta, 1999. Chasapis, 2000):

➢ As a distance between an existing situation and a desired model, that means as the deficit of qualifications that are considered necessary for a specific task's application or the equal participation in aspects of social life.

➢ As someone's interest and motive to participate in an educative process. This interest probably comes up from the individual's own subjective estimations.

The two different approaches above have "sparked" a dialogue among researchers and writers in reference with the difference of "need" and "desire". Some distinguish "need" (it refers to a disagreement or incompetence regarding a situation-model) from "desire" (it refers to a motive or interest. However, it does not necessarily constitute a need).

In the present study, we accept the structural-functional analysis of educational needs. We aim to achieve a more systematic understanding and interpretation of the adult learners' re-educative needs regarding the content of health education programs.

According to structural-functional approach, the educational needs become evident when individuals realize that they lack knowledge. Knowledge is usually imposed by specific institutional or informal rules such as the obligatory education, the necessary specialization required for acquiring job positions or the vocational adult education etc. In the same way, adult learners participate in educational processes and set goals related to some specific needs (Vergidis, 2008).

Based on the above theoretical approaches, educational needs can have an either subjective or objective dimension. In the first case, needs result from the realization of a shortcoming or an internal psychological change. In the second case, there are enlisted needs defined by the changes of institutional rules. These rules refer to education, development level of production forces, etc (Papoutsis, 2005).

## 4. Description of a Health Education Program within the framework of Life Long Learning

Within the framework of this approach and in collaboration with the development of Life Long Learning structures in our country, GGDVM proceeded in designing a series of programs. Among those, it designed and ran Health Education programs that concern Senior High School students, soldiers and adult citizens.More specifically, General Secretariat of Life Long Learning (GGDVM) designed programs in collaboration with the Centre for Control and Prevention of Diseases (KEELPNO) and under the Ministry of Health and Social Consolidation. It developed the programs through the Institute of Continuous Adult Education (IDEKE). These health education programs has as their basic topic the "Sexually Transmitted Diseases and AIDS" (General Secretariat of Adult Education, 2006).

The programs are of relatively short duration (2 hours per program) and concern

> ➢ Senior High School students or students of the 3rd class of Junior High School,
>
> ➢ Parents and guardians' association
>
> ➢ youth in the army in collaboration with the Ministry of Defense
>
> ➢ prison officers and inmates in collaboration with the Ministry of Justice
>
> ➢ every citizen

The programs were developed by specialized scientists during a series of informative events. The scientists:
> ➢ inform and sensitize the public,
> ➢ explain the diseases' nature and ways of infection,
> ➢ analyze ways of prevention and effective protection,
> ➢ show relevant audio-visual material
> ➢ discuss ways and strategies for dealing with those diseases.

Every program is realized in two periods. In the first period (45´), a series of slides is shown. These slides are created by KEELPNO Education Department. At the same time, the trainer refers to condom and shows its use. During the presentation time, it allows the teacher to attend to the program. After the break, the students anonymously write their questions. In the second period (45´), the trainer processes them and discusses them with the students. Using experiential techniques, the program aims to alter the students' attitudes towards STDs and Aids. In this period, the teacher is not in the classroom in order to allow students to be able to freely discuss their concerns and questions with the trainer/trainers.

## 5. Research goals – Research questions

Research goals were:

a) the investigation of the students' attitudes regarding the imperativeness of realizing Health education programs, and

b) the investigation of trainees' re-educative needs concerning the content of Health Education programs.

Based on the previously stated research goals, we posed the following *research questions*:

1. To what extent do the trainees desire to attend Health Education programs?

2. To what extent are the trainees' re-educative needs satisfied?

3. To what extent do the trainees believe that the re-educative methods used in the Health education programs activate their thought and action?

4. Which are the most common re-educative methods used by the trainers?

5. To what extent do the trainees transform their opinion regarding the content of Health Education programs through their participation in these programs?

Questionnaire was used as a data collection technique.    It is widely used as a research tool in social sciences, since it allows the collection of numerous data in short time (Vamvoukas, 1998. Kiriazi, 1999).

The main axis of our research referred to: a) trainees' demographic characteristics, b) trainees' views regarding their desire to attend Health education programs, c) trainees' views regarding the satisfaction degree of their re-educative needs, d) trainees' views concerning the educational methods and techniques used during their adult-education, e) trainees' views concerning the degree of their views' alteration about Health education topics.

The questionnaire was given to Senior and Junior High School students of Achaia prefecture who participated in the research (test group). It was also given to Senior and Junior High School students who had similar demographic characteristics with those of the sample, but did not participated in the research (control group). This secured the validity of the questionnaire used.

The conclusion resulted was that the questionnaire was effective. Slightly improved, it could effectively record the trainees' needs and views regarding the research questions, since there were no variations between the two groups (test and control group) in students' answers collected. In this way, the questionnaire's validity was verified.

## 6. Sample's description

The research' population was students who attended Health education programs that took place during 2006-2009 school years.

The program has been implemented in Achaia for the last three years. The team that implemented the program consisted of a doctor and two sociologists. 178 events took place and 7430 individuals attended them. From those individuals, 5150 were Senior High School students and students of the 3$^{rd}$ grade of Junior High School aging from 15-18 years old. **The school year 2007 – 2008, 1274 students** were informed, **in 42 events.**   This research's sample constituted 163 students, a percentage equivalent to 12.79% of the total population attended the program. Five (5) were randomly chosen, 4 from urban areas and 1 from a rural area.

The main general demographic characteristics (gender, age, education level of both parents) of the sample are presented below along with the answers given to the questions posed to the students.

## 7. Findings' presentation

### Table 1

As shown in Table 1, 87 students (53.4%) were girls and 76 (46.6%) were boys. The percentage is the same with the general student population where the girls are little more in number than boys.

### Table 2

The table above refers to the students' age in the sample. Most of them (45.2%) are students attending 2$^{rd}$ grade of Junior High School. The rest of them attend Senior High School, 14.2% attend 1$^{st}$ grade, 27.7% 2$^{nd}$ grade and 12.9% 3$^{rd}$ grade.

All the Senior High School students above attend EPAL (Vocational Senior High School).

Regarding students' family situation in the sample, as it is shown in the table below, 23 (14.8%) live in families composed by 3 individuals, so they are the only child, 95 students (61.3%) live in families composed by 4 or 5 individuals, that means that there are two or three children in the family. There were only 37 students (23.9%) who live in families with many children.

### Table 3

Based on students' answers, 36 fathers 22.6% have completed Obligatory Education (Elementary School and Junior High School), 55 (34.4%) have completed Senior High School and 62 (38.1%) have acquired higher studies. A percentage of 5% was a Master or Doctorate holder.

### Table 4

Concerning mothers' education, as shown in the table below, 26 mothers (16.2%) have completed Obligatory Education (Junior and Senior High School), 69 (42.9%) have completed Senior High School and 57 (35.4%) have acquired higher studies. A percentage of 5.6% is a Master or Doctorate holder. It can be observed that mothers have a slightly higher education level than fathers do (Mothers' average=3.29, vs fathers' average= 3.21). Interestingly, this fact is not true for the general population of Greece.

The correlation between father and mother's education levels is statistically significant $\chi^2(25, \underline{N} = 159) = 102.040$, $\underline{p} = .000$.

**Table 5**

The students' answers to the questions posed are presented below:

*Question 1: Did you attend a health education program in the past and during your school program?*

**Table 6**

A high percentage of students, almost 2 to 3(62.6%), responded to this question that they attended health education programs in school in the past.

According to the elements of Health Education Department, during 2007-08 school year, 1500 students in 30 Senior and Junior High Schools of Achaia Prefecture participated in 78 Health Education Programs. The aim was to enhance school life along with connecting school to social life and finally, an internal school reformation.

*Question 2: How important is considered the attendance of this program for you?*

**Table 7**

It is very important that almost all students answered that they consider extremely important (88.9%) or very important (8%) the program attendance. Only 5 students answered that it is little or not at all important to attend such a program.

*Question 3: To what extend were your re-educative needs satisfied by the program attendance?*

**Table 8**

Based on students' answers, it can be inferred that the majority of them are extremely satisfied by the program attendance (50.3%). Also, a high percentage responded that they are very satisfied (40.8%). Few students (15, 8.9%) answered that they were moderate or not at all satisfied by the program they attended.

*Question 4: Did the methods used by your trainers during the program activate your thought and action?*

**Table 9**

This question concerns the methodology used by the trainers during the program's presentation. To a high extent, it was judged that (45.8%) this methodology extremely activated the students' thought and action. A relatively high percentage (38.7%) answered that the educational methods used in the program activated the students' thought very much. Few students, but more than in other answers, believe that the techniques used activated moderately up to not at all their thought and action. That is, they judge the methods as not energetic and interactive (24 individuals, 15.5%).

*Question 5: Which of the following experiential interactive techniques did your trainers use during your adult-education?*

**Table 10**

According to students, the technique mostly used in the program by the trainers was "questions-answers" (85.7%) followed by "demonstration" (66.5%). This was expected since the program was designed by KEELPNO in this way. Among the other techniques, "brain storming" (39.8%) and "case study" (35.4%) were also used. Few students mentioned that "simulation" was used (13%), "task forces" (9.3%) and "role play" (4.3%). Few students also answered that the techniques above were used in combination (14.3%).

*Question 6: Did the use of the techniques above contribute to change your views and attitudes regarding topics relevant to the content of Health Education programç? (Aids, STDs, etc.)*

**Table 11**

After the program ended, the students were asked to tell the researchers their opinion whether the techniques used contributed to the alteration of their views and attitudes regarding Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Aids. Most of them responded very positively to the use of energetic techniques. Almost as many students as those of question 4 (see above), responded that these techniques contributed very much (43.7%) to their views' alteration, while 33.1% of students stated that the techniques contributed a lot to this alteration. Therefore, the techniques' use is judged as effective and worthwhile. Few answered that their use moderately changed their views and attitudes (8.6%) or changed

them a little (4.6%). Few more students (9.9%) answered that these techniques did not contributed at all to their views' alteration about the Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Aids.

*Question 7: Would you prefer to be able to choose along with your trainer the topics discussed during the program?*

**Table 12**

Most students answered that they want very much (40%) and much (32.7%) to be able to choose along with their trainers the topics discussed during the program. That means, they want to decide about the programs they are called to attend. This is a very important finding and the Ministry of Education should immediately take it into consideration when designing similar programs for the next school year. The rest of the students (27.3%) answered that are interested moderately or not at all in having an opinion about the programs that were implemented in their schools. These students may trust the Ministry of Education or may believe that even if they would express their opinion, nobody will take it into account.

**8. Conclusions**

Based on this research, it can be concluded that the majority of the students participated in Health Education programs during their school attendance. This is interpreted based on the significant increase in Health Education programs implemented in school units during the last years. Through the programs' realization, there is a good attempt in opening the school to the local society along with an internal school reformation (Fragoulis & Papagiannopoulos & Simoni, 1998).

Answering the first research question, students considered important the attendance of health education programs organized by the General Secretariat of Life Long Learning, because they acquire knowledge about topics relevant to Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STDs) and AIDS. Students' opinion can be interpreted if we think that both AIDS and STDs constitute one of the biggest health problems of our era. Furthermore, it is a fact that youth start early their sexual life and want to have a formal and valid information concerning the topics above.

Regarding the second research question, the students expressed the opinion that after the program's attendance their re-educative needs were satisfied to a high degree. During the program's design and realization, the educators took into consideration the participants' personal needs and tried to satisfy them.

In reference with the third research question, the students' majority stated that the educational techniques used by their trainers during the program activated their thought and action, because they were experiential and relevant to adult education principles. Furthermore, through the use of specific educational techniques, the students' experiences were used in the best way.

Furthermore, answering the fourth research question, it was deduced that the trainers used the simplest educational techniques, in reference with the experiential educational techniques' use during the study of Health education topics. This finding is interpreted if we think that these techniques are more often used, the trainers have been trained in their use. Furthermore, there are few demands by the trainers for their proper application, thus the trainers feel safety and assurance when they use them (Fragoulis, 2009).

Finally, the study of the fifth research question led to the finding that the interactive techniques' use helped students to change their views to a great extent about the thematic content of the re-educative program. This opinion is interpreted if we take into consideration that these techniques help the trainees expressing their experiences, ponder about them and reconsider their views and attitudes about topics related to Health Education.

The opinion expressed by students about their interactive participation in determining the topics of the re-educative programs, it can be easily interpreted. Learning is effective within the framework of educational programs' realization; it is a necessary condition for the trainer to take into account the trainees' personal interests and needs. Under these conditions, learning gains an essential content for the participants (Rogers, 1999. Mezirow, 2007).

In summation, the research questions posed were successfully answered, giving interesting results. We hope that the observations of this research would be useful to Educational Policy. They would also be a starting point for a turn in research based more on qualitative methods and towards the evaluation of Health Education programs by the students who attend them.

**References**

**Greek References**

Athanasiou, K. (2000). *Health Education*. Thessaloniki: Self-edited.

Chasapis, D. (2000). *Designing, Organization, Application and Evaluation of Programs of Vocational Education, Methodological principles and quality criteria.* Athens: Metexmio.

Cohen, L. & Manion, L. (1997).*Methodology of Educational Research*. Athens: Ekfrasi

Fragoulis, I. (2009). *Instructional notes in the class "environment education".* PTDE, Patras:University of Patras.

Fragoulis, I., Papagiannopoulos, K., & Simoni, E. (1998). *The Local History within the framework of School Education.* Athens: OEDB (Organization of Greek school books edition).

General Secretariat of Adult Education. (2006). *A guide to Educational programs.* Athens: GGEE.

Gouvra, M., Kiridis, A., & Mavrikaki, E. (2001). *Health Education and School.* Athens: Dardanos.

Kiriazi, N. (1999). *Social Research. A critic review of methods and techniques*. Athens: Grigoris.

Ley, P. (1988).*Communicating with patients.* London: Croom Helm.

Mezirow, J. (2007). *The transforming learning.* Athens: Metexmio.

Papoutsis, Ch. (2005). *An investigation of re-educative needs and views of newly-appointed instructors concerning the re-educative processes they participate,* PhD Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University.

Rogers, A. (1999). *Adult-education.* Athens: Metexmio.

Sokou, K. (1999). *OA guide of Health Education and its promotion*. Athens: Greek Letters.

Tountas, G. (1998). Health Education Methodology: Methods of Communication. In *Archives of Greek Medicine*, 5, (pp.160-170).

Tountas, G. (2002). *Health Promotion.* [Online] Available: www.asclepoeion.mpl.uoa.gr (June 16, 2009).

Tountas, G. (2004). *Society and Health.* Athens: Odysseus.

Vamvoukas, M. (1998). *An introduction to Psychopedagogical Research and Methodology*. Athens: Grigoris.

Vergidis, D. (2008). *An introduction to Adult Education, 2.* Patras: Hellenic Open University.

Ypepth/Ministry of Education (2002). *Interdisciplinary Uniform Framework of Programs of Studies-Detailed Programs of Studies, 2.* Athens.

Ypepth/Ministry of Education (2009). *Health Education.* [Online] Available: www.ypepth.gr (January 16, 2009).

**Foreign References**

Baldwin, J. & Williams, H. (1988). *Active Learning: A Trainer's Guide*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Catford, J., & Nutbeam, D. (1984). Towards α definition of health education and health promotion. *Health Education Journal*, 43*,* 38-45.

David, K., & Williams, T. (1987*). Health Education in Schools*. London: Harper & Row.

Doxiadis, S. (1987). Ethical Dilemmas. *Health Promotion.* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Gupta, K. (1999). *A practical guide to needs assessment*. San Francisco: Jossey- Bass.

McCann, R. (1988). *Graphics Handbook*. London: Health Education Authority.

Queeney, S. (1995). *Assessing Needs in Continuing Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Tannahill, A. (1985). What is Health Promotion. *Health Education Journal, 44,* 167-168.

Tountas, Y. (1990). Health Education and Self Care. In Doxiadis, S. (ed), *Ethics in Health Education.* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Tountas, Y., Garanis, T., & Dalla-Vorgia, P. (1993). Health Promotion, Society and Health Care Ethics. In Gillon, R. (ed), *Principles of Health Care Ethics*. Chichester: John Willey & Sons.

**Notes**

Note 1. There are different approaches with reference to what is a satisfying sample. The sample size (Kiriazi, 1999, pp. 108-119, especially 116-117) depends on many factors such as the financial resources, the precision degree expected, the cases that should be included in the subgroups, the study's aim (Cohen & Manion, 1996, p. 131) and the nature of

the studied population, the number of variables attempted to be tested by the researchers and the statistical processing that they intend to do.

Table 1. Subjects' distribution regarding gender

|  | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Boys | 87 | 53.4% |
| Girls | 76 | 46.6% |

Table 2. Subjects' distribution regarding age

|  | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| 3rd Grade (Junior High School) | 70 | 45.2% |
| 1st Grade (Senior High School) | 22 | 14.2% |
| 2nd Grade (Senior High School) | 43 | 27.7% |
| 3rd Grade (Senior High School) | 20 | 12.9% |

Table 3. Subjects' distribution with reference to their family situation

|  | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Up to three individuals | 23 | 14.8% |
| Four-five individuals | 95 | 61.3% |
| Six individuals and over | 37 | 23.9% |

Table 4. Father's grammatical knowledge

|  | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Elementary School | 10 | 6.3% |
| Junior High School | 26 | 16.3% |
| Senior High School | 55 | 34.4% |
| University/Technical Institution | 61 | 38.1% |
| Master | 5 | 3.1% |
| Doctorate (PhD) | 3 | 1.9% |

Table 5. Mother's grammatical knowledge

|  | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Elementary School | 8 | 5% |
| Junior High School | 18 | 11.2% |
| Senior High School | 69 | 42.9% |
| University/Technical Institution | 57 | 35.4% |
| Master | 4 | 2.5% |
| Doctorate (PhD) | 5 | 3.1% |

Table 6. Health education programs' attendance

| Question 1 | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| YES | 102 | 62.6% |
| NO | 61 | 37.4% |

Table 7. Importance of program attendance

| Question 2 | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Extremely | 144 | 88.9% |
| Very | 13 | 8% |
| Moderate | 3 | 1.9% |
| Little | 1 | .6% |
| Not at all | 1 | .6% |

Table 8. Re-educative needs' satisfaction by the program attendance

| Question 3 | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Extremely | 79 | 50.3% |
| Very | 64 | 40.8% |
| Moderate | 9 | 5.7% |
| Little | 3 | 1.9% |
| Not at all | 2 | 1.3% |

Table 9. Energetic educational methods

| Question 4 | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Extremely | 71 | 45.8% |
| Very | 60 | 38.7% |
| Moderate | 18 | 11.6% |
| Little | 4 | 2.6% |
| Not at all | 2 | 1.3% |

Table 10. Experiential interactive techniques

| Ερώτηση 5 | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Brain storming | 64 | 39.8% |
| Task force | 15 | 9.3% |
| Role play | 7 | 4.3% |
| Case study | 57 | 35.4% |
| Questions-Answers | 138 | 85.7% |
| Simulation | 21 | 13% |

| Demonstration | 107 | 66.5% |
| Combination of all | 23 | 14.3% |

Table 11. Transformation of opinions and attitudes

| **Question 6** | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Extremely | 66 | 43.7% |
| Very | 50 | 33.1% |
| Moderate | 13 | 8.6% |
| Little | 7 | 4.6% |
| Not at all | 15 | 9.9% |

Table 12. Choice of education topics along with the trainer

| **Question 7** | Frequency | % |
|---|---|---|
| Extremely | 60 | 40% |
| Very | 49 | 32.7% |
| Moderate | 18 | 12% |
| Little | 9 | 6% |
| Not at all | 4 | 9.3% |

# Puritanism and Its Impact upon American Values

Ning Kang

School of Foreign Languages, Qingdao University of Science and Technology

69 Songling Lu, Qingdao 266061, China

Tel: 86-532-8895-8959      E-mail: kangningkn@163.com

**Abstract**

American Puritanism originated from a movement for reform in the Church of England, which had a profound influence on social, political, ethical, and theological ideas of the Americans. Focusing on its impact upon American values, the present paper first discusses the origin and the tenets of Puritanism. The forming of American individualism and democratic thoughts were, obviously, influenced by Puritanism in New England. It also shaped American people's national character of being hard-working and thrifty, and made them bear a strong sense of mission. Moreover, Puritanism rendered Americans devoted to popular education.

**Keywords:** Puritanism, Puritans, New England, American values

## 1. The Origin of American Puritanism and Its development in America

Originally, Puritanism refers to a movement that arose within the Church of England in the latter part of the 16th century. It sought to purify, or reform the Church and establish a middle course between Roman Catholicism and the ideas of the Protestant reformers. Those who advocated Puritanism were called Puritans. In England of the 16th century, the Puritans were the more extreme Protestants within the Church. They thought that the religious reformation in England had not gone far enough in reforming the doctrines and structure of the church. They wanted to purify their national church by eliminating every shred of Catholic influence.

After James I became king of England in 1603, English Puritan leaders asked him to grant more reforms, including abolition of bishops. However, he rejected most of their proposals. Moreover, the English government and the church hierarchy became increasingly repressive. Many Puritans were persecuted and had to emigrate to Europe and the New World.

Early in the 17th century Puritanism reached North America with English Puritans who were usually referred to as the English Pilgrims. In 1620 they founded Plymouth Colony. Afterwards more Puritans emigrated and they built more colonies, including Massachusetts (1628), New Hampshire (1629), Connecticut (1633), Maine (1635), Rhode Island (1636), and New Haven (1638). The Puritans brought strong religious beliefs to bear in all colonies north of Virginia. New England became their stronghold, where they sought to found a holy Commonwealth. Puritanism remained the dominant religious force in that area throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. During the whole colonial period Puritanism had direct impact on both religious thought and cultural patterns in America.

By 1640 some 35 churches had been established in New England. The Puritans there maintained the Calvinist distinction between the elect and the damned in their theory of the church, in which membership consisted only of the regenerate minority who publicly confessed their experience of conversion. Ministers had great political influence, and civil authorities exercised a large measure of control over church affairs.

In 1662 it was made easier for the unregenerate majority to become church members in Massachusetts by the adoption of the Half-Way Covenant. Clerical power was lessened by the expansion of New England and the opening of frontier settlements filled with colonists who were resourceful, secular, and engaged in a struggle to adapt to a difficult environment. In 1692 in Massachusetts a new charter expressed the change from a theocratic to a political, secular state; suffrage was stripped of religious qualifications.

After the 17th century the Puritans as a political entity largely disappeared, but Puritan attitudes and ethics continued to exert an influence on American society. They made a virtue of qualities that made for economic success—self-reliance, frugality, industry, and energy—and through them influenced modern social and economic life. (The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, 2007: 39583)Their concern for education was important in the development of the United

States, and the idea of congregational democratic church government was carried into the political life of the state as a source of modern democracy.

## 2. The Tenets of American Puritanism

Generally speaking, key puritan beliefs and values include:

A. Godly people were sober, hardworking, and responsible. English society had been corrupted by foreign influences and by disorder and needed to be purified.

B. Catholicism had undermined the relationship between God and the individual

C. Election & predestination – God chooses who is saved and who is damned. No one can earn salvation through works. Yet the saints are responsible for their actions.

D. The congregation of saints chooses its members, hires and fires its ministers, and recognizes no other religious authority.

E. Worship should be plain, lack mystery,  and be focused on God, No stained glass, instrumental music, or art.

F. Much value of education

G. Intolerance – error must be opposed and driven out

(Feldmeth, Greg D. "American Puritanism," U.S. History Resources. <http://gfeldmeth/USHistory.html/lec.pur.html> Revised 21 June 2004)

The central tenet of Puritanism was God's supreme authority over human affairs in the church, as expressed in the Bible. So they tried hard to seek both individual and corporate conformance to the teaching of the Bible, and pursue both moral purity and ecclesiastical purity. The belief in predestination differentiated Puritans from other Christians. To Puritans, belief in Jesus and participation in the sacraments could not alone fulfill one's salvation; one cannot choose salvation, because that is the privilege of God alone. All features of salvation are determined by God's sovereignty, including choosing those who will be saved and those who will receive God's irresistible grace.

To the Puritans, a person by nature was inherently sinful and corrupt, and only by severe and unremitting discipline could they achieve good. Each person should be constantly reformed by the grace of God to combat the "indwelling sin" and do the right before God. Thus, they considered hard work a religious duty and laid emphasis on constant self-examination and self-discipline. They believed that man was duty-bound to do God's will, so he could understand best by studying the Bible and the universe which God had created and which he controlled.

Puritans advocated a humble and obedient life. They also emphasized private study of the Bible. They believed everyone is the priest for themselves. Alexis de Tocqueville (1998) suggested in Democracy in America that the English Pilgrims were hard-working, egalitarian, and studious, and they provided a firm foundation for American democracy.

Besides, Puritan theology and social relationships are filled with the concept of a covenant or contract between God and his elect. There are several types of covenants which are central to Puritan thought: the Covenant of Works, Covenant of Grace, and Covenant of Redemption.

## 3. The Impact upon American Values

Puritanism is not only a religious belief, but a philosophy, a combination of life styles with living values. It has exerted great influence on American culture, and shaped the national characters of American people. Many of the mainstream values in the U.S. such as individualism, egalitarianism, optimism, can find their origin in Puritanism of colonial periods.

### 3.1 Puritanism lays foundation for American Individualism

As is known, individualism is the core of American values. It is rooted deeply in early American Puritanism. Nowadays, the value of individualism has permeated every corner of American society. It places great value on self-reliance, on privacy, and on mutual respect. Puritanism, being a product of the religious reform, keeps the anti-authority tradition and develops a strong self-awareness.

Firstly, Puritans' "justification-by-faith" concept led to the denial of Pope's authority, and bridged the gap between God and man. That is, every Christian can communicate directly with God through his faith to Him, and every one can be his own priest. So, the minds of Christians were emancipated from rigid Roman Catholicism. In this sense, personal values were stressed, and one's soul became more free and independent.

Secondly, following Martin Luther's tenets, Puritans formed their own church, chose their own priest, and eliminated the hierarchical system in church. As a result, Christians were freed from severe Roman Catholic rules; church became a free organization of Christians, and salvation was a personal spiritual pursuit.

Moreover, "predestination" in Puritanism strengthened Puritans' self-awareness to perfect oneself. Puritans believes that

their religious purity and salvation could be achieved through self-discipline, self-improvement and their hard work. German religious sociologist Max Weber affirmed and acclaimed these qualities in his book The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

Obviously Puritans' anti-authority and their strong self-awareness paved the way for the development of individualism in colonial America, and later becoming one of the most important values of American people.

### 3.2 Puritanism lays foundation for American democracy

American democracy has always been regarded as the example of western democracies. The Declaration of Independence (1776) illustrates the ideas that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." After the War of Independence, the United States began to carry on its constitutional democracy. The government was divided into three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. The early Puritanism played a key role in the establishment of American democratic regime.

In fact, Mayflower Compact of 1620 led to the birth of early American democracy. The compact was signed on 11 November 1620 on board the Mayflower. It attempted to establish a temporary government until a more official one could be drawn up in England that would give them the right to self-govern themselves in New England. Afterwards the "popular sovereignty" concept began spreading among other colonies.

The Puritan belief that communities were formed by covenants produced America's first democratic institution, the town meeting. At the town meeting every church member had the right to speak, and decisions were made by majority rule. ("Puritanism" Microsoft® Encarta® Online Encyclopedia 2008: http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761565242/puritanism.html)

Furthermore, the autonomic principle that the puritan churches followed contributed a lot to the establishment of American democracy. As we mentioned above, American Puritans could form churches with their owner will, in which they chose priest by themselves and they managed by themselves. There was no rigid hierarchy in church. Such church pattern helped form later American democracy.

### 3.3 Puritanism shaped the Americans' national character – acquiring wealth through hard work and thrift

American Puritans linked material wealth with God's favor. They believed that hard work was the way to please God. Created more wealth through one's work and thrift could guarantee the God's elect. The doctrine of predestination kept all Puritans constantly working to do good in this life in order to be chosen for the next eternal life. God had already chosen who would be in heaven or hell, but Christians had no way of knowing which group they were in. Those who were wealthy would obviously be blessed by God and in good standing with Him. The work ethic of Puritans was the belief that hard work was an honor to God which would lead to a prosperous reward. Any deviations from the normal way of Puritan life would be strictly denied and disapproved.

Besides the Christians in America colonies who lectured on these morals, some social activists such as Benjamin Franklin vigorously promoted the values of being diligent and thrifty. In particular the works by Benjamin Franklin made those values implanted in American people's minds. The pursuit of wealth encouraged them to conquer the nature and develop more frontiers. Therefore every puritan tried to work hard to do his own job better. They developed their characters of taking risks and pursuing without ending.

Many Americans, relying on themselves, have been out of poverty and become rich and won respect from the whole society. By the eve of the Civil War, the value of acquiring wealth through hard work and thrift had stimulated fast development of American capitalism. This value also played a key role during the Reconstruction after the war and the period of Western Expansion. Now it is part of American national character. To most Americans, material achievements are the mark of one's success, the manifestation of their personal values, and the symbol of one's independence.

### 3.4 Puritanism contributed to American people's strong sense of mission

Since the founding of the United States, Americans have believed that it is their mission to spread social justice and liberty across the world, and to lead human beings to the New Jerusalem. This sense of mission was deeply rooted in American culture, and exerted a huge influence on the values and attitudes of American people.

The sense of mission could be traced back to Puritans' predestination. To the emigrated Puritans, they were the God's chosen people who, with God's direction, came to North America – the New World to escape religious persecution. The New World was "land of hope" where they constructed a New Jerusalem, and pursued their religious ideals. They believed they bore the mission to spread Christian spirits and salve the sinful people of the world.

The strong sense of mission became a spiritual stimulus for early Puritans in the course of developing the New World. With the increasing of their ethnic identity, Americans integrated the mission-sense into their nationality. Moreover, the mission-sense has been clearly manifested in the country's foreign policy. Most Americans have always believed that

the United States is a beacon to the world. It is their mission to spread, acting on God's will, their democracy and liberty to all peoples of the world, and send light to every corner of the earth. Thus with their national power strengthening, the United States began to output their culture and values to many other countries by way of political interference, economic bailouts or military pressure. As a result, the other cultures in the world, more or less have been affected by American culture. In a sense, it is due to the strong sense of mission inherent in their culture that the United States is promoting their values and patterns of democracy. Of course, in reality, Americans are confronted with many challenges when they try every means to implement their mission. It is nearly impossible for them to reshape the world with their values.

*3.5 Puritanism contributed Americans' devotion to popular education*

The Puritans had a zeal for education, and such zeal finds its origin in the doctrine of "Covenant". According to covenant theology, since man landed themselves into Adam's sin, schools would be needed to instruct man out of their sinful nature, and thus to salve them. In the view of the Puritans, the Bible was central to Christian education. They desired education and enlightenment for everyone, especially the common people. They wanted people to be able to read and understand the Bible for themselves. Reading of the Bible was necessary to living a pious life. The education of the next generation was important to further "purify" the church and perfect social living. This view goes back to Martin Luther's ideas, who stated, "Above all, the foremost reading for everybody, both in the universities and in the schools, should be Holy Scripture... I would advise no one to send his child where the Holy Scriptures are not supreme."

Upon reaching the New World, the emigrated Puritans put a priority on establishing colleges, and they quickly opened public schools as well. For the Puritans, the primary goal of education was "Christian nurture and growth." So, for the first time in American history, free schooling was offered for all children. Puritans formed the first formal school in 1635, which was called the Roxbury Latin School. Four years later, in 1639, the first American College –Harvard College was established. By 1647 a Massachusetts law mandated that every town of 50 families or more support an elementary school and every town of 100 or more families support a grammar school where boys could learn Latin in preparation for college. Due to their high respect for education, there was a lower level of illiteracy in New England than anywhere else in America.

The Puritans were also proponents of a liberal arts education, so that they might be "fit for everything." They did not restrict education to religious subjects only. Indeed, they believed that all truth is God's truth, and they looked for truth wherever it might be found.

**4. Conclusion**

The dominance of Puritanism in New England has already disappeared, but its influence is far reaching on modern Americans' life, especially on American values. Henry Steele Commager (1977) approved the significance of Puritanism in his book American Mind. According to him, although its theological effect has faded away as time passes by, Puritanism continues to exert its influence on ethical and political thoughts in American. We cannot deny that American people's values have changed, and their lifestyles are quite different from what Puritans in New England advocated. However, the basics of American values conform to the essence of Puritanism. So, to Americans, Puritanism is not only a religious conviction, but an element of American culture, which shaped the values of American people as well as their national characters.

**References**

(2007). *The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition. "Puritanism"*. New York: Columbia University Press.

"Puritanism" Microsoft® Encarta® Online Encyclopedia 2008. [Online] Available: http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761565242/puritanism.html

Alexis de Tocqueville. (1998). *Democracy in America*. Beijing: China National Import and Export (Group) Corporation.

Bradbury, Malcom. (1998). *Introduction to American Studies*, 3rd edition. Longman.

Chang, Yaoxin. (1990). *A Survey of American Literature*. Tianjin: Nankai University Press.

Commager, Henry Steele. (1950). *American Mind, An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's*. Yale University Press.

Feldmeth, Greg D. (2004). "American Puritanism," U.S. History Resources. [Online] Available: http://gfeldmeth/USHistory.html/lec.pur.html (June 21, 2004)

Morone, James A. (2003). *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*. Yale University Press.

Weber, Max. (1958). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner's Press.

# On the Significance of Culture Construction

# of European Identity

Ying Wang

Department of English of the Party School of CPC Shandong Provincial Committee

Jinan 250021, Shandong, China

E-mail: wangying@sddx.gov.cn

**Abstract**

Being a part of the global integration tide, European Union is becoming the important member in the world of multi-political and multi-economical entity. It is not only the inevitable product of European politics, the economical, the security and the foreign policy development, moreover it has its deep thought background, that is the European identity which is affecting the European integration theory and the practice deeply, therefore has historical status in the European thought history.

**Keywords:** Significance, Culture construction, European identity

Nowadays, impetused by the global integration tide, European Union becomes the important member in the world of multi-political and multi-economical entity, it is the model of region economy and the political integration. After more than fifty years' development, the success of the European integration movement, from the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952, the establishment of the European single market in 1993, the circulation of the euro in 2002 up to the European Union's sixth enlargement in 2007, has attracted worldwide attention. The European union tendency gets further enlarge, not only is the inevitable product of European politics, the economical, the security and the foreign policy development, moreover it has its deep thought background. As the thought background of the European integration, the "European identity" is affecting the European integration theory and the practice deeply. It takes an idea formative year in the course of the European integration movement which has become the original thought and the forerunner of the movement, therefore has historical status in the European thought history.

In this thesis, European identity is defined as EU identity. We know that people may feel a sense of belonging to Europe, while they do not feel a sense of belonging to the EU. However, as an active European identity builder, the EU has successfully gotten identity hegemony in terms of defining what it means to belong to "Europe". EU membership has significant constitutive effects on European national identities. Nation-states in Europe now are accustomed to being defined as EU members, non-members, or would-be members. It is impossible that European nation-states can ignore the EU. In the context of EU eastward enlargement, central and eastern European states put forward the slogan "return to Europe", as if they were outside Europe. When Italy prepared itself to join the Euro zone, the main slogan was "entering Europe" as if Italy, one of the six founding members of the EU, had ever left it. In these contexts, Europe is used synonymously with the EU. Identifying with Europe signifies identifying with the EU. Therefore, we can say that European identity, to a great extent, is equal to EU identity.

Generally speaking, European identity is used in two ways: externally and internally. External identity appears to consist of a common approach amongst the member-states to their foreign relations It refers to a common security and defence policy. Internal identity refers to more cohesion and integration. To be more specific, it means European citizens' feelings of belonging to the EU based on their awareness about their common historical and cultural heritage and common values such as freedom, democracy, human rights, peace and prosperity.

The key feature of the process of identity construction is its artificial nature. In many ways, it is a process of community creation. Identities are culturally constructed. There is a clear correlation between culture and identity. Some theorists, such as Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson, state that culture delivers identity, and that people determine their social position or identity by their culture.

Culture plays quite a significant role in the European integration process. As European integration moves forward, the

idea of "culture" becomes more and more important. The elites of the Community have noticed that if European citizens embrace a "European culture", opposition to further economic integration can be lessened, and public support for the integration project can be secured. According to the European Commission, the public are not sufficiently aware of their common cultural values and heritage. In order to remedy this deficiency, the Commission's 1988 communication on the "people's Europe" claimed that action is needed in the cultural sector to make people more aware of their European identity in anticipation of the creation of a European cultural area. Through its action in the cultural sphere, the EU hopes to instill some "European consciousness" into European people's minds so that they can identify closer with the EU.

From a historical and cultural perspective, Europe is a continent of conflicts and differences based on strong national feelings and the idea of one nation's supremacy over others. It demonstrates its diversity in such aspects as nationalities, languages, religions, traditions and even the structures of states. If we look back on the history of Europe, we may find there are indeed some shared historical and cultural heritages in Europe. And they serve as the foundations for the construction of a common European identity. We may say European identity is based on a common cultural heritage and a common historical experience, which allows for the establishment of a family of cultures. Further speaking, there is a common past to be based on for European identity in Europe, which includes the ancient Greek and Roman civilization, Christianity, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution.

The historical and cultural traditions of Europe can be traced back to ancient Greek times since Europeans can immediately feel a sense of homeland once they mention ancient Greece . The heroism and the notion of freedom in Homer's epics, the political theories and ethics in Plato and Aristotle's works; as well as the spirits of humanism and rationalism that go through the Greek civilization are all the inheritances left by the ancient Greek civilization. They have given a great impact on the later development of intellectual thought on European continent. The Romans conquered the Greece, but they did not destroy the precious Greek legacies. Because they knew that the Greeks enjoyed an artistic and intellectual inheritance much older and richer than their own, they respected this inheritance and tried to absorb and develop it. Along with the expansion of the Roman Empire's territory, the Greek civilization was accordingly brought to the whole western European continent. The ancient Greek-Roman civilization has been portrayed as the fountainhead of the European civilization. Without the foundations on the Hellenic culture and Roman Europe would not exist.

Christianity has taken a very important position in European history. After the Roman Empire collapsed, there was no central government to keep the order during the Middle Ages, it was the Church holding its supreme power that united Europe under the flag of Christianity. Christianity took the lead in politics, law, art and learning for hundreds of years. Because of its power and influence, almost everyone in Western Europe was a Christian in the late Medieval times. Christianity has been the major religion of the European continent for nearly two thousand years. Christianity and Christian values have had a remarkable impact on European politics and society, and they have influenced European people's life greatly.

The Renaissance was an intellectual, cultural and political movement that lasted from the end of the 14$^{th}$ to the middle 17$^{th}$ ' century. Greece It was a historical period in which the European humanist thinkers and scholars made attempts to get rid of conservatism in feudalist Europe and introduce new ideas that expressed the interests of the rising bourgeoisie, to lift the restrictions in all areas placed by the Roman church authorities. Europe came to be associated with the age of modernity through this process of rebirth.

The Reformation was a European religious movement and socio-political movement in the 16$^{th}$ century. In very simple terms, it could be seen as a call for the reform of the Roman Catholic Church, aiming at opposing the absolute authority of the Roman Catholic Church and replacing it with the absolute authority of the Bible. The Reformation led to the division of the western Christianity into Catholicism and Protestantism. It saved the declining Christianity and made the European people recover their belief in religion. The most important spiritual pillar of European people, therefore, was maintained. The Reformation brought to an end of the papal supremacy in Western Europe. This marked the beginning of a new relationship between European society and Christianity.

The Enlightenment was an intellectual movement in Europe and North America in the second half of the 18$^{th}$ century, with the aim to promote emancipation from superstition and irrationality through knowledge and understanding. Critical reason, human rights, democracy and government by the people have become major values uniting Europeans since that time. The scientific and sceptical spirit of the Enlightenment felt Europe to be superior to the other continents. In the process of fighting against their common enemies, Europeans gradually felt a kind of "European consciousness". By comparing with "others", Europeans realized their commonness. By the 18$^{th}$ century, Europe had already had a clear self-image.

Beginning with the invention of the steam engine, the Industrial Revolution which happened in the mid 18$^{th}$ ' century and 19$^{th}$ century rapidly change the face of Europe, and ushered in a new era. Although the Industrial Revolution of Europe was overtaken by that of America, the early experience of the Industrial Revolution was significant for the

formation of Europe's self-image. Industrialization generated the wealth, the technology and the military power which had made Europe a dominant position in the world for one and a half centuries.

We admit that the above-mentioned historical and cultural heritages, from the ancient Greek and Roman civilization through to the Industrial Revolution, have not touched all parts of Europe equally, but they are felt and experienced in varying degrees by those whose home is Europe and are recognized by many from outside. They have provided the foundations for the establishment of a common European identity.

Although economic prosperity and political stability were put on the forefront by the founding fathers of the EU, the EU cannot have economic and political objectives as its only aim. With the widening and deepening of the integration process, it is more and more obvious that without a strong psychological and cultural identification with the EU in the citizens' minds of different Member States, it is very hard for them to accept and support the further unification in the spheres of both economy and politics, since a great number of citizens still feel a greater emotional attachment to their countries or regions. The fact that the Constitution of EU was vetoed in France and Holland in 2005 can be taken as a good example to illustrate this point. What's more, the EU's six enlargements till now have brought the EU more cultures, more religions and more languages. In particular the participation of the fourteen central and eastern European countries has placed this weak European identity once more into crisis. The European continent, progressive

and confident in the past, appears uprooted and hesitant today.

In order to create an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe that was enshrined in the Treaty of Rome, the EU must go beyond its economic and political objectives and foster a coherent sense of identity and belonging in the hearts and minds of European people. So integration is not simply about the elimination of barriers to trade or the free movement of capital, goods and labour. Rather, it is primarily a humanistic enterprise involving a coming together among peoples of different national cultures. Jean Monnet, one of the Community's founding fathers, once states: "We are not forming coalitions between States but union among peoples." To sum up, a common European identity serves as a pivotal integrative factor in the process of European integration. It is fundamentally important to the maturity and stability of the EU if it is to become lastingly and peacefully integrated. Constructing a European identity, therefore, has become quite a significant and necessary task of the EU.

With the further development of European integration, the issue of a supranational European identity has attracted more and more attention. The existence of a common European identity is essential for the EU's legitimation. Without a common identity to bind Europeans of different countries together, the European polity cannot get the deep-rooted and long-term support which is required from its citizens. As Chris Shore says, defining identity does have its own functional significance in the EU, for "it is a tool for promoting the EC's political legitimacy as well as the goal of 'ever-closer union'". What's more, the formation of a stronger European identity can also help a stronger European Union emerge on the world scene and strengthen the EU's influence on the international affairs.

Historically, the establishment of nation-states went hand in hand with the establishment of national identities designed to replace existing regional and local ones. However, this does not fit the reality of the EU as a multi-level polity inherently different from nation-states. The European integration movement is based on a group of nation-states coming together to cooperate. European identity is, to a great degree, dependent on the membership of one of the European nation-states.

Nobody can become European without first acquiring a national identity. Preserving national identities is a precondition for the construction of a common European identity. Jacques Santer has used the analogy of an orchestra and its instruments to illustrate the relationship between European identity and various national identities: "Just as the orchestra depends on the constituting instruments, the European identity cannot do away with its constituting national identities. Rather, the European identity must find its roots in the differences and diversity of national identities." Roberta Guerrina also holds that "rather than focusing on unity and sameness, the only viable form of European identity is one that recognises and respects diversity and difference". In fact, the stress on Europe's essence is in its diversity, its complexity and its lack of conformity. Europe's diversity can be conceived as one of Europe's particular strengths, contributing to and even constituting Europe as a whole. It has promoted cross-fertilization of ideas and provided a succulent seedbed for the development of Europe. The city of Venice, the paintings of Rembrandt, the music of Beethoven or the plays of Shakespeare are an integral part of a common cultural heritage and are regarded as common property by the citizens of Europe. The European cultural identity, in the Parliament's words, is "the product of interaction between a civilization and a plurality of national, regional and local cultures". The EU has adopted "unity in diversity" as its official motto. This is not-empty rhetoric, but has found expression at the level of practice. Creating a set of European symbols and implementing cultural cooperation programmes and initiatives aim to foster a sense of European identity. But, these efforts are not to create European identity over and above existing national ones. On the contrary, they are designed to try to foster a sense of cultural unity on the basis of supporting and promoting cultural diversity. At first glance, this unity-in-diversity strategy may appear problematic, but in fact it does not. "On the one hand, the theme of unity stresses commonalities, yet does not represent an effort to replace national with European

identities. On the other hand, the theme of diversity points to differences which exist alongside, but do not obliterate, those commonalities." The "unity-in-diversity" strategy represents a reasonable one---perhaps the only reasonable one--- for the creation of a supranational European identity.

The EU has got some achievements in the establishment of a common European identity. More and more people of different Member States have more or less felt a sense of belonging to the EU. Compared with the strong national identity, however, European identity is still at a disadvantage. What's more, the participation of the fourteen central and eastern European countries has brought the EU more traditions, more religions and more languages, which makes the formation of European identity more difficult and complicated. Therefore the construction of European identity should be seen as a process rather than a short-term objective. It needs common and unremitting efforts of both EU's elites and public. It is believed that European identity can be "created", however, it is destined to take a long time. The project of creating a supranational European identity will go with the process of European integration all the time.

## References

Chris Shore. (2000). *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. Routledge: London and New York, p.16.

Enrique Banus. (2002). "Cultural Policy in the EU and the European Identity" in Marry Farrell, Stetano Fella, and Michael Newman (eds.). *European Integration in the 21st Century: Unity in Diversity?* London: Sage Publications, p.164.

Heikki Mikkeli. (1998). *Europe as an Idea and an Identity*. New York: Palgrave, p.213.

Melissa Pantel, "Unity-in-Diversity: Cultural Policy and EU Legitimacy" in Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell P. Smith (eds). (1999). *Legitimacy and the European Union: The Contested Polity*. London: Routledge, p.52.

# Review of European Studies

Semiannual