

dire le tissu de signifiants qui constitue l'oeuvre, parce que le texte est l'effleurement même de la langue, et que c'est à l'intérieur de la langue que la langue doit être combattue, dévoyée, non par le message dont elle est l'instrument, mais par le jeu des mots dont elle est théâtre".⁴ Ne fétichisons pas la littérature! Voyons ce qu'il en est très schématiquement des rapports entre Récits de vie et Littérature, la littérature autobiographique, mémoires, confessions, etc. et l'autre, la littérature tout court. En dehors de la reprise de schémas narratifs dans le récit de vie et de la position initiale du pacte autobiographique⁵: confusion de l'auteur, du narrateur, du personnage, tout semble opposer Récit de vie et Littérature: le cadre institutionnel qui consacre le littéraire et dévalorise le Récit de vie (bien qu'à l'heure actuelle les gros succès de librairie des récits de vie récupérés par les Médias entrent dans le circuit commercial de légitimation de la littérature); une différence aussi si entre une écriture de professionnel du langage et une écriture de ceux qui n'écrivent pas ou ne parlent pas; une situation de communication distincte: la plupart des récits de vie étaient suscités par le chercheur, le sociologue, l'ethnologue ou l'historien. Le roman, les mémoires, malgré les diverses "commandes sociales" ou horizons d'attente, ne sont pas du même ordre et n'obéissent pas aux mêmes sollicitations. Une différence capitale enfin qui viendrait de ce que les récits de vie seraient la capture d'une parole authentique, non filtrée, brute, alors que la littérature qu'elle soit réaliste ou post-moderniste jouerait toujours sur du reconstruit, sur du typique au sens lukacsien du terme, produirait du "Mentir vrai". Le vrai si l'on veut contre le "Mentir vrai". Or, je maintiens que la transparence et l'authenticité du discours produit par le récit de vie sont des leurre et que s'ils sont tellement à la mode - je parle ici des

chercheurs, et non du grand public qui s'en empare pour d'autres raisons - c'est à cause de ce leurre, du piège qu'ils ménagent, alors que depuis toujours, les Historiens sont désarmés devant le texte littéraire. La seule question qu'ils posent avec obstination, c'est la validité ou la non-validité du texte littéraire, sa véracité, sa valeur en tant que document, valeur informative, extra-textuelle, tous problèmes mal posés qui à coup sûr ratent la spécificité du fonctionnement du texte littéraire, sa pertinence, la façon qu'il a d'interroger l'Histoire et la société, et la façon dont il s'incorpore l'Histoire et la socialité. En revanche, le récit de vie dont on contrôle à la fois la situation de production et de publication, cette "parole authentique" et transparente offre toutes les garanties. Non qu'elle dise tout le vrai: chacun sait à quel point cette parole le peut censurer tout ce qu'elle comporte d'impensé, de non dit, mais à tout le moins, elle donne une parole vraie à ceux qui ne parlent pas. Non institutionnalisée, parole ordinaire, elle est hors-pouvoir.

Revenons donc à notre problématique du discours social et au sociogramme, à cette grille culturelle faite de fragments d'énoncés, d'idéogrammes, d'images, d'emblèmes, à travers laquelle tout le social est déchiffré. La grande différence entre le récit de vie et la littérature me paraît être la façon dont les deux textes se construisent un espace discursif jouant des sociogrammes et ménageant la place de l'hybride, de l'hétérogène, de l'autre. Si dans tout texte "ça parle", je ne crois pas que "ça parle" dans la même censure dans le récit de vie et dans la littérature. Je crois que Claude Chabrol fait fausse route lorsque à propos du récit de vie, dans un article par ailleurs fort éclairant, il écrit: "Le premier point signifié pour nous qu'il y a, dans un tel récit, une pluralité

de voix et d'instances énonciatrices et non une seule comme l'expression "énonciateur" au singulier risquerait de le laisser croire... L'instance de l'énonciation (l'énonciateur) et la stratégie énonciative lorsqu'on les reconstruit a posteriori et toujours hypothétiquement ne font pas apparaître une unité cohérente et non contradictoire et par là, une intentionnalité claire et univoque que l'on pourrait attribuer par postulation au sujet parlant en tant qu'acteur social concret réel communiquant. Le sujet parlant en tant qu'énonciateur apparaît divisé, traversé par des voix et des intentionnalités distinctes et souvent opposées. Il y a donc des énonciateurs et des énonciatrices qui leur correspondent dans un discours".⁶

Non que je veuille dire que le récit de vie soit univoque. Ses énoncés sont bel et bien divisés. Il n'existe pas de discours monosémique, pas de discours sans ambiguïté, sans métaphorisation, sans équivoque et sans inscription de l'alterité, c'est entendu, mais la négociation de cette altérité, l'économie de cette division n'est pas la même, et les conséquences de ces différents fonctionnements est de quelque importance pour notre propos.

Le discours social, cette rumeur du social pénétre tous les discours de la société, par bribes, par fragments, par configurations idéologiques brisées, par images. Si l'on fait une coupe synchronique de l'ensemble des discours tenus dans une société à un moment donné (discours politique, discours philosophique, discours littéraire, discours médical, etc., et pour quoi pas aujourd'hui récit de vie), on s'aperçoit qu'un certain nombre de sociogrammes traversent la totalité des discours; c'est pourquoi j'appellerai "discours transverse" cette chaîne sociogrammatique qui s'inscrit dans la totalité discursive. La prolifération du discours transverse est l'in-

dice du degré de stéréotypie, de l'inscription de l'hégémonie doxique, des clichés culturels dans le discours. Et c'est là où l'écriture littéraire (sauf lorsqu'elle se dégrade en pur roman à thèse) et le récit de vie (là encore sauf dans quelques exceptions qui confirment toutes les règles) divergent constamment. Le récit de vie qui se moule implicitement dans un schéma narratif qui s'impose à son dire et qui réactualise un schéma actantiel a peu de prise sur le discours transverse qui, au-delà des informations très réelles qu'il contient, l'envahit totalement. Les récits de vie sont dans leur singularité même, leur tragique et étonnante banalité, des actualisations de chaînes sociogrammatiques plus ou moins figées en stéréotypes: sociogramme de l'enfance difficile et malheureuse, ou, symétriquement, sociogramme de l'enfance idéalisée dans la nostalgie des lointains, sociogramme de la famille "pauvre mais honnête", sociogramme de "la jeune fille placée comme domestique", du jeune homme qui doit s'établir, du mariage, de la nouvelle famille, sociogramme du travail, du rapport avec les riches, etc. Claude Abastado recense très bien ce que j'appelle la chaîne sociogrammatique figée en stéréotypes lorsqu'il écrit: "La stéréotypie est de règle pour que les faits aient d'emblée une signification: est exemplaire ce qu'une tradition culturelle a reconnu comme tel. On recense ainsi dans le récit de vie des anecdotes, des scènes, des situations obligées, attendues, qu'on peut nommer en reprenant les titres des extraits d'anthologie: "naissance non désirée", "portraits d'aïeux", "enfance pauvre et orpheline", "maladie", "accident", "communion solennelle", "apprentissage", "éducation sentimentale", "rencontre", "mariage", "séparation", "deuil", "conversion", "consécration", etc. Mais chaque fois, aux événements exceptionnels du texte-modèle, sont substituées des circonstances plus quotidiennes: la naissance non désirée n'est plus l'hostilité

cosmique qui éclate dans une nuit d'orage, mais une venue inopportune, au temps des moissons ou quand la jument va pouliner; la généalogie s'arrête au souvenir des grands parents; la conversion n'est plus religieuse, c'est l'adhésion militante à un parti ou à un syndicat... La banalité des événements crée un effet de "déjà vu" et de "naturel"; le sentiment de reconnaissance authentifie l'"histoire".⁷

Banalité qui n'est pas du même ordre que celle que veut susciter dans l'imaginaire l'incipit de L'Homme sans qualité de R. Musil. Dans le récit de vie, l'hétérogène, la pluralité des voix existe bien dans sa dimension, ses trous de mémoire, mais elle se donne dans le décousu lui-même, dans la juxtaposition, sans élaboration, ce qui n'empêche pas le récit de tendre à la téléologie.

Si le récit de vie est envahi par le discours transverse, par l'hégémonie doxique, par le banal de l'idéologie dominante devenue évidence, s'il réinscrit très fortement des situations de discours obligées, des clichés, des stéréotypes au-delà de sa singularité et de son authenticité, deux questions-problèmes se posent alors. Le récit de vie, loin d'apparaître comme un discours transparent, hors-pouvoir, serait au contraire un lieu carrefour du plein social, un des lieux où se programmerait et se perpétuent les préconstruits culturels, le système présuppositionnel à la base des formations idéologiques et axiologiques. Les préconstruits culturels seraient enfin actualisés dans une parole qui, en règle générale, d'ordinaire ne les laisse voir que dans ses pratiques, ses croyances, ses paroles non fixées, dans l'ordinaire du langage. Le Récit de vie suscité permettrait alors de voir se dérouler, effectivement dans un récit, ces

préconstruits culturels mis à nu, d'autant plus facilement que le récit n'est pas très élaboré, qu'il juxtapose "l'autre" au lieu de l'articuler ou de le disséminer. Parole authentique, pour sûr, mais saturée du discours social. Qu'on m'entende bien car il y a risque de malentendu. Je ne suis pas en train d'écrire que la parole populaire serait stéréotypée, doxique, aliénée, alors que la parole savante serait libérée de ces tâches. Absolument pas. Je crois que tout récit de vie fonctionne de la sorte et que si pour des raisons de contexte culturel on choisit à l'heure actuelle d'interroger des exclus, des marginaux, cela ne veut pas dire qu'il y ait une relation d'essence entre le groupe social et le type de discours qu'il produit. Je pense au contraire que c'est le dispositif interactionnel, le dispositif à la base du récit de vie qui produit la prolifération du discours transverse.

Un exemple personnel pour élucider ce point. J'ai écrit un livre qui s'appelle Le Cheval blanc de Lénine ou l'Histoire autre.⁸ J'ai essayé par une forme-mixte où la fiction est importante, de rendre la parole au peuple juif de langue yiddish assassiné par les Nazis. J'ai inventé une généalogie fictive, j'ai fait jouer mon roman familial, le légendaire familial. J'ai convoqué par bribes culturelles, fantômes individuels et fantômes collectifs. J'ai restitué un imaginaire social à un groupe dont il ne reste que des survivants. Cela donne une écriture qui a ses faiblesses - je n'en conviens pas - mais qui est véritablement plurielle - car je joue avec les sociogrammes, je les parodie, je les déplace, je me débats avec les stéréotypes culturels et ethniques sans masquer le débat. Si par les moyens de l'Histoire orale on interroge - et beaucoup l'ont fait - les survivants de la tragédie,⁹ on trouve des récits, certes émouvants et plein d'intérêt,

des informations précieuses sur l'extra-texte, mais ce qui coule à flot, c'est une vision idéalisée du passé, le besoin nostalgique de folkloriser ce qui n'est plus "les Juifs violonneux à la Chagall", tout un peuple d'Image d'Epinal du Shtetl, le besoin aussi de ressouder la communauté de ce qui reste, d'être solidaire, et pour cela, au besoin, de censurer les luttes politiques si vives d'avant-guerre, de substituer à une société civile très riche et très variée une pastorale sans âge, éternisée et héroïsée, bref des stéréotypes nouveaux, des clichés sécurisants et politiquement orientés, une téléologie capable de supporter la tragédie au plan discursif. L'hétérogénéité demeure mais dans la juxtaposition. Elle n'informe pas l'ensemble du récit qui n'a plus rien de pluriel dans sa téléologie. La pluralité a été "digérée".

La fiction a plus d'espace pour déplacer les sociogrammes, se les incorporer mais sans les figer en stéréotypes. Elle peut aussi plus facilement les parodier et exorciser par là le démon des préconstruits culturels. Qu'on se souvienne de la façon dont Flaubert parle des lectures d'Emma: "Elle se laissa donc glisser dans les méandres lamartinien, écouter les harpes sur les lacs, tous les chants des cygnes mourants, toutes les chutes de feuilles, les neiges pures qui montent au ciel et la voix de l'Éternel discourant dans les vallons".¹⁰ Ce n'est pas seulement le plaisir esthétique qui nous attache à ce passage, ce n'est pas son intertexte chargé, sa visée parodique qui montre à la fois la prise d'un certain romanisme sur une jeune femme comme Emma et la distance prise par le narrateur en face de son personnage. Non que le récit de vie ne puisse rompre avec une certaine linéarité et procurer lui aussi un grand plaisir esthétique. Maurizio Catani le dit excellemment à propos de son héroïne "Tante Suzanne":

"Sous les anecdotes, la fixité des formes rhétoriques, la chanson et référence à toutes deux mènent à la mère, dessine la récurrence d'une superposition et fonde la légitimité et la possibilité d'une transmission. C'est exploit qui surprend, quand il est question d'une biographie, nos attentes de lecteurs habitués à un déroulement linéaire ou à des simples retours en arrière, exploit qui consiste à signifier la même chose, en regard à la construction, alors même que tante Suzanne tire la possibilité de raconter, en un récit structuré, l'histoire de son devenir personnel. Les chansons et les récitations en sont la marque formelle et la forme sociale. Marque formelle par leur caractère rhétorique clos, un tout opposé à la spontanéité d'un récit; forme sociale parce que ces formes poétiques demandent, pour être actualisées, la présence d'une assistance qui comprend le rituel, réunions ou quêtes, où se manifestent ces formes. C'est cela qui permet de dire je, de se raconter".¹¹ Nous voilà en plein paradoxe. Ce qui confère au récit de tante Suzanne sa réelle "jittérrarité", son originalité, c'est le recours, loin de toute spontanéité, à des formes ritualisées, répétitives, qui renvoient à son rapport à la mère, c'est la prise en compte du langage comme matière signifiante. Déjà de la littérature?

Faire parler les silences de l'histoire comme le voulait Michelet n'est peut-être tout à fait possible que dans la fiction. Faire éclater les stéréotypes, détruire les clichés, déplacer les sociogrammes, les images culturelles, ne peut se faire que par la prise en compte de l'hétérogénéité constitutive de toute formation discursive, et que par un travail sur le signifiant. Les interviewés bien souvent ne donnent au chercheur que ce qu'il veut bien entendre, ou le "ça parle" du tout venant doxique. La fic-

tion, elle, ne triche jamais si elle ment toujours. Car enfin, que cherchons-nous exactement dans et par le récit de vie? S'agit-il de promouvoir une écriture démocratique, à la manière des travailleurs de choc de la plume dans la Russie soviétique des années 28/31 où les ouvriers se mettaient à écrire des romans? S'agit-il de chercher des informations socio-structurelles qui échapperaient à nos dispositifs d'archives, à mettre à jour "un vécu" qui se déroberait autrement, à libérer des structures symboliques par lesquels l'individu tient au groupe et se forge une identité? Tout cela, mais plus encore, tout le doxique d'un état de société, son discours transverse, offert dans sa chaîne sociogrammatique, modèles de modèles, schèmes de schèmes, énoncés cristallisés, idéologies en miettes, figées.

Et si on allait voir du côté de Chateaubriand et de Stendhal ou du Malraux des Anti-mémoires? Histoire orale? non pas. Ecriture. Littérature avec ce tragique inscrit au coeur de toute écriture autobiographique.

"Bien au contraire c'est là que Stendhal saisit l'impossibilité des mots à rendre le réel. Le salon décrit ne peut pas être le salon qui a existé ou qui existe encore... Le problème de l'autobiographie, c'est que les lieux et les êtres - ont une autre existence que cette existence de papier. Et c'est justement pour cela que les mots échouent et que l'autobiographie ne cesse de constituer son impossibilité à reconstruire le réel, il ne peut pas dire le réel; il ne peut dire que le souvenir".¹²

Mais de quoi se souvient-on au juste dans le récit de vie? Travail du cliché, de la nostalgie et du folklore qui pourrait expliquer sa vogue dans le grand public à l'heure actuelle. Les périodes de crises ne sont-

elles pas aussi celles qui mobilisent le plus les mythes collectifs figés en stéréotypes. Identités collectives où se forgent et se confortent la dichotomie du "Nous" et des "autres". Propos scandaleux, peut-être. Pour moi, au-delà de ce que l'histoire orale apporte, seule la fiction permet de dire du vrai, je ne dis pas du brut, du spontané, de l'authentique en apparence, je dis une parole vraie. Pas une parole pleine, une parole vraie.

NOTES

² Claude Duchet, La Socialité du roman, à paraître. Je me réfère ici à nombre de cours et de conférences donnés par Claude Duchet à Montréal de 1977 à 1984, à des entretiens particuliers et à un séminaire sur "L'Imaginaire social dans le discours politique et le discours littéraire", UNAM, Mexico, octobre 1984.

¹ Travaux inédits de Marc Angenot sur "Le Discours social: 1889".

³ Je parle ici à la fois des récits de pratiques, des récits de vie, des histoires de vie, de tout ce qu'on entend par approche biographique.

⁴ R. Barthes, Leçon, Paris, Seuil, 1978, pp. 16/17.

⁵ Voir Ph. Lejeune, Le Pacte autobiographique, Paris, Seuil, 1975; et E.W. Bruns, "L'Autobiographie considérée comme acte littéraire", in Poétique, n° 17, 1974.

⁶ Claude Chabrol, "Psycho-socio-sémiotique. Récits de vie et sciences sociales", in Revue des sciences humaines: Récits de vie, n° 191, 1983-3, p. 82.

⁷ Claude Abastado, "Raconte! Raconte... Les Récits de vie comme objet sémiotique", in Revue des sciences humaines: Récits de vie, n° 191, 1983-3, p. 17.

⁸ R. Robin, Le Cheval blanc de Lénine ou l'Histoire autre, Bruxelles, Complexes, 1979.

⁹ A titre d'exemple non pas d'Histoire orale, mais de dispositifs textuels qui reviennent au même par d'autres moyens, les livres du souvenir, récemment étudiés par Annette Miewiora et Itzhok Niborski, Les Livres du souvenir: Mémoires juifs de Pologne, Paris, Gallimard, coll. Archives, 1985.

¹⁰ G. Flaubert, Madame Bovary, cité par Jean-Marie Gautres, "Les lectures d'Emma", in Le Lecteur et la lecture dans l'oeuvre, actes du Colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand II, fasc. 15, 1982, p. 63.

¹¹ Maurizio Catani, Suzanne Mazé, Tante Suzanne. Une Histoire de vie sociale, Paris, Librairie des Méridiens, 1982, p. 107.

¹² Béatrice Didier, Stendhal autobiographe, Paris, PUF, 1983, p. 289.

Général Lucien ROBINEAU.

"Pouvoir : mythe et réalité. Essai de typologie de la décision politique à partir d'un ensemble de témoignages oraux".

Le Service Historique de l'Armée de l'Air a recueilli, entre l'automne 1974 et fin 1984, le témoignage de 409 personnes, au cours de 600 séances d'enregistrement représentant 900 heures d'écoute. Si beaucoup de ces archives orales seront simplement précieuses aux chercheurs qui voudront s'intéresser à l'histoire de l'Armée de l'Air, un certain nombre de témoignages véhiculent l'expérience et les réflexions de personnalités qui ont occupé, comme acteurs ou en qualité d'observateurs, des positions proches du pouvoir : hommes politiques liés à l'aviation militaire, officiers généraux ayant exercé de hautes responsabilités.

C'est pourquoi, dans le cadre d'un colloque d'histoire orale prenant pour thème "Le Pouvoir dans la société", il a semblé intéressant de tenter d'établir une typologie de la décision politique à partir des déclarations de tels témoins et même de voir, à ce propos, si la réalité du pouvoir pouvait se distinguer de ses apparences et comment.

Un aussi vaste sujet devait se voir attribuer des limites. Ce sont celles des problèmes, en relation avec les questions de défense, qui ont agité, au niveau du gouvernement, la vie politique en France entre la fin de la Deuxième Guerre et 1954 (cette dernière date devant permettre de recourir aux archives communicables) : essentiellement la conclusion des traités d'alliance au sein du monde occidental, la mise sur pied des forces armées dans le cadre de l'Alliance atlantique, le débat mené autour de l'éventuelle constitution de l'armée européenne (CED), l'affaire d'Indochine. En fonction des déclarations formulées par les témoins, des incursions seront faites avant et après la période indiquée, notamment pour aborder la question de la constitution d'une force nucléaire nationale et l'idée d'une politique de défense fondée sur une stratégie militaire de dissuasion. Naturellement, lorsque sur ces points, il sera nécessaire ou souhaitable d'examiner, à propos des mêmes événements, les décisions prises ou les pressions exercées par des gouvernements étrangers, les comparaisons utiles seront présentées, dès lors que les témoignages le permettent.

Enfin, parce que c'est le sujet sur lequel, à la fois, les témoignages disponibles sont les plus riches, les controverses encore vives et les écrits déjà nombreux, le problème d'Indochine sera retenu comme axe principal. Ce choix permettra de confronter plusieurs témoignages entre eux, de confronter ces témoignages à des mémoires écrits, de comparer l'ensemble aux archives.

Les exemples les plus significatifs qu'une telle étude aura conduit à dégager concernent l'interaction constante des différents problèmes évoqués, lesquels participent tous de la politique de défense de la France et, par là-même, de sa politique extérieure. Cette interaction se manifeste, au lendemain d'une coûteuse victoire, au plan des moyens en hommes, en matériel et en crédits ; elle met en évidence l'instabilité des objectifs et des idées directrices due, en partie, à l'impossibilité de réaliser une quelconque majorité parlementaire sur un ensemble de sujets, laquelle entraîne à son tour une succession d'équipes gouvernementales bâties en fonction

d'urgences circonstancielles ; il en résulte un extrême inconfort pour ceux qui, à l'extérieur, sont les délégués de l'autorité gouvernementale - représentants nationaux à des instances internationales ou chefs militaires sur le terrain - et qui, dans bien des cas se trouvent dépourvus de directives véritables et suivies. Cette interaction montre enfin, l'action politique française ayant alors presque toujours tendu à associer le camp occidental à la "croisade" qu'elle pensait conduire, que, tout au long de la période et sur l'ensemble concomitant des questions, l'influence américaine, encore qu'inspirée diversement dans le temps, s'est fait sentir très pesamment, en raison de la part prépondérante que l'Amérique a prise dans la fourniture des moyens de toute nature: notre liberté d'action, en Indochine en particulier, s'est donc progressivement restreinte, au point que lorsqu'un gouvernement français a enfin exprimé une ligne politique affirmée, l'attitude des Etats-Unis a d'abord été d'hostilité jusqu'à ce que leurs intérêts trouvent leur compte dans la reconnaissance "in fine", par la France, de leur position dominante en Extrême-Orient.

A côté de l'action - et parfois de l'indécision - des hommes politiques dont la tendance trop fréquente est de transférer leurs responsabilités à l'autorité militaire, les témoignages mettent encore en évidence le rôle souvent obscur de personnages qui auront pesé de façon déterminante sur le cours des événements et dont l'histoire ne retiendra pas les noms, tandis qu'à contrario elle imputera à des hommes qui, certes, sont responsables, des erreurs et des échecs devant de toute évidence être attribués à ceux dont ils ne sont que les mandataires.

On constatera pour conclure que, si les témoins dont beaucoup se considèrent comme des "spectateurs engagés" ont pu apporter un éclairage précieux à la compréhension de faits insuffisamment expliqués, les acteurs eux-mêmes, lorsqu'ils témoignent oralement, restent, sans doute par souci de ménager leur image, sur une réserve que l'historien ne peut que regretter.

REAL VERSUS PERCEIVED POWER IN AN AMERICAN CITY:

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY: 1920-1970 (THREE CASE STUDIES)

Carl Ryant

While the concept of power is readily enough understood in many concrete settings, its description in the abstract is a more contentious exercise. Stephen Lukes has described and evaluated one-dimensional, two-dimensional, and three-dimensional views of power while opting for the efficacy of three-dimensional analysis. Certainly the study of power in any society demands both flexibility in the articulation of the phenomenon under consideration and clarity as to the parameters which define the concept in action.¹

This paper deals with three oral history-based studies in the Louisville, Kentucky, community conducted by the University of Louisville Oral History Center during the period 1977-1982. They involve the Black community, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and the Louisville Courier-Journal and Times newspapers.²

At the time of the American Civil War (1861-1865), Louisville was a border city in a border state, and it was unclear whether Louisville was the "Gateway to the South" or the "Gateway to the North." Today, Louisville retains an ambivalent attitude toward that past and is still a transi-

tional area with characteristics of both the American South and the American Midwest.³

The three studies under discussion deal with three different segments of the Louisville community. The study of the Black community deals with an important (and exploited) minority. That of the L&N Railroad concerns a major regional transportation firm which has had extensive economic, political, and social impact upon both the Louisville area and other regions of the country. The study of the Courier-Journal and Times newspapers involves an influential communications group which has had important political, economic, and social impact as both a state-wide and national newspaper of record. Cumulatively, these studies deal with lower, middle, and upper-class segments of Louisville society--in both blue and white-collar roles--over an important fifty year period in the history of the city and the nation. (A study currently in progress extends the scope of observation to include another important local institution with social, economic, and political impact that reaches to the national level--the distilling industry.)⁴

The first of these studies--that of the Black community--deals with a minority that makes up 16.6% of the local population. During the period 1977-1979, interviews were conducted with 115 individuals, mainly middle class. A life history approach was employed, relatively open-ended in

nature. An area of common concern, however, was the degree to which Louisville Blacks encountered difficulties with the white community in attempting to achieve upward socioeconomic mobility. A related concern was to determine to what extent aid available to Blacks came from the white community and to what extent it was generated from within the Black community itself.

The role and nature of the Black family in America has been a matter of scholarly debate and reexamination. From an earlier (and to some extent implicitly if not explicitly racist) denial of the existence of the Black family unit, later work indicates the role and importance of the Black family and delineates its character. In the Louisville study, the importance of the family (nuclear and extended)--but particularly that of the collective family (or community)--is manifest, certainly in the context of the socioeconomic progress reported from generation to generation.⁵

A primary conclusion drawn from this study of Louisville Blacks is that while the common stereotype of victimized Blacks who obtained help from the occasional sympathetic white is at times supported, there also was a real emphasis on the role of Black self-help--in terms both of aid from individuals and from institutions (libraries, schools, businesses). As one successful Black businessperson described his successful rise from job to job, "Each job that I have had--permanent job--

was with a colored man." Although this study is limited in its conclusions to the extent that it deals essentially with Blacks who had risen to the middle class, it shows that the internal distribution of power within this minority was at least as important for upward mobility as was the power exercised from without by the traditionally dominant white society.⁶

The study of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad was more structured. The University of Louisville already held the non-current records of the L&N. Interviews were conducted with a selected group of 45 persons, 9 women and 36 men. The youngest was 40; the oldest 86. (The median age was 67; the mean 67.9.) Seventeen held blue-collar jobs; the rest (28) white-collar positions. Six Blacks were interviewed; 2 women and 4 men. All those interviewed had long work records with the railroad--often from 30 to 50 years. (The median length of service was 36 years; the mean 36.08.) The interviews took place in 1979 and 1980.⁷

A commonality of themes developed from the L&N interviews. Those conducted with management--at all levels from top executives through the middle and lower layers--concern the decision-making process as it involved expanding the railroad, expending funds, and dealing with workers; but those interviews conducted with blue-collar workers also reveal something about the location of power within the railroad. These interviews illustrate the importance of the rail unions

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somebody had to pay the price.

and the particular difficulties that women and Blacks experienced, both with management and with the unions (and their coworkers).

It is apparent that the workers maintained their own sense of individuality in the face of often dangerous as well as difficult conditions by their control of day-to-day decisions and through their own work culture of poems, songs, and folklore. As a result, there emerge from the interviews a sense of community (of an L&N "family"), a positive loyalty to railroading and a common expression of preference for steam over diesel power; for passenger over freight service.⁸

There is a sense of the way in which the good and bad experiences of the railroad "family" related; of the price paid for movement within the railroad and society. As one Black dining car worker remembered, he was serving a party in the post-World War II era when one man

said he wanted to hang a nigger. And, of course, I was a candidate for the hanging. And it wasn't funny, but it is now. And I went back into the pantry and we closed the gate. And we locked it. . . . After the party was over with . . . , they took a pot for me--a hundred and twenty-three dollars. And they apologized. Of course, down inside it has hurt. It hurts now. But this is the struggle we had to go through to get where we are, and

In the case of the Louisville newspapers, 31 employees were interviewed. Their length of service ranged from 6 to 55 years, but the median was 35 years; the mean 32.74 years.

Their age varied from 38 to 79 years, with a median of 66 years and a mean of 63.9 years. Twenty-seven men and 4 women were interviewed; none were Black, which tells something about the composition of the paper's work force--particularly at the management and editorial-reportorial levels--during the period studied. The interviews were conducted during 1981 and 1982.

In dealing with the papers, two things are immediately apparent. One is the sense within the institution of its own importance as a political and socioeconomic factor in the city and the state. (To a large extent this sense of self-importance is correct.) The other is the impact which an individual--certainly an editor, reporter, or perhaps a photographer--might have on the paper's composition (and thus on its influence) as a result of the way a story was treated by that employee.¹⁰

The concept of family also emerges from this project, and in two contexts. The obvious example is that these papers have been family-owned and managed for the last three generations. The other usage derives from the fact that the paper has many longtime employees, and that often--especially in

the production end--newspaper jobs were held by successive generations within a family. As one longtime employee explained:

There was a lot of nepotism. A father--and a son would come along--and in turn his son would become a printer. And they took great pride in the fact that they could do this. It was a very respected craft to be associated with. And for a long time they were paid much better than carpenters, or electricians, or other union help. But not in recent years. ¹¹

All three projects suggest several common points concerning the locus and exercise of power within an institutional framework in Louisville. First, clearly--and not surprisingly--the institution itself has both visible and hidden power in terms of the political, social, and economic behavior of the community. Second, to a greater extent than might at first be imagined, individual employees may have unexpected impact upon the decision-making process and, thus, upon the exercise of power. And, finally, there exist within subgroups of the institutions various communities of interest which perceive--and in some cases actually exercise--power in a manner different from the desires of the supposedly controlling group within the institution.

Steven Lukes has argued for a three-dimensional analysis of the exercise of power which deals with both individual and group (or collective) actions, whether conscious or unconscious. He turns to Antonio Gramsci's Prison Notebooks for a contrast between thought and action, where one is reflected in rhetoric and the other in response. Gramsci wrote that when this phenomenon is observed in the life of masses of people, it is

the expression of profounder contrasts of a social historical order. It signifies that the social group in question may indeed have its own conception of the world, even if only embryonic; a conception which manifests itself in action, but occasionally and in flashes--when, that is, the group is acting as an organic totality. But this same group has, for reasons of submission and intellectual subordination, adopted a conception which is not its own but is borrowed from another group; and it affirms this conception verbally and believes itself to be following it, because this is the conception which it follows in "normal times"--that is when its conduct is not independent and autonomous, but submissive and subordinate. ¹²

Lukes suggests that even if one one does not accept

all of Gramsci's arguments, it is useful to observe how people behave in abnormal times. But the analysis carries over to normal times as well. "We are concerned to find out," Lukes claims, "what the exercise of power prevents people from doing, and sometimes even thinking. Hence we should examine how people react to opportunities--or, more precisely, perceived opportunities--when these occur, to escape from subordinate positions in hierarchical systems."

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In the case of Louisville's Black community, railroad, and newspapers, analysis reveals that power is exercised in more ways than conventional wisdom would suggest. Of course, this does not negate the fact that the basic control of the community during the period studied came from a few rich and powerful people and their institutions through access to the primary lines of political, social, and economic power.

But it does indicate that other members of institutions controlled by these few had some real influence upon their own environment and upon the actions of those institutions. Any serious attempt to understand these institutions and their role in the exercise of power in the community must take these minority and working groups into account. In undertaking such studies, oral history is an indispensable tool.

NOTES

1. Steven Lukes, Power: A Radical View (London, 1974).
2. The three projects were funded in part by grants from the Kentucky Oral History Commission. The railroad study was also funded by a grant from the Family Line System, and the newspaper project was funded in part by a grant from the Bingham Enterprises Foundation. See Carl Ryant, "'Where the Railroad Was, the River Is': Oral History from L&N Workers," Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, 82 (Winter 1984), 60-71.
3. Few modern histories of Louisville exist. The most recent is George H. Yater, Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County (Louisville, 1979).
4. For a history of Louisville's Black population, see George Carlton Wright, "Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky: 1890-1930," unpublished dissertation; Duke University, 1977. On the L&N, see Kincaid A. Herr, The Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 1850-1963 (rev. ed.; Louisville, 1964). Maury Klein, History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad (New York, 1972); Leonard P. Curry, Rail Routes South: Louisville's Fight for the Southern Market (Lexington, Ky.; 1969); Mary K. Bonsteel Tachau, "The Making of a Railroad

President: Milton Hannibal Smith and the L&N," Filson Club History Quarterly, 43 (April 1969), 125-50. Little has been written on the Courier-Journal and Times. For an early period, see Joseph Frazier Wall, Henry Watterson: Reconstructed Rebel (New York, 1956).

5. See, for example, Daniel Scott Smith, Mark Friedberger, and Michel Dahlin, "The Family Structure of the Older Black Population in the American South in 1880 and 1900," Sociology and Social Research, 63 (April 1979), 544-65; Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, "Recent Findings in the Study of Slave Demography and Family Structure," ibid., 566-89; Herbert G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York, 1976); and Daniel P. Moynihan, Negro Family in America: The Case for National Action (New York, 1965). I have spoken earlier of the Black history project at the Essex and Amsterdam International Oral History Conferences. See Carl Ryant, "Reconstruction of a Black Business District: Urban/Community Oral History and the University of Louisville, Kentucky Oral History Center;" unpublished paper, International Oral History Conference, University of Essex, March 1979; idem, "Socioeconomic Mobility in the Louisville, Kentucky, Black Community," in Nelleke Bakker and Jaap Talsma, eds., Papers Presented to the International Oral History Conference

(Amsterdam, 1980); I, 49-64. See U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; 1980 Census of Population, I, Characteristics of the Population: B, General Population Characteristics; 19, Kentucky (Washington, 1982); Table 25, p. 53.

6. Tape 602, Oral History Collection, University of Louisville Archives. See also tapes 202, 205, 223, 312, 319, 320, and 336; ibid., for examples of testimony on the role of Black self-help.

7. On the issue of sample selection--formal or otherwise--and oral history interviews, see Paul Thompson, The Ewardians: The Remaking of British Society (London, 1975), 16-18; Trevor Lummis, "Structure and Validity in Oral Evidence," International Journal of Oral History, 2 (June 1981), 109-20; Richard Jensen, "Oral History, Quantification, and the New Social History," Oral History Review, 9 (1981), 13-25.

8. On the notion of the L&N as a "family," see in particular tapes 796, 804, 805, 816, 821, 845, 960, and 984; Oral History Collection, University of Louisville Archives. On the transition from steam to diesel, see tapes 795, 797, 799, 801, 802, 806, 810, 812, 831, 842, 983, 988; ibid.

9. Tape 814, ibid. (Emphasis supplied.)

10. Tapes 1981-114, 115, 116; ibid.
 11. Tape 1981-102, ibid. See also tapes 1981-103, 116, 123, 124, 132, 133, 134, 135; 1982-98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104; ibid.
 12. Lukes, Power, 39, 47. See Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci; ed. and trans., Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London, 1971), 326-27.
 13. Lukes, Power, 47-48.
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10. Tapes 1981-114, 115, 116; ibid.
 11. Tape 1981-102, ibid. See also tapes 1981-103, 116, 123, 124, 132, 133, 134, 135; 1982-98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104; ibid.
 12. Lukes, Power, 39, 47. See Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci; ed. and trans., Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London, 1971), 326-27.
 13. Lukes, Power, 47-48.
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Histoire orale - un instrument valable pour la recherche ?

Premières remarques d'introduction

Qu'est-ce que le mouvement kibboutsi que ?

Le premier des kibboutsim fut fondé en 1910, son nom - Dégania. Soixante-quinze ans se sont écoulés depuis. Le mouvement kibboutsi que, d'un mouvement réduit et sporadique, composé de quelques points, s'est développé en un mouvement qui compte actuellement plus de 260 kibboutsim. La base économique et la vie collective, auparavant pastorales, basées sur l'agriculture, sont devenues plus nuancées. Il n'existe presque plus de kibboutts sans industrie. Une troisième génération vit déjà au kibboutts et il y a même des kibboutsim où commence à apparaître une quatrième génération. Toutes ces couches d'âge portent en elles - et certainement la première - un rêve commun : la création d'une forme de vie dans laquelle se réalisera l'idée d'égalité, d'aide mutuelle, d'une responsabilité très large l'un pour l'autre. Les membres fondateurs du mouvement, éduqués dans l'atmosphère des années d'avant et d'après la première guerre mondiale, amenèrent avec eux un héritage juif très riche et en même temps étaient inspirés par les tendances socialistes de l'époque. La volonté de se débarasser des pressions et des persécutions de la diaspora et de créer une nouvelle vie juive, ainsi que de former un nouveau type d'homme, était sans doute un des motifs décisifs pour réaliser leur sionisme et immigrer en Palestine, aujourd'hui Israël. Dans ces conditions de vie très dures, se renforcèrent dans une mesure très considérable, les idées de vie collective et de coopération mutuelle.

L'immigration juive en Palestine amena avec elle toutes les formes de vie: vie urbaine et vie de village. La vie au kibboutts devint celle d'une minorité mais qui, dès le début, avait la conscience et la volonté de ne pas rester un groupement marginal. Au contraire, les fondateurs comprirent que notre mouvement devait être central, devait être à la tête du mouvement ouvrier du pays et prendre activement part dans la vie politique. Cette position se conserva également durant la période du mandat britannique et accompagna la création de l'Etat d'Israël. Notre mouvement ne resta pas à son point de départ. Les différentes générations, y compris les groupements qui ont joint plus tard les rangs du mouvement, ont effectué des changements décisifs au sein du mouvement, car chaque génération a ses idées, ses tendances et sa conception de vie. Un changement important dans notre mouvement a commencé avec l'absorption de nouveaux membres venus des différents coins du monde. Les premiers membres étaient originaires d'Europe orientale.

Suite à une activité intense d'éducation, des jeunes d'autres pays commencèrent à venir. Ces nouveaux membres, éduqués par le mouvement, amenèrent avec eux une mentalité différente, de nouvelles valeurs culturelles inconnues au mouvement et d'autres normes de vie. Notre vie intérieure devint plus riche et plus différenciée. Ce processus se déroula pendant beaucoup d'années. Il créa un ensemble historique comprenant des milliers d'événements qui ensemble formèrent la vie journalière du mouvement.

Tous ces événements doivent être retenus par l'historien : les affaires locales et régionales, les épisodes de tel ou tel individu, ou d'un groupe, sont eux qui forment la vie journalière et il est excessivement important de les conserver pour ceux qui viendront après nous. Ces événements et épisodes créent également la mémoire collective du mouvement. Elle deviendra une force et un pouvoir qui influenceront considérablement les décisions qui seront prises plus tard.

L'importance de l'histoire orale

L'importance de l'histoire orale a déjà été reconnue par un grand nombre d'institutions israéliennes : les universités, les archives du mouvement ouvrier, les institutions consacrées à l'histoire juive, particulièrement à celle de la deuxième guerre mondiale, comme "Yad Vechem" et le "Musée des Combattants des Ghettos", dans le kibboutz du même nom, ainsi que dans différentes archives de villes et de villages. Dans les kibboutzim également, on a commencé à enregistrer les récits des membres et à retenir les événements importants qui ont marqué leur développement et leur vie. Cette activité a une valeur exceptionnelle pour les générations à venir qui continueront dans notre voie. Par ce moyen, les jeunes pourront mieux comprendre ce qu'ont fait leurs parents et grands-parents, les autres fondateurs du kibboutz, leurs racines familiales et leurs liens avec le passé en général : l'histoire ne commence pas avec la jeune génération.

Mais cela a également une grande importance pour nous d'un autre point de vue. En enregistrant les mémoires de membres d'un kibboutz, nous gardons les pensées et les idées de camarades qui se faisaient habituellement ou qui ne s'expriment pas, pour diverses raisons. Et souvent leurs pensées sont d'une grande importance. Leur vie, leur conception de la vie et leur passé peuvent nous apprendre beaucoup.

A l'Institut Yad-Tabenkin, nous avons développé des recherches au moyen de l'histoire orale, afin de garder et de retenir tout ce qu'il est possible de retenir sur le mouvement et ses activités centrales. Le matériel que nous réunissons facilite le travail des chercheurs et nous faisons tous les efforts pour élargir le cercle des camarades qui ont, à différentes époques et dans des secteurs divers, contribué à des activités centrales et décisives. Sans exagération, nous pouvons affirmer que dans un mouvement comme le nôtre, les possibilités de recherche sont presque illimitées.

Tradition orale et Histoire orale

Il faut faire une différence très nette entre "tradition orale" et "histoire orale". La première contient les traditions d'un peuple ou de tribus qui transmettent leurs traditions à la génération suivante. Les moyens de cette transmission sont différents. Chez les Juifs, la tradition orale a joué un rôle prépondérant. Après la rédaction de la Bible, une tradition orale d'interprétations et de légendes se développa

Troisièmement, il existe le problème de l'âge de l'informant. Il arrive qu'il ne se souvienne plus ou qu'il confonde les détails, tout cela sans aucune mauvaise volonté ou intention. Quatrièmement, l'informant ou celui qui procède à l'interview manque de préparation. Ceci est très important: il dépend de l'interviewer, dans une grande mesure, d'amener l'informant à un maximum de détails qui intéresseront les chercheurs. De ces remarques, nous devons tirer des conclusions méthodiques: Existe-t-il des moyens pour augmenter la valeur scientifique de l'histoire orale? Peut-être par des confrontations entre les informants qui nous parlent sur le même sujet, ou par d'autres moyens de vérification - par exemple - la présentation des documents aux informants pendant l'interview pour rectifier et corriger des erreurs.

L'histoire orale dans notre mouvement: quelques exemples

1. Les Fondateurs

Imaginons notre pays durant les premières années qui suivirent la première guerre mondiale. Entre-temps, soixante-dix ans environ se sont écoulés. L'idée d'une vie collective se renfort sans interruption, malgré le fait, ou peut-être à cause du fait, que la population juive du pays était assez restreinte. Dans cette ambiance, les jeunes Juifs venus dans le pays voulaient construire une forme de vie absolument neuve. Les premiers établissements collectifs furent créés. Ils sont d'une structure très modeste,

autour de la Bible (on nomme cette tradition en hébreu Michnah et Talmud, tous deux furent plus tard rédigés et écrits) et elle se développe sans interruption jusqu'à nos jours. La force et le pouvoir de cette tradition sont énormes. Le Juif croyant vit d'après les lois de cette tradition et elle est obligatoire pour lui. Cette tradition orale s'étend sur de longues époques. L'histoire orale, elle, s'occupe particulièrement du présent ou du passé proche. Elle embrasse un délai de temps assez court. L'historiographie ordinaire, quelle que soit la conception de l'histoire qui la guide, se base sur la documentation écrite ou imprimée et s'intéresse à un cercle assez restreint de personnalités et est assez particulière dans le choix des événements. L'histoire orale peut englober un ensemble beaucoup plus large de personnes et faire connaître les pensées et les conceptions d'une couche très large de personnes actives pendant une certaine époque. L'historiographie régulière a un caractère assez aristocratique tandis que l'histoire orale essaie d'être plus démocratique. La recherche se rapproche de la réalité et des événements que l'on veut connaître et approfondit notre connaissance de ceux-ci. Mais l'histoire orale a également ses restrictions et ses limites. Premièrement, la subjectivité avec laquelle l'informant raconte son récit et décrit les événements. Deuxièmement, l'informant "censure" parfois de sa mémoire certains détails - peut-être semble-t-il que ces détails sont très personnels ou aussi très intimes.

presque primitive: des tentes ou des baraques. Les seules maisons de pierre sont destinées aux enfants. La salle à manger et la cuisine se trouvent dans des baraques. L'âge de nos camarades est entre 20 - 25. Ce sont les membres fondateurs du mouvement. Le travail, travail physique assez dur, est le problème cardinal dans cette vie. On travaille dans l'agriculture, au drainage et autres travaux de préparation du terrain. Les femmes travaillent en partie aux mêmes travaux et en partie dans les travaux de services: cuisine, lingerie et plus tard dans l'éducation des enfants - la pratique de l'éducation a devancé les théories.

Dans ce cadre de vie assez strictement organisée, naissent et se développent des disputes et des discussions parfois très violentes et acharnées sur la forme de vie à mener. Les discussions ont un caractère idéologique et politique, parfois des divergences sérieuses s'élèvent sur les problèmes de la vie en commun. On discute les formes de la vie collective jusque dans les plus petits détails. On parle de l'organisation locale du kibboutz aussi bien que des questions de son organisation centrale et territoriale. Les premiers membres apportent avec eux un élan idéologique et un potentiel de discussion énorme. Ces discussions ne restent pas limitées à la première génération. La deuxième commence - avec son adolescence - à prendre part dans cette lutte presque ininterrompue. Les discussions des jeunes prennent parfois la forme de confrontation avec les fondateurs. Tout cela

avait un caractère très intellectuel. Voilà donc une grande possibilité pour l'histoire orale. Plusieurs de ces débats n'ont pas été rapportés dans les protocoles, ou seulement très superficiellement. Certaines de ces discussions n'étaient pas officielles, dans le cadre des assemblées générales, mais avaient un caractère essentiellement privé. Les différents thèmes soulevés restent gravés dans la mémoire d'un petit nombre de personnes ou même, malheureusement, se perdent. Pendant ces dernières années, nous avons fait de très grands efforts pour enregistrer la voix des premiers membres de notre mouvement - sans doute des mémoires très subjectives, mais ce sont des documents très précieux.

2. La vie culturelle

Avec le temps et le développement économique, social et culturel des collectifs, la vie devint beaucoup plus riche et nuancée. On développa des secteurs comme la peinture, la sculpture et la musique. La vie musicale, commencée par un groupe de camarades qui avaient reçu dans le passé une éducation musicale, a pris une place centrale chez nous. Un de mes collègues, dans notre institut, s'est chargé d'interviewer tous ceux qui ont été actifs sur ce plan. Il n'a pas enregistré leurs compositions très nombreuses, qui existent et sont encore jouées à nos jours, mais il s'est intéressé aux problèmes de ceux qui ont commencé à créer dans le mouvement une activité musicale indépendante. Leurs récits sont inimaginables. Ainsi nous apprenons

à connaître un secteur de la vie collective peu connu par l'ensemble des camarades de notre mouvement.

3. Les mouvements de jeunesse - nos camarades devant le

Holocauste

Depuis 1925, nous avons mené une activité éducative très intense dans tous les pays ayant une population juive, ainsi qu'en Israël. Nous avons formé des mouvements de jeunesse semblables à ceux de différents pays, particulièrement de l'Allemagne. (La seule interruption eut lieu pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale, lorsque les relations avec ces pays furent interrompues). Les éducateurs de ces mouvements étaient les adultes de ces mouvements de jeunes et des délégués venus d'Israël (auparavant la Palestine) pour préparer les jeunes à leur nouvelle vie. Une partie assez grande de ces jeunes a rejoint les rangs des différents kibboutzim. Les mouvements de jeunesse formaient et forment actuellement aussi une de nos réserves les plus importantes. Nous étions et sommes toujours très intéressés à conserver par enregistrement oral l'expérience de ces éducateurs et les souvenirs des membres des mouvements de jeunesse. Les activités des groupements de jeunesse, les hésitations et les doutes des jeunes au sujet des problèmes de leur émigration vers Israël et de leur vie future au kibboutz, leurs idées sociales et politiques, valent la peine d'être conservés. Beaucoup de ces idées se sont réalisées d'une façon ou d'une autre dans notre vie. Un des meilleurs exemples est celui des jeunes

combattants de la révolte du ghetto de Varsovie et des autres ghettos. Au cours de la deuxième guerre mondiale, les Juifs devinrent les victimes de ce que les nazis appelèrent "la solution finale". Peu de combattants ont survécu la guerre. Parmi eux, il y avait un nombre restreint de membres de notre mouvement. Les survivants ont rejoint en Israël les rangs de notre mouvement et ont fondé le kibboutz des "Combattants des Ghettos" (Kibboutz Lo'hamei Haghetaot, en Galilée occidentale). Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas le seul, d'autres mouvements de kibboutzim ont fondé des kibboutzim semblables. Les souvenirs de ceux qui ont lutté pendant ces années terribles doivent absolument être enregistrés et conservés. Un des membres de ce kibboutz, un commandant à Varsovie, nous raconte, dans un enregistrement de plus de vingt cassettes, les événements de Varsovie, la vie au ghetto, la situation des Juifs, leurs peines, leurs espérances, leurs souffrances et leur désir ardent de rejoindre Israël et le mouvement. Ce n'est que depuis la mort de cet ancien commandant, Itshaq Zucherman, Antek, décédé en 1983, que nous avons eu le droit d'ouvrir et d'examiner ces cassettes. Ce témoignage tellement personnel n'est certainement pas objectif et pourtant, il est d'une importance extraordinaire parce qu'il nous raconte d'une façon très authentique la réalité de cette époque qui est inconnue à ceux qui n'ont pas vécu ces jours et ces années. Inutile de souligner le pouvoir et la force que ce témoignage attribue à notre mouvement du point de vue historique ainsi que du point de vue politique et éducatif.

Dans ce même kibboutz, qui compte aujourd'hui quelques centaines de membres, un d'entre eux s'est chargé d'enregistrer le récit personnel de chacun des fondateurs du kibboutz. Les récits personnels d'environ cent de ses membres ne pas seulement émouvants et intéressants pour la deuxième génération, mais ils portent également en eux un pouvoir intérieur qui se reflète dans la vie de la communauté kibboutzique et sert également à tout le mouvement. Les récits ont été publiés par notre maison d'édition, en quatre volumes, chaque témoignage est passionnant et parle pour lui-même. Cette publication de témoignages obtenus, relevés par les moyens de l'histoire orale, peut servir comme preuve qu'il ne faut pas négliger d'enregistrer les témoignages qui sans cela disparaîtraient.

4. L'éducation

L'éducation des enfants se trouve naturellement au centre de la préoccupation et des pensées de la société kibboutzique. Le bien-être des enfants est important pour nous tous. Les maisons d'enfants se trouvent en général dans le centre du kibboutz. Des considérations de sécurité jouèrent un rôle dans cette décision. Mais ces considérations ne sont pas les seules. Sans doute, cette place centrale symbolise également le fait que les enfants - eux-mêmes une communauté jeune et influencée par les idées communautaires des adultes - se trouvent au centre de l'attention et de l'affection de tous les membres du collectif. Il y a environ 6 ans, un membre du plus grand kibboutz d'Israël se chargea de prendre des interviews chez ceux y vivaient pendant les années 1928 - 1938

(Le kibboutz fut fondé en 1928), les enfants de ce kibboutz, leurs parents et leurs éducatrices. Ces enfants sont aujourd'hui eux-mêmes des parents et quelques-uns même déjà grands-parents. Les parents de cette époque sont âgés et quelques-uns ne vivent plus parmi nous. C'est le même cas au sujet des éducatrices. Avec quarante ans de distance, les trois groupes ont raconté leurs expériences personnelles de l'éducation communautaire au début du kibboutz. Inutile de souligner qu'il y avait beaucoup de contradictions, même dans les plus petits détails. Le récit de chacun était très individuel. Malgré cela, nous possédons un tableau exceptionnellenent intéressant, riche et coloré, de la vie de ces enfants au début du kibboutz. Les témoignages de ces années, avec leur simplicité et leur modestie parfois exagérée (mais nécessaire), nous démontrent que beaucoup de thèmes se répètent actuellement concernant la vie des enfants qui grandissent aujourd'hui parmi nous. A propos, il faut constater que ces témoignages ont suscité beaucoup d'intérêt chez la jeune génération elle-même. Premièrement, des membres qui se taisaient habituellement et n'avaient pas trouvé le moyen de s'exprimer sur une époque tellement importante dans leur vie, ont pu libérer leurs pensées et ce qui était leurs sentiments pendant ces années très lointaines. N'oublions pas que ce sont eux qui ont vécu l'éducation communautaire, ce sont eux qui sans théories, ont contribué à la formation de cette éducation, avec ses succès et ses échecs. Deuxièmement, cette information permet, par le moyen de l'histoire orale, non seulement d'apprendre les problèmes de l'éducation elle-même mais aussi sur la vie des fondateurs du kibboutz.

5. Un kibboutz et ses problèmes

La vie et la construction d'un kibboutz pendant une période de 50-60 ans peuvent être mieux apprises par les témoignages de ses membres. Imaginons-nous un kibboutz formé de trois couches d'âge. La première: les fondateurs, aujourd'hui âgés de 65-75 ans. Ce sont eux qui ont créé les bases de ce kibboutz. La plupart d'entre eux sont venus de différents pays du monde, d'autres d'Israël même. Chacun avait son propre bagage culturel et spirituel et la mentalité de son pays d'origine. Pour un grand nombre de cette génération, l'hébreu n'était pas la langue maternelle. La venue de ces camarades au kibboutz a été motivée par un très grand élan d'idéalisme. Aujourd'hui, après des années de travail et d'activité dans différents domaines, ils se trouvent en marge de l'activité kibboutzique. Leurs occupations sont la famille, les enfants et particulièrement les petits-enfants. Mais, malgré cela, leur intérêt pour tous les problèmes d'Israël et du kibboutz n'a pas diminué. La plupart d'entre eux travaillent encore, mais la responsabilité des branches de travail et la bonne marche du kibboutz se trouvent dans les mains de la deuxième génération.

Cette deuxième couche d'âge, les fils des premiers, est aujourd'hui responsable de tout ce qui se déroule au kibboutz. Ces camarades sont, d'une part, très enracinés au kibboutz. Ils sont nés au kibboutz. La vie kibboutzique les a accompagnés dès leur naissance. Ils ont suivi l'école au kibboutz,

la plupart ont fait le service militaire - expérience qui marque très profondément la vie et la pensée des jeunes. La plupart d'entre eux ont fondé une famille dans le kibboutz. Certains ne sont pas restés dans le kibboutz d'origine et ont cherché à faire leur vie ailleurs. Dans beaucoup de questions, ils ont une autre attitude envers les problèmes de la vie. Par exemple, l'éducation, qui était totalement communautaire, est devenue plus familiale et les enfants habitent avec leurs parents. Le centre de gravité est passé de plus en plus à la famille.

La troisième génération est seulement au début de son activité. Plusieurs d'entre eux se trouvent encore au service militaire. Ceux qui ont déjà terminé ont recommencé à travailler dans les différentes branches de travail. Plusieurs d'entre eux prennent un congé d'un an pour voyager et connaître le monde: d'autres pays et d'autres types d'hommes. Pendant ces années, les jeunes décident de leur vie future: rester au kibboutz ou chercher une autre forme de vie.

Je tiens à souligner ici que cette description rapporte essentiellement les caractéristiques les plus généralisées. Ces remarques nous permettront de mieux comprendre l'exemple suivant de l'utilisation de l'histoire orale.

Il y a quelques années, une recherche sociologique - et anthropologique - fut entreprise dans un kibboutz qui existe depuis environ une cinquantaine d'années. Ce kibboutz est passé par toutes les tribulations d'Israël: les premières

années d'hésitations, de doutes, de travail dur et de lutte pour l'existence sociale et économique, depuis les années du Mandat britannique jusqu'à celles de l'État d'Israël et de ses guerres. Les membres du kibboutz ont été actifs dans tous les domaines. Ils ont participé aux luttes idéologiques au sein du mouvement kibboutziste et à celles du mouvement ouvrier. Une de ces luttes idéologiques avait amené la scission dans notre mouvement. Le résultat: un nombre assez important de membres du kibboutz, parmi eux des fondateurs, ont quitté leur kibboutz d'origine pour rejoindre un autre kibboutz. Mais tous les kibboutz touchés par cette scission ont surmonté ces années difficiles et continuent aujourd'hui leur existence normalement. La recherche entreprise dans ce kibboutz, avec le consentement de ses membres, s'était centrée sur trois sujets principaux et sur les attitudes des trois générations envers ces sujets. Les points d'intérêt étaient: Premièrement, les premières années de la construction du kibboutz, l'absorption de nouveaux venus, les questions de sécurité et la vie de famille à cette époque. Le deuxième sujet: la scission, les différences idéologiques et leurs sources, les conséquences de celle-ci pour le kibboutz et sa société, les sentiments de ceux qui décidèrent de passer à un autre kibboutz et leur réception et absorption dans ce nouveau lieu, les sentiments de ceux qui sont restés. Ici on pouvait très clairement discerner les opinions et les divergences des différentes couches d'âge. Il est important

de constater que les opinions différentes ne se répartissent pas nécessairement d'après l'âge des interviewés. Le troisième sujet: comment les différents groupes de membres du kibboutz voyaient l'organisation de la vie kibboutziste, le kibboutz et l'individu, ceux qui quittent le kibboutz - une question très douloureuse dans la société kibboutziste. Il faut constater que les participants à ces interviews qui étaient très longs et approfondis, parfois assez intimes, s'exprimaient absolument librement et franchement. Les enquêteurs ont même parfois eu l'impression que plusieurs d'entre eux étaient prêts et intéressés à parler des problèmes qui les tourmentaient et qui s'étaient accumulés chez eux pendant plusieurs années. Ce qui veut dire que cette méthode - l'histoire orale - remplit également une certaine tâche psychologique envers ceux qui parlent, qui s'expriment et par ce moyen, se débarrassent d'un fardeau psychologique.

Les conclusions

L'utilisation de l'histoire orale est très variée. Il n'existe pas un secteur de la vie humaine qui ne peut être pénétré par elle. Nous pouvons ouvrir des voies pour apprendre les différents problèmes de l'homme ou de n'importe quelle société dans ses moindres détails. Nous obtenons une connaissance plus véritable et plus réelle de ceux qui sont le but de notre recherche, même si nous connaissons la subjectivité de leur information.

Les efforts pour élargir cette méthode de travail scientifique doivent être continués. Nous connaissons non seulement les opinions de ceux qu'on entend partout ou qui aiment être entendus, mais également les opinions de personnes qui, habituellement, se taisent ou n'ont pas la possibilité d'être entendus.

Inutile de souligner que l'enregistrement du passé proche et encore accessible nous donne la possibilité de transformer les mémoires de chacun et la mémoire collective en un instrument de valeur pour le présent et le futur.

Les exemples que nous avons donnés ici de la vie de notre mouvement et de l'emploi de cette méthode historique pour mieux connaître le passé, nous montrent les possibilités très grandes qu'offre cette méthode. Elles sont nombreuses et productives.

Le problème le plus important est que les chercheurs et les informateurs potentiels comprennent la valeur de cette forme d'historiographie et soient prêts à l'employer et à y prendre part. Mais ici se pose devant nous une certaine tâche d'éducation et de préparation supplémentaires.

PERSONAL POWER AND HISTORICAL CAUSATION

Kathryn Kish Sklar

Issues of personal power used to be taken for granted in the old style history of the nineteenth century, when it was assumed that politicians and generals dominated the forces of historical change. Only in late twentieth century with our more complex views of historical process does the questions arise -- how much do individuals count? and can we explain their power in history? For over a century now Marxism has provided us with an account of historical process that subordinates individuals to larger social forces -- forces that to some extent lie beyond their control to influence. Even the most avid advocate of the role of individuals in history would/today maintain that historical change can be explained solely by the actions of individuals. Yet the question of how much individual influence shapes the course of human events is one that most historians avoid, preferring to focus on empirical data presented by specific cases rather than try to develop a theoretical framework for/systematic analysis of the personal power of individuals. Perhaps the most dominant model in historical studies today is that roughly identified with Antonio Gramsci. In Gramsci's view an individual's personal power is severely constrained by the hegemony of cultural and social structures of belief.

— These structures of belief are internalized so that individual power is limited more by its own volition than by imposition of controls from without.

This analysis helps us understand more about continuities in history than about change. It reveals more about how the structures of everyday life are maintained than how they are changed. And yet we know

that history is replete with change -- sometimes the predictable outcome, sometimes the unpredictable result of what has gone before.

In many ways our view of historical causation in/late twentieth century resembles the scientific world of quantum mechanics in which it is the total field of matter rather than any specific unit within it that is deemed worthy of analysis. Particular units are not studied because the action of any single unit or election cannot be predicted and no one unit can be said to be typical of the whole. In these intellectual circumstances in which it is whole field that matters more than any particle within it, historians have developed new and valuable skills in analyzing the experience of social groups ranging from the large and amorphous such as the "middle class", or/small and specific, such as mill workers in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1833-1845. These groups "make" history in the sense that they embody the historical processes of their time and reveal the human options and choices in a given time and place. However, they do not "make" history in the sense of determining its larger course. Indeed it might be argued that historians portray them more as consumers than the producers of historical change.

Of course there are exceptions to this general pattern. In my field of U.S. history, R. Remini's / Pulitzer prize-winning biography of Andrew Jackson is an example. Yet such remnants from an earlier age that was more confident in individual agency seem to contribute more to our problem than to solve it, for like Remini's book, most works that focus on individuals and their personal power do not move beyond the nineteenth-century's naive confidence in efficacy of individuals' efforts to shape their environment and control the destiny of themselves and others.

My remarks today are addressed to the question: What can we learn from oral history sources that we can't get from other sources, and how can that help us sharpen our understanding of historical causation? My answers to this question are tentative, yet I hope they might help us discuss some of the unique assets or oral history as well as its inevitable limitations.

My comments use my own historical research as a paradigm for the use of oral history sources. I should note at the outset, however, that my research was not designed with oral history in mind as a primary methodology. Rather, my current work relies primarily on traditional sources, such as institutional records, public or governmental sources, and personal papers. Moreover my research is not primarily concerned with groups that historians call "anonymous" or "inarticulate," but about an elite group of women and their exercise of power within the political domain. Therefore, insofar as my work is a paradigm for the use of oral history, it represents the more traditional efforts of historians to study the flow of political power within elite groups. However, my work does differ in two significant ways from those traditional efforts — my chief protagonists are women, rather than men, and they are women who consider themselves the representatives of "anonymous" or "inarticulate" or powerless groups in society.

The main question in my research is: Why were American women more important than women elsewhere in the establishment of the "social welfare state" of the late 19th and early 20th centuries? My main strategy for answering this question is to focus on one individual who was more important along these lines than any other — Florence Kelley, who was born into an elite Philadelphia family in 1859, and died in 1932. She was best known

for her work as General Secretary of the National Consumers' League from its founding in 1899, until her death. The NCL was without a doubt the single most important organization devoted to lobbying for labor legislation for women and children. As such it blazed a trail that was later followed by those advocating labor legislation for men.

Kelley's general importance is clear, and yet very little has been written about her, partly due to the technically demanding nature of the sources related to her work (much of her early work was written in German), partly due to the tendency of historians to ignore the presence of women in history, and partly due to the tendency of recent historians of women in the United States to distrust those who advocated protective labor legislation for women.

Despite these difficulties, Kelley's historical importance is clear. Nevertheless, like many historical subjects, the closer we get to it, the more ambiguous it appears in relationship to the forces of historical causation. How much of Florence Kelley's political power was due to the force of her personality and her own personal vision? How much was the result of the institutional structures she built? How much was it generated by larger forces of change, such as the replacement of child labor by technological change? Insofar as history is partly an art as well as a science, answers to these questions will always remain partly subjective. Yet insofar as history is a science that can supply definitive answers to these questions, oral history is a technique that can help us provide such answers.

Inevitably, of course, in all these categories, oral history sources, like other varieties of historical evidence, have their limitations. Some important sources are dead, and their unique repository of information is unavailable to me. Some whom I was fortunate enough to interview could not remember, or misremembered what I was interested in. Like other kinds of evidence, oral interviews require skepticism on the part of the historian until they are confirmed elsewhere, either by other interviews or other sorts of evidence. Nevertheless, unlike other kinds of sources, oral interviews allow the historian to put direct questions to her or his material and (occasionally at least) receive direct replies.

By far the largest number of replies that I received in this process confirmed what I already knew, or thought I knew. I knew, for example, that an important source of Kelley's personal power was the institutional network of women's organizations that she wove to support her legislative goals. The minutes and other written records of such organizations reveal Kelley's impact, and her ability to persuade middle class women to join her crusade for improving working and living conditions for working class women and children. Her abilities along these lines were confirmed by oral interviews with organizers who followed in her footsteps. For example, economist Mary Dublin Keyserling, who took Kelley's place as General Secretary of the National Consumers' League in the 1930's said in answer to a question about Kelley's alliance with another reformer, Lillian Wald:

I don't think Lillian Wald was involved in any way in the League's activities relating to minimum wage, [or to]... industrial home work, but they did share a great deal of effort in the field of child labor and I know they worked very closely together in activity that led to the formation of the Children's Bureau in 1912. You know it's so interesting and also I think Florence Kelley had much more to do than Lillian Wald with the formation of the Women's Bureau from about 1919-20 on. It's interesting that they involved so many women's organizations as supporters and one that's especially interesting was

The historian writing about Florence Kelley is challenged by a field of causal ambiguity present in even the most adulatory printed comments about her personal power. The best example of this was U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter's statement in 1953, in a foreword to an unfootnoted biography of Kelley by her protege, Josephine Goldmark. There Frankfurter said Kelley,

had probably the largest single share in shaping the social history of the United States during the first thirty years of this century /since/ ...during that period her was no doubt a powerful if not decisive role in securing legislation for the removal of the most glaring abuses of our hectic industrialization following the Civil War.

For the historian seeking a definitive statement about Kelley's personal power, the words "probably" and "powerful if not decisive" stand out in their ambiguity. There is no doubt that she was a powerful figure, but the causal consequences of her power are less clear.

How can the use of oral history techniques clarify our understanding of Kelley's personal power and the consequences that flowed from it? Since she was born in 1859, even the most long-lived of her contemporaries are not available for interviews, and it is only possible for me to speak with her proteges and children in the next generation who were born after 1900. Even so, their assistance in answering questions about Kelley's personal power has been quite dramatic.

Here I want to discuss three categories of aid given to me from oral interviews: (1) that which confirmed or helped confirm what I already knew; (2) that which shed new light on old facts, helping me see them in new ways; (3) that which carried me closer to the mystery of Kelley's personal charisma, an important source of her personal power.

that they had the General Federation of Women's Clubs involved and working for the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau. And today that type of organization would not be a proponent of legislation that lifts living standards....

I've thought about why they had that outreach and later one couldn't have.... We didn't work with church groups. We didn't work with the Federation of Women's Clubs. We wouldn't have. We worked with the unions and in those days they didn't — unions weren't interested in women and unions had nothing to do really with minimum wage legislation, child labor legislation, and this may be a very important reason for the stance they had to women's groups and church groups.

In this comment Mary Dublin Keyserling is not telling me anything new, and as a matter of fact she was wrong in her statement about the absence of union support for child labor legislation in the earlier period, but her remarks reinforce my understanding of the importance of women's organizations in Kelley's work. Such organizations were a necessary, but not a sufficient cause of her personal power, since they provided the grass-roots support for her legislative goals, but they cannot explain the direct effect of Kelley's personal power in the political domain.

For that effect we need to move to the second category of evidence generated by oral interviews — that which sheds new light on old facts, or helps us see familiar facts in new ways. An example of this in relationship to Kelley's work with women's organizations, and particularly with her own National Consumers' League, comes from an interview with Clara Mortenson Beyer, from a younger generation, another economist /who worked closely with Kelley in the struggle to pass and enforce minimum wage legislation. Illuminating Kelley's importance in that organizational context, Beyer said in response to a question about the origins of her own involvement with Kelley:

I...joined the Consumers League in Philadelphia and when you join the Consumers League anywhere you join Florence Kelley. She would have a staff and she was in charge in every sense. No matter what they were doing and where they were going. There was a drive behind them. She was working at that particular time on trying to eliminate the manufacturer of mens clothing for the army in sweat shops & homework. and so I volunteered to help in going to the homes of these people and writing the report on the tragedies that we saw on every side.

...All I swore then was that if ever I could get in my licks on industrial homework I would do it. But I could see how Florence Kelley was able, with facts that were gotten there, (and I dare say the Consumers' League in other places had gathered more information too,) so that she was able to get Newton D. Baker, who was an active supporter of the Consumers' League, and was Secretary of War, to listen to her and listen to a program that she had outlined of how they could eliminate homework on those uniforms.

On the basis of written records, primarily Kelley's voluminous correspondence, I had tentatively concluded /that it was not only the organizational network she built, but also the driving force of her personality and commitment within it that explained her personal power, but not until my interview with Clara Beyer did I have direct evidence to support that conclusion. Her statements shed new light on the picture I had of Kelley's importance within her organizational network.

More light on the organizational dynamics within which Kelley worked was provided by her daughter-in-law, Augusta Kelley, who noted that "she really had a hard time with that [Executive Board] committee [of] the Consumers' League because they were providing the money to carry the thing on and [if] she didn't bring in enough ideas for them to pursue, well...she was wondering if they would continue her." Nowhere else do I have evidence that Kelley was nervous about retaining her job, on which she depended for her own support and for the support of her three children. To Augusta's information I have to add my own — that Kelley had plenty of ideas, but needed to find the right ones that would be supported by her more conservative Board members.

In addition to confirming what I already knew and shedding new light on contexts with which I was partly familiar, my oral interviews have also provided me with completely new information. For example Mary Keyserling told me that Kelley's extensive travels around the United States were paid for locally by local consumers' leagues and other organizations before whom she spoke. The National League's finances make no reference to the support of her travels, and I wondered whether she paid for them out of her own pocket.

Ultimately, however, the greatest value of the evidence I gathered orally about Florence Kelley's personal and political power was that which helped me understand her personal charisma. Ultimately it was her qualities of personal charisma that lay behind much of her successful organizing, much of her ability to persuade people like Newton Baker as Secretary of War to support her work, and that lay behind her ability to attract talented proteges like Clara Beyer. In spite of its importance, however, written sources tend to overlook the qualities of Kelley's personal charisma, emphasizing instead her tremendous energy and her great intelligence as the chief sources of her accomplishments. Very few written sources help us understand why Newton Baker said in a eulogy after Kelley's death, "Everybody was brave from the moment she entered the room." Perhaps the most helpful written source was a sketch of Kelley written/by her close friend, Paul Kellogg, editor of the reform magazine, The Survey. He emphasized Kelley's ability to dramatize the fact about which she spoke.

If you were to pick out four things which particularly distinguish Mrs. Kelley's work, it would be her courage, her democracy, her ability to see through shams and the conventional crust of things to the human story which lies under them (a faculty as distinctive and individual as the reporter's "nose for news"), and her ability to size up a fundamental dramatic situation or cause in an i-ea or a phrase which lays hold of men's minds. She it was who first drew the picture of a federal government which prote-ts the cotton plants of the country against boll weevil but lets its children go to rot without thought of the morrow. Since her first speaking of it, the idea has been phrased by a hundred tongues....

Fearless, caustic, possessed of a true Irish sense of humor, fair, unambiguous, demanding fairness and unequivocation from others; thorough, self forgetting, ruthless in the investment of her strength and time in the causes close to her heart; robust and thrilling in the strength of her loyalties to humanity, Mrs. Kelley is a prophet of the generations who will know a juster distribution of the wealth which the American continent spreads out for the uses of life.

While this written characterization does much to paint a complete portrait of Kelley's personal characteristics, it still leaves us wondering about the effect of Kelley on her audiences, and what it was beyond her effective use of dramatic ideas, such as the comparison of children and cotton, that accounts for the powerful appeal she had among her contemporaries. By asking those who heard her to explain it further, it seems to me we are able to increase our understanding of her personal power very significantly.

From oral interviews we learn that what Kelley was able to do was convey her own passion to others. Partly thus was due to the dramatic talents mentioned in Kellogg's sketch.^{As} Clara Beyer put it:

I got to know Florence Kelley quite well and her methodology of just sticking with it and her brilliant exposition of the conditions under which these women worked. You could just visualize that women, her house crowded to the gills with uniforms piled up, and taking up all the space they had for living. It was very dramatic. She was a born actress in the way she could get her feelings and her observations across to others and every eye would be on her while she was talking. No distractions.

Another valuable comment on Florence Kelley's charismatic qualities came from her grand-daughter, Florence Kelley, an important judge in New York City. In answer to my question, "Was she a very noticeable presence in any room she entered?" Judge Kelley replied:

Not right away, but it didn't take long. Also I've heard from people that were in colleges when she used to go around and talk....She had a not very attractive voice. It was shrill and when she was tired it would go high. I talked to one man and I forgot who he was. He said, "There she was -- this chunky woman in this horrible black dress and talking in this high parched voice." And he said, "She had me on the edge of my seat and when she was finished I stood up and cheered until the tears poured down my face because her sincerity and her passion were so tremendous." And he said, "They lifted me right up by the seat of my pants." And I think that's what she did. She had this passionate feeling about people.

...You know, all she had to do is start to tell you about something and she had you in the palm of her hand. I thought this man was right when he told that it was the passion, absolute passion of caring. Not just caring, passionate caring. I don't think I've ever struck it since.

The mystery of Florence Kelley's personal power is partly resolved when we understand that her personal effect on others was to convey her own passionate caring to them. Somehow the written sources only go part way toward that understanding.

Nevertheless an ultimate mystery remains, which is the mystery of one human's effect on another. Perhaps that is a mystery that historians cannot ultimately penetrate without the assistance of religion and poetry and literature. Here I agree with Max Weber who spoke of the religious qualities of compassion/^{and} self-sacrifice that were part of personal charisma. Weber himself appreciated Kelley in these terms, for at the conclusion of his 1904 visit to the United States he said that Florence Kelley, "the woman factory inspector," was "the most significant person we have met," since "she made us feel the weight of the evil of the capitalist system."

Historians would do well to reread Weber on personal charisma in their effort to understand the workings of personal power in history. Certainly historians whose work permits it should expand their use of oral interviews to enable them to understand how personal power affects historical change. But ultimately they may need to resort to the symbolism of religion and literature fully to comprehend the dimensions of personal power in history.

POUVOIR. DIFF. LE POUVOIR.

L'étude qui suit s'appuie sur une enquête orale menée depuis 1977 dans la région Aix-Marseille et concernant la période 1930-45. Le corpus comporte actuellement environ deux cent cinquante interviews -dont beaucoup sont des histoires de vie- de femmes et d'hommes d'origine sociale, et souvent géographique, diverses (2).

Marie-Claude TARANGER

mes récits d'histoire orale le pouvoir est, plus qu'un objet, un enjeu. Il n'existe en effet que dans et par le discours qui le constitue comme tel. Dans les faits, certes, bien des situations sont liées à des phénomènes de pouvoir : certains commandent et d'autres obéissent, certains défont et d'autres subissent ; ainsi dans nos récits, d'un côté les patrons, les parents, les colonisateurs, ou, pendant la guerre, les vainqueurs, et de l'autre, les ouvriers, les employés, les enfants, les colonisés, les vaincus ; les multiples aspects de l'oppression, de la répression, de la hiérarchie, de la misère qu'évoquent les interviews sont manifestement les conséquences d'une certaine répartition du pouvoir. Le pouvoir lui-même cependant est parfois remarquablement absent de la répartition de ses conséquences ; il semble alors qu'il y a la misère, l'inégalité, l'effil ou la guerre, comme il y a la plume et les saisons : sans que les récits évoquent le moins la morale les phénomènes de pouvoir que suppose l'ordre du monde qu'ils décrivent.

Lorsqu'on parle de pouvoir ou, plus précisément, lorsqu'on évoque ses manifestations ou sa répartition, il s'agit donc d'un choix dans la présentation des faits, d'une interprétation. Le pouvoir n'est pas une donnée des situations racontées, mais un produit du récit qui le dit.

Pour que le pouvoir émerge aussi au récit, pour qu'à l'évocation du travail, de la famille, de la guerre même s'associe l'évocation d'une contrainte, il faut dans la plupart de nos récits que soient remplies certaines conditions, respectées certaines règles, qui semblent seules autoriser à dire le pouvoir. Ce sont ces règles que je voudrais évoquer.

Constatation préalable : dans nos interviews, que la contractante dont on parle soit physique, institutionnelle ou symbolique, le pouvoir est quasiment toujours connoté négativement. Aussi, ceux qui l'ont subi l'évoquent-ils pour le dénoncer. Quant à ceux qui l'ont exercé, ils l'évoquent rarement, et en général sur le mode de la dénégation : le rapport de la patronne à la domestique, du colonisateur au colonisé (1) n'est pas présenté comme un rapport de pouvoir, mais comme une répartition des responsabilités bénéfique pour tout le monde, et qui ne peut de ce fait qu'être librement consentie ; l'évocation concrète des bénéfices qu'en retirent les domestiques (vie plus confortable, plus sûre) ou les indigènes (baisse de la mortalité infantile), la mention insistante de leur adhésion viennent régulièrement cautionner la négation du pouvoir comme tel. Et dans les rares cas où on reconnaît explicitement le pouvoir, on marque tout de même, d'une façon ou d'une autre, la distance qu'on prend à son égard : ainsi, ce dirigeant de la résistance, qui après avoir évoqué l'importance du secteur qu'il commandait et le nombre des hommes qu'il dirigeait, décrit le défilé triomphal de la libération ; mais, de cette consécration de son pouvoir, il est curieusement absent : mêlé à la foule, loin des honneurs, il se décrit seul, et méritant sur la consécration humaine (2). Exemple significatif de la connotation négative qui s'attache à l'évocation du pouvoir, et qui fait qu'au total, lorsqu'on dit le pouvoir, c'est beaucoup plus souvent pour dénoncer un pouvoir qu'on a subi que pour revendiquer un pouvoir qu'on a exercé.

L'incarnation du pouvoir.

Pour qu'on dise, et par là qu'on dénonce, un pouvoir qu'on a subi il faut première condition- que ce pouvoir ait un visage : qu'il y ait, dans le récit, un individu (ou une instance incarnée par des individus) dont on peut reconnaître qu'il exerce le pouvoir. Ainsi, les mêmes situations (travail accablant ou pénurie sous l'occupation) sont-elles dites ou non en termes de pouvoir, avec mention de la contractante, subissant qu'on peut ou non répéter le visage que prend ce pouvoir.

Premier exemple : le travail. La dureté du travail agricole, entre les deux guerres, parfois très précisément décrite, tend à être évoquée en termes de fatalité, comme une situation donnée, dont les causes sont "naturelles" (par exemple, si un homme meurt, jeune, de maladie, c'est parce que, dernier enfant d'une famille nombreuse, il doit à ce fait une constitution fragile (3). En revanche, la dureté du travail ouvrier, souvent décrite en termes comparables (thème commun par exemple du manque de sommeil), est très souvent mise en relation avec un pouvoir patronal : sur les salaires ou les conditions de travail, il y a des ajustements où se manifestent - et parfois se modifient - les rapports de pouvoir : avec les contremaîtres ou les directeurs, qui briment, licencient ou cèdent (4). Le pouvoir ici peut entrer en scène parce qu'il a un représentant.

Deuxième exemple : la seconde guerre mondiale et l'évacuation. L'évacuation de la déportée et des déportés ne véritablement est très générale dans les interventions. Le plus souvent, elle est présentée comme une donnée qu'on ne peut que constater : il n'y a plus rien à changer, on fait la queue (5), point. Plus rarement, elle est évoquée en relation avec l'occupation allemande en France ; et cela, dans les cas où les narrateurs ont directement constaté le partage inégal des ressources entre occupants et occupés, ici avec des soldats allemands nichés sur un charnement de terre qu'ils languent, par jeu, sur elles, là avec des officiers organisant une fête avec champagne et petits fours (6). On peut donc dire que, dans le cas général, le pouvoir pour être dénoncé doit avoir un visage : l'occupant, le pouvoir pour être dénoncé, est politique, ou le pouvoir n'a pas le visage d'un ou de quelques individus, renoués dans une situation concrète, et où on le désigne autrement, en termes plus généraux ("en", "ils", "la bourgeoisie", "les fascistes"...) (7).

Conséquence de cette situation : le pouvoir qu'on dénonce est très généralement le pouvoir proche (patrons, contremaîtres, occupants du village, supérieur immédiat) et très rarement le pouvoir lointain, qu'on ne voit pas. Pour la même raison, on préfère parfois le pouvoir - et l'abus - à partir du seul épisode concret où on l'a vu s'exercer, en dehors de toute appréciation générale de la situation : par exemple, toujours per-

tant la guerre, on condamne les résistants parce qu'ils ont emmené ou écarté quelqu'un qu'on connaissait (8), et que ce fait seul émerge en de tels termes.

La question de la légitimité.

Le pouvoir qu'on subit n'est également rit - et dénoncé - comme pouvoir que dans la mesure où on peut en même temps le présenter comme illégitime.

Un exemple très clair est ici donné par la relation entre parents et enfants. Relation d'autorité, donc de pouvoir, elle n'est quasiment jamais présentée comme telle, ni critiquée, sauf dans quelques cas exceptionnels où sa légitimité est contestée.

Par exemple, par une narratrice, orpheline de mère, qui a vécu son enfance chez sa tante, et insiste sur l'autorité abusive qu'on exerçait sur elle, en la surchargeant de travail domestique, en limitant et en contrôlant de très près ses distractions (9). La dénonciation du pouvoir "parental" est possible ici parce qu'il est véritablement illégitime : à la fois parce que la jeune fille est traitée autrement, et plus durement que ses cousins, et surtout sans doute parce que la tante est une mère "illégitime".

Autre cas : celui d'un immigré juif autrichien qui a quitté sa famille le 14 juin de son adolescence, après plusieurs fugues, et qui instruit le procès de son père et des valeurs religieuses qui formaient sa vie et dans lesquelles lui-même a, depuis toujours, refusé d'être enjonné (10). Cette contestation, exceptionnelle et claire et explicite, des valeurs que tente d'imposer l'autorité paternelle, permet l'évacuation directe, et la mise en question de cette autorité.

Autre exemple, dans le monde du travail, cette fois, avec l'autorité patronale. Elle n'est présentée comme pouvoir, que lorsqu'on instruit en même temps le procès des patrons, injurieux ou autoritaires, qui exploitent, humilient ou laissent (11).

Lorsqu'on ne dénonce pas les effets du pouvoir, on n'évoque pas le pouvoir comme tel : il y a, même dans des récits de syndicalistes, de

"bons" patrons, à qui on ne reproche rien, et que, de ce fait, on n'évoque guère comme patrons (12).

Inversement, si on présente nécessairement comme illégitime le pouvoir qu'on subit et qu'on dénonce, on présente en général comme légitime le pouvoir qu'on dit avoir eu : ceux et celles qui parlent de directions qu'ils ont exercées, dans des entreprises, ou des partis par exemple, évoquent en même temps leur compétence et le bien commun. Une marque de cette légitimité est souvent donnée par la façon dont, dit-on, ceux-là mêmes qui subissent le pouvoir l'acceptent, voire le réclament. Témoins l'anecdote de cette institutrice qui exerçait dans l'Oranais et avait à affronter l'indiscipline de ses jeunes élèves -des garçons- ; des collègues lui conseillaient de les battre : elle hésite, puis se résigne, et demande finalement à ses élèves de lui apporter un bâton ; ils sont si nombreux à satisfaire sa demande -et à la reconnaître par là comme légitime- qu'elle ne sait lequel choisir. (14)

Rares sont de toute façon les cas où même l'évocation de fonctions de commandement se fait en termes de reconnaissance du pouvoir : en général, en même temps qu'on insiste sur la légitimité de la contrainte qu'on a vu occasionnellement exercer, par exemple pour imposer dans la Résistance une ligne de conduite ou pour rappeler à l'ordre une secrétaire toujours en retard (15), on insiste sur le fait qu'on n'était que l'instrument d'une cause supérieure, et qu'un relatif circonstanciel du pouvoir. Ainsi se marque une distance de l'individu au pouvoir qui semble une autre condition pour pouvoir en parler.

La distance.

Car le pouvoir ne semble en général pouvoir être dit que dans la mesure où on peut varier d'une façon ou d'une autre qu'on en est loin.

J'ai déjà cité des exemples où les narrateurs évoquent le pouvoir qu'ils ont exercé en s'en démarquant d'une quelconque manière (cf. pp. 2 et 6). De même pour le pouvoir subi : on n'en parle que dans la mesure où on n'en est pas solidaire, par exemple où on n'en est pas, de quelque façon, bénéficiaire, où on n'est pas lié à lui par les liens de dépendance matérielle ou affective trop présents ou trop forts.

C'est ce qui explique que le pouvoir parental (ou marital) soit rarement évoqué directement et précisément. Même quand on a eu à en souffrir, on n'en parle qu'en termes vagues et voilés, par exemple dans le cas de cette jeune femme rejetée par sa famille à cause de son divorce à la fin des années 30 (16) ; situation comparable pour cette jeune fille d'origine autrichienne dont le père, dirigeant communiste, a été exécuté à Moscou dans les années 30 à la suite d'un des premiers procès du genre (17) : toujours communiste, elle est extrêmement discrète sur cet épisode.

De même encore, lorsqu'on parle de patrons pour qui on travaille toujours (18) : il est beaucoup plus difficile d'évoquer leur pouvoir que lorsqu'il s'agit de patrons à qui on a rendu son tablier, et dont on dénonce parfois avec vigueur les injustices et les abus (19).

La solidarité qui empêche de dire le pouvoir comme tel peut être -les exemples cités le montrent- matérielle, affective, morale ou idéologique- Aussi peut-on dénoncer un pouvoir dont on a été solidaire, auquel on a participé, si dans le présent on s'en désolidarise. Ainsi plusieurs personnes qui ont, à l'époque, approuvé les représailles de la Résistance, vis-à-vis des fermes touchées par exemple, ou même y ont participé, déplorent dans leurs récits cet abus de pouvoir, dont elles contestent aujourd'hui le bien-fondé (20). Inversement, lorsque la légitimité de l'action n'est pas mise en cause, le récit ne fait apparaître, pour les mêmes faits, ni pouvoir ni abus : c'est le cas dans l'interview d'une ancienne déportée (21).

Et si l'occupation allemande en France apparaît très généralement comme un fait de pouvoir, c'est bien évidemment parce que plus personne ne se prétend, dans nos récits, solidaire des valeurs qui l'appuyaient.

L'équilibre.

Quatrième condition : on ne dit, semble-t-il, le pouvoir qu'en disant en même temps la contestation dont il est l'objet.

Ici côté de ceux qui l'exercent, le pouvoir qu'on a n'est jamais assuré : aux "colonies" par exemple, ou même dans l'entreprise, c'est parce que l'ordre qu'il garantit est menacé, et qu'il y a une opposition

à vaincre, qu'on évoque des actions de force et d'autorité (22).

De façon plus surprenante peut-être, ceux qui ont subi un pouvoir ne l'évoquent qu'en même temps qu'ils disent l'avoir renversé ou combattu au moins symboliquement, l'avoir nié, y avoir échappé .

Par exemple, les narrateurs qui évoquent le pouvoir parental, racontent également comment ils y ont échappé, ou le narraient : Le fils est parti ; la nièce désobéissait à sa tante et allait rejoindre en cachette son boyfriend (23).

De même, à l'égard des patrons, les épisodes sont nombreux où curieux et domestiques défient, refusent, font la leçon même, et montent par là qu'ils ramenaient moins symboliquement, ce pouvoir qu'ils dénoncent.

Les révoltes symboliques sont plus fréquentes et plus systématiques encore à l'égard de l'occupation aliénante : les récits journaliers d'épisodes où on ramène l'occupant, en refusant le lever au couloir (24), en confaçonnant en secret un drapeau américain (25), en refusant de ramasser les pommes de terre qu'il vous jette avec mépris (27), en jouant des cerises pour charmer malgré tout "le temps des cerises" (28) ; enfin, tout simplement, en lui risant "merde" (29). Le fait est d'ailleurs tant plus frappant que les récits ne laissent par ailleurs guère de doute sur le rapport de pouvoir effectif et la supériorité des vainqueurs : mais il est significatif que cette supériorité ne soit citée, et même renommée, qu'en étant en même temps contestée par la mise en valeur d'épisodes où les narrateurs échappent au pouvoir, ou le renversent. Et la même constatation vaut pour les récits de répartition, qui se construisent toujours, dans nos interviews, à la fois comme récits d'oppression et comme récits de résistance (30).

Ainsi, les interviewés ne disent-elles le pouvoir qu'à certaines conditions liées surtout d'une part à l'évaluation négative qui est très généralement faite du phénomène, d'autre part à la nécessité, pour le saisir et pour en parler, de se constituer en sujet, face à lui, et en dehors de lui.

Dans l'application des règles qui forment ainsi forme au discours sur le pouvoir se révèle parfois de façon jactante le jeu de l'inter-

prétation qui fonde le récit. La logique de la résistance au pouvoir qu'on a subi et qu'on dénonce entraîne parfois des réinterprétations manifestes des faits : ainsi dans le récit de celui qui était un enfant au début des années 40 et présente comme une manifestation de patrio-tisme destinée à rassurer l'occupant le lever au couloir imposé dans les écoles par le régime du maréchal Pétain (31). D'autres fois, la nécessité de dénoncer le pouvoir, impose de construire le récit sur la sédition, ou la mise en valeur, des seuls épisodes où l'on peut s'opposer à un pouvoir plus fort, et mauvais, en n'insistant guère sur les moments où le rapport de force est autre (32). D'une façon générale, la situation dans laquelle les narrateurs se trouvent au présent, la position qu'ils occupent par rapport au pouvoir d'hier, l'évaluation qu'ils en font, corrélativement et la possibilité de dire ce pouvoir et la manière de le dire.

Ainsi le visage du pouvoir, comme celui des autres phénomènes sociaux mais plus nettement peut-être, se dessine-t-il dans la rencontre du présent et du passé, des faits et des idées.

NOTES

- (a) L'enquête orale considérée ici est menée depuis 1977 dans le cadre de l'Université de Provence, en collaboration avec Anne Roche et Philippe Joutard.
- (1) Exemples dans les interviews n° 169 et 193, réalisées par Véronique Lorand et Marie-Catherine Ettori.
- (2) Interview n° 78 réalisée par Anne Roche et Marie-Claude Taranger.
- (3) Cf. interview n° 183 réalisée par Michel Grac.
- (4) Exemples dans les interviews n° 129, 230, 76 et 78, réalisées par Florence Joulé, Catherine Le Contel, Anne Roche et Marie-Claude Taranger.
- (5) Cf. interviews n° 224 et 252 réalisées par Agnès Gimat et Catherine Amarger.
- (6) Cf. interviews n° 156 et 213 réalisées par Agnès Lizy et Marie-Christine Vanni.
- (7) Cf. interviews n° 230, 76 et 78 déjà citées.
- (8) Exemple dans l'interview n° 224 déjà citée.
- (9) Cf. interview n° 231 réalisée par Evelyne Agapidis.
- (10) Cf. interview n° 288, réalisée par Jean-François Junqua.
- (11) Cf. interviews n° 230, 76 et 78, déjà citées.
- (12) Cf. interview n° 176 réalisée par Sylvie Minassian.
- (13) Cf. interviews n° 230 et 78, déjà citées.
- (14) Cf. interview n° 295 réalisée par Jacqueline Djian.
- (15) Cf. interview n° 230 et 78, déjà citées.
- (16) Cf. interview n° 223 réalisée par Rose Arriaga.
- (17) Cf. interview n° 207 réalisée par Nathalie Tessier.
- (18) Cf. interview n° 169 déjà citée.
- (19) Cf. interview n° 304 réalisée par Jeanine Baude.
- (20) Cf. interview n° 223, déjà citée.
- (21) Cf. interview n° 304 déjà citée.
- (22) Cf. interviews n° 193, déjà citée, et 251, réalisée par Christiane Romees.
- (23) Cf. interview n° 231 et 288 déjà citées.
- (24) Cf. interview n° 174, réalisée par Florence Paravy.
- (25) Cf. interview n° 243 réalisée par Pascale Jappert.
- (27) Cf. interview n° 213 déjà citée.
- (28) Cf. interview n° 119 réalisée par Anne Roche.
- (29) Cf. interview n° 156 déjà citée.
- (30) Cf. interview n° 304 déjà citée et 317 réalisée par Catherine Dauge.
- (31) Cf. interview n° 243 déjà citée.
- (32) Cf. interview n° 76 déjà citée.

THE OVER-POLITICIZATION OF KINSHIP RELATIONS IN INDUSTRIAL COLONIES. A CASE STUDY.

Ignasi TERRADAS SABORIT

Overpolitization in kinship relations means the suffusion and determination of kinship relations and their contents by political concerns of factory labour relations. In the colony the roles of the individual in their social network were interconnected with the labour role in such a way that success was achieved in both or none: the political stability of labour relations was inextricably linked to the stability of kinship relations. Good performance in the factory ensured acceptance and support by relatives.

Within the socialization process of the nuclear family there appears a feature which contrasts the colony with other situations. Children in the colony were brought up by indoctrination and by reinforcement of the social order inherent to the factory system. In contrast, in non-colony industrial situations, the relations of obedience, respect and dread involved in children's factory relations could be softened and compensated by the feelings displayed within the family. Some of the colony workers discussing their family education mention that if they were beaten in the factory they would be beaten also by their parents. In this context informants stress the attitudes of respect and dread towards their fathers and how that related to the factory. Informants use the term "dread" (in Catalan, temor) to refer to the past attitude of children in relation to their fathers. This disciplinary side of the father-child relation estranged trust and familiarity. Within the family inhibition was considered respectful and respect had to lead to inhibition. Some informants stressed the fact that chil-

dren often consulted their mothers before talking to their fathers. The father or the mother controlled the total income of the children. Even single adults gave their salary to the father or the mother for re-distribution. The economic head of the family in terms of household consumption was usually the mother. Only a few families were administered by the father.

The managers took into account the discipline standards of the family of a future worker before recruitment. According to informants, this happened more in colonies than in other places. Also, the priest intervened to assess the moral standards of families whose members were recruited. The appearance of "order" in a family was stressed in everyday affairs. Informants agree that the attitude sought in socialization was mainly submission. And this submission was clearly orientated to factory relations. In the colony even the demons that are used to frighten children and compel them to obey, were factory supervisors. Overpolitization, the strengthening of power in kinship relations, was felt since early childhood.

On the other hand, the stress placed by the family on feelings of respect, discipline and dread, reduces intimacy. Over-politicized socialization within the family results in a loss of trust among the young people in their parents capacity to deal with personal problems. Thus, close relatives are estranged and adolescents are especially subject to the ambivalences this conflict of values creates. Not surprisingly, contradictory tendencies result from this situation. Some choose to opt out by migrating, while others commit themselves even more strongly to the system and to the attitudes approved

by both family and factory as a means of obtaining the "rewards" of obedience. Thus it can be seen that the content of kinship relations and also their form (alliances, avoidances, conflicts) reflect over-politicization. My research indicated how close was the political framework of the colony to the local system of caciquismo-patronage typical of rural communities in which the intervention of the central state is negligible. During my fieldwork in the colony, I increasingly sensed the existence of a set of implicit relationships that influenced questions such as job allocation and promotion, cultural leadership in artistic and related activities etc. Then in tracing the genealogies of about 60 families for four generations, I realised the correspondence between types of factory jobs and groups of families. Some jobs could even be considered "inherited", others as reproducing a similar status to that of the previous generation and so on. In other words, the distribution of jobs within the families was not at all random either economically or politically. It became clear that the influence of sets of families in controlling and getting jobs in the factory was an important part of the political structure of the colony.

But this issue, though very important for the understanding of the dynamics of the colony system, was somewhat concealed by the informants. Obviously it could be embarrassing, difficult and conflictive to stress this situation. Increasingly I became aware of how much kinship relations accounted for the politics of the colony system. It was not just the control of the millowner and manager, but the less --

evident control of several kinship groups that defined the political order of the colony system. With de-colonization these procedures have increasingly disappeared. But they accounted for the traditional shape of the colony.

The formal analysis I present of these relations that are part of the invisible side of society, are, for this same reason, impossible to test explicitly. Only a theoretical framework can provide the basis for their explanation. This framework has been developed with the analysis of the kinship cards of the six families surveyed in terms of individual occupations and residence.

Thus, I attempted a formal analysis of the formation of kinship groups to help clarify the internal political structure of the colony. Three types of family joint political positions can be distinguished. These, I denominate as blocs. Each one of these blocs, and this justifies this denomination, represents a political alternative that could be fulfilled without the active support of the others. The dominion of the first bloc over the others is what defines the colony system as the only possible alternative, making the other blocs subordinate to it.

The first kinship bloc is constituted by the families which are traditionally linked to the managerial and supervisory posts. (I) Some of these families have held such positions since the foundation of the colony. Also, the members of these families who are surplus" to the limited amount of privileged jobs in the factory have been leaving the colony to occupy posts of similar economic importance in other factories.

As representatives of the first bloc we can consider the case of a landless labourer who came from Aragon in the early 1870s.

According to a descendent of this family, he came possibly because during his military service he was acquainted with the interior area of Catalonia and realised its economic possibilities. He worked on the building of the colony and married a girl from a nearby township. He became notorious for his commitment to the interests of the millowner. After the first lock-out during the building of the factory, he was rehired and promoted to be man in charge of the works.

He can be considered to be the first manager while the textile colony was under construction. The couple had six sons. Of these, four took religious orders and the other two remained in the Colony. One of them became manager of the weaving section and the other a foreman. The manager married a girl, daughter of a flour mill owner from the Cardoner. The woman's family consisted of two brothers and two sisters. One of the brothers was an industrialist with a business of his own. His sons also became industrialists in the same town and in Manresa. The other brother-in-law migrated to Argentina where he worked in a shop. The two sisters-in-law married a baker and a wine merchant. All these women were housewives. They never worked as salaried people.

The foreman married a weaver inside the Colony. They had five sons. One became an accountant in Barcelona, another a textile manager in another colony of the Upper Llobregat, two engaged in trade in Barcelona and a girl became a weaver marrying the shopkeeper of the colony shop.

The manager of the weaving section had eight children. Two of them took religious orders. A girl married the new shopkeeper of the colony and another married the manager of another textile colony in the Upper Llobregat.

A son became the general manager of the colony marrying a daughter of a landholding family of the pre-Pyrenean area. Another girl remained single living with her parents without working in the factory. Another girl married the manager of another colony of the Upper Llobregat. This manager was the nephew of the wife of the foreman mentioned above. This is a case of another family intermarrying with the first managerial family. This other family came from the same comarca and were originally constituted by a foreman and a weaver both working in the Colony. He came from a peasant village where he was working as a landless labourer on a farmstead. She was the daughter of shareholders of a township about eight miles north in the Llobregat. They had six children. One became nightwatchman in Barcelona. Another was a housewife in Lerida. A girl remained single working as a spinner in the factory and a brother and a sister became priest and majordoma (priest's servant). The other son became foreman in the Colony marrying a weaver.

This couple, foreman and weaver, had six children. One was the man already mentioned who married the sister of the general manager. Another son became the shopkeeper of the colony shop. Two children died young and the other son became office manager.

Daughter of the weaving manager mentioned above married the manager of the spinning-finishing section. His parents were a winder and a foreman working in the Colony. The foreman's father worked in the construction of the factory as a mason. He was previously a peasant in the same comarca and his wife became a weaver in the factory. This couple had seven children apart from the foreman. One of them also became foreman and ma-

ried a weaver of the same factory. Another worked as a plumber in Berga. Another worked in electric engineering in Manresa. A son took religious orders and two daughters remained single, working as weavers. Another married a senior clerical employee of the Colony.

I stop the account here. It illustrates the importance of working on the construction of the colony for commitment to the interests of the millowner, showing how the top available jobs in the colony and in the area became distributed among members of the same extended family.

The second bloc of families stands below the first -- one in a political and economic sense and its achievement in the colony system has been that of obtaining full employment -- for almost all their relatives. Consequently, this bloc has a low migration rate in comparison with the other blocs and also lower social mobility and higher occupational homogeneity. This homogeneity crystallizes in "families of weavers", "of foremen"; families where occupations are "inherited" and extended to other relatives.

As illustration of this second kinship bloc we can consider the case of a peasant from the pre-Pyrenean area who came at the turn of the century to work in the Colony as a weaver. He was single and was living in a nearby farmstead -- commuting daily to the factory. He married a weaver there and went to live in the colony. She came from a family of peasant hand-loom weavers less than half a mile from the Colony. The family remained in a masoveria (tenant farmstead).

This couple had seven sons. One daughter became a nun.

Two died from Typhoid. Another drowned with his nephew in the Llobregat. Another became a foreman and moved later to Manresa. Another son became a weaver in the Colony and married a weaver from the same factory. The other son became foreman in the Colony. He married a girl that was staying in the "girls house" of the colony. Her sisters (four) were also there. They worked as spinners and weavers in the colony. They came from the village of Sta. Maria de Merles where their family was in charge of a tenant farm (masoveria).

This last couple (foreman and spinner) had a daughter -- who also worked as a spinner in the Colony marrying a man from there who became a clerk in another colony. They also had a son who still works in the spinning section of the Colony and is married to a weaver of the same factory. She has three brothers. One works as a mechanic in the Colony and is married to a weaver. Another is an electrician who is also married to a weaver. And the other is a woman working in weaving finishing, married to a foreman.

This example illustrates the persistence and concentration of factory jobs in the same colony among the family. Despite being historically newcomers in comparison to the first bloc, the family has consolidated second rank jobs for almost all its members and have held the same job persistently.

The third bloc does not follow the orthodox pattern of the colony system. In this bloc are the families who, in certain periods and in certain ways, attempted to provide an alternative to the hegemonic pattern of kinship political relations and attitudes within the colony system.

As an illustration of the types of families of the third bloc we can consider the case of an isolated family which is re-

show a decrease in functional security and promotion within the colony and related places such as other colonies.

Within these blocs, I analysed the following variables a) the correlation between social mobility and geographical dispersal; b) family size through generational and occupational changes; c) marriage strategies with respect social mobility and occupations; d) celibacy and its distribution; e) migration. (2) The study of these variables shows further differences within the blocs that permit their sub-division into groups.

The political formation of kinship blocs at first suggests that the colony system may be a typical sample of caciquismo. But it is necessary to differentiate the subjective and historical perspectives in relation to caciquismo. Subjectively, caciquismo has been viewed as the myth of the petty bourgeoisie refusing to accept the political struggle as class struggle (Ortiz 1975). Historically, caciques have existed as a form of private despotism ruling over areas isolated from central government, or with the acquiescence of government. In Spanish political history local caciquismo is studied mainly in terms of its linkage to a national oligarchy (Ortiz, Costa, 1975). In the colony, caciquismo has only an internal manifestation without a political relation to a national oligarchy. In this sense, colony caciquismo is reduced to those forms of patronage and paternalism that over-politicize kinship and social network relations. Colony caciquismo could be adequately described as the assemblage of dyadic and polyadic vertical coalitions (of Wolf 1969, 1971) of patronage.

The source of patronage in the colony was constituted by the first kinship bloc. This bloc was highly influenced by

duced in numbers. The non-conformist position of such families accounts for their relative isolation within the colony. This family originates in two places. One is the comarca of Bages in mid-Llobregat and the other is the town of Cardona. The father of the branch from Cardona was a mason and had five children. Of these, one became a baker and afterwards went to work in the colony shop. He married a weaver in the Colony who was the daughter of the peasant family mentioned above from the Bages. She came first as a maid to one of the families of the colony. This marriage had four male children who all became weavers in the Colony. One migrated to France around 1926 as a consequence of his participation in the political events of the 1920s, although his position was moderate leftist. Another brother left for France in the same period and for similar reasons. Another was fired in 1928, also for political reasons. They could not marry inside the Colony and a couple of them remained celibate. The last brother was also politically active and after the Civil War, he tried to find work in other places. However, he returned to the Colony. In spite of his political position he was welcomed back because of his moderate and benevolent influence during the Civil War period. He married a weaver in the Colony and stayed there. His son is leaving the Colony.

It can be seen that the samples, ranging from the first to the third kinship bloc, show increasingly less in terms of marriage, more job concentration, more emigration for reasons other than promotion and a decrease in the number of children which is also related to late marriage. The samples

the manager's policies and his close relatives. Several informants agreed that now that the manager has decided to leave outside the colony, a decisive step has been taken to "decolonize" the factory. They implied that political control inside the colony has lost one of its formal agents. Others comment (especially old people) that while the caciquista danger has disappeared indifference may replace paternalism. The master-employee relation has become more impersonal and distant in the eyes of the people used to the traditional relationships.

In terms of the variables set out above, this first bloc can be sub-divided into four kinship groups. The first of these is the dominant group of families occupying the top jobs in the factory. This group, taken in four generations, consists in 130 individuals of both sexes. The group includes a total of 36 marriages. Five of these have been realized in terms of hypogamous social mobility. (3) The group has only one hypergamic marriage in the present generation which is also exogamic to the colony. On the other hand, the other 30 marriages are endogamous to the three descent branches which form this group. These marriages are characterized by their stability in terms of social mobility; they are contracted between families of the same "status".

In terms of individual social mobility there are 52 people who are upwardly mobile, (4) one downwardly mobile and 33 who are stable or continuous in relation to the parents' position. The majority of cases of upward mobility belong to the 3rd and 4th generations since the colony's foundation. They correspond to periods of national economic growth (1960s)

or to the current opportunities within the industrial context of the Upper Llobregat area.

In this group, the household usually included three generations and several collaterals. In the last generation, the families have become totally nuclear. A major advantage of this group has been the power to obtain housing in the colony in a period in which other families had to remain joint.

The celibacy percentage for adults is 18.4%, a moderate figure in comparison to the group I will examine later. The majority of the unmarried people in this group are priests, monks or nuns and thus their celibacy is not due to family economic arrangements which prolong celibacy. 28.5% of this first group marries within the colony. This proportion which is not too high by comparison with other groups, expresses, on the one hand, the limited possibilities for social mobility within the colony itself, and on the other hand, the radiating force of the group in looking for advantageous marriages outside. Out of a total of 35 marriages in which one of the partners is from the colony, there are 23 cases of women who belong to the kinship group marrying men from outside the colony. This implies, either stability or socioeconomic improvement. In exchange, the privileged occupational situation of the men of this group explains the fact that only two of them had married exogamously; the rest have consolidated the kinship group endogamously according to their positions as authorities and supervisors.

The geographical origin of this group is heterogeneous. One branch is from the same comarca and the others

are from different provinces. All the families were originally peasants.

The second group has lost, in comparison to the first the parallel colony-factory hegemony during the last two generations. This group of 29 individuals has little upward social mobility (13.7%), by comparison to the first group. Five marriages are between people of similar socioeconomic status, two are hypergamic and two hypogamic. The household size is nevertheless similar to that of the previous group and colony endogamy is absolute. The percentage of adult celibacy is 17.2%. All individuals in this group come from the same comarca.

The third kinship group can be considered, to a certain extent, as having a moderate opposition to the intrasubgroup attitudes of the first group. But this opposition lacks an ideological content that could be opposed formally to the first group. This group is substantially guided by people of "reasonable conservatism" as opposed to the more intrasubgroup conservatism of the first group. In periods of political radicalization, however, they have tended to support the first group rather than the "colony leftists".

This third group consists in four descent branches of comarcas and Pre-Pyrenean origin. These branches total 121 individuals and 37 marriages. Of these marriages, 11 are hypogamic, four hypergamic and 23 stable. Colony endogamy among this group is 72.9% which is very high in comparison to the first group. This means less chances of promotion by marrying outside the colony, but a high occupational consolidation in middle range jobs within the factory.

Upward mobility is 36%, somewhat lower than for the first group. There are three cases of downward mobility. Celibacy is 18.1%. This group has achieved full employment for its members in the colony over a long period, but lacks the expansive force of the first group in getting advantageous jobs in other factories. This group has been less flexible in face of the new factory management inaugurated in the late 1960s because its horizons are limited by the colony. This circumstance resulted in the disintegration of the group as a political intra-colonial pressure group since each individual had to adapt separately to the new circumstances.

The fourth group (See kinship card No.1) could almost be classified within the second bloc of families because its situation in the colony is very different from that of the hegemony exercised historically by the previous three groups. Though the four family branches of this group are not consolidated into an homogeneous kinship group as in the case of the three previous ones, their social mobility is similar to that of the previous groups. In other words, the economic achievements of this fourth group are similar to other groups of the first bloc but without the political achievements of these other groups.

The members of these four family branches total 194 individuals, distributed over four generations, the families are of pre-Pyrenean, comarcas and local origin and are of peasant background. The number of marriages is 68, of these, nine represent hypogamic mobility, eight hypergamic mobility and 51 are stable. Colony endogamy is 48.5% which, because of the heterogeneity of this group, results in differential socioeco-

omic stability for the different members of the group.

Thus, because social mobility is a recent phenomenon, generational differences in income are considerable. Female exogamy (colony women with outside men) is 45%, while male exogamy is 5,8%. This indicates the superior job position of the men of this group, who, in this respect, clearly belong to the first bloc. In contrast, marriage within the colony is less favourable occupationally for the majority of women in this group, due to the lower income jobs available to women in a textile factory. For that reason they tend to marry and move outside to achieve a socioeconomic position similar to that obtained within the colony by their male relatives. The preference of women to marry outside in face of male monopoly of well paid jobs suggests a refusal to accept a dependent and inferior role.

In this last group of the first bloc the household (early in the domestic cycle) includes several generations, but later is confined to nuclear families. The upward mobility of sons in relation to their parents is 21.1%, with three cases of downward mobility. This mobility is higher than that of the second group (which "became poor") but lower than that of the others. The cases of upward mobility are somewhat scattered in this group and do not reflect a consolidation of the status of the group as a whole as happens in the other groups of this bloc.

The percentage of prolonged celibacy is 13.9% a low to normal percentage for the colony, placing the group within the norm of the first bloc in which prolonged celibacy has no strategic economic meaning.

The second bloc of families can be divided in two groups. The first is characterized by a substantial homogeneity, and by subordination and adaptation to the traditional colony system. (See kinship card No.2) It is the group of workers who, without having the social mobility of the first bloc, are the most unconditional clients of the patrons of the first bloc. It is the group that best fits the hypothesized over-politicization of social network relations that accounts for the political stability of the colony system.

This group has ten large family branches, with a total of 22 decent lines, originating mainly from the pre-Pyrenean area and from the comarca. The total number of individuals is 314, and there are 98 marriages. Of the marriages only seven are hypogamic and six hypergamic, the rest are stable. Colony endogamy is 47.9% which is surprisingly low given the expectations of full employment of this group within the colony. Actually these expectations have been realized only through the prolongation of celibacy, and at times, through not marrying. Prolonged or definitive celibacy also compensates for the income of the family unit given the high exogamy of females. Essentially, the prolongation of celibacy ensures a high total income for the family of orientation in consonance with the demand for an unskilled segmentary labour force in the factory.

The most prominent household characteristic of this group is the tendency towards the joint family, with many single collaterals. The usual pattern is that of three generations living together with several single collaterals. In this sense, these families saved not only on marriages but also on family space. This "saving" strategy will differentiate

them from the other group of this second bloc, which is economically similar, but which does not choose this family pattern. Consequently, the incomes of the families of orientation of this second group are generally lower.

Sons' upward mobility in relation to their parents is 6%. The rest are stable. There are only two cases of downward mobility. In spite of the agglomeration of single working hands under the same roof, their savings did not provide a basis for future social mobility. These savings tended to be wasted in small-scale speculative investments such as railway shares. The small-scale of their investments and the ephemeral character of those companies resorting to popular savings at those periods (before the 1930s) did not furnish any long-term economic advantage.

The percentage of prolonged celibacy for this group is 25.4%. It is the highest rate for the colony and was made up mainly by women. This economic strategy in families of orientation is performed with the help of religion and morals. Social mobility is almost absent in this group which includes the most loyal workers. In it, some families have a percentage of celibacy that is above 40%.

The other group of the second bloc (See kinship card No.3) is less sensible to patronage relationships. The economic strategy of the family is not so carefully adjusted, as in the previous group, to the segmentary colony model (Large orientation families with many singles). It has eleven big family branches ordered in 23 main lines of pre-Pyrenean and comarcal origin. The number of individuals is 335. There are 121 marriages. Of these marriages, twelve are hypogamic and thir-

teen hypergamic, indicating, as a whole, more permeability than the groups previously examined. This group is also more scattered and unconsolidated occupationally.

Colony endogamy is 49.5% and female exogamy 47.1%. The options are similar to the previous group in terms of available jobs, but it has less generational concentration in the households and less prolonged celibacy: 8.9%. Although this group does not conform to the pattern of self-exploitation of the previous one, its social mobility is higher (9%). The reason lies in an important psychological consequence of the strategy of the first group. In the first group there is a policy of family agglutination and prolongation of celibacy together with an ideology of respect for tradition and repression of protest. (5)

On the one hand, the repressive moral standards that account for celibacy stimulate docility and submission of which the old generation takes advantage. On the other hand the descendants brought up in this way develop a timid and withdrawn attitude which inhibits their ambitions for promotion and for social mobility.

By contrast, the second group is more opportunistic: although it takes less safety measures for its economic future for this reason it is more dynamic than the other in terms of social mobility. Historically, the first group brings failure for its descendants: too many unmarried people and an excessively repressive training. Also this latter group has found difficulty in assimilating the increasing liberalization since the 1960s.

These processes of the second bloc are linked to a characteristic demographic feature of kinship in the colony system. The demand for single labourers reinforces fertility; but, at the same time, the emphasis on the lengthening of celibacy (to prolong exploitation within the family of orientation) reduces the number of marriages and/or delays them, diminishing their fertility. Thus, alongside families with early marriages and a lot of children, many of whom will remain single, there are other families with late marriages and few or no children. These tendencies, observed synchronically - and historically, represent only some changes in the length of the developmental cycle of domestic groups.

In general, the fission in the family of orientation was delayed, and even the "heir" (eldest son) remained in the parents house. Indeed, the firm was interested in populating the colony (with high density) to fill the factory mainly with colony labourers.

The third bloc is a minority which sets itself apart from the mainstream of the colony system. Much of this bloc has been systematically victimised and purged by the dominant group of the colony (6).

On the one hand those families belong to this bloc who were directly opposed to the colony system and took antagonistic although not necessarily revolutionary, political positions in face of the dominant group. For that reason, there are almost no remnants of these families in the colony. The kinship characteristics of the first group of this bloc appear to be atypical in the colony. Male exogamy, in contrast to - all previous groups, is rather high and so too is emigration,

which is often the outcome of clear political confrontation, social mobility, both for the people that remain and for the people that go away (who of course always have difficulties in settling elsewhere because of their political positions) is almost nonexistent. All marriages are contracted with people of like status. The number of children is reduced.

The second group of the bloc is composed of families whose characteristics are independent of their relation to the colony system. Their social and cultural life takes place almost totally outside the colony. Whereas the first group was antagonistic to the dominant group, this group is indifferent. It is constituted by people with high geographical nobility who live in nuclear households, although some of them in contrast to the first group, have many children.

The third group is constituted by non-Catalan immigrants who have become integrated within the colony in a tacit way, rather than through direct participation. This group's social integration into the colony is higher than its cultural integration. Thus, for example, once they were installed in the colony they have had an endogamy of 50% over the last two generations, while linguistically and in other cultural aspects they remain non-Catalan. It is interesting to note that this group marries individuals of its own group or belonging to the second group of the second bloc. This latter is the more open in the welcome it gives to immigrants. (7) In its main characteristics this third group of the third bloc resembles more to non-Catalan immigrant families elsewhere than to any other colony families. (See kinship card No. 4).

The diagram of marriage exchanges between different branches and groups shows a reproduction of the factory relationships and salary pyramids: that is the prominence of a middle "cushion" constituted in its upper reaches by the labour aristocracy of the colony and in its lower reaches by the loyal clients of the vertical coalitions. Marriage alliances show, for each group, the different proportions of coalitions of horizontal or vertical affinity. Thus, the first group of the first bloc is endogamic. In the second group, two vertically descending marriages are linked to the movement of downward mobility of the group. The third group is endogamic apart from several coalitions with the second group of the second bloc. These coalitions are consistent with the common political position of the third group of the first bloc and the second group of the second bloc. This common position is the face of the political attitude of the first two groups of the first bloc and of their clients from the first group of the second bloc. It is a moderate position in front of the intransigency of the dominant group and its loyal supporters.

The first group of the second bloc is characterized by a considerable group endogamy and although it has some relation to the third group of the first bloc, these do not constitute as important a coalition as does its clientelism with the two first groups of the first bloc. The social distance involved in the patron-client relations contributes to the failure to express these relations through marriage contracts. Marriage is seen to be too horizontal a relation to express a coalition of dependence such as patronage. On the other hand, the marriage of skilled male workers to women from an inferior status is often

made in order to obtain extra family labour, Women of families of common labourers are expected to work more readily in the factory than those born in families of skilled labourers.

This discussion suggests that the concept of class consciousness is inappropriate to an analysis of the attitudes of the colony workers. The colony system in its classical period in Catalonia. (1890-1930, 1939-1960) has been successfully shaped by the masters. The organization of colony society expressed through these blocs and groups, reveals the historical outcome of a class struggle, a defeat for the workers. The possibility and the practice of the colony system implies a historical defeat for a fraction of the working class. The social organization of the colony operates to undermine the cohesion, consciousness and organization of a working class in struggle. The struggle becomes confined within the boundaries of kinship relations which become over-politicized. If class struggle without revolution leads to unionism, class struggle with a defeated revolution leads to eventual class disintegration.

What is to be found in the colony, on the other hand, can be paralleled in the country in general. There is a dominant group (the first two groups of the first bloc) and an ill-defined support group who constitute the moderate influence (the last two groups of the first bloc). Then, there is a group subordinate to the dominant group through explicit submission and clientelism (the first group of the second bloc) and another which is amenable to the moderate influence (the second group). Finally, there is the third bloc which includes marginalised groups or groups which are in transition towards integration.

The first group of this third bloc has been purged because of its radical or revolutionary attitudes. Historically, and - this happened in the colony as in the rest of the country, the moderate group was unable to master the dominant group because of the intransigent reaction of the latter in periods of reform, especially during the Second Republic. The intransigent reaction within the colony has, at times, even caricatured the reaction at the national level. The servility of the dominant group of the colony and of its clients towards the masters hindered the liberalizing efforts of the moderate influence. (8)

The fact that in the colony system, kinship (in the form of kinship groups) and social network could constitute a level of political integration is exceptional in industrial society. In industrial society the domestic family is normally the maximum kinship unit and its political allegiance is made through the commitments of the family head, without other relatives, neighbours or friends necessarily being involved.

Nuclear or domestic kinship in the colony has political sense only as a segment of a large coalitional group. The attitudes, ideas and sentiments of the nuclear family are socialized, and receive social expression at the level of the kinship group.

I see the over-politicization of micro-social relations to result from political fragmentation. In a capitalist state, political fragmentation (which is not the same as decentralization) appears, at a first glance, as a crisis. By political fragmentation I understand a specific localization of power relations in different areas of a single state, where this

state is not represented fully by its usual agencies. This localization can take distinct forms. The most common is caiquismo. But almost always these forms run parallel to the interests of the state. If the contrary is the case, these forms reveal a crisis in the hegemony or coercive effectiveness of the state, resulting in more or less widespread civil wars as in nineteenth century Spain.

The crisis involved in a political fragmentation is only a crisis for the central state and not necessarily for the mode of production within which this state is developed. Thus, in the case of the colonies political stability was achieved through the privatization of state concerns at the local level. This stability was superior to that normally furnished in urban industrial society by the agents of the central state. In other words, the political conditions provided by privatization (the masters providing for education, health, housing) and over-politicization of kinship and social network relations were sufficient to maintain the labour relations of industrial capitalism. The state stood in "reverse" and could appear "in extremis" if there was widespread conflict. However, the isolation and vertical integration of the colonies even removed this possibility. Furthermore, the Spanish state was lacerated by its continuous civil struggles and financial bankruptcies.

An industrialization with a decaying or weak state fragments and localizes state concerns more than does an industrialization that takes place under a strong and expansive state.

The result of this divergence is something of a different 'division of labour' between private and public management at the political level.

NOTES

- (1) It is worth noting that there is a list of people in the wages book who belong to the first kinship bloc, to whom the enterprises paid 6 % annual interest for the savings they invested in the enterprises. These twelve workers continued to receive their wages throughout the lock-out and strike of 1890.
- (2) The study has been carried out basically by drawing on 60 kinship genealogies (each individual assessed by residence and occupation) in which there is a minimum of two descent branches with all their modifications. Because families have left or become extinct these genealogies can be considered as a fairly representative historical sample.
- (3) The individual entering the group is the one who has moved upwards. Hypogamy and hypergamy are used here in reference to individuals as part of their kinship group in relation to the groups of the other individuals to whom they marry.
- (4) The criteria I use in assessing this social mobility is the job income of the individual, not the influence of family savings and belongings. Upward and downward social mobility is in relation to one own's parents position.
- (5) The fact of several generations living together with old collaterals stresses traditional values and patterns of behaviour.
- (6) This is why I cannot provide full figures for this bloc. I have traced part of it according to the information provided by some remaining relatives and unconnected informants.
- (7) From now on the analysis can be followed with the diagram of marriage exchanges between distinct blocs and groups.
- (8) The historical changes in the endogamic-exogamic tendencies follow closely the economic changes in the surrounding area. Thus, for instance, there is a major contraction in the immigration of women to the colony towards 1940s, while in 1960s the contrary happens. Since 1925-27 there has also been a large-scale inflow of women into the colony.

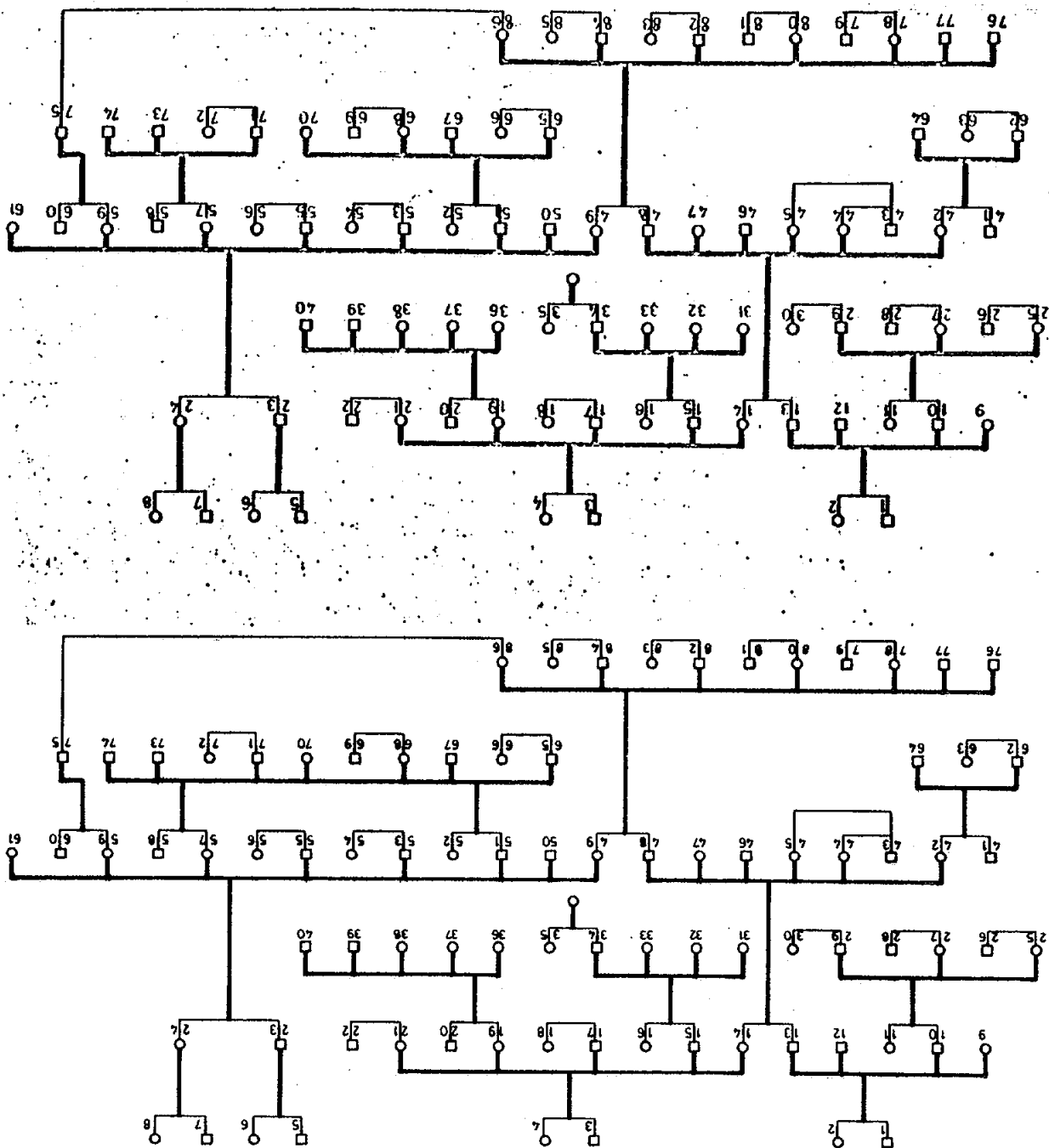
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KINGSHIP CAPD No. I, Example of the First bloc, fourth group.

1. Native of the town of Berga. He came to the colony at the turn of the century
2. He came from a family which as Carlist was persecuted by the liberals. Moving to the colonies mean safety to them. They came around 1874.
3. Native of the nearby village of Bellent. He came to the colony to work as an unskilled worker in spinning. He and his wife were working previously in the low Bages in a textile factory. With the last Carlist war they had trouble in this area and moved to the Colony.
4. Worked as weaver in the Colony.
5. A peasant from the close village of Merola.
6. She stayed on a field in a nearby farmstead of the Colony.
7. Shoemaker from the rather distant township of Artés.
8. Married in Artés itself.
9. Weaver. The Colony.
10. Weaver. Id.
11. Weaver. Id.
12. Weaver. Id.
13. Weaver. Id.
14. Weaver. Id.
15. Weaver. Id.
16. Weaver. Id. She came from Bellent.
17. Plumber in Berga.
18. Weaver in the Colony before moving to Berga.
19. Weaver. The Colony.
20. Weaver. Id.
21. Weaver. Id.
22. Weaver. Id.
23. Weaver. Id.
24. Housewife. Id.
25. In another colony.
26. Id.
27. Staying in the town of Marrasa.
28. Id.
29. Baker in a nearby village.
30. Housewife. Id.
31. Weaver. The Colony.
32. Spinner. Id.
33. Spinner. Id.
34. Weaver. Id.
35. Spinner. Id. The daughter was also a spinner there.
36. Spinner. Id.
37. Spinner. Id.
38. Spinning operative. Id.
39. Merchant dealer in a nearby village.
40. Carpenter. The Colony.
41. Tailor. Id.
42. Weaver. Id.
43. Weaver. Id.

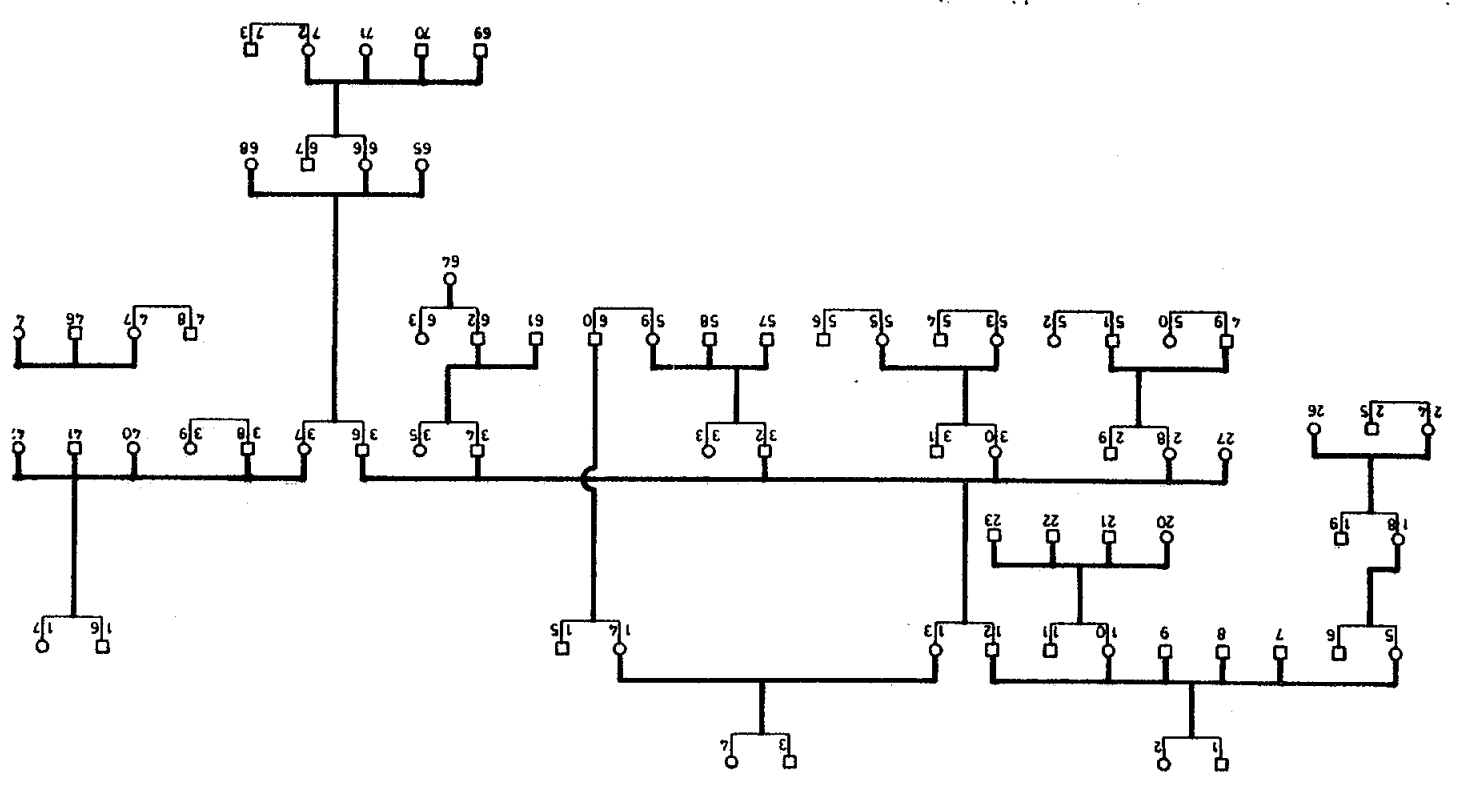
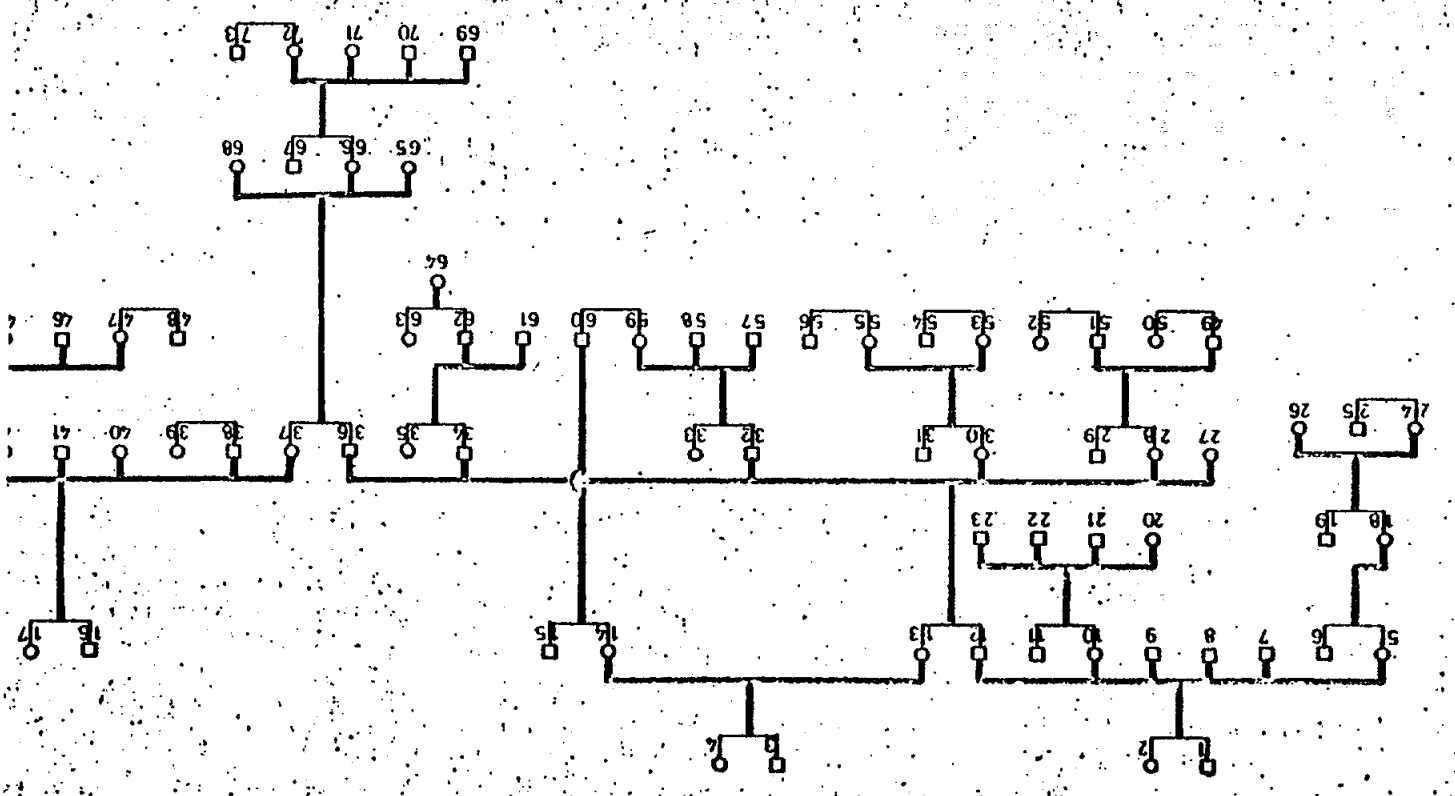
44. First wife. Weaver in the Colony.
45. Second wife. Spinner and afterwards weaver in the Colony.
46. Priest
47. Died young.
48. Carpenter (auxiliary services). The Colony.
49. Weaver. Id.
50. Priest.
51. Weaving manager of the Colony.
52. Weaver. The Colony.
53. Manager in another colony of the Upper Llobregat.
54. Housewife
55. Plumber. Marrasa.
56. Housewife.
57. Weaver. The Colony.
58. Manager assistant in the Colony.
59. The Colony
60. Id.
61. Weaver. The Colony.
62. Chemist. Id. After left for a chemical industry.
63. From a peasant family
64. Carpenter. The Colony. After left for a promoted job in Marrasa.
65. Industrial engineer. Barcelona.
66. Housewife. From Navàs.
67. Electrical technical engineer. Barcelona.
68. Weaver. The Colony.
69. Foreman. Id.
70. Weaving preparation. Id.
71. Spinning laboratory. Id.
72. Housewife.
73. Assistant manager. The Colony.
74. Manager. Moved to the low Bages (neighbouring county)
75. Foreman. The Colony.
76. Electrical technical engineer.
77. Id.
78. Barment factory laboratory. The Colony.
79. Electrician (auxiliary services). The Colony.
80. Spinner. The Colony.
81. Mechanical technical engineer. The Colony. Moved to Igualada.
82. Weaving manager. The Colony.
83. Winder. Id.
84. Assistant manager, spinning section. Id.
85. Garment factory laboratory. Id.
86. Weaver. Id.



KINSHIP CARD N. 2. Example of the second bloc, first group.

- 1 and 2. Peasants at Balh (village next to the Colony).
- 3 and 4. Shoecroppers. Id.
- 5 and 6. Peasants at Balera (village next to the Colony).
7. Tenant farmer. Id.
8. Tenant farmer in the nearby village of Pulg-reig.
9. Balch. Newarries (village of the neighbouring county).
10. and 11. Shoecroppers. Balh.
12. Shoecropper. He had been working in the building of the dam of the Colony.
13. Spinner. The Colony. Afterwards housework in a peasant farm.
14. Girl's house in the Colony. She went home on Sundays.
15. Shoecropper in a village next to the Colony.
16. and 17. Tenant-shoecroppers in Pulg-reig. They came to the Colony with all their children to work in the factory. The couple was then too old to begin work in the factory.
- 18 and 19. Spinners. The Colony.
- 20-23. Commuting daily to the Colony from their peasant household.
- 24-25. Merchants in the closest village.
26. Unknown.
27. Head of the millowners family. The Colony.
28. Spinner. Id.
29. Weaver. Id.
- 30 and 31. Inn. Nearby village.
32. Smith in Navarres. Afterwards moving to the closest village to the Colony and working in loom maintenance.
33. Spinner. The Colony.
34. Id. Id.
35. Spinner. Another colony down the river.
36. Spinning, man in charge. Before marrying commuted to work from a village located at one hour and a quarter from the Colony. After he settled in the closest village to the Colony because of the shortage of housing in the Colony. In 1918 moved inside.
37. Weaver. The Colony.
38. Weaver. Closest village.
39. Unknown.
40. Weaver. The Colony. Afterwards she became a nun.
41. Spinner. The Colony.
42. Spinner. Id. Afterwards she became a nun.
43. Spinner. The Colony.
44. Id. Id.
45. Id. Id.
46. Student for priesthood. He died young.
47. Spinner. The Colony.
48. Id. Id.
49. Mason. Begh (village located at the north of the county)
50. Unknown.
51. Workshop employee. Sabadell.
52. Housewife.
53. and 54. Berge.
- 55 and 56. 011 station in a nearby village.

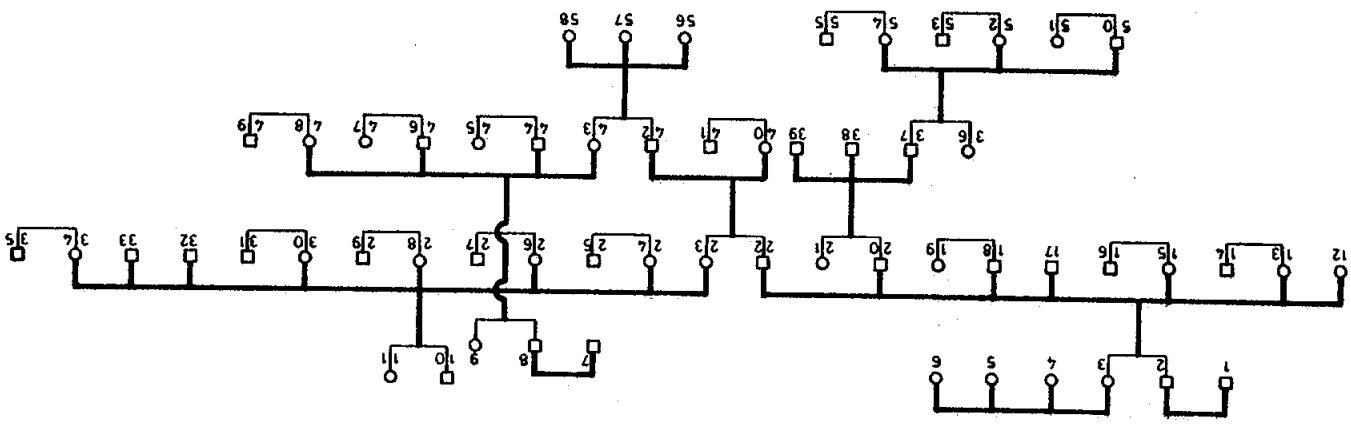
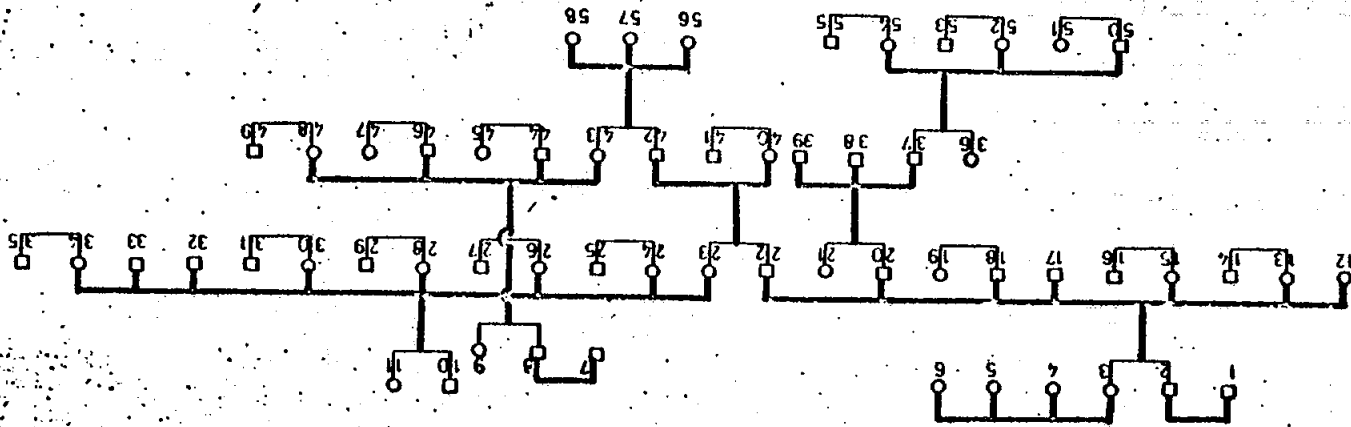
57. Small entrepreneur of textiles in another county. Out-worker.
58. Employee in garage. Navarres.
59. and 60. Peasants.
61. Landless labourer. Balh.
62. Weaver. The Colony.
63. Work in the Colony. Absent for "long illness".
64. Garment factory operative.
65. and 66. Died being children from diphtheria and meningitis.
67. Clerk. Afterwards shopkeeper in the Colony.
68. Trade business. Navbe.
69. Clerk in the closest village to the Colony.
70. Student.
- 71-76. Butchers. Colony shop.



KINSHIP CARD N.3. Example of the second bloc, second group.

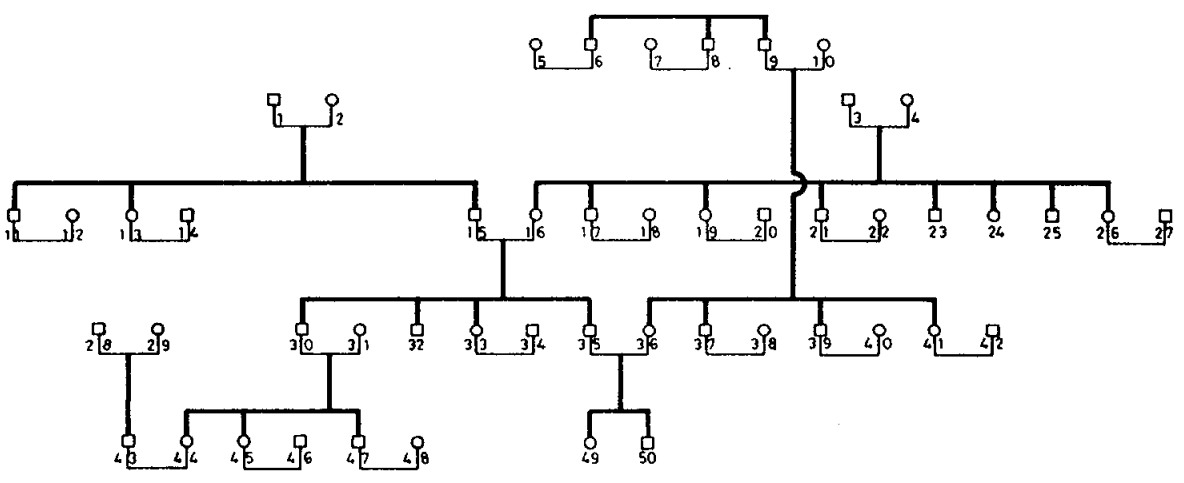
1. Religious.
2. Weaver. The Colony. The family came from the Pre-Pyrenese area where they were involved in fending and contraband. He came to the Colony area as single and lived in a farmstead nearby the Colony.
3. Before being a weaver in the Colony she was hand-loom weaver in a nearby farmstead.
- 4 to 6. They were living in the farmstead alternating farming works with hand-loom weaving. The farmstead was a tenant farm.
7. Colony shop employee.
8. Merchant. The Colony. Afterwards left to a nearby village.
9. Weaver. The Colony.
- 10 and 11. Peasant farmstead, tenant farmers. Village at the south of the county.
12. Nun at Barcelona.
13. The Colony. Died soon from typhoid.
14. The Colony. Unskilled worker.
15. Id Id.
16. Unknown.
17. Unskilled worker. Died young.
18. Foreman. The Colony. Afterwards left for Navarra.
19. Weaver. The Colony.
20. Weaver. Afterwards colony shop employee.
21. Weaver. The Colony.
22. Foreman. Id.
23. Spinner. Id.
24. Id. Id.
25. Works manager. Id.
26. Spinner. Id.
27. Sharecropper. Nearby farmstead.
28. Spinner. The Colony.
29. Sharecropper. Nearby farmstead.
30. Weaver. The Colony.
31. Weaving preparation. Id.
32. and 33. Peasants in their parents farmstead.
- 34 and 35. Tenant farmers in the neighbouring county.
36. Weaver. The Colony.
37. Foreman. Id.
38. and 39. Unskilled workers in the Colony. One of them died young.
40. Spinner. The Colony. Before in another colony of the same river.
41. Clerk. Id. Id.
42. Spinner. The Colony.
43. Weaver. Id.
44. Merchant. Id.
45. Weaver. Id.
46. Electrician. Id.
47. Weaver. Id.
48. Weaving finishing. The Colony.
49. Foreman. Id.

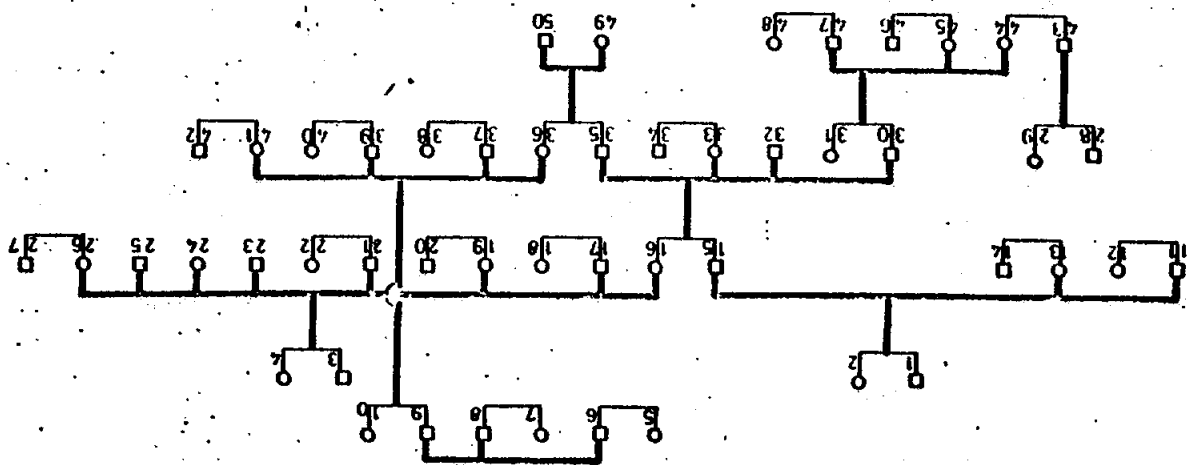
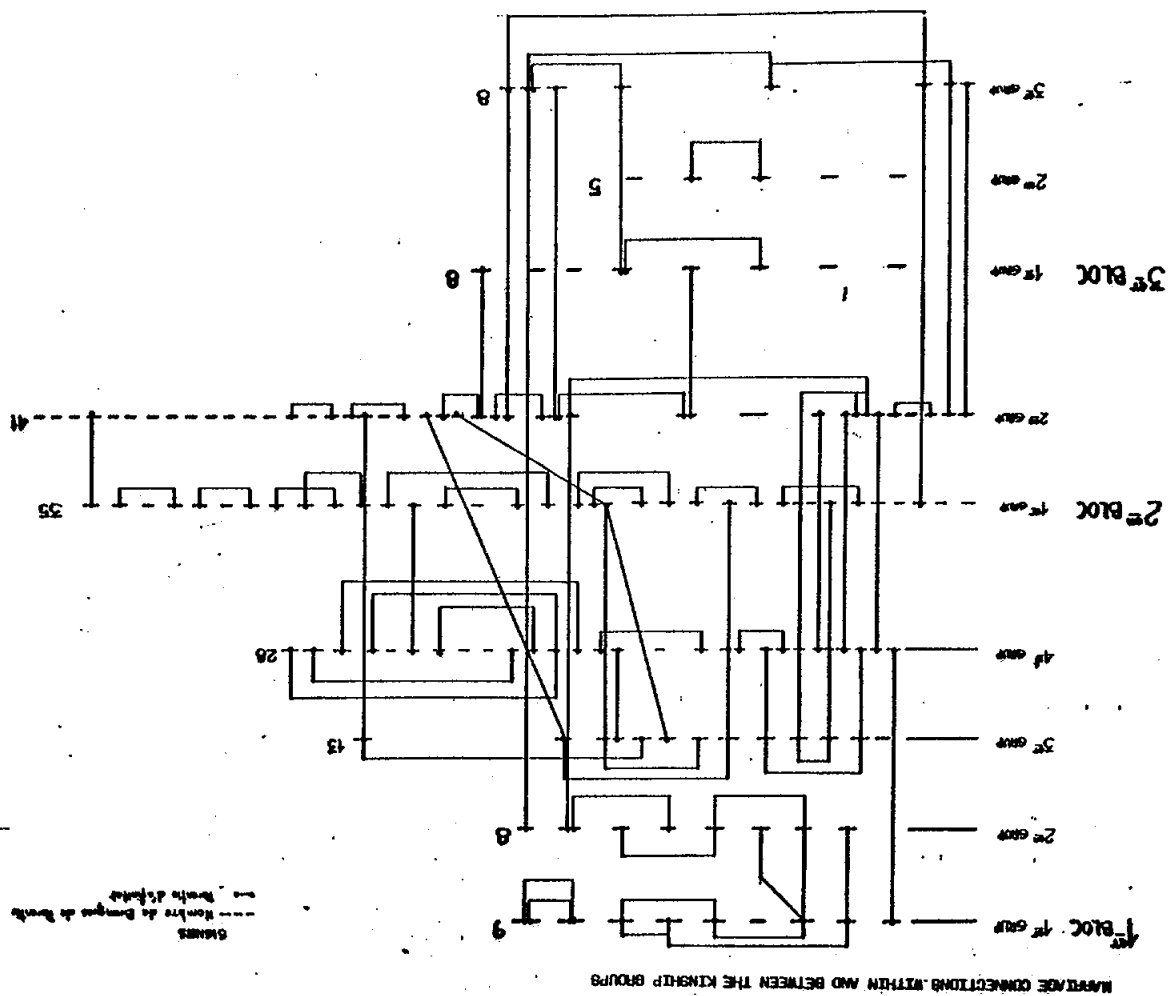
50. Plumber. The Colony.
51. Miner. The Colony.
52. and 53. Shopkeepers in the closest village.
54. Spinner. The Colony.
55. Merchant. Id.
- 56 and 57. Schoolchildren.
58. Garment factory. The Colony.



KINSHIP CARD N.4. Example of the third bloc, third group.

- 1 and 2. Small landholders in Almeria.
- 3 and 4. Inn in Almeria.
5. Unkilled worker. The Colony.
6. Id.
7. and 8. Shopkeepers in the closest village to the Colony. Previously they had been employees in the colony shop.
9. Merchant. The Colony.
10. Weaver. Id.
11. Miner in Almeria. These migrants came as a consequence of the closing of the British mines of the Baceres Iron Mines Ltd. when the Francoist troops invaded Almeria.
12. Housewife. They had some children working in Marrakech.
13. and 14. Ballant. After the seizure of the mines by the Francoist troops they went to work as peasants for a couple of years. In 1942 they came to the Colony. Previously their uncle had come to work there.
15. Formerly supervisor in the mines of Almeria. Afterwards he became an unskilled worker in the Colony.
16. Spinner. The Colony.
17. Butcher. Id.
18. Housework.
19. Housewife.
20. Miner in Almeria. Afterwards in Figols (Upper Llobregat river).
21. Policeman. Barcelona.
22. Housewife.
23. Bar owner. Ballant.
24. Almeria.
25. Small businessman.
- 26 and 27. Almeria. Manager of a factory of animal food. They were 13 brothers in total. Six of them lost contact with the family and the rest died.
28. Foreman. The Colony.
29. Housewife.
30. Merchant. The Colony.
31. Housewife.
32. Merchant. The Colony.
33. Housewife
34. Spinning operative. The Colony.
35. Spinner in the Colony since 1942.
36. Weaver and afterwards sewing finisher. The Colony.
37. Merchant. The Colony.
38. Weaver. The Colony (of management origin as well).
39. Electrician. The Colony.
40. Weaver. Id.
41. Id. Id.
42. Spinning Sendor. Id.
43. Supervisor. Id.
44. Housewife
- 45-47. Garment factory employees. The Colony.
48. Housewife.
49. Garment factory. The Colony.
50. Student.





POWER IN THE PRIVATE DOMAIN: EXPLAINING VARIATIONS IN MARITIME COMMUNITIES

Maritime communities provide a remarkable opportunity for seeking to explain variations in the sexual balance of power in the family, for two reasons. The first is that they are characterised by particular, local, but very varied cultures- not only are they normally single-industry communities, often geographically isolated, but they ~~xxxx~~ need to maintain their own distinctive values in order to keep working in an industry which is dangerous, relatively low-paid, and demands long, anti-social hours. The second is that the very nature of their work removes men, often for substantial periods, from home and community, and therefore forces the balance of power between men and women into question.

Yet these factors do not result in a simple outcome. Even in the Scottish communities which have been the focus of my own research, the contrasts range from the debasement of family life among wage-paid trawlermen on the Aberdeen company boats, the 'thumpings' and 'punchings' of women and children, to at the other extreme, the old north-east Scottish inshore villages where, as Sir Walter Scott claimed in 1816, 'the government is gynococracy'.

In this paper, which is based partly on my own research on Scottish fishing communities using 150 oral history interviews along with other sources, and partly on oral history and anthropological research by other scholars in Scandinavia, Newfoundland, North Africa and elsewhere, I argue that such variations can only be understood by juxtaposing the experience of both men and women, in terms of economy, space and culture, in dynamic historical comparisons.

Paul Thompson

POWER IN THE PRIVATE DOMAIN: EXPLAINING VARIATIONS IN MARITIME COMMUNITIES, by Paul Thompson

Work at sea- whether fishing, fighting or seafaring- is commonly thought of as a men's world. But maritime communities have in fact a special interest for understanding the position of women, both past and present. For two reasons they provide a remarkable opportunity for seeking to explain the variations in the sexual balance of power in the family in society more generally.

Firstly, they are characterised by coherent, particular, local, but very varied cultures and forms of economic organisation. Maritime communities are not only normally based on a single dominant industry, and often geographically isolated, but they have an essential need to maintain their own distinctive values in order to keep working in industries which are dangerous, relatively low-paid, and demand long, anti-social hours. Secondly, the very nature of work at sea removes men, often for substantial periods, from home and community, and therefore forces the balance of power between men and women into question.

Yet these factors do not result in a simple outcome. Even in the Scottish communities which have been the focus of my own research for Living the Fishing,¹ the contrasts range from the debasement of family life among wage-paid trawlermen on the Aberdeen company boats, the 'thumpings' and 'punchings' of women and children, to at the other extreme the old north-east Scottish inshore villages where, as Sir Walter Scott claimed in 1816, 'the government is gynococracy'. I have found an equal cultural diversity in the reports from oral history and anthropological research by other scholars in Scandinavia, Newfoundland, North Africa and other parts of both the west and the Third World. This cultural variety is paralleled by a notably longstanding and historically persistent range of forms of economic organisation. State-run navies and dockyards

date back into antiquity. In the European fisheries the international market and large-scale merchant capitalist fleets have played a key role since the early middle ages. But partly because the sea has remained a common resource—unlike the land—and more recently through state support for fishermen's boat ownership, the egalitarian co-venturing 'share' system worked on fishermen-owned boats has been equally important, and in Britain and Scandinavia provides the most vital sector of the industry today.

It is this economic and cultural diversity of maritime communities, along with the particular coherence of each, which makes them especially suitable cases for exploring the roots of domestic and communal power between the sexes.

All maritime communities, because their economies take their men to sea, are peculiarly dependent on women. This dependence gives women not only more responsibility, but also the possibility of more power. Before asking why this possibility is sometimes realised and sometimes not, we need to look at the ways in which these communities depend on women. There are three: first the direct productive contribution of women to their industries; secondly in creating, both physically and morally, the next generation, through bearing and raising children; and thirdly, the special responsibilities which they carry through the absence of men.

The direct productive contribution of women takes place mostly ashore, and in this respect the division of labour between the sexes seems generally sharp. But even here there are local variations. A minority of women fishermen used to help crew Swedish and Norwegian boats, and Breton and Sardinian boats occasionally take them on today. Independent women fishermen have been reported from Ireland and north-west Spain. Much more commonly, women work aboard ship as gutters; this is standard practice in the

East European fleets, as it was for the Newfoundland women at the Labrador cod fishery. Both in Britain and Scandinavia there are instances of lifeboatwomen who became heroines, like Grace Darling of Northumberland. It was also a widespread practice here for merchant shippers to sail with their wives and often children too, not only to bring them more domestic comforts but also to help as crew, or, indeed, as officers. Joseph Wilson the seaman's trade union leader recalled his Sunderland grandmother 'was a very efficient sailor and navigator. She sailed for many years with my grandfather and was practically chief mate of his ship... Aboard ship her authority was supreme, and she was regarded as a severe disciplinarian'. Little wonder that in Theodora Lloyd's west Wales village, where such skippers' wives were common, and all the girls taught navigation, 'women were naturally accepted as equals'. Seawomen are certainly exceptional; but they are important just because they help us see beyond the 'naturalness' of a male stereotype, and ask how such exceptions can arise.

More typically, however, women worked ashore. They frequently provided the workforce for rope, sail or net factories, even within the state dockyards. Such shore labour made a useful contribution to the economy of seafaring and naval communities; but for the fishing it was fundamental. While in general men have caught the fish, they have normally relied on women both in preparing for the fishery, and still more in disposing of the catch. In the line-fishing communities of north-east England and Scotland, for example, women had to search out shellfish for bait from the rocks and cliffs, clean and bait the men's lines in the living rooms, and help them launch their boats. Once the catch was home, they had either to split and dry it or to smoke it for preservation, or to sell it, fresh or smoked,

developed trade unionism; but in the herring fishery the men were shareholders in their own boats, and only the women straightforward employed workers. The women were notably willing to strike for wage increases, characteristically with 'a lightning strike' which 'paralysed business' just as a heavy catch was landed. These strikes were often jocular occasions, processions of women singing heartily, headed by a rag on a broom; but they were very frequently successful too. On the other hand, the very importance of their contribution meant that they dare not press too far. 'The curers just kept ye doon and doon, until ye grew that ye'd to fecht for yourself', as one of their leaders, Maria Catt, put it: 'We knew we were exploited but what could we do? We knew the whole system depended on us, so what could we do?'

The whole system equally depended on women as creators of the people, bearers and rearers of each new generation. In itself, this is of course nothing peculiar to maritime communities; but it is special in the extent to which the task has to be carried out without the support of men. Because of their times and places of work most men who work at sea are to a greater or lesser extent absentee fathers. Even in the inshore communities such of the socialisation of boys into male roles was through contact with older retired men, uncles or grandfathers, rather than by their own fathers; and everywhere the basic responsibility rested with the women. 'We had to bring up the families because the men were never at home... You never saw them for weeks'. Fathers could not even provide an ultimate disciplinary sanction. 'The bairns were more afraid of their mothers than of their fathers', as Jessie Annie Mason put it. 'Their fathers were more inclined to spoil them when they came home'.

One measure of how much the greater absence of fathers mattered, even within maritime communities, comes from the oral history evidence of our

at stalls in the town or in regular rounds through the suburbs and surrounding countryside:

We'd a' to work j's like slaves, necht and day. We'd to rise through the necht, with the tide, and ging to the mussels and pick up our mussels out of the cal' water and take them up to shiel them. And the lipnets. To bait the lines... You reekit [smoked] the fish... put them on spits, through the logs, and you reekit them... And then you get awa' and selled them... I selled the fish wi' a creel [basket] on my back... Houn' the toon and roun' the country...

The women's work here took place within a continuing form of household-based economy. In the herring fishery, by contrast, while boats were family-owned, processing and distribution were organised by merchants, mainly for export to eastern and southern Europe. The women gutters followed the seasonal migrations of the herring itself, moving clockwise round the coast from the Western Isles of Scotland in late May to the culmination of the season in East Anglia from October to December. In the peak years before the First World War there were some 12,000 Scottish herring gutters from Scotland alone, mostly single girls, often leaving home for the first time, working long hours in the open air, and living independently in wooden huts. Many met their future husbands away at the gutting, when the boats were in harbour for the weekend- and in the meantime it gave them a brief experience of self-determination:

I was free- because once you were off with the fishing in the year the time was your own and you'd nobody to say, well do this, you see- you were just with the girls; and you would go to the theatre, you could go to dances or anywhere...

They showed a similar spirit in their industrial militancy; and in this their activity contrasted markedly with the normal failure of their men to protest.

In the British trawling industry both men and women were wage-earners, and both

East Anglian project. Trevor Lummis has calculated the death rates of the brothers and sisters of his informants. His figures show that in the families of the drifters and trawlermen, whose fathers were away for the longest periods, the death rate of children was more than double that in the inshoremen's homes: a stark index of the burden which work at sea imposed on both offspring and wives.

Childrearing is of course a social and moral as much as a physical process: and the oral evidence also shows the great differences in the manner in which it can be carried out. I have argued in Living the Fishing that these differences provide one key reason why some fishing communities survive, while others have failed. Fishermen have always needed to be more adaptable than peasants, because they are specialists, and have to respond to the constant changes in the mobile fish stocks themselves, the market, and the technology of boats, catching, processing and distribution. There is therefore, to take one example, a direct connection between the adaptability and flexibility which Shetland men and women have shown at work, which has been vital to the economic success of their isolated, peripheral region, and the way in which they are brought up: gently, normally without any physical punishment, to think for themselves at an early age. It is a way which highlights the special skills which childrearing demands. 'I think slapping bairns is awfully bad. You make them gentle, keep them gentle', one woman explained of how she had brought up her own boys:

I think if you slap a bairn even when he's very little, suppose he scratches your face and you give him a slap on the hands, he'll do that to you... You just grow up as you're trained. And you can get a lot out of bairns, especially if you're kindly to them. 'I've the idea more than the fear', you see.

Certainly social attitudes and individual personality continue to evolve through later years. One interesting feature of British dockyard towns has been the exceptional, almost meritocratic, emphasis on working class parents on the importance of school education, because entry to skilled work in the state dockyards was through competitive examinations. But the foundations are laid earlier within the family. In creating the people and workforce of the maritime communities of the future, women thus also play a crucial role in the mediation of social change. But this is another subject.

By taking men away from home regularly, often for weeks at end, work at sea makes the conventional ideal of modern family life, with its focus on home-centred togetherness sharply separated from the impersonal harshness of work, very difficult, if not impossible, to realise. But the absence of men forces family life away from the ideal in contrary directions. On the one hand, women are left with most of the responsibility for the children, the home and its finances. On the other the men learn self-sufficiency, including often basic domestic skills, in the exclusively male society of the ship. They can easily fall into the distanced relationship of Jeremy Funstall's wage-paid Hull trawlermen, who, when ashore, prefer the company of their mates to the family, head for the nearest pub rather than home, and treat their wives simply as 'providers of sexual and cooking services'. But paradoxically, while being pulled into separate worlds, both husband and wife have also acquired overlapping skills, a shared competence for domestic tasks and responsibilities, which make a married 'partnership' a real possibility. This is one basis for the striking domestication of men, their contribution to child-care, cleaning and cooking, which can be found in East Anglian fishing families

Although such social patterns can be found in many other maritime communities, they are certainly not unique to them. The power of women is relatively emphasised in many other societies where men work away from home: forest regions, for instance, or the West Indies, where migration overseas has been basic to island economic life at least since the 1830s. This increased power is the result of the conjunction of two dimensions of the sexual division of labour, which may or may not run in parallel.

The first is spatial. With men away, home can become less a place in which women are confined, more a territorial power base of their own. Indeed even the sexual division of labour can sometimes be seen as a defensive tactic, parallel to the skilled craftsman's refusal to work with the foreman within his workspace. Women on the Quebecan *Iles de la Madeleine* deliberately exclude men from both housework and the house itself and ridicule men who attempt to carry out what they call 'my work'. 'Les maris vivent une vie, les femmes une autre'. But when this control of space is combined with economic responsibilities its consequences can be much more clearly positive. And when women also control property, whether in boats, in land, or in independent businesses, this basis for power is still further enhanced. The control of property may in fact quite often be decisive.

Certainly neither the mere absence of men, nor a vital economic role, necessarily bring women increased independence or standing. Two studies of cod-trapping communities on the northern coasts of Newfoundland both describe 'patriarchal' families in which 'there is no question as to the man's authority nor to the woman's subordination'. Marriages here appear 'in general... strained, and sometimes antagonistic'. Women were expected to serve men both at home and at work in putting away fish. In Melvin Firestone's *Savage Cove*, 'in the house the woman gets a drink for her

and in Shetland. 'All the sailors can wash clothes better than any woman', as one seaman's daughter commented.

There may also be, at least in fishing families, an economic dimension to this potential 'partnership'. Where family boat ownership continues, the family constitutes not merely a home, but also the basis of an economic venture. This will also be true where work at sea is combined with peasant farming.

All this gives women not merely special responsibilities, but also the possibility of achieving a degree of independence and power which is unusual. There was a saying on the north-east Scottish coast, 'No man can be a fisher and want a wife'. As the fish-sellers they held the key economic positions and as Sir Walter Scott wrote, 'thes that sell the goods guide the purse- them that guide the purse rule the house'. From the 1800s to the 1950s a whole series of local commentators observed, often complainingly, how women were not only the family 'Chancellor of the Exchequer', but on critical decisions 'the masters... They had the authority in the house... It seems to have been a matriarchal society'. Similar observations were made by Margaret Mead of the New Guinea *Tchambuli* and Raymond Firth of a Malay fishing community. In modern Kerala, Leela Gulati has described fishing households where, quite contrary to customary male Indian dominance, the wife not only controls all the family finances, but owns a boat, and employs the husband in her prawn business. Similar instances can be found on the Scandinavian coasts, where maritime work left the women to run the small family farms. On the seafaring island of Læsø women owned the land; the farms were normally inherited between mother and daughter. Women here were said to be unconcerned about housework. They drove the cart, even if there was a man in it.

husband from the water barrel or food at his demand's while James Paris was told in Cat Harbour that 'A man without a wife is like a man without a good boat or a good horse and a woman is, in the division of shares of a voyage, considered an item of her husband's capital, just as a cod trap or an engine'. The sense in which women are essential has here become simply derogatory and demeaning.

It may be important that in north Newfoundland inheritance is through men, for Dona Lee Davis has more recently given a much more positive interpretation of the position of women in south-west Newfoundland, where she found the inheritance of houses and plots was usually through women rather than men. The contrast is still stronger with the shares in boat ownership and social recognition of women in parts of Scandinavia, north-west Spain or Malaya. Elsewhere men may own the boats, but women the farms, as on some of the Shetland fishing islands, or on Iseso. Or it may be sufficient for them to be regarded as the formal managers of the land, whatever the legal title, as on the Breton island of Houat, where women run the agricultural co-operative and administer property, while ashore 'l'homme est simplement toléré', confined to enclaves like the jetty and the café.

It is difficult, however, to decide which leads to which. At Houat economic and social attitudes have created special local property customs but the reverse can also happen. One study of two hamlets a mile apart in the same north Norwegian fjord, tied together through a network of kin through marriage, found that in Strandslett, where land was abundant, the full generosity of traditional inheritance was operated, with a complete share to all children, legitimate and illegitimate, male and female; but in Laknes, where the family economy depended on the inheritance of beach rights for salmon nets, these were left only to sons who would work

together. Daughters had to marry out.

The power and responsibility of women, in short, is shaped by a complex interaction of economy, property law and custom, social and moral attitudes and family need. In seeking to understand the roots of power between the sexes, we must bring all these levels to bear. But equally important, we need to examine men's and women's positions in juxtaposition. Power has to be understood as a relationship: a mutual relationship, historically shaped, but experienced through individuals. To seek out the dynamics of change we have to consider how these mutual relationships between men and women have altered over time, and in particular contexts, both in terms of economy and culture.

So far, for example, we have referred to men's work simply in terms of their absence from home. But it also matters whether they are paid a regular wage, or depend on the uncertain rewards of a share. It seems too that family relationships are often worst affected when working conditions are not only especially bitter and far distant from home, but the men sense the degree of their own exploitation by merchants or employers. Such experience may harden them, and drive them towards compensating self-indulgence and assertions of their own male authority when at home. The pattern of the old Newfoundland fishing was set in this way and has outlived its economic origins, not only in its own outpost but also in the old deep-sea ports of Normandy and Brittany. A similarly grim picture of alienation and domestic violence comes from the company port of Hammerfest in northernmost Norway, and from the major British North Sea trawling ports.

Aberdeen provides a particularly stark example of how drastic economic change can transform relationships within the family and between the sexes.

It became a major trawl port only from the 1880s, when its employers began recruiting fishermen from the nearby north-east inshore villages. Fishermen-owners, usually religious and often abstainers from alcohol, found themselves sucked into a work world in which they were mere wage-earners, their unlimited working hours at sea mitigated only by the duty-free whisky supplied by the skippers. Both drink and exhaustion made violence and accidents at sea common, and the pattern was repeated ashore. The gruesome reports of drunkenness, kickings and stabbings to be found in the press also recurred in my own interviews. Over a third of my informants brought up in Aberdeen had fathers portrayed as very heavy drinkers, violent to their wives and children.

The family culture of the inshoremen was decisively and even deliberately defeated by the Aberdeen owners, for the trawlermen's demand for more 'home life', for 'time to spend with his wife and children', a full clear day between trips, was the issue in the eleven-week 1919 lock-out which smashed their union. They sealed their victory with a new law which meant that men could be fined or imprisoned for not joining ship, even in family illness or death.

It would nevertheless be misleading to suggest that the nature of men's work determined a particular kind of relationship between the sexes. This is to underestimate the resilience of cultural inheritance. There are four ways in which culture may prevail.

The first is family tradition. Even in Aberdeen there are men who in telling their life stories will emphatically describe themselves as a 'home bird' or 'a great family man'. As one put it, 'If you saw me out, my wife was always with me... It was just our style- always arm in arm, and always in step'. And in other families the tradition is of the

strong woman. another possibility is a minority social group of families. In Shetland I found that the Lerwick 'Scotties', who had migrated from the mainland eighty years ago, maintained not only a different dialect speech, but also distinctive family patterns; and this is of course commonly observed among migrant ethnic minorities.

A third way is through separation between the sexes. On the Swedish isle of Öckerö women insisted on continuing the traditional mild upbringing of children despite the demands of their deep-sea fishermen husbands for severer discipline. Fear of community disapproval held back men from beating their children. Here the maintenance of custom depended on the solidarity of women working against the values which the men brought home from their work. Nevertheless, the balance can be hard to judge in such cases: the strengths of middle class 'domestic feminism' can be transposed too easily. Rayna Rapp Reiter's study of women in a Provençal peasant community suggests that women there see the men's public areas 'as the sites of great play-acting. They see men as overgrown children'. But one needs to know the men's view too. It has been a particular failing of anthropologists in maritime communities to talk mainly to men; but replacing a female-blind with a male-blind ethnology will simply create a different problem in interpretation.

The last way in which cultural tradition may prevail over local economic influences is when it belongs to an extensive regional pattern. Here the culture may in fact play a decisive role in determining the future development of the economy itself, as I have argued of Lewis and Shetland in Living the Fishing. Both groups of islands are surrounded by some of the richest waters in Europe; yet in Lewis the fishing has languished, and unemployment soared, while in Shetland a vigorous fishing industry has

maintained local prosperity. The explanation rests in large part in their differing moral order, of community, church and family. The Lewis family is patriarchal and authoritarian. Women are expected to serve their men; children to follow their elders. In the less puritanical, more scattered Shetland townships, by contrast, women have much more social standing and confidence and they have passed on to their children an inner self-determination which has allowed them to make the most of the chances before them.

It is believed by many Shetlanders that their family customs go back a thousand years, to the Viking settlement of the islands from Scandinavia. There may be some threads which go back that far. But on the other hand their culture remains continually vulnerable and is at present under siege by the oil industry. The dynamics of power between the sexes are rooted in a delicate and complex mutual interaction, in which economy, property, space, work, and the culture of family, religion and region can all play a vital part. And beyond this, as every oral historian knows, there is difference through personality too.

It is nevertheless possible, I believe, to make sense of these complicated patterns, provided we break beyond the tendency of so much research to be either too static--as so often in anthropology--or too general. The repeated documentation of women's oppression and male dominance, and also the use of the trans-historical concept of patriarchy, both push too easily towards undifferentiated generality. The need now is to understand variation. The most promising way forward, in my view, is through local studies of changing sexual relationships over time, in relation to both economy and culture--and through comparison.

It is not an easy path to follow; but the deeper understanding of the

roots of the balance of power between the sexes which it could bring us is surely needed. For within the prevailing male dominance of western societies, both in the past and today, there has been an immense variety in the degree to which women have been able to create space, independence and spheres of power for themselves. These variations have been, and will continue to be, of critical importance to how their lives are lived.

NOTES

1. Paul Thompson with Tony Bailey and Trevor Lummis, Living the Fishings, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1983, which contains full acknowledgements, bibliography and citations (except for footnote 2 here). Here I would like to especially mention Thes Vigne, with whom I began this research; the Social Science Research Council and the Puller Bequest who supported parts of it; Judith Bnew, Brit Berggreen, Ann Louise Christiansen, Orvar Löfgren, Birgitta Frykman and Marilyn Porter for advice; Natasha Burchardt and Leonore Davidoff for comments on the manuscript; Ron Grele for inviting me to speak on this theme at the International Conference on Women's History and Oral History, Columbia University, New York in November 1983; and above all, to the people of the fishing communities who talked to us about their lives. An extended version of the argument presented here is forthcoming as an article on 'Women in the Fishings: the Roots of Power between the Sexes', in Comparative Studies in Society and History, 1985.
2. My Stormy Voyage Through Life, London 1925, p 4.

FROM ARMATOLIK TO PEOPLE'S RULE

Dimensions of power in Greek rural society, 1750-1950

Riki VAN BOESCHOTEN

The topic of this paper is the evolution of the attitudes towards power as expressed in the songs of rural Greece during two crucial periods of its political and social history: late Turkish domination (1750-1913) on the one hand and World-War II and the Civil War that followed (1940-1949) on the other. The area concerned, comprising the provinces of Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly and Roumeli, forms both a geographical and economic entity. It includes the mountainous parts of these provinces, which for historical reasons had a different development from the plains and the cities. The Pindus range forms the backbone of this area, covering its western part from the Albanian border to the Corinthian Gulf. Its economy is characterized by the following factors: scarcity of resources (with its corollary, surplus labour), an essentially subsistence economy with a varying degree of money economy, the conflictual coexistence of pastoral and agricultural economies and wide-spread armed violence.

For the sake of diachronical analysis I have subdivided the material into the following historical periods:

1750-1821 preparation for the War of Independence
1821-1833 the creation of an independent Greek state
1833-1913 the integration of the Greek state
1940 War against Italy
1941-1944 Resistance
1945-1949 Civil War.

Historical Introduction

The period of Turkish conquest was characterized on the Balkan Peninsula by the creation of waste-land, the extension of pastoralism and the spread of brigandage. The driving force behind this development were the (mainly Vlach) nomadic shepherd

tribes, which, besides keeping sheep engaged in trading cattle and armed violence, either as hired soldiers or as brigands. These same warrior/shepherd tribes played an important role in the Ottoman army, where they served in exchange for wages and exemption from taxes, and gradually evolved into a dominant military caste (askeri) (1). To the same category belonged the "mar-tolos": professional soldiers, mainly of Vlach origin, who were the only Christians allowed to carry arms and were responsible for guarding the boundaries of the Empire and keeping law and order in the interior (2).

In Greece, the first official document attesting the existence of armatoli dates from 1627 (3), although they had probably existed long before that (4). During the 17th century, the age of "ubiquité du banditisme" (5), the armatoli performed their tasks more or less faithfully, which were mainly to hunt down bandits (6). But towards the end of the century the institution struggled against growing difficulties, which were to reach a peak in the second half of the 18th century. In practice, this meant that the armatoli abused their power more and more and cooperated openly with outlaws (or "klefts", i.e. "thieves" as they were called). This evolution was a manifestation of more general tendency, which accompanied the decline of the Ottoman Empire: the piecemeal breakdown of the state machinery, accompanied by the increasing independence of local power-holders, intermediaries between the Ottoman State and the peasant reaya-population (7). Apart from the armatoli, the main local power-holders were the following: on the Turkish side, provincial governors, judges, tax-collectors, land-owners (agas). Towards the end of the century their power was challenged by the Albanians, the most illustrious example being Ali Pasha. On the Christian side the primates, or kodzabashides, usually landowners, elected representatives of the "free villages", which were granted a certain degree of local autonomy, in order to facilitate the collection of taxes. These four groups were engaged in a fierce power-struggle, the main aim of which was the appropriation of the rural surplus by the fiscal domination of the peasantry, which was at that time the primary rural source of power and fortune (8). The conflicting groups made extensive use of bri-

gandage to reinforce their power. Moreover, the devastating work of Albanian irregulars, initially employed to suppress the insurrection of 1770, and plain robbers of any nationality, plus the increased fiscal burdens of the reaya's, due to the abuses of the above "intermediaries", had disastrous consequences for the rural population. Many former "free villagers" either took to the mountains and became brigands themselves or gave up their land to the nearest landowner in exchange for protection. This accelerated another characteristic phenomenon of the decline of the Ottoman Empire: the evolution from "timar" (land owned by the state) to "chiftlik" (privately owned). This process of usurping land from state control evolved gradually, with two important peaks at the end of the 17th and 18th century resp. (9) and was finally completed by Ottoman laws in 1839 and 1858 (10).

It is no coincidence that the first kleftic songs were composed around 1750 (11). It was at this time that Balkan trade reached a height of prosperity. The wealth, transported on the backs of the Vlach mules was a increasing challenge to anyone carrying a rifle. Thus the safety of trade routes became a matter of primary importance. And it was exactly in this field that the armatoli met, at the same periode, the first serious challenge to their growing power. The guarding of the mountain passes (derve-nia), which was an important source of income, was removed from their control and entrusted first to the reaya themselves, then to muslim Albanians (12).

In the aftermath of 1770, the Albanians, guided by Ali Pasha, increased their power and inflicted a serious defeat on the armatoli and klefts. On the eve of the Revolution, many allied themselves with Ali Pasha, in order to preserve their "armatolik" (district) In W. Roumeli especially, the "captains" had gained considerable power and managed to "settle old scores with the primates" (13). During the Revolution and shortly after they consolidated this power and even played an important part in political life (14). But soon the primates took their revenge and managed to gain control of the newly created state machinery (15), which was the only way to regain their lost paradise, as their former source of power, local self-government, was abolished by the young Greek state.

As for peasantry, the creation of an independent Greek state (1833) did not change its situation, as their most important expectation, the distribution of the former Ottoman properties (more than half of the arable land, including the most fertile areas) (16) remained unfulfilled. These lands were proclaimed "national estates" and could not be sold. Taxation and methods of collecting continued to be extremely oppressive often even more than under Turkish rule. Thus many peasants fled across the Turkish border and/or turned to brigandage. The land issue would remain a major problem in Greek political life until the beginning of the 20th century. Tithe were abolished in 1880 (18), the expropriation of national estates was established by law in 1911 (19), but land reform was only completed in the periode 1912-1937 (20).

Even before the Revolution the distinction between klefts and armatoli had been blurred. This was still more true so after the most powerful amongst them, the Roumeliote chieftains, had been evicted from power. But they continued to interchange the roles of institutionalized armed violence and outlawry: some took up service in the Greek army or gendarmerie, or served across the border under Turkish command, others remained out-laws on either side of the border, but it was always fairly easy to switch sides. However, a new development was the political use of brigandage. "After the introduction of parliamentary government in 1844 many brigand bands took service under the King, or his agents, to terrorize electors (...) or creating disorder on the Turkish frontier (...) to convince the powers of the strength of irredentist feelings" (21). It return they received protection from political patrons, if they were arrested. This was in fact what happened during the uprisings of 1847, 1856, 1878 and to some extent also during the Macedonian Struggle (196-1912). Apart from this special form of armed violence, brigandage remained endemic in the whole area, because it was the main source of supplementary income and an outlet for surplus labour. Significantly, it diminished after 1890, when emigration to America became possible (22).

In order to understand the new situation which arose on the Greek mountains during the periode 1941-44, it is important

to bear in mind the major development since the integration of the Greek state (1913).

On important factor was the above mentioned land reform. However, the population pressure per unit of arable land remained, because many of the refugees, who had come to Greece as a result of the forced exchange of population in 1922, had been settled on this land.

On the economic level, there is a shift from pastoral to agricultural economy, the latter now being clearly oriented towards the international market. The penetration of European capital focused the attention on cash-crops like tobacco and cotton. Capitalist relations became increasingly evident: cash crop production decreased the peasants' dependence on large landowners, but they depended more and more on credit-institutions like cooperatives and banks. Another important factor is the omnipresent state-machinery, which gradually replaced the power mechanism built up by the former feudal lords. Other factors such as the broadening of horizons through better communications, emigration and urbanization; the establishment of compulsory military service and education; and finally, the limited spread of socialist ideas (mainly through tobacco workers) created the preconditions for a new mentality to emerge at the first opportunity and for an autonomous action by peasantry. This opportunity came during the Resistance and was encouraged by three main factors: the collapse of the state machinery and the absence of former political leaders, the increasing influence of the Communist Party and the emergence of an embryonic form of dual power which the institutions of popular self-government and popular justice.

Dimensions of power in klefetic song

Power relations are clearly oriented to family and locality. Nearly all songs concern a limited geographical area and references to family relations abound. This is not surprising in a society characterized by geographical and social fragmentation and by the absence of a centralizing state machinery. But it is also related to the main feature of its economy, the scarcity of resources. These four factors together produced a men-

talinity, which seems to characterize rural Mediterranean societies, expressed in the concepts of "limited goods" and the "certainty of uncertainty" (23). This mentality is well illustrated by the following verses:

"this year is a good year, who knows about next year, whether we will live or die, or pass to another world" (24).

In such an uncertain and divided world, dominated by intracommunal conflicts, the best of guarantee of survival is to have as wide and varied as possible a network of personal contacts. This network is built up first of all by and individual's kin, then extended by marriage and ritual kinship and provides a channel for nearly all contacts with the outer world (25). This means first of all that an individual exists only as a member of his family, and all his actions have an immediate effect on his family. Thus, in a song about Vlacháva's uprising (1808), the pasha calls out to him:

"come and surrender with your brothers,
and your relatives, your cousins" (26).

Secondly, as family is and individual's main asset, it is a reason for pride and defiance:

"I'm not afraid of you, Ali Pasha, you poor fellow,
as long as my brothers the sons of Tsápos live" (27).

References to ritual sponsorship concern either its positive side, the giving protection in difficult times:

"The Turks have come up to the villages, raping and pillaging,

I'll go to Agrafa and you to Mesolonghi,

there are the old friends and the old "koumbári"* (28),
or its negative side, treason:

"Woe to you, koumbára Yóryena, the major's wife,
why did you betray us?" (29).

Besides family-connections, an individual's power depends on wealth and armed force (might is right).

"Surrender, Liákos, to the pasha, surrender to the vizir,
so you will be appointed a watchman (...)

As long as Liákos is alive, he won't surrender to the
pasha

* The work koumbáros means both godfather and witness at a wedding.

Liako's pasha is his sword, his vizir is his rifle" (30) As for wealth, its main expression is money, not land or other real state. Power, either legal or illegal, was mainly regarded as a source of profit (31). In a song about the struggle power between Greeks and Albánians over the guarding of the mountain passes (dervénia), the hero Yotis says he doesn't mind that the dervénia have passed on to the Albanians: he will take to the mountains and take money laden Turkish and Albanian agas, I alive (32). So either as an appointed watchman, or as an outlaw, he will be able to turn his power profit. But it is a source of profit, which is as uncertain as anything else and always remain negotiable. For instance, when Ali Pasha removed the armatolos Katsoufas from his district Agrafa and replaced him with his rival Kontoyannis, Katsoufas tried to regain his "armatolik" by bribery but had to pay for this attempt with his life.

"I've earned a thousand florins and here they are, if we drive out the people of Valtos, the Kontoyannis family

But Ali Pasha didn't listen to him, and cut off his head" (33).

The relations between kleftarmatoli and the villages were often highly conflictual. On the one hand they protected the villages, for instance from tax-collectors (34). On the other hand they demanded payment themselves and often terrorized the villages.

"To you Suleyman Bey and the headmen send me the taxes, send me the payment lest I burn the villages and lay them waste" (35).

Sometimes the villagers organized themselves, often instigated by the primates and killed their "protectors", as happened in the above song.

Much more conflictual was the relation between kleftarmatoli and local power-holders, either Muslim or Christian. In fact, the decisive factor was neither nationality or religion, but the struggle for power. There are many examples to illustrate this. Sometimes a parallel is drawn between Greek and Turkish powerholders:

"I don't become a reaya, I don't surrender to the Turks I don't kneel before the primates and the kodja-basfades" (36)

Greek primates cooperate with the Turkish authorities against Greek klefts (37). Greek klefts threaten either Turkish or Greek landowners:

"You agas, be careful, lest we burn the villages quickly give us the armatolik, for we are coming like wolves" (38).

"To you primates from Agrafa, to you kodja-basfades quickly give us our appointment, give us the taxes" (39).

The action of the klefts against the local power-holders was of course a factor which provoked the admiration of the villagers, who suffered from their abuses. But no always, because sometimes the klefts were worse: in a song from about 1880 (40) Vlach shepherds warn the Turkish watchman against Vlach brigands and mourn over him, when he is killed by them.

The aspects of power analyzed so far do not depart from a situational, personal concrete frame of reference, from the "here and now", characteristic of oral thought (41). So it is not surprising that political institutions, like political parties, monarchy and the army are practically absent from kleftic songs. Still, it is surprising, as we know from other sources about the early introduction of party politics, the Civil War fought between these parties during the Revolution and the active part played in political process by the military chieftains, who are the heroes of the songs. For example, the chieftains fomented various uprisings, demanding a Constitution (42), which was finally granted in 1864. But the first time we encounter the word "constitution" with its actual meaning, is in a song dating from about 1912 (43). From oral tradition instead we know that during the reign of King Otho the word was a synonym for "uprising" (44). We also know that these abstract political concepts were so irrelevant to the common people, that they tried to personalize them. People asked for example: "Who is this Constitution?" (45). Even an abbot, who can be supposed to have had at least some instruction, asked a Danish archaeologist: "What kind of a person is this Regency? What is she to our King?" (46). And it is no coincidence that the only symbol of institutional power, which recurs quite frequently, is the king: he is a person.

Generally speaking, the few references to political institutions (mainly in songs from 1880 onwards), show a distinctly negative attitude towards these institutions. But an important shift can be seen in songs about the Balkan War (1912) as far as monarchy and the army are concerned, which are now regarded positively.

Concluding, the absence of references to political institutions could be partly due to the domination of oral thought processes, but it also seems to be an expression of the main contradiction of modern Greek society, observed recently by Greek historians (47). On the one hand, the absence of a specific class structure for the appropriation of the economic surplus and consequently the "meagerness of a well-articulated 'society of citizens'". On the other hand "the especially premature institutionalization of bourgeois state structures, which were based on the models derived from the French revolution" (48).

Dimensions of power in andártika (partisan-songs)

If we now turn our attention to the songs produced during the periode 1940-49, we can immediately see that something has changed in the mental universe we have examined so far. Apart from the general factors mentioned in the introduction, this is due to the following fundamental changes, which affected the traditional values of the rural population during this period. The conversion from individual to collective attitudes, mainly brought about by collective rockling of basic common problems, from food supply to the administration of justice. This implies the weakening of those factors, which, as we have seen, had in the past formed an obstacle to such attitudes (localism, patronage, omnipotence on family-ties).

Finally, for the first time the rural population felt itself the subject of history, which led to the politicization of all problems and social relations. This is best exemplified in what a schoolteacher said at a meeting of Roumeli's party members: "This time it won't be like in 1821. This time we will write history" (49).

This politicization is clearest in the attitude towards

institutions. which is marked by an introduction of abstract political concepts. Resistance songs, and civil-war songs even more so, are full of antiroyalist utterances, which is not surprising as king George was, at the beginnings of the war, probably the most hated man in Greece. And not only by the rank and file, but also by prominent politicians, bankers (50) and even royalist officers (51). But these references are not longer directed to the king as a person, but to the monarchy as an institution. Now we can see a people capable of abstract political thought: Kings are bad, because they cause wars, often instigated by foreign powers. But now the peoples all over the world have awakened and are going to rule alone, which will put an end to wars.

The same negative attitude can be seen towards the "old politicians" (two try to cheat the people and civil war), towards unjust law, towards the state (which exiles you when you ask for justice), towards Banks (which have indebted the poor people), money (which foments civil war) and towards the army. Thus, all institutions of the old society, except for school, family and religion, are rejected and replaced by " (people's rule).

I want to make it clear that I am not trying to suggest that all Greek peasants had become a bunch of anarchists. I want merely to show some dynamics, which can be summarized as follows: the latent aversion to political institutions came to the open and was reinforced by their crumbling down and their from the national -liberation struggle. Consequently it was politicized, partly by the diffusion of political ideas in this period, but mainly because the population experienced in practice the embryonic form a new system, which gradually started to gain their confidence. And this brings us to the crucial question: what as " "?

From the songs one thing is clear: that people's rule has something to do with the exercise of power: "people's sovereignty and a just law, we want to impose order, to put an end to thieving and lying" (52). This means a program of law and order and respect for private property. People's rule also meant

a program of social demands, like better working conditions, jobs, education (53), equality and a general attitude towards life, determined by joy, confidence, optimism instead of a fatalism and submission (54). All this would be perfectly compatible with an enlightened democracy of western type, or with what the Communist Party KKE called "tasks of bourgeois-democratic transformation". But the essential question was of course, who was going to rule?

Most songs say: the people, not the king. But who the people? One song says:

"Gone are those times, in which the big ones ruled
now the giant people is going to rule alone" (55).

Here we see a clearly binary conception. S. Ossowski says that this binary conception, which as always present in society, becomes more accentuated in periods of intensified class conflicts. It can be interpreted according to three criteria, based on the privileges of the dominant class (56): power, property or exploitation. This binary conception is in effect reaffirmed in the songs and an analysis of all references to social groups shows that all three interpretations are present:

- a) power: on one side the primates, tyrants, kings, the "big ones", "chiefs" and "those who want the war and on the other the humble and enslaved.
- b) property: the "eaters" on one side and the "hungry, barefooted and poor" on the other.
- c) exploitation: the "people-cheaters" and "crows" against the "honest people", slaves of work, the workers, peasants shepherds and plowmen.

To conclude, the image the people had of " " seems to correspond more or less to what Kouvarás heard an illiterate shepherd say to the National Council's meeting (1944): better houses, education, food and agricultural machinery (even a railway to transport his sheep). No old politicians or lawyers to rule the country, but, in his words "meetings like this one, where I can get up and say what I have on my mind" (57).

The main conclusions to be drawn two periods of the Greek common man's history are the following. In spite of some common characteristics (collapse of state machinery and emergence of an alternative power mechanism defended by armed force, supremacy of social conflicts over national conflicts in a war of national liberation), there is an important shift in the attitude towards power: from a negotiable source of profit, based on prestige and armed force and determined by agonistic interpersonal relations, open only to the happy few with an adequate network of personal connections and arms, it undergoes a process of ideologization and evolves into a concept of institutional power, which forms part of a plan for social change open to all who want to take part.

Notes

- (1) Admir Fikret Heiduckentum un osmanische herrschaft, Südostforschungen 34(1975), p.62-80
- (2) At the beginning of the 16th century about 10% of the Christian families in the Balkans were martolos or Vlach, O.Barkan, Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman au XV et XVIeme siècles Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient I(1958), p.34.
- (3) Ι.Κ.Βασιλακάκης, Αρματολοί και κλέφτες εις την Μακεδονία, 2η εκδ., 1970, π. 85
- (4) Α.Ε.Βακαλόπουλος, Ιστορία του Νεου Ελληνισμού, ΙΙα(1964), σ.186.
- (5) F. Braudel, La Mediterranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II, Paris, 2e ed.(1966), vol.II, p.83-85.
- (6) See Βασιλακάκης, Ιστορικά αρχεία της Μακεδονίας ΙΙ, σ. 1, 12, 30, 50, 61, 69.
- (7) Isaya means registered peasant cultivator.
- (8) Bruce McGowan, Economix life in Ottoman Europe: taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800, Cambridge 1981, p.171
See also Π.Ασδραχάς, Ελληνική κοινωνία και οικονομία, 18-19ο αι Αθήνα 1982.
- (9) McGowan, op.cit., p.148.
- (10) Κ.Βακαλόπουλος, Οικονομική λειτουργία του μακεδονικού και θρακικού χώρου στα μέσα του 19ο αιώνα, θ/νική 1980, σ. 26
McGowan, op.cit. p.60.
- (11) Α.Παλιός, Το δημοτικό τραγούδι: κλέφτικα, 1973, Εισαγωγή, σ.63,
- (12) Βασιλακάκης(1970), εγγρ. 35, 38.
- (13) J.Petropoulos, Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece: 1833-1842, N.York 1968, p.72-73.
- (14) op.cit, passim.
- (15) K.Tsoucalas, On the Problem of Clientelism in Greece in the 19th century, Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora V(1978), no 1, 2.
- (16) N.McGrew, The Land Issue in the Greek War of Independence, in: Hellenism and the first Greek War of Liberation(1821-1830), Thessaloniki 1976, p.12.
- (17) 1/10 of produce paid over, generally in kind, plus 1/15 as ground tax on National Lands, cf. J.K.Campbell-P. Sherrard, Modern Greece, London. 1968, p.85.
- (18) McGrew, op.cit., p.128
- (19) Χρ.Ευελπίδης, Η Γεωργία της Ελλάδος, Αθήνα 1944, σ.23.
- (20) P.Avdelidis, Le rôle des coopérations dans le développement rural, Επιθεώρησι Κοινωνικών Ερευνών 1981, σ.43.
- (21) Campbell-Sherrard, op.cit., p.88.
- (22) Κ.Καράβιζας, Αγροτικά, Αθήνα 1931, σ. 586.
- (23) G.M.Forster, Peasant society and the image of limited good, in: Peasant Society, A Reader, Boston 1967, p.304-305.
- (24) Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια, ed. Academy of Athens (1964), vol.I, p. 275.
- (25) for example in matters such as property strategy, dealing with state officials, protection, the exchange of intelligence or finding an outlet for surplus labour (brigandage, emigration or a job in town).
- (26) Academy of Athens, op.cit., p.218.
- (27) op.cit., p.79.
- (28) op.cit., p.276.
- (29) op.cit., p.300.
- (30) op.cit., p.207.
- (31) as was remarked by an English traveller in 1859, cf. Petropoulos, op.cit., p.60.
- (32) Academy of Athens, op.cit., p.221.
- (33) op.cit., p.226.
- (34) See the song about the Albanian tax collector Ismail Dhamsis, killed by Samarina's klefts about 1775 (A.J.B. Wace-M.S.Thompson, The nomads of the Balkans, London 1914, p.149.)
- (35) song collected and translated by Wace-Thompson, op.cit., p.154).
- (36) Ν.Πολίτης, Εκλογαί από τα τραγούδια του ελληνικού λαού, 6η εκδ. 1969, π.68.
- (37) E.g. Millionis's song, Academy of Athens, op.cit., p.185.
- (38) op.cit., p.261.
- (39) op.cit.p.223.
- (40) Wace-Thompson, op.cit.p.197-198.
- (41) Cf. W.J.Ong, Orality and Literacy, London 1982.

- (42) even though their real motives were probably much more selfish and down-to-earth (looting, amnesty, appointment in the gendarmerie or army).
- (43) Δ. ΠΕΤΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Αθηναϊκά τραγούδια του Μακεδονικού Αγώνα*, Αθήνα 1968, σ. 356.
- (44) Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΥΛΙΔΗΝ, *Ιστορική Ανθολογία, 1820-1864*, Αθήνα 1927, σ. 45.
- (45) *op.cit.* p. 45.
- (46) *op.cit.*, p. 50.
- (47) Ilike J. Petropoulos, P. Diamandouros, P. Kitromilidis, K. Tsoucalas.
- (48) K. Tsoucalas, *op.cit.*, no. 1, p. 11.
- (49) Μιλέτικος, Η λαϊκή εφευρα στην Ελλάδα, 1979, τ. II, σ. 337.
- (50) J. Jatrídes (ed), *Ambassador Mc. Veach Reports, Princeton* 1980, p. 370, 372.
- (51) Α. Κουτρούκλης, Η Εθνική Αντίσταση του νομού Άστρας, Αθήνα 1983, σ' 113.
- (52) Τραγούδια της Αντίστασης και του Επαιτίου, 1975, σ. 15
Ανταρτικά Τραγούδια, Νέοι Αγώνες, 1975, σ. 34
Τ' Αουρα, σ' όουρα, τ, ΙY, XX σ. 38
- (53) "Εθνική Αντίσταση" 7, σ. 782
- (54) Author's collection.
- (55) Τ. Αζόμου, το λαϊκό τραγούδι της αντίστασης, 1964, σ. 200
- (56) Stanislaw Ossowski, *La structure de classes dans la conscience sociale*, Paris 1971, p. 37-46.
- (57) Κ. Τσοπουλίδης, *Ιστορική επίθεση του επαρκίου. Σε: Η Ελλάδα στη διάρκεια 1940-50*, Αθήνα 1984, σ. 576

The aim of this paper is to analyze the social relations within a metallurgical company in Barcelona during the Second Republic. It is especially interesting to study the relations between the entire hierarchy of the factory - owners, managers, personnel officers and foremen - and the workers, in this historical period and in this particular context. The advent of the Second Republic brought on a period of new freedoms, following a dictatorship which had severely limited the right to strike and trade union activity, since the most influential union in Catalonia, the anarcho-sindicalist CNT,⁽¹⁾ had been forced underground. The Republic was an era when the working class on the whole was hopeful for change. Higher salaries and more decent working conditions were among the improvements for which the workers clamored, at a time when many of them hoped for great changes in society. Social upheaval was to be on the rise from 1931, the year of the proclamation of the Second Republic, and in both the city and the countryside the political and social demands of the workers were to come to the fore.

The factory seems a fitting place in which to analyze the actual shape these forces took: what relations were established between owners and workers, how the workers responded to the call of the unions of their class and that of other political organizations and parties. Moreover, a large firm provides a rich harvest of varying attitudes and behavior emerging at times of conflict, strike or salary demands. It is an exceptional framework in which to observe the workers' opinions and images of their bosses, how they looked upon their superiors and whether they feared to claim what they considered theirs by right, whether words became silence or fists with which to demand and fight. Differences in status among the workers become clearly drawn in the face of specific events and incidents. White- and blue-collar workers, members of the CNT and UGT,⁽²⁾ millitants, men and women, provide a broad sampling of people whose behavior towards their superiors will be analyzed in this paper.

The social confrontation of the early years of the Second Republic grew until finally, on the 19th. July, 1936, sectors of the military all over Spain rose up against the Republican regime. This was followed by serious confrontations between those loyal to the Republic and those in opposition to it. The Republican forces emerged victorious in many towns, while military repression imposed

silence on others. With the aid of Republican and working-class forces, Catalonia was able to put down the military uprising. Due to the ineffectiveness of those in power, Republican institutions were pushed aside by the vitality of the workers' organizations, which responded immediately in city and village by setting up Antifascist Committees from the very start of the military rebellion. The seriousness of social strife reached the point where the bourgeoisie, fearing for its safety, voted with its feet and fled to those zones where the rebellious officers were in control. Spain was split down the middle by this conflict and a civil war further widened the gap between the bourgeoisie and working classes.⁽³⁾ In the factories, the consequence of this military uprising was the widespread flight of owners from the centres of production. In the factory we are going to study, the owners disappeared early on, awaiting the outcome of events. Later on, they were to pass over to the Franco military zone or else cross the frontier to settle in France. In this paper we shall treat this early period of the war, since the degree of violence and the attitude taken by the workers towards the owners and the rest of the factory hierarchy can throw light on the seriousness of class conflict as seen by the workers in the Republican period just preceding the 19th. July. Finally, we shall study the consequences which the loss of the Civil War had on the firm, as we feel that afterwards, the reprisals taken against workers led them to change their opinions on owners, managers and foremen. In short, events which took place in the factory during the Civil War sharpened the class struggle.

With regard to the documentation and sources used in this study, priority is given above all to oral history, as it is the only source that can lead us straight to workers' opinions of the factory owners and remaining hierarchy during the Second Republic, the war and the postwar era. This study has been made possible through interviews with a varied sampling of male and female white- and blue-collar workers, members and militants of the CNT and UGT, of various skills and socio-professional categories. These are anonymous people who rarely appear in written documentation.

Rivière Co. Ltd., the object of our study, was founded in the year 1854 and to this day still belongs to the metallurgical sector. More than a thousand male and female employees worked for this firm in the Republic and the war. It comprised three factories and a general office: the factories were in Sant Martí, Badalona and Can Tunis, the office in Barcelona. The majority of the workers belonged to the CNT union. However, there were pockets of white-collar workers in the general office affiliated with the CADCIL⁽⁴⁾ and a very few with the UGT. At the upper managerial level were the owners, the Rivières, assisted by several of their sons. At the next level down we find the managers of each factory - Sant Martí, Can Tunis and Badalona - and the managers of the departments which comprised the general office. At the third level were those in charge of sections of the factories and the office.

The manual laborers had no direct contact with the owners of the company. In general, the two levels met only sporadically in the factories, when the owners came to visit some section or for very specific reasons. "You couldn't talk to the owner. Here you had to pass through so many hands, you couldn't deal with the owner. You couldn't talk to him. If it was a labor question you had to go to the owner's delegate (the manager). You had to go through him. He had orders from the boss. He said yes or no. He didn't say 'I'll ask the boss.' There were so many of us working there." "I knew the owners by sight. They used to come and not say anything to anyone. They had their managers and flunkies." "Sometimes when we were working, the Rivières used to come round and they usually didn't greet us. If they talked to you it was always about work. They came like dogs, without saying a thing."

Some manual workers did have a more direct contact with them through chance meetings outside the factory or on their way to work. They generally characterize the owners as good people, who in certain cases showed kindness towards their employees: "I knew the one who used to come to the Can Tunis factory, where I worked. They didn't behave badly towards us, because as it happened sometimes we used to walk to work and back in order to save the fifteen cents of tram fare, since we could just get by on our wages; and sometimes he'd happen to be passing by in his car and come across workers walking along the highway, and he'd stop and give them a lift. So he wasn't bad." The most direct contact the manual worker had was with the Section Manager, who generally was on good terms with all his

underlings and tried to make the work more pleasant and problem-free. "The section manager treated me very well." "The section manager was a good guy. He was very fond of me because I always got my job done. I didn't talk to the Rivières. They used to come to the factory and walk up and down the floors where the workers were. I myself never talked. I talked to my section head who was the one who gave me my work." One woman stands out among all the workers interviewed who referred to the section heads, for the bonds of affection and friendship she had with him, to the degree that one could call theirs a somewhat paternalistic relationship. The men rarely mention them, and when they do it is in a very different tone: "The section managers were peaceful, all in all. They were approachable." The first and second levels of the company hierarchy had therefore few or very sporadic dealings with the manual workers. "Relations with the section manager were nil. Few. Ours was a good guy. But those people disdained to talk to the workers (...). When those people say anything it's to order and boss you around. They don't permit anything else (...)." The opinion of the radical militants of the firm stands out. This group characterizes all levels of the company hierarchy in almost the same way: "The factory was strict. The ones in charge and the managers were really tough. The section heads and managers were worse than the big bosses." On the other hand, the upper managerial sectors were so involved in their work that they felt the firm to be their own. "It was a model company. People worked. This industry of ours was huge." The office workers maintained a more direct contact with the upper echelons. They in fact worked together with the Section heads, Personnel Managers, and very often they were also in direct touch with the manager and, less frequently, with the owners. Since the office was much smaller than the factories, relations were on a more equal basis thanks to the lesser distance between owners and employees. We think this factor is particularly interesting, as it without a doubt had an effect on the smaller union membership in the office, as we shall see, and the fewer strikes the white-collar workers supported as well as their lack of expression of solidarity when the blue-collar workers went on strike.

Blue- and White-Collar Attitudes to Work

These two groups form two very distinct blocs within the firm, with respect, for instance, to their above-mentioned relations with the owners to whom the white-collar workers felt far closer; there was also a difference in mentality, differing visions of the world and the way to resolve labor conflicts. The office workers actually enjoyed far less strict working conditions than the manual laborers, and were forever seeking favors from their superiors, such as raises or special Christmas bonuses; their attitude to the trade unions was radically different and expressed itself in few or practically no labor conflicts. "There was a great gap between the administrative workers and those on the factory floor. They called us 'the gentlemen in ties and collars', because we earned more than they did. All the labor issues that separated us led to jealousies. And besides, I think there was a difference in educational level and in our way of getting along with others. We were really in two different worlds."

There was widespread discontent within the firm over salaries. Both blue- and white-collar workers mentioned it. The latter stated: "A year after entering the firm I wanted to quit because I didn't agree with the salary they paid me. I earned very little. But I went elsewhere and my eyes were opened. They told me, 'Here you'll earn twice the amount but you won't have opportunities for advancement.' At Rivière I did. So I stayed." "The salary was not enough. (...) Besides, in the office nobody knew what anyone else earned. Everyone looked out for themselves. Everyone worried only about their own thing. They played 'la puta i la ramoneta' - a double game." The blue-collar worker states: "They didn't pay much at Rivière. It had a reputation. That's why there were always vacancies." "It was one of the most exploitative companies. They took everything out of you, but they didn't pay you for it." "The women's salaries weren't as high as the men's. At that time we didn't think about the differences in salaries... we accepted them. We didn't earn much but we had security." The two groups also differed in their way of resolving conflicts. In the case of the white-collar worker who was dissatisfied with his salary, the whole thing could well remain a private discontent. "I wasn't satisfied with my salary, but I didn't dare to ask for more." In general, the white-collar worker had no faith in the union as the agent for resolving labor conflicts, and the office managers themselves insisted that owner and worker should be able to get along without the mediation of the union: "We were strike-breakers, we always worked.

I called a meeting one day finally of all the office workers, so that we would join the union, and it was outside of the factory, but almost no-one came. It seems that someone found out about this meeting and came along to spy on behalf of the owners (...). One time at the factory the owner called me over and accused me of being a ring-leader because I was unionized and threatened to show me the door if I went on as I was (...). He really gave it to me. A few days later he called me over again and gave me a different line: "If you ever need anything, just ask me for it. But don't go to the union. What for? Just tell me and I'll help you out."

The blue-collar worker generally trusted in the union as the means of resolving conflicts. He may not have joined, in many cases, out of a real consciousness but rather because others in his section were members, or else because the union delegate at the factory urged him to join when he first started working. Since the majority were affiliated with the CNT, when there was a conflict such as a strike everyone joined in, although there was also a minority that thought owner and employee should deal directly with each other: "Those of us who had to take home a salary didn't think much of stopping work to go on strike (...). Sometimes when I couldn't make it on my wages, I went personally to ask for something (...). I said that I couldn't get by and would they please give me a raise. The union didn't achieve anything; just imagine if I was paying 60 pesetas for rent, in a month when I paid it I didn't have a thing left." "They used to call me the pet of the Personnel Manager at the factory, because he used to advance me money when I needed it, when I didn't have enough for rent." "When the women were in dire straits, we used to ask the factory manager for a loan."

The white-collar worker, on the other hand, as a rule didn't ask his superiors for loans. "People didn't dare to ask. They put their faith in Lady Luck. Everyone went all out to get ahead: there was the usual story you find in offices, the intrigues and double crosses to get ahead of the next guy. People resigned themselves to what luck threw their way. There was no urge to fight. The managers sometimes played favorites, and sometimes didn't..."

Thus, in practice, the bases of work were not very closely followed. White-collar workers had the advantage over blue-collar as a result of the progressive separation between factories and office, and the growing rivalry. In concrete terms, sick leave was

in 1930, 6 pesetas a day was the wage of a manual worker before the approval of the new agreement of September of 1931.

paid to the office workers but not to the factory workers. As for vacations, the office was the first section of the firm to have them. On top of all that, discipline was much stricter in the factories; there was a sharp eye kept on the workers. "The Rivières were very mistrustful. They had even put screens over the windows so that we wouldn't throw out parts or tools belonging to the firm. They kept a close check." In the middle of the Republican period, the firm installed time clocks on the beams in order to keep tighter control on production. This led to discontent and discrepancies between controller and weaver. "Instead of stopping the clock a few times a day to take a break, they didn't stop it at all. This led to a lot of arguments. For sure that business about production costs was a trick on the part of the owners to make us turn out so many pieces in a certain time limit. There was a close check kept on both materials and work."

We get an idea of the atmosphere of the firm in Republican times from the labor disputes there were and the response of the owners and remaining hierarchy to them. From the time of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera there was an employers' organization for the metallurgical sector called "Wire and By-Products" which brought together all the manufacturers of wire and nail products throughout the Spanish state. Although the centre of the organization was Madrid, there was also a main office in Barcelona. This association looked after economic and social issues and the demands of the workers of the sector. One of the owners of the firm was in charge of social questions within this organization. The seriousness of labor violence at times of strike was on the rise throughout the Republican period. According to a private secretary of one of the Rivières, "The situation with the owners worsened and for a while it was very strained. One of them received death threats from the Metallurgical Union of the CNT. He travelled in a bulletproof car and whenever he left the factory he had a police escort. He also got a bomb threat in his house. It must have been around 1934."

The company hierarchy switched about in its attitude towards internal conflicts and general strikes in the trade. In the case of a partial strike for internal improvements, the Factory Committee or union delegates formulated the demands to the Personnel Manager of the factory. Depending on the type of problem and whether he had authority to deal with it, they might then go directly to the Rivières. The managers' reaction to strikes was basically an attempt to pacify the workers and it revealed a mixture of res-

pect and fear of what the anarchosindicalist CNT might do. "All in all the men in charge were peaceable (...). An instance of this, that they were passably friendly, came once when a strike was underway in the factory. All the staff was in the street, there was a mad rush like sometimes happens at times of tension, and only five or six people were still inside. The man in charge of the factory came out and told us to go back to work and not to put him in a tight corner."

Strikes had varying repercussions in the factory. The one that had the greatest significance for the workers of the firm was the first metallurgical strike of the Republican period, in August of 1931. They took an active part, and the firm was paralyzed by the strike. "We overturned carts, and we put a watch on the office so that they couldn't go to work. We kept them from taking goods out of the Office (...). In the end, we won on the basic points." Among the major gains for the sector were the suppression of piecework, higher salaries for all categories, and paid leave for women before giving birth. At the same time, the legal working age was set at 16 and the work week at 48 hours, as was in fact the practice in most firms of that sector. This strike also brought about "official" recognition of the role of the confederated union organization in the firms. The second general conflict in the sector came in June of 1934 with the strike for a reduction in the work day. "I remember that the conflict wasn't getting resolved and the Councillor for Labor, Barrera, called together the bosses and the workers and didn't let the meeting out until they reached an agreement." The strike was a success and the 44-hour work week was established in the sector. In any kind of conflict which arose in the firm, the Office never committed itself to supporting it. It had to be forced into doing so by the action of pickets. "When the factories went on strike, they fended for themselves. They thought of us as fascists, on the side of the owners."

In the commercial sector, the general strike called in mid-November of 1933 to demand new bases of work, must be emphasized. This strike got very little response in the Office. The great majority of employees went to work as usual. "We finally had to stop working, but I and many others had gone in to work. Several shots were fired at the metal door of the Office, and someone from the department even showed up with a gun in his hand and walked up and down shouting, "You're a bunch of cowards! Stop work!" Then one of the Rivières appeared and without batting an eyelash, grabbed the kid by the collar and shoved him out of the office. After that, we

owners or managers be displeased.

The militant sympathizer of the CNT is, on the other hand, someone convinced of the need for an organism- the union- to defend and make demands. He stresses working conditions which were often overly hard or prejudicial to the worker. "Since there was so much exploitation, I joined up (...). It was the only thing we workers had to hold onto. There was nothing else. Otherwise it was just those who ran things and did them their own way; if you didn't suit them, you were out in the street with nothing to your name, without pay." "During the war there weren't many meetings. Things were going well. Earlier on, when the management, along with the bourgeoisie, used to take away our bonuses, take away our hours, (...). then there were strikes and such things..." "There wasn't so much abuse with the CNT around during the Republic. They shouldn't rob you, they shouldn't exploit you, and you should do your job- that was the law of the worker."

It is difficult to know and to trace the attitudes of illiterates, of men, and of women in the firm towards their superiors and even towards the world in which they lived and moved. The illiterates seem to have sought more direct dealings with their employers than did those with some training and education. Women would generally line up with their section when it was composed entirely of women. They formed a group that sought bonds of affection and the protection of their bosses: "The older women in the section, (the wire-workers), used to take a bouquet of flowers to the home of the paralytic mother of one of the owners of the factory, every year on her saint's day." Moreover, the women were on the whole removed from union questions and labor demands. Whenever we find strong union sympathizers among them, it is because some male relative, brother or husband for instance, has converted them to his way of thinking.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE MILITARY UPRISING ON THE FIRM- 19th. July, 1936

The military insurrection of the 19th. July in Barcelona had immediate effects on the firm. The owners, some factory managers, and the more unpopular Personnel Managers all disappeared. The owners at first stayed on in Barcelona for the rest of July until, seeing the shape events were taking, they opted for the Franco-controlled zone around Pamplona or settling in France. "There was a French Personnel Manager who always stood up for the owner and

all stopped work." The general conflict that arose in June of 1936 in the commercial sector was the most serious one and affected a large number of businesses on the outskirts of Barcelona. The strike lasted a week. On this occasion, a small group of the office workers lined up with the strikers. "When we came back, the Personnel Manager told us we were fired. We went to the unions, and I guess they must have threatened them because they notified us that we should go back and they paid us for the week that had been deducted." The differences which were manifest throughout the Republican period between white- and blue-collar workers were to become more serious and take on a new form as of July of 1936. At bottom, they were simply the clashes of two concepts, two mentalities divided along class, work and salary lines.

Militants and Members

In speaking of these two groups, we are referring only to members of the CNT union, since the other union present in the firm, the UGT, had so few members that it was impossible to study these two variants among the workers. In the sector affiliated with the CNT, we find the general opinion that the owners were good people, that the workers shouldn't aspire to more than they had and should "accept what was given". Some of them supported direct owner-worker contact and went so far as to think that the union made them lose days of wages in going on strike. "They told me you had to pay the union dues, and I paid. It was an obligation to join up because otherwise if something happened to you, you couldn't go to them." "There were a lot of strikes in the firm. They made us join the CNT. And every time there was a strike, it meant a week without pay. Because we didn't get paid, no, not for that week..." Other opinions state: "The union was for the defense of the worker, but in our firm it wasn't necessary. If they said strike, it was strike; if they said work, work. I didn't bother my head about it." In other cases, the owners emerge as good guys because they raised wages without recognizing the part played by the union in this achievement: "The owners were fine people. They were good to us. There were strikes for more pay. They went to the owner about it and then we spent a few days (without working), and in a couple of days they were paying us a little bit more." We feel that, finally, the CNT member had no clear conviction as to the necessity of an organism to support the worker against the owner. There is even some expression of a fear of voting or of stating an opinion in public lest the

who was really tough, one time when he was defending the owner, his hand was disabled. When the action started, they went looking for him but he had already gone. He was on the boat already, down at the dock." "We went to the factory every day, to the front door, till finally one day it was open. The foremen and the manager had opened it. The manager, who was also the president of the Noble Nou Moral Centre, wasn't harmed. He was picked up and taken away from his home at 3 in the morning, and at 4 his son was knocking on my door... "What's up?" "They've taken my father away!" At 4 in the morning! And I said to one of my mates, "Listen, let's get going because the police have taken the manager away." We had to go, the poor guy was at the station. When he saw us, the heavens opened! We said, "For God's sake, man! He hasn't done anything! He's the manager of the factory and we need him there. We've got no boss, no nothing!" And they let him go (...). He stayed on at the factory for as long as he wanted. Because there, nobody was harmed! (...). We were one big family. Nobody was killed there (...). "Once we were back at work, word went around that the owners' apartments had been broken into and robbed, so we went along there and then we went to the police, who were the CNT police, the Patrols, and told them, "Look, this is what's happened at the Rivières' apartments. They might be going to set them on fire!" Then we went back there ourselves (...). The union set up a watch of militiamen from the Patrols, and any clothing that was left was given to the hospitals. When we reached their country houses, they were more than ransacked (...). Refugees were coming in and people were living there." "Groups from the company were organized to safeguard them (the houses). In every revolution there's sacking. The Rivières had vanished. We didn't know whether they'd come back or not. So it was right that the objects that were left should be shared out among the workers. That wasn't sacking." "The employers had gone. So the committee, along with the foremen and managers, took charge of the work. It went well - there was no lack of work or anything." Thus, at Rivières there was no radical break with the previous organization. With the CNT in the majority at factory-floor level, the firm was not seized outright as it went back into operation after the 19th. July. "It went on like it had under the owners, except for the workers' Controlling Committees (...). It was in our interests that no-one should accuse us of ruining the factory (...). It wasn't easy to organize it all. Naturally the old manager had to give an account of everything he wanted to do to the CUC (Mor-

that, when the Generalitat (Catalan regional assembly) brought out the decree on collectivization, the firm adjusted to it by following the guidelines of the Catalan Council for the Economy.

In August of 1936 came the seizure of the owners' property, which was not to be divided into lots to be raffled among the workers until May of 1937, thus earning money for the Blood Banks. That same August there was another important event within the firm: the discovery of one of the owners' sons somewhere near the Catalan coast. He was taken to Barcelona and handed over to the Controlling Committees of the firm. The Metallurgical Union of the CNT gave the workers a free hand to proceed as they thought best. He was put on trial but not held responsible in the end. Later on, members of the company committees offered him the chance to work in the factory, which he refused. "My husband and other Committee members smuggled him into France. They got through Customs, risking their lives, eh! Because you could tell he wasn't a worker. He looked like a student, he was young and you can tell from the hands if someone's a worker or not. Well, they got him a CNT card, they got through Customs and into France. And they saved his life. Because if they'd caught him, whatever they say, they also killed people, eh! Or they would have made him suffer. The fact is, they saved him." These events show that even though outside the company there was serious social strife, particularly in the first few weeks after the uprising, inside it there was moderation despite the initial detentions and all the members of the company hierarchy who stayed on were treated with respect - technicians, personnel managers, foremen and so on. Overall, the actions which were carried out during this period were far-reaching in that they defined the character of the collectivization of the firm. The pact between the various existing tendencies was sealed out of the need for the middle-level staff, technicians and other trained people to carry on with the work. The heaviest emphasis was on wartime production rather than the radical transformation of the country, which contributed to the confluence of the different sectors. The class confrontation between owner and worker or company hierarchy existed nevertheless, though toned down by the understanding among the groups within the firm.

OWNERS AND WORKERS AND THE END OF THE WAR

Once the war was over, the Rivières reacted excessively harshly against the workers who had stood out in the company, the members of the committees and commissions, as compared to the events which had followed on the 19th. of July. The only Rivière who took a personal interest in the fate of the workers was the one who had gone through the trial during the war and had been taken to France by Committee members. He concocted documents which got ex-Committee members out of prison and lightened the sentences of others. The motivating force behind these reprisals and purges from the firm was to follow the trail of the objects taken from their private homes, taking each employee in turn. In this there was a mixture of hatreds, personal grudges, and misunderstandings from throughout the war. The opinion of the workers on these events is strong and admits no rebuttal. The way the Rivières repaid the behavior in the firm during the war, the fact that people kept working at their jobs or took care of running the business since they themselves had fled, was with firings, reprisals, accusations, prison and executions. The expressions of amazement and dismay on bringing back that time are difficult to forget. The exceptional fact is, however, that the end of the war was not experienced in the same way by all the workers. The ones who worked on grudgingly during the war, criticizing the employees who were running the firm for being "the new bosses", did not defend their comrades against the owners. The ones who suffered threats for non-collaboration in the war period denounced their comrades. Those who were not fired and who were paid by the owners in the first weeks after the war was over, since "red" money was now worthless, said they behaved well. The only conclusion that arises out of this end-of-war sadness is that the actions of the owners sharpened the class struggle from 1940 on. The workers themselves were divided; hatreds were sown which are alive to this day, much as certain politicians may tell us all must be forgotten. "It wasn't my wife's fault just because she was married to me, she hadn't been involved in anything, and he was a gentleman who called himself a Catholic to the hilt. Although it's really not his fault (the manager's) but the Rivières'. They could have declared there were no winners or losers, they could have said, "If the workers we've had want to come to work, they've got a job." That was the mission of the Rivières, because they weren't bothered at all. The only things missing from the houses were the cutlery, the dishes... that was a small wrong. Everyone who had been in

charge was on the street." "...in 1939 the Rivières came to my house with the police. Because look, they thought we had some kind of treasure at my place. They found... how ashamed they were! My father said to them, "What did you expect, that we would bring the stuff from your house here? Here we're poor and we will be all our lives, but we're honest..." "They fired four innocent people (...). The owner wanted to know if I had been caught at it, or if I had gone out in the streets armed (...). but I didn't go out to even put up a barricade. That's why I changed companies." "The first thing the Nationals did was to fire all the Reds. I hadn't done anything. Just work. The owners, the bourgeois, had all gone. And when they came back they found their factories and everything. And thanks to that, they fired me." "The Personnel Manager told me, "We know you haven't been involved in anything (...). But since you're your husband's wife and wives are accomplices in what their husbands do." "Now you listen! My husband hasn't done anything! He was on the Committee because the factory voted for him, and if the owners left, someone had to be in charge! Where were you? Why didn't you come and run the factory?" Nothing, nothing, and they put me out. Without five cents, without money."

The fear the workers experienced is still reflected in their mistrust and silence. Many of them have lived through that image from the war again, of the house search. Thus many of them did not want to relive the past. "I have nothing to say." "We're all right as we are."

Barcelona, December, 1984.

Footnotes

- (1) CNT- (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) (National Work Confederation) Anarchosyndicalist Workers' Group founded in 1910. Its main influence was in Catalonia. Federalist, antiauthority, on the fringe of political parties and with Direct Action as the essential instrument of the class struggle.
- (2) UGT- (Unión General de Trabajadores) (General Union of Workers) Socialist union with its main influence in the centre and north of Spain. Created in 1888 in Barcelona. Strong ties with the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)
- (3) The initial origin of this paper centred on the collectivization of the firm under study is:
-Vega, Carme, "La Lluita dia a dia dels treballadors d'una empresa a la retaguarda barcelonina (1936-39)" (The Day-to-day Struggle of the workers of a firm in the Rearguard in Barcelona) Graduate thesis, University of Barcelona, February, 1981.
-Monjo, Anna, "Evolució del poder: de la gestió organitzativa d'una indústria collectivitzada de Barcelona (1936-39)" (The evolution of Power: On the Organizational Conduct of a collectivized Industry in Barcelona). Graduate thesis, University of Barcelona, February, 1981.
- (4) CADCI- (Centro Autonomista de Dependientes del Comercio e Industria) (Autonomist Centre for Commercial and Industrial Workers) Social and political body created in Barcelona in 1903. Brought together commercial and office workers of Catalan nationalist tendencies.

A SOCIETY WITHOUT STATE IN THE MEMORIES OF SPANISH COLLECTIVISTS

Claudio VENZA

The phenomenon of collectivisation in Spanish Civil War is known only in a partial and often biased way. The most famous historians usually confine it to a short paragraph giving only general and often confused information. Once again the fact of drawing on written documents only, together with an ideological and political prejudice towards a social revolution which is considered to have been at least "inopportune", seriously biased historical knowledge. On the other hand advocates of the collectivistic experience usually gave a twisted, optimist and, after all, rather artificial picture of this period.

The protagonists' witnesses appear more meaningful and representative than some repetitive and nearly stereotyped records. Obviously a merely subjective approach, historical events which were lived and seen by the inside, cannot exhaust an historical analysis of collectivisations.

More realistically such fragments hope to give an insight of the men and women who lived in that period and of their outlooks, of their enthusiasms and disappointments, of their intuitions and ingenuousness, of their aspirations and mistakes.

The most important and original source used in this study is made up of 46 interviews recorded by researchers of the Turin Archivio Nazionale Cinematografico della Resistenza whose leading spirit is Paolo Gobetti. They were made among Spanish militants, most of whom were anarchists, in France and Spain in 1976-77. Most interviewees belonged to different groups supporting the newspaper "Frente Libertario" which embodied a trend of Spanish anarchism contrary to the cooperation during the civil war with republican political forces and in favour of the maximum possible development of the revolutionary changes of the collectivisation process. The subject of these interviews was extremely wide and often interviewees spoke freely of all their political and personal experience, with particular reference to the 1936-39 period.

The analysis of the subject has been confined to agricultural collectives as they embody the most characteristic development of collectivisation. In the industrial sector collectivisation was indeed seriously limited by the control of government and of some tradeunionist and political structures.

The capability of Spanish anarchism to hold on and self-reproduce itself, skillfully exploiting the absence of state reformism and focusing expectations for a change in reality on itself, becomes apparent during the Second Republic too, in fact the movement spreads and becomes more radical just in the first half of the '30s.

Interviews clearly confirm the great importance of the ethical feature in militant activity. Joaquín García Camarena who started working at the age of 6 mowing grass in the fields and became an anarchist tradeunionist at 18 declares without uncertainties: "Being an anarchist is to me a very serious thing. I read Reclus, I read Ricardo Mella, I cannot do without reading. I thought that the anarchist must have moral principles, that the must show understanding, a certain delicacy and tolerance towards his fellowmen".

Pedro Adam, an anarchist from the Levante, reminds that in order to explain the experience of the social revolution which took place in 1936-39 "it is necessary to take into account that in Spain the confederate organisation (the CNT) was a new society which had been developing for years, even before the Movimiento (of insurgent soldiers) and later this enabled it to develop further...".

From another point of view Andreu Elogio from Valencia, a CNT militant from the age of 15, declares: "I always told me, I always said that there is no point in tradeunions to exist if their only role must be bringing about a better pay... tradeunions must make revolution".

This sort of moral guide, which suggested an interpretation of Spanish anarchism as a sort of religious esery, whether modern or not, to some scholars (Brenan, Hobsbawn,...) was recalled by interviewees also as a valid behaviour criterion aimed at correcting an experience, the collectivist one, which

had been at the beginning too extreme.

Bernabé Esteban from Villar Quemado (Teruel) recalls the problem of freedom of choice as follows: "In some villages the whole municipality approved the collectivisation but it soon realized that it did not work. The whole population had to be engaged in it but this arose problems because the collectivistic system was not approved by everyone. And when in such cases the ethical side is not taken into account the whole production goes lost and everything is compromised. In such cases it is wiser to leave out all those who are not collectivists and go on with the work only with those who are".

The loss in extension of the collectivistic experiment caused different problems in the stage of a rational organisation of work and product exchanges but, according to interviewees, it was fully rewarded by the quality of voluntary collectivisation.

José Villar Sánchez, from Quitagas, a mountain village near Valencia, started working at 9 and entered the CNT at the age of 13. He clearly remembers the way "individualists" parted and its consequences: "When they left, their lands and their tools were given back to them. And it was from that very moment that people began to carry out a more productive and really valid work. That also happened because the obstacles caused by the others did not exist anymore".

A very meaningful witness is given by the anarchist teacher Félix Carrasquer, founder and living spirit of an important school for community administrators in Monzón, an Aragonese village. In the weekly visits he made, together with his young students, to different villages he had noticed the difference existing between communities which had established spontaneously, notably those made up of small owners with some farming experience and those which had been imposed by force either by a convinced, though sometimes authoritarian minority, or by the Barcelona anarchist and tradeunionist columns fighting on the Aragonese front. Because of his experience in education and of his ethical and anarchist spirit Carrasquer was called to solve several disputes between supporters and opposers of collectivism. His answer was clear and consistent: "You have to leave people in peace so that

they can decide what they want to do by themselves". According to him, however, there were only about twenty cases of total and forced collectivisation out of many hundred collective enterprises.

Sometimes the "individualists" who wanted to go on farming on their own were politically neutral or they even belonged to the CNT; more frequently, however, interviewees recall the political support offered by the Communist Party which was looking for approval among conservatory medium and small owners. According to Villar Sánchez the Communist Party in Valencia "became a gathering place for all those who had belonged to the C.E.D.A." (the reactionary party which was banned from republican Spain), because "anyone was alright for them. Indeed they encouraged them. They defended them openly". The effects of this opposed propaganda were quickly felt: "So these people from Pedralba (a village of the Levante) who had entered the collective, some of them in good faith (though they did not belong to the CNT they acted in good faith), some of them maybe to protect themselves, before this stand communists rose their heads and started resisting and causing problems. In the end they left the community taking their lands away".

The constitutive congress of the Federación Regional de Colectividades de Aragón which was held in Caspe in the winter of 1937 and which is recalled by Bernabé Esteban, lays down that "any owner who keeps out of the collective will not be allowed to keep more land than he can cultivate by himself has hired work is abolished". Moreover, Esteban says, a norm was approved putting into practice Bakunin's teachings which advised to "avoid dispossession by force, while the problem solution lies in abolishing inheritance".

For collectivists the assessment of the experience they lived is closely linked to the defence, as a matter of principle, of the choice of the revolutionary way in the war against Franco. Beside such a political and ideological stance, however, their memories dwell upon many aspects of everyday life and economic needs.

Bernardo Merino Pérez, an anarchist bricklayer from the Le-

vante, with apparent proudness, recalls: "Never, on no occasion the eastern land, which is very fertile and productive, produced as much as during the war, although most communities, as comrades had joined the troops, were made up by comrades more than 35 or 30 year old, by women and kids".

The contemporaneous and pressing needs due to the war and to harvest time which began to clash immediately after July 19 1936 suggest different reflections to interviewees. Bernabé Esteban says that in Utrillas (Teruel) instead of disarming the treacherous Guardia Civil and seizing arms in the barracks "comrades set their hearts at rest saying that the Guardia Civil was a minority and they preferred to organize groups of harvesters to harvest wheat. The yield was certainly useful but it was more pressing to destroy fascism because if it prevailed, what good would have been amassing wheat?".

José Villar Sánchez reflects on the economic aspects of this experience and he points out that, generally speaking, productivity "remained at the average prewar level". I should be taken into account, however, that "about 30 % young people had left communities (...) as many volunteers came from collectives, while only a few came from individualists".

It was the new organization of work and social life, which aroused particular enthusiasm in those who expected a lot from the collectivistic experiment. The words of Fernando Aragón, from the Andúes collective (Huesca) are to this regard unequivocal: "When we harvested wheat (and a very good harvest it was because we had worked hard and rain had been favourable) we had the proof we were right: all the wheat had been sown, harvested and threshed with our work once went to the profit of owners who did nothing. How sad it was to think to what those owners had done before. How happy we felt when we saw that the fruits of our work went to the benefit of the collective, of the whole country..."

Even relatively outside or opposed observers witness such a great change. Juan Martínez, a medium owner supporting Izquierda Republicana had accepted the expropriation of food warehouses too, ascribing its necessity to wartime needs. Yet

he recalls the friendly atmosphere of working groups and the advantages of cooperation: "Working together is not stupid at all. It meant a great concentration of land instead of small and scattered fields. By doing so we saved time and work".

The principle of fellowship which has always been supported by Spanish anarchists as an alternative value to capitalistic competition seems to come true in a nearly miraculous way. A very meaningful episode is forever engraved in the memories of Matilde Escuder, partner of Félix Carrasquer and collectivist from Mirandel (Teruel). When a lorry selling fabrics reached her village she was afraid that the usual rivalry between women would break out even more wildly because of wartime shortage. "Yet it did not happen. It was really extraordinary because after spreading those remnants, women cared one about the other. For example they all had children but one would say: 'Look at this remnant, look it would be allright for a pair of trousers for your son, wouldn't it?...'. There was a feeling of brotherhood I had never seen..."

Fellowship was also meant to meet problems that collectives were not able to meet by themselves. The agreement which was underwritten in Caspe by Aragonese collectives was read by Bernabé Esteban during his interview. It read as follows: "When comarca federations and the regional federation are established it is necessary to do away with regional limits between villages; tools and raw materials moreover will be used in common and they will be to the disposal of the collectives needing them without any distinction". The agreement also envisaged exchanges of workers between zones with a labourforce surplus and areas lacking it.

Several inconsistencies, however, are recalled as concerns fellowship too. Gaston Leval, a French speaking anarchist who was entrusted with many important appointments had left Argentina with a view of documenting the revolution which was taking place then as he believed that "the experiences which were lived then had to be recorded for the future". He had already been in Spain in the '20s and he was astonished because "in cities people ate a lot. I remember that I felt uneasy in Valen-

cia (...) People had never eaten so many sweets in Valencia", while he points out that "farmers had a more practical and more responsible attitude towards the future looming at the horizon". His criticism of wastes and lack of fellowship in cities is confirmed even as regards the Catalan capital, the anarchist stronghold: "I had travelled in Aragón and I had remarked that wheat had grown and that there were no people to harvest it. However we had workers who were paid and jobless in Barcelona" where unemployment was high in the building sector.

José Villar Sánchez was demoralized when he heard the reasonings of some people from Pedralba collective, one of the richest and best managed communities of the Levante, "Once they told me: 'Look, from an economic point of view we are very well off, if we join with those from Marines, for example, they surely will not improve their situation while we will certainly worsen ours'".

Several interviews agree with record documents as concerns the fact that regional coordination bodies in Aragón, in the Levante and Catalonia tried to get round the danger of isolationism. Sometimes, however, conflicts moved to an interregional level. Bernabé Esteban says that exchanges between rural Aragón and the more urbanized Catalonia caused some problems: "We had hard disputes (...) because catalans quite annoyed us on those problems". Unfortunately there are no further details on the event, while later it is recalled that after a few months "things settled".

Difficulties in the functioning of the system do not seem to be remembered as insuperable limits. "Everything had to be matured in Spain (...). Everything had to be discussed. Of course", recalls Florentia Soler who fought with Durruti's column and who had been a collectivist in her native village in Aragón since november 1936. "Actually the situation was as follows: at the beginning we did, or rather we improvised everything as we could (...) later the unification had to take place. But ministers, communists and their power arrived instead and they destroyed communities", Gaston Leval summarizes. The repression carried out by Enrique Lister's troops is recalled

by all collectivists who often add details and express sadness and anger together with a feeling of helplessness. These feelings are summarized by Matilde Escuder: "And the grey people came and they destroyed everything and they took all our men away".

Such a traumatic event obviously leads to frequent reflections on the chances of an effective defense and of a military prevention of dismantlement. One of the interviewees, José Borrás, a militant in Durruti's column, seizes the occasion to express his point of view on the Aragón Council, a political body which was made up by representatives of the different forces fighting against Franco and had an anarchist majority. The Council was "acknowledged as the representative of Central Government and, after that, it lost its role of revolutionary body". Quite the opposite the Federation of Aragonese Collectives, made up by the productive forces of the villages, is said to have been a really anarchist and revolutionary structure, more resistant, therefore, to repressions. After all, according to José Borrás, Lister's military intervention "managed to eliminate what came from the top as emanation and representative of power, without roots or foundation". Polemically he concludes. "I want to add, and let this be a lesson to us, that the Aragón Council, which was extremely important as it was made up by a majority of comrades, played a card which may be rightly considered as counter-revolutionary. This event shows that any body which is endowed with power, no matter how anarchist are those who rule it, becomes an authoritarian body".

Quite the reverse, nearly all the interviewees confirm that within individual collectives one of the fundamental principle of anarchist theory and movement, namely the abolition of authority, had been put into practice. José Villar Sánchez, for example, recollects work organisation as follows: "Work was carried out by brigades. Each brigade had its own task and it was led by a person who was responsible for the work. Generally such a task was assigned to the most trained in that particular sector. He, however, had no authority".

Generally interviewees recall that it was difficult to put

such a radical innovation into practice in everyday life. Félix Carrasquer, teacher, realized that "what is difficult is being able to understand that the teacher at school is no more than a grown-up boy who, however, has no authority. Florentia Soler, on the basis of her own experience, affirms that a revolutionary change had taken place in social life in its whole: "After the change of society structures there were no authorities, there was no one in the village, neither a court of justice or a mayor, there was nothing, there was nothing but the revolutionary Committee". And she goes on: "There were no thefts, there were no killed people, neither out of hatred or for any other reason, people went to work, we had no authority, no authority at all".

Yet changes in everyday life were deep and in a few days deeply-rooted traditions and norms were dropped. The same woman affirms: "Only three months earlier if a girl had gone home with a boy saying 'We are going to spend the night together' her father would have beaten her to death. At that time on the contrary it was quite normal...".

Women's condition seems indeed to have been the aspect which was most concerned by new values. According to Matilde Escuder the change first of all occurred at educational and cultural level "because conferences were held, we read, we discussed. Women at last got out of their households, they destroyed taboos...". "In Monzón, a village on the Sierra... with 5-6.000 inhabitants, tradeunions had a big house, there was also a tradeunion library, a big one, there was another one where Mujeres Libres held evening courses for women of the people, for those women who could not read and they taught them about maternity, first aid, etc."

Suceso Portalez, coming from an anarchist family, points out the need for a particular women's movement because even among anarchists "women were the comrades' partners, nothing more than this". Before 1936 "we had begun to make women aware of what was happening to enable them to fight together with men" and during the war "we were more interested in awakening women to economic and social problems rather than in making them ready for war" although, "after all, they helped because the enemy was near". The most important target was "doing something to

put into practice an overall, social and revolutionary change". To this aim it was necessary to defeat Francoists as "the rumbolling of old shackles surrounded our wrists" recalls Portalez Suceso, quoting a poem by his friend Lucía Sánchez Saornil.

Once again it is a woman who, with great force, summarizes the feelings of nearly all collectivists. When she arrived at her Aragonese village where a community had already been established, Florentia Soler felt she was living in a situation of real anarchist communism: "Decisions are taken by the people"-assemblies; money is abolished, we live in equality and freedom". Memories renew the strong emotions felt forty years earlier and they mix up with longing: "In our life it was like a dream... when I remember it now it is like a dream". The same idea, together with words aiming at confirming the soundness of the anarchist ideal is found in the interview of Saturnino Carod, a CNT column leader: "May be we were dreamers. Or utopists. Yes, all of us: but I remind you that even liberalism was a utopia before coming true, and then what seemed a utopia became socialism. We are and still are convinced that one day our utopia (may be the most utopistic of all) will come true, because if this does not happen, man will not be happy..".

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LE LANGUE ET LE POUVOIR EN CATALOGNE
PENDANT LES ANNEES TRENTE

Mercedes VILANOVA - Dominique WILLEMS

1. Cadre général : démocratie et pouvoir en Catalogne pendant les années 30.
Les années 30 en Espagne sont exceptionnelles, et ce à plusieurs titres : elles constituent une parenthèse entre deux dictatures, celle du général Primo de Rivera, qui dura 7 ans, et celle du général Franco, qui s'étala sur presque 40 ans. Cette décade connaît d'autre part deux expériences démocratiques distinctes : la démocratie parlementaire entre 1931 et 1936, la révolution sociale et la guerre civile de 1936 à 1939. Pour l'étude de la stratégie de la classe ouvrière et de ses organisations, c'est une période exceptionnelle : l'affiliation aux syndicats, anarco-sindicalistes ou socialistes, se calcule par centaines de milliers. En plus, à partir du soulèvement armé de la droite en 1936, convergent en Catalogne trois faits décisifs : la domination de la rue par les ouvriers, la fuite de la majorité des grands propriétaires et l'instauration d'une étape de double pouvoir.
Notre objectif premier était d'étudier cette situation politico-sociale particulière telle qu'elle se manifeste dans le comportement et les motivations des majorités. Ainsi, pendant la période de démocratie parlementaire nous avons porté un intérêt particulier à l'analyse

du mécanisme électoral, à la vérification de l'incidence du slogan libertaire "no votar" (ne votez pas). Pendant la guerre, notre attention s'est portée sur le fonctionnement de la dénommée "démocratie directe", par assemblées. Dans un troisième mouvement, nous avons cherché à corrélationner les attitudes électorales vécues avant 1936 avec les prises de position politiques et sociales adoptées pendant la période de guerre et de post-guerre immédiate. Cette mise en relation nous a permis de constater le rapport entre les trajectoires électorales extrêmes (abstentionnisme total ou participation continue) et le militantisme social.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, nous dispositions de sources adéquates : le recensement électoral et les listes des votants des diverses élections d'une part, et pour la période révolutionnaire, des documents d'entreprises et des sources syndicales assez complètes, sans oublier la possibilité de recueillir des témoignages oraux, sélectionnés en fonction de la documentation préalablement analysée.

Notre attention s'est portée tout particulièrement sur le comportement politique et social de la population ouvrière d'une usine métallurgique de 1.657 travailleurs, qui a connu, pendant la guerre une étape de collectivisation et dont l'activité a été continue, de 1930 jusqu'à nos jours. Comme le comportement de 75 % de cette population ouvrière ne pouvait s'expliquer à travers l'analyse

des sources écrites, nous avons eu recours, pour nous rapprocher de cette majorité, à la collecte et à l'analyse de leurs "récits de vie", sur la toile de fond des trajectoires électorales et d'une connaissance détaillée du fonctionnement de l'entreprise pendant la décennie étudiée. Nous disposons à cet effet d'un échantillon exhaustif de tous les survivants (199 personnes, hommes et femmes).

En commençant la collecte des témoignages par les trajectoires extrêmes, en particulier celles des femmes ayant toujours votées de 1934 à 1936, nous avons été rapidement confrontée avec le monde déconcertant et insouvenné des analphabètes. Dès les premières entrevues, bien que la documentation écrite n'y faisait aucune allusion, la variable "analphabète" nous a paru importante. Elle nous a paru correspondre à un comportement particulier à l'intérieur de la majorité, ne fût-ce que par la difficulté des entrevues, les nombreuses inexactitudes, l'incompréhension de certains concepts, l'agressivité même. Nous nous trouvions devant un mur, impossible à pénétrer, un monde qui se tait, se cache, désire passer inaperçu. Malgré les difficultés et le découragement, il nous a paru important de continuer l'enquête, d'essayer, à travers ces témoignages difficiles et incomplets, de mesurer l'impact de l'analphabétisme sur le comportement politique, social et culturel des individus et en même temps, par contrecoup, de mesurer le pouvoir de la

langue écrite. Nous nous sommes donc acharnées à recueillir les témoignages de ceux qui ont une voix, mais qui n'écrivent et ne lisent pas. Il s'agit d'ailleurs, somme toute, d'une population historiquement majoritaire et ceci presque jusqu'à nos jours... A travers ce cas d'espèce, l'étude se veut également une réflexion sur les caractéristiques de l'analphabétisme en général, ses formes, sa place dans l'histoire, ses conséquences sur la méthodologie historique. Elle vise enfin à circonscrire une forme de pouvoir particulièrement bien ancrée et peu analysée, le pouvoir sous-jacent de la culture écrite.

2. Approche externe : définition sociale et politique des analphabètes dans le cadre d'une entreprise collectivisée.

Si l'analphabétisme a été peu étudié en tant que facteur important dans l'analyse du comportement politico-social des masses, c'est peut-être qu'il reste très souvent imperceptible à travers les documents écrits et que le comportement "objectif" des analphabètes se confond souvent avec celui des alphabètes comparables. Ainsi, leur comportement électoral est très similaire à celui de la majorité des électeurs, bien que les analphabètes tendent à s'abstenir plus et à parcourir des trajectoires plus extrêmes que les alphabètes.

Les analphabètes, pendant les années 30 à Barcelone, constituent un 18 % du recensement électoral, pourcentage

très inégalement distribué selon le sexe, les femmes représentant quelque 25 %, les hommes 10 % seulement. Cette différence s'accroît encore au niveau de l'entreprise, le pourcentage des femmes analphabètes étant très supérieur à celui des hommes. Dans notre échantillon, nous n'avons relevé qu'un analphabète total, bien que nous en ayons trouvé plusieurs avec un très faible scolarisation, tout juste suffisante pour signer ou écrire quelque phrase. Nous en avons également trouvé qui apprirent à lire pendant leur service militaire ou pendant la guerre civile. Pour recueillir plus de témoignages d'analphabètes masculins, il nous a donc fallu sortir de l'échantillon de l'entreprise (cf. Tajos).

L'analyse de la participation électorale dans la ville de Barcelone révèle une plus grande abstention de la population analphabète, cf. tableaux 1 et 2), l'abstention de la femme étant toujours supérieure à celle de l'homme. Ces données pour Barcelone-ville valent également pour les autres villages de Catalogne. Les analphabètes semblent donc bien constituer le noyau quantitativement le plus important de ce qu'on appelle "l'abstentionisme par marginalisation".

Tableau 1 : Barcelone, trajectoires électorales de deux élections de 1936 (Frente Popular et Compromisarios). Echantillon de 17.345 électeurs.

	Analphabètes	alphabètes	Total
abstentionnistes constants	43	32	34
intermittents votants constants	31	36	35
	26	32	31

Tableau 2 : Barcelone; trajectoires électorales de trois élections (municipales de 1934, Frente Popular et Compromisarios de 1936). Echantillon de 7.068 électeurs

	Analphabètes	alphabètes	Total
abstentionnistes constants	43	27	30
intermittents votants constants	42	49	46
	15	23	22

Si on passe au groupe plus réduit et homogène que constituent les ouvriers d'une entreprise, les différences se réduisent considérablement. En prenant en compte les trois principales trajectoires électorales (abstentionisme constant, abstentionisme intermittent et votants constants), les différences ne sont pas grandes. Les analphabètes ont toutefois tendance à parcourir les trajectoires extrêmes, soit en ne votant jamais,

soit en votant toujours, alors que les alphabètes choisissent prioritairement la trajectoire intermittente.

Sur le plan du travail, les analphabètes se recrutent dans la section manuelle de l'entreprise. Par définition aucun ne se retrouve dans le secteur commercial. Sur le plan de l'engagement social il est à noter qu'aucun analphabète n'a été militant dans l'entreprise. Ils appartenaient à la masse des "affiliés". En ce qui concerne l'aspect religieux, alors que la presque totalité des alphabètes reconnaît avoir pratiqué, pour le moins sporadiquement pendant la République, les analphabètes pratiquent à peine.

En comparant les femmes analphabètes aux alphabètes, la première impression est celle d'une grande similitude pour toutes les variantes considérées, la scolarité mise à part, comme si, dans leur comportement politique et social, il y avait à peine des différences.

3. Histoire orale des analphabètes : analyse des témoignages. Il en va tout autrement lorsqu'on passe à l'analyse des témoignages oraux. À partir d'une écoute attentive des deux premiers, des particularités sont apparues et des hypothèses ont pu être formulées concernant le comportement politique et social des analphabètes lors des moments de crise importants, en particulier leur engagement par rapport aux faits, concernant leur degré de compréhension et d'information de la réalité sociale qu'ils ont

vécue pendant les années 30, concernant leur mémoire, historique et personnelle. La nécessité est apparue de reconstruire minutieusement l'univers personnel et communicatif de chaque locuteur. Ces hypothèses et réflexions ont donné lieu à l'établissement d'un questionnaire à la fois plus complet et plus précis. De nouveaux témoignages ont été recueillis, d'autres ont été répétés. On a recherché des témoignages comparables d'alphabètes, aux situations familiales, personnelles, et géographiques similaires. Bien que l'échantillon reste très réduit (10 témoins alphabètes), la qualité des témoignages, la précision des données, la possibilité de comparaison et en particulier la concordance sur la plupart des points de l'ensemble des témoignages nous paraissent une garantie suffisante pour présenter un premier bilan.

3.1. Conditions générales d'enregistrement.

Comme nous l'avons suggéré précédemment, tous les témoignages d'alphabètes ont été difficiles à obtenir et aucun n'a pu être obtenu dès la première prise de contact. Les portes se sont fermées une à une, le taux d'échec atteignait le 100 %. Cette situation était particulièrement alarmante dans la mesure où nous travaillions dans les limites d'une liste déjà réduite par les caractéristiques même de l'enquête. Il a fallu mettre en marche un système de "boule de neige", de relation en relation, technique d'autant plus difficile que nos témoins se meuvent dans un rayon social extrêmement réduit. Quand,

après divers essais, il a été possible de parler avec certains d'entre eux, il s'agissait souvent d'une confrontation violente, policière presque : certaines entrevues n'ont duré que quelques minutes, sans possibilité de répétition. Si dans tout projet d'H. O. on peut s'attendre à un certain nombre de refus, le cas des analphabètes nous paraît être extrême. Sans oublier que la donnée "analphabète" même n'est pas aisée à retracer. Il a fallu recourir aux recensements électoraux de 1932 et 1934 où cette caractéristique était relevée pour chaque électeur, retrouver le domicile du témoin à l'époque républicaine, ainsi que sa localisation actuelle, bref un effort considérable de temps et de patience.

Une autre difficulté nous a obligé à changer la forme même de l'entrevue, à passer du questionnaire précis au récit de vie, dans lequel les questions plus concrètes se confondaient. Ceci, de par les problèmes que connaissent les analphabètes pour se rappeler jusqu'à leur chronologie personnelle, et de par le manque de sincérité sur des points précis qu'il était facile de vérifier, tel leur trajectoire électorale, le syndicat auquel ils appartenaient ou la répression subie à la fin de la guerre.

Le but étant de mesurer l'impact de l'analphabétisme sur les différents points étudiés, nous avons d'autre part été confrontée avec le problème des interférences : l'âge d'une part, le sexe de l'autre. Tous les témoins étant âgés, il est parfois difficile d'attribuer avec

sûreté certaines caractéristiques au facteur "analphabète". Sur ce plan, la comparaison avec des témoins alphabètes du même âge est précieuse. Nous avons d'autre part constaté des différences importantes entre hommes et femmes : non seulement les femmes analphabètes sont plus nombreuses, mais nous avons également remarqué, en classant les analphabètes et les alphabètes selon leur degré de formation plus ou moins élevé, que les hommes, même ceux qui n'avaient jamais été à l'école avaient souvent une meilleure formation et un jugement plus personnel et indépendant que les femmes, même si elles avaient été quatre, cinq ou même huit ans à l'école. Le type de travail effectué, l'âge précède du premier travail, le manque de temps et de liberté sont ici sans doute des facteurs déterminants.

Notons encore que les résultats présentés ici concernent essentiellement les analphabètes complets. Dans un seul cas, le témoin avait appris à lire, mais pas à écrire, pour pouvoir comprendre le cinéma muet. Il serait particulièrement intéressant d'intégrer dans l'étude les divers degrés d'analphabétisme, ainsi que les alphabètes tardifs.

3.2. Analyse des témoignages.

A part la profonde misère, présente dans toutes les entrevues, ce qui frappe en premier lieu, c'est le rétrécissement de l'univers de l'analphabète aux deux pôles concrets de la maison et du travail. A chaque fois nous avons été confrontée à un désintérêt total pour ce qui se

déroule en dehors de ces deux univers, qu'il s'agisse des effets de la guerre, de la proclamation de la République ou des noms des principales personnalités, tel Franco ou Primo de Rivera. Une même dissipation historique sur le plan de l'entreprise, où l'expérience de collectivisation est largement passée inaperçue. Cette limitation de la réalité environnante s'accompagne d'une absence de mémoire chronologique, tant politique que personnelle (date de mariage, naissance des enfants), et l'impression généralisée de non-changement. Tout est toujours resté identique, et cette perception de non-changement est un des leitmotiv des témoignages d'analphabètes, qui ne se retrouve pas avec la même force, même chez les alphabètes les moins motivés ou engagés. Une restriction toutefois : ils savent quand ils vivaient le mieux, et c'est en général à partir de la mort de Franco.

La mémoire est particulièrement sélective : les analphabètes se rappellent avec précision de leur salaire, avant, pendant et après la guerre; de la nourriture servie aux "réfectoires populaires", du rationnement. Jamais des premières vacances payées, du premier vote pour les femmes, des premières douches installées dans l'usine. En ce qui concerne la façon dont les événements ont été vécus, le point le plus frappant est sans doute la perception exclusivement passive des faits. Les analphabètes se contentent de constater les choses, les événements leur arrivent, ils en sont les patients, jamais les

actants ou les participants. Ils apparaissent d'ailleurs rarement en tant que sujets de leurs énoncés. On ne relève l'expression d'aucune opinion, d'aucun sentiment, d'aucune réflexion. L'analphabète se meut dans une indifférence passive : chez eux, ni engagement, ni lutte, mais acceptation d'un sort souvent contraire. Dans ce sens, les analphabètes nous sont apparus comme le poids mort de la société.

Une troisième caractéristique, particulièrement saillante, est le désir de normalité. Les analphabètes cherchent à se confondre avec les autres. Le sentiment qui prédomine est celui de l'appartenance au vaste groupe des "autres", la peur de l'individualité, de la motivation personnelle. Cette recherche de la "normalité", qui se traduit également sur le plan linguistique par l'utilisation particulièrement fréquente de lieux communs, de vérités générales, souvent contredites dans la suite de l'entrevue (p. ex. en réponse à ce que qu'a signifié pour l'interlocuteur la fin de la guerre : "l'allégresse pour tout le monde" et plus loin "pour nous tout était égal"), et qui peut expliquer en partie les mensonges et les contradictions, se retrouve également au niveau du comportement électoral : les analphabètes, bien que mal informés votent "correctement" : ils votent en général pour le vainqueur, pour l'homme en place.

Ce désir de se confondre avec les autres, de se cacher en quelque sorte, va de pair avec un sentiment aigu

d'infériorité et l'acceptation de celle-ci, non seulement en rapport avec l'analphabétisme (comme je ne sais pas lire, je ne peux vous répondre), mais également en rapport avec l'utilité même de l'entrevue ("nous ne sommes pas intéressants"), et en particulier par rapport à tout ce qui touche les questions d'opinion, d'information, d'engagement ("je ne sais pas"; "je ne comprends rien à ces choses"; "je n'ai pas la tête pour ça"; "je ne me suis jamais mêlé de rien"). Cette infériorité s'accompagne d'une grande méfiance par rapport à tout ce qui est extérieur à l'univers familial et de travail. A ce sujet il est intéressant de noter que le choix du lieu de travail est toujours lié aux relations familiales (à travers un frère, cousin, beau-frère travaillant déjà dans l'usine).

Une autre caractéristique qui oppose l'ensemble des analphabètes aux autres témoins est l'isolement, souvent voulu, dans lequel ils se trouvent : peu ou pas de relations d'amitié, même au niveau des compagnons de travail; un rétrécissement spatial aussi, plusieurs des témoins n'étant jamais sortis des limites du quartier. L'univers communicatif se réduit à la famille immédiate. Dans aucun des témoignages ils ne prétendent communiquer avec quelqu'un en particulier. Dans l'entreprise on constate un phénomène de marginalisation, les alphabètes interrogés déclarant ne pas se relationner avec les analphabètes, ceux-ci répétant qu'on ne leur disait rien sur ce qui se passait dans la rue, dans les assemblées. On ne peut

qu'être frappé d'autre part par l'égoïsme qui émane des témoignages : tous les événements, quelle que soit leur dimension, sont rapportés à leurs conséquences immédiates, concrètes sur le plan personnel. On constate de grandes difficultés de distanciation, de réflexion objective sur les faits.

Sur le plan de la langue même, de l'organisation du discours, de la compréhension et de l'expression des concepts, les témoignages d'analphabètes se caractérisent par la brièveté des réponses, l'absence de tout émotivité et l'incompréhension de la plupart des concepts abstraits. Les notions de syndicat, parti, démocratie ou socialisme ne sont pas comprises. Dans notre échantillon, c'est aussi le cas pour plusieurs femmes alphabètes, mais les analphabètes ne demandent jamais d'explication, ne cherchent pas à comprendre, comme si d'emblée ils savaient qu'ils ne comprendraient pas. Ce type de questions suscite d'ailleurs souvent des réactions de mauvaise humeur, de distanciation. Les quelques définitions de concepts abstraits que nous avons pu obtenir réduisent la notion à ses aspects concrets (voter = mettre un papier dans une boîte; être syndiqué = avoir un carnet).

Les termes abstraits, même compris, sont systématiquement bannis de leur propre parole (Q. : Entre catholicisme et communisme, que préférez-vous ? R. : La première chose que vous avez dite). Il en va de même pour tout le champ de l'émotion et de l'opinion : on n'en parle pas. Les

analphabètes répondent à côté des questions se rapportant à ces domaines, les esquivent. La présence de ces tabous accentue chez eux la dissymétrie entre ce qu'ils comprennent, ce qu'ils sentent, et ce dont ils peuvent parler. La difficulté de communiquer, et le silence sont par ailleurs des thèmes qui reviennent fréquemment ("Moi je me suis toujours tue, je ne parle jamais"; Je ne peux pas m'expliquer, ni parler comme d'autres femmes").

3. Formulation d'hypothèses générales sur l'impact socio-politique de l'analphabétisme.

Sur le plan historique, la conclusion qui s'impose après l'analyse des témoignages est que, sans possibilité de lire ou d'écrire, il n'y a pas de véritable mémoire historique, ni de possibilité de chronologie précise. La perspective historique se dissipe, le sentiment dominant est celui du non-changement. D'autre part, le désintérêt pour les événements passés, l'absence de toute émotion ou opinion devant le vécu, semblent être le signe d'une réduction de la perception des événements, d'une limitation de l'univers politique et social aux aspects concrets et journaliers de la maison et du travail. Le comportement politique et social de l'analphabète pendant les moments de crise : son acceptation passive, l'absence de tout engagement, l'absence même de manipulation de la part des autres, révèle sans doute son degré de marginalisation. Une marginalisation d'autant plus im- perceptible que l'analphabète cherche à se confondre dans

la masse, à régler son comportement sur celui des autres, sans partager leurs motivations, bref à s'in-différencier (il votera, cotisera comme les autres).

La réduction de l'univers et la marginalisation consécutive ont leur écho au niveau de la communication, au niveau de la langue même. Celle-ci, en tant que moyen de communication, est réduite à l'expression des choses concrètes : l'analphabète non seulement ne sait ni lire ni écrire, mais il y a aussi beaucoup de choses qu'il ne sait dire, en particulier tout le monde des sentiments, des opinions. La dimension orale est donc, elle aussi, influencée par l'absence de l'écrit. Le pouvoir de la langue, en tant que source d'information est par ailleurs limité de par l'isolement de l'analphabète. On constate donc une réduction importante du champ communicatif et par là de tout type d'information.

A côté des limitations culturelles et spatiales évidentes (l'analphabète ne sait pas conduire p. ex.), l'analphabétisme constituerait donc également un handicap politico-social considérable. Il signifierait une restriction de la réalité environnante, une limitation de la perception des événements, un manque d'information, une absence de tout pouvoir de décision et d'action. Sur le plan politique, il constitue un poids mort, où même la possibilité de manipulation semble entièrement réduite. Il s'agit sans aucune doute d'une marginalisation à l'intérieur même de l'échelon le plus bas de la société.

Cette hypothèse, étant donné l'extension du phénomène de l'analphabétisme pendant les années 30 en Espagne et qui devra encore être vérifiée pour l'analphabétisme rural, jette une lumière nouvelle sur les notions de démocratie et de classe sociale. Elle circonscrit un nouveau type de pouvoir dans la société, rarement reconnu et étudié en tant que tel. Finalement, pour l'histoire orale, elle constitue un nouveau défi : celui de passer du témoignage de ceux qui lisent en écrivent vers ceux qui seulement disent, et qui disent si peu. L'histoire orale est la technique privilégiée pour s'approcher de cette parcelle de la majorité, à condition qu'elle trouve le moyen de réduire la distance, de découvrir les tabous, de briser le silence.

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ENTRETIENS AVEC LES "RECONSTRUCTEURS", CONTRIBUTION A L'ETUDE
D'UN GROUPE DE DECIDEURS (FRANCE 1940 - 1950) .

Danièle VOLDMAN

Pour la France, la deuxième guerre mondiale c'est d'abord une défaite, suivie quatre ans plus tard de la libération et de la victoire. Quelques batailles, des destructions massives. Et par deux fois, en 1940 puis en 1945, la nécessité de reconstruire, charge dont l'Etat prend la direction. Parmi le personnel qui a servi ce dessein, se distingue un groupe particulier, celui des "reconstructeurs". Composé d'architectes et d'urbanistes, il comprend également des ingénieurs et des administrateurs souvent sortis des grandes écoles et des corps de l'Etat. D'âge, de formation et de statuts fort variés, ils se trouvaient aussi bien dans les rouages de l'organisation administrative que dans les processus de la décision économique et dans l'orientation de la planification urbaine. Fonctionnaires titulaire ou chargés de mission pour une durée limitée, ils appartenaient aux organisations ministérielles présidant aux reconstructions (1). Maintenant ils sont unis par la commune conscience d'avoir été la cheville ouvrière de la reconstruction française, par un solide esprit d'équipe en même temps que par le sentiment étrange d'avoir manqué l'occasion de transformer l'urbanisme de leur pays. Presque toujours déçus et critiques vis-à-vis des réalisations auxquelles ils ont pourtant participé, ils s'interrogent, face aux questions

posées quarante ans plus tard par les historiens, sur les mécanismes de la décision. Qui décide, qui a décidé, au sein des ministères dont ils faisaient partie ? Comment se décomposent les formes, les forces d'un pouvoir ? Où sont les responsabilités respectives ? Peut-on du reste vraiment les déterminer ?

A travers le témoignage oral de ces décideurs, il s'agit d'étudier comment ceux-ci ont gardé la mémoire de leur activité, pourquoi ils forment une population si homogène alors même que leurs origines sociales et professionnelles sont différentes ; comment ils unifient la période 1940-1950 en liant les deux reconstructions minimisant pour leur part la coupure 1944-1945 ; les raisons enfin de leur scepticisme sur les formes urbaines que leur action a pour une large part engendrées.

A propos de la méthode.

Comprenant une quinzaine d'entretiens, le corpus choisi (2) a été limité par deux éléments. D'une part la majorité des acteurs appartient à la catégorie des "grands témoins" (3). Ayant bien souvent été déjà interviewés, ce sont des personnalités publiques qui ont eu l'occasion d'exprimer leurs opinions et leurs points de vue devant des journalistes ou des historiens ainsi que dans des publications variées (souvenirs, écrits techniques, plaquettes officielles, essais, ouvrages de réflexion ...). Il fallait donc que les entretiens introduisent dans des discours auparavant mis au point une cassure du récit

permettant d'aller au-delà de raisonnements et de considérations connus. Dans la mesure où l'étude porte sur un groupe de décideurs et sur les problèmes de la décision et du pouvoir, il a semblé inadéquat de contourner cet obstacle en choisissant une population représentant des échelons moins élevés de la hiérarchie administrative et décisionnelle. De plus, du point de vue de la réflexion méthodologique sur l'utilisation des sources orales, il était instructif d'analyser dans quelle mesure des entretiens avec des personnalités ayant eu des responsabilités publiques pouvaient apporter un éclairage nouveau sur des questions largement abordées par les acteurs eux-mêmes. Comment interroger des témoins maîtrisant par formation et profession la mise en scène du discours et du récit, sachant dire ou se taire au gré des intérêts à défendre et ayant pour la plupart eu le loisir et la volonté de faire le bilan de leur action passée ?

D'autre part, il a semblé opportun pour vérifier l'hypothèse selon laquelle les reconSTRUCTEURS formaient un groupe homogène de ne prendre qu'un ou deux témoins par catégorie étudiée. Car, si en France la forte structuration des corps introduit des différences marquées entre des activités par ailleurs proches, l'exercice du pouvoir semble bien avoir gommé la variété des origines. Il était nécessaire d'établir une palette large qui tiendrait compte de ces facteurs sans qu'il soit pour autant utile de composer des séries. Dans la mesure où l'objet n'était pas le comptage statistique de la composition des personnels (4) mais l'analyse du discours mémorisé,

il suffisait de s'en tenir à un élément par origine envisagée. On a donc choisi les témoins en fonction des écoles ou des familles qui ont servi de vivier à l'administration de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme : les Ponts et Chaussées, les Mines, l'Institut National Agronomique. Ayant centré l'étude sur les fonctionnaires du ministère de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme, on a laissé de côté les ingénieurs des Travaux Publics employés par leur propre ministère, pour s'intéresser aux architectes des Beaux-Arts et aux urbanistes de l'Institut d'Urbanisme de la Ville de Paris. Cet échantillon de techniciens a été complété par un échantillon plus administratif comprenant en particulier un inspecteur des finances et un juriste.

Cette insistance à repérer le cursus des études était la condition pour cerner une homogénéité d'esprit peu fréquente dans des milieux où l'appartenance, bien plus resserrée, ne se reconnaît que sur la fréquentation d'une même école. Corpus étroit donc qui ne vise pas la représentativité mais cherche les communautés de souvenirs forgés dans l'action et la conscience d'un fragment de destinée collective.

Les entretiens ont associé deux techniques. Chaque témoin a d'abord répondu à un questionnaire précis et ponctuel comprenant des questions sur la formation et la carrière, la pratique décisionnelle à partir de cas concrets et l'application des résultats obtenus en matière d'urbanisme. Puis, une approche biographique conduite selon la méthode des récits de

vie devait permettre une mise en perspective et une explicitation du contexte dans lequel le témoin avait participé à l'action du ministère auquel il appartenait.

Bien plus qu'à la recherche de faits précis, par ailleurs connus par les sources écrites accessibles, les entretiens ont visé à confronter les faits et les souvenirs de ces faits, les événements issus d'une décision ponctuelle facilement cernable et la mémoire des processus de décision, enfin les degrés dans la conscience que ces décideurs ont encore d'avoir influé sur les décisions. En somme, l'appréciation sur le pouvoir qu'ils ont eu et les raisons invoquées des limites à ces pouvoirs.

1940-1950 : une décennie comme les autres ?

Rappelons qu'après la défaite de 1940, le gouvernement de Vichy a mis en place des organismes chargés de la réparation des destructions dues à la guerre : le Commissariat Technique à la Reconstruction Immobilière (CTRI) et la Délégation Générales à l'Équipement National (DGEN) ont centralisé tous les problèmes qui relevaient de la reconstruction. Pendant quatre ans, le personnel qui y a travaillé a principalement élaboré des règlements et des principes destinés à améliorer et à renouveler l'urbanisme du pays, assoupi depuis la fin des années vingt. Mais, Occupation oblige, la construction elle-même a été négligée au profit de travaux moins coûteux en main-d'œuvre et en matière première. Comme les conditions d'armistice n'avaient pas totalement privé la France de sa matière grise, plus que des bâtiments, ce sont des réflexions et des codes pour

l'avenir qui ont été édictés par le CTRI et le DGEN. Les témoignages insistent beaucoup sur la certitude qu'au sein de ces institutions ils préparaient un après-guerre où l'Europe ne serait pas allemande. Pour les témoins, il n'y a jamais eu le moindre doute sur le caractère temporaire et passager des gouvernements de Vichy. Tous s'accordent sur la certitude qu'ils avaient de la venue de la libération, pour laquelle du reste ils oeuvraient, Aucune question n'a été posée aux acteurs sur leur éventuel engagement politique entre 1940 et 1950. L'entretien, volontairement, était centré sur l'aspect technique du travail accompli. Du reste, un seul des témoins a spontanément expliqué qu'il n'avait pas voulu faire partie de l'administration malgré les sollicitations de ses maîtres et amis "parce qu'il n'était pas possible de prêter le serment de fidélité au Maréchal Pétain exigé des fonctionnaires". Mise à part cette exception, les autres ont estimé -suivant en cela l'esprit de l'entretien- ne pas avoir à faire état de leurs opinions personnelles. Ainsi, chez ceux qui sont restés en fonction durant la décennie étudiée, l'accent a été mis sur l'importance des mesures prises sous Vichy. Deux points en particulier ont été soulignés.

D'abord la portée des règlements de 1943 connus sous le nom de "Code de l'urbanisme". Ceux-ci sont inscrits dans une continuité législative qui court depuis les années vingt: cela permet de pointer les phénomènes de longue durée insensibles aux conjonctures politiques fluctuantes et même aux ruptures.

Après le rappel des lois édictées depuis 1919 sur l'embellissement des villes, on peut montrer en quoi les textes de 1943 sont un effort de synthèse, de rationalisation et d'harmonisation des préceptes antérieurs. Mais de plus, on insiste sur leur caractère fondateur en même temps que précurseur et sur l'importance qu'ils ont eue pour l'urbanisme de l'après-guerre.

Ensuite, c'est dans l'organisation même du CTRI et de la DGEN que l'on voit la naissance de la notion (puis de la réalisation) de l'aménagement du territoire. Que la DATAR (Délégation à l'aménagement du territoire et à l'action régionale) n'ait vu le jour qu'en 1963 ne doit pas faire oublier, expliquent les témoins, que l'origine et la conception de cette nouvelle façon de penser l'organisation spatiale du pays se trouvent dans les lointains jours de 1943. Il est du reste remarquable que l'unanimité se fasse sur cette question. Car c'est avec la même assurance que ceux qui faisaient corps avec les instances gouvernementales et ceux qui, depuis Londres ou Alger les combattaient, datent, de ces années, l'apparition d'un town-planning français. Il n'y a pas, comme cela a été le cas pour d'autres questions (5), disputes sur la revendication de l'héritage ou de la paternité de l'idée. Bien au contraire, un consensus se dégage sur les critiques faites à l'organisation territoriale française et sur la nécessité d'y remédier. Que des hommes et des femmes (il y en a eu quelques-unes) se soient penchés sur les possibilités d'un nouvel urbanisme au sein du CTRI ou de la DGEN, personne ne pourrait le nier. Et que d'autres y aient également pensé dans la clandestinité ou par-delà les mers, voilà qui corrobore

le sentiment d'intelligence fraternelle pouvant unir ces res-
ponsables.

Il est vrai qu'en cela, ils suivent la doctrine de la libération qui avait décidé de maintenir en place les cadres administratifs des "années noires", n'éprouant que les plus compromis et appelant à la réconciliation nationale dans l'euphorique fiction d'un pays majoritairement résistant.

Les impératifs de la reconstruction.

Les exemples des lois de 1943 sur l'urbanisme et des antécédents de la DATAR sont revenus fréquemment au fil des entretiens. C'est pourquoi, puisqu'ils avaient été spontanément choisis par les témoins, des questions plus précises ont été posées à leur sujet. Si donc il n'y a pas de mise en doute à propos de l'excellence des mesures énoncées par le "code" ou d'hésitation sur l'origine de la notion d'aménagement du territoire, les perplexités sont plus grandes sur l'absence des effets de ces lois ou sur les lenteurs de la mise en place de la Délégation. Ici prend place chez les témoins une réflexion sur le fonctionnement des mécanismes bureaucratiques. Pourquoi, se demandent-ils, a-t-il fallu attendre si longtemps pour passer des idées à la pratique ?

Eux, qui ont été à la tête des rouages institutionnels, ne sont pas persuadés de maîtriser les processus de décision ni même d'avoir compris où s'est situé réellement le pouvoir. Les uns, qui sont restés en fonction durant toute la période, incriminent les changements de régime ou de ministres, insistant

néanmoins sur la continuité des personnels. "Monsieur le ministre était remercié mais, jusqu'en 1958, les directeurs restaient en place". Explication curieuse qui transforme la période antérieure en un âge d'or par rapport à une Vème République que soumise aux technocrates, mai qui ne fournit pas d'éléments décisifs sur les lenteurs de la mise en place de la planification urbaine ou celles du développement de la construction des logements. Cette contradiction dans les discours met en lumière la décision des interviewés qui, placés en position dirigeante, ne sont pas pour autant parvenus à leurs fins. Les autres, venus dans le sésail après 1945, notent l'état catastrophique du pays et l'ampleur des ruines. Comment prévoir un aménagement dans le long terme, arguent-ils, quand les sinistres attendent un toit ? Qu'il faille le trouver dans les exigences impatientes des sans-abris, dans la valse trop rapide des responsables ou dans les soucis électoraux des hommes politiques, c'est toujours d'ailleurs que vient l'obstacle.

C'est donc à une démonstration de la dilution du pouvoir qu'aboutissent les discours. Et, de la difficulté à nommer autant qu'à déterminer qui décide et comment, émerge une théorie diffuse sur la multiplicité des pouvoirs. Réflexion sur la part respective de l'économique et du politique, scepticisme sur les attributions réelles des instances d'administration, doute sur la notion même du pouvoir. Car si les témoins n'avancent pas aussi clairement que ne le fera M. Foucault la théorie des micro-pouvoirs, ils croient pourtant à des pouvoirs par-tout présents (6): dilution, multiplicité ou éparpillement se

traduisent pour eux par un freinage réciproque. Tandis que les techniciens rejettent les raisons d'un certain immobilisme du côté des politiques, ceux-ci invoquent l'ensemble du corps social. Un ancien ministre, par exemple, affirmera que la résolution de la crise du logement s'est heurtée à l'incompréhension de la population, incapable de concevoir (à la différence des Britanniques) qu'il fallait payer relativement cher pour être bien logé.

Comment dès lors déterminer la marge de manoeuvre des décideurs dans l'élaboration des politiques urbaines de l'après-guerre ? Ayant souligné la continuité entre les gouvernements de Vichy et ceux de la IVème République, ils ne se décrivent pas comme liés par une trop grande rupture ni même tributaires d'un héritage trop lourd à gérer. Revendiquant au contraire les prémices de leurs actions, ils mettent plutôt en avant l'impréparation politique des années de l'après-guerre. Tout se passe comme s'ils imputaient au politique l'imprévision de l'essor démographique et le manque d'appartements dû à l'ampleur des destructions. De ce point de vue, les techniciens se sentent à peu près dédouanés bien qu'ils n'omettent jamais de mentionner les difficultés financières et matérielles auxquelles se heurtaient toutes entreprises. De même, tous soulignent la contradiction entre les urgences du court terme et les exigences du long terme. Architectes, urbanistes, ingénieurs, administrateurs et hommes politiques, aucun ne sous-estime l'opposition fondamentale entre la nécessité de reconstruire vite et les besoins d'un urbanisme de qualité plus lent à réaliser

Et Lénine dans la neige.

Enfinement, plus qu'une déception sur le poids du politique ou la mesure des impératifs de l'économique, c'est le pouvoir du temps qui est mis en jeu. Pour construire il faut certes de la décision et de l'argent, de la volonté aussi pour bien faire. Mais tout cela n'est rien sans le temps. Et après avoir esquissé une analyse des limites - voire du manque - de leurs pouvoirs, les témoins en reviennent à une appréciation sur la valeur irremplaçable de la durée. Peu importe qu'ils soient restés bien longtemps dans les arcanes de leur ministère : les gouvernements changent trop rapidement, les Français sont trop pressés et le béton se fend à peine séché. Ainsi s'expliquent les défaillances du pouvoir où le temps fait tout à l'affaire. Rappelons avant de conclure l'image d'Epinal d'un Lénine dansant dans la neige. Le soir où la durée du pouvoir boïchévilk avait dépassé le temps où les Communards avaient tenu Paris.

Plus que le regard critique sur l'urbanisme de l'après-guerre, plus que la nostalgie d'un moment béni pour la construction, ce qui ressort le plus fortement des quelques entretiens menés avec un groupe de décideurs, fonctionnaires du ministère de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme, c'est une prise de position sur le service de l'Etat. Celui-ci, en bonne théorie de la démocratie, est indépendant des forces politiques au pouvoir. Il ne s'interrompt jamais. Et si l'on peut hésiter sur la légitimité d'un pouvoir, rester à son poste quoi qu'il arrive est le devoir du commis conscient de ses devoirs. En fil-

grane se sont donc dessinées les discussions sur les positions des fonctionnaires par rapport au pouvoir politique. En France, le souvenir de la période de Vichy est loin d'être estompé. Les polémiques sur l'attitude de l'administration restent d'actualité (7). La mémoire des reconstructeurs en témoigne.

NOTES

- (1) Pour l'histoire de ces organismes voir Danièle Voldman, "Reconstituer pour construire ou De la nécessité de naître en l'an 40", Annales de la recherche urbaine, n° 21, janvier 1984.
- (2) Ont accepté de donner leur témoignage de façon individuelle ou collective R. Aubrac, membre des cabinets de R. Dauray et F. Billoux, directeur du déminage; R. Auzelle, inspecteur général de l'urbanisme; P. Biage, administrateur au MRU; E. Claudius-Petit, ancien ministre de la reconstruction et de l'urbanisme; P. Dufournet, architecte-urbaniste; J. Garancher, ingénieur (Centrale); J. Gohier, administrateur au MRU; A. Gutton, urbaniste; A. Lariéu, administrateur au MRU; L. Lissakovski, ingénieur (Polytechnique); P. Randet, ancien directeur de l'aménagement du territoire; Y. Salaün, administrateur au MRU (inspection des finances); J. Sialleli, administrateur au MRU; J. Verne, ingénieur (Arts et Métiers).
- (3) La classification des témoins a été abordée dans Sylvie Van de Casteel - Schweitzer et Danièle Voldman, "Histoires et témoins", communication au IVème Colloque international d'Histoire orale, Aix-en-Provence, 1982.
- (4) Ceci a été entrepris à l'Institut d'Histoire du temps présent par l'équipe travaillant sur "la comparaison des expériences de reconstruction en France et en Grande-Bretagne entre 1945 et 1955" dans le cadre de l'action thématique programmée du CNRS Comparaisons internationales.
- (5) En particulier la question de la modernisation. Voir par exemple Richard F. Kuissel, le capitalisme et l'Etat en France, Paris, Gallimard, 1984.
- (6) M. Foucault, Surveiller et punir, Paris, Gallimard, 1975.
- (7) Bernard Lecornu, Un préfet sous l'occupation allemande, Paris, France-Empire, 1984.

Women in Cross-Cultural Transition

Catherine WARREN

Every act of immigration is like suffering a brain stroke. One has to learn to walk again, to talk again to move around the world again, and, probably the most difficult of all, one has to learn to re-establish a sense of community. (emphases added)

Vivian Rakoff,
Canadian psychiatrist (1)

I Introduction

This paper reports on a pilot study of the life experiences and self perceptions of new Canadian women living in Calgary, Alberta. It discusses the findings of first person open-ended interviews and the participant observation study of twenty-three women contacted through the Immigrant Womens' Centre during the period of February 1983 - June 1984.

The objectives of the study were:

1. To describe those life experiences identified by the female immigrants to be important in their lives and to identify their feelings about those experiences (experiences both before and after coming to Canada).
2. To describe and to provide insights into the attitudinal bridging

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processes used by the female newcomers in making the transition from the "old" to the "new" culture.

3. To identify and to describe the effect which the bridging processes have had upon the changing concept of self of the women.

Why such a study? There is a relative dearth of information about the perspectives of immigrants and especially female immigrants to Western Canada as reported by themselves. While the pragmatic and immediate settlement concerns of new immigrants presently are being addressed by community agencies, a more challenging sociological and long-term concern is one which addresses how newcomers over time are able to obtain a sense of community, a sense of belonging, and even a sense of "being Canadian".

II Who are the immigrants? Canada is a country populated by recent immigrants. The census defines an immigrant as a resident of Canada who is not a Canadian citizen by birth(2). Most immigrants have taken out Canadian citizenship, and most can speak English or French although many may cherish another language and another culture.

At the last census in 1981, there were 3.8 million immigrants contributing 16% of the total population. (The U.S. has 5% and Australia

has 20%). Half of the immigrants were clustered in three large metropolitan areas: Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. In Calgary (population almost 600,000), the city of this study, 21.1% of the population were immigrants. Alberta is in the process of industrialization and urbanization. Until very recently, Alberta showed the effects of considerable immigration from other provinces as well as elsewhere.

Traditionally, more men than women immigrate. However, over the decades the gap in the sex ratio has gradually narrowed so that in 1981, for the first time, immigrant women outnumbered immigrant men. Contributing factors to this convergence includes: the increasing mortality of men who immigrated in pre-war years; an increased immigration of female dependents of men who had immigrated earlier; and recent immigration policy encouraging family re-unification.

Canadian immigrants were found more apt to have university degrees than were non-immigrants. Overall 10.5% of immigrants had degrees as opposed to 8% of non-immigrants. The difference holds for both sexes and for all ages under 65. However, there was also a larger percentage of immigrants than non-immigrants with less than grade nine education, and this was more frequent among immigrant women than immigrant men.

Most immigrants came as husband and wife; only 8% of immigrant families were headed by lone parents as compared with 12.5% of

non-immigrant families. This means that for most families "head of the household" has been defined as male rather than female. It has also meant that it has been the men because of their status as head who have been eligible for government subsidized English language programs.

When did the immigrants come? About 85% arrived in Canada since World War II. More than 6 in 10 had come from Europe but this varies by the period of immigration. By the 1960's the pattern of source countries had shifted away from Northern and Western Europe toward Southern Europe, Asia, and the Caribbean and South America. The countries of origin of the women in this study include: Vietnam; China; Hong Kong; Japan; Kenya; Bangladesh; Iceland; Finland; Britain; Hungary; Grenada; Trinidad; Chile.

III What was Done?

A proposal for the study of the women associated with the Calgary Immigrant Women's Centre was presented and approved by the board of the Centre in the summer of 1982. This Centre is an organization set up by immigrant women to provide support for each other and to help immigrant women establish meaningful lives in Calgary. It is open to all immigrant and other women.

An explanatory letter of the project, including its voluntary

participatory nature was sent to the membership in the fall of 1982. Women who had been in Canada for more than two years were telephoned and an interview requested. In addition, the prime researcher and assistant went out to the regular meetings of the Centre and made arrangements with individual women for interviews. Most women, when approached personally, agreed to be interviewed. There were some refusals, usually because of real difficulties with language, but for some because of their heavy schedules; working; attending classes; and executing roles as wives and mothers.

Twenty-three women were interviewed in English from one to two hours. The interview schedule was relatively open-ended in order for the women to talk about that which was important to them. The ages of the women ranged from twenty-two years to seventy-three years, with a median age of thirty-five years. Three women were single; two were divorced; one was widowed; and the rest were married. The women had come to Canada under all classes of immigration status. Two of the women by the census definition were native Canadians but by their own experiences and self definition thought of themselves as new Canadians.

The interviews were taped and later transcribed; notes were taken also during the interview. In some cases, the typed transcripts reflected very closely the original interviews and were in the first person. In other cases, the interviews were re-constructed, using

wherever possible the actual words of the women, and written in the third person with the interviewee in the first person. All of the women have been given pseudonyms.

The methodology of this study is qualitative and the data are subjective. As with such kinds of materials, questions and hypotheses tend to arise from the data rather than a priori. Support for the hypotheses or for theories derived from the material is often of a suggestive, delicate, or fragmentary nature, providing supporting evidence which is suggestive rather than conclusive. For further discussion of qualitative methodology and how life history materials may be analyzed, the reader is referred to other works on this subject (3).

III Vignette Findings: Experiences and Transition Processes.

The theme of community was selected as a major theme seen running throughout the life stories of the women. Each life history seemed to address the woman's quest for a sense of belonging and for associational networks. George Herbert Mead (4) notes that the degree to which the self is developed depends upon the community and the degree to which the individual is able to call out the institutionalized group of responses from the community in her/himself. He says:

Until one can respond to himself as the community responds to him, he does not genuinely belong to that community (5).

Using the analogy of a baseball game, Mead notes that each player must know the roles of each of the other players and anticipate each of their moves. It is through the internalization of the organized attitudes of the entire group that the individual develops a complete self.

Interactionist theory tells us that the self is a social self, one developed through interaction with others: significant others (family and loved ones); and generalized others (a composite of the norms and values expressed by institutions). To the extent that one's significant others and generalized others in the new country differ from one's country of origin, it follows that a different sense of self must also be developed. The newcomer necessarily must interact with those in her new community in order to develop a different sense of community and a revised or expanded sense of self. A sociological intent in this paper is to begin to document the process or processes undertaken by the women as they bridge the gap between the sense of self in the country of origin and the emergent sense of self in the new country.

(1) Vignette: Betty

Betty immigrated from Iceland three years ago with her husband and three daughters. Her husband works in construction. She worked in a fashion boutique in Iceland and now works as a waitress in a department store. She knew English before immigrating. Life in Iceland and life in

Canada seem very similar to her. She says:

"Life in Iceland is not so different..it is same as here in Calgary..so I like it here. When I first moved here then also I felt quite at home..there was no problem..no problem at all. I think that happened because (also), I know English so you see I can talk to anybody here, do my own work, enjoy with my family..no problem at all."

From Betty's perspective, there is little discontinuity between the old and the new life. Her knowledge of English no doubt contributed to this perception and aided her in a relatively smooth transition.

However, in addition, it may well be that Betty's somewhat limited view of the lives of other women around the world is also an asset in helping her achieve satisfaction with her new life. She says her life here and in Iceland followed "pretty much the same routine":

"Wake up, clean house, cook supper, do work for husband, kids..isn't that what women are doing all over the world really?" (emphasis added)

While her observation that her life is not much different from that of all other women in the world is not true necessarily from other perspectives, her perspective allows her to feel content and aids her transition. As M.I. Thomas (6) has noted in his famous dictum, "If men (and women) believe situations to be true, they are true in their consequences."

A second attitude adopted by Betty and her husband as new immigrants also contributed to her positive perspective and smooth transition.

This attitude is a realistic one which seems to have been rehearsed by them both before leaving Iceland: You can't take it with you; happiness lies in not missing what you can't take with you. She says:

When we decided to move out here..we knew we couldn't take the ocean with us..we have some friends from Iceland..another family who feel like that..one foot in Iceland and one in Calgary..they can't feel happy..I and my husband..we want to feel happy so we don't think like that..also you know moving was our own decision so why think at all?

(2) Vignette: Yoko

Yoko is married and lives with her husband and two children. They came to Canada three years ago. She is Japanese but her husband was a Chinese immigrant in Japan. She does not work for pay in Canada but was a secretary at a university in Japan and had specialized training in pre-school teaching. Her husband works as a receptionist in a hotel where his fluency in Japanese and Chinese are an asset.

Like Betty, Yoko sees her life here as much the same as in Japan except that Calgary is less crowded. She enjoys life here and wants to stay. As with Betty, Yoko sees her life as not much different from other women. She says:

Everybody's life is the same..even if they come from another country.
(emphasis added)

Again, Yoko's perception of her life as similar to her life in Japan and similar to other women provides a good bridge for a continuity of self-image.

The only "little problem" she sees concerns her lack of English. She says "I can't even watch TV or read newspapers just because I can't understand English..this is bad." However she does not really mind it nor does she think it a big problem because "I can always learn English."

In this study, a Chinese woman, Gladys, who was well educated and speaks excellent English finds it difficult to communicate with her mother. The mother lives in the United States with a brother. Gladys says.

My mother has great difficulty with language. Like a lot of women when they don't know the language, she finds it comfortable to be at home. She doesn't want to go out.

On the basis of the experiences reported by other Canadian immigrants, if they do not learn the language, women such as Yoko, may find themselves eventually in the agonizing position of being rewarded with alienation

from their husbands and children.

(3) Vignette: Nina

Women like Yoko may be protected from the need to learn English at least for a while by their husbands & family. Others, such as Nina, an unmarried Vietnamese refugee, 27 years old, who has been here for three years, has no such temporary protection. Nina lives with her two younger brothers in Calgary; her parents are in Vietnam. She is presently on social assistance and adamant about spending this time learning the language and developing some job skills. The following excerpt sees Nina in the process of separating herself from Vietnamese friends in order to spend time on her studies:

"I am very busy in my own life" explains Nina, "so I have no time to meet or talk to my friends..don't even want to because most of their lifestyle is "very different"...when other immigrants from Vietnam come to Canada, they "only want job or money..they don't bother about studying or education.. not even learning to speak English..but I do..so I can't talk to these other Vietnamese."

Her desire to learn English is framed by a negative self image. She says:

"..I am different from my friends. They don't care if by not learning English they feel confused or lost..as long as they get money..but I do..I very much mind..I don't want money

and feel lost always or feel bad as someone who is foolish..I want to live a better life too."

Similarly, Ling, a young single Vietnamese woman expresses her frustration at not being able to communicate. She believes that because she cannot communicate well with the doctor that he/she assumes she never had a chance to visit a doctor in Vietnam. She says:

I am never respected because I can't speak English properly..the shopkeeper thinks I am a fool because I make mistakes speaking to him in English (Ling here wants me to understand that even she herself understands the 'mistakes' in her communication but is helpless to correct them - right there and then - because of her poor English) but that is not all true you see.."

George Herbert Mead (8) reminds us that language, and a communication of the symbols of that language with others is what makes possible our sense of self. Thus, the loss of a language may mean a loss of the sense of self. Women such as Nina and Ling knew no English before they came and their written language as well differs from the European script. For these women, the loss of shared symbols must be particularly acute. Thus it seems as important for mental health reasons as for more practical reasons that such women have ready access to English as a Secondary Language (E.S.L.) programs as well as opportunities for practice of their English in sympathetic and supportive settings.

Mona, a Lebanese woman, works as an office cleaning woman. She

It has been seen that Nina as well as Ling, Mona, and Janna all report the symptoms of loss of self in conjunction with their English speaking ability. Nina has been seen distancing herself from fellow Vietnamese in order to use the time for learning English and hence emancipating herself from her loss of self. This attitude can be viewed as one allowing a transition of self from the old to the new.

Another attitudinal change of Nina pertains to the process of separating herself from the expectations of her parents. This separation she sees as necessary in order to achieve a sense of a new self which she can respect. She says:

In our country most are old fashioned..we obey our parents and our decisions are always made by parents. Parents keep telling me to get married. But now I won't because (then) I will be totally dependent..I want to be totally independent, then get married. I want to work hard, save money, then live..a really good life. I want to make my brother engineer..I want also my own job training.

In the meantime, Nina reports a feeling of loss of community. She says:

When I talk to my mother (on the phone) I feel sad..we are totally disappointed, totally isolated..we are confused;..People (however) are not always friendly..my next door neighbour does not know me. Sometimes I want to talk..but who do I talk to?..is this happiness?..happiness for (in) what..?

learned her English by talking with other cleaning women who were Spanish and Italian. She has not been eligible for government sponsored E.S.L. programs because English is not mandatory for her unskilled labor. Yet, Mona, who has four children finds herself isolated from adult company especially while separated from her husband. Thus, while she would benefit from E.S.L. classes, opportunities for more informal gatherings as well would help her increase her confidence in her self.

Similarly, Janna, a Hungarian woman who has been in Canada for three years is concerned that neither she nor her daughters have made Canadian friends. She also expresses concern over her English and having to work for her husband as she was unable to find work for which she was trained. Clearly, her confidence in her self has been shaken. When asked whether she thinks her husband's English is better than hers, she replies:

No, it isn't better - but he has a courage which I haven't - I'm afraid. I know so many men have a courage, they know they have the responsibility for their family, and they don't care what other people think about their English - I'm afraid all the time.

While Janna would benefit from E.S.L. classes, she would probably benefit most from socialization opportunities in order to increase her confidence and to re-affirm her sense of self.

This vignette suggests connections between language, self-image, and sense of community.

(4) Vignette: Mary

Mary's story illustrates that even after a long time some immigrants never feel comfortable with the language and never achieve a real sense of community. Mary came from Yugoslavia seventeen years ago with her husband. They have two children. Although acknowledging that if she ever left Canada she would miss the car, the house, and her job ("they are the most important things in my life"), nevertheless she says "I do not feel happy in Canada." She expresses her sense of longing for home in Yugoslavia:

"That was my real home" Mary says; "all my friends live there..we all speak the same language..it is really a different feeling..I can't explain".

"When I am in my homeland I know the language and I can easily talk to everybody..without any problems..life is much easier in Poila. I also miss the ocean and our beautiful beach. I miss the warm weather. I find Canada cold..even after all these 17 years..I still find Canada very cold and miss the warm weather."

For Mary, it seems likely that her immigration to Canada brought with it a lowering of self esteem, for she says:

I feel less important here in this country...that's how I feel as an immigrant..Canadians feel immigrants are less important than they are..they are always correcting our language and our accents..they just don't like our lifestyle and I think this makes many problems..

Of course a lot of things can be done to solve these typical immigrant problems..immigrants can improve their language mainly their accents..by further studies..going to school, taking training..(but you know what..I still think that even if I learned good accents it might not still be enough for Canadians to accept me...)" (emphasis added)

The last comment of Mary suggests that she senses discrimination against her as an immigrant. The perception of discrimination may act as a negative bridge or deterrent to allowing the growth of the new self. Her perception, then, may be one cause of Mary not obtaining a sense of community. Do other women also sense discrimination?

(5) Vignette: Lisa

Lisa, aged 40 years, came to Canada with her husband and son from Finland nineteen years ago. She has always worked and especially loves working as a practical nurse in nursing homes. Never did she encounter problems finding a job and says that she always had confidence in herself and enjoyed working with people. Nevertheless, she reports that in order to succeed as an immigrant, one has to be better than the others. She says:

In order to survive in a new country with the others, you need to really do better - to show your best instincts. You never can criticize and you must give them no reason to criticize you. You need to be better because you are an immigrant - I shouldn't really say immigrant any more because I've been here for 19 years - No one could ever say anything about my work. I gave them no reason to.

Lisa, even with her self confidence and industriousness sensed the need to "overcompensate" on the job. For her, this overcompensation may have created for her a successful transition bridge as she seems to have made a number of friends, Canadian as well as Finnish.

Another woman who sensed discrimination as an immigrant was Nina, the Vietnamese whose vignette was presented earlier. She says:

I am a human being..I don't want dirty looks..doesn't matter if I can't speak English..can you speak Vietnamese?..I want equality..Some Canadians say "they take our jobs"..that's not true..we have nasty jobs. They don't want it. I feel like doing something but I can't say or do it because my English is so bad.

Participant observation also revealed discriminatory attitudes toward immigrants. During the interview period, the Centre was participating in activities at a Women's Summer Festival. This researcher was involved in leading a group discussion amongst immigrant women to which non-immigrant women were invited to listen. The first question each woman was asked was: What did you like most about your country of origin? Non-immigrant participants were invited to hand in questions anonymously. One comment was: "If you liked your country so

much why did you leave?" Such a question, it was felt, contained veiled hostility toward the immigration situation.

In some interviews, especially with refugee women, a reluctance to be critical about anything was sensed. While such a perspective may have been that there indeed was nothing to be critical about, an alternate explanation is that their experiences in Canada have led them to believe that talking about the "negative" including their feelings of homesickness may only alienate them from Canadians and hence further jeopardise their sense of inclusion into Canadian life.

What about discrimination on the basis of race? Did any of the women mention this? At least four of the women mentioned incidences. For example, Jidda, a Palestinian reports:

It was so disappointing. I went around and made all those applications and no one called. I felt so badly because they hired Canadians after me - that I was too dark... (emphasis added).

Also, a woman from Pakistan, Mosheda, says:

I've seen a lot that I like in Canada, the freedom to speak your mind, the political freedom, that kind of thing. And I've seen a lot that I don't like, the alienation of people, the uncaring attitudes, I've seen a lot of racism here too. (emphasis added).

The next vignette describes Anna a Hungarian Jew and her perception of racism.

(6) Vignette: Anna

Anna is a Hungarian Jew, 58 years of age. She has two married children in Calgary. She was widowed in 1979 under tragic circumstances, and an engagement was terminated recently because she was not a Moslem.

Anna was a prisoner of war in Auschwitz, Austria where she met her husband: she was a prisoner of war and he was a Hungarian soldier in Hitler's army. Both her parents died but her husband took her home with him after the war and married her.

They immigrated to England to escape from the Communists (the children came later in an underground operation), and finally to Canada in order to get an excellent education at low cost for their children (Both children now have university degrees). In 1979 the family moved from Montreal to Calgary. Here her husband persuaded her to put her small savings into a deli. At first the business did very well, but then it fell off. Anna's view of why this happened is that:

We did note that the other shopkeepers were mainly German and that the community supporting the centre were also German. They found out that I was a Jew and the Germans hate the Jews. They stopped people from coming.

In November 1979 my husband got a call to go and see his bank manager. He went and never came back. It was the last time I saw him. He killed himself. He was a very proud man and he felt shame for himself. The police found a letter written in Hungarian in his pocket to his son - in it he said the bank manager put pressure on him to pay the loan and he felt very old and that he did it (killed himself) to make it easier for me. Afterwards, many people said 'Why did you not come before, we would have helped.'

Anna had a very difficult time because the deli was in her name too. Thus she inherited her husband's debts. However one of the first things Anna did following her husband's death was to sign up for driving lessons. She says, "My husband never wanted me to drive but I knew I needed to drive".

The symbolic meaning to women of being able to drive has been discussed at length elsewhere by this writer (7). For women, being able to drive allows the self to feel it is in control and "in the driver's seat" of one's own ego. Several other women in the study also mentioned the importance to them of learning to drive. In a country such as Canada where distances are long, the climate often inhospitable, and public transportation poor, the woman who can drive (for groceries, taking children to doctor etc.) is one whose self feels much less dependent upon husband and friends. She experiences a sense of freedom, independence

and power. Anna says, when asked how she felt about driving her husband's taxi after his death:

Feel? Well, at first I was scared, then I said, "You see - I made it and you never let me do it." I now can come and go - I have real woman freedom. There is nothing I can not do, if I want to - well, not a real miracle, you have to be realistic, you have to put your mind to it. I never was taught to sew, or knit, or crochet or do needle point, I learned it all on my own.

My brain is still working, it is like a small machine, it doesn't rust. Every night for at least 1/2 hour before I go to bed, I read.

What is Anna's perspective on life which enables her to survive and to overcome all obstacles? She seems to have a faith and confidence in herself and her abilities and a tremendous resilience and resourcefulness, refusing to be discouraged, or embittered. For example, when she took the body of her husband to the synagogue to be buried, she was told he could not be buried there because he had been cremated. She shrugged her shoulders and said, "Fine, if you don't want us, others will." She is a pragmatist in that all her life she has learned skills when she needed them. For example, in Britain, she taught herself to sew (and supported the family by sewing) after seeing a billboard with a sewing machine on it. All of these attitudes of Anna together create a perspective which encourages her to take action. Being unafraid to take action means that she can create positive bridges for herself into any culture by going around the road blocks of discrimination and rejection.

(7) Vignette: Jidda

Jidda is a Palestinian who came to Canada in 1971 as a young bride of 19 years. Her husband is also a Palestinian and is a teacher. She has two children. Presently she works part-time as a store clerk and goes to university part-time. Jidda describes the process of transition which she has gone through, from the point of being a dependent person to the realization that she was in charge of her own happiness. The excerpt also points out the catalytic role played by a public health nurse in the transition process experienced by Jidda. She says:

I left the airport there and came here - after a few weeks I was in complete shock. I thought I was dreaming. Everything came all together like getting married, getting to know this new person, this new country - I didn't know what was going on - I missed my parents - so much pain. I felt all alone.

(Did your husband have any friends, here?)

Not really - he knew some people. We lived with an old lady a Canadian woman for a while. She was nice but I couldn't speak with her.

(Did you know any English)

I had some English - but when my husband went to work, I didn't know what to do.

(Did you or he belong to any clubs, or groups)

No - we had no close friends - just people we knew. Then I had my first baby: less than a year after coming here, which was good.

(Have things changed for you since that bad time?)

Gee, I hope so. It took a long time, actually. It was a good

six years before I stopped feeling lonely - my son was six and my daughter - I did a lot of thinking - I would do my housework and sit and do nothing. I wasn't happy with myself - the only person I could talk to about my kids was at the Health Clinic - A woman there gave me a book - and I think that is really what changed it for me - a book about life and kids. She said kids need lots of love just like us. It stuck in my mind - give them love and enjoy it. It really stuck in my mind. Then I started taking care of myself; I started to exercise at home every night (Exercises from the Readers Digest). I started looking better and feeling better. I started reading magazines.

Then the kids started school. I started to look around for a part-time job. I filled out applications and went all around looking for a job all over the place and finally got a job close by.

(Did you know how to drive?)

I didn't then, but I do now. I got my licence a year ago. When I first came here, I let my husband try and teach me - It is not a good idea to let your husband teach you - Then I became too big behind the wheel - I said - Forget it - Who wants to learn! I tried again later and gave up. Then last year, I said, to heck with it - I'm going to school to learn to drive - I have to learn - When I got my licence - It was the Best Day - Oh Boy! I'm very thankful to him (tester) because I passed. It was a good feeling to accomplish something.

Then I started to university because I have lots of time on my hands. Before I said, "I'm so bored, I have nothing to do - I've vacuumed three times". But now, I even enjoy being a housewife as a change from the responsibility of reading. I enjoy everything now.

Jidda did not have a family or ready-made community for her here in Canada. Although she is a Moslem neither she nor her husband go to the mosque because she does not like to be reprimanded for her western clothes and ways. She acknowledges that what she misses most in Canada is the sense of closeness of people which she had at home. However, she

recognises that that sense of community may have both plus and minus features. She says:

What I miss is just the closeness of people - although sometimes it is too much. You can never be by yourself - it's not that easy - Here you have such freedom to do what you want - to go out - without people saying, look at her. But here you could stay inside your house for a year and no one would know. If you got sick here nobody would know, but there, they would.

But here, you can't enjoy yourself unless you go out and do things for yourself. No one will do it for you... Ideally it would be nice to take a little of the closeness and mix it with the freedom we have here.

Like Jidda, other women in the study also mentioned missing a sense of community. Janna a Hungarian here for three years says:

Here we are just working, working, all the time - and bringing in the money - Why are we in such a hurry? I don't know. In Hungary, you feel you have a reason for living, but here you have enough money to pay for food, clothing, mortgage, car or gas, but - you miss something else. But who knows what is important?

Elizabeth who is from Holland says:

I don't have much contact with my neighbors - You can feel the difference between Western Canadians and Eastern Canadians. Western Canadians don't care about each other.

...The first time that I saw my neighbor we had a container of furniture and I came out and he asked where we came from. I said "Oh, I thought from England. I don't like English people because they are lazy." So I

thought, my goodness, what's going on here.

There are things I miss. In the first place, people share things more together (in Holland) and if there is something in one family, they come over and ask if they can help. When you are in the neighbourhood, you take a look at each other, come over, just for a cup of coffee, just for a talk.

...I asked my kid many times, "Oh, I guess our neighbours aren't home because I don't see anybody." He said, "Oh, no Mom, they are in my school." So they're at home! People don't do much outside, sitting and eating outside.

While many women expressed similar symptoms of loss of community, others, such as Salima, found ways of bringing a sense of community with her and hence a bridging of the two cultures.

(B) Vignette: Salima

Salima is 45 years of age, an Indian and a native of Kenya. She and her husband and two children have been in Canada for nine years. They chose Calgary because both sets of their parents were here, and now all of their family except one of her sisters, lives in Alberta. Salima's husband has been unable to work because of a serious illness. Her daughter, too, has had a serious illness and was out of school for a period.

Nevertheless, despite these illnesses, and especially that of the husband, the family is happy and economically viable. Salima herself

reaches out to other women of all faiths to assist them when she can. The family businesses (motel, stores, etc.) are run as a co-operative amongst the extended family and appear to have enabled Salima's family to cope economically with two severe family illnesses. Thus the extended family model appears to be one which ensures a successful immigration experience. Not only does this model provide economically for its members, but it also acts as a bridge, allowing a thread of familiarity of community through its family members to the new country.

Do other immigrants bring a sense of continuity with them?

Catherine came from the Netherlands with her husband and sons several years ago. Her husband was transferred from his company in Holland to a branch in Calgary. In response to the question "How did you meet your friends", she said:

We came over with four families, from one company. Everybody almost at the same time. Two came in May and the other two came in June, and we met once before everybody moved over.

(So you kind of looked after each other?)

Yes, especially in the beginning. Now we are farther away from each other, mentally, because everybody makes his own friends, at his work, at school for the kids, and so on, but we still meet once in a while.

In this case, the company may be seen as playing a similar role to that of the extended family. For example, if the economic situation

worsens in Calgary, Catherine and family will be transferred back to Holland. In addition, a company provision has been made for a language and cultural continuity amongst the four families.

(9) Vignette: Doreen

Doreen is 35 years of age and has two children. She is a French Canadian by birth with North American Indian ancestry on her father's side. She is presently divorced from her Nigerian husband. Although she has always lived in Canada, it is only now that she felt she was a Canadian. Doreen says:

I've just newly felt like a Canadian. We were really, really isolated when I was growing up because my father had encephalitis which affects your mind. He had another disease which he'd got in M.M.II beside the encephalitis - he had a big skin disease which was always painful and itchy. It was really really rough for him. Because of this disease, he'd shoo people away from the home. Like if you had a friend, you'd soon lose him. He'd say something, and the person would be so embarrassed he'd never come back.

We were isolated too from our relatives, and no-one would come near the home. And there was no one in the area who was my age. Why I didn't feel much like a Canadian? Because I was so isolated all the time. Also, I had an inferiority complex so I did not reach out to anybody. I was always a loner. I never went to weddings or baby showers - I didn't even know what they were like until I was completely grown up and in my twenties. By the time I was twenty I left because my mother had remarried a fellow who didn't really want any kids. So we all left her home. I went to Toronto because I couldn't get a job in Windsor.

I was sort of a loner (for those four years in Toronto before

marriage) I didn't have any friends and I wasn't reaching out, so I wasn't really into anything Canadian. And then I married at 25 or something like that. Then I was with Nigerian people for seven years! Most of our friends were Nigerian, and I really sunk into that culture. There are a lot of good things about that culture other than the fact that they need women's liberation! - a very unfeminist culture.

So, the last three years are the only time I've had any Canadian friends or contact - so I'm really liking Canada. I don't know if I want to leave it. Like, my gentleman friend that I've known for two years is from Malawi and is going back, and I'm trying to make a decision - I don't really want to leave - I like Canada, I like Canadians that I've met. I find it a dynamic society with so many things going on with the women's movement and everything. I don't know whether I could go back to a very unfeminist culture - I'm struggling with those ideas right now.

I'm just newly becoming a Canadian. I've been here all the time but not really in heart or spirit. I feel that I belong for the first time in my life. I never felt that before. With the Nigerians, it was sort of like an extended family atmosphere - I taught them to sew, and they taught me to cook. For example, if I had a party for my kids, people would just show up to help - You didn't even have to ask. And that's the way it is. And people just come. They don't phone and say they're coming, they just come. And you cook for them when they come. Sometimes we'd go shopping and it would be close to dinner and we'd be famished and we'd just drop in on somebody. And they'd just cook! Or they'd have it cooked if it was around dinner time - and their type of food is like a stew and it can always be shared or added. I got use to that type of life. That was the only time that I ever felt I belonged, was when I was with those people. Up to that time I was always alone. So it was hard to leave them, too, because I was leaving my family. (Because of the culture?) Because of the culture, I was leaving friends, the first time in my life I'd had friends.

Doreen's vignette is interesting in that it allows one to speculate on the process by which one obtains a sense of Canadian identity. The case of Doreen suggests that the mere act of being born in Canada does not necessarily confer the feeling of citizenship although it does confer the fact of citizenship.

The vignette strongly suggests a link between a negative self-image, a lack of sense of community, and the absence of a sense of Canadian identity.

Self image → sense of community → Canadian identity

Doreen believes that her inferiority complex as a child and young adult was responsible for her never feeling that she belonged which in turn negated her sense of a Canadian identity. If a poor self-image of a woman born with citizenship prevents the achievement of a Canadian identity, to what extent might a lowered self-image due to immigration deter the process of acquisition of a Canadian identity?

Secondly, one can ask to what extent was the Nigerian community in Toronto responsible for teaching Doreen what it felt like to belong to a community? The warmth and open-heartedness of communities from third world countries may well be antedotes to the alienation and loneliness of individuals in industrialized countries. Thus for Doreen, the feeling of belonging experienced in the Nigerian culture may well have prepared her to achieve a similar sense of community in the white culture.

Conclusions & Discussion

A number of the experiences of female newcomers in making the transition from the "old" to the "new" culture have been described. The experiences seemed to suggest some very real connections between the self-images of the women, their quest for a sense of community, and their identity as Canadians. Use of Mead's interactionism theory explains the importance of interaction between the women and their new community for the acquisition of a revised sense of self. Thus learning the new language was seen to be of major importance for the emergence of the new self-image.

Some of the perspectives or bridging attitudes used by the women in making the transition of self included: life is similar in the country of origin and Canada; the roles of women all over the world are the same; some distance from one's compatriots is needed in order to learn English; disregarding the advice of one's parents may be necessary for success in the new country; you can't take it with you; one needs to work harder than native Canadians in order to succeed. Transition was noted to be facilitated or cushioned by the presence of the extended family in Canada; working for the same company in Canada as in the country of origin provides a continuity of friends and language, and nature of work. Discrimination and racial attitudes may serve as negative bridges and hinder the development of a positive self-image.

Acquisition of the new language has been suggested to be of major importance for the emergence of the new self-image. However, for women there may well be additional reasons for a negative self-image. Being female and being an immigrant has been described as experiencing "the double whammy" which could be called the "triple whammy" if race is considered. Many of the women come from countries whose view of women is even less egalitarian than in Canada.

One can thus predict the probability of the self-image of female newcomers to be more precarious than their male counterparts. For this reason, serious attention needs to be given to women. First, opportunities and access to language classes should be at least as readily available for women as they are for men. Secondly, appropriate logistical considerations such as fees, day-care, location and time of classes all need to address the reality of the lives of women. Thirdly, language classes need to take into account the anxiety of many women about attending classes and exposing their language deficiencies to others. Special support systems need to be implemented to parallel the language classes to ensure the replacement of fear with a sense of real self worth.

Footnotes

1. Vivian Rakoff, quoted in "A Psychiatrist's Odyssey", Saturday Night, February 1984, p.34.
2. Canada's Immigrants, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, August 1984, no pagination.
3. Norman Denzin, "The Life History Method", The Research Act (Norman Denzin, ed.), Chicago, Aldine, 1970, p.219.
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Ken Plummer, Documents of Life, London, George Allen, 1983.
Catharine Warren, "The Written Life History as a Prime Research Tool in Adult Education" Adult Education, volume 32, No.4, Summer, 1982, pp.214-228.
4. George Herbert Mead, On Social Psychology (A. Strauss, ed.) Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1956.
5. Ibid. p.253.
6. M.I. Thomas and D.M. Thomas, "Situations Defined as Real are Real in their Consequences" in Stone and Farberman (eds.) Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interactionism, Mass. Ginn & Co. 1970, pp.154-155.
7. See: Catharine Warren, Perceptions and Achievement: A Study of Women in Two Occupations in Canada and in England, Senate House, University of London, England, 1979.
8. Mead, op. cit.

Bruno DE WEVER

Eastern front volunteers. An oral history research.

Paul Thompson wrote in his book *"The voice of the past. Oral history"* that the mutual process of influence between source and researcher is a unique aspect of oral history. When I read this, I didn't realise the impact of this remark yet. Only after some experience with oral history I understood some of the consequences concerning this reciprocal process of influence and I established that the positions (of authority) taken by researcher and source (respondent) in society play an important part in all this.

It's about this last aspect that I would like to make a contribution that in no way has the pretention to offer directly useful methodological information. On the other hand it could widen the discussion. I am thoroughly convinced that, especially with young researchers, there exists a need to exchange thoughts about this mutual process of influence, about the game of power that goes with it and last but not least about the skills demanded from researchers concerning these purposes.

Before I start it is necessary to trace briefly the research that I have been doing. During the Second World War about ten thousand Flemings fought together with the Germans in the Waffen S.S. at the Eastern front against the Soviet Union. This movement of volunteers was the subject of my study that came about for an important part by means of oral sources.

Now, the Second World War is for almost forty years over but that does not alter the fact that this period remains "imperfect past tense". For those who were involved, no matter what side they were on, the war is still alive and not digested. At least in Belgium it is very difficult to look at this part of history with serene eyes. Heated discussions and lots of apologetic literature are the order of the day. For historiography is not a matter without commitment, it forms an element of the positions of authority in society. In different respects this remark applies to the group of people that I have been studying. The struggle for power that rages in their ranks is still continuing until today and it affects the researcher directly.

It is not easy to explain the above mentioned struggle for power. In fact it is linked with the conflict between two sorts of nationalism during the Second World War. The Waffen S.S. was the military part of the complex S.S. organization of the Third Reich. The Waffen S.S.-men were political soldiers, militarily subordinate to the German army but politically subordinate to the S.S. The S.S. was an extreme national-socialistic group that practised the most insane and rigid consequences of this ideology. At the same time the S.S. pursued a foreign policy that aimed for the creation of a Germanic Reich which would be a melting pot of all Germanic countries in Europe. One of the ways this policy was pursued was the formation of Waffen S.S.-units for

Germanic peoples. This way volunteers were recruited for the Waffen S.S. already in the beginning of the occupation in Flanders. (In the beginning, until 1943, only Flanders was considered as the Germanic part of Belgium.)

Very soon, in Flanders a political collaboration arose in the womb of Flemish-nationalism. Many Flemish-nationalists hoped, with German support and thus after a German victory, that there would come at least an independent Flanders or rather a reunion with Holland. It seemed that Flemish-nationalism achieved the political power so long withheld because of the Belgian political reality. Flushed with this power the leaders of Flemish-nationalism even decided to collaborate on military bases in the framework of the Waffen S.S. On the other hand the S.S. had the monopoly for organizing the military collaborators from the Germanic countries. This way the leaders of Flemish-nationalism were confronted with an awkward problem: or to collaborate militarily within the framework of an organization that pursued a policy that left no room for an independent Flanders or retain from military collaboration which was not very consequent in view of the political collaboration. They chose for the first option, hoping that everything would turn out fine.

Especially after the German-Russian war had started on June 22, 1941, many Flemish-nationalistic youngsters reported for the battle against bolsjewism at the Eastern front.

Already in the thirties Flemish-nationalism was pronounced

anti-communist. However, the leaders of Flemish-nationalism were wrong in their hope that military collaboration in the scheme of the Waffen S.S. would turn out positiv. The S.S. conducted a campaign of indoctrination in the training-camps and different sorts of political schooling. Many volunteers evaluated in the direction of the S.S.-politics and so different fractions of volunteers were formed as the war went on and S.S.-politics were sharpened. Although both groups stood on the same side in the war, they were at open enmity with each other. Those who believe that this rivalry stopped when the volunteers without exception were tried after the war and were put in Belgian prisons for a long time, are wrong. One has even the impression that time has sharpened the contrasts.

After the war began a new struggle: the struggle for the domination of the past. This struggle has a far from negligible influence on a young researcher as an academic and as a human being. However, I saw myself in the beginning of my research confronted with an ostensible monolith group of old-Eastern front volunteers who had organized themselves in groups. These old-Eastern front volunteers organizations show an unmistakably ideologic character. Indeed, there had been typical organizing problems that resulted in different organizations, but ideologically seen there's very little difference noticeable so that in this point of view one can speak of one group. This group is bathing in a sort

of nostalgia towards the "heroic past" of "the defenders of the European civilization". The members spread a completely apologetic vision about their dedication and the meaning of it. This vision gets a false scent as national-socialism and even S.S.-politics are approved. But on the top of that the group spread the myth of unity. On every meeting, in all publications there is insisted that all Eastern front volunteers were on the same side and that all of them fought for the same ideal. In these groups a remarkable solid collective memory has been formed and it functions so well that it shuts out the individual memories. During my first interviews I didn't succeed to make my respondents recall the political difficulties. Later I have experienced that some of the respondents who were anti-S.S. during the war, changed their minds completely and described themselves as convinced S.S. followers. This way they acted in accordance with the profile of the volunteer as it was spread by the old Eastern front volunteer organizations. But many of the anti-S.S. orientated volunteers who kept a strictly Flemish-nationalistic point of view during the war have dissociated themselves from the organisations of their former companions in arms. That's why these organizations are politically seen completely marginalized and that's why they could not find any connection with Flemish-nationalism after the war. This marginal position has induced to a flourishing subculture with an enormous impact on the joined members.

It is significant that former volunteers who earlier sympathised with the S.S., but for personal reasons didn't want to (or could) join the organizations of their brothers in arms, are often capable of looking at their past with distance and soberness. Even more striking is the fact that some of the rebellious volunteers who, for emotional reasons, did join the organizations, have adapted their vision to that of the group. One must not forget that in many cases membership in a group means a lot more than alliance with former companions and/or fellows in mind. Many members find their friends in the group and conform their leisure activities to the group. Breaking with the group means for an important part breaking with the social life that one leads. We can conclude that the old Eastern front volunteers organizations have a very strong influence on their members and on these members' visions towards the past.

As a researcher I was confronted with the power of the mentioned organizations. On the one hand I was over and over again confronted with the stereotyped ideas current in the group, on the other hand I had to make an appeal to these organizations to get the possibilities - especially in the beginning of my research - to have contact with the informants and also to get some written source material. This only succeeded after I'd gained the confidence of the leaders of these groups. With this I was confronted with, to me, one of the most difficult aspects of oral history. On

the other hand I came to realise that the old Eastern front volunteers spread a complete apologetic vision. Although I declared openly that I would process the information completely independent, for me the feeling became stronger that I was evading false expectations. I knew very soon that the ultimate results of my research would not at all match with the vision of my organized informants. The power that I had as a researcher I could only use by keeping the idea that my vision would fit to the vision of the leadership of the organized volunteers. Didn't I do this then the leadership would do anything to make my work impossible to create a sphere of distrust.

This problem of confidence remained until the end of my study but it became less acute as I was making contact with former volunteers who were not organized. Especially the rebellions were very cooperative. They had reluctantly seen that the S.S.-inclined men were completely overruling the old Eastern front organizations and that they were defining the whole historiography (in fact historiography) from their point of view. These rebels put therefore trust in me and hoped that I would get even with the S.S.-colored historiography. Some of them even decided to organize themselves to offer me a better support. Thus I could observe how the collective memory in this new group evolved very fast. Although their vision was much more critical than the vision of those who were inclined to the S.S., it was not fully

freed from the forming of myths. It is remarkable that this forming of myths was getting stronger as the contacts between these rebels appeared more and more.

As a young researcher I was facing two different groups of people that were nourishing very different expectations of me. I wanted to come to a sober scientific approach. In fact it was this scientific character that gave me the power to provide the unsteady balance between confidence and independence. I payed the toll afterwards when I had my historical analysis published. Some of the informants reproached me for being insincere during my research and in a way they were right. This situation was inevitable but at the same time very unpleasant for me as a person. For the method of oral history makes it impossible to approach a matter as a mere distant researcher. The contact with the sources leads to a human interaction taking into account the feelings of sympathy and antipathy unavoidable. This way the power of the researcher can lead to human impotence; the impotence to show oneself in opinions and meanings to the respondents with all consequences beside.

C. WOOD

This paper is based mainly on oral history interviews conducted over the last seven years by the Imperial War Museum. It therefore has the limitations of all work drawing primarily on oral sources. For the purposes of the paper the word 'military' in the title refers to both the Army and the RAF but not the Royal Navy. The reason for this is arbitrary: my work at the Museum has so far been concerned with Army and Air Force projects only.

"Hit yes, our day was ruled by the bugle, starting with reveille and finishing, of course, with lights out at quarter past ten.

Yes, we listened. We had to listen. We worked by bugle calls. Parades and mail and meals were always signalled by bugle calls. To most of them we gave words. We sang words to them. Each company had its calls. I can remember in England we had W, X, Y, Z, Companies. W Company was W, X, Y, Z (sings). X Company was bang your balls against the walls (sings). Z Company was Z, M, G (sings).

Then there was a bugle call for the orderly sergeants and bugle calls for the orderly officers and bugle calls for meals. The sick call was lovely.

Q: Can you sing a few of them?

W: Yes. The sick call, ta-ta-ta, ta-ta-ta, ta-ta-ta-ta-ta. I beg your pardon, that was fatigues. That was even better. There were fatigues, they were horrible things. This is in England, cleaning the food bins and pots and pans, a greasy dirty job. And the fatigue call was ta-ta, ta-ta-ta, ta-ta-ta-ta-ta. We used to sing 'I called him. I called him. He said he couldn't hear me. I called him. I called him. He said he wouldn't come'. And that was usually followed by 'quarter of an hour to do it in'. You know, they gave us a quarter of an hour to get ready. That was fatigues.

The sick call was "Sixty-four, Ninety-four. He'll never go sick no more. The poor lugger's dead". And again 'Quarter of an hour to do it in'. And the guard call for the new guard to come on parade was 'Come and do a picket, lads. Come and do a guard. You think you'll find it easy be you'll find it flipping hard. Quarter of an hour to do it in'. And then as the new guard approached the old guard again the drummer would unleash his bugle and he'd play dum-dum, drum-tum, dum-dum-dum, dum-de-de-dum-dum, de-dum-dum-dum. 'Stand-to the old guard. The new guard's come. Don't care a sod what the old guard's done'. No quarter of an hour this time".

This total regulation of daily routine, here described by ex-Rusilier Homer who served in the 1930's, is one of the better known aspects of the control exercised by the Army over the lives of its personnel. It is less well-known that the pre-war services commonly interfered with areas of personal life normally regarded as none of the business of one's employer. These aspects included personal appearance, use of leisure time and sexual or family life.

The regulation of personal appearance entailed not only the high standards of smartness demanded by the services in those days. Whilst beards were not permitted for RAF personnel, some Army regiments required all their new subalterns to grow a moustache, apparently to help produce the manly appearance thought necessary for the King's officers. For other ranks the close crop of the hair on the head with a few, rapid passes of the camp barber's shears produced an effect described as follows by T E Lawrence, who enlisted as Aircraftman Ross in the 1920's:

"We gazed again without comment at the botch of bristles upon each other's pale scalps: and were reconciled to imprisonment in the Depot for a while. It's not tempting to be a figure of fun in the streets." (The Mint p 34)

I shall have more to say later about the influence on Army life and attitudes of the barriers separating servicemen from civilians; but let us turn next to the regulation of the serving man's leisure time.

Most regulation of this kind took the form of prohibitions of one kind or another. The serving of spirits in messes other than those of commissioned ranks and sergeants was prohibited as was any form of fraternization between men of different ranks during their off-duty hours. Use of leisure time in the many overseas stations of those days was especially narrowly confined by the placing out-of-bounds of various areas outside the cantonments. These areas were those where the Army or RAF thought the serving man was likely either to come into conflict with the local population or to make use of unregulated brothels. Bounds were enforced by patrols of service police.

The control of use of leisure time was by no means solely a matter of formal rules and regulations. This was particularly the case with junior officers on whom the pressure of regimental prescription, as interpreted by their superiors, was an effective means of control. Thus, the subaltern might be warned against drinking excessively, against keeping late hours in his bungalow accommodation and against using his leave to taste the pleasures of city life rather than in such soldierly pursuits as shooting and pig-sticking.

In the following extract about the experiences of a young officer serving at Ferozepur in the 1930's, the attempt of the commanding officer to link social

activities with effectiveness as a soldier comes out clearly:

"And there was a very nice local club there, a cantonment club. But two or three of us there were working out what did you do on Saturday nights at the club? You went along and you had a very nice evening certainly. But you weren't serious about dancing. You didn't want to play tennis particularly. You had these other much more important things like horses to think of.

So we thought we would save money by resigning from the club and spend it on getting another horse instead, each. But, possibly rightly, the commanding officer had us up and said, 'You can't do that sort of thing. Your job is to partake in community life, learn to be members of a team here because you have to fight as a team. You must live as a team. If everybody did this there'd be no club anyway. And what would life be like if you had no central activities in the local community?' So, I won't say he exactly ordered us. He gave a very strong wish to us with reasoning why we should remain members of the club. He saw the strength of his reasoning and the fact he was commanding. So we did what we were told."

As far as the sexual side of life is concerned, it is clear that it was regarded by the Army as a regrettable interference with the soldier's commitment to his profession. Married officers, for example, were not really wanted by the services. Officers in the 1930's got no marriage allowances until they were 28 years old whilst, at least in the Green Howards, you could not marry without the colonel's permission till you were 30. Of course, it was not possible for the Army to prevent soldiers from marrying 'off the strength', but in such cases no marriage allowances or quarters were provided. Even official recognition of a marriage was no guarantee of quarters.

Once officially recognized, the soldier's wife might be subject to almost as much regulation as her husband. The social life of the Army families, especially in overseas stations, was often organized, for example in the form of regimental outings and Army holiday camps, the CO's wife normally taking it upon herself to be responsible for the wives in the regiment. The ladies were also very much under guard as far as their morals were concerned. Thus, according to one account, single soldiers were not allowed past the guard on the married quarters unless he had permission either from a married soldier as his guest or from the CO to carry out such duties as repairs or decorating.

Again, more informal measures might be taken, as this testimony, from a man who was a senior NCO with the Highland Light Infantry in India in the 1930's, shows:

"DM There was always the odd black sheep among them, of course. But they were quite easily handled, actually.

CXV What type of black sheep do you mean?

DM Well, a woman who got entangled with the troops, you know, while her husband was away, particularly if the husband was sent off on a course. And this was when I felt it my duty to keep a weather eye on the wife. I knew most of them from a character point of view. And if a sergeant was sent off on a course it was always a nice thing for them to be told by the RSM not to worry about his wife. She would be kept out of trouble. And that was the first thing I always did when a youngster was selected to go on a course. If he was a married man I used to send for him and say, 'Now, don't worry about your family. I guarantee there'll be no trouble'. And I made it my point of view to ensure that that was carried out. Any visitation to that family and the fellow was on the mat within twenty-four hours. That was the end of that. Not only that, but the PRI went over and had a word with the wife.

CXVI President of the regimental institute?

DM That's right, yes, normally the second-in-command."

In the case of adulterers caught in flagrant, should it occur in an overseas cantonment the wife would be sent back to Britain and the soldier transferred to another unit. On the other hand, a soldier against whom his wife had a grievance might be asked to appear before his CO on the advice of the lady in charge of the regimental welfare committee (who was usually the CO's wife).

In fact, this committee might perform the function of a marriage guidance council in civilian life.

As far as the unmarried soldier was concerned, regulation of his sex life often involved Army supervision of his access to brothels. This would take the form of weekly inspections of the inmates and regulations requiring the soldiers to make use of Army prophylactic centres. The proved use of such a centre by a soldier who nevertheless contracted VD would protect him from the Army penalties (regarding pay and promotion) which were inflicted on those who in this way 'rendered themselves unfit for duty'.

I think I have now said enough to establish that life in the British Army some fifty years ago involved a degree of regulation of everyday life quite alien to the civilian. This being so, it becomes of particular interest to look at two key periods in the pre-war soldier's career: the beginning, when he was created from the original civilian raw material, and the end, when he was returned to the world from which he came.

He begin with the Depot, at which the prospective 'British other rank' served out the three-month sentence of his recruits training.

WH : You don't get this Depot feeling where there's all this terrible shouting and bellowing and doubling here and doubling there. You didn't get that at Lichfield. Everything was more of a --- you were treated more like men. And I think that is the real answer and you respected it for that. But the discipline was the same. You were soldiers and you had to stay that way. They wouldn't allow that to slacken.

CKW : If you were treated like men in a unit, what would you say you were treated like at the Depot?

WH : Well, almost like animals I would say. The lowest form of human life we were looked upon there by the sergeants and everybody else. You were driven from the moment you got up to the moment you fell on your back. You were so tired you could hardly get your shirt off your back. You just doubled and run, and rifle drill, gun drill, everything was at the double."

"You was driven to your limits and just when you was flagged out and flaked out, that's when they would run around, and they all done it, and say, 'Come on lads, you got five minutes left; now let's have a lot of head rolls', the full length of the gym and back again. Well, I mean, you was virtually staggering along as it was. And to do that as well. And they're driving you all the time. It was really to break you down, break your spirit, knock any silly ideas you had in you. And then, I could see the pattern after, half way through the course, you was being moulded back. They'd done the dirty work on you. They'd break your spirit. When I say 'your spirit', they'd knock any protesting that you had in you. You realized it was useless, you realized that to say anything only brought trouble on your shoulders any way. So you grin and bear it."

CKW : You said that at the Depot they were trying to break the spirit of the troops. Did they succeed in that?

WH : Break the spirit of the civilian attitude, yes. They had to break you down and mould you into the soldier that was laid down. And that was mainly to obey without reason whatever you was told to do. That was the main reason. You had to obey blindly. You was not to have a mind of your own."

But this work of the Depot in producing men without minds of their own not only entailed inculcating immediate obedience to any order. The more difficult part was to suppress another aspect of the individualism or egocentricity which was an obstacle to the production of the puppet or automaton which the service required. T E Lawrence was able to analyse this process on the basis of his recruits training at Uxbridge:

"We have grown to do only what we're told. In the first eagerness we did more and suffered for the crime of initiative This leading to be sterile, to bring forth nothing of our own, has been the greater half of our training and the more painful half. Obedience, the active quality, is easy It's quite another thing to learn to flop, passively, when the last order's completed: had to wait supinely for the next. Fellows want to forestall orders out of self-respect. Self-respect is one of the things troops have to jettison, as a tacit rebelliousness of spirit, a subjective standard. We must have no standards of

our own." (Op. cit., p 159)

Part and parcel of this destruction of self-respect and therefore initiative in the new recruit to the service was not only verbal abuse and public humiliation but also the impressing on the new man that, whatever you did, even in obedience to orders, you were wrong: that punishment was your inevitable lot. This was obvious to the RAF recruits at Uxbridge where, Lawrence reported that, during his time there, Headquarters sent his Flight Commander the reminder one day: "Mr Maclaren, there is not enough crime in your flight." It even became obvious to junior officers. One Air Vice

Marshal, John Worrall, recalled how, as a junior officer in the 1930's, he was ordered to intercept a squadron on the annual air exercise to head them onto a new course. The squadron leader chose not to pay any attention to Worrall's efforts and afterwards had him brought before him for a dressing down. Worrall did not attempt to defend himself and was punished. He commented wryly: "discipline was like that and you didn't answer, you didn't explain, you didn't apologize. You just stood there like a Guardsman and said nothing." Of such treatment of the junior commissioned ranks, another officer has spoken in terms almost identical with those used earlier by the other rank about Depot training:

"You were treated harshly, very harshly to pretty near the limit of what you could take you were made to feel you were nothing. They tried to break you to build you up again."

The harsh treatment of the new recruit was not generally resented as much as one might think, however. This is evidently because such methods were accepted as necessary to produce the group feeling the Army required for its effectiveness. Lawrence described this result of Depot training as follows:

"Our lot used to arrive at an opinion by discussion, by contradicting the early word that the first fool rushed out. Later this turned to instinct. We have come, unknowing, to a corporate life. Today we think, we decide, act on parade without a word said. Men are becoming troops when like one body they are sluggish (to a bad instructor), malish (when angered), willing (to an open-hearted man). We have attained a flight-identity which is outside our individualities. The self-reliance each has singly lost is not lost to us all The person has died that the company might be born a soul." (Op. cit., p 159)

two extracts indicate:

"Oh, we'd have done what we were told. When I was a recruit at Hounslow Barracks we heard that some miners were on strike, I don't know how, these silly little rumours come round. But we heard that there was a strike somewhere and they'd call in the troops. And we were all thrilled to bits, started mentally sharpening up bayonets. We'd have stuck them in the miners. You're looking very grim. Yes, I think that we would have done." (39)

"Well during 1926 the general strike came on in England and we had the unfortunate part of going through London in troops, diamond formation, breaking up people on strikes and doing so. This in fact is a part of soldiering, and it's distasteful really to have to fight against your own people who really are probably led by people into these strikes that might not be necessary - but this was the general strike in 1926. So a squadron at a time we went to Hyde Park and picketed our horses on lines and if we were called out to break up a demonstration we went out as a troop, diamond formation like that with a troop leader in the middle. We did not carry a rifle, one did not carry a sword, we carried a blinking great stick like a pick handle, usually right handed on the right side of the diamond formation and left handed on the left side. And the horses were shod with a rubber sole because these people got very clever about this horse business, and particularly with the police, and then the police gave us the idea of shoeing the horses with a rubber ... they'd throw marbles on the ground where the horse could slip up and it upsets the whole troop. So we got used to that. But I was only involved in one of these things and I was glad I was not involved in any more because when you look at your own kin and you're saying 'Right, we've got to break you up' this is a part of soldiering which you mustn't shirk and you mustn't have any sentiment at all otherwise the whole system would collapse."

It should be recorded here that these two particular informants were notably clear supporters of the existing order of things in Britain in the inter-war period. Even so, much of their willingness to act against strikers would have depended on their professional esprit de corps. Indeed, under certain circumstances, this esprit de corps might to some degree come in conflict with the interests of the Establishment. This is suggested by another excerpt from the interview given by ex-Fusilier Howar, the same person who mentally sharpened his bayonet at the thought of acting against striking miners:

"We used to speak about the old Connaught Rangers. That was an Irish regiment who mutinied during I think it was '22. It couldn't have been 1916. It must have been 1922 when one part of the Irish government fought another part, know what I mean? And some of the people who'd fought us in 1916 were shot by the Irish in 1922. And the Connaught Regiment, this Irish regiment, had rebelled."

CKW In India?

WH In India. They'd been on garrison duty, yes, and they'd rebelled. And we spoke of them with admiration. I know there was all sorts of tales about how nobody was hurt, not a shot was fired. The officers were confined to their quarters. And they even paid themselves out. And we used to think that was very very smart of them, you know, to pay themselves out legitimately, each man claiming his pay, not taking any more."

Nor was this sympathy with mutiny an isolated case. Though they did not mutiny themselves, there was widespread sympathy in both the Army and the RAF for the naval mutineers at Invergordon in 1931.

But it was against a vaguely conceived 'civilian world' in general, rather than 'the Establishment' or 'ruling class' specifically, that Army esprit de corps was most easily enlisted. The pre-war soldier was well-aware that he was held in low esteem by at least much of civil society. This is how ex-Gunner Harding put it:

"The Army was looked upon in a very low light in those days. They wasn't looked upon in the way they are to-day. You was looked upon scornfully before the war. There was no liking between the civilian population and a soldier They only like you in wartime."

Very many serving men of the period seemed familiar with that part of Kipling's verses which said:

"It's Tommy this and Tommy that and chuck him out the brute,
But it's 'Thank you Mr Atkins' when the guns begin to shoot."

There was undoubtedly a feeling that 'society' treated the pre-war regular shabbily. Indeed, service pay was substantially cut in 1925 and 1931.

There was also a tendency for the British soldier to claim that continental Armies gave their serving men a better deal. Thus, it was felt that the German and French armies organized regimental brothels for their troops. The coming to power of the Nazis in Germany gave some British soldiers the impression that here was a country where the Army was given its proper place in society:

"WH Again, I felt that we were always treated very meanly with clothes. I've always been a bit uniform conscious. I've looked at the uniforms of soldiers throughout the world, you know, in magazines and pictures. We all envied the German Jackboot. I can remember Dolly Dave saying to me 'those bloody Germans! Now, when they marched through a town they'd go right through the centre of a town. But us lot, we'd have to go round the back alleys', which of course was true. In England we wouldn't have been allowed to march through the centre of the city. We'd have had to go round the back ways."

CKW How was that connected with the jackboots?

WH It's not connected with the jackboots. It's connected with the attitude of the German people to their Army and the English people to theirs. I did feel that we were badly clothed. They were cheap clothes. They could have spent more. We could have had shirts with collars. We could have had - it seems so silly - but we could have had better material. We could have had boots that perhaps weren't quite so clumpy But of course they weren't spending money on the Army, were they? I mean, I want to war with a rifle that was made in 1909, a Lee-Enfield. All our equipment, all our guns, all our weapons were sort of pre-war, 1914/16 or wartime."

But if the 'khaki clan' tended to bear a grudge against British civilian society because of its supposed attitude of contempt for the Army, the regular soldier abroad had the consolation of a sense of superiority over the great mass of Africans and Asians inhabiting the Empire. Much of the time this racialism took the form of an underlying patronising approach to Egyptians, Indians and others. At other times the attitude could show itself in a more open and ugly way, as this infantryman who served in Shanghai in 1927-28 indicates:

"CXW How did you get on with the Chinese population?"

SF Never had a lot to do with them. They used to get out of our way when we walked up the street. Some blokes [were] pretty rough with them. But you see the point was of course I find this in retrospect now as I've got older and I've done a bit more travelling, I find that a lot of fellows were a bit you know cocky over the fact... we always used to carry a cane - remember the soldier's twenty-seven inch cane? - well, they'd walk past a Chinese and they'd give him a clout if he was in the way.

CXW With the cane?

SF I never done it. Not that I'm lilywhite or anything of that sort. But I think we had more trouble with the Americans, the marines.

CXW So if a Chinese was hit with a cane would he retaliate?

SF No. He'd just grin at you. They wouldn't lose face you see that was the point."

However, I think it would be a mistake to relate such racialism very closely to the character of the Army as a total institution. Rather was it a reflection of the attitude prevalent in British society as a whole that the advanced states of the Western industrial nations relative to the rest of the world at that time had some connection with a supposed superiority of the 'white races' as such. This is indicated by the fact that race was the crucial criterion in the decision to grant permission to marry to other ranks serving abroad. Two excerpts illustrate the point:

"Well, you always had a sort of feeling then that if you were British you were bloody good, you know, and the rest of the world they were definitely second-class citizens. That was the attitude that we had. We had this instilled into us. And I remember in India one of our chaps wanted to marry a girl who was probably three-quarters British and only one quarter Indian. By God! the bother he had to go through to get permission to marry this girl, because he had to get the CO's permission. And of course he had a long chat with the padre first of all and he advised him against it. And everybody was against this mixed marriage you see."

"DM And in India there was no question of a soldier getting permission to marry an Indian. You talk about the colour bar. You don't know what a colour bar is at home. The colour bar was as thick as a flag pole in India...."

CXW Were they allowed to marry Anglo-Indians?

DM Well, that all depended. So long as the sort of picture of the family, the mother and father and any hangers-on from outside and the girl concerned, were white and could be accepted as white, good and well. You see, this is why I say the colour bar, because it was the colour of their skin that mattered. And that was all that was necessary. They would be seen by the padre in the first place. And he would say, "Well, I think they're all right." And they'd come and be interviewed by the adjutant and the RSM. And, obviously, in a matter of ten minutes you couldn't tell what their character was. But you could tell what their colour was. So colour was obviously the predominant factor."

I should like to conclude by turning to the return of the soldier to civilian life. This could prove to be as difficult a transition as his induction into service life, especially for the single man who had grown accustomed to what was in many respects a satisfying bachelor existence. This life, as far as it affected officers, is described in the following extract:

"WF It was a very friendly regiment. When I say very friendly most of us got on well with each other. You had your three or four particular friends, but we usually did things together. We played games together. We went to the club together, we drank together, we entertained together. A good mess is a very pleasant life you know. It's not married life and I reckon after the age of about thirty marriage should be compulsory for Army officers."

CXW Why do you reckon that?

WF I reckon that chaps get too set and selfish in their ways if they stay too long in the mess. It's an extraordinarily comfortable life but you can't have it too long."

For the other rank, the institutionalization, which prolonged service in the Army produced, could have the most sad results, as this poignant extract, with which I should like to finish, shows:

"CXW I was saying earlier about the possibility of soldiers who had got so used to Army life that they were scared of civilian life. Did you see anything of that? Scared of going back into civilian life?"

WF Yes. The people that was like that were the ones who moaned most about the Army. Who had a continual gripe daily, all day long. But as the time grew nearer you could see them getting frightened and worried because a lot of these men never married. They did really live a barrack-room life. I knew quite a few that never married. They just couldn't get married, people like that. They haunted the pubs or the WAFI. Their greatest delight was spinning yarns. A lot of them was good fellows you know. They were really good chaps. We did rely on them a lot for advice and things. If they took to you, if they liked you, they were really good friends some of these old soldiers. They'd help you out with all the wrinkles... yes you could see it in their eyes, there was a funny