la force avec laquelle la communauté de Valle Aurelia

percevait le pouvoir. C'était comme si l'identité du

bidonville se formât dans son opposition au pouvoir

politique et économique tracé dans les rapports de

production.

Inversement à la phase suivante, le pouvoir dans cette

phase avait un nom et un visage: celui du patron de la

briqueterie, celui du fasciste. Les individus se

représentaient le pouvoir comme entité concrète et une

grande partie de leur vie quotidienne acquérait son sens

dans le contraste avec le pouvoir.

11.2 - Deuxième phase: le "pouvoir-phantôme".

Les modifications de la structure économique de la ville

de Rome au début des années cinquante ont eu ses

répercussions dans la structure socio-professionnelle de

Valle Aurelia. Le groupe des habitants de la borgata

cesse de constituer une communauté, mais il n'est pas encore

totalement absorbé par la société qui l'encercle. Il ne

s'agissait plus d'un groupe social homogène. Une partie des

maisons du bidonville avaient été occupés par des immigrants

du sud de l'Italie, qui étaient arrivés à Rome à la

recherche d'un travail; par des familles qui subissaient une

mobilité sociale descendente; par des émarginés de toutes

sortes. Parallèle à la perte d'identité, dans cette phase on

relève la perte du point de repère concret du pouvoir dans la

perception individuelle. Le pouvoir est un magma sans forme

définie et il est bien plus caché qu'auparavant. Sa

représentation, qu'on tire des récits de vie, nous projecte

une image floue: le pouvoir est maintenant plus subtil, mais

pour cela même il est insaisissable.

Les informations que nous avons réussi à recueillir sur

le travail des habitants du bidonville dans cette phase

sont très vagues: les interviewés ne nomment jamais

l'entreprise pour laquelle ils travaillent et n'arrivent

jamais à indiquer avec précision dans quel quartier de la

ville elle se trouve. Encore plus floue est la perception du

pouvoir politique et administratif. Nous avons remarqué une

difficulté à identifier clairement le rôle et la structure

des institutions publiques auxquelles les habitants de Valle

Aurelia ont recours seulement dans des cas extrêmes:

maladie, logement, ou demande d'allocation de chômage. Les

marginaux qui habitent Valle Aurelia ne sont pas doués de

cette capacité de se débrouiller dans la "culture des

services" (27), c'est-à-dire dans le labyrinthe de la

burocratie et de consommations toujours plus complexes. Si

le patron a encore un nom et un visage, l'entreprise n'a

plus de nom et le pouvoir du Palais ni nom ni visage.

Dans cette perception du pouvoir, la condition sociale

n'est plus l'effet de variables structurelles déterminées;

elle est un destin. L'action individuelle perd son sens. Les

habitants du bidonville, dépourvus d'identité sociale, se

sentent victimes du destin dans toutes les aires de leur

vie: de la recherche d'un poste de travail jusqu'à la

naissance d'un fils (28). Le pouvoir-phantôme acquiert la force du destin.

II.3 - Troisième phase: le "pouvoir-entité".

Tandis que les deux premières phases de l'histoire du bidonville sont assez bien dessinées en ce qui concerne la perception du pouvoir, nous ne pouvons pas dire autant de la troisième phase. Elle est commencé il y a deux ans avec le choc d'une intégration forcée dans la société (30). Il s'agit d'une intégration qui est encore formelle et non pas substantielle. Les familles du bidonville ont occupé trois gratte-cieux construits dans le même quartier par l'Administration de la ville de Rome; le bidonville a disparu et l'aire qu'il occupait est destinée dans le futur proche à loger un jardin publique, que le langage pragmatique de la burocratie appelle "le vert équipé". Pourtant l'assimilation à la société est loin d'être accomplie. Dans cette phase, on sent plus ardue que jamais la négociation qui a lieu entre le soi et la structure qui s'organise autour de lui, puisque ce qui est négocié au fur et à mesure n'est pas seulement l'interaction permise par le milieu social, mais aussi les variables du milieu ambiant dans la perception individuelle.

La perception de la variable espace, par exemple, a subi des changements radicaux. Dans la deuxième phase on observait une organisation de la vie sociale par rapport à un espace horizontal; les ruelles du bidonville marquaient

des carrefours qui étaient aussi les lieux d'agrégation sociale. On connaissait ses voisins non pas du nom mais des caractéristiques de l'endroit qu'ils occupaient: ceux qui habitaient à côté de la fontaine, ceux qui cultivaient un terrain à legumes, ceux qui logeaient derrière l'église. Dans la troisième phase, au contraire, l'espace est organisé d'une manière géometrique: le voisin d'en face, la dame de l'étage au-dessous. Tout comme l'espace est géometrique, le temps a acquis un rythme chronologique.

On observe aussi un retour à une perception plus concrète du pouvoir. L'expérience souvent traumatique du déménagement a donné une image vivide au pouvoir: c'est un pouvoir-entité, représenté par les administrateurs du quartier et de la ville, par les politiciens de l'arrondissement. L'assimilation lente mais inexorable à la société apporte aussi la conscience de la position de l'individu dans la structure de celle-ci et dans la structure du pouvoir.

L'exposition de ces trois phases de l'histoire du bidonville et de ces trois diverses manières de percevoir le pouvoir met en relief la richesse sociologique des données des histoires de vie. Pour respecter cette richesse et pour en rendre compte, nous avons accompli une analyse strictement qualitative des données, ce qui a produit que,

dans notre enquête sur le terrain, nous avons fait

expérience de l'impossibilité de faire des prévisions. Le

choix d'étudier l'histoire d'un bidonville par l'histoire de

vie de ses membres venait de la conviction que, dans ce cas

particulier, la valeur prégnante de la connaissance aurait

échappée à une oeuvre de simplification du complexe. Valle

Aurelia constituait, et constitue encore en quelque mesure,

un terrain expérimental spontané; nous avions la possibilité

d'observer le procès de construction du social à travers

l'histoire des individus et à travers leur transition de la

communauté à la société. Forcer ce procès dans des

instruments standardisés de connaissance aurait constitué

une erreur épistemologique grave par rapport à l'analyse de

l'expérience du vécu: le cadre d'ensemble d'exploration et

de questionnement, au sein duquel les informations ont été

recuellies, a été déterminé par l'informateur lui-même; le

questionnement du chercheur s'est inséré dans ce cadre et

non l'inverse (30).

Suivant cette ligne de conduite nous avons rejeté la

représentativité statistique, en privilégiant au contraire

le cas singulier; paradoxalement, nous avons choisi de lire

le général dans le singulier, la société dans une tranche de

vie.

L'enquête sur Valle Aurelia nous a très bien montré

comment histoire et sociologie sont conjugués ensemble quand

on utilise les histoires de vie comme instrument de collecte

des données (31). En effet ce type de recherche a secoué

les racines d'une conception rigide de l'entreprise

scientifique et nous a conduits à réflechir en profondeur

sur les fondements épistemologiques de l'étude du social et

du concept de mesure (32). Il s'agit là du terrain à

l'intérieur duquel le clivage entre histoire et sociologie

perd son sens. Mais il s'agit aussi d'un champ d'étude qui

mérite bien plus d'attention que ne soit possible lui donner

dans cet exposé.

NOTES

1) I. Lakatos, (edited by), The Problem of Inductive Logic, Amsterdam, 1968.

2) I. Lakatos, A. Musgrave, (edited by), Problems in the Philosophy of Science, Amsterdam, 1968; éd. it., Feltrinelli, Milano, 1976, p. 388.

3) T. S. Khun, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

4) Ch. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination, Oxford University Press, New York, 1959, p. 108; éd. fr., Maspero, Paris, 1967.

5) N. Luhmann, Legitimation durch Verfahren, Luchterhand, Darmstadt, 1975.

6) M.M. Postan, Fact and Relevance. Essay on Historical Method, Cambridge University Press, London, 1971; éd. it., Einaudi, Torino, 1976, p. 30.

7) P. Veyne, Comment on écrit l'histoire, Seuil, Paris, 1971.

8) P. Crespi, (a cura di), Storia e sociologia, Celuc, Milano, 1974, pp. 8-9.

9) F. Ferrarotti, Idee per una nuova società, Vallecchi, Firenze, 1974, p. 36.

10) J. Piaget, La situation des sciences de l'homme dans le système des sciences, 1970; éd. it., Laterza, Bari, 1973, pp. 11-22.

11) W. Dilthey, Gesammelte Schriften, Teubner, Stuttgart, 1957.

12) M. Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, Mohr, Tubingen, 1951.

13) F. Braudel, Ecrits sur l'histoire, Flammarion, Paris, 1969; éd. it., Mondadori, Milano, 1973, pp. 103-123.

14) G. Gurvitch, Déterminismes sociaux et liberté humaine, Paris, 1955, p. 38-40.

15) F. Ferrarotti, Histoire et histoires de vie, Klincksieck, Paris, 1983.

16) Ch. Wright Mills, op. cit., p. 163.

17) P. Veyne, op. cit., éd. it., pp. 451-496.

18) B. Croce, "L'utopia della forma sociale perfetta", dans Il Mondo, 28 janvier 1950.

19) W.I. Thomas, F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1918-1929, 5 voll.

20) D. Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1960; éd. it., Il Mulino, Bologna, 1968, p. 564.

21) H. Schwartz, J. Jacobs, Qualitative Sociology. A Method of the Madness, The Free Press, New York-London, 1979.

22) W.I. Thomas, The Child in America, Knopf, New York, 1928, p. 584.

23) L'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université de Rome a conduit plusieurs recherches au sujet des bidonvilles (borgate) de Rome; v. G. Dosi, (a cura di), Le "ricerche romane di Franco Ferrarotti", Edizioni del Centro di Documentazione su Roma moderna Ernesto Nathan, Roma, 1978.

24) Une introduction à la complexe problématique de l'histoire de Valle Aurelia se trouve dans F. Ferrarotti, Vite di periferia, Mondadori, Milano, 1981.

25) Pour un premier compte-rendu de cette enquête (ne pas encore achevée) v. R. Cipriani, "Il caso di Valle Aurelia", La Critica Sociologica, 63-64, 1982/83.

26) v. P. Bertelli et M. Michetti (a cura di), "Archeologia dei vecchi mestieri: i fornaciai; giornata di lavoro, tecniche produttive e lotte politico-sindacali", La Critica Sociologica, 47, 1978; M. Michetti, "Il fascismo a Valle Aurelia. Vita politica e giornata lavorativa", La Critica Sociologica, 48, 1978/79.

27) Cette expression a été forgée par Chiara Saraceno dans AA.VV., Ritratto di famiglia degli anni '80, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1981, pp. 74-77.

28) Une analyse de la perception du quotidien dans les histoires de vie recueillies dans cette enquête a été accomplie dans: R. Cipriani, E. Pozzi, C. Corradi, "Histoire de la vie familiale dans un contexte urbain", compte-rendu de recherche présenté au Colloque "Sociologie et Anthropologie de la vie quotidienne", Paris, Université René Descartes-Sorbonne, juin 1982.

29) V. "La distruzione di Valle Aurelia", remarques de M. I. Macioti, La Critica Sociologica, 57-58, 1981.

30) Sur la flexibilité des histoires de vie comme élément central des potentialités méthodologiques de cet instrument, v. P. Thompson, "Des récits de vie à l'analyse du changement social", Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, LXIX, 1980.

31) V. P. Crespi, "Per una sociologia dell'evento", Il Politico, settembre 1977.

32) A ce sujet v. l'étude du polonais W. Kula, Les mesures et les hommes, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, 1983; encore une fois on peut noter l'appoint important de la sociologie polonaise aux méthodes d'analyse qualitative.

L'image du pouvoir chez les ouvriers et les paysans (de la campagne de Florence)

Giovanni CONTINI - Gian Bruno RAVENNI

Notre intervention est née à la suite de deux groupes d'entrevues effectuées à des périodes différentes et à l'aide d'objectifs différents de recherche. Un premier groupe a été réalisé entre 1980 et 1982 avec les artisans et les paysans de la banlieue de Florence, un second avec les ouvriers des usines "Galileo" entre 1979 et 1980. Les entrevues couvrent un espace temporel qui va du début du siècle à la fin des années cinquanta avec une plus grande insistance de la période préfasciste dans le premier groupe et aux alentours de la seconde guerre mondiale dans le second.

Bien que toute l'aire étudiée ait une forte et vieille tradition de socialisme et qu'elle constitue aujourd'hui une des fortes roches électorels du parti communiste italien, les entrevues nous montrent une vision des hiérarchies sociales et du pouvoir qui ne consiste jamais en des luttes explicites, mais consiste plutôt à la cohabitation et la réciproque intégration, une vision du pouvoir qui est assez différente de celle sostenue par le mouvement ouvrier marxiste, qui cependant est depuis plusieurs dizaines d'années, dans ses différentes articulations, la force politique certainement la plus prédominante parmi les couches sociales subalternes.

Dans la première partie de la communication, nous prenons en examen le premier groupe d'entrevues réalisé dans cette aire, qui relativement homogène du point de vue historique, se définit traditionellement comme le "contado" de Florence.

Dans les campagnes florentines, traditionellement, les détenteurs de pouvoir étaient les grandes propriétaires fonciers, généralement florentins, auxquels une ancienne tradition législative confiait la direction de la municipalité. Leurs fermes étaient désormais conduites depuis de siècles à métayage. Déjà consolidé au début du XVe siècle, le contrat de métayage représentait une societé entre patrons et paysans dans la quelle les premiers contribuaient avec la maison et la terre, et les second avec ses bras, ceux de sa nombreuse famille et en plus avec une certaine quantité d'outils de travail. A la fin du cycle productif annuel, tous les produits, sortout grain, vin et huile, étaient partagés à moitié. Comme les propriétaires habitaient en ville durant une grande partie de l'année, l'administration des fermes, en général composée par quelques dizaines de terres, était deleguée au facteur, l'agent du propriétaire qui en se faisant aidé par un certain nombre de sous-facteurs tenait les rapports avec "le chef" des familles rurales. Les

métayers ne furent jamais des travailleurs agricoles prolétariens, parce qu'il y en avait de relativement riches et très pauvres, mais surtout parce qu'ils pouissaient toujours d'une certaine autonomie dans la gestion des terres, sur lesquelles souvent leurs familles demeurèrent pour des générations. C'est pourquoi les métayers furent des entrepreneurs, à demi, désirant réaliser leur vocation d'entrepreneurs, à travers la possession de la terre.

Dans les campagnes florentines caractérisées par l'installation répandue, les centres urbaines étaient de dimension réduite. Les centres de services et administratifs vivaient de petites activités artisanales et commerciales, de journaliers agricoles, de travail à domicile. Dans l'ensemble on peut dire que ces centres étaient habités par le peu de gens riches du lieu et par les cadres de l'administration publique, des couches les plus pauvres de la population. Les activités industrielles jusqu'à la grande transformation après-guerre n'eurent jamais, à part quelques exceptions limitées, un relief significatif et conservèrent toujours une organisation prédominante du type artisanale. Ce type de rapport économique, à l'intérieur duquel opéra fortement la propagande solidaire de l'église, a donné lieu à la représentation des métairies toscanes comme modèle de pacifique cohabitation sociale, de contractation paritaire des rapports sociaux. Cependant la Toscane fut aussi une des régions italiennes où la diffusion du

socialisme fut plus antique et plus ample, plus vaste également son aire de consentement électoral, et sa présence dans les institutions. Il est certain que le socialisme a représenté un élément fortement innovateur aux organisation qui existaient déjà en enlevant aux propriétaires fonciers le monopole de la politique et en modernisant ses formes. Cependant les témoignages des paysans et des artisans ne montrent pas d'avoir été influencés de façon évidente et profonde par le changement avenu. Ils ne mettent en évidence aucune contestation sérieuse des structures des hiérarchies sociales existantes, et encore moins que jamais des hiérarchies comme telles; ils apparaissent si profondément naturels qu'il ne peuvent constituer un problème, qui pourra être détourné ou confiné aux marges extrêmes de la narration. Plus que par une structure du pouvoir social, les communautés apparaissent gouvernées par la continuelle rareté des ressources, une rareté sans histoire et sans temps, diachronique seulement comme consolatrice par rapport à la rareté encore majeure du passé. Les témoignages nous mettent en face d'une longue durée sans épaisseur où il n'existe pas d'alternatives à la naturelle reproduction de l'existence. En face d'un tableau aussi pauvre d'articulations la tentation d'abandonner un terrain de recherche est grande, un terrain de recherche qui apparaît incompréhensible, et à privilégier l'étude de la culture matérielle ou folklorique acceptant substantiellement une étrangeté fondamenta-

le des masses par rapport à la politique et à l'histoire.

Cependant les sources écrites fournissent une série de signes qui poussent à enquêter plus à fond. En mai 1896 la vaste aire comprise entre Florence et Prato fut investie par l'émeute des "tresseuses" qui travaillaient à domicile la paille et le chapeaux de paille. A fin d'empêcher que la révolte puisse se propager contagieusement la zone fut occupé militairement et ou constitua des postes de blocus autour de la ville, tandis qu'il fût interdit aux membres de la chambre de travail à peine constituée, sous peine d'arrestation, de se rendre sur les lieux de grève; ce fut en cette occasion qu'une dizaine de femmes réussirent à éluder la surveillance militaire et à gagner Florence en prenant directe-ment contact avec la chambre de travail. A partir de ce moment, dans les transactions parmi "les tresseuses", administrations locales et industrielles de la paille, il intervenait un noveau suject institutionnel, le syndacat des ouvriers.

Il est difficile de savoir combien le socialisme pré-fasciste fut profondément pénétré dans la conscience des masses, sur ce point aussi les témoignages des militants et des dirigeants sont souvent en désaccord, toutefois il est difficile de penser qu'il n'ait pas laissé des traces. En effet les témoignages qui se rapportent aux années immédiatement successives à la première guerre mondiale, donnent des notices d'épisodes de troubles sociaux qui sont restés dans la mémoire des parlants, toutefois

ces épisodes sont décrits avec un langage encore substantiel-lement "archaïque". Mouvements spontanés prives de préparation et d'organisation, pas politisé; causes de toute façon par l'incitation du besoin et qui alors s'elargit à tache d'huile au fur et à mesure que s'élargit le nombre de ceux qui descendent en dessous des couches de la pauvreté. Leur objectif ne con-cerne pas les hiérarchies sociales existantes, les rapports de production, mais regarde plutôt le terrain de la distribution de la richesse, qu'un événement occasionnel particulier a rendu excessivement inégale. Par conséquent ils se concrétisent dans le saccagement des magasins des fermes, dans la demande de subsides, en imposant aux propriétaires fonciers d'assurer l'engagement d'un certain nombre de personnes, ou tout simple-ment en dévastant le parc d'une villa patronale pour voler le bois pour se chauffer durant l'hiver. Les socialistes et les anarchistes apparaissent dans l'histoire très rarement et de toute manière avec des rôles marginaux.

Il y a donc une contradiction assez évidente dans les dates qui rassortent des sources écrites et les narration orales; cette présence diffusée du socialisme, au niveau social, qui les con-naissances écrites semblent montrer et qu'une grande partie de l'historiographie du mouvement ouvrier a exalté, semble se réduire à une présence marginale minoritaire et en plus l'attention vers les niveaux institutionnels a été redimensionée, cette attention

qu'il nous semblait pouvoir recueillir dans le «comportement des "tresseuses" en 1896. Et pourtant les résultats électoraux nous fournissent pas mal de faits. Il faut donc approfondir la recherche et probablement élargir l'horizon sans prétendre d'en avoir fini là, mais plus simplement en indiquant une possible direction de recherche, pour en arriver à cela, il est nécessaire une brève disgression.

Dans la Toscane pre-industrielle la contractualisation, point idéologique du système de métayage, a représenté durant longtemps un solide apport pour l'équilibre social. Fondement de la doctrine sociale de l'église, qui se faisait médiatrice et garante du pacte social, celui-ci exaltait la docilité, l'obeissance, l'amour pour le travail, la famille, le respect des hiérarchies sociales voulues par Dieu; mais par contre il reconnaissait aux pauvres le droit à la survivance comme droit naturel, pas lié aux évène- ments du climat et du marché, en engageant les riches à le ga- rantir dans les années où le gel et la maladie défalquaient les récoltes. Si la révolte sociale était considérée alors un délit pour la morale chrétienne, et aussi pour les lois de l'état, les délits étaient également l'usure, l'accaparrement au profit de speculations mercantile, et en présence de ces délits du Côte des puissante la révolte sociale pour faim, recevait une légi- timation morale, même si pas juridique, soutien idéologique, espace culturel. Les masses populaires affamées firent de cette

légitimation morale une utilisation assez fréquente, en Toscane au cours des années 1700 et 1800, en obtenant des résultats concrets.

Notre sensation est que les témoignages les plus anciens, qui nous parlent des événements des premières dizaines d'années du siècle racontent le mouvements sociaux en utilisant ce type de langage et que le langage utilisé constitue un des causes fondamentale de la sous estimation de la politique et des dyna- miques institutionnelles. Paradoxalement c'est vraiment à travers cette contradiction que les sources orales expriment toute leur potentialité intellective, dans la mesure où elles déplacent l'optique de la recherche du terrain de grammaire à celui de la langue parlée, sur les langages perçus et sur leur effectivité.

Donc en substance notre recherche confirme la faiblesse substantielle du socialisme pre-fasciste, qui ne semble pas avoir été capable d'introduire un noveau langage par rapport à la doctrine de l'église. D'un côté en effet, l'anarchisme et le maximalisme socialiste étaient assimilées aux préposition de sauvegarde du millenarisme et comme telle ils étaient destinés aux limbes des utopies, à la dimension onirique du monde des opprimés, d'un autre côte le réformisme positiviste n'entachait pas sérieusement la vision très paternelle entre gouvernants et gouvernés qui avait constituée la culture du gouvernement des modérés et des democrates.

Le terrain réel quotidien des heurts sociaux, n'avait pas

encore était atteint, par la culture socialiste, et il combattait encore selon les règles traditionelles de la sous culture du "bas" à travers le vol champêtre et l'art de se débrouiller. Aux moments où le combat avait pris une dimension collective, le mouvement avait immediatement captée la centralité de l'organisation, et l'importance des équilibres institutionnels, mais dans l'ensemble ces moments n'avaient pas modifié à fond les équilibres culturels de la société, bien que en raison de leur exeptionalité et du danger pour l'ordre existant, ils remplirent les pages de journaux et le files des archives.

C'est probablement cette profonde faiblesse culturelle une des causes de fond qui determinèrent la rapide dissolution de toute la structure organisative du mouvement ouvrier, sous le choc violent des troupes fascistes.

Le second groupe d'entrevues nous l'avons faite aux usines "Galileo" de Florence, une usine mécanique avec une longue histoire derrière le dos, spécialisée dans le travail de petites séries pour lesquelles la dextérité artisanale des ouvriers était extrêmement importante. L'usine a toujours eu dans son histoire une sorte de vocation pour la production de guerre à partir du moment que les travaux confiés par l'état ont semblé être à plusieurs reprises à la direction de la Galileo, la seule façon de se soustraire à une confrontation avec le marché, qui quand il s'est présenté a toujours porté l'usine au bord

de la faillite.

Par conséquent chez les ouvriers de cette usine s'est développée une sorte d'idéologisation de leur capacité professionelle, ainsi même on étant d'origine agricole ils se considèrent les héritiers spirituels de la grande tradition artisanale florentine. Quand ils racontent l'histoire de l'usine, cet est un point important qui se rapporte à ce qui a été dit dans les pages précédentes au sujet des paysans, les ouvriers de la Galileo tendent toujours à la décrire comme une communauté de producteurs, un tout positif. La contradiction passe difficilement à l'intérieur de l'usine, mais plutôt à l'extérieur, entre la fabrique et les gouvernements démochrétiens du second après guerre, ou au maximum, entre la fabrique et la propriété, une compagnie financière qui avait été très mêlée avec le régime fasciste; ainsi une série d'événements sont obscures par les récits: les luttes contre la coupe de forfaits qui cependant ont été importantes durant les années après-guerre tendent à disparaître: mais quand l'historien qui les a trouvées enregistrés dans des faits contemporains aux événements, les introduits dans l'entrevue, alors le tableau qui émerge diffère singulièrement de cette fresque d'une communauté sans conflit dans son interieur, qui est ce que les ouvriers racontent spontanément. Maintenant l'image du passé tend à présenter d'importants aspects contradictoires qui divisent verticalement la fabrique, entre ouvriers de gauche et dirigeants démocrates d'un côté, et ouvriers démo-chrétiens

chronométriste "charogne" (ceux qui sont bons sont de l'autre
côté). Pour faire un exemple
l'ingénieur B., qui dirigea l'usine pendant les années de la ra-
tionnalisation après-guerre, joue un rôle opposé dans le récit
"spontané" et dans le piloté, dans ce dernier une série de demandes
introduisent directement le thème de la rationalisation producti-
ve et de son effets sur la condition de travail des ouvriers, si
le récit spontané décrit l'ingénieur B. est comme le sommet de
la communauté anti-conflit et quelqu'un hasarde que lui ! dans
le fond n'a pas été contre le socialisme! le récit dans lequel
le conflit a été introduit pas des demandes spécifiques de
interviewer, nous présente le même ingénieur B. comme l'homme
qui décida de rationaliser la fabrique et c'est à dire d'intro-
duire de nouvelles machines, qui souvent(pas toujours) causèrent
l'empirement des conditions de travail et surtout la destruction
des métiers par le haut contenu professionnel (emblematique, et
et à la propos la fonderie).

    Dans ce second récit alors, l'ingénieur B. constitue une
figure certes négative, un enemi, sûrement pas une persone
disposée à accepter le socialisme, quel qu'il soit, et une
entrevue successive avec lui a définitivement éclairci comme
impossible les présumées tendances socialistes: il s'agit d'un
ancien gentilhomme fortement influencé par le fascisme duquel
il a fait partie dans sa jeunesse (jusq'à la fin de la guerre)

144.

et duquel il continue à conserver encore aujourd'hui la vi-
sion du monde hiérarchique et autoritaire.

    Nous avons cherché d'expliquer, dans les pages précédentes,
pourquoi le rapport traditionnel, entre paysans et proprietaires,
assume des caractéristiques archaiques, et nous avons cherché
les raison de ce type particulier de rapport dans l'histoire
séculaire du contrat de métayage, dans l'idéologie sociale de
l'église et dans la pauvreté caractérisée par la condition
métayère. Sur cette base le succès de l'ideologie rurale fasciste
signifit alors régression vers des comportements que la brève
parenthèse socialiste n'a pas eu le temps de modifier, et cela
malgré que la régression soit avenue de façon toute autre que
spontanée, comme effet d'une défaite et non certes pour une inva-
riance culturelle des paysans, pour leur indifférence à la poli-
tique. Ce fut au contraire le résultat d'une politique et d'une
politique culturelle très précise, qui éxaltaient la figure
sociale du paysan même, parce qu'on présumait qu'elle représentait,
l'intégration sociale et le pacte corporatif avec la propriété,
tandis que l'ouvrier aurait représenté le conflit. Toutefois le
corporatisme fasciste ne représentait pas un project uniquement
adressé aux campagnes et aux paysans, mais devait au contraire
trouver son propre centre parmi les ouvriers, qui au début des
années 20, avaient été la classe qui

dans les microévénements qui le constituérent. L'image du

pôvoir et la critique du pôvoir que les paysans et les ouvriers

florentins expriment sont alors très semblables et dans le deux

cases l'expérience historique semble fondamentale pour expliquer

cette image et cette critique du pôvoir; toutefois nous ne parlons

pas simplement du pouvoir, mais du pouvoir comme il nous est repre-

senté par les sources orales. La médiation du langage et l'épais-

seur du temps qui nous séparent des faits racontés sont deux

variantes trés importantes à analyser; si en effet aucun document

ne nous restitua jamais le passé comme il était, la source orale

se démontre alors aussi plus problématique que les autres sources

pour nous restituer la perception subjective des événements arrivés

autrefois. D'autres sources nous montrent comme le vol champêtre,

la lutte pour le partage du produit entre métayers et patrons,

la lutte contre la coupure des temps dans les fabriques et pour

l'augmentation salariale, furent tous des éléments très importants

dans le passé, du fait qu'ils furent fréquentes, que le documents

écrits les reportent souvent, et alors ils doivent avoir intéressé

une tranche consistante de l'expérience; toutefois dans les

récits, ces luttes et ces conflits apparaissent écrasés/et comme

oubliés.

Si cela arrive, cela ne doit pas arriver uniquement parce

que les sources orales portent gravées la trace de la période

fasciste, vu que le conflit fût fréquent aussi bien avant

plus que toutes les autres avait signifié socialisme et désordre.

Le ressemblance alors que nous trouvons entre paysans et

ouvriers formés dans la période du fasciste, c'est a dire la

tendance a représenter la fabrique comme un univers communitaire,

à voir le manager, comme organiquement inséri dans un processus

collectif de travail, est plutôt la critique qui lui est adres-

sée seulement en des termes "d'incapacité" à faire son métier,

peuvent être tous le signes du succés par le project corpora-

tive fasciste, alors quand les organisations traditionnelles

de ouvriers (qui étaient jeunes, avec de nouvelles racines) et

beaucup moins diffusées qu'on ne le pense, furent balayées en

peu d'années on n'entendit presque qu'uniquement que la propagande

fasciste, la ligne fasciste transmise par le fiduciaire synda-

cal (syndacats fascistes naturellement) centrée sur la néces-

sité de tous, ouvriers, dirigeants, et proprietaires, de produire

pour les interêts supérieurs de la patrie.

Cette image organique de la fabrique qui nous pervient à

travers les récits, pourrait en plus signifier non seulement la

largeur negative de la propagande fasciste, mais aussi et

surtout son succés après des ouvriers, malgré les prises de

distance du fascisme après sa chute et la défaite militaire, qui

a presque toujours amené un déplacement de cette période, ou au

moins à une sorte de reinscription personelle de l'histoire des

vingt années du fascisme et de sa propre participation, même

145

qu'aprés cette période. Pour comprendre pourquoi nous ne trouvons pas dans ces récits, quand justement pour le trouver nous avons décidé d'entreprendre les entrevues, nous devons raisonner sur un certain nombre de problèmes. Avant toute chose, nous devons considérer que les parlants, racontent des faits qui assument ou devraient assumer un significat pédagogique ou moral, alors tous les événements qui pourraient contredire cette fonction pédagogique disparaissent de leurs récit, tandis que les faits que se prêtent à la déployer sont emphasés.

Nous arrivons au second point, au fait que ce sont pas les éléments réels qui constituent la trame d'une narration qui veut être pédagogique et moralement édifiante, le récit se meut à l'intérieur d'une structure idéologique capable de garantir que cette fonction pratique soit absolue. Les événements sont utilisés comme explicitation d'une idéologie politique, d'une foie religieuse, et d'une vision encore plus privée du monde, et ce sont ces dernières et pas tellement la série chronologique des événements, qui constituent au sens propre l'object de la narration.

Mais si cela arrive aujourd'hui, si le langage politique du parlant semble constituer la limite insurpassable de sa propre expérience, n'est-il pas déjà arrivé une première fois, que les événements dont on parle arriverent?

En réalité si il est possible de dire plutôt, que même s'il

est vrai qu'aucun type d'experience sociale, peut être au dehors d'un langage déterminé, toutefois cela aurait été une erreur de penser que le langage de l'ideologie politique ou religieuse, ait été le seul langage que le parlant a utilisé au cours de sa vie: et il arrive heureusement de trouver avec lui, remarque après une premier excursion dans le haut langage de l'ideologie, un niveau de communication, modelé sur un langa- ge plus terrestre, mais pas pour autant moins intéressant: le langage utilisé autrefois pour communiquer avec les camarades de travail, ou avec les amis, ou les familiers.

Et alors, si cela arrive, la structure edifiante de la nar- ration se brise et tout le monde varié des rapports de pouvoir réapparaissent:les luttes réapparaissent pour obtenir un certain contrôle sur le même temps de travail et sur le même travail comme tel; et il est bien clair maintenant, combien ces luttes furent importantes autrefois, ed comment elles ont remplies la vie. Mais en même temps il ne faut oublier, que si ce second langage est obscur dans la narration, que le parlant organise de façon spontané, dans laquelle comme nous avons dit le langage de l'idéologie juge le rôle du lion, ce fait doit être entendu, non seulement comme un résultat de type de discours choisi. (c'est-à-dire de la retorique moralesque) mais comme un important indice de comment déjà alors, on a disposé hiérarchiquement les langages qui structuraient les deux discours. Comme cela nous

l'état, entité bien évidentielle, solidement présente au centre du vécu de nos entrevues.

Nos témoignages alors, quand ils nous racontent leur vie, semblent choisir les langages qui furent dominants, quand ils vécurent l'expérience dont ils parlent: une base discursive corporatiste et sans conflit, où le rapport de travail est représenté comme une communauté totalisante, sr laquelle la contradiction s'unit de façon particulière (quand s'unit ce qui n'arrive pas toujours), contradiction entre la fabrique citadelle rouge et le maire demo-cretien par exemple. Et cette variation conflictuelle, sur un theme fondamentalement corporatiste, nous pouvons la faire remonter à la période après-fasciste, quand le conflit a été justement tout à fait résolu dans la lutte politique, même lorque la fabrique était traversée de fortes tensions et divisée par des conflits, dont la mise en jeu était constituée par des conditions matérielles de vie et de travail (salaire, intensité des rythmes productifs, qualité de restructuration industrielle), le mouvement ouvrier considérait qualifiable seulement le conflit qui réussierait a s'exprimer contre le gouvernement, et pour une trasformation des équilibres politiques, tandis qu'il regardait avec suspect des luttes qui ne furent pas capable de dépasser le seuil de la condition matérielle de travail et de vie, et qu'elles s'arrêterent alors à l'unité sociale, dans laquelle elles étaient nées, sans réussir a' toucher le thème de la grande politique.

ne trouvons jamais la capacité du langage "bas" de se donner un souffle général, alors un contre pouvoir n'a jamais existé au niveau de section ou de fabrique qui aurait tendu à investir une sphere sociale plus ample: il n'y avait que le parti, le syndacat, l'église ou, dans les années plus récentes, le groupe politique semi-formel (mais fortement intellectualisé, capable alors d'articuler un discours) qui disposaient d'un langage général, consistant en proposition, dont la généalogie doit être recherchée plus dans l'histoire des institutions et des idées, plutôt que dans un procès ascendent que par l'expérience sociale pre-linguistique serait capable de distiller un projet structuré de contre pouvoir.

Paradoxalement alors la source orale même, choisi initialement par la supposé capacité d'illuminer une prospective historiographique du "bas" c'est-a-dire pour donner la parole à qui aurait exprimé toujours une alternative irrenonçable au pouvoir, mais aurait toujours été privé de la possibilité de laisser une trace écrite de cette opposition, la source orale même, montre plutôt l'incapacité pour les classes subalternes d'élaborer une autonome vision du monde, ou en d'autres termes, nous montre comme impossible une filiation idéologique de la pure expérience et comment au contraire la fonction des institutions dotées de langage et de stratégies politique est très importante: les partis, les syndacats, les églises et les différentes structures de

•

The Dimension of Powerlessness and
   the Response of Silence   Steven R. Cornish

This paper examines both a theoretical and methodological issue. The theoretical issue is the effect of power in inducing, under conditions of domination and exploitation, a quiescent consciousness and ideology in the subjected population. The related methodological issue is how the researcher interprets the subdued, repressed responses of such a population.

In order to discuss and illustrate these two issues I will describe my experience of researching a community which throughout its history has been characterised by a passive stance in the face of considerable exploitation.

The single most significant feature of the community of Lingdale and similar neighbouring communities in Cleveland, in the North-East of England, has been its creation for the sole purpose of iron-ore mining. Outwardly the community during almost a hundred years of mining (1877-1962) has exhibited those characteristics typical of other British mining communities (see Bulmer 1975) with the single notable exception that Lingdale and other nearby iron-ore mining communities were lacking in any organized militant response to improve their pay and working conditions.

British miners have always been at the forefront of industrial action; in the process a popular image of the miner as the archetypal proletarian has developed. This description may well have been accurate at certain times and in certain places but is unsatisfactory and inaccurate as a description of all miners at all times.

My intention in analysing the conditions under which a quiescent consciousness developed among the mining population of Lingdale was to develop a model of the structural constraints operating on the development of consciousness. A critical aspect of this model building was the examination of the use of power by the local elites and the more distant mineowners so as to develop and nurture in the working-class a suitably quiescent consciousness.

Two distinct but related methods of data collection were employed in the research. The bulk of the data consists of oral testimony collected in extended interviews from elderly residents of Lingdale and also from others who have been closely connected with the community but now no longer maintain their connections (e.g. mine managers). The material collected in these interviews covered periods of sixty years or more and was collected with the purpose of providing data on social and institutional change in the community and orthodox personal data (date and place of birth, occupation, residence, etc.) from each of those interviewed.

The second source of data was documentary and statistical in nature and included census data, mining statistics, local newspapers and many varied documentary sources provided by those interviewed, and also sources consulted in local archives.

Oral testimony that deals with change over relatively

long periods (an individual's lifetime) opens up the question of consciousness and subjectivity and focuses on the problem of agency in history, the ways in which change comes into being and involves the individual. In doing so there is less of a tendency to impose a false order and rationality upon experiences. The inconsistency and contradictions of individuals' lives are illustrated in the testimony which proves more difficult for the researcher to generalise about and gloss over. Williamson (1982) amplifies this point by quoting from the editorial comment of the Ruskin History Workshop:

Historians have often by-passed questions of subjectivity and consciousness, because they elude the conventional categories of historical analysis - they are not 'things' or 'facts': understanding them involves exploring relationships between different phenomena rather than collecting data. Too often, marxists have relied on a rationalistic, almost utilitarian notion of 'self-interest' which allows no space at all for the contradictions of individual or class experience and the ways in which it is perceived. How do we account, for example, for the way in which pride in skill comes into conflict with the understanding the worker may hold, or the reality which may be experienced, of being exploited at work ? For oral historians, these most recent developments in the methodology suggest that the potential exists for a more speculative and analytical approach to the evidence. For marxists, conversely, they show that theoretical categories and questions can be transformed in the light of a critical interpretation of the evidence implicitly questioning the world historical view which treats class-consciousness as pre-given and unproblematic, they allow for a more

complex and in the end hopefully, more realistic, understanding of what the components of class-consciousness are. (History Workshop, 1979, quoted by Williamson 1982:10)

In assessing change over time, both in the individual and in the social structure, the research focus is a dual one, moving between the account given by the individual and the social history of his or her lifespan. In the accounts given by Lingdale people the absence of references to the 'outside' events events that constitute history was marked, yet this has to be taken as the temporal context in which these accounts were developed.

The key issue in research of the kind described here is quite simply that the researcher is seeking to investigate and account for things that are not directly observable (class consciousness, ideology). In order to make statements about the development of these elements in and among the population there is no other option but to make inferences from the the recorded statements of some of the population, from observations by others (largely in the past) and from the researcher's own observations and documentary research.

Making inferences is more refined and potentially more accurate when the respondents feel they have access to the information the researcher requires and can articulate such information. A more difficult task is faced with any population that has experienced events the researcher wishes to know about, but they cannot describe them in any detail and may deny all knowledge of them. Such populations produce

closures and periods of short-time working. As significant as these responses to external economic factors and the industrial conflict in the coalfields (which resulted in stoppages in the iron-ore mines) were to Lingdale people in indicating their inability to control their employment, the action of the paternalist capitalist owners was even more crucial but a lot less visible. The early importation of foreign ores of higher quality that were cheaper to extract began to focus the attention of the owners away from the relatively expensive, low-grade ores of the Cleveland mines. The existence of these foreign ores became a strong feature of the owners' arguments against wage rises for Cleveland miners, but little was said about the role of Cleveland owners in the development of these sources (initially in Bilbao in Northern Spain). The impression gained is that the use of a paternalist capitalist ideology could not be stretched to resolve something that was so blatently against the interests of Cleveland miners. What does become part of the miners' consciousness is simply the fact that there were a number of uncontrollable factors that limited the scope for action. If militant industrial action stopped the mines then the owners and ironmasters could simply turn to foreign ores. Given the powerless state of the miner faced with these external conditions, internally divided through the heirarchical and competitive organization of their work, what possible action, with what effect, could the trade union have taken ?

this response characteristically because of their awareness of their own powerlessness engendered by the actions of the dominant both in their locality and in society in general. The ideological is intertwined with the personal and tangible experience; it provides a structuring of meaning reflecting the dominant ideological categories of a particular place and time. It is important to grasp that part of this structuring of meaning includes 'structured silence' (Passerini 1979) i.e. the silent or muted response. What such respondents do not say can be as important, if not more important, than what they do say. The silence may reveal a great deal.

Two instances of this occur in my own research. Firstly, there was the very muted response, interspersed with long pauses, to questioning about the miners' union and industrial action. Secondly, there was almost total absence, despite opportunities occurring throughout the questioning, of statements about the role of women in the community. Both of these are very revealing silences and the research attempts to explain why so little is said about these two aspects of the community's experience.

For reasons of space I will concentrate on issues that stem from the first instance : lack of response to questioning about the miners' union and industrial action.

In understanding how the consciousness of Lingdale miners developed it is essential to note that their industry was a declining industry. The Lingdale mine opened during an economic recession and its history is punctuated by frequent

The union leadership in many ways complemented the mineowners; similar religious background, a belief in conciliation rather than conflict and the possibility of the elevation of the working classes through education and hard work (in which the trades unions had a vital role) were all beliefs shared by the two sides. Stability in the union leadership was achieved by the long tenure of office-holders, but this also led to oligarchic tendencies and a close and comfortable relationship with the mineowners. The result was a social distancing of the union leadership from the membership which coupled with the experience of the defeats of wage reductions and closures, led to the union gradually losing prestige with the membership, who reacted with apathetic acceptance of the union's powerless state and, where possible took their own individual action :

"The trouble was the union men, they were frightened of him (the manager), it's as simple as that, they were wishy-washy. Union man down here was weighman, if you went to him with a complaint, 'Right, we'll have a walk over t'office.' Now you didn't go in with him, you would have to stand outside 'till he went in and, as he thought, put your case to him. But it was all cut and dried when you went in: you didn't hear what was going on....We never used to bother with union, we used to go straight and see him ourselves." (Bill Dewing, 68 years old, miner)

The powerlessness of the unions in terms of industrial action to improve conditions or pay was recognised by the labour force as was the close working relationship of the union officials with the mine owners. In general the miners interviewed for this research had very little to say about the union, the most common response was one of indifference, some ventured a negative comment but throughout the interviewing the most positive comments were in terms of

"They did what they could I suppose."

This attitude of indifference was noted by others also; one observer looking at the position of Cleveland miners in the deep depression years of the 1920's summed it up in the following way :

A lot has been said and printed about the colliers and their dangerous calling but you don't hear much about the men who get the ironstone out of the bowels of the earth....There are now hundreds walking about doing nothing for the 'dole' which they are trying to live on. There are men who have not worked for eleven months....and yet in spite of all the hard times you hardly ever hear a grumble. The Cleveland miner is one of the easiest satisfied persons in the world, and the most generous, although he is the worst paid of any of that class of men. (Mole 1922)

In the early years of the industry the mineowners engaged in attempts to impose on the miners the idea that iron-ore mining was largely unskilled work and could be undertaken by the simplest agricultural labourer of which there was a virtually unlimited supply. This notion was in fact

This excerpt is one of the longest comments concerning the union in the interviews I conducted with elderly miners.

to the closing of the last mine.

The practical consciousness that upholds such values in the everyday working conditions of the miners is constrained and moulded substantially by the powerful who shape the structure and ideological content of work to the extent that even the loss of life is suffered without reaction. It is obvious that the work situation alone cannot produce consciousness of this type unless supported by a strong ideological process of reinforcement in the community (see Cornish 1984:209-242)

The 'dialectic of control' (Giddens 1979:149) involves power relationships that are reciprocal. The mineowners and landowners need the labour of the miner, the miner and his family need the opportunity to sell their labour to the owners (or so they believe). The 'dialectic of control' is the process by which this reciprocation, which manifestly serves the needs of one group to the detriment of the other, is re-formulated in an ideology to emphasise a partnership approaching equality. The strategy of the owners demonstrably has been to aim to control through the organization of work and the community and to provide those structures that control and manage, disguised in an ideological discourse that enables an unproblematic, practical consciousness to emerge rather than a class consciousness.

The nature of the psychological effects of powerlessness on deprived populations has been documented by Haggstrom

contradicted by the owners' need to bring in skilled miners who passed on their skills to others (Nicholson 1982). The owners' perception of the labour force as unskilled seems to have had some effects on the workers as there were no attempts, as in the coalfields, to restrict the entry of new labour into Cleveland and into the mines. The union made some attempts to compare iron-ore mining with coal mining and to upgrade their pay and conditions to those of the colliers of Durham (see e.g. Cleveland Miners' Association minutes August 6th, 1892) but such comparisons were firmly dismissed by the owners on the grounds of the differences between the commodities and the skills needed to produce them. Thus access to a comparison with a group that would have provided (if accepted by the owners) a considerable lever in negotiations was prevented and the matter gradually dropped from the business discussed by the two sides. Cleveland was effectively isolated and became a district with its own 'custom and practice'. This idea was strongly entrenched in both miners' and owners' associations to the extent that they lobbied together to get the district exempted from both the Truck Act provisions of 1883 and the New Mines Act of 1887. The argument on the former issue was that (in the case of deductions for a doctor being made from the miners' wages) no compulsion was used and deductions were optional and on the latter that the new safety measures were inappropriate for the conditions found in Cleveland. The dangers of this attitude have been tragically bourne by Cleveland miners down

(1965) and the effects he reports are not dissimilar to the kinds of adaptations noted by Gaventa (1980) in his study of Appalachian mining communities. The first of these is characterised as an "adaptive response to continual defeat": A has repeated victories over B so that eventually B comes to anticipate A's reaction and success and therefore ceases to challenge A. This calculated withdrawal becomes an unconscious pattern maintained not by fear of A's power but by B's own sense of powerlessness "regardless of A's condition" (Gaventa 1980:17). Having thus internalised the values and beliefs imposed by the powerful, "a means of escaping the subjective sense of powerlessness" is found (ibid). Allied to this process is the effect of exclusion from means of controlling conditions of social existence. If this denial prevents the growth of political consciousness then it is unlikely that any steps will be taken to redress inequalities. In support of his portrayal of these indirect mechanisms of power Gaventa uses the work of Friere (1972), Mueller (1973) and Gramsci (1957). Friere acknowledges that a "culture of silence" develops from the inequality of political experience, a context in which the development of consciousness is stunted. The silence of the powerless then becomes a legitimation of the powerful interests. Mueller writes in a similar vein stressing that attempts to break the silence are necessarily poorly orientated and ineffective and tend to reinforce patterns of withdrawal to a point of quiescence. Gramsci sees such a state of "moral and political passivity" deriving from "the point where the contradiction of conscience will not permit any decision, any choice...." (1957:66-67).

The silence of some respondents on key issues is reflective of the use of power. Thus such response should prove to be of positive benefit to the researcher who seeks to understand the totality of the power field within which his respondents operate. Being alert to the silent response and sensitised to its meaning demands a research effort that extends beyond the interview. A consideration of the work on comparable, powerless populations and of the work on the development of consciousness and the effect of domination on that consciousness is necessary, along with the more orthodox activity of researching documentary material where other observers may have recorded their surprise, dismay or anger at the non-response of the population in question.

I have in this paper concentrated on one piece of research but my preliminary investigation of the literature on ethnic and racial minorities, women, the poor and exploited groups of workers leads me to believe that these groups have all at various times produced silent responses, a quiescent stance. But such responses are seldom static and it is encouraging to see how, as the awareness of the use and effectiveness of domination grows the silence is broken, replaced by an increasingly articulate response. The field of feminist writing clearly demonstrates this trend.

The task of the committed researcher then becomes to

enable this transformation to take place by feeding back the results of the research to those that provided the raw data in such a way that they are encouraged to develop and improve the analysis of the effect of the power structure on them. The first step remains however the provision of the opportunity to offer their thoughts no matter how inarticulate the recorded utterance may be.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bulmer, M., 1975, "Sociological Models of the Mining Community," The Sociological Review, 23, pp. 61-92.

Cleveland Miners' Association Minutes, Cleveland County Archives, Middlesbrough.

Cornish, S.R., 1984, The Social Consequences of Industrial Decline: A Case-Study of an East Cleveland Mining Community, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hull.

Friere, P., 1972, Cultural Action for Freedom, Harmondsworth : Penguin.

Gaventa, J., 1980, Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Giddens, A., 1979, Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis, London: Macmillan.

Gramsci, A., trans. by Lewis Marks, 1957, The Modern Prince and Other Writings, New York: International Publishers.

Haggstrom, K., 1965, The Power of the Poor in Ferman, L., Kornbuth, J., Haber (eds), Poverty in America, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Mole, A., 1922, The Cleveland Miner, c.622.341, Middlebrough Central Library, Reference Section.

Mueller, C., 1973, The Politics of Communication : a study in the political sociology of language, socialization and legitimation, New York: Oxford University Press.

Nicholson, A., 1982, The growth of trades unionism among the Cleveland ironstone miners 1850-1876, unpublished M.A. thesis Teesside Polytechnic.

Passerini, L., 1979, "Work, Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism," History Workshop, No.8.

Williamson, B., 1982, Class, Culture and Community: a Study of Social Change in Mining Through Biography, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Oral History and Workers Education

Richard Croucher

This paper is concerned to examine the theme of power in society in the context of the social relations of production in oral history.In the first section,the mainstream of historical practice is examined and characterised.In the second section, an alternative method of studying history is outlined,drawing on my own experience in workers education in Britain.Finally, some conclusions ared drawn and it is suggested that the way in which oral history is produced is very much open to question and could be improved in senses which would tend to increase the confidence and therefore the power of ordinary people to take control of their lives.

How is historical research carried on at present?Oral historians generally see themselves as a progressive force within the academic discipline,and with some justification.Our concern with rescuing the recollections of ordinary people;our emphasis on the importance of what people have to say about the everyday rhythms ,habits and customs of everyday life;our insistence on the narrowness and inadequacy of much traditional documentary historical research;all of these things have persuaded us that we have a progressive and forward-looking part to play in the development of our discipline.In terms of historical research and writing,there can be little argument about this.It is so.But in terms of the relations between historians and ordinary people,it can be argued that oral history has not been any more progressive in its practice than other

social sciences .

The main way in which oral history data is collected has been through the individual interview,involving one historian and one respondent.A whole literature now exists which concerns itself with the problems involved in this relationship.But the difficulties arise and are examined largely within this context, which is frequently simply assumed,so deeply embedded has it become in our consciousness.To some historians,the problem has been seen as one of managing the one-to-one interview.What happens,for example,when in extreme cases the interviewer has an agenda which is so different to,or so hidden from,the respondent,that communication breaks down altogether?In many cases,interviewers report 'bad' or 'useless' interviews because the respondent simply could not relate his or her experience to the questions being asked.This is perhaps a caricature,an extreme case.But the argument is that such difficulties afflict all oral historians to a greater or lesser extent.In some instances, the difficulties have been transcended by group interviews in which a number of respondents discuss issues defined by the people who brought them together.In this situation,the group itself tends to re-define and interrogate the terms of the inquiry,and this undoubtedly represents an advance on the one-to-one interview.

The history which is written or reported in some other way after such interviews can be seen as an expropriation of the

experience of the people interviewed.The 'respondent' has simply provided raw material which has been re-worked and re-interpreted by the historian to an audience of other historians.The 'respondent' might well feel that questions have been asked which appeared to lead in a certain direction,but on re-reading the historians work realises that he or she had been led into a trap.For example,someone may be asked questions relating to their personal finances.The respondent might assume that such questioning related to their material success in life,only to discover that the data was in fact used to demonstrate their poverty.If we are honest,we can probably all think of similar cases in which two quite different agendas have been at work within one discussion.In some ways,this is to be expected.But for the respondent to find out later how the evidence has been used could be a profoundly shocking experience.People must often wish to protest,but by this point their experience has already been expropriated and become a matter for discussion by academic historians.For them,it is too late.Very little research exists on how people who have been interviewed see the experience of the interview or the publication.Such an exercise might be very damaging to the reputation of some well-known historians.

The result of this process is that the historian confirms his or her power as a member of a mandarin caste(i.e.a group which is able to write in the 'correct' way).Conversely,the status of the respondent as historical object is also confirmed.He or she has been consulted ,acknowledged and is sometimes pleased with having been a part of this process.The historian has generally enhanced his or her qualifications or reputation within the university or academic organisation.There are two related points to make about this situation.The first is that the historian is operating within an 'artisan' mode of production imposed by the academic institution's need to evaluate the competence of the individual,or,at most,small group of individuals.The second is that an elitist conception of the production of history has been reproduced both within the academic institution and between the mandarin caste and non-practitioners.

It will probably not be contested here that existing academic institutions operate in this way.Some oral historians may feel that their practice has been too rudely handled,and wish to defend it vigourously.But few would probably accept that they had much to learn from adult educationalists about how oral history might be carried on.History is a well-established academic discipline after all;education is much less well-established,and,within it,adult education is a backwater,a rather pathetic offer of a few practical tips and suggestions.But,more generally,those who are critical of the university and its role tend also to be critical of adult education as just another part of an exclusive and elitist system.Paradoxically,they overlook strong alternative traditions.

There has been a more democratic heritage within education in many countries,that of workers education.The idea that adults can and should determine what they study and how to study it is well-established within this tradition.

It is from this context that I report as one of a group of adult tutors who have been using oral history in our work. I work for the Workers Educational Association in a new town in Britain,Milton Keynes.Together with a number of other people, I have been involved in a programme of adult education called "Second Chance to Learn".This course is aimed at unwaged adults who attend sessions totalling roughly 150 hours across a twenty-five week period.Course members have weekly tutorial meetings with one of the tutors,weekly classroom meetings and a short stay at Ruskin College,Oxford.The course is intended to help people to improve their understanding of current social and political issues,whilst developing their study skills in terms of reading,writing,interviewing and so on.These courses have been run with some success since the beginning of 1983.Many ex-course members have become involved in a range of community action groups,whilst others have moved on to higher education.

The expectations of course members are at first low.They expect a traditional classroom practice similar to that which they experienced at school.Initially,they find the idea of a course in which course content is negotiated and the tutors are 'co-investigators' rather difficult to come to terms with.Their isolation and oppression as unwaged people also shows through at every point:a lack of confidence,a poor self-image,a tendency to dismiss their own experience as of no importance,are all in evidence.Their attitude to the study of history is generally clear:history is a waste of time.They recall hours spent at school studying monarchs,parliaments and so on.living in a new city, built over the last ten years,they find it difficult to see how the past could be at all relevant.

From the beginning,the course begins to study history, although it is not presented as such by the tutors.Course members interview each other about what they have done and then one of the pair introduces the other to the rest of the class.No particular questions are specified by the tutors.This activity is often used in adult education,but we take it several stages further than in usual by asking both participants to examine the questions they have asked or have been asked;by presenting the group with its collective experience;by tape-recording the interviews after several 're-runs' and finally by presenting participants with transcripts of what they have said for editing. No student has had to write anything,and low levels of literacy are therefore not a problem.But the important feature of this process is that people have begun to develop a collective approach to their past which stresses what they think is important.Meanwhile,they have become aware of their past as a subject worthy of study.

This initial interviewing activity is the first of many similar activities which students on these courses have decided to undertake.There have been many variations on the theme.Course members have wanted after a few weeks to go beyond their own experience,and to seek out quite different experiences.But the same principles have always been followed;questions have been developed by the group collectively,always being careful at every stage to involve the person being interviewed.For example,one course member recently told us of a friend who had had a very particular experience of school because she had attended a Catholic school in Belfast.Long stretches of time had to be spent explaining what we were doing and why we were doing it,developing questions which provided what she and the group felt were useful routes into her childhood,interviews had to be held,and,finally transcribing tapes and discussing them with our guest.The time taken has presented us with some problems.Course members have questioned the value of taking up such long hours with this protracted process,and on ocassions this has led the group towards activities which have not involved such long dialogues.For example,course members participated in an activity initiated by a neighbouring project called The Living Archive,in which they agreed to keep a diary for one day.Hundreds of people were involved in keeping the diary either on tapes,through drawings or photography.The Living Archive has presented an exhibition based on this work and involving the contributors in

developing a local archive of everyday life.The venture represents a revival of a tradition which is best known through the work that Mass Observation carried on in Britain during the late 1930s and the 1940s.None of our activities are,in fact,new. All of them,except perhaps in some matters of detail,have been carried on before and probably better.This is,in fact,part of our argument.Since there is now such a large amount of important oral history work going on outside of traditional academic institutions,it is interesting to see how untouched much of the practice of those institutions has remained.

Central to the process of research is the dissemination of its results.We have tried both through booklet-format publications and our joint work with the Living Archive,to involve as wide an audience as possible in the results of our inquiry.Here again,several principles have been followed.The first and most important of these is that both interviewers and interviewees have control over what is written,presented in an exhibition,etc.Technical help only is given by the tutors. A second principle has been that if results are to be published in a written form,then booklets of abou t fifty to one hundred pages are best.In this space,evidence can be presented in sufficient detail without boring the reader.But exhibitions, radio programmes   where possible remain the ideal method of disseminating results to the widest possible audience.

This body of educational work has many parts,some of
which have been reported in the British Journal Oral History,and
a few of which(such as the Hackney Centreprise)have become well-
known in their own right.Our Second Chance to Learn project in
Milton Keynes is no more than a tiny part of that body.I have only
chosen to report on the work of which I haven most direct
experience.But it can safely be asserted that there are some
clear qualitative differences between the social relations of
the production of oral history in our area and those which exist
in the classical academic field.Firstly,the producers are not
individual artisans,but rather a more social collective in the
best sense.Whilst academics may group together to pool their ideas,
very real limits are set on the depth of the process by the
need of each individual to build an academic reputation.Secondly,
interviewees are actively involved in the production process and
are not 'expropriated' in the way we suggested took place.Thirdly,
a non-elitist conception of history is fostered among the
course members and a wider public.These are the structural ways
which distinguish the practice of oral history in our educational
context.Anyone who wishes to pursue these points might consider
sending for some of the publications listed at the end of this
paper.

The other results of this work,which are in many ways
more important,which are to do with the way that people's
perceptions of themselves and their individual and collective

pasts have changed,are difficult to assess in a short paper.
Readers are again referred to the publications list.But some
tentative conclusions can be drawn pending deeper research.
Firstly,course members begin to express more self-confidence
and to assert their own priorities both inside and outside of
the classroom.Taking control of their past has been an
important part of the process of taking control of the present.
Course members,earlier convinced that their past was of no value,
have started to see that it is valid and that it contains imp
important lessons for themselves and others.This process of
'digging where you stand' has undoubtedly led many people to
understand their social position in an historical sense.
Secondly,people have started,by asserting their priorities,to
challenge the cultural power weilded by most of those who
in practice rule their lives.A different psychology has resulted
whereby people articulate their needs instead of repressing
and internalising them.As they do this,new processes are begun
by which they come to realise that collective organisation has
to be a part of their armoury.The limits of individual
development and progress are reached and more social responses
begin to develop.These are highly schematic and approximate
representations of what has taken place,which are only provisional.

But oral historians can certainly study the educational
work going on in their own areas along these lines with some
profit.They are likely to find that the adults involved have

developed not only raw material of interest to them,but have

also begun to order and make sense of their past in ways

which are progressive in terms of history as an academic

discipline.The history of family life,sexuality,housing,transport

work,health and sickness,have all been looked at in ways which

have been an education to this particular academic historian.

Visiting historians who attempted to present the discoveries

of the Annales school,of the students of Alltagsgeschichte or

of History Workshop as major steps forward would certainly be

met with wry smiles from our students.Like many other

educational experiences,this could be both painful and

instructive.In the long run,it could even have some effects on

cultural power in society.

Publications List

Milton Keynes:A Worm's Eye View (1983)

Given a Chance (1984)

Milton Keynes Second Chance to Learn Report 1984

(All of the above are available from: WEA,6,Brewer St.,Oxford,

Britain)

***

Richard Croucher(Tutor-Organiser,Workers Educational Association,

POWER AND AUTHORITY IN THE COLLECTION AND PRESENTATION OF ORAL HISTORY MATERIAL

Mary Chamberlain

I do not intend to add to the debate of centuries on the nature of power and authority, but I do need to pose a working definition of the concepts. 'Power' I define as the ability to act or facilitate actions; 'Authority' as the moral right to do so. The concepts can have a harmonious relationship;or they can act in separation. Both can be abused, separately or together. As historians - and I am talking here of 'professional' historians,- we presume a moral right to pronounce, interpret, analyse. The moral right is incorporated in our understanding of 'profession'. That we have access to disseminating our material provides us with an ability to change perceptions, at the least.

As oral historians, however, a new dimension enters the debate. Our data and our sources differ from conventional sources. We are not getting our hands dirty with dusty, inanimate documents. On the contrary, our sources are people with a story to tell. This introduces new variables. First, we have a social

relationship with our sources, that is, with our 'interviewees'. Second, our material is qualitatively different; it is oral material gathered as a result of that relationship. Third, in using oral history we are not only making use of a new primary material; we are also generating it.

Our professional relationship, however good our personal relationship, is one of inequality. Without us, our interviewees on the whole, have no public platform. Without them, we have no reputation. But they have a powerless authority which implicitly and explicitly challenges our position. This process generates tensions: we can respond by treating the people we interview as 'informants', impersonal source material, placing them in the same category as other forms of documentation. We take on their authority and assume it into our own. Perhaps that is inevitable, with the best will in the world.

What I wish to investigate - in a very preliminary way - is not so much the direct relationship we have with the people we interview, but the relationship we have with their material That, I suggest, is at the crux of the dilemma. Briefly, we may not be sure of what we have got hold of and, until we are clear, how we collect and how we present our material will constantly affect our relationship to it. What we have to investigate is our moral right, our authority, as professionals to assess the material of others.

This is a self indulgent paper. I am simply raising questions, often randomly, raiding my own half formed thoughts and anxieties, and raiding the more fully developed knowledge of others.

Let me start with some general and basic points. When we collect oral history, we are taking part in a conversation. It is an complex process. Let us assume it is a two way conversation - though it could well involve a number of participants. Conversation presupposes a number of rules.

It is conducted through a shared language, words and grammatical constructions. Messages are constructed in a way which conveys meaning. Within that meaning is contained not only intellectual ideas, but also those thoughts which derive from the emotions. There is an expressive quality, as well as an informative quality. In a conversation those qualities are conveyed through choice of words, but also through cadence, tone, hesitation, rhythm, laughter, facial signs and gestures. In other words, by a range of non-linguistic activities. The receiver recognises meaning because they, too, recognise these verbal and visual signs.

A conversation is a two-way process. It consists of statements and responses. The talker and the listener at any time can interrupt, reinforce, reiterate points which seem ambiguous. Complex signals exist which inform either party to the

conversation whether the desired meaning is being conveyed - grunts, nods, chuckles, gasps etc.

Somehow or other a degree of comprehension takes place, even though sentences are not always complete, the words ambiguous, the meaning perhaps obscure. Indeed, without the range of other signals they could be often unintelligible. They need, in other words, someone to 'read' meaning into them. As part of a conversation between people who share the same cultural rituals of communication, this comes, apparently, automatically - though we know it involves a complicated process.

All of this can be taken as given.(Though it is only a very cursory glimpse at communications with many glaring omissions.) But there are other implications of these general points. First, conversations take place within a situation. At one level, the relationship of the conversationalists determines the nature of the conversation and who is allowed to participate in it. It determines who has the 'floor' and who is allowed to have the 'floor'. This relationship may not by any means be equal, nor may the ground be neutral.

At another level the situation can imply more than the context in which a conversation is conducted. It can refer to the subject of the conversation. Thus although to those party to a conversation it may be perfectly clear who is taking part, who is talking at any one time. It may be apparently clear whose words

they are. But a conversation may well refer to other situations distanced from the present in time and space, may record other conversations, other comments and interpretations. Indeed, as historians the kinds of conversations we hold are likely to contain precisely that: any one narrative is likely to contain descriptions of past events, recorded conversation, it can involve mimicry, dramatic licence. The speaker can also record his or her responses, unstated or otherwise, as listener to the events now recounted. Indeed, the narratives we collect are often a complex web of phrases, expressions, statements, questio responses of a second, third or fourth party recollected, pieced together and reported back by our co-conversationalist.

(Let me give you an example. Kate Moody is describing how her husband, then a young man of 21, unemployed for four years since the First World War in which he enlisted under-age, goes to get help from his former regiment. In this he uses a Church warden to act as intermediary. She said to him:

"Well, I got through to your regiment, Mr Moody, and I'm very sorry to say they can't help you because they're in financial difficulties themselves, see? Right. The only thing" she said "I can propose" she said "you have Fred, you have Gladys and you have Lena, like, at the moment."

He said "That's right."

"And your wife is, you know, rather heavy with another one."

He said "That's right".

"Well, the only thing" she said "I can propose is that you manage on your own, put the children in Norwood schools-" Well, Norwood Schools was a place like (for) orphaned children and abandoned children, children who had nothing, you know? "And your wife go into the workhouse."

How about that? That's the gospel truth. My husband said "There was never a brick laid in Norwood Schools for my children or the workhouse for my wife.""

Situationally, a complex narrative. Made more so by the husband's ringing phrase. Where did that come from? What layers of working class literacy, Sunday school, performances are coming through in those words?)

Second, there is an economy of words which is, perhaps, peculiar to conversation, to unscripted speech. This may be because the dynamics of the situation require or demand an economy, or simply make elaboration unnecessary. We can get by with what Goffman calls a 'small repertoire of alludings and simulation.' (Goffman

Forms of Talk 1981)

A third characteristic perhaps not of conversations in general, but some conversations, is the disparity between language 'codes', differences between language use and usage, which may often be related to social class. Oral historians will have observed, at a common sense level, disparities between middle class, educated speech and working class (however those are defined!) less educated speech. These differences manifest themselves in grammatical sequence, vocabulary, sequences, length and frequency of pausing between statements etc. It will also include dialect, register etc. But they may also manifest themselves in perceived functions for a conversation, and in the different contexts in which conversation 'rules' and functions originate, functions which relate to social context. If, for instance, there is a difference between the child rearing practises of middle class as opposed to working class families, and part of these differences relate to the patterns and methods of communication, to the kinds of conversations held, the purpose and expectations of conversation, as well as to the kinds of contexts in which most conversations are held (ie whether among family and close friends, or whether in conferences, dinner parties etc) Then how and what is said is going to be crucially affected. The marked disparity between language codes of social class, and the effect on content and impact, are very clearly brought out in Thea Thompson's Edwardian Childhoods or Jan Carter's Nothing to Spare, where the working class speech contains an immediacy and drama. Dialogue is remembered and

reported, an erratic chronology highlights events, their significances and meanings. It is almost as if exclusion from the literature and position of the administrative classes' enhances the spoken word and contrasts with the narratives of the highly educated whose very fluency and assumed confidence flattens and distances the speaker from their past.

This is by no means an exhaustive, or original, catalogue of the characteristics of conversation and speech. But they are, perhaps, enough to go on with for the time being, to signal that when we hold our conversations, make our recordings, we need perhaps more awareness of the processes involved in communications. This extends beyond personal dynamics. It may not be enough, as historians, merely to check the historical content of what we hear, we may need to have a far more complex understanding of the broader communications context and communications history of our co-conversationalist. In other words, simply understanding what is said is only one level of our comprehension.

In collecting oral history, therefore, what we collect and how it is said should perhaps be investigated. It is more a subject for psychology and stylistics. But what we collect may be limited by linguistic problems inherent in our relationship with our co-conversant. It may also be deeply ambiguous. Can we do justice

the reader always remains an unknown quantity; nevertheless, as far as possible, using certain conventions, stylistic devices which it is assumed are shared by a reader, interference by another's subjectivity can be reduced to a supposed minimum. The style of writing may vary - obviously, between individuals - but also between writing conventions. Legal documents are written in a style which differs from a poetic style, which differs from an analytical style etc. The ability to adopt and use a particular style assumes a certain level of literacy and education.

Speech is a multi-dimensional form of communication. Without changing the words, a range of meaning and information can be inferred. Accent, register, tone, hesitations can tell us a great deal about the age, class, locality, emotions of a person. Writing, by contrast, is one-dimensional in that if we wish to convey that information, and more besides, it has to be explicitly written in.

What happens, therefore, to a transcript of a conversation? First, and immediately, a great deal of information is lost. Second, its ambiguities surface. Third, it is placed out of its original context. Fourth, it appears, often, as a sequence of

to our material as a primary source. Are we not collecting something more than historical data? A statement of life, crucially reflected in, and determined by, the language available.

Problems emerge when, having done our interviews, having had our conversations, we transcribe and thereby translate them into a different medium.

Language is ambiguous. In conversation, part of that ambiguity can be resolved, partly through the use of certain linguistic devices ('do you get my meaning?') and partly through the use of non-linguistic signals. Writing does not have that luxury. In order to reduce the levels of ambiguity, writing is 'encoded' so that the desired meaning is brought out, so that it can be successfully 'decoded' by the reader. (I am mindful of the old joke about Stalin who read out to the crowds in Red Square a telegram received from Trotsky, as follows 'Dear Comrade Stalin. You were right and I was wrong. Stop. I should apologise. Stop. Comrade Trotsky.' Whereupon a Jewish tailor came forward and said 'On no, Comrade Stalin, you got it wrong. It should read: Dear Comrade Stalin. You were right, and I was wrong? I should apologise?' But telegrams are notorious for mis-readings.) Most written exercises will attempt through description, elaboration, certain sentence constructions and sequences to reduce as far as is possible any ambiguity of meaning. It is never totally successful, for the subjectivity of

responses for which the original statement may be lost. Fifth, sentences may be broken, may be unintelligible. Sixth, the possessor of the transcript now has the conversational 'floor', a very different relationship to that encountered in the original conversation. The reader of the transcript is placed in the role of one who overhears, has no sense of the dynamics of that conversation.

Finally, it is not a literary style. The transcript is being asked to perform a function for which it was never intended. And, if we add to that, possible discrepancies between class patterns of speech, and an economy of words used in speech, and possible structural differences in conversation usage, we may be in possession of a document which as historical material may have certain points of validity, but as a document for communication has inherent historic deficiences.

Nevertheless we - I - use it. And in a particular way. We use it as evidence (more or less corroborated by 'external' criteria). But we use it in a context in which we place our co-conversationalists at an unfair disadvantage,in a number of ways. First, we publish the material, either as a book, or in an article or paper. Now, however much we have the permission of the person we interviewed to do this, however much they vetted and approved the final transcript and its edited version, we remove the personal dynamics from that original conversation, and assume power. That conversation appears to be and to have been

in our control. We have edited it in a particular way, to make it legible, to emphasise certain meanings. In other words, we have 'read' it for our reader. Of necessity, we are presenting a biased viewpoint.

But the process of presenting this material does more. We are writing down the spoken word, we are 'encoding' it in conventions for which it was never intended. We are placing levels of distance between the originator and the new 'listener'/reader. Moreover, we are placing the remnants of this conversation in a context, in a literary context, which stands in stark contrast to the necessarily non-literary style of the interview. We might be doing justice to the validity of our material, to the people to whom this conversation originally belonged, (and to whom does it belong now?) or to the complexity of that material

It may not necessarily be that transcribed speech is a less efficient communicator than writing which originated as writing. But it is judged differently. We allow within our published work a dichotomy between our literary and literate statements and non literate evidence which serves to enhance our case, our authority as historians, at the same time as it diminishes the authority of our interviewees precisely because we present them and their case in a way which has no literary equivalent.

Now, I am not suggesting that we 'clean' up our interviews,

'encode' them in a literary style - as I was requested to do by one of the people I interviewed recently who wrote beautifully, but was very conscious that she spoke 'like a right old Cockney' and asked me, before I publish her transcript, to make sure that it is grammatical, precisely because she wouldn't want people to think that she was uneducated. This particular person had a more acute awareness of the process than most. Clearly, I have to respect her wishes. But it also poses another problem. Her 'right old Cockney', unliterate as it reads, is one of the few devices that can be retained to locate her, to give perhaps a flavour of an original conversation. To clean up her conversation would also rob it of a great deal of its force, of the peculiarities of her speech - and others like it - where the peculiar constructions of speech and economy of words gives it a particular power and strength.

This leads to another dimension of oral history. For all it loses in transcription, it can engage the reader in an intimacy. Not just by what is being discussed, but how. The sheer economy of words can powerfully underline, encapsulate, a wealth of emotions, thoughts, experience. Good style writers ironically try to capture this. Many 20th century novelists adopt a style of understatement. But there a novelist is presupposing an intimacy between writer and reader, depends on that intimacy for effect. In much the same way as does conversation. Poetry uses similar shorthand. We analyse the style: we know that every word chosen by the writer has been handpicked for maximum effect. We don't

know for sure that the people we talk to, who recount their stories, have given their vocabulary so much thought in terms of the literary effect it will ultimately have. Nevertheless, the words chosen do reflect other processes. Maybe it does not matter how style is achieved - the effect is comparable.

Let me give you three examples from the material I have collected.

1. Alice in Penwomen described and summed up the experience of having no money and no food and nine children to keep in four words. 'Not a mite nor nothing' which she repeated, 'not a mite nor nothing.'

2. Mrs Abbot described and summed up her emotions after losing a young baby in horrific circumstances in the Second World War in London. 'I went barmy, didn't I?'

3. Faye, a young mother whose husband, unemployed for three years, has abandoned them, can only say. 'The children sleep together, Atti one end, Karina the other. Sometimes Atti comes into my bed but I like to keep a space in case, one night, he thinks of us and comes back.'

There are problems in transposing speech into written form. But perhaps some of those problems could be reduced if we looked at the material differently. It has, as I have indicated, qualities other than the mere subject or substance of the narrative. But

those narratives, collected within our conversations, are essentially stories. And that is their prime quality. Let's leave aside questions of memory. It is arguably questions of style which should concern us.

Everytime we interview, we in essence receive a saga, in the old sense of the meaning of 'things said'. It is often a family saga. Njal's Saga, that 13th century Icelandic tale of everyday folk, whatever claims Icelandic saga scholars may make for a specific saga-style independent of an oral tradition, reads to me like a wonderful interview. But we must remember that it was written to be read aloud. It represented, if not an oral tradition, at least an aural tradition. Complete - replete - with family genealogy, digressions, red herrings, wonderfully circolocutary story structure, but most of all a dry laconic style, a - what to our eyes - appears to be a sparse economy of words and description. Greater words are not necessary. The narrative is so complicated and multi-faceted that we learn about our characters without having to be told about them, we hear their everyday comments, their asides, as reported speech within a long intimate narrative. It is assumed that we know the physical, social and emotional landscape of the saga. Therefore we can be priveleged to be party to participate in it. The reader does not need to be introduced, subjected to behaviour analysis, descriptions of feelings. It's all terribly commonsensical. And .t works. Although there is clearly a thousand years which

separates us from the setting of the saga, we are immediately drawn into its conversation, its discourse.

I think that many, many of our interviews have those qualities. They are stories, perceived to be such by their tellers, sometimes they are literally sagas. Perhaps we should treat them as such, that we should create, or recreate, a new genre. For the moment we break up those narratives, isolate a paragraph here or there, we break up the magic of them. Clearly, not all interviews have this quality - but the best interviews are given by the best story tellers. And, again, the stories may have use for us as historians, but they also have a quality which extends beyond that use.

We should, perhaps, look too at the triggers we use to prompt memory. In my own family - and I'm sure my family is reasonably representative, - marriages, funerals in particular act as triggers for a range of family stories. Indeed, one might almost say there is a category of 'marriage' stories, a category of 'funeral' stories, a repertoire of tales which relate sometimes to the individual at the centre of this particular rites de passage, but also relate to the whole category of marriages, funerals, christenings etc. They clearly serve a purpose, within the family and within the family ethos and system of beliefs, within the family's historical and social context. Much as, for instance, Irish folk tales were catalogued according to genre, or

familiar with. Often it comes out in precisely those words. Often it emerges in comparable forms – 'neighbours were neighbours then', 'we didn't have mugging like they do now', 'kids could play in the street/be up till all hours' etc. As historians we explore behind these myths, get beyond the primary cliche. But are we not actually hearing 'once upon a time', and are we not actually hearing the process by which the present is compared, are we not also hearing an old person's survival mechanism at work, should we simply dismiss such statements as cliches – generated by, or reflected through the media – but perhaps see them in a broader context of the functions of story telling?

Many oral historians – and I am guilty of it – extract to a greater or lesser degree. To a lesser degree we 'simply' edit. We punctuate, we remove, we re-arrange. We present an oral testimony in a readable form. Not only do the rules for such transmission belong, as I have indicated, to a different set of codes and that those codes themselves may have a class base in that they are rooted in the traditions of an educated elite, but how, what we edit conforms to our own set of life experinces, superimposed on those of another. Imaginatively, we may be able to do justice to that text. Imaginatively, the 'author' may be able to do justice to it. But it is never a substitute: it will never be the same.

indeed New testament stories were catalogued according to the festival at hand, there is an appropriateness for certain kinds of stories which relate centrally to their social, and sometimes, moral function. Clearly, those are specific events, triggers. But there are others. The saga of the gas man, the tax man, shoddy goods from Marks and Spencers, trivial though they may seem, prompt a particular genre of, as it were, 'resistance' stories. In more general terms, the workhouse, the pawn shop, hospital – whatever – act as particular prompts. This is a guess, but I suspect that most of the material we collect has been rehearsed in some way. At the time of the event, and later, those stories have been recounted to friends, family, neighbours. They may have been 'polished' in the telling, they may have been adapted to suit an earlier audience, to accord with their expectations and common ideologies before we ever receive them.

Critics of oral history make heavy weather of this 'distortion'. I don't think we make enough of it. Because if it is related to the need to relay events, the process by which experience is digested, interpreted, made memorable, to the process of story telling, then we need to look far more closely not only at the context but also at the functions it is performing. Not for us, though we may be the happy beneficiaries of it in the end, but the functions it performed then and now for our 'interviewee' and the context in which they live and continue to live. Let me give an example. 'The good old days' is a cliche that we are all

Moreover,, the same story may be told in several ways by the same person. Which version does one take - assuming that each version will reflect the process of infinite mental balancing which shifts constantly in memory - and language - between our experience, language, maturity, the prompts or triggers to such stories, how are they changed to meet the audience...These kinds of problems have been aired.

But, when we extract even further, remove a paragraph here, a paragraph there, to support our particular argument, we are removing it so far from the context as to remove many of the subtleties - of communication, of language, context, connections. We are effectively replacing that whole experience and substituting our own. In many ways, the two may be close. We can inject, say, a description of class experience for which oral history is corroborative evidence. As historians, that is inevitably what we do. But is it enough?

Are we actually losing much, much more of the potential of the material. And are we denying it its autonomy, the circumstances of its collection, its own particular history as a story. In effect, do we neutralise its potential and its authority, as a person's life description - to suit our ends and those of historical evidence? *in clearing the 'clouds' of the story in an analytical and unsympathetic context - sanitising*

I am not sure how, if this is so, we can achieve resolution. At one level it may be that we have to simply look at the

conventions and the context in which we present oral material. Many oral history testimonies, and I am guilty of this myself - are written out in intractible blocks, like texts rather than like stories. We 'read' - literally and metaphorically - different meanings and connotations into the written word depending on how it is presented. And more, we 'read' transcribed speech differently from the primarily written word, because the grammatical structure is different. This may well delay reaction time to any response, and elicit different response from that intended in an original conversation.

Perhaps we should think hard about the conventions in which oral history is presented. I am thinking of three examples. In the field of adult literacy, pioneers like Sue Shrapnel and Jane Mace are transcribing recorded speech into blank verse. It is a literary convention which exists already precisely to cater for the rhythms of speech, the spoken word. Or Angela Hewins The Dillen which looks like a story, which is exactly what it is. Or Raphael Samuel's East End Underworld? Three very different presentations, but all of which capture some of the drama of story telling, and retain as far as it is possible, the communications history of the story teller and, as far as it is possible, a democratic relationship.

Which brings me to my final point, by way of a postscript.

The (new) wave of oral history had as its impetus a

radicalising motive, creating a new history, a new emphasis in subject areas and methodology, a new audience and a new authority. We were, as it were, historical agitators. I just have a nagging worry, that our endeavour to prove the validity of the oral source as evidence is a mechanism we have employed to preserve our status as professionals.But is it diverting us from recognising the potential of our material, which even judged by historical criteria maybe richer than we know, and distancing us from our sources? In other words, have political intent and historical method become separated, and that we not only ignore, in our quest for acceptablility, the very people who provided us with our sources, but do them an injustice, by failing fully to contextualise those memories, and failing to explore the style in which they are couched?

We continue to have a social relationship with them (even if it is relegated to memory), we have extracted material that is qualitatively different, and we are generating primary material. Those three circumstances around our craft make a statement about our power postion as historians. It should also make a statement about our authority, our moral rights - and responsibilities - as historians. To the people from whom we collect memories, to the people who consume those memories, and to the future.

HIDDEN RHYTHMS: HIDDEN POWERS

Pat Straw and Brian Elliott

Introduction

Sociology and history are both concerned with temporal aspects of social life - with recurrent patterns of social behaviour and with processes of change - but it is a curious fact that serious discussions of 'time' are only rarely found in these disciplines. To be sure, lip-service is paid to the idea that time provides an elemental framework for human affairs but as Lauer (1981) observes, "actual research fails to incorporate the temporal dimension". Time, because it is ever present is simply taken for granted (Zerubavel 1981). It ought not to be.

Of course, some appreciation of the significance of time has been evident from an early point in the development of the social sciences. For example, we find it in the work of Durkheim at the turn of the century (Durkheim 1961), and in the work of Sorokin and Merton during the Thirties (Sorokin and Merton 1937, Sorokin 1943) where they sketched some of the ways in which we might study and comprehend temporal matters. In some of the classic writings of British social anthropology, such as Evans-Pritchard's work on the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940), we find not only descriptions of time-reckoning which appear to be very different from our own but also perceptive commentary on the general relationships between temporal structures and social structures. More recently we find in history, anthropology and sociology a small number of valiant efforts to advance our understanding of time and hortatory remarks about the need to develop these (de Grazia 1962, Gurvitch 1964, Thompson 1967, 1968, Leach 1971, Abrams 1972, 1982, Geertz 1973, Bertaux, 1981).

At the heart of all the systematic discussions of time, we find a basic distinction between 'physical' or 'astronomical' time and 'social time'. Obviously, it is the latter that ought to be the focus of historical and sociological curiosity. Sorokin and Merton highlighted this point,

> We see then that systems of time reckoning reflect the social activities of the group. Their springs of initiation are collective; their continued observance is demanded by social necessity. They arise from the round of group life, are largely determined by the routine of religious activity and the occupational order of the day, are perpetuated by the need for social co-ordination, and are essentially a product of social interaction.
> (Sorokin and Merton: 620)

In today's modern industrial society our commonplace understandings of time are dominated by the mechanical measurement of seconds, minutes, hours, weeks, months and years, and the use of these precise units to organise our activities. Many have pointed out that the development of western society, particularly in its industrial capitalist phase, has brought with it ever more precise and binding periodicities. These make possible the co-ordination of complex activities especially in our productive systems and the rhythms of our factories, offices and schools impose themselves on the rest of our lives. Thus, we can usefully talk, as Lewis and Weigert (1981) do about 'organisational time'. Non-work time is then seen as residual, as something left over after we have fulfilled the important obligations of our jobs and of the formal organisations in which we participate. There is obviously truth in this; but it is a partial truth.

Our tendency to think about time principally in relation to work is part of a general bias in our efforts to describe and analyse the kind of societies in which we live. Sociologists stress the rational and instrumental characteristics of industrial societies. They devote a great deal of effort to studying work places, particularly those which are large, bureaucratically structured and technically sophisticated. Their theories impress upon us the determining influences of systems of production. The objects of their study, at least until recently, have generally been men. This leads to a distortion of our images of such societies and to a gross neglect of many aspects of social life which lie outside the work place. Critical awareness of this _is_ beginning to appear. For example, Granovetter (1984) points to the disproportionate attention paid to large enterprises and the effects of this on our understanding of work processes and labour markets; Gershuny (1978) and Pahl (1984) and others, looking at the impacts of technical change and recession show how the nature of work itself is changing; and, of course, the women's movement has forced us to explore more seriously than before the role of women in the workforce and in the home. This kind of awareness should lead us to question taken-for-granted views about the dominance of 'organisational time' and compel us to look in particular at the significance of women as the active agents in the shaping of 'social time'.

Alongside the rhythms and routines dictated by the work-place there exists something that we can call 'family time' or 'domestic time', a distinctive patterning of a large area of social life in which affective and expressive activity is intimately mingled with, rather than separated from, instrumental roles. In the last few years changes in the nature of western economies have served to reveal the importance of 'non-work time' and, more precisely, of 'family time'. Most workers, certainly most manual workers, have experienced some reduction in the hours they spend in formal employment, so-called flexi-time has allowed a good many to exercise a minimal discretion over the time they spend at work; changes in technology have made possible the dispersal of some economic activities so that part of the job may be done at home and most important of all, for the working-class, unemployment has left millions without the externally imposed rhythms of shifts or nine to five routines. As this has happened and as sociologists have begun to explore the world of the 'informal economy' or the lives of women so the salience of a temporal order which has always been there, paralleling that of the work-place, becomes more obvious. Using materials from life-history interviews with a sample of working-class women in Scotland we shall try to explore this countervailing temporal order. It is an order which is 'fami-centric' - which reflects the distinctiveness of female roles and responsibilities. From it women derive power, security and identity.

The distinctiveness of women's experience of time

This derives in part, but only in part, from biology. Physically girls develop earlier than boys. Puberty occurs some two to three years earlier among females, as does the

accompanying 'growth spurt'. From puberty to menopause, menstruation and the complex biochemical rhythms which it involves gives a tempo to a female's life which a male cannot know. The menopause itself brings a specific and obvious end to one phase and signals the start of another in a woman's personal history.

Upon such biological rhythms each culture imposes a set of social conventions which mark out phases of social development for the individual and these too, though similar to the stages through which a male passes, are not precisely the same. Childhood, as a period of dependency, ends earlier for girls than for boys; so too on average, does the stage of adolescence or spinsterhood. Mostly women marry younger than men and with childbirth assume a range of tasks temporally bound to the needs of infants and children. Commonly in our culture, it is women who take on the responsibilities of caring for the needs of ageing parents and that too has a degree of predictability about it in terms of the point in the life cycle at which it will occur, as well as its own mundane rhythms. If we think about the roles and the status passages of males and females, it is obvious that they are not neatly synchronised.

Males and females somehow acquire or are taught to have a different sense of and feel for time. This comes in part from the distinctive sequences described above but also the fact that a female's sense of time is continuous throughout life in a way which a male's is not. For small children, time connected with

the home and family is the most important time, the most secure time. It assumes priority. These feelings tend to remain much the same for girls in later socialisation because they continue to remain closely identified with the realm of home and family. However, this is not the case for boys because they are encouraged to distance themselves early from this 'world of loving' so that in later life they will have no difficulty in leaving it to play their main roles in the world of work with its limited opportunities for expressive, affective action and its pervasive clock time.

The interview materials provide much evidence of the kinds of temporal patterns which are commonplace in the lives of working-class women and which ultimately set them apart from men. Take for example the abbreviation of childhood and the assumption, often at a very early age, of a range of adult responsibilities. In large families where mothers are over-burdened or in those families where a parent dies or is absent or ill, it falls to girls to take on the tasks of childminding. Not infrequently they also undertake cooking, cleaning, washing and shopping, for their own immediate families. Occasionally they carry out similar tasks for grandparents, aunts and uncles or others in the kinship network (Glasgow Women's Study Group, 1983).

Mrs. Ferguson, who grew up during the Second World War, said,

I did all the groceries, m' mother couldn't have
told y' one coupon from another in the ration
books, and I was only about eight at the time.

177

Mrs. Morton who had a family of eight but worked long hours in a shop said of her eldest daughter,

> Oh aye, Anita ... she was the boss o' them all. She kept all the little 'uns in their place. 'Nita done all the housework. She was the boss from the time she was aboot seven.

No doubt these patterns are less common now than a generation or two ago, after all, families are smaller and, on the whole, healthier, but such patterns are far from extinct. Two things about them deserve particular comment.

First, the fact that from an early age women stand at the intersection of different sorts of time. Their caring for siblings and other domestic duties bring into conflict two different types of time. We see clearly the demands of 'family time' clashing with those or 'organisational time' in the form of the school schedule.

Mrs. Payne recalls,

> Whenever m' mother had a baby I had t' stay off school f' a month. I lost a lot o' education. I had t' stay off a month at a time, t' help with everything that was going on in the house ... cooking, washing, scrubbing. I did that f' I was about eight year old. In fact, I've done things since I was younger.

Similarly Mrs. Crawford remarked,

> My school report said, "She does her best but lower marks this term because she lost so many months schooling". That's when m' mother was ill. Well, I just couldna go t' the school. In fact I had t' run up t' sit the exam and come running back home straight after it.

Mrs. MacKenzie, eldest surviving daughter of a family of twelve said,

> Every so often I was off the school t' watch the others, t' let m' mother get the washing done. I was off one day a week or one day a fortnight.

We frequently find that the 'stratification of time' as Lewis and Weigert (1981) call it, is not ordered hierarchically in what they take to be the usual way. 'Family time' may well take precedence over 'organisational time'; the externally and formally determined demands of the education system may well rank below the domestic ones. This is merely the earliest of many points in a woman's life where 'family time' will take priority over the time frames of formal institutions.

Secondly, we see how the early assumption of these domestic roles binds very young females into a set of family and kinship relations which, in the case of most working-class women, will continue to have importance throughout their lives. The strength of these ties must stem in part from the very early assumption of quasi-adult roles and entry to an affectively charged network that, constitutes the 'world of women'. It is a world in which a child develops a sharp sense of the periodicity of the female life history, for status within it attaches to being 'a married woman', 'a mother', or 'a grandmother'. It is also a world therefore in which a sense of 'generational time' grows up. Alongside the consciousness of the recurrent sequences enjoined by domestic chores, there grows an awareness of that specifically female family history that binds the generations together.

Women, power, and the shaping of time I: Recurrent time

Domestic or family time frames and rhythms include both short and long sequences (Hareven 1982). The short intervals reflect the basic economic and social needs of family life which dictate that certain activities must be repeated at brief intervals (Jahoda, 1972. Thus, the organisation of childcare, shopping, cleaning, washing and cooking require a temporal structure and that structure is almost entirely the responsibility of women, whether they are in outside paid employment or not.

Women's power to shape the order of events, of course, operates within the constraints of external 'organisational time'. Husbands may work shifts, young adults have other factory or office routines, the women themselves may have paid jobs, children have school time to conform to and shops, post offices, doctors' surgeries and government agencies have their own opening and closing hours. These impose important boundaries, but within them the most important decisions about time are made by women.

Many observers of working-class life have been struck by the efforts made to maintain an orderly sequence of events. It is an effort which on occasion produces an astonishing routinisation of family life. Meals are prepared and served with the strictest regularity, shopping expeditions take place at precisely the same time on specific days of the week, washing is always done on Mondays, etc. The same rhythms are often adhered to over many years and it is not uncommon to find daughters reproducing in their households temporal patterns which are very similar to those used by their mothers or even grandmothers. Indeed, within a stable, traditional working-class community, the general shape of the temporal order will be broadly similar among most households and it is women who ensure that this is so. Women have control over how time is spent by themselves and by other members of their families. As Moore writes (Moore 1963),

> It is essentially the wife and mother who ... tends
> to assert familial claims on discretionary time and
> to assign and rearrange the use of the current
> temporal inventory. The decisional power of
> husbands is certainly variable between families,
> ethnic groups, 'classes' and societies, but the
> very temporal commitments of wives within the
> family tend to give them considerable authority in
> allocating and directing the time of others.

Rosemary Crook makes a similar point when talking about Rhondda women and childrearing,

> The bulk of the childrearing fell to them, not only
> because it was considered 'right' in terms of their
> domestic responsibilities but also the men were not
> often at home. (Crook:43)

Women have gained and maintained the principle area of their power precisely because of this last point. They have gained power by default and by necessity. Because of shiftwork, very long hours, working away on the railways, the boats, the rigs, because of illness and accidents resulting from hazardous occupations and ultimately because of untimely death, men have simply not been in the picture as far as 'family time' is concerned. From the interviews carried out with working-class women in Scotland, the husband seemed to play little part in shaping non-work time, even if he was around. Even the time for

180

his personal recreation, time to be with his pals, was often effectively set by his wife, just as earlier it had been set by his mother. Anita Barr illustrated this point well while talking about her mother and father,

M' mother and father have separate social lives which a lot o' folk' go on about. They say that shouldna be if you're a married couple. He goes doon to Carronshore, doon t' the Club doon there cos he's a member, whereas m' mother's a member in Stenhousemuir, 'N' she a'wa's goes there on a Friday night 'n' m' father goes doon there cos he's got the snooker doon there y' see 'n' m' mother's a bingo fanatic. On it's her that encourages m' father right enough. She likes t' be a'wa' f' him f' a while, get some peace and have a drink wi' me 'n' the girls.

Women come to feel that time in and of the family ultimately 'belongs' to them and is 'theirs' to control as they wish and it is this which lies at the heart of women's power. Because of their situated role women come to control the timetable or schedule of family life and routine tasks and timings come to be overlain with a moral force, extending well past individual women and their families and out into the community. Women control both the internal and external timetables of members of their families. Within the house it is mainly women who decide who is to do what and when; but they also determine, to a large extent, how outside time demands, in terms of leisure, are accommodated to fit in with the rhythms of family life They decide how much time should be devoted to the family as compared with competing demands from groups or individuals outside it.

We will now begin to move on to look at specific examples of recurrent time patterns. These provide, in terms of recognisable periodicities and timing, an easily comprehensible illustration of how the time that women 'preside' over, which is to say, the time that women essentially organise, become responsible for and predominantly take part in, appears in the form of and is experienced in the form of, distinctly separate bounded areas of time, each with different qualities and even 'rules'. These periodicities, some long some short, are centred around cyclical gatherings of the nuclear or extended family, mainly upon the women of the family or the women and children of the family. The most obvious function of these times of coming together is to stress and symbolise the idea of 'one big, happy family', surviving quite well in an atmosphere of considerable equality, comfort and happiness, irrespective of objective conditions in 'normal' time outside the family context. However, just as important is the fact that such activities have the purpose of precisely establishing rigid boundaries within which tasks and relationships are recognised and agreed upon by all concerned to be regulated in a certain way, to be of salience, and to be different from other tasks and relationships, either within the family or outside it.

Set meal times are perhaps the best example of daily routine. Working-class families tend to eat at least one meal together, if not more. This is often the evening meal, more usually referred to as 'tea', and not infrequently also the midday meal referred to as 'dinner'. This means that none of the

family strays too far away during the course of the day and it singles out a time when people are expected, within this context if nowhere else, to say what they have been doing during the day and what they plan to do for the rest of the day. It is as much a time for talking, or even interrogating and explaining, as it is for eating.

Special occasions, Christmas, New Year and sometimes birthdays, call for gatherings of the extended family network. On these grander occasions men are usually present as well as women and children but it is still largely the women who keep these traditional gatherings in full flow by arranging the details of them, like the food, between themselves and in the case of birthdays or anniversaries, by remembering them in the first place. A common comment throughout the interviews went along the lines of,

> Of course, every Christmas we were together at m' mother's. And New Year was brought in at her house ...

Another annual affair is the family holiday be it for a fortnight, a week, a weekend or even just a day,

> At the same time, Falkirk holidays, every year we went to Ayr, mum, dad, grandma, grandad, uncles and aunts and cousins. When we went on the beach we were all one big, happy family. (Mrs. Todd)

It is in the example of weekly routine where the power of communal feminine norms about the correct temporal pattern to be adopted is most clearly displayed. Weekly work patterns of a rigid nature that have been in force for well over a century are only just beginning to die out and very slowly at that. Rosemary Crook when writing about Rhondda women of the Thirties and Forties notes that,

> There was an order about every part of housework and a 'set' day for each task ... there was a general acceptance that major tasks such as washing should be done on a specific day (almost always Monday or Tuesday) ... ironing and breadmaking would be done on Tuesday) ... the upstairs rooms cleaned on Wednesdays, more baking on Thursday and the mats beaten and parlour cleaned on Friday. (Crook:42)

One of the respondents summed up this weekly roundabout of time, tasks and atmospheres rather succinctly when she remarked that,

> Monday was washing and Sunday was bad temper.

The temporal order thus created is invested with moral force. Within families, groups of neighbours and indeed whole communities, the rhythms of domestic life are matters of prime importance. There grow up powerful norms about when particular activities 'ought' to be performed, the most widely acknowledged being that washing was done on a Monday and never on a Sunday. Even nowadays this is looked upon disdainfully,

> Billy's granny'll say, 'y're not washing on a Sunday, Betty, that's no right'. She said that a few weeks ago. (Mrs. Palmerston)

But there are also notions about the arrangement of whole time budgets to allow certain activities, 'she ought to make time to visit her Aunt Isa'. There are sanctions attached to these temporal patterns. Precise accordance with them serves to establish or maintain status. Failure to do so produces gossip and censure.

Why should it be that a high degree of predictability, even rigidity, is built into the lives of working-class families in this way? Why do the women go to such lengths to structure activities in this way? The answer seems to lie in the need to establish order upon what is really a precarious and chaotic world. Working-class families live continuously with insecurity - with the possibility of job loss, of injury or illness or premature death - and they live with this to a much greater extent than middle-class families do. They also live with scarcity. Most things are scarce - tangible things like money, food, and space: intangible ones like dignity and time. Just as money has to be carefully divided out, so too does space. You will still hear the maxim 'a place for everything, everything in its place', particularly among the most 'respectable' families. And time is treated in a similar fashion. Indeed, the salience of time in the lives of working-class women derives in part from the fact that it is more maleable than other items, is something which although bounded is more controllable than other things. Detailed temporal structures give a measure of security in an uncertain world, the non-recurrent ones probably more so than the recurrent ones.

Women, power and the shaping of time II: non-recurrent time

It was Leach (1971), following on from the work of Evans-Pritchard, who made the distinction between recurrent and non-recurrent time. So far we have emphasised the fact that in working-class family life there are regular and recurring events,

the round of daily or weekly chores and such like, but in the life space of women there is also a highly developed consciousness of and engagement with non-recurrent time, and under this all-embracing label with what we will call 'generational time'. We are all aware that like all living things we are born, mature, grow old and die; that we have a life cycle and that this is irreversible. The sequence is immutable; the stages cannot be repeated.

It is not difficult to explain why women should have a sharper appreciation of this than men, for it is women who give birth to new life and particularly in working-class communities, it is women who are most intimately connected with the management of the crucial events that mark the stages of the life-cycle, from the cradle to the grave. Traditionally, at least, births, marriages and deaths were matters over which women exercised collective control (Chamberlain and Richardson, 1981). At each of these points women were drawn together in a co-operative intergenerational network. Until the creation of the National Health Service, it was common to find that one or two women, usually older women and often in the family, playing the role of midwives, giving help and advice in the various stages of pregnancy and attending and managing the actual birth. Quite a few of the Scottish respondents had had their babies delivered by their own mothers or grandmothers. Similarly, at the other end of the life-cycle, death was a matter for women. We have yet to come across an instance in accounts of working-class culture where a man laid out the dead, washed and dressed the corpse or organised

the rituals of mourning and burial. Though today much of this has been 'professionalised' and it may be a man who contacts the undertaker, nevertheless it will almost certainly be women who attend most intimately to the care of the dying, women who summon the family and provide the funeral food and drink.

Coping with births, deaths and illnesses is 'women's work' and the discharging of these responsibilities cements the bonds between women, grandmothers and great-aunts, mothers and their sisters and the daughters of the younger generation. Major life events thus take their meaning from the fact that women are enmeshed in a series of social ties extending over at least three generations. This gives women a different orientation to and perspective on time.

To a much greater extent than men, women are part of an age-graded structure where each grade has specific responsibilities for the care, tutelage and control of others. However, this sytem is not simply hierarchical but rather cyclical in character. The daughter becomes the mother of her parents as they slip into infirmity and old age. Few things demonstrate better this care, tutelage and control of women by women than the business of marriage. Mothers and grandmothers in particular offer advice and guidance in no uncertain terms to young women about to be married. More than this, they go to considerable lengths to try strictly to control the selection of mates. This was illustrated very well by one of the respondents, Mrs. Todd, when telling of her trials and tribulations with her 'gran' during her teenage years,

M' grandma, m' mother's mother, used t' have a lot to'do wi' that (courting). She was a meddler, a meddler in everything. She found out everybody's back history and she actually controlled her family. There was always something, anybody y' went out wi' there was a wee story attached t' them. She managed t' find out cos she knew an awful lot o' people and she used t' make her job t' find out ... and she used t' pass it on t' m' mother.

Connected with this, we can also point out in this section that embedded as they are in a trans-generational network, women become the gatekeepers of family and community history, who construct 'structures of perceiving' for future generations. Past time is held in check by women so that what is seen to be embarrassing or degrading is not talked about and these topics can range from illegitimate children to getting into debt to divorce and even to debilitating illnesses such as epilepsy. Mrs. Ronald related this tale,

I remember m' Mum going wi' cardboard in the sole of her shoe and y' could o' seen y' face in the top o' them they were so well polished ... And we met the minister and he stopped and spoke t' m' Mum... and this other woman ... came past ... and she was filthy. The minister walked over and he handed her a threepenny bit and he came back and said, "I feel so sorry for them, they've got nothing". Now I wasn't supposed to hear anything, m' Mum had never said a word ... she must have forgotten I was in the kitchen ... I heard her saying t' Dad, 'Fancy, that was old Ross giving that women threepence. I wonder what he'd o' said if I'd shown him the soles o' m' shoes and what was in my purse?"

When Mrs. Ronald's daughter was specifically asked about the above anecdote, she said quite definitely that she had never heard of it.

No. I don't think even Mum would talk about these days to us really.

Finally in this section, we can show how recurrent and non-recurrent time become intertwined to keep generational time always to the forefront of this world of women. One salient daily pattern is that of daily visiting among kinfolk, particularly between mothers and daughters. This is still prominent in working-class communities because mothers and daughters still for the most part live reasonably close to each other and rely much less on practical help offered by formal institutions than that from kin. Highly personalised bonds are positively preferred when assistance with matters such as money or children is needed. A great many of the women we spoke to in the early 1980s still lived within a few streets of their mothers and/or daughters, and several even lived in the same house, a situation quite like that found by Young and Willmott in the Bethnal Green of thirty years ago,

And so it went on — 'My Mum comes round at about 3.15 - she comes regularly to spend the afternoon'; 'Mum's always popping in here - twelve times a day I should say' ... We usually have dinner round at her place'; 'She's always popping in here' ... 'Popping in' for a chat and a cup of tea is the routine of normal family life.

Rosella Henderson's daughter was a widow who had a family of her own, a house of her own and a full-time driving job on school meals but she made a point of calling in on her mother at least once a day,

Well, when she's on the bottom run she comes up when she's finished. That's like down this way.

When she's on the bottom run she comes up f' her dinner. She's just in about half an hour f' her dinner. She comes in and I maybe have a salad or boiled egg or a poached egg or something like that ... but when she's on the top run ... I don't see her till she's finished about half past two ... I see her every day.

Young and Willmott remark upon this particular temporal aspect of daily life,

The daily lives of many women are not confined to the places where they sleep; they are spread over two or more households, in each of which they regularly spend part of their time.

And even if mothers and daughters are not physically present at one or the other's house every day, we found that a certain kind of presence is maintained by very lengthy conversations on the 'phone or if the women happened to be amateur radio enthusiasts, as they were in one of the families we interviewed, on the 'rig'. Christine Sutherland lived about a mile down the road from her Mum and they saw each other at least four times a week but she pointed out,

I speak to Mum on the rig for a good long time practically every night.

Regular weekly visits often supplement the sometimes haphazard day-to-day popping in and out. Weekly visits are more 'formal' than the daily contacts, being routinely set for more or less exact times when other female members of the family will also certainly be there. Christine Sutherland, who has just been mentioned, sees her mother and two sisters every Wednesday at twelve o'clock, and another respondent Mrs. Todd remarked,

mechanisms, ideologies, strategies and practices for dealing with their subordination. Over the years a good many studies both in oral history and sociology have overstressed employment and production with the ensuing tendency to under-represent whole areas of personal and social life which lie outside work. As we hope to have shown, women do have power and prestige in a world that is different from that of production and of market relationships. There exist vital sources and types of power which will never be understood if we just think of people in terms of where they fit into the occupational hierarchy.

It seems to us that time connected with the family has all too frequently been given little importance. Much of 'family time' has been seen as optional in character, in contrast to other time used for necessary survival functions and instrumental activity. But in the lives of women, instrumental and expressive activity are closely meshed, and this matters, for as Csikszentmihali (1981) observes,

If adolescents are to grow up willingly, they must be convinced that it is possible to enjoy instrumental roles. They need adult models who can show them that being an adult is not a total loss. Unfortunately formal socialising institutions, and most 'responsible' adults rarely see the necessity of stressing the expressive possibilities of adulthood ... In a very fundamental sense adolescents are attracted to adults whom they perceive as enjoying their lives, adults who are able to draw expressive experiences from their instrumental roles.

Well, I'm at m' mother's every Wednesday in life and m' sisters are there ... and I see her on Friday and in between usually on a Sunday.

It seems to be the case that the visiting of kin who are slightly further removed in the generational system takes place on a regular weekly basis rather than a daily one. To quote Christine Sutherland once more,

I used t' work in Havelocks, in Falkirk, as a receptionist and that was just over the road from where m' gran stayed so every Friday I would nip over just to keep her company at dinner time.

This pattern of visiting, connecting the generations, begins in childhood and carries on through life,

Well, once a week we all went round to gran'ma's. Every week in life.

Women's worlds: power and purpose

In this paper while accepting that the overall constraints of an advanced industrial society do severely circumscribe the world of working-class women, we have sought to argue that within these boundaries of their often difficult domestic, communal and occupational lives, women have negotiated a space in which they are powerful, autonomous, creative and articulate. Some studies of women in the system of production have tended to concentrate on what women are not or do not have. They have looked at women in much the same way that it is claimed men look at women, saying too little about the fact that women do not just accept their situation as it is given but develop their own intricate

Our argument is that despite what is often claimed about the miserable lot of women and their oppressive existence, it is women who provide the best examples of how instrumental and expressive activities can not only be joined but can be enjoyed. It is perhaps at the cyclical extended family gatherings described earlier that this is most obviously displayed and experienced. Despite the fact that working-class women have always by necessity been incredibly hard workers both within and outside the family, coping with little money, poor facilities and large families, their spirit for fun and enjoyment, for 'having a laugh', remains strong throughout and is regularly displayed to their children. This point can be nicely illustrated by some memories of childhood that Mrs. Ronald recalled,

M'Mum was a beautiful dancer. It was natural in her I think ... I remember on winter's nights, y' know, y' weren't out t' play because it was too cold and y'd nothing to' do, we'd come in quite miserable ... and Mum would say, "Well go and tell Doreen Davidson, May Lomax and Jenny Miller. Go and get them up and I'll teach y' a few steps o' the Highland Fling'. 'N' when we'd come back up the carpets were all rolled away, the shiny linoleum was every place and y' all stood in a row ... We used t' have great fun, really great fun, y' know. Oh she did that regularly for us....

To quote once more from Csikszentmihalli's perceptive piece,

Genuine expressive models are essential for socialisation to be effective. Without them, there is no reason for youth to want to be adults. The continuity of a culture, with its values, its institutions, and its roles, is assured only so long as each rising generation can be convinced that it's worth growing up. In this sense enjoyment is the basic or unit of imitation that must be passed on if a given social system is to survive over time ... It is important to know how a society produces its means of subsistence, but it might be more important to know what pleasures it can give its members. (1981)

Enquire about that matter and you are led to the world of women and to a temporal order in which they, not men, have power.

References

ABRAMS, P. 1972 Being and Becoming in Sociology. University of Durham.

ABRAMS, P. 1982. Historical Sociology. Bath: Pitman Press.

BERTAUX, D. (Ed.) 1981. Biography and Society. The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences. New York: Sage Publications Inc.

CHAMBERLAIN, M. and RICHARDSON, B. Life and Death Oral History 11:1 31-43.

CROOK, R. 1982. 'Tidy Women'. Women in the Rhondda between the Wars. Oral History 10:2.

CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, M. 1981. Leisure and Socialization Social Forces 60:332-340.

GLASGOW WOMENS STUDIES GROUP 1983. Uncharted Lives. Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850-1982. Glasgow: Pressgang.

de GRAZIA, S. 1962. Of Time, Work and Leisure. New York: Anchor Books.

DURKHEIM, E. 1961. The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. New York: Collier.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E. 1940. The Nuer. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GEERTZ, C. 1973. Person, time and conduct. In his The Interpretation of Cultures. U.S.A.: Basic Books Inc.

GERSHUNY, J. 1978. After Industrial Society: The Emerging Self-Service Economy. London: Macmillan.

GRANOVETTER, M. 1984. Small is bountiful: labour markets and establishment size. American Sociological Review 49: 323-34.

GURVITCH, G. 1964. The Spectrum of Time. Dordrecht - Holland: D. Reider.

HAREVEN, T.K. 1982. Family Time and Industrial Time. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

JAHODA, M., LAZARSFELD, P., ZEISEL, H. 1972. Marienthal: The Sociography of an unemployed community. London: Tavistock.

LAUER, R. 1981. Temporal Man: the Meaning and Uses of Social Time. New York: Praeger.

LEACH, E. 1971. Rethinking Anthropology London: Athlone Press.

LEWIS, J.D., WEIGERT, A.J. 1981. The Structures and Meanings of Social time. Social Forces 60: 432-62.

MOORE, W.E. 1963. Man, Time and Society. New York: Wiley.

PAHL, E. 1984. Divisions of Labour. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

SOROKIN, P.A. 1943. Socio-cultural Causality, Space and Time. New York: Russell and Russell.

SOROKIN, P.A., MERTON, R.K. 1937. Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis. American Journal of Sociology. 42: 615-29.

THOMPSON, E.P. 1967. Time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism. Past and Present. 38: pp.56-97.

THOMPSON, E.P. 1968. The Making of the English Working Class. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

THOMPSON, P. 1978. The Voice of the Past Oral History. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

YOUNG AND WILLMOTT 1965. Family and Kinship in East London. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

ZERUBAVEL, E. 1981. Hidden Rhythms: Schedules and Calenders in Social Life. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

POWER & PROTEST
ORAL HISTORIES OF THE AMERICAN NEW LEFT

Bret Eynon

I am a historian of the American New Left of the 1960s. When I was told that the theme of this conference as "Power", my first thought was that the acquisition of power was certainly of great importance to the various movements that made up the New Left —witness the phrases we remember: Black Power! Student Power! Sisterhood is Powerful! All Power to the People! But what did activists mean when they used these phrases? What sort of power were they referring to? What was the relationship between the acquisition of power and another key term in the New Left lexicon—liberation? Between power and community? Power and democracy? Power and love?

The current literature on the New Left is only beginning to explore such questions. In addition to reviewing this literature, my own perspective on these questions is drawn primarily from seven years of doing oral histories of the New Left. From 1978 to 1982 I ran a project documenting the history of the 1960s in Ann Arbor, Michigan, home of the University of Michigan and one of the seedbeds of the American New Left. Defining the New Left in broad terms, so that it included the civil rights movement, the student movement, the anti-war movement, the counter-culture and the women's movement, we conducted interviews with roughly 150 former New Left activists. He also interviewed roughly 50 opponents and observers of the movement. Transcripts of one quarter of those interviews are now on file with the Michigan Historical Collection. In addition to creating this transcript archive, we also drew on our interviews to prepare educational presentation, curriculum materials, displays and radio shows.

I am currently using these oral histories in the preparation of two books on the New Left: one on the New Left in Ann Arbor, and the other a collaborative effort with a group of European scholars, including Daniel Berteaux, Anna Maria Traeger,

Luisa Passerini and Ronald Fraser. For this second project, Ron Grele and I are now studying the American New Left nationwide, conducting interviews which will be used in a comparative study of the student movements of Germany, France, England, Italy and the United States.

To get back to the question of power: traditionally, historians assume that insurgent political movements to consider the acquisition of power, state power in particular, as a primary goal, a prerequisite for achieving their particular political agenda. Among historians of the left, the Communist Party's efforts to achieve state power through vanguard-led revolution is the organizational model against which other movements are most often measured. On the other side of the fence, the New Right has used direct mail, TV preachers and electoral hit squads in a strategy which seems to be bringing in increasing power. The New Left, with its sit-ins, love ins, communes and conciousness-raising groups, doesn't fit either model. '60s radicals' emphasis on culture, their belief in the importance of personal transformation, and their commitment to a decentralized, non-authoritarian forms of organization have led many observers question the New Left's committment to gaining power and weilding in to effect social change.

Two schools of thought have emerged on this question. The first, which dominates the literature on the '60s, is highly critical of the New Left for failing to adopt a more direct, instrumental approach to acquiring and weilding power. Seymour Martin Lipset, one of the leaders of this school, has described New Left activities as "expressive rather tan instrumental". This, he concluded, was a symptom of confusion and lack of serious political intent. "The New Left groups" he charged, had "no clear concept of a road to power, of a way of effecting major social change" (1).

Scholars of the Lipset school have a range of explanations for this, ranging from the provocative to the absurd. For example, in Roots of Radicalism: Jews, Christians & the New Left, sociologists Stanley Rothman and David Lichter argue that New Leftists' actions were not political but pathological in nature. According to them, New Leftists had no desire to achieve

power because what they really wanted to do was act out their neurotic anger at their parents. Rothman and Lichter conclude that "these young people were attempting to deal with narcissistic injuries by further undermining an already weakened cultural superego and ego." (2)

More commonly, observers have criticized New Leftists for demphasizing the acquisition and weilding of state power in favor of cultural activity: changing the way people live, eat, dress, relax, love, talk and think. In his recent book The Troubles: A Jaundiced Look Back at the Movement of the '60s, Joseph Conlin charged that: "The Movement could never quite untangle politics and culture radicalism, the difference between fundamental social relationships on one hand, and life style -fads and fashions- on the other." (3). In a similar vein, David Zane Mairowitz argued that the American Left's historic inability to acquire power led the New Left to renounce politics in favor of culture:

> All the left-wing movements attempts at gaining concrete political power have been crushed; most of its dreams for changing American conciousness are sheer pretense. As the movement is faced, decade upon decade, with the bleak facts, it turns increasingly to activities in the cultural field and builds itself fantasies of political significance in lieu of the real thing. In the same manner, one man's reaction to the political stone wall and to his own helplessness is to direct his radical impulse toward redesigning himself.

In contrast to the negative view, the second school of tought on this questions views the New Left approach to power as essentially innovative and healthy. It argues that the New Left did not simply avoid the question of power, but rather approached it from a different and interesting angle. This school, though definitely a minority view, would include observers such as Nigel Young, Massimo Teodori, and to some extent, Richard Flacks. The most interesting recent work in this school is Community and Organization in the New Left, by sociologist Wini Breines. (5)

Breines's study, published in 1982, argues that the New Left strategy for acquiring power was marked not so much by irrationality and confusion as by the attempt to combine ins-

trumental and "prefigurative" concerns. Prefigurative is the term Breines uses to describe the radicals' attempts to use their movement to prefigure the good society, to explore the ways that power would be used in such a society. Could power be compatible with love? How would power be used in a truly participatory democracy? The prefigurative experiment further required that the tactics and organizational structures used by the movement to acquire power reflect the ideals of community, democracy, and interpersonal behavior that the New Left hoped to institute throughout society. The means are the ends, in the classic New Left phrase. Projecting its evolving vision of the future in this way proved to have a practical aspect as well: it helped attract new recruits to the movement.

The New Left's need to develop a new vision is historically rooted. Attractive visions of the good society were hard to find in the deadlocked years of the late 1950s. But off from the vital radical tradition by the nearly hegemonic effect of anti-communism, the young founders of the New Left saw around them only the calcified residue of earlier movements: cold war liberalism, and cold war Stalinism. Bureaucratic, anti-democratic institution such as the AFL-CIO and totalitarian, antidemocractic societies such as the Soviet Union presented equally unappealing visions of the future. Developing a new vision and attempting to put it in practice was the New Left way of trying to avoid the fate of earlier generations of radicals.

Seen in this light, the importance of the civil rights movement is obvious. Breine's study is weak on history, and she misses the historical parallels between the New Left and various 19th Century radical movements, but her insight into the prefigurative or utopian side of the New Left is valuable nonetheless.

In Breine's analysis the prefigurative project lay behind the New Left stress on participatory democracy, its experiments with alternative institutions, and its concern with personal relations within the movement. But according to Breines, the New Left differed from most utopian movements in that it also aspired to the acquisition of power. "Prefigurative politics", Breines writes, "were never flatly ad odds with all and any

idea of organization and power. The New Left worked to forge organizational forms that would accomplish both goals. That attempt to combine these two activities -the attempt to balance an instrumental approach to acquiring power with prefigurative politics that experimented with the meaning of power- a created a dynamic tension which was the "structuring factor" in the history of the New Left. (6).

My interviews could be used to support either Lipset and Breines. For exemple, Lipset and others of his school would be happy the use the testimony of a young man who led the SDS chapter at Michigan in 1969-70, who told me: "We didn' take the questions of having power or governing seriously... The Jefferson Airplane's phrase 'We are all outlaws in the eyes of America' was our theme. According to the Weathermen, the best thing we could do was burn it down, create chaos."

Similarly, another Michigan SDS veteran Reyna Rapp, who was also a leader in the women's movement there, told me that she and her New Left comrades rarely tried to use the normal levers of political power: the legal system, the electoral process, etc. "For me and many of the people I was close to, that was really secondary politics. Real politics were in the street, or in the community organization, not in the nitty-gritty legislative or bureaucratic profess -that all blurred together for us." This sense of distance extended on the university itself:

> When you think about it... our pressures on the university were absolutely totalizing; we demanded instant revolutionary transformation. Very few of us actually went to work on the inside... We considered that it was their work to reform, and it was our job to make a critique and force them to reform.

These sort of comments are not limited to Movement veterans from Ann Arbor, nor to white radicals. Californian Ray Hewit, former Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party, told Ron Grele and I that despite all the talk of Marxist-Leninist revolution in the Panthers, they never believed that the could acquire state power. The real appeal of the Panthers was not that they could seize power but that they gave young blacks a way to fight back, even in a losing cause. "Standing up (to racism) was a very positive notion", he explained. "It didn't necessarily entail winning, all right? Just that we're not going to be the only ones bleeding when the smoke clears." When I asked Mike Hamlin, leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, whether Hewitt's analysis would apply to the League, he told me that it would. "There were a lot of people who falt that way", he explained.

On the other hand, other interviews I've done would be more likely to support the Breines analysis. For example, I interviewed one woman, Gail Grigsby, who told me that after her first flush of involvement in the anti-war movement she reconsidered the form of her involvement because, as she explained, "In a political protest, it seems to me you have to have an idea of an alternative form of government, of what would work better." Consequently, Grigsby got involved in local, community-oriented politics. In addition to providing hundreds and eventually thousands of Ann Arborites with better quality food at cheaper prices, the co-op served two more subtle functions: first, it created an institutional nexus for the growing left-wing community in Ann Arbor; and second, it served as a testing ground for developing new models of how society should and could be organized. When I asked about this, Grigsby replied:

> Oh yes, that was very important. We thought that it could be expanded you know, "you could run a whole country like this". Or "we can run the city like this". Or anything. At same time we were trying to do this at the food co-op, we were also trying do it at home, and in everything else were involed in... We were always a collective. We never had a director, never any hierarchy. There was a lot of meaning in that.

Some interviews contain evidence useful to both schools of analysis. The testimony of Reyna Rapp, cited earlier, shows such complexity. While Rapp claims unfamiliarity with the levers of power at the university, the group she was a part of mobilized large groups to successfully challenge U of M's discriminatory policies towards women. Rapp credits part of her movement's success to the its ability to "create new forms of struggle... to create a community." Living in a commune, for

example, helped Rapp and her comrades at two levels: they could explore possible models of the good society hand, at the same time, pool the energy necessary to take part in the movement. "Our feeling was that we could critique the culture, stablish alternatives in the belly of the monster, and mobilize people -because, in fact, it was more fun and more viable to live in a new way."

What would Lipset and others of his school make of this? I have only begun to scratch the surface of this history, but already it is clear to me is that Breine's analysis is the more helpful of the two. Lipset and others like him are not entirely wrong, but their view is too simple. They are right that the New Left did not pursue state power with the singlemindedness of either the Communist Party or the New Right. But their analysis assumes that all questions about power are entirely settled; any actions not directly related to its acquisition they dismiss as "expressive" or worse. Breine's more complex analysis comes closer to the truth. The New Left raised questions about the meaning of power, and experimented with new ways acquiring and weilding it. Like most experiments, this experiment succeeded in some ways, and failed in others. Though the New Left did not suceed in acquiring lasting power for itself, its impact on American society was nonetheless profound. The contradictions of the New Left projecte were particularly clear around the issue of the Vietnam War. I'd like to tell one more story that I think illustrates some of these contradicions.

One of the biggest events in the history of the anti-war movement at Michigan was the 1965 anti-war teach-in, which sparked a wave of teach-ins across America. Historians of all schools generally agree that the U of M teach-in marks the birth of the nationwide mass movement against the Vietnam war. The impact of the Michigan teach-in is hard to understand if we look at in a instrumental level, for at that level the teach-in was merely a conference on the war. But it was also something more. Again and again, people I interviewed told me that the teach in was important not only because it gave them information about the war, but also because of its prefigurative aspects: it seemed to embody a vision of the ideal university, and suggested ways

that informed citizens would participats in meaningful debate in a true democracy. This gave the teach-in an electric quality, especially at Michigan. For example, one man compared the teach-ins to his classroom experiences: "I always had this image that college was going to be something different, something far out, and education was really going to happen. But it was nothing different than high school. My idea of education fit everything that was happening outside fo the classroom, especially the teach-ins." And Susan Harding, who a Michigan freshman in 1965, recalled:

I went to some workshops, which consisted of somebody with some kind of authority sitting up in front of the room, and everibody getting into a discussion. I'd never been in anything like that before. It was like a classroom, only one that worked, with students speaking, or people who were in the audience speaking, and debating issues. It wasn't just full of people who agreed with what the teach-in organizers said. There were people saying, "No, no, no. You can't say that". And there were arguments. Some of the excitement of it was the emotional quality of the event; it wasn't just dry, academic, neutral discussion; it was charged with meaning and emotion and political implications. I walked away from the event transformed.

Building on the successful combination of prefigurative and instrumental appeal, the teach-in was an enormous success. It transformed the terms of the debate about the war on campuses around the country, and laid the ground work for a change in the national climate of opinion. In the years to come the anti-war movement would grow enormously, putting tremendous pressure on the American government to withdraw U.S. forces from Vietnam. What the teach-in did not do, and what the movement subsequently failed to do, was to point the way towards the acquisition of sufficient state power to ensure against future intervention elsewhere.

This failing was a common trait of the New Left-led movements. In the end, the attempt to combine prefigurative and instrumental concerns came apart at the seams. In part because it embodied a vision of the possible, the New Left helped to mobilize hundreds of thousands of people around issues ranging from black rights and women's rights to the war in Vietnam, but

it did not find a way to use this energy to capture state power. As a result, it was unable to institutionalize its victories, and it was extremely vulnerable to attack by the political police. In this sense Lipse is right: the New Left did not have a successful strategy for acquiring lasting power. But, in the long run, this may not be the most important thing to know about the New Left. It may be that, in addition to contributing to the very real reforms of the 1960s, the New Left will eventually be remembered for bequeathing a vision of the possible to movements yet to emerge. That this was among the goals of the New Left is suggested by an interview done with Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who said that the aim of the French New Left was to launch "an experiment that completely breaks with society, an experiment that will not last, but which allows a glimpse of a possibility; something which is revealed for a moment and them vanishes. But that is enough to prove that something could exist." (7)

My reading of the history of American social movements suggests that such a vision is in fact essential to successful movements. If the New Left legacy is this alone, it made a significant contribution indeed. Of course, this question is yet to be answered. It is in this area that historian's interpretations of the New Left will, in effect, play an important role in shaping its ultimate meaning. This is a tremendous responsibility, and makes it all the more important that we grasp the New Left project at its deepest level.

NOTES

(1) Seymour M. LIPSET. Students in Revolt. Altach & Lipset, eds. Boston. Houghton Mifflin, 1969, pp. 498-99, 512.

(2) Stanley ROTHMAN and S. Robert LICHTER. Roots of Radicalism. New York. Oxford, 1982, p. 389.

(3) Joseph CONLIN. The Troubles. New York. Franklin Watts, 1982, p. 98.

(4) David Zane MAIROWITZ. The Radical Soap Opera. New York. Bantam, 1974, p. 2.

(5) Massimo TEODORI. The New Left. New York. Bobbs Merril, 1968. Nigel YOUNG. An Infantile Disorder?. Voulder. Colorado, Westview Press, 1977.

Richard FLACKS. Youth & Social Change. Chicago. Markham, 1971. Wini BREINES. Community & Organization in the New Left. South Badley, Massachusetts. Bergin & Garvey, 1982.

(6) BREINES, op. cit., p. 55.

(7) Daniel COHN-BENDIT, in Stephen SPENDER. The Year of the Young Rebel, p. 111.

POUVOIR DE LA PAROLE ET DE L'ECRITURE DANS LES TEXTES

FEMINISTES A PARTIR D'UNE SOURCE ORALE: RECHERCHE SUR

LA REVUE "SOTTOSOPRA"

Roberta Fossati

Dans les groupes des militantes féministes (Italie, première moitié des années '70) le pouvoir dans les rapports interpersonnels s'est joué à mon avis autour de trois thèmes-clés et à trois niveaux. Au niveau "émotif-affectif", l'existence d'une tension entre une "fraternité au féminin" (sisterhood) reconnue universelle unifiant les femmes, et la découverte, souvent traumatisante d'une forte agressivité et compétitivité. Au niveau politique: d'une part, la proclamation de l'égalité, et d'autre part, le désir d'affirmation individuelle et des rôles de leadership, et la prise de conscience de la complexité entre la différence et les différences. Au niveau culturel, la revendication de la priorité d'un "savoir des femmes" moyennant l'appropriation des instruments du savoir masculin ainsi que l'accent mis sur l'importance de la compétence professionnelle et de la spécialisation disciplinaire. Pour mettre en évidence ces thèmes-clés, j'ai recouru à l'analyse de documents écrits (concernant les années '70) qui soient significatifs et représentatifs du mouvement en y insérant des interviews de certaines protagonistes ayant participé à ces expériences. J'ai commencé depuis quelques mois une recherche sur la revue féministe "Sottosopra" et je vou-

drais ici même vous faire part des problèmes, des observations, des annotations nées de cette étude relative à cette première phase d'enquête. Ma recherche se limitera à l'analyse des quatre premiers numéros de cette revue publiés entre 1972 - 1976 et prévoit deux types de travaux sur l'oral:

1°) Je me propose de reconstruire l'histoire du journal, la genèse de ses articles en me basant sur les interviews faites aux fondatrices et aux premières collaboratrices de cette revue. Pour le moment, j'ai eu seulement quelques entrevues avec les femmes qui étaient présentes et ont participé depuis la fondation de cette revue. Ces entrevues m'ont permis d'obtenir des informations objectives du type: données sur la revue, éclaircissements permettant d'entrevoir l'organisation du travail (lettres et contacts avec les groupes italiens, problèmes d'imprimerie, nombre de copies tirées et vendues,....).

J'ai pu ainsi mieux définir l'objet de cette enquête car un certain désordre des premières interviews semble justifier le fait que les points stratégiques de cette enquête se définiront au fur et à mesure. Spécialement, en ce qui concerne une enquête sur le féminisme,"le thème d'une recherche ne peut être choisi a priori mais il doit être découvert au fur et à mesure de la recherche. L'objet de la recherche ne peut être défini antérieurement à celle-ci, au contraire, la découverte du problème constitue (avec la détermination des personnages) un moment crucial" (Gilli, 1971).

Des interviews de ce genre ont été réalisées à des femmes cultivées, émancipées, porteuses d'une identité culturelle complexe

et protagonistes, en un sens, d'un fragment de l'histoire ita-
lienne des années '70 et je pense qu'elles doivent se construire
à travers une confrontation réciproque sous forme de dialogue.
La recherche de l'identité féminine s'est souvent révélée comme
"la possibilité de s'exprimer" à qui ne l'avait pas, à travers
des enquêtes et des interviews mais aujourd'hui, pour la con -
struction de cette identité, l'entrevue doit être réalisée sous
forme de "conscience de soi à deux voix". Peut-être à cause de
cette conviction ou peut-être aussi parce que j'ai une peur
réelle des silences, dans ces premières interviews, j'interviens
fréquemment en manifestant mon approbation ou ma désapprobation.
J'ai l'impression qu'après avoir dépassé une sorte de vide ou
d'incertitude initiale, le discours permette d'explorer plusieurs
directions et devienne plus riche et plus implicant.

2°) Je voudrais ensuite prendre en considération, en utilisant
les interviews, des articles de la revue qui sont des transcrip-
tions de témoignages et d'interviews, de nouvelles élaborations
écrites de dépositions orales nées durant les rencontres , les
réunions, les expériences de conscience de soi,enregistrées, ou
gardées sous forme de notes qui sont transformées ensuite en
"écriture orale" (Gasco, Matteucci, 1981) au delà des interviews.
En fait, l'écriture féministe qui provient de sources orales
peut faire apparaître des problèmes concernant le pouvoir de la
parole et celui de l'écriture car elle constitue une espèce de
lien entre ces deux experiences, et de part sa caractéristique,
elle fournit indirectement des indications sur la pratique de
l'oral dans les groupes. Pendant les années '70, l'"oral féminin"

s'est chargé de significations ayant des incidences sur la
réalité, si bien au niveau de la conscience de soi que dans
la pratique de l'inconscient, si bien dans le dialogue affec-
tif - intellectuel entre les femmes. Les années '70 ont marqué,
dans le mouvement féministe des pays occidentaux, l'avènement
de l'oral, "qui à la base possédait un fort pouvoir éversif.
L'oral représentait alors une pratique productrice de culture"
(Passerini, 1982). En ce qui concerne l'écriture, pour pouvoir
y accéder, en tant que narratrice - transcriptrice de l'oral
collectif, signifie toujours,même de façons différentes, acqué-
rir un certain pouvoir de médiation et de représentation ou bien
expliciter le pouvoir qui a déjà été acquis à travers le courage
de l'acte oral.

En ce qui concerne la revue "Sottosopra", elle fait son appari-
tion en 1972 grâce à l'initiative de quelques groupes féministes
de Milan, dans le but explicité dans le premier numéro, de ré-
pondre à la demande très vivement ressentie de recueillir et de
publier les expériences menées et de créer un instrument qui fa
verise les débats et qui serve de lien entre les groupes ita-
liens: il s'agit donc de favoriser la communication à un niveau
national (entre les groupes connus en Italie). L'objectif poli-
tique est de "construire un mouvement féministe qui représente
quelque chose de plus que l'existence plus ou moins connue de
ces différents groupes de femmes". Car même si le petit groupe
reste,de toutes façons, le point de référence primaire, il est
nécessaire de construire "une réalité diverse de celle du petit

groupe, plus vaste, plus complexe, non alternative mais avec des fonctions différentes de celle du petit groupe".

Le journal pose aux groupes qui veulent participer deux critères évidents: d'être autonome vis à vis des organisations politiques et non mixte (le groupe doit être composé exclusivement de femmes).

Il se définit comme le lien et l'instrument d'une communication élargie qui permette l'échange rapide d'expériences et de connaissances. Si la pratique quotidienne des femmes est articulée et variée, le journal doit respecter cette diversité et doit éviter de devenir un instrument purement "interne" pour les militantes ou un instrument limité de propagande s'adressant aux femmes non féministes; il devrait au contraire se définir comme un instrument permanent et stimulant.

Dans le premier numéro, les documents sont publiés par ordre alphabétique selon la ville de provenance, suivant l'égalitarisme rigide des journaux féministes, qui publient n'importe quel article féminin qui arrive à la rédaction. L'expérience "magmatique", symbiotique et maternelle du phénomène de conscience de soi semble dans un premier temps encourager des formes d'identification réciproques et semble justifier, en ce qui concerne la revue, la publication de "n'importe quelle voix" ou écrit féminin même au niveau du pur défoulement et de l'expression d'une rage souvent impuissante ou d'un hymne triomphateur à la libération féminine. La revue offre la possibilité d'avoir un endroit, de compter, d'être reconnues et de se reconnaître réciproquement et de pouvoir s'exprimer à un niveau plus grand de celui du petit groupe:

"D - Oui et donc ce qui était important avant tout était de pouvoir s'exprimer?

S - ou d'avoir un endroit...

D - d'avoir un lieu dans lequel on pouvait s'exprimer publiquement, non?

S - c'est ça, c'est ça: le fait de communiquer aux autres ses propres idées et donc de prendre ses propres responsabilités, non? c'est-à-dire, quand une chose, tu me la dis pas seulement à celle de ton groupe mais..."
(int. à S.A.)

Ce besoin d'"avoir un endroit" est sans doute un des points cruciaux: le féminisme des années '70 permet, grâce à ses activités et aux occasions qu'il offre, de pouvoir participer et construire des projets au moins en ce qui concerne la réalisation d'un programme et l'énonciation théorique et idéologique; de plus, il commence à combler l'absence réelle de pouvoir dont souffre l'identité féminine sortie des "murs domestiques".

Selon une définition psychanalitique: il y a carence de pouvoir "à partir du moment où l'individu n'agit pas suffisamment sur sa propre existence et sur la réalité, quand il ne réussit pas à s'octroyer un niveau suffisant d'autoestime et de gratification, quand il se rend compte qu'il n'est pas capable de mettre en évidence ses propres capacités" (Selingheri Pes, 1980).

La possibilité d'écrire sur la revue, (mais aussi de dessiner, de faire des photographies, de s'occuper de la mise en page) représente ainsi une forte poussée émancipatrice, l'occasion concrète de se mesurer avec l'extérieur; et cela se transformera en

un encouragement à continuer ces activités sur le plan profes-
sionnel et à un niveau spécialisé;

"S – Par exemple, ... A.F. qui était graphiste, disons qu'elle
débutait dans le métier, avait créé le journal; ensuite
M. qui était photographe (photographe assistante, à
cette époque, je crois...)

D – c'est-à-dire, c'était seulement le début ...

S – oui, cette chose-là pour laquelle M. a réalisé des li-
vres de photographie me semblait intéressante et aujour-
d'hui il me semble qu'elle continue, et A.F. travaille
dans un journal où elle s'occupe de la mise en page,
elle fait exactement ce qu'elle avait fait avant."

(int. à S.A.)

Au delà de l'émotion suscitée par le fait d'avoir un lieu, pour
la plupart des personnes le fait de produire des écrits valables
esthétiquement reste secondaire. Mais la décision de publier
tout ce qui arrive devient très souvent source de divergences:

"S – Voilà, après avoir publié le premier numéro, en s'est
demandé s'il était légitime de continuer ainsi, de pu-
blier n'importe quoi, et alors on a décidé de ne rien
modifier pour le deuxième numéro mais ensuite c'était
misérable, cela a été subitement critiqué pour le ré-
sultat en somme."

(int. à S.A.)

Et encore:

"S – Voilà, je me rappelle que parmi les différentes critiques
qu'il y avait eu à ce propos, c'est-à-dire qu'on ne peu

vait pas publier des articles ou des morceaux comme-
ça; en somme [elle montre un article de "Sottosopra"]:
là il y a déjà une élaboration; c'était celui-là le
modèle à suivre.

D – En ce qui concerne qui?

S – Quelques-unes."

(int. à S.A.)

L'expérience de "Sottosopra", comme beaucoup d'autres analogues,
en mettant à disposition un espace non seulement physique à l'in-
térieur duquel s'exprimer, stimule aussi un processus de diffé-
renciation progressive parmi les personnes dans le groupe: on
remarque, en relisant la revue, la tendance vers une écriture
toujours plus personnelle et individualisée, dont les points de
départ et de référence, même s'ils sont vécus d'une façon con-
flictuelle, reste l'oral collectif du petit groupe.

On y reconnaît des essais à l'état embryonnaire d'activité litté-
raire: c'est-à-dire des activités d'écriture qui se définissent
comme une communication élargie, publique, imprimée et divulguée
et qui tendent à dépasser le simple niveau de la mobilisation
politique ou de la production individuelle. Cette communication
se qualifie comme un produit plus médité et complexe dans lequel
en note une forme de jouissance esthétique. Bon nombre de ces
écrits appartiennent au domaine pré-littéraire et pourraient
s'insérer dans ce que Frabotta a défini comme une sorte de "lit-
térature mineure ou transitionnelle", dans laquelle "une sépa-
ration nette entre sphère esthétique et extra-esthétique est
déjà en soi difficile à établir" (Frabotta, 1980):

"S - Voici ensuite, au contraire les articles qui avaient beaucoup plu et qui avaient été écrits par P.O. qui est pratiquement un écrivain ..."; "Oui, elle écrivait et elle avait déjà publié des livres."

(int. à S.A.)

Mais pour mieux situer le rôle qu'a joué ces années-là cette littérature d'essence féministe, on doit savoir qu'à un niveau professionnel, l'activité littéraire féminine des années '70 est caractérisée d'une certaine façon par une tendance inverse et complémentaire: il y a en fait beaucoup de femmes écrivains affirmées, dont la production est donc entièrement éprouvée, reconnue, qui utilisent dans leur rapport au féminisme la substance la meilleure pour leur travaux: elles théorisent alors au moins en fonction des objectifs féministes, une espèce d'annihilation d'elles-mêmes en tant qu'artistes pour se faire le porte-parole d'une expression féminine immédiate, chargée de polémiques politiques et anti-littéraires en postulant la priorité absolue à la détermination d'appartenance sexuelle, elles minimisent l'identité professionnelle et artistique, problème qui en réalité tourmentera très tôt beaucoup de femmes à matrice féministe:

"A cette époque, après '68, je croyais sincèrement qu'il fallait s'oublier pour permettre à une réalité plus mortifiée d'émerger, que la littérature devait se mettre au service de ceux qui n'avaient pas la possibilité de s'exprimer: ce n'était pas du vampirisme, c'était au contraire une forme de moralisme et de suicide, une né-

gation et annulation de soi-même"

(Maraini, 1977; testo raccolto da L. Tornabuoni).

Une partie des interviews portera sur l'analyse de la genèse de certains textes retranscrits à partir de l'oral. En général, l'oral qui émergeait de la conscience de soi se révélait auto suffisant à l'intérieur des groupes; cependant, dans certains cas, le besoin s'est fait ressentir de ne pas abandonner les paroles à l'évanescence et à l'immédiateté de l'oral mais de les enregistrer. L'occasion offerte par la revue a permis de conserver une trace écrite de cet oral collectif. Une série de questions se posèrent sur l'utilisation du magnétophone dans les groupes et plus particulièrement , en ce qui concerne les articles de la revue: pourquoi donner la préférence à l'enregistrement plutôt qu'à la prise de notes? en utilisant le magnétophone, avait-on déjà décidé la retranscription et la publica tion du matériel? est-ce que toutes les femmes du groupe étaient d'accord sur le fait d'enregistrer? comment s'est déroulée la rencontre entre l'objectivité du magnétophone et la subjectivité des femmes?

D'autres interrogations portent sur le choix d'écriture opérés dans la retranscription. Ces documents comportent une telle nécessité de divulgation et de jouissance immédiate que très souvent ils sont publiés sans une étude approfondie des critères et des modalités de retranscription. On suppose qu'il s'agit de textes provenant de l'enregistrement de congrès, de réunions qu'"on avait pensé publié" (cf. "Settesepra, 1972, p. 30).

On trouve aussi, souvent, des témoignages qui, selon les transcriptrices, "ne nécessitent pas de commentaires": ils font partie du culte de l'expression immédiate, des tendances typiques d'une grande partie de la littérature non essentiellement féminine de ces années-là: "On a recueilli quelques témoignages, on les publie sans commentaires, ils ne sont pas nécessaires" (cf. "Sottosopra", 1974, p. 9).

On indique que l'on n'a pas retranscrit des enregistrements qui se sont révélés indéchiffrables ou bien que "le texte qui suit ne représente que la transcription partielle d'un travail de groupe" (cf. "Sottosopra", 1976, p. 12).

On trouve aussi des problèmes qui sont apparus durant des expériences de voyages entre femmes et les enregistrements ainsi que les écrits permettent d'en conserver les souvenirs comme les réflexions élaborées durant des rencontres successives : "elles sont retranscrites telles quelles comme nous les avons exprimées en y insérant des notes prises durant le voyage" (cf. "Sottosopra", 1976, p. 50).

Et donc d'autres questions surgissent: comment ce travail basé sur l'enregistrement et la transcription a-t-il favorisé ou au contraire empêché l'auto-analyse dans le groupe? est-ce que les rapports internes au groupe ont subi des modifications à la suite de ce travail? pourquoi et qui s'est chargé de ces problèmes? est-ce qu'en relisant après coup, il est apparu une censure dans la retranscription des textes? est-ce que le choix du discours direct ou indirect a été discuté ou non? et la signature avec seulement le prénom? y-a-t-il eu une certaine prise de conscience

au niveau de l'inadéquation de la transcription par rapport à la communication verbale dans le group?

Je conclue en confrontant un autre fragment d'une des premières interviews avec une observation intéressante sur l'écriture féminine, qui pourrait devenir une des directions possibles pour continuer ce travail.

"S - Eh, oui, en fait, c'est pour cela que l'on n'avait plus le courage d'écrire; pour parler bien sûr, en parlait beaucoup, tu t'en souviens? et donc enregistrer et retranscrire représentait [elle rit] une sorte d'échappatoire."

(int. à S.A.)

Voici l'avis d'Elisabeth Rasy à propos de ces textes autobiographiques "parlés" écrits à la première personne:

"On s'appuie sur le discours direct, immédiat, sur l'expression à la première personne, comme si la voix, c'est-à-dire les différentes nuances de la voix retranscrites, pouvaient protéger la femme écrivain du 'puits obscure' de l'écriture où le féminin et le masculin s'enfoncent dans une mort identique" (Rasy, 1984).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

B. Frabotta, Letteratura al femminile, Bari, De Donato, 1980.

A. Gasco, L. Matteucci, Riflessioni interno a una ricerca di
storia orale. Il matrimonio nella vita delle donne di una co-
munità contadina tra otto e novecento, in "Memoria", (1981),
n.2, pp. 103-111.

G.A. Gilli, Come si fa ricerca, Milano, Mondadori, 1971.

D. Maraini, Memorie di una ladra, Milano, Bompiani, 1977 (con
un'intervista raccolta da L. Tornabuoni).

L. Passerini, Le fonti orali tra ricerca storica e pratica del
movimento delle donne, in "Fonti orali e politica delle donne:
storia, ricerca, racconto" (Materiali dell'incontro svoltosi a
Bologna l'8-9 ottobre 1982), Bologna, Comune di Bologna, Assessora
rato alla cultura, Centro di Documentazione, ricerca e iniziati
va delle donne, 1983, pp. 10-13.

E. Rasy, Le donne e la letteratura, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1984.

F. Selingheri Pes, Il potere e l'amore, in "Rivista di psicologia
analitica", (1980), n.21, pp. 125-134.

JÜRGEN FRANZKE

A GENERATION DIVIDED

How the reality of society penetrates life histories

Preface

This essay attempts to portray the development of a generation of Nuremberg working class people, born 1900 - 1912. A research project that I carried out with Th. Engelhardt, M.Murko and R.Käs at the "Centre for Industrial Culture" in the period 1981-84 provides the souce material. In this project, called "Life Histories of Nuremberg Metal-workers", over 60 interviews were made and these impromptu autobiographical accounts were recorded on tape. Important findings of the project were published in 1984 in the form of an exhibition and accompanying booklet.

The political generation of the working class youth movement

The development of this generation in the course of lives spanning 8 decades will now be depicted, during which I evolve the thesis that it is this very generation, which, despite having a common heritage founded on the political working class youth and cultural movement, was divided and split into two camps by National Socialist rule: into supporters and opponents of the Nazi system. This division had its effects on outlook and behaviour, destroyed the feeling of solidarity and common objectives, and ran so deep that it is still perceptible today, almost 40 years after the collapse of National Socialism.

In 1981 Helmut Schelsky attempted to categorise the generations which exist alongside each other in West Germany today.[1] He differentiates between the "countenances" of 4 generations:

First, the generation of the youth movement. Political youth of the period between the wars as the second. Third, the post-war generation of sceptics. Fourth, the generation of youth protest of last decade. In accordance with Mannheim [2] he defines the character of a generation as being formed by the experiences of youth between the ages 15 - 25, since "attitudes common to a generation are formed during this period and determine the future course of one's life." Based on this model of differentiation, we can describe the generation we interviewed (born 1900 - 1912) as the "political generation of the working class youth movement," since it is characterised by two essential constituent features: in its concrete adoption of a certain lifestyle, it is strongly influenced by the standards and modalities of the - bourgeois - youth movement, while the development of its concepts of a social and political order are moulded by currents of thought evolved and taught in the political working class youth movement. Thus its essential character-istics are: friendship and fraternity as the basic form of communication; the aim of attaining "democratic socialism" as the desired model for society; an "inner moral bearing" as a means of self-discipline, and a strong work ethos.

CHILDHOOD

Most of the people recounting their life history were born

in, or very near, Nuremberg in the years 1900-1912, and grew up in the "working class suburbs" of the town. Their fathers were usually skilled tradesmen or factory workers, although not necessarily in metalworking professions. Their mothers were housewives and usually went about some sort of paid work, often at home, as the fathers' earnings alone were not sufficient to support large families. So a frugal way of life, if not absolute poverty, was a central experience during childhood. In the main, their parents took up a social-democratic standpoint and were trade union members, this usually being determined by the fathers.

As children our interviewees were already being taken along to parties and celebrations as well as political meetings of labour organisations and took part in the games there; as a result, the terms "trade union" and "social-democracy" became central features of the first ten years of their lives. Their child's view of the world was influenced not so much by political agitation as by experiencing the labour movement as a collective community. Growing up in the back-yard atmosphere of the town's working class areas in the old town, in the suburb of Wöhrd, and, more especially, in the southern suburbs, whose factory belt and multi-storey blocks of flats constituted the actual working class sphere of existence, they shared typical experiences: narrow, cramped accomodation, meagre nourishment, the backyards and streets as their playground. They formed gangs, which gave them the feeling of belonging to a group, especially when rival gangs fought amongst each other.

While they were at school, their teacher, who at this time, before or during World War I, had the same class for 7, and from 1919, for 8 years, often had a formative influence on them. At school they had their first experience of their own ability, of preferential treatment and discrimination, of fair and unfair treatment. Some were obliged to go on with their education at other schools, like middle or grammar schools. However, as far as our interviewees are concerned, this school career ended when they began their apprentice-ships. We are unable to say whether any individuals from this generation with working class backgrounds attained higher school certificates or even academic qualifications.

One of the central experiences of childhood and early youth was the First World War. The structure of the family was altered by the absence of the father, who had to go to war as a soldier. Left to her own devices, the mother had to provide for the family as well as keeping it together. Their relationship with their mother was thus strengthened and most of the interviewees developed a very strong sense of attachment to her. The difficulties of finding adequate supply of food because of the war bound the family even closer together. Many suffered the devastating experience of hunger and need during the war, especially in the infamous "turnip winter" of 1917, when it was often not even possible to get bread.

YOUTH

They felt themselves to be young men or women as soon as they started their apprenticeships or joined the working class youth movement. For many the obvious course of action was to learn a trade in the continually expanding metal-working industry. Their professional aim in life was to complete a course of training and become certificated tradesmen. Typical of the trades they learnt were lathe operator, fitter, mechanic, precision mechanic, toolmaker. They remember their training as being hard but fair; the central experiences of this period were learning high-level skills, long hours of work, and a clearly structured hierarchy at the workplace - as apprentices they were on the bottom rung of the ladder. The master tradesman was often the figure with most personal influence on them at work, and they measured their own progress by his skill and judgement.

The process that actually constituted the formation of a generation took place after work and outside the factory walls. All our interviewees joined one of the many groups or organisations of the working class youth movement. The workers' cultural and sport movement, at the height of its development in the 20s, attracted great numbers of them. Most of them did some sort of sporting activity and took part in the educational and training courses offered by the trade unions and working class parties. These groups engaged in heated discussion about lifestyle reform, socialism, communism and democracy. The programme also covered sex education. At weekends they went out into the country. In this way they gradually developed ideals of solidarity and togetherness, based, as opposed to the bourgeois youth movement, on a freely developed socialist conscience. The highlight of this period was the Third Working Class Youth Conference, put on in Nuremberg, which attracted 50,000 participants from all over Germany.

EARLY ADULT YEARS

On finishing their apprenticeship they entered a period of instability, in which they alternated continually between employment and unemployment. Neither were they all completely satisfied with their chosen profession, with many certainly not determined on work in it at all costs. Most tried to gain higher qualifications in further training courses.

The opportunities for further general education offered by adult education centres were often taken up. Courses most in demand were psychology, philosophy and sociology. Many seemed to have a ravenous appetite for education. The wide range of educational opportunities was especially exploited in times of unemployment.

A particularly formative influence on the way they felt about life between the ages of 16 and 20 was their membership in the working class cultural movement. Parties, meetings and other events for working class people took place at particular places. They were now usually more

deeply involved than during their apprenticeship, and many belonged to several organisations at the same time. Some made out a regular weekly "timetable" to coordinate their spare-time activities: Monday at the sports club, Tuesday at the variety show at the Apollo Theatre, Wednesday was trade union evening, Thursday sport again, Friday at the cinema and Saturday and Sunday out walking in the country. In this way an independent and extremely solid working class milieu grew up; they influenced it, gave it their support, and, naturally, felt at home there. Common symbols also exemplified this sense of community: flags and emblems, songs and rituals. "Our greeting was always just "Friend-ship"": that is how Ernst Meinking aptly put it. 3) The high spot of this period was the organisation of the Second Festival of the Association of Working Class Sport Movements attracting 80,000 participants. The generation's formative process reached a conclusion when they discarded the older generation's lifestyle. The reformation of this lifestyle was proclaimed: the choice of a "simple life" was consciously made; they abstained strictly from smoking and drinking alcohol and took up a stance of moderation in their personal lives. In the conclusion of this process they found themselves.

Although they had an overall sense about belonging within the labour movement as a whole, conflicts arose again and again about the "right path to socialism", or "reform vs revolution", or the "evolutionary vs radical" reform of society. The majority remained social-democrats, but there were already signs that the process of a split in the generation was beginning. In the "Battleship Debate" of 1928 [4] a great many people lost confidence in the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), while the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) and the Free Socialists gained alot of new support. The conflict reached a climax in the KPD's social fascism theory, in which the SPD was declared the major political enemy; this dealt a serious blow to the unity of the labour movement. Splits in the make-up of the generation were now evident. On account of the Great Depression nearly all suffered years of unemploy-ment towards the end of the decade, but despite this common experience there was less and less agreement about how to combat the crisis, and more especially about how to fight the political enemy, that is the National Socialists.

ADULT LIFE I

The generation was split by the coming to power of National Socialism. Feelings of solidarity broke down under the weight of political pressure to openly pledge allegiance to the new system. Although the common origins and experiences in the working class cultural movement had not vanished from their memories, the generation no longer followed one common course. They had learnt to speak their mind freely and to participate in public political debate, but were now condemned to silence, that is unless they wished to acclaim the new system. The greeting "Friendship" had become their

motto, but its principle was not capable of withstanding the often violent repression of the new regime. Suddenly many friends were lost, as almost nobody was to be trusted anymore. Quite a few, who had been considered steadfast and like-minded comrades, "changed sides" or "deserted the cause". Suspicion and fear were widespread and peole would not speak their minds openly, except in the closest circles of friends and behind closed doors. Any who did speak openly fell foul of informers. All those who participated in the underground resistance, distributing banned writings or organising opposition groups, were mostly arrested after a short time and spent as long as 10 or 12 years in prisons or concentration camps, losing a whole era of their lives. Some thought it advisable to try to fit in, while others got carried away by the initial enthusiasm for National Socialism. As a last resort, some joined the SA to find work again. Four levels of conformity can be made out: 1. "Organised Resistance". 2. "Retreat into the inner self". 3. "Apolitical stance of detachment". 4. "Political Conversion". 5) These divisions and this fragmentation had such a destructive effect on the generation as a whole, that it could never be pieced together again, not even in later decades.

1. "Organised Resistance". The radical political stance of some of the interviewees led them to run the risk of open resistance to the ever stronger National Socialist system, even after January 1933. The now illegal SPD tried to distribute resistance pamphlets from its party headquarters, which had moved to Prague; the KPD tried to set up local resistance groups. All these initiatives were relatively quickly discovered and smashed; the people involved were interned in concentration camps, in which some spent the whole 12 years of the National Socialist regime.

2. "Retreat into the inner self". Everyday life under the Nazis involved developing routines of behaviour with which to come to terms with the continual pressure to fulfill expectations and produce an air of legitimacy. This was especially required of those who remained innerly "opposed to the Nazis." Despite this inner opposition to the system, they were outwardly conformist and learnt to avoid the continual threat of repression by keeping quiet and behaving unobtrusively. Yet even they learnt a latent resistance to the system, their hidden opposition and refusal to cooperate being practised in those pockets of freedom that even a totalitarian system cannot completely eradicate.

3. "Apolitical stance of detachment". Although they felt themselves a part of the workers' cultural movement, some had no real interest, not even as youths, in political events. They were now extremely family-minded and a successful career became the focal point of their subjective behaviour. Their retreat from involvement in public affairs began at the latest on leaving the working class youth movement, was strengthened during the politically unstable

times of the Great Depression, and was consolidated with the onset of National Socialist rule.

4. "Political Conversion". As a consequence of the continual influence of Nazi propaganda, of the suggestive effect it had in creating the feeling that a new political age had begun, and because of the initial successes of the National Socialists, some changed sides politically. It was, however, often not political persuasion, but rather the opportunities offered by the Nazi organisations that caused this change of mind: the new-found solidarity of the SA groups replaced that of the workers' movement; finding work and making a livelihood were considerably easier if one professed support for the system.

Everyday life under the Nazis was marked by continual increases in the demands on workers, culminating in the introduction of the 12-hour shift; there was no escape from this. People tried to grab a "slice of life" in their few hours of leisure. They went to the pictures or dancing, or took advantage of the favourable opportunities for weekends in the mountains or longer holiday trips with the organisation "Strength through Joy" (KDF). These "KDF-trips" became a symbol of the system as a welfare state concerned for its people, while the initial violence with which the Nazis came to power was forgotten. With the conquest of France in 1941 National Socialism was at the height of its power and popularity. There were but few people left who still clung to inner resistance.

ADULT LIFE II

The National Socialist regime ended with complete and utter defeat in the Second World War, as well as the extensive destruction of German cities. Nuremberg was particularly badly hit, with 91% of all residential property damaged or totally destroyed. Reconstruction began immediately after surrender. Our generation, in the prime of life at this time, found the renewed strength to start all over again. The process of denazification also began. All those who had served the Nazi system were removed from their posts and had to answer for their actions. The day of reckoning had come. The victims of Nazi repression were now the judges who were to sit and pass sentence in the so-called denazification courts. Our generation was particularly caught up in this: one part now sat in judgement on another, and it is not hard to imagine how bitter that judgement was made by the long pent-up feelings of helplessness and aggression against members of Nazi organisations. Suddenly, even in the view of world opinion, there were "good" and "bad" Germans, and this rift went right across our working class generation. All those involved in denazification see it, retrospectively, as a very painful process.

After monetary reform there was a rapid economic upturn. Many now made good in their careers, something which had hardly been possible in the hard times of the Third Reich. Most of those who had been active in the labour movement of the 20s became involved in trade union activities at work.

1) Helmut Schelsky, Die Generationen der Bundesrepublik, In: Walter Scheel (Hrsg.), Die andere deutsche Frage, Stuttgart 1981, S. 178 - 198.

2) Karl Mannheim, Das Problem der Generationen. In: Martin Kohli (Hrsg.), Soziologie des Lebenslaufs, Darmstadt 1978, S. 38 - 53.

3) Jürgen Franzke (Hrsg.), Ernst Meinking, All diese Jahre ... Köln, 1982. S. 25.

4) S.d. Matthias Murko, Arbeiterjugendkultur der 20er Jahre. In: Aufriß 4, Zeitschrift des Centrum Industriekultur.

5) Vgl.: Franzke, Engelhardt, Murko, Käs. Der Zusammenbruch der Weimarer Republik als biographisches Ereignis. In: Kohli/Robert (Hrsg.), Biographie und soziale Wirklichkeit, Stuttgart 1984.

There was also a return to political commitment in the working class parties - SPD and KPD - while some, from the christian trade union movement, tended to side with the "bourgeois" parties.

Many, however, and this was also a result of experiences during Nazi rule, no longer wanted to have "anything to do" with politics, and retreated into private life. This applies especially to those who had given voluntary or enforced support to the Nazi movement. Great disappointment at their own bad judgement is perceptible. There were no words they could use to debate these conflicting experiences or the reasons for their individual actions. The Nazi period was "hushed up", people just wanted to forget. The members of this generation no longer got on with one another. Time gradually healed the mutually inflicted wounds, scar tissue formed, but the pain is still clearly felt.

Translation: Laurence Harger

list of publications:

- Jürgen Franzke, Beruf: Dreher, und:
   "... wird die Lohnzahlung eingestellt";
   beides in: Glaser u.a. (Hrsg.), Industrie-
   kultur in Nürnberg. München 1980.

- Jürgen Franzke (Hrsg.), Ernst Meinking, All diese Jahre ...
   Köln 1982.

- J. Franzke,Th. Engelhardt, R. Käs, M. Murko, Der Zusammenbruch
   der Weimarer Republik als biographisches Ereignis; in: M. Kohli/
   G. Robert (Hrsg.), Biographie und soziale Wirklichkeit, Stutt-
   gart 1984.

- J. Franzke, Th. Engelhardt, R. Käs, M. Murko, Lebensformen
   Nürnberger Metallarbeiter in den 20er Jahren; in: H.-G. Soeffner
   (Hrsg.), Beiträge zu einer Soziologie der Interaktion, Frankfurt 1984.

- J. Franzke, Hammerwerke, Mühlen und Fabriken; in: H. Dollhopf/
   H. Liedel, Alte Mühlen, Würzburg 1983.

- J. Franzke, Th. Engelhardt, R. Käs, M. Murko, Arbeitererinne-
   rungen. Begleitheft zur Ausstellung. Aufriß Nr. 4, Schriftenreihe
   des Centrum Industriekultur, Nürnberg 1984.

POWER AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

An oral history of the intergenerational mobility of
Flemish and Dutch primary school teachers.

B. DE GRAEVE, F. SIMON, M. DU BOIS-REYMOND, M. MUTSAERS

In oral history research, the occupational category of primary school teachers plays a remarkably small role, notwithstanding its important social function for qualification and socialization of lower-class children and their integration in social life. During a long period, the occupation of schoolmaster was considered to be one of the few mobility channels for working-class children; it was regarded as a springboard to move higher up. In this very context, attention was paid to the self-recruitment of teachers' families and to the career of former schoolmasters in higher administrative, political and intellectual professions.

Social-historical research concerning the teacher particularly dealt with the social origins of the primary school teacher. To some extent, this research has enervated the cliché concept of the "springboard theory". It was possible to prove, quantitatively, that primary school teachers mainly came from the old, later the new, middle class. Research also showed that female teachers are of higher birth than their male colleagues, that - as a consequence - it is a question of sex-specific mobility patterns (1).

Traditional social-historical research could give only little elucidation as to the dynamism of intergenerational mobility and the motivation for choosing their profession. How does mobility occur throughout the various generations and which factors mainly influence this process ? Current mobility research shows similar lacunae, and this applies even more to international comparative research (2).

In this paper, we will discuss the intergenerational mobility of schoolmasters and mistresses over four generations and in two countries. To our opinion, the oral history method is perfectly suitable to fill the gaps of traditional social-historical and mobility research. Oral sources give these four results which are more difficult to obtain, in this combination, through other sources:
- information about social and geographical origin of more than one generation
- qualitative utterances about family-strategies that underlie mobility
- comparison between different countries
- explanation about motives for the choice of profession.

In 167 life history interviews with former teachers from Flanders and The Netherlands, we inquired after the family situation of the grandparents, the parents and the children of our respondents. Thus, we have at our disposal data concerning family and origins of four generations. On the ground of these data, certain tendencies in the intergenerational mobility of teachers from approximately 1850 up to now can be indicated.

We started from the concept of "social trajectory", by which we mean, like F. Muel-Dreyfus, the way in time families cover throughout generations and by which their social position is determined both economically and culturally (3). Within the "social trajectory" family strategies become interpretable. With respect to this, we are primarily concerned with the combinations of geographical location, gender, family composition, marital status, and the educational setting - all of them factors defining family histories.

First we will present our sample; next we will outline three different biographies of teachers from the point of view of their social and cultural mobility. In a third phase we will work out four social trajectories which show how many different family histories can be realized within a single social trajectory. These social trajectories are based upon the class position of the original family of our respondents, in terms of the occupation of the father and - if known - the activity of the mother. We will examine the trajectories of old middle class (self-employed), new middle class, working class and peasantry (4). At last, we will outline some major trends which become manifest throughout the life history material.

1. number of respondents by gender and country

	Flanders	The Netherlands	N
male	72	25	97
female	53	17	70
total	125	42	167

2. number of respondents by gender and year of birth

	male	female	N
before 1900	18	15	33
1900-1909	55	41	96
1910-1919	24	14	38
	97	70	167

3. number of respondents by gender and marital status

	male	female	N
married	96	27	123
unmarried	1	34	35
religious	-	9	9
divorced	-	-	-
	97	70	167

4. number of respondents by gender and geographical origin

	male	female	N
conurbation	21	31	52
provincial town	29	14	43
rural area	47	25	72
	97	70	167

5. class position of the respondents

	male	female	N
peasantry	17	7	24
working class	23	12	35
old middle class	28	18	46
new middle class	28	30	58
bourgeoisie	1	3	4
	97	70	167

BIOGRAPHIES

We deliberately opted for three biographies : the biography of George C., a new middle-class son and the biography of Margriet D., originating from a farmers family,mainly confirm the general picture we are outlining in their respective social trajectory; the third biography, however, in which Truus M. tells the story of her growing up in a working-class family, does not affirm the general accepted trajectory. We have chosen for these controversial life stories in the hope to remove the appearance of objectivism and determinism, that might be suggested in tracing the social trajectories and to highlight the specific position of and possibilities with life history material. We are more precisely concerned with the harmony and disharmony between subjective life stories and social factors of a more general nature.

A schoolmaster from the new middle class

On January 22th, 1894, George C. was born as the first son in the second marriage of Honoré C., a village constable in W., a rural municipality of almost 2,400 inhabitants. Georges' mother taught needlework to the pupils of the local girls'school. Besides the artisans and tradesmen, the village of W. numbered a population of workers earning their living as a home worker or farm-hand, or working in brick-yards, in chicory-plants and in the flax industry. Georges' grandfather was a flax-dresser, which was considered to be a specialization among the flax cultivators. On a piece of land of approximately 1,800 square yards, he grew vegetables and fruit for private consumption. His neighbour was his brother Frans, also a flax-dresser. From his youth up, Georges' father, Honoré, learned how to dress flax and so attended school only very irregularly. Nevertheless Honoré turned out to be very eager to learn. He attended Sunday school until he was eighteen and devoured books. Later, he would use this knowledge to write letters for illiterate fellow-villagers. After he got married, Honoré resided in a tavern with a "storehouse and depository and a wide doorway to work flax'. Together with his uncle Frans, he took the risk to set up in business for his own account but the crisis in the flax-industry in the eighties led him on the verge of bankruptcy, and forced him to look for a job with a "big employer'. He definitely left the flax business when he was appointed village constable in his native village on November 11th, 1888. He also gave up the tavern. Four years later, his wife died. On the 16th of January 1893 he got married to the daughter of a self employed master bricklayer. She got three children and also took care of the three younger children from Honoré's first marriage. Thanks to her financial dowry the two sons from the first marriage studied to be a schoolmaster. As for George, who laid bricks together with his uncle Adelard after he had finished primary school, a route had been traced out. "Mother wouldn't have one child wear a collar on his shirt, and not the other' and as a result George went to a teacher training school. In 1913, he got his teacher's certificate. After an interim in G., he was appointed schoolmaster at the municipal school of Z. in 1916. In 1919 he got married. Next to his job as a teacher he also worked as an insurance agent, took care of local investments and gave private lessons in music. Due to this he could afford to let his children study : two of his three daughters became school-mistresses as well, two sons became Doctors of Laws and made their way in administration and magistracy. The youngest son is a gynaecologist now.

A decent working-class daughter becomes a schoolmistress

Truus M. was born in 1906 in L., an old Dutch industrial town. Her father, born in Germany, was a sausage maker, "he specialized in that'. Later he became chief-sausage maker of a meat-products-factory. His father had his own upholstery business. Truus' father was a wanderer who finally ended up in the northern part of The Netherlands where he met Truus' mother and married her. Before the marriage she had been a tailor's cutter, "the best tailor's cutter of the whole trade", she had no opportunity to continue her education but "she had the idea that there always would be more things to learn". Her father had been a master-cooper, which means that he had mates. "My mother was very proud of that'. There were only two children in the family. Truus and her elder sister. They received a very cultivated upbringing : the daughters had lessons on the piano and in singing, and Truus' sister was "one of the first in the neighbourhood to attend higher education. Most other children in their neighbourhood only received a vocational training. Most other children in their neighbourhood only received a vocational training. "Then she went to a teacher training college for two years but all of a sudden she did not like it any more and took a job in an office. I really don't know how many certificates she got through evening-classes. Finally, she

set an inspector, who encouraged her to get her teacher's certificate for primary education, which she did by studying in the evening'.

It was quite normal for Truus, with her sister as an example, to go to secondary school as well. She wanted to be a nurse, or, even better a veterinary surgeon. Her mother though wanted her to work in an office. There was no money to continue studying. "Our likes did not go to secondary school'. Truus herself gives the motives for her occupational alternatives : feelings of concern for children, little animals and weak ones, fostered by sex-specific socialization. Her wish to become a veterinary surgeon was not given in by specific intellectual motives. Her final choice was definitely influenced by her mother : she was not allowed to become a nurse since mother couldn't stand the sight of blood. A teacher training then. And again mother takes the decisions : no dayschool, but evening-classes because mother being rather in weak health. Truus was needed at home. Truus' whole life was dominated by her ill mother. Her career in primary education was characterised by, temporarily and diversified jobs. She has even been a deputy headmistress for two years without ever having aspired to it. She was glad and proud of the fact that she taught in "better" schools. without however dissociating herself from "the working-class child'. Her last job was at a ULO school (prolonged elementary schooling), which she did not like as much as her former job. Truus never got married and she does not deny that also this had something to do with her mother. We asked her whether she considered teaching in popular education to be a vocation. She answered : "Not really, such was your job".

A schoolmistress with a farmer background

Margriet D. was born in 1907 as the third of six children, in S., a municipality of 6,900 inhabitants. She comes of a real farmers family. Great-grandparents, grandparents and parents both on mother's and father's side held a farm, and apparently with success. They could afford the boys having a college training for a couple of years and to send the girls to a boarding-school mainly to learn French. A brother of Margriet's grandfather even became a physician. Besides farming Margriet's father was interested in the local politics. He was town councillor. His wife ran the household and she was assisted by a maid-servant and a charwoman. She also looked after the children's education and took care that they remained in the farmyard, playing with the friends, she herself had carefully selected. They did a lot of reading at home. They had a library and were subscribed to three newspapers. The children could also go and read books at their cousin's. Margriet was as if it were "predestined" to the teaching profession. She says that she was told so already by her own schoolmistress in primary school. Frequently they had her write on the blackboard as a preparation for the future. In fact, there was no other choice left. Her two elder sisters were helping on the farm so that at home there was nothing left to be done. Besides a nursing-job (which she was not interested in at all) not many alternatives were open to a girl. In 1926, she got her certificate. In her teacher training she had followed the French section. She would have loved to get a higher degree as well but such was hindered by her father's death. After having substituted other schoolmasters here and there during two years, she became a teacher at the free catholic boys' school of S., the place where she had been born and bred,and where her family had built up a certain prestige. Margriet remained unmarried and now she's living together with her sisters. Her youngest sister became a schoolmistress as well. One of her brothers is a lawyer, the other a physician.

SOCIAL TRAJECTORIES

Introductive methodical remark : as a rule we start from the overall sample of former schoolmasters/-mistresses. Only important national differences will be mentioned. We are aware of the fact that innumeral methodological weaknesses can be found in our material, particularly with respect to the representativity of both national samples and the absolute number of cases per subcategory. However, according to us, there has been no previous attempts in which oral history and social mobility research were combined in this particular way. This is the main reason for us to introduce our approach into the scientific discussion.

213

Trajectory old middle class (46 respondents: 28 %)

18 schoolmistresses and 28 schoolmasters came of families belonging to the old middle class. The intergenerational mobility is characterized by a fairly stationary class position between the generations of the grandparents (born circa 1850) and the parents (born circa 1880) of our respondents. The grandfathers were tradesman or for a smaller part belonged to the working class (mostly agricultural wage labour). They were unskilled without any exception. The own trade was made over to one of the sons, in several cases to the father of the respondent. The generation of the parents displays the whole spectrum of the then richly chequered and vital old middle class, to which 28 % of our interviewees belong. Our data show that still this generation received little schooling : only exceptions could profit from an extended schooling after primary education. The families were relatively small : four on the average. A quarter of the mothers worked outdoors, on top of their household. These children, the siblings of our respondents (born circa 1910) continued the original trade of their parents or switched over to new middle-class occupations, of whom 50 % in The Netherlands and 80 % in Flanders ended up in the educational sector. Explanations for these differences probably have to do with the fact that the scholarship system was more developed in Flanders, which consequently stimulated people to continue their studies. On the other hand, the switch-over to the bourgeoisie encountered greater difficulties in Flanders than in The Netherlands, which points to a more rigid classification due to a further advanced and radical industrialisation. This mobility leap is realised in the professions such as physician and chemist.

Let us now have a closer look at our respondents. A majority of female teachers - most of them born in a town or city - did not marry. In these cases the family history comes to an end. The other women clearly selected a "good" partner, but at a relatively late age (32 years old on average). They married manufacturers, inspectors of elementary schools, schoolmasters, civil servants. However this should not be surprising as they themselves sprang from the well-off old middle class.

All male teachers got married; their partners were schoolmistresses or housewives. They got 3-4 children. A remarkable percentage of these schoolmasters were born in the countryside : 2/3 in The Netherlands, 1/2 in Flanders.

How did the children from these schoolmasters-families (born about 1940) use that cultural capital of their family of origin ? Their home life was characterized by closer relations between parents and children as a consequence of the smaller size of the family and of the time and attention paid to the education by the mother. Most of them stay in the new middle class. One half of them, in Flanders and one third of them in The Netherlands in turn went into the teaching profession, but frequently at a higher degree of instruction. Thus the process of self-recruitment shows mobility within the generation. The other professions of the new middle class which children choose for, are also characterized by a higher degree of schooling. Still only one or two climbed to the bourgeoisie (physician, chemist, lecturer). The parent's business is given up for lost within this generation: the old middle class melts away.

Trajectory new middle class (58 respondents: 35 %)

The social origins of the grandparents of these respondents is much more heterogeneous than within the old middle class. They belonged to all classes, with an overrepresentation though in the old middle class. Given this heterogeneity, one could conclude that, within the new middle class, intergenerational mobility occured already between the grandparent and parent generation. The heterogeneous class in the grandparent generation developed into a homogeneous class itself shows a wide generation; here all belonged to the new middle class. But the middle class itself shows a wide diversification; historically speaking this class reflects the processes of differentiation in the social division of labour and in the process of production which took place in the last decades of the 19th century.

A third of the respondents' parents were in the teaching profession, often as a headmaster; the others worked as civil servants. The majority of the mothers were still untrained housewives. However, within this generation and class we more frequently meet mothers who got a proper training and/or had a job as a salaried employee (two-career-families). Thus the role of the mother becomes manifest. Her influence is quite determining with respect to the ambitious wishes of her children - our respondents' generations. It catches the eye (or is it only coincidence?) how the families of our respondents are larger compared with those of the old middle class: 5 children on average. 70 % of the children belongs to the new middle class. Three quarters became teachers in turn. In both countries, the self-recruitment for a teaching profession is fairly high (50 % of the total amount of children). Just like in the old middle class, only few of this generation rose to the bourgeoisie (engineer, jurist, physician) but certainly more in The Netherlands than in Flanders. Let us now have a look at those respondents whose parents already had a teaching job or had other middle-class professions : 30 women and 28 men were in that case. In The Netherlands, women more often came from the city than from the countryside, in Flanders the proportions are better-balanced. Half of the women remained unmarried, the others especially married teachers. They married far more earlier than their female colleagues from the old middle class : at approximately 23 years old(6). For the Dutch schoolmistress, marriage implied an interruption of her career. Only after about 20 years - when the children were grown up, they might have returned to their teaching profession for a few more years. In Flanders, this only goes for schoolmistresses in Catholic schools. The men got married to housewives or schoolmistresses, an analogue trend as in the old middle class. The families were small : 3 children on average. There is no difference in occupational career between children of our respondents from the new middle class and those from the old middle class. They stay in the new middle class as well (half of them as a teacher, which is 40 % of the total amount). Downward mobility does not occur at all. The rise to the bourgeoisie in Flanders is only successful for few, whereas to 20 % of the children in The Netherlands (physician, dentist, geologist(7)). On the other hand, the influence of the teachers' families on upward mobility is obvious : children of a second generation schoolmasters more often ended up in the bourgeoisie than children of a first generation schoolmasters. Probably we might talk about a depth-strategy within families with a teaching tradition.

Trajectory peasantry (24 respondents: 14 %)

Between the grandparent and parent generation of respondents coming of peasant families, we observe only little mobility. There is, however, a difference in level of schooling. The grandparents were still unskilled while the parents (at least some of them) had some schooling. Serious were taken in to obtain cultural capital for their sons as for their daughters as well. Farmers-daughters more often were sent - to a boarding-school to learn French. The family had prestige in the villages, some of the fathers even were mayor. By investing in education, parents developed a process of selective mobility within their families. The highest level of schooling was found in the families of birth of our female respondents. Apart from the teaching profession, the children pursued other professions within the new middle class; only a small number remained at the farm. A few belong to the bourgeoisie now (professor, M.P., physician, barrister, high functionary). All seven female respondents were unmarried. The mobility pattern is on a dead track here. All 17 men, on the contrary, got married, mainly to housewives or to schoolmistresses. Their families are remarkably smaller than their original families (3, 4 children). Their children predominantly belong to the new middle class, but only few became a teacher - particularly with reference to other trajectories. Only few Flemish children displayed remarkable mobility with regard to their parents, in The Netherlands however the children rose more easily (physician, lawyer, scientist).

Trajectory working class (35 respondents: 21 %)

The occupations of the parents of our respondents varied from wage-worker, fitter, weaver, docker, to railway-worker, storekeeper, agricultural labourer, sausage-maker. Most of them came of working-class families, some of them of the old middle class. It is striking that the labourers among our Flemish respondents' fathers belonged to the categories of better paid and regular jobs. The working mothers kept a tavern or a shop, worked at the factory or as sewing-woman. More mothers than in whatsoever other class worked outdoors. The families were rather small : 3-4 children.

The following difference is quite interesting : while the parents of male respondents often were skilled through evening-classes or self study, our female respondents more frequently originated from unskilled families. Moreover, mothers with an outdoor-job were most frequently found in skilled families. This could imply that the husband's schooling was made possible by the extra earnings of the wife. These families predominantly lived in the city where there is a tradition of workers and trade-unionism and where education facilities are available. From these differences we tend to suggest that the leap into another social class was nowhere more pronounced than for working-class girls. Her brothers and sisters remained in the working class and so did the relatives of her male colleagues.

Only some of them took up a job as a lower employee or as a schoolteacher as well. The female interviewees mostly came of rural areas. Only one third of the women got married (new middle-class husband) and had remarkably small-sized families (1 or 2 children). Working-class schoolmistresses had a big chance to remain unmarried. (The chance to remain single is only higher for women with a peasant background - could this probably be a hard trend ?) We cannot deny however the important role of the Catholic Church in the process of social uprising of schoolmistresses from the working class. The male working-class respondents largely came of the city and all of them married. They also had small families (2 to 3 children).

The springboard theory is correct in the sense that working-class children indeed use the teaching profession as a channel to move upwards; however, this theory does not apply in a quantitative sense : only few working-class children from the 1910 generation rose to the middle classes. The transition from the working class to the middle class only appeared one generation later, with the children of our respondents. Apart from a few exceptions, they all occupy new middle-class jobs. Two thirds of the children choose a teaching job and the overall level of schooling increased. Only in The Netherlands again, the rise to the bourgeoisie occurs smoothly.

TRENDS

It would be unfair towards the material, the individual life stories and family histories of our respondents if we were to summarize our results in a few nice and neat conclusions. When analysing the material we soon learnt how complex in time and space the social behaviour of individuals and groups of individuals are.

Apart from that however, we hesitate to present the trends we found, as strictly valid, because of the shortcomings in our sample. We would rather prefer our results to be considered as empirically enriched hypotheses, which finally might lead to a more elaborated theory and to further empirical testing in social mobility research. We hope our research method is a contribution in that sense. We merely aimed at the harmony and disharmony of three variables : gender, (self)-recruitment and geographical location for mobility patterns.

The role of women in mobility processes is ambiguous. In the grandparent and parent generation of our respondents, she often plays a passive-supporting role as educator and sometimes as a provider of financial strength for her husband's and sons' mobility, to a less extent for her daughters'. On the other hand, concerning the woman's own mobility : only few channels are open to her mainly as a consequence of the patriarchal relationships in our society. The teaching profession used to be such an opportunity. But the price for using these mobility channels is sexual abstinence and childlessness. In that way she cuts short the potential mobility of the daughter generation. Two thirds of all schoolmistresses never got married. A quarter comes from the country, the others from an urban area. It seems that women born in the countryside have no opportunities for rising through their profession without making the sacrifice of childlessness and celibacy : none of the rural female teachers got married. However, a majority of urban schoolmistresses remains single as well. Patriarchal norms are rooted both in the educational setting and religious milieu as well as in the code of the teaching profession. Geographical location plays a minor role though it should not be neglected. Women in town, however, do have a reasonable chance to get married. But, particularly in Holland and in Catholic Belgian schools, women had to give up their teaching career as a consequence of marriage.

The new middle class provides most schoolmistresses. Half of them came already from a teacher's family. In other words : the new middle class stimulates female mobility. It stimulates school-mistresses to marry as well : 80 % of the married schoolmistresses belong to the new middle class. Female teachers usually are of higher birth than their male colleagues. This also implies that lower-class women have more difficulties in starting social mobility through the teaching profession. Children of married schoolmistresses are highly likely to end up in the new middle class (80 %). In comparison with all other occupations within the middle class, their chance of getting a job in the educational sector is also high. Only few children are yet able to rise to the bourgeoisie (9 %).

A third of all male schoolmasters marries a teacher. The chance for their children to end up with an educational profession is 42 %.

The geographical mobility of our respondents is very high in The Netherlands. None of those born in the countryside, stayed there. Te same cannot be said for Flanders. Most of the respondents carry on their profession either in their native village or town, or in a locality which shows a striking resemblance to their native area. In The Netherlands, this mobility goes hand in hand with higher salaries in towns. However if we were only taking salaries into account then this factor could equally apply to Flanders. Other factors however explain the attachment of Flemish respondents to their own locality. The municipal schools in Antwerp and Ghent, for instance, only recruited teachers who had been trained in their own institutions from elementary school through to teacher training. But a job in the country offered special advantages as well. Those newly-graduated had a pretty good chance to start immediately as headmaster in one of the many small village schools, often schools consisting of one class only. This was the way, many teacher-sons succeeded their father. Moreover, in the countryside the teaching profession had far more prestige and the teacher was still considered to be a moral and intellectual authority. He played an important role in the village as promoter of agricultural techniques, or as a financial adviser and insurance agent, which all meant considerable extra-earning for the teacher's family.

Most remarkable upward mobility appears in the generation of the teacher's children whose families had a peasant background. These children rise most frequently to the bourgeoisie. The children of teachers of working-class origin, however, tend to stay in the teaching profession. Children, brought up in a family with a long-standing teaching tradition have more opportunities for switching to the bourgeoisie compared with other children. Here we most frequently meet children with university careers.

Historically speaking, from the point of view of the teaching profession, social mobility starts to move visibly in the generation of our respondents. This is mainly due to the origin and further consolidation of the new middle class.

From about the turn of the century, no downward mobility occurs for schoolmasters. Their class-position remains stationary - new middle class - or displays upward mobility (8). If mobility can be considered to be one of the many ways of acting upon social power as crystallized in a class society, then the teaching profession can be seen to be a very active occupational category in conquering higher social positions through social trajectories. We could not determine to what extent this is exclusive to the teaching profession as opposed to others. It would be interesting to examine if the same trends can be found in other countries, if there are any other occupations within the same class - we particularly think of civil servants - which play as active a role, if the role of woman in other countries and other occupations shows any similarities to the educational system in Belgium and The Netherlands.

grandparents (° ± 1850)	old middle class peasants	all classes mainly old middle class	farmers	working class old middle class
	unskilled	unskilled + a few skilled	unskilled	unskilled
parents (° ± 1880)	old middle class	new middle class (civil servants + education)	farmers	working class
children (parental family) (° ± 1910)	little schooling	increasing schooling	partially schooled	unskilled + skilled through evening-classes and selfstudy
	1/4th of mothers have an occupation	skilled mothers / 1/3rd of the mothers have an occupation	—	mother often has an occupation
		two-career-family	—	—
		cultural capital motivation for teaching profession	—	—
			prestige in the village	—
	4 on average	5 on average	6 on average / 3-4 on average	
	trade of the parents + new middle class	new middle class (70 %)	new middle class	working class + lower clerks
	N 50 % teachers / F 80 % teachers	3/4 teachers	considerable representation in educational sector	
	—	N : some rise to bourgeoisie / F : exceptionally	a few rise to bourgeoisie	—
respondents (° 1900–1920) **female unmarried**	unmarried	half does not marry N:born in town/city F: 50 % born in town/city, 50 % born in the countryside	all unmarried born in the countryside	2/3 unmarried born in the countryside
	born in town/city	—	rich(er) birth	—
		family history comes to an end		unskilled parents
female married	married to a partner with higher ranked occupation	1/2 get married to teachers approx. 23 years old	—	1/3rd marries to new middle class
male	all get married to born in countryside	teachers and housewives	—	—
	3 to 4 children	3 children	3 children	1-2 children
children of the respondents (° ± 1940)		_great majority belongs to the new middle class_		born in a town/city 2 to 3 children skilled working class
	N : 1/3 teachers F : 1/2 teachers	1/2 teachers	less participation in teaching professions	2/3 teachers

In The Netherlands, switch to the bourgeoisie
In Flanders hardly any.

increasing level of schooling

TEACHERS

REFERENCES

(1) See M. DUBOIS-REYMOND, Een onderzoek naar de sociale herkomst van de
onderwijzer in de gemeente Leiden 1850-1900. Pedagogische Studiën, 58,
1981, 1-12; N. BAKKER en M. MOREE, Doorgangshuis of eindbestemming. De
betekenis van sexe- en klasseverschillen voor de beroepskeuze en beroeps-
uitoefening van Nederlandse onderwijzers en onderwijzeressen 1900-1940.
Comenius, 3, 1983, 491-520; I. MEGENS en P. ROL, Rijkeluisdochters
en arbeiderszonen. Sociale afkomst, opleiding en organisatie van onder-
wijzers en onderwijzeressen rond 1900. Jaarboek voor de geschiedenis van
socialisme en onderwijzersberoep en arbeidersbeweging, 1979, 88-118.

(2) See E. HOPPER, Social mobility, Oxford 1981; A. HEATH, Social mobility,
Glasgow, 1981; H. KAELBLE, Historical Research on Social Mobility.
Western Europe and the U.S.A. in the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries,
New York, 1981.

(3) F. MUEL-DREYFUS, Le métier d'éducateur. Les instituteurs de 1900, les
éducateurs spécialisés de 1968. Paris, 1983.

(4) With respect to the class division we followed the current social-
historical classification according to the nature of the occupation.
By working class we understand all paid employment, by old middle class,
self-employed merchants, artisans and small-holders. The new middle class
derives its income from salaries and in contrast to the old middle class
is neither self-employed nor relatively autonomous in its work. It is,
rather, a mosaic of relatively routinized office employees, "white collar"
workers, submanagerial technicians,school teachers and others of the "minor"
professions.
We have neglected the bourgeoisie as a separate trajectory (less than
3 % of the total amount).

(5) Both the national subsamples and the overall sample do not meet the entire
requirements of representativity. This is mainly a consequence of the fact
that our projects were no mobility projects initially.

(6) We doubt drawing definite conclusions concerning the difference in age of
marriage. We expect that both, the geographical origin (town/city) and the
social class of origin (new middle class) favoured the development of more
liberal norms and attitudes, and, as a consequence female teachers with
these backgrounds will more easily establish social intercourse and marry.

(7) The data of the schoolcareer of our respondents' grandchildren reveal a
breakthrough towards the higher ranked occupations of the bourgeoisie in
this generation.
However we should take into account the problem that low ranked jobs nowadays
probably were high ranked in former days. Moreover, the access to higher occu-
pations became remarkably easier over the years.

(8) The dutch subsample is too small for female working-class teachers to
make a distinction between skilled and unskilled families. Our biography
of Trus M. is not an example of this trend. The limited sample in Holland
cannot affirm nor modify the influences of mobility of a town/city as
mentioned before. Talking about a town/city merely refers to the Belgian
town of Ghent.

CHRISTIAN MILLENNIALISM
AND THE MORAL MAJORITY MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

Susan HARDING

Millennial beliefs orient and motivate the political activism that we see among fundamental Christians in this country today.

An estimated 10 to 15 million fundamentalists believe that we are "the terminal generation," that the Battle of Armageddon will occur in our lifetime, and that Jesus Christ will return at its climax to rule a millennial, or thousand year, kingdom on earth.

American fundamental Christians have been embellishing their distinctive apocalyptic scheme since the Civil War. They ordinarily wield it to win souls, but their commentary on the world has always been deeply political and has often led believers to grind an axe on the public stage. The current political mobilization among fundamentalists is quite unusual for its scope and duration, but its only unique feature is the extent to which the movement's millennial sources are obscured by self-censoring leaders and the ignorance of outsiders.

The slippery question snaking through both the literature on millennial movements and the recent flurry of stories about Ronald Reagan's apocalypticism concerns the efficacy of belief. Do visions of the end times and the second coming seriously motivate action, or are they merely legitimizing rationales for behavior carried out for other reasons? Is the New Christian Right a movement of conservative Americans who happen to be fundamentalists, or is it a political expression of a religious and specifically millennial movement?

I think that dreams of the Second Advent are powerfully efficacious and that fundamental Christians have recently entered the public arena as a community of believers only because they and their leaders have persuasively deduced political actions from a web of prophetic assumptions. Today I would like to present one fragment of my case by showing that the leadership, primary constituency, agenda and strategy of the Moral Majority all display the distinct cast of contemporary Christian millennialism.

(The final version of this paper will include evidence from oral histories with members and pastors of Reverend Jerry Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist Church.)

The Moral Majority Organization

The Moral Majority was founded in 1979 and claims to be a political, not a religious organization, and to represent the interests of a broad coalition of Protestant, Jewish, Catholic and even atheist conservatives.

However, its founders, Jerry Falwell, Tim LaHaye and Gregg Dixon are all fundamentalist preachers and powerful advocates of the Christian apocalyptic vision. The national office of the Moral Majority in Lynchburg, Virginia, is staffed by fundamentalists, most if not all of whom are members of Jerry Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist Church. At

least forty-eight of the Moral Majority's state chairmen are Bible-believing Protestant preachers. Although the organization's mailing list of donors is nondenominational, the Moral Majority's only members in the sense of adherents who meet with some regularity are the congregations of the several thousand fundamental Christian preachers who are actively affiliated with state and national Moral Majority offices.

In short, as reflected in both its leadership and effective membership, the Moral Majority is the political expression of a specifically fundamental Christian constituency whose greatest hope is the imminent return of Jesus Christ.

The Moral Majority Agenda

The Moral Majority agenda includes opposition to ERA, abortion, homosexual rights, pornography and the nuclear freeze, and support of school prayer, religious freedom, a strong national defense, and state of Israel. Moral Majority leaders claim their positions are strictly political and moral ones, however each position also has a basis in the millennial expectations of fundamental Christianity. Also, the peculiar combination of causes advocated by the Moral Majority only makes sense in the context Bible prophesy.

Fundamental Christians derive their eschatology, or their doctrine of the "end times," by tacking back and forth between the Books of Revelation, Daniel, Ezekiel and Matthew on the one hand and the daily domestic and world news on the other hand. Interpretations vary in important ways. Here I will outline the fulfilled prophesies and anticipated events as they are understood among Jerry Falwell's community in Lynchburg.

The last days of the Christian era will be a period of unprecedented warfare, famine, disease, moral depravity, and spiritual decay. Jews and born-again Christians will be persecuted, and we shall see the formation of a universal but false religion, a world government and a world monetary system. Shortly before the very end, Israel will be restored to the Jews, and Christians will succeed in spreading the gospel to every corner of the world. A godless nation will rise up in Russia that will harrass Christians world-wide and threaten the very existence of Israel.

The Christian era will end suddenly when Jesus Christ appears in the sky and "raptures" all born-again believers, bodily lifting them off the face of the earth and delivering them to heaven. The rest of the world, most especially the Jews, will then endure a seven year period of death and devastation as punishment for its rejection of Christ.

The period will culminate in a valley in northern Israel in the Battle of Armageddon between the forces of Russia and the antichrist. Just before the planet is utterly destroyed in a final nuclear holocaust, Jesus Christ and his heavenly army of born-again believers will appear, and crush both earthly armies, shackle Satan, throw him in the

bottomless pit, and set up a millennial kingdom on earth under the King Jesus Christ.

What is the connection between this apocalyptic scenario and the causes advocated by the Moral Majority? Falwell and his co-leaders may deny a connection but they are no doubt tapping millennial dreams among their fundamentalist followers.

Regarding America's special role in preparing the way for the second coming, Jerry Falwell has said:

God has raised up America in these last days for the cause of world evangelization and for the protection of his people, the Jews. I don't think America has any other right or reason for existence other than these two reasons.

By spreading the gospel and protecting the Jews, that is, Israel, Americans hasten the second coming, and it is these two prophetic goals that frame the Moral Majority agenda. Preachers such as Jerry Falwell, Tim LaHaye, Jimmy Swaggert, and others have so effectively defined the moral mission as a prerequisite of their prophetic obligations to Israel and evangelization that it has almost acheived the status of a another sign to be fulfilled before Christ returns.

Protecting Israel is a Moral Majority cause in itself and a strong national defense follows from it. America must resist internal threats to its military might, including a nuclear freeze and sexual immorality, in order to stand firm against any external threat to Israel, especially from the Soviet Union or its Arab allies.

The connection between world evangelization and the Moral Majority agenda is less obvious, but Falwell himself often makes the link. In his words:

In order for the churches in America to evangelize the world, we need the environment of freedom in America that will permit us to do it. If we, through the Moral Majority and other such organizations, can protect and preserve those principles, America will stay free, so that the ultimate goal of the gospel —world evangelization—can be pursued by the churches.

In fundamentalist eyes, feminism and other liberal reform movements of the 1960s and 1970s promoted and legitimized immorality in America. Moral deterioration not only endangers America's military strength, it also threatens fundamental Christians' most cherished freedom, the freedom to preach the gospel. Fundamental Christians oppose any governmental action that will restrict, and support any that will enhance, their capacity to spread the gospel through this country and the world. Evangelization is a compelling responsiblity for fundamentalists in its own right, but above all it paves the way to "the blessed hope," the reign of Christ on earth.

Moral Majority Strategy

The Moral Majority agenda makes more sense when we bring the tissue of prophetic assumptions into focus, and so does the apparent contradiction between their current activism and their historic repudiation of social reform. American Protestantism has long been split over the timing of the second Advent. Postmillennialists believe Christ will return after at the end of the millennium which

will be brought about through human efforts to improve society. The premillennial view articulated by the fundamentalist wing holds out no hope of human progress, rejects social reform as folly, and claims things will only get worse until Christ comes and begins the millennium himself.

If the Moral Majority program is influenced by the premillennial view, why does it include efforts to legislate morality and otherwise "reform" human behavior?

When examined closely, the Moral Majority's position on moral reform does not really break with premillennial expectations. Moral Majority leaders think that criminalizing abortion, depriving homosexuals of civil rights, and legalizing school prayer will be good for America, indeed may even contribute to a moral and spiritual revival, but they do not expect such legal changes to end immorality. Sin cannot be conquered except through salvation. The point instead is to divest sinners of their license in the law. Unless America as a nation condemns sin, we risk God's wrath and will surely loose our capacity to fulfill God's will in the finals days before Christ comes.

"Millennial Dreams in Action"

In summary, the Moral Majority's active participants are ardently millennarian and its agenda and strategy make a great deal more sense when we examine them through the lens of Christian apocalypticism.

The question remains: Are fundamentalist anticipations of God's judgment and the second Advent a weak or a strong mobilizing force? Do they simply yield order out of chaos and sanction actions taken for other reasons, such a desire for status, power and authority? Or do they quicken men and women to act politically in ways they would not otherwise? Let me close with some observations that I think must frame the answer to the question of the efficacy of these beliefs.

Very different political implications can be, and have been, drawn by fundamentalists from the same interpretive process of working back and forth between Biblical prophesies and world events. Apocalyptic hopes, in other words, do not motivate action in a direct, deterministic, unmediated way, and a good deal more than millennialism is behind the popular appeal of the Moral Majority.

Eschatology is not a set of directions telling believers what to do, but a grammar of thought and feeling. Moreover, millennialism parallels, and derives much of its force by paralleling, the cultural grammar laid down by the gospel and the experience of salvation.

Being saved figuratively manifests the death, burial and resurrection of Jesus Christ in the life of the believer. Christ comes to us as individuals only after we have "died to ourselves," realized that we are hopelessly lost and acknowledged our sins, and have been given new life by receiving Christ into our hearts.

The doctrine of the end times is the conversion

experience writ large. Bible prophesy maps salvation onto

the future and the whole world. Fundamental Christians are

tenative about what events must take place before the second

coming and the timing of those events, just as they realize

men and women may convert at any time and by many means.

But one thing is certain: Christ will return only after

unimaginable suffering, violence, torture and death have

ferociously purified this unbelieving world.

Charlotte Heinritz

Written Autobiographies and Life Narratives - a Comparison

Life Histories of Female Servants at the Beginning of the 20th Century

The purpose of this paper is to compare written and oral life histories of female servants by analysing the concepts of the life histories and the preconditions of these concepts.

I start from the hypothesis that there doesn't exist an established biography that can be brought out by questionning or which can be reproduced in the same way at any time: "Only the narrative makes apparent the life course as an unity (in a diachronical sense) at all. For that very reason every narrative reconstruction of the life course, whether oral or written, is a biographical text. The text itself creates an individual by drawing the image of a real individual." (H. Leitner 1981, p. 18).

The purpose of this paper ist to find out how different ways of production - orally narrated in the interviews or written down in the autobiographies - influence the text of biography.

The life-histories are derived from two different projects, one, by Dorothee Wierling, Essen, being a project on the "Collective life history" of female servants based on 25 interviews, the other, Charlotte Heinritz, Berlin, being the analysis of female autobiographies written in the late 19th and early 20th century. From this material four autobiographies of female servants and four transcriptions of life-history-interviews were analysed and compared by means of the following items:

- the main topics of the story

- the presentation of the life-history (quite normal or very special experience? success or failure?...)

- the inner structure of the story (the main line of the story, a certain logic or repeating patterns ...)

- the external influences and stimulations on the narrator (references to traditions of telling a life story, the connexion between external stimulations with the author's/narrator's own motivation...)

Results

I. Telling a life history and the autobiographical writing always does serve two functions:

1. The function of information and communication: the reader of an autobiography, respectively the listener or the conducter of the life-history-interview is given informations about the former way of living, the experiences being made, the former conditions of living, working.

2. Not only to the author of an autobiography but also to the teller of his life story the biographical reminiscence serves as a (re-)construction of a meaningful context (Sinnzusammenhang) of the life lived up to now. Recalling events of the past subsequently can contribute to a self-image, self-awareness, the identity.

In the analysed examples of female-servant-biographies there are important differences between written and oral ways of biographical reminiscences concerning both, the relationship to the recipient of the life-history and the function of constitution a meaningful context of life.

I.1.a. Function of information in written autobiographies

The editors and many authors of female-servant-autobiographies at the beginning of the 20th century refer to the life-histories of workers as a motive for writing down their experiences. In those days the bourgeois readers had discovered their own lower classes and had developped an exotic interest in their life histories. The first autobiographies of workers in Germany were edited in the early 1890th by the priest Goehre with the intention to improve the situation of the working class by social reforms: the autobiographies should inform the responsables about their misery. After Goehres publications the socialist workers used this literary form "autobiography" to educate a working-class-consciousness and to spread the aims of the socialist party. One of the most famous autobiographers is Adelheid Popp, who's "Jugenderinnerungen" were often edited and caused many female workers and also servants to write their life history, too. The "Jugenderinnerungen" by A. Popp are explicitly referred to as a motivating example in the foreword of Doris Viersbeck's "Erlebnisse eines Hamburger Dienstmädchens" (experiences of a female servant in Hamburg). But – as opposed to Popp – Viersbeck, like all the other female servant autobiographers, does not describe the process of political consciousness. Like the majority of servants she was not organized in any political group or party and had no possibilities for political education. The experiences of oppression and dependency within the different services is not considered in a comprehensive social context but is interpreted individualistically.

On one hand the autobiographies are adressed to the employers in the purpose to claim for a better and more human treatment for their servants.

On the other hand they are adressed to other female servants giving advice and rules of behaviour for their services:

"To all fellow-beings who are forced to be in other person's service I want to call: always do your duty, fully; but do also defend yourselves if necessary!" (D. Viersbeck, p. 103)

These intentions (to attain better working conditions of female servants and let their younger colleagues participate in their experience and practical knowledge) influence the selection and valuation of the narrated story. E.G. the "Erlebnisse" of Doris Viersbeck is a sequence of good and bad services, of examples of despotism and exploitation by the employers, but also her resistance and the pride in her work. The main line of the whole story is her development to more and more self-confidence to claim and carry through better working conditions.

I.2.a. The construction of a meaningful context of life in autobiographies

Apart from the purpose to inform the readers about the living and working of female servants, there are further motivations for writing their autobiographies. These motivations have to be searched within the individual life-course of the author, often within the actual situation at the moment of writing. All the servant authors have in common not to be working as a servant at the moment of writing, whether temporary (A. Langer, G. Braun) or finally (M. Sans Gêne, D. Viersbeck). Like many workers who wrote their autobiographies some of the former female servants had attained a higher social position (here by marriage). As the social improvement also means a break of the identity, writing the autobiography can be interpreted as an attempt to "repare" this break, to construct

the unity of the life history, to connect the past as a servant with

the present as a middle-class-wife. E.g. Marie Sans Gêne tells her life

story in a way that her social improvement appears as the result of a

planned process: she describes her good offer of marriage as the final

reward for her virtues and skills, diligence, ability and decency.

M. Sans Gêne wrote her autobiography at the age of 54, 20 years after

her marriage. The autobiographical writing of younger authors does not

only serve the integration of former experiences to the actual self-image

but also creates a meaning for the future. The anonymous author of

the autobiography edited by G.Braun as well as Angela Langer report at

the end of their autobiography about a disappointment concerning their

hopes for marriage. At the time of writing their life histories, they

have to develope new perspectives for their further life. This autobio-

graphical reflexion with a view to the future has consequences for the

construction of the text in the sense of unification.

There is a tendency to be seen in the autobiographies - as in the nar-

ration (s.b.)-to interprate and unify the events and experiences towards

an affirmative, positive balance. Even though, in the written autobio-

graphies, contradictions and breaks are easier to avoid by literal

elaboration than in the course of a more spontaneous oral narration

one can find them in the autobiographies as well, especially in con-

nexion with the positive balances: So A. Langer e.g. gives a new in-

terpretation to the end of her hopes for a marriage to a beloved middle-

class-man: she doesn't permit her deep disappointment, but by assuming

the role of a virtuous woman out of reach and too good for marriage,

as the beloved man had written her, she interpretates the failure as triumph

1.1.b. Function of information in oral narratives

The former female servants, most of them living in senior citizen

homes, were asked by Dorothee Wierling to tell their life story for her

project on female servants. With those who agreed D. Wierling conducted

the interview in several sessions about their lives, recorded on tape

recorder. The first session the narrators were asked to tell their

life history, beginning with childhood.

The own life history is not narrated without presuppositions. Former

situations are referred to in which the life history was asked:there

is a wide-spread spectrum of these every-day-experiences (s. Fuchs 1984)-

grand-children asking their grandmother to tell about her former life;

drawing up a curriculum vitae for letters for application; up to -

finally - at the police-station in connexion with the duty to show the

"Dienstbücher" (books of services) there at each change of service. In

this case biographical data are asked for reasons of controll.

These experiences are recalled in the interviewing-situation: especial-

ly at the beginning of the conversation it is cleared "on which side"

the interviewer is: is she an listener interested in the life history

or does she represent some controlling official? Uncertainties in this

question are noted again and again in the narrated life stories, e.g.

by mentioning official persons as a witness for the story told, or by

showing the book of services to demonstrate the truth of the narration.

"There (at a certain service, C.H.) was a cook, too...Agnes, and her

son, he still knows me, he is a police officer in Tempelhof, you can

ask him." (Frau E-t, p. 6)

"With one knee I used to polish the parquet, I tell you! Nobody would

do that any more today! I still have my testimonies, if you don't want to believe me I can show them." (Frau E-t, p. 5)

Here the interview becomes similar to judicial examinations.

The uncertainty about the side on which the interviewer is standing, is also caused by the difference of status between the former female servants and the person with university education. It influences the description and valuation of the events told: So Frau E-t obviously classifies the interviewer as a member of the same upper class as the former employers. Asked for her relationship to the employers therefor she answers carefully and friendly about them ("nice people"). Only in the further course of the interview she talks by telling different stories about the bad aspects of her services: bad working conditions and pay, bad accomodation, unworthy treatment by the employers etc.

Another fact important for the relationship between the former servants and the interviewer is the difference of age: the interviewer is much younger than the aged narrators, she doesn't know the old times the former servants are talking about, the times of their childhood and youth, the years of service. So it becomes necessary to give informations and explanations about the circumstances of the time this young woman (D. Wierling) didn't life through (in opposition to telling the life history to a contemporary, a member of the same generation).

So many stories are chosen with many explanations about "how it was in those days":

"We were born like that, we were developed like that, times were different..." (Frau R-s, p.10)

"My youth, I have to say, it was hard, but I didn't regret it. Because

the parents had to work as well as we children to get through, in those days it was not like today, today they are living in prosperity ..." (Frau S-r, p. 2)

In the course of the interview the narrators often adept this "strange view" from today to earlier times: they are not longer telling their lives chronologically from then to today, but comparing: from the presence differing so much to the old days they are looking backwards, comparing and valuating from today their own past.

So e.g. Frau H-l who is astonished herself thinking about the hard work she had to do in her childhood: "Just imagine, as children of 9 years we had to do this!" (Frau H-l, p.2)

1.2.b. The construction of a meaningful context of life in oral narrations

In the course of the orally narrated life histories one can distinct the attempt to reduce the experiences being made to a meaningful and unit connexion. This attempt is to be seen in the "Leitlinien des Erzählens" (guiding lines of narration, Lehmann, 1983) which are often opposed to the structure proposed by the interviewer and her questions. So e.g. Frau E-t explicitly names the main line of her life history in connexion to the biographical reminiscende:

"You know, if I had had the time I could have written down my whole life! Like a main line my stepmother is appearing, yes?" (Frau E-t, p. 9)

This has less to do with the very person of her stepmother - she lived together with her since the age of 8 and already left her at the age of 14 - but the structure she learned by the loveless and hard-hearted treatment in her childhood "nobody took care for me, I was only good for working

II. Results of the comparative analysis of the oral and written life histories of female servants suggest another hypothesis:

Every life history can be conceived in two ways:

1. As a collective life history (here: of female servants at the beginning of this century)

2. As an individual life history with very special experiences (and interpretations).

There is an interpenetration of the collective and the individual life history in one and the same biography. Here the different modalities of the biographical texts are of less importance - in spite of the demonstrated differences.

The comparison between written autobiographies and oral narratives concerning the informations one gets from each source (informations about the biographical frame, the description of work and services, the social connexions within the family and the employers, as well as the interpretations of the experiences being made) results in the possibility to construct a collective life history of female servants at the beginning of this century. Even considering the variation within each of the two sources there are a lot of similarities. It is to be supposed that similar conditions of life and work within a certain social group at a special time produce similar life histories.

Ideas about the life-course "as it has to be", the ideal about oneself, as well as ideas about its presentation - "how to tell a life history" - have a similar normative effect on the autobiographers as on the narrators. The normative ideas are expressed e.g.in the self-de - scriptions of the (former) female servants: one can almost call it a

for other people". Selection and comments of the events reported are according to this pattern, e.g. by valuating her services, by mentioning the meaning of her late marriage.

These life-topics structuring the narrated life history are to be found in almost all of the biographical interviews. The attempt to construct a meaningful connexion of the biography subsequently is also to be noted in the summed up balances of the experiences and the lived life. These balances are to be found in all life history interviews. Even if there are a lot of stories of sorrowful experiences in the retrospective summary they are changed into a positive sense: So e.g. Frau S-r about her first service at the age of 14:

"You can imagine how much work I had to do there, how hard it was for me! But nevertheless, I am saying again and again: I didn't regret it at all! I have learned. Not like the girls of nowadays..." (Frau S-r, p. 4)

This tendency for positive balances often results in contradictory stories: "...it was a hard job for me to manage seven rooms. But apart from that it was quite good there in a way, but the house-wife was a little bit hysterical. She used to controll everything with such a lorgnette, but I had some hard times, that was good for my whole life (she cries). The hard times were good:" (Frau S-r, p.2)

standard how the narrators and writers describe themselves: diligent, industrious, clean, honest, simple, economical. These formulations of self-description repeated again and again in both forms of sources are identical to the formulations in their testimonials:

"...I mean, we had a simple household indeed, my parents and we children, but every thing was very much in order and very clean and all.." (Frau B-h, p. 4)

"Her industry and cleanliness are very praiseworthy" (Testimony Frau B-h, p. 6)

"...everything had to sparkle and it did sparkle, because I had learned that. I liked to do it, yes. They didn't have to praise me, but there was the feeling I had to do it.." (Frau H-l, p. 13)

"Fr. H-l was honest, industrious and very clean..." (Textimony Frau H-l p. 2)

"Even if we are poor no police has any business to have with us, remember that for all your life!' ... no work worried me or was too much for me, particularly if I was given praise for good work." (Sans Gêne p. 22)

The normative ideas about the life-course often are to be shown on the basis of stories of legitimation concerning the missing fulfillment of the ideal "life as a progress": e.g. Frau S-r explains again and again why she and her husband never recovered from their financial sorrows in spite of their industriousness and ability. One explanation is her husband's and her generosity towards other people (Frau S-r, p. 7/16). The attempt to reach a positive balance of life is also an example of the normative idea about the life-course as progress (s.a.).

If not in ones own life, at least the children have to fulfill this expectation: e.g. Frau B-h stops telling her own life-history from the date of her daughters' birth and continues in telling her daughters' life history: this daughter achieved the social improvement by becoming a teacher and by marrying a rich man - so she fulfills her mothers_ ideals of life-course.

The ideas about telling a life history become evident in common choices of the main topics, temporal structure of the stories and the stilistic form in both sources.

General main topics are stories of childhood, often emphasizing the bad material situation of the family; the particularized description of the first service; the first day at a service, the mention of the employers family by name and often particular description of them (often in contrast to the own family not mentioned by name); the stereotype-plate to have lived in the employers house "like children" (that this is an stereotype D. Wierling is proving in her research, s. Wierling 1983). Almost all mention exactly their wages and the mode of pay, the working-times and many stories of resistance and subversion against the employers, also stories of illness. There are also similarities concerning the topics that are not mentioned: e.g.any political events (apart from the two world-wars), sexuality (apart from sexual attacks of the employer).

The interpretation of the social situation as servants in the autobiographies as in the interviews is always individualistic: e.g. the changing of service is often interpreted as personal failure and not as a consequence of the bad working conditions. And the reports of growing self-confidence - often reported in autobiographies and narrations -

originates in individual experiences of growing abilities and qualifications in the course of several services. It is not connected with an insight of social causes and structures which allowed the exploitation and dependency of female servants for a long time.

In both forms of biographical reminiscence the narrators attempt a chronological presentation of the events, interrupted more often in the oral narrations by associations etc. than in the autobiographies. These interruptions often mark a topic important to the teller, touching events of her main line of the life history. But in autobiographies, too, the chronology is often interrupted. The following citation is an example of normative idea of chronological narration: "After these deviations I take up the chronological course of my history." (Sans Gène p. 51).

The temporal markings of the narrations are those of the cyclic time: course of the day, cycle of the year with its seasons and festivals, events of the family cycle, and the services (for the times of being a servant.

A literary construction is not only to be found within the written autobiographies but also in orally narrated life stories (s.a. Franzke et al. 1984, Lehmann 1983). They become evident in the attempt to arrest the listeners attention with stories particularly gay, thrilling, extraordinary, to achieve dramatical effects and vividness by using the directed speech. Sometimes in the interviews the life-history is even narrated in the third person singular (Frau S-r, who talks about herself with her fore-name), getting very close to the written form of autobiographies.

2. Life history as an individual one - in contrast to the collective life-history - means the conversion of the social and material presuppositions (like being born in certain circumstances, in a certain historical time, membership to a certain sex and social class, the life-chances resulting from these conditions, the possibilities of education, the support of the parents or other persons etc.) to a special individual life history and its adepetion by the later biographical reminiscence and narration. It concerns the own interpretation of the lived life, the organization of the life-history-events to experiences (s.a. Sloterdijk 1978) with the consequences for further decisions. Often the individual interpretation of the life history is determined by life topics, which take descend from decisive events and experiences in childhood. As being showed in connexion with the function of biographical narrations for the construction of a meaningful context of life these topics can pass through the whole life history - oral or written - like a pattern. Often these life topics are already to be found in the first sentences - spoken or written. So e.g. in Frau E-t's life history who's life topic is determined by her loveless stepmother and the pattern that nobody took care for her:

"I was born in Z. .. the 9th of June 1899. And at the age of 8 my mother died (she cries). We were ten brothers and sisters, but don't you think that any of them took care for me!" (Frau E-t p. 1)

Often besides the history as a female servant a second life history is told, as second topic closely connected to the collective one. So A. Langer is not only writing her autobiography as a servant but also as an autodidactic poet she wants to be. Or Frau E-t is telling also

her history as a handicaped person - she lost one leg at the age of 15 - who only in the age of over 40 learned in her marriage that she was a "human being":

"I was of the opinion, you are a cripple, you don't have any claims ...

My husband was so reasonable, he said: 'Even if you have only one leg you are a human being anyway. There for the first time I was a human being!" (Frau E-t p. 16)

Sometimes the individual life history is finished early, by means of the end of active plannings, hopes, wishes and perspectives. Life is considered as reduced to survival, as a float of events not susceptible which often cannot be remembered well. Such a life history only told in the way of "Verlaufskurven" (Schütze 1981) is the one of Frau H-l: widow after only three years of marriage her aim of life is determined by the care for her daughter Lucy, who dies at the age of 17:

"My Lucy was not meant to clean away other peoples' dirt! She shall learn something. 17 years old she dies! (she cries)." (Frau H-l p. 15)

At that moment her story ends:

"I have been working all my life until my 60th year. What happened afterwards? (after the death of her daughter, C.H.).Then the war came, and pension.. But I've been working until my 60th year, how did it go on?"(p.3)

These negative balances of life are rarely to be found either in the narrative interviews or in the autobiographies. As demonstrated there exists a general attempt for reaching positive interpretations of the own history. If this is not possible the biographical narration is refused alltogether rather than allowing a negative life-balance to be confirmed through publication.

References

G. Braun (ed.), Im Kampf ums Dasein! Wahrheitsgetreue Lebenserinnerungen eines Mädchens aus dem Volke als Fabrikarbeiterin, Dienstmädchen und Kellnerin, Stuttgart o.J:

Angela Langer, Stromaufwärts. Aus einem Frauenleben. Berlin 1913
Marie Sans Gène, Jugenderinnerungen eines armen Dienstmädchens. Berlin 1908
Doris Viersbeck, Erlebnisse eines Hamburger Dienstmädchens, München 1910
Interview-Transcriptions Frau H-l, E-t, B-h, S-r

Daniel Bertaux, Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, Autobiographische Erinnerung und kollektives Gedächtnis, in: Niethammer (ed.) Lebensgeschichte und kollektives Gedächtnis. Frankfurt 1978, pp. 108-122
Franzke, Engelhard et al., Der Zusammenbruch der Weimarer Republik als biographisches Ereignis, in: Kohli/Robert (ed.)Biographie und soziale Wirklichkeit, Stuttgart 1984, pp 262-283
Werner Fuchs, Biographische Forschung. Eine Einführung in Praxis und Methoden, Opladen 1984
Albrecht Lehmann, Erzählstruktur und Lebenslauf. Autobiographische Untersuchungen, Frankfurt/New York 1983
Albrecht Lehmann, Erzählen eigener Erlebnisse im Alltag, in: ZfVolksk. 2/1978 pp 198-215
Hartmann Leitner, Lebenslauf und Identität. Die kulturelle Konstruktion von Zeit in der Biographie, Frankfurt/New York 1982
Fritz Schütze, Prozeßstrukturen des Lebensablaufs. In: J. Matthes et al., Biographie in handlungswissenschaftlicher Perspektive. Nürnberg 1981, pp 67-156
Peter Sloterdijk, Literatur und Lebenserfahrung. Autobiographien der zwanziger Jahre, München 1978
Dorothee Wierling, vom Mädchen zum Dienstmädchen. Kindliche Sozialisation und Beruf in der Kaiserzeit, in: K. Bergmann, R. Schörken (ed) Geschichte im Alltag - Alltag in der Geschichte, Düsseldorf 1982
Dorothee Wierling, "Ich habe meine Arbeit gemacht - was wollte sie mehr?" Dienstmädchen im städtischen Haushalt der Jahrhundertwende, in: K. Hausen (ed.), Frauen suchen ihre Geschichte, München 1983, pp 144-171

"Yes ma'am, no ma'am"

On the confrontation between two cultures   –   by Barbara Henkes
translated by Else Jansen.

A feminist history should not be restricted to filling-in 'white spots' within the existing images of the past. Its goal is to de-construct accepted images and to construct new ones – with all their paradoxes, with the many experiences of power and helplessness, with the struggle against as well as adoption of aspects of a dominant culture. This is the starting-point from which I do research into the life and work of domestic servants in the first half of the 20th century.(1)

The experiences of women in their position as domestic servants are especially interesting, because their daily lives took place mainly within the private sphere of the employer's family. The domestic ser-vant lived – as it were – within a dominant, bourgeois culture, while she herself came from a working-class background. Her position formed a confrontation between two different cultures. The research revolves around the question: what was experienced as positive and what as nega-tive in the work and life of domestic servants in this time? In other words: in which respect did the culture of the mistress correspond with the experiences of the maid, and in which respect did it clash? By evoking the individual memories of 35 former servants it was possible to uncover a picture of a 'hidden' culture as it has expressed itself in, for example, humour, in moods or fantasies. These are experiences of which hardly anything is known – let alone that they would be recog-nised as manifestations of a 'hidden' culture. By doing so, we can gain insight in the less visible, subtle strategies for survival

(forms of power) which this group of women managed to develop. In the paper 'between repression and resistance' that Jannie Poelstra and I contributed to the Oral History Conference in '82, we concentrated on the question of which forms of repression were experienced by one-time servants and into what kind of resistance these resulted.

Resistance was, however, not the only way of surviving certain forms of repression. The way former servants remember their experiences show us also processes and structures which led to the acceptance and even approval of   repressive aspects of their position. This brings us to the question: how is it possible that certain forms of repression are accepted and even appreciated in cultural and psycho-logical terms?

In this paper I will look for an explanation by focussing on a fragment of a conversation between four women: Mrs Leenstra (L), Mrs Meyer (M), mrs Veldman (V) and myself (H). The conversation is mainly centered around the experiences of Mrs Meyer in her service in the household of the very well-to-do, liberal minded widow van der Heck-Kuiper.(2)

Mrs Meyer is the two year elder sister of Mrs Leenstra. Both grew up within a 'red' family in the city of Groningen after the first World War. Through their combined activities in the social-democratic organi-sations, especially the 'Friends of Nature'(Natuurvrienden) and the Union, Mrs Meyer and Mrs Veldman had got to know each other well. The latter also comes from a socialist background.

During the thirties all three of them worked as maids, and were active within the Union of Domestic Servants (Bond van Huispersoneel). While Mrs Leenstra and Veldman were often crossed in their activities for the labour movement by their employers, Mrs Meyer on the other hand was given

the opportunity to be actively involved. She was therefore for some time
the secretary of the Groningen division of the Union. All three still
feel committed to the labour-movement.

I myself know the life of serving-maids from a quite different point
of view. As a child I grew up in a liberal well-to-do family; a house-
hold with four children in which the maid played a known role. As far as
my memory goes, the consecutive maids were generally treated with kind-
ness. They were 'part of the family', it was said.

With my later political - and social - choice, that one could call
'critical left', I developed a certain distrust towards the values and
rules of the bourgeois culture in which I was brought up. This undoubted-
ly has it's repercussion on the questions that I raise and the inter-
pretation I propose

<u>Something very unusual</u>

"Mrs van der Heck-Kuiper, where I was", M told   , "owned a number of
farms and plots of land around town. And it used to be like this: in May
and November those farmers came to town to pay the rents. But after Mr
van der Heck had died, she had to do it all alone. And then her brother-
who lived in Aerdenhout (a fashionable residential village,b.h.), he
had married a de Blok van Scheltinga...all important names -- but then
her brother came and he looked after it for her. And we were socialists, as
you
probably understood   already, so   for us the first of May was The
Day."

V: "The first of May !"

M: "There always was a meeting in the evening at the 'Harmonie'. I also
was with the 'People's Voice' (de Volksstem), that was a labourer's

choir; left-wing , say, and there was singing and all. Mrs van der Heck-
Kuiper knew about it, she was...er...then you called it liberal,
because she wasn't really religious either...And I have to hold it to
her, in those days it was a very progressive standpoint....."

V: "No, where I was they didn't like it at all..."

M: "Most people didn't like it at all, a red family.(...) But what I
wanted to say was that, when her brother came, then there was a lot
more work to do and often other relatives and friends were invited. But
then she said:'Well, Harry, you have to bare in mind: tonight we'll
have a simple meal, for Jane has to go to the meeting'. Simple meant...
well, it always were a number of courses, but then she wouldn't invite
many people. And then, the next day, there would be an elaborate dinner;
that was the time I had to push hard. But that isn't the point. I just
want to say: she really reckoned with it! And that was very unusual:
that she gave me the opportunity on the first of May, so that was
from the socialist creed, that she took account of me. That I could go
there and that she planned her dinner-party the next day."

L:"That was unique."

It was the second time I heard this story from Mrs Meyer, in almost the same
words and with the same build-up. It meant that the story must have
been told many times and probably always to corroborate a similar ar-
gument.Just as during our first conversation it served to neutralise
a story about a bad experience in service. Then she reacted to her
sister's experience;this time it concerned something that happened to Mrs
Veldman . M puts her positive experiences in the balance, only to
moderate her remark by adding that it concerned something 'very
unusual'.

That whom had come out of conversations with former servants before, was again confirmed: there is in no way a uniform remembrance of the servant's life. The position of a working girl in the mistress's household brought with it negative as well as positive experiences, that are alternately stressed in conversations with former servants.

M's reaction is typical in it's way: as soon as others remember the negative sides of the servant's life, she brings up the good parts. By emphasizing the friendly attitude of her mistress, the problems in the relationship between servant and employer are individualized, and can hardly be considered within a structural context anymore.

To gain more insight in the way in which the servant's world linked up or clashed with her mistress's, and in the powerrelations that played a role, it would be necessary to enter further into the backgrounds of Mrs Meyer's remark. I tried with the following question:

"So you didn't have the opportunity to ask the day off on the first of May?"

"No,no,no...maybe if she hadn't had any guests, I don't know. But we always had guests, so...It really was not possible, no, it wasn't."

At first I was surprised about the fact that Mrs Meyer seemed to identify with her mistress's interest so much, that she herself thought it impossible to ask the day off - while just before she had mentioned a certain opposition between her own interest (to be at the 1st of May-meeting with her friends and family) and her mistress's (to be in the gentlemen's house to serve the guests). In my first explanation of this paradox I was thinking of a form of self-restraint: she had ob-

viously restricted her whishes to the obtainable (to leave somewhat earlier). But it still didn't explain why M would adapt her whishes and still did so in her present rear view. And why a major group of former servants do the same.

So the explanation of this seeming contradiction had to be found nearer her self: within her own wishes and expectations; between on the one hand her involvement in her situation,and on the other hand her involvement in the activities outside her work.

Double involvement

M's involvement in her work in service was considerable. From our first conversation and from the following it is clear that M - as well as many of her former collegues - has experienced that she could grow in situation; that she considered it as an instructive period, which gave her a good preparation for her future as a housewife. This attitude towards the profession obviously fits with a wider frame of ruling conceptions of women's position in housekeeping and in the family - in interaction with her later experiences as a housewife and mother.

But even if the girl saw the servant's profession as a good preparation for future housewifery, if she was exclusively opproached as a 'work-slave', the pleasure and involvement in the job soon expired. The positive experience of working and living in service were also decided by the personal relationship between the girl and her mistress. The attitude of Mrs van der Heck-Kuiper showed a human approach; appreciation spoke from it, not only for her maid's work, but also for her person. Apart from the material dependence this laid a firm basis for a subjective involvement in her mistress's household.

234

The personal bond.between M and her employer stands for a structural relationship between maid and mistress, that depended in the first place on the mistress's attitude. Bolstered by a lack of legal protection and the isolation of the household, the employer could control wether the girl was treated 'as a beast' or was given a place in the household as a 'member of the family'.

It was indeed something exceptional that a mistress was ready to plan her diner at a different time, because of her servant's socialist activities. Although in these years there seemed to be an increasing tendency amongs the ladies to take a more enlightened attitude toward their servants. In various ladies' magazines 'humane treatment' was advised as a way to bind their maids: "(...) It is necessary for every housewife in the first place to put high demands upon herself and appear more resolute and friendly to the girl.One can lead a horse to the water but one cannot make it drink! Furthermore one can in this way make more and higher demands upon one's servants". (3) This was one of the replies to a questionaire 'corcerning the servant-problem', which was published in a ladies-magazine in '36.

The involvement in the mistress's household did not mean that the girl had broken her ties with the environment in which she was brought up.On the contrary: that tie generally remained very strong. Her family and friends could offer the girl the emotional protection and relaxation in a familiar culture, that she usually lacked in the employer's house. They were 'her own' and with them another aspect of herself could unfold: for instance by having uninhibited fun (or quarrels), by playing games together around the table, bij telling stories and exchanging experiences in their own language and their own style. The way in which

the girl's involvement with her own kind manifested itself could vary greatly, but its importance nobody will deny.

This also applies to Mrs Meyer. Grown up in a socialist family between the two World Wars , she belonged to the so-called 'Red Family'.

In those days the dutch population was strictly segregated into different confessional-political groups, such as Roman Catholics, Protestants and socialists. (4) This implied that from a young age onwards M had mixed with a particular group of people, who were also part of the socialist movement. Together they followed courses at the Workers Educational Association (Intituut van Arbeidersontwikkeling), together they went out into the country with the 'Friends of Nature' (Natuurvrienden) together they sang in the People's Voice (Volksstem), listened to the socialist broadcast compa_ny (VARA) or were active in the socialist Union. Within the active part of the socialist movement this led to a strong involvement in each other and in the effort to 'elevate the people' (or as Mrs Leenstra put it:" in the effort to raise the ordinary man")

This double involvement , on the one hand in the work in the bourgeois household and on the other hand in working for the labour-movement, meant for M that she wanted to join the activities on the first of May, without neglecting the work she was employed for. She could do this thanks to the solution her mistress offered her. Out of her double involvement this was the best solution: better than asking the day off.

Schooling

I continued questioning: "Have you ever mentioned that it was a lot of

work, all those guests?"

M:"No, that was often compensated by other things. And in some ways I didn't mind that kind of work, because...it may sound very strange, because there are so many people who haven't anything to eat and things... but...when you lay the table for such a dinner, with the damask-linen, with the good silver and all those glasses, sometimes as much as three cristal wine-glasses and..."

L:"...fingerbowls..."

M:"I didn't mind that work at all. I liked it."

L:"Yes, beautiful !"

M:"When you were in the dining-room - because we had also really cordial families visiting - I heard só much. Now and again you did get an impression of...what shall I say...You did get a lot of civilisation and manners, you got to know them. You also learned to appreciate beautiful things: a fine painting, a nice bowl or something like that. Because you handled it daily and they pointed it out to you. That brought with it a lot of general education."

Service was much more to the girl than just a job; it was also regarded as schooling. An apprenticeship where the serving-girl not only learned the ins and outs of her work as a future housewife, but additionally got to know a different culture and thus could broaden her horizon. From the side of the mistresses the emphasis on the aspect of learning was a way of convincing the (mothers of) workingclass-girls that the occupation as a servant was much to be preferred to any other field of possible employment, such as the work in a factory or in a shop. (5) There she would meet a much less 'refined' culture. Moreover, with the emphasis on the aspect of schooling and education, the superior position of the employer as a teacher was once more established.

This appealed to (the mothers of) many serving-girls, who also referred to the educational aspects of the serving-job. For working-class girls, who were excluded from further education, service was indeed one of the few opportunities to get in touch with things outside their own culture. By learning to speak the language and use the codes of the servant-keeping class, they - and therefore the members of their future family - would know better how to act in 'the' world. This could be - in their eyes - her contribution to the emancipation of the working class.

This view may have underlied M's remark of the educational aspect of her work in service. Mrs Veenstra was the first to question this:

"But at home it was all quite different, wasn't it?!"

It was Mrs Leenstra who took up the matter and spoke for her sister as well:

"But we just accepted that. We just lived in two worlds. Because we were never allowed to...err...become a stranger at home..."

V: "No, we couldn't..."

L: "We couldn't; thát was home, that was the place were we belonged."

V: "But they didn't always understand, at home."

This remark started a discussion in which the three women talked excitedly through each other. Both sisters did'n agree with Mrs Veenstra. Mrs Meyer tried to explain why she hadn't experienced it like that:

"But our mother had also been in a similar service."(....)

L:"Yes...mum also used to lay the table, while in very many common families..."

M:"My mother was ahead of her times...How come? She had been an orphan at ten, and when she was about seventeen she went to town and then she too served in houses, where...how shall I put it..."

L:"...not ordinary houses, but also the better ones..."

M:"She was ahead of her times".

L:"Even only the food. What we had to eat at home, and the way every-thing was prepared, even that was already very different from other families...It is true that we ate with iron forks and knives, but the table was laid."

M:"We always used to eat together..."

H:"You (L) just said that you lived in two worlds that you could easily combine, while you (V) mentioned that you alienated a little from home...(...) I wonder which were the similarities between life at your parental home and life in service; and which were the differences, making a gap...?

L: I never felt a gap. I thought of it more as an addition. Home gave us many things, very many positive things too. And what we noticed there (in service, H), that just added up to it. That widened it..."

Intermediary

While all three women mentioned that the values and standards in service were not the same as those at home, there was a difference in opinion about the consequences of this. Mrs Veldman thought that these diffe-rences not always self-evidently linked; on the other hand Mrs Meyer and Mrs Leenstra maintained that these differences followed from each other. Both sisters looked for an explanation in their parental house, especial-ly their mother, who "was ahead of her times". They alluded to their impression that their mother - thanks to her experiences in service - had cultivated herself more than the majority of working-class mothers.Values and standards in their home already would have developed strongly towards the civilisation of the servant-keeping class. Through the fact that their mother had served in the 'better' situations, she could be an intermediary between both cultures. This in contrast to the working-class mothers who had served in 'less good' families or had never been in contact with the bourgeois 'civilisation', for instance because they had worked in the factory.

This meant that M end L mark a distinction within the level of civi-lisation of the working-classes, thereby claiming a higher level for their parental home. The structural differences between the cultures of both classes were in their eyes bridged by their mother - and in this way/stress fell on a distinction within the working-classes them-selves.

V didn't accept this explanation. It didn't link with her own experien-ces. She noticed no important differences between her parental home and that of the two sisters. Her mother was a civilized woman as well, even if she had not been working in as high class situations. Still she could remember a gulf between the values and standards of life in service and life at home; especially in relation to her brothers, who worked in the factory and regarded her serving-life somewhat strangly. And even more: she remembered an incident in those days, that had escaped Mrs Meyer's memory:

V:"But listen: your brother John took a different view, for he looked funny, that one time that you were wearing those white gloves" - laughs-

sion of the political culture of the family in which she grew up; and

not so much from dissatisfaction with the suppressing aspects of her

own position as a servant.

The personal experiences of M in service were seperate from her political

activities for the improvement of the servant's position through the

Union of Domestic Servants. She worked for her mistress, for the per-

petuation of the servant-keeping classes and in that way for the pre-

servation of bourgeois culture; and at the same time she worked for

the strengthening of the working-classes. She did it simultaneously,

without it providing conflicts. To be able to understand more of this.

I continued asking:

"So you have learned to enjoy all kinds of beautiful things and then,

at one time you leave again, to another situation , or to get married

or whatever. It never became. yours..."

M the changed from the direct first-form into a more general and

more distant . form:

"No, it will never become yours, but all your life you remain...For

instance: I will never buy a trashy thing. You learn to... "

L:"...to distinguish one thing from another..."

M:"In your - how shall I put it - in your whole way of life as well,

something remains...The rubbishy, trashy, shining things, it doesn't

appeal to you any more, because you look at valuable things. You have

been given a wider view, and that is something that stays with you all

your life."

L:"Yes, yes, yes..."

M:"You already were different from most of your age-group...(...) Look,

you have to understand: it all was simple enough, but the style was

different from what they were used to. For instance the things you hang

on your wall. It could never be no art, that was clear, but you did

---

Don't you remember?"

M:"No..."

V:"You told me once:'Gee, John came along and he said:Wo'd 'ye need them

gluvs for? Yer'ands 'urt, do they? (Why do you need those gloves? Do your

hands hurt?)

L:"...he thought it a masquerade, yes.(...) He was also the one who

prompted us...he told us:'Well, there is a Union, isn't it time you

start organizing yourselves?"

H:"But with that remark (about the gloves) John suggested..."

M:"Yes, he thought it overdone."

L:"In an ordanary working-class family they looked at it strangly. But

not our mother, because she knew about it from her former services."

As I mentioned before, the information of Mrs Meyer about her service

with Mrs van der Heck-Kuiper fitted within the context of a positive,

instructive experience. Through her pride in her job, in the beautiful

things that were entrusted to her and the 'high' compagny in which she was

proud to serve , it became in a sense her household, her things, her

culture and her civilisation.

John's remark put a questionmark with a custom that she regarded as

self-evident: belonging to the 'rites of civilisation', of which she

herself formed part. That M could not understand her brothers mocking -

that ridiculised these rites and her role in them - illustrates how much

they lived in seperate worlds. John represented the world outside M's

service. He was the one who pointed out to his sisters that they should

join the Union.

In a former discussion it   was shown that M undertook those poli-

tocal-organisational activities in the first place as a logical exten-

have reproductions of art. Not just a painting that you hang here or there. I only want to say: you had another way of looking at things. Your taste had already changed."

H:"So in fact you say that the taste of the people you were serving with was of a higher level."

M:"Yes".

L:"Yes, I agree with that".

M:"Yes, that is true, because those people could pay for it. They usually had more expensive, more valuable things; more beautiful things...They had paintings by Jozef Israels and you had to dust them and then they would explain them to you. Our kind of people, well, who never got to know this, who for example worked in a factory, they never learned anything about this and just walked past; they don't see it or they think it a nice picture.(...) We could enjoy it too, because we went to a lot of courses and educated ourselves.

Selfeducation

During our preceding conversations Mrs. Leenstra, Mrs Meyer and Mrs Veenstra had told me all three about their educational activities outside their services. They had followed courses and visited lectures that were organised by the Workers Educational Assiciation. In the Workers Evening Classes L and M were taught the Dutch language, accounts and arithmatic, and 'social knowledge' that was aimed at giving insight in and knowledge of the most important social phenomena. M additionally attended the local top-course,where she was taught economy, political science, bookkeeping, commercial arithmatic and the Dutch language. (6)

L continued:" It was only a small group within the labour-movement,

who did follow these courses. And in that way we have raised ourselves a bit out of it."

V:"raised"

L:"And not that we think highly about ourselves, but you still experience it regularly in the compagny of friends. You notice in everything: they got stuck there in their development, and I am here already. They are at peace with it, so...but they haven't got this confidence to talk; they don't stand up for themselves..."

H:"So it is more the Workers Educational Association (het Instituut) and the courses that helped you on, than..."

M:"No, no! Also because we had a different environment, it was impressed on us that there were many things that we had no notion of; and that gradually we wanted to know. And because we slowly came to that conclusion , then we came to the Association (het Instituut) and the trade-movement; because we had already found out that we still had a lot to learn and to know. Therefore we had the willingness to attend courses etcetera."

H:"That more or less stimulated each other:the atmosphere at home and the atmosphere in service?

M:"Yes, yes, for look: if you had stayed in your own surroundings and you had never seen or heard anything else, and you had never left those surroundings...then the first step to selfeducation and such would have been much more difficult; because you hadn't had any idea. But as you already were in a surrounding where you heard and saw various things, you already got...let me say...a hunger to get to know things..."

Mrs Meyer and Mrs Leenstra laid a connection between that which they learned in service and that which they found out in the courses and training of the socialist movement. In this way they offer some answer

239

appeared that M. could live in two worlds with seemingly contradic-ting interests, without experiencing them as such. Her memories of the past shows how in this period the culture of a woman from the servant-keeping class with a liberal background could find common grounds with a girl from the working-class with a socialist background; and how in M's case this led to the self-evident adoption of certain views about her position as a servant, which she still holds.

This case-study illustrates how historiography, or the 'social produc-tion of memory' can be the result of a reciprocal proces of a collec-tive reflection on the experiences in the past.(9) According to such an approach of history-writing, the past is no longer seen as a given 'thing' that has to be described and kept, but as a force that has its reverberations in the present. Historiography then is a way to become concious of our own ideologies, as we have taken them from our close environment, and as they are formed in and through the past. It gives an impression of how views of the past have come to be and how they still play a part in the present.

―――――――

Notes

1) This article is based on information from a free-lance research-project, I am working at together with Hanneke Oosterhof. Next year a book will be published.

2) All given names are replaced by aliases.

3) De Huisvrouw, June 1936

4) This is a typical phenomenon in the 20th-century dutch society, that - if necessary - I may elucidate during the session in Barcelona.

4) Information on the views of the 'mistresses' are based -apart from

to the question how certain values and standards of the servant-keeping classes linked up with their own way of life. The notion of 'self-education' seems central to this: the aim was to acquire knowledge with which they as individuals could live up to 'higher' standards in society. Socialism as a perspective of workers' education didn't seem to be of preconceived importance in these learning-experiences.

This does not mean that this schooling would not be important. However, it indicates a tendency that the principal character of the socialist workers education in these years made way for "an elementary education and general development, that in its contents not or hardly differs from what the bourgeois popular education-schemes had to offer."(7)

The bourgeois popular education-schemes that "on one hand were aimed at teaching the workers the socially necessary qualifications and ideological identification, and on the other hand was aimed at giving them a share as (part of) 'the' people,(in the middle-class knowledge and development to emancipate them individually within the existing social relationships." (8)

The attitude of the liberal Mrs van der Heck-Kuiper indeed perfectly dovetailed with the activities that M undertook outside the service in the socialist movement.

Conclusion

In the foregoing I tried to uncover a bit of the area of subjectivity' in order to look for an answer to the question: How come that this group of women accepted - and even appreciated - certain suppressing aspects of their position, in addition to the forms of resistance that they showed as well; sometimes even at the same moment.

From the conversation with Mrs Meyer, Mrs Leenstra and Mrs Veldman it

conversations with former servants and the knowledge I have from my

own background - on written sources , such as ladies'magazines, in

which mistresses would regularly expound their ideas.

6)   HC: Michielse, Socialistiese Vorming, 1980, p182-193.

7)   ibidem, p193

8)   ibidem, p11.

9) Popular memory:, theory, politics, method' in Making Histories, studies

in history-writing and politics. 1982 CCCS.

HISTORICAL-POLITICAL EVENTS AS A BIOGRAPHICAL CHALLENGE

- The Case of the Erection of the Berlin Wall -

by

Dr. Erika M. Hoerning

1. SUBJECT AND GOAL

This paper deals with some ideas of my larger study "BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL EVENT" on long-term consequences of historical events within individual biographies. There the focus is not on the change of social structure by historical structure (e.g. occupational training patterns, job careers, family-, and residential trajectories) but rather on the changes of biographies as such in their entanglement of life-stories and socio-structural factors by means of historical events. Historical events shape collective biographies ("generations") and "leading types of individuality"(Bude 1984), at the same time historical events have an impact on individual biographical trajectories (e.g. periods and phases), since it may well be that the actual basis of ones life-history is destroyed by historical events. Ways and goals we have mapped out in our past change over new historical events.

"We run off the rails of our deeply cut ruts of our lives. Major de-constructions and re-constructions become necessary the result of which is a completely different concept of life, guiding new activities and making up new experiences. The course of our life has thus cut another track." (Bude 1984,4)

Being derailed or fractures within biographies do not imply starting all over again from scratch. This is even true if at certain historical times (i.e. on the socio-structural level) the "hour zero" is declared. It is for sure that historical cuts and large-scale events result in some new dimensions of the individual construction of the life-story.

But like any historical change bearing the footprints of the past or even being built-up on the earlier stage, individual biographies as well cannot be conceived of without historical dimensions. 'Historical dimension' is understood twofold:

a) as historical biographical dimension of the life-course as lived-through time up to a certain point of time (making up the present perspective of an individual), and

b) as historical dimension of ones biography in the context of and in relation to the historical time, in which this biography is lived.

I presuppose that former experiences of coping with critical (in our case historical) events can only be utilized to a certain extent or in a limited mode in order to cope with the event. Even if historical events at different times in the biographical setting, at different stages of the trajectory, bear structural similarities (like wars), the conditions of acting and experiencing have changed both on the biographical and historical level.

It may be conceivable that historical events of a similar structure can be 'administered' in a similar bureaucratic, political, or military pattern; on the level of the individual biography history has to be processed in a dynamic life-story.

Talking of the dynamisation of biographical experiences in order to cope with critical life events implies the following:

1) On which stage or in which sequence and period is the biography to be located? Rather than the usual categories like age, marital status, gender, and social stratum as biographical resources the **individual experiences** one lived through utilizing these resources seem to be of main interest.

2) The resource model of the course of life comprises horizons and plans of ones biography which are a result of experiences, i.e. the 'ego-ideology' of the biography and the life constructions which are the effects of the cultural formations and of the historical life time (Bude 1984). Life constructions are individualized historical types.

There are two questions I would like to raise at this point:

1) In which way do individuals interpret historical events from the perspective of their biographical experience, events that destroy the shape of their biographical trajectory? In other words, **in which way do these people "dynamize" their biographical resources?**

2) Which parts in dynamisation of biographical resources play **historical events?** (Or: are there historical events that don't bear any impact on the biographical dynamisation?)

It is now of some interest how an extorted change of the change bears upon the individual biographies. The method of data gathering was a thematic focussed narrative interview which starts with such a biographical cut (loss of ones job, loss of ones occupational identity and existence). In the course of the interview this event is embedded in the person's biography past; lateron - in the third part of the interview - the event appears interpreted from the present perspective of the narrator.

2. SAMPLING

My sample are 39 men and women belonging to the group of border crossers and people involved in local border traffic in Berlin. These groups emerged from the political division of the city of Berlin in 1948/49 (the blockade, the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic). They were born between 1903 and 1941. At August 13th 1961 the borders of the city between the East and West sections were closed (erection of 'the wall') which stopped the total exchange of a huge workingforce between the two parts of the city and the hinterland as well as the lively border traffic. (Of course, the erection of the wall was just a final step in a series of difficult political events between 1948 and 1961 like: the upheaval of June 17th 1953 in East Berlin; the FRG joining the NATO 1955; the GDR joining the Warsaw Pact in the same year - and many more.)

The stream of people and goods accross the border - in both directions - was cut by the erection of a wall and the fortification of the border along the Eastern part of the city. 60.000 working contracts (East/West and West/East) were nullified over night. Trading on markets and makeshift shops primarily for the needs of the GDR population along the so far 'open' borderline came to an end.

The biographies of former border crossers and tradespeople of the border traffic (border traders) are gathered and studied more than twenty years after the event. I did not draw a sample according to statistical considerations (like special cohorts, or types of employment or other occupational criteria), but I started with a quota: All persons to be selected had to have lived in Berlin between 1949 and 1961 at whatever stage in their own individual biography. The border crossers were defined according to the law of 'the exchange of fee' (1951).

Besides the biographical data socio-historical background material was gathered and experts on recent German history

(e.g. politicians, journalists, public servants, representatives of unions and associations) were interviewed.

Because of the limits of this short paper I cannot go in any further details on data gathering and the analytical procedures.

3. GOAL OF THE STUDY

This study is focussed on patterns of the individual life-story and life course in its socio-structural and socio-historical context. Attention is concentrated on phases of major changes, transitions, and passages in order to construct modells of trajectories, which document and specify the influence and power of the past for the future in actional terms. Individuality will not be assigned as a 'position' (German: Stand)(Foucault 1976 in Alheit 1983), but is in the center of interest as a product of the interaction between life-history and social history. With Bude (1984) I distinguish two levels of individuality: the ego-ideology, which is explicitly expressed in narrated life-stories, and the life construction, which is partly oriented at the historically dominant figures of individuality (and thus has to be revised from time to time), which separate the "molding from the only widespread" phenomena.

4. SOCIAL TYPE — SOCIO-STRUCTURAL RESOURCES

The development of a social type is closely linked with the division of Berlin in 1948/49. After 1945 Berlin was divided into four parts ("sectors"). In June 1948 the Soviets tried to bring about Eastern currency all over the city. Supported by the Western allies the West sectors refused this doctrin and established Western currency in their own regions adjusted to the Western zones of occupation in Germany. The next move by the Soviets was the blockade of West-Berlin; all ways to and from Berlin were blocked for one year.

Through this division in 1948/49 the citizens of Berlin had to cope with the fact that their everyday life took place in two differen political regions and systems. Many of them lived in East-Berlin and and worked in West-Berlin or vice versa. Thus the type of the **border crosser** developed. Because of the unbalanced exchange rate of the currency (1 to 4 or 1 to 5)especially the West-East border crossers were placed at a disadvantage. Almost as a rule was it not possible for them to get employed in the Western sectors out of a number of reasons: a) traditionally the most places of work were located in the Eastern part of the city; b) despite the growing 'western orientation' there was no expanding labor market in the West sectors; c) many workers and employees were tied by traditional bonds and rights to their positions; d) on the other hand they did not want to move to the Eastern part of the city, because their biographical consciousness was deeply rooted in a 'Western-ype' of 'Great-Berlin'. The East-West border crossers often hat the same kind of ties to their jobs in the West as the others; in addition to that since 1955 the promises of the 'golden West' had a major impact. Though it seemed obvious already in the early fifties that the Western-oriented citizens Republic would go its own way, the German Democratic of Berlin still kept up hope that the three Western allies would finally make the race. At 13th of August 1961 the Berlin citizens were awakened out of this illusionary dream when the 'iron curtain' fell and the borders were closed, cutting all existing bonds and ties. The political negotiations about Berlin are labeled by the official historical records 'Twelve days between war and peace' (Petschull 1981). With the erection of the wall the type of the border crosser disappeared; no statue was put up for their daily fight against communism; with support of the Federal Republic of Germany West Berlin was given a new social structure.

5. LOOSERS AND WINNERS

Reconstructing and classifying the biographies of border crossers and border traders I distinguish three typical trajectories:

1) life courses which were not effected (continuous trajectories);

2) life courses which were negatively effected (loosers);

3) life courses which were positively effected (winners).

The study focussed on the occupational trajectory and course of employment, but other intervening biographical strands were taken into account as well. The criteria of classification was neither simply staying with the old job, position ,or occupation, nor with the income after the event, but was put up according to an interpretation of narrative text segments under the topics 'subjective living conditions' and 'satisfaction with life'.

What now do all these biographies have in common inspite of their different outcome? In order to cope with this biographical fracture no anticipatory chances of socialisation (Brim/Ryff 1980) or 'prefabricated patterns of interpretation' (Berger/Luckmann 1966) were available. The trajectories within these groups are not homogenized through social origin, education, occupational status, gender or age. The historical effect and cultural patterning of the historical life-time is the same for all ("anti-communist front-line soldiers"). Our leading question was: How is it possible to dynamize biographical resources in coping with critical life events, resp. which biographical resources impair the coping process?

Some **results** in short:

The concept of 'biographical resources' was operated over the following dimensions:

1) **Biographical chains of events** at the time of the event, which stand for the biographical project as is. The number of events, the subjective evaluation according to the development or disintegration of individual resources are the basis of the judgement (e.g. chain 1: divorce, major disease; chain 2: marriage);

2) **Biographical commitments** out of the past and future oriented biographical commitments;

3) **Formations of the life construction**, i.e. the social embedding of the individual biography.

Continuous trajectories: These occupational groups could be integrated and transformed in the new structural model without difficulties. Complicating chains of events and interferences with the family trajectory, health trajectory or other biographical strands did not exist. Biographical commitments did not touch the occupational life; occupational commitments - if existent at all - were with the type of work and the essence of the occupation, not with a specific location, agency (firm, employer, etc.), or colleagues.

The loosers: Though these occupational groups could not be defined in terms of political work as such, their work was politically evaluated and/or they became victims of political action. There are mainly three political measures to be taken into account: 1) Loss of ones job through **territorial segregation.** The basis of their work was dissolved by the political division of 1949 (horticulture, landscaping, precision mechanics and instrument industry of the GDR). 2) **Non-flexible occupational careers:** The post-war selfmade man, who was able to obtain influence and excellent positions up till the mid fifties by his energy and enterprise, whithout ever having bothered about certificates and formal training, was faced from then on when looking for a new job with formal requirements which he could not procure. 3) **Emigrants in their own country:** This were all those who understood their work in the other 'German' State as a political mission, as a fight for reunification behind the enemies lines. Many of them had traditional bonds to the locations of their work (e.g. theatres, hospitals, publishing houses). Having quit their jobs (or having been fired), they had to realize that the qualifications obtained

in the 'East of the city' and their political experiences in public or semi-public employments in the 'other' Germany were regarded suspiciously with respect to engange in 'West-careers'. In addition to that their former work was often stigmatized as 'pro-Eastern'. Their hope to be treated specially and respectfully or to be acknowledged as 'fighters till the last hour' was in vain. Their life constructions became pretty shaky, future commitments broke, and their disappointment interfered with other realms of living. Utilizing or dynamisation of biographical resources was not possible for this group. The erection of the wall implied for them another hour zero: end or starting over again?

The winners: For them the forced upon leave-taking from biographical projects was seen as a challenge. Even those who were engaged in fighting at the political frontier managed to resign their self-defined commission. Biographical resources like social origin, school- and job careers, age, and gender do not explain sufficiently how this group managed to cope with the events. Other chains of events in different biographical trajectories (familiy, health/disease, etc.) did not cause experiences of being out of control, even if these people suffered a lot. The radical parting from past and future commitments and a pragmatic insight in their dead-end situation impelled on them and sitmulated efficient search-strategies. They did not fight for keeping their life constructions as frontier soldiers, but were looking for new chances.

6. CONCLUSION

People who are forced to give up biographical constructions and commitments because of historical and/or other critical life events have to redefine their biographies. They experience crises with indefinite outcome, if they are not able to get rid of the past. Providing of objective possibilities on the socio-structural level is not more than just one dimension for a biographical life construction. The internal, individual process of finding one's way follows rules which can be reconstructed sociologically from chains of events and commitments within the biographies. The dynamisation of biographical resources is blocked socio-structural and politically in both the cases of the loosers and the winners. It is not the intensity of the blockage that is decisive in coping but the willingness to radically reinterpret one's life construction.

———————

References:

Bude, H. (1984): Lebenskonstruktionen haben ihre Zeit. Paper presented at: Symposion: 'Lebensgeschichten. Arbeit, Kultur, Erfahrung'. Nürnberg: July 5-7.

Petschul, J. (1981): Die Mauer. August 1961. Zwölf Tage zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Hamburg: Sternbuch.

Note

Four tables will complete the presentation (overhead projector).

THE WINNERS & THE LOOSERS

Life-Stories of the Participants of Major Confrontation in Poland 1980-1984 (abstract).

Bronislaw ISZTAL

The Historical Framework. The beginning of the 1980s in Poland was marked by intensive political confrontation between the proponents of the new political order and the supporters of the "ancien régime". The formers were associate either with Solidarity trade union or with the Party reformers. The latter circles belonged to the political and economic elite and were either direct members of the apparatus or those, whose destiny was to become 'apparatchicks' in the nearest future. The struggle started long before formal truncation of the movement, and lasts until now. As usually in the political confrontation there are some, who lost an some who won in terms of status, visibility, power, etc. But besides those objective criteria there are some other correlates of being the "winner" or the "looser". For future political activity of society those -subjective- criteria are no less significant than the objective ones. In the individual terms being either of participants means the necessity of explaining social reality to find the sense of living, to build the philosophy of survival and to determine mobilisation for collective action.

The major epistemological purpose of this study is to re-create individual meaning of history and politics, the way people perceive their political experience and define the real meaning or being "on the loosers side". Our major hypothesis was that political victory was followed by a moral vacuum thus eliminating construction of the winners' morale. On the other hand, the failure of the uprising -we believe- was not followed by a sense of absolue loss.

The Winners & the Loosers is therefore the study of the political landscape in Poland after the major confrontation of power. Its focus is the attitudinal reaction of people involved in this conflict, and their perception of political events and of historical processes.

Methodology. For the purpose of the study we decided to employ the method of life-history, i.e. to record the histories of life of the participants of the crisis. We were interested in specific period of time in the individual life, starting with the beginnings of Gierek's power in 1971, and ending up with the after-martial law period in 1984. Such specification of time frame would enable us to re-create and interprete the detailed events in the individual life as responding to major political developments in Poland. The critical dates were subsequently: 1971 and the beginning of the consumerist period in Polish economy; 1976 and the first disillusionment about the intentions and the ability to govern by the regime; 1980 and the 'revolution of hopes' marked by creation of Solidarity trade union; 1981 and the fall of risen expectations caused by deepening economic and political crisis; December, 1981 and the trauma of martial law; 1982 and the problems of survival under hostile and oppresive conditions; 1984 and the future of Poland's roal to independence.

Critical for the methodology of the study was the way we determined the extreme categories of the "winners" and the "loosers" in the conflict. We used twofold techniques to determine these categories. In order to define the "winners" we referred to the earlier study or the political and economic elite, carried out under the official auspicesof the Academy of Science.

Operationally, the "winners" were defined as those who occupied key political and economic positions during the 1980-81 period and retained them until now, or who came to such positions after the military coup in 1981. They were seen as the survivors of the confrontation. The "loosers" were defined as those who were on key positions in the 1980-81 period and who were stripped of their status as a result of either decremental deprivation (truncation of the union), direct political repression indirect manipulation or own resignation.

The sample, therefore, was constructed purposefully and included persons from the earlier sample of economic elite, from the list of the internees, from the list of former union activists and former Party reformers. To select the "winners" we had to make purposeful choice from the representative sample of the elite.

To select the "loosers" we had to make purposeful choice from the list of former activists we had compiled from several available data. The underground and informal sources were very useful here.

During our research we have recorded and transcripted over 30 life-stories. The respondents included: high-ranking Party officials of the central level, regional Party officials, professional executive staff of the regional Party committees, editors-in-chief of the popular journals as representative for the "winners". On the other hand, we collected the life-stories of the former Party reformers, former union advisers, former activists of the regional units of Solidarity, journalists and academicians who -until December, 1981- were on top positions and were subsequently eliminated for their independent or hostile to the regime opinions. The cassette records were destroyed immediately after making transcripts in order to ensure the security of respondents.

Major conclusions. Some synthetical conclusions may be drawn from the study at this, preliminary stage. First, neither category of the respondents perceive itself as definite winners or loosers. However, it is obvious, that the "winners" see the other group as definite loosers. On the other hand, the "loosers" see the other group as temporary winners. These two feelings are subsequently interpretd in terms of individual attitudes towards the political processes. Second, neither the "winners" have the sense of absolute victory, nor the "loosers" indicate the consciousness of the absolute loss. In terms of individual attitudinal response this means that the "loosers" still construe some visions of the future struggle and confrontation, and that the "winners" still doubt about the effectiveness of their measures. Third, it is evident that the "loosers" represent the model of latent socio- political maturity: their maturation was slow and retarded by the consumerist manipulation of Gierek's regime and by economic hardships of the crisis of late 1970s. It is specially seen how late did the workers come to any advanced forms of consciousness and for how long did they believe in political rethorics of the regime. Fourth, it is obvious that the production of political elite is still subject of regular and slow selection.

248

THE IMPACT OF MILITARY POWER ON INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF CHILE AND PHILOSOPHY.

Iván Jaksić

Introduction

Chilean philosophy is one of the better grounds on which to gauge the impact of military power on intellectual communities in Chile. This is due to the discipline's stature and history within the National University, which has traditionally produced an important number of philosophers who have in turn made significant contributions to the cultural and political life of the country. Since 1842, the year Andres Bello established the National University, philosophy has not only guided the many reforms of the institution, but has also provided some of the most vocal and articulate social critics in the country's history. The National University played this role for over a century, until recent developments under military rule not only changed this, but also undermined the university's leading position in Chilean higher education.

Although the military coup of 1973 intended to do away with the country's organized political activity, including that at the universities, it still had to contend with the legacy of a highly active and articulate university constituency. The philosophical community, in particular, already had a history of participation in university affairs. Partly because of this history, but generally because of its interest in keeping tight control over the university, the military placed special emphasis on maintaining the country's philosophers at arm's length. The military predicted, perhaps accurately, that the discipline's prestige as a vehicle for social criticism could very well provide a source of dissent within the university.

Consequently, the military authorities took a series of measures to ensure that members of the philosophical community would not become vocal critics of military rule, nor of military intervention at the universities.

This article is mainly concerned with these measures and the effects they had on the discipline in general, and on philosophers in particular. It is argued, first, that an existing tension between the practitioners of the two main currents of Chilean philosophy, namely, the professionalists and the critics, allowed the military to initially bank on their differences and rely on the former group as opposed to the latter. This tension had been developing since early in the establishment of philosophical studies in Chile, but it reached its fullest expression during the university reform process of 1968, when the two groups became clearly differentiated in terms of their philosophical production and their social and political positions. However, they were the sole arbiters of their confrontations until 1973, a situation which changed drastically under military rule. To distinguish these groups, I regard as professionalists those academics who consider philosophy an activity which is independent from social and political concerns. Although they may sometimes address such concerns, they reject the notion that philosophical inquiry should be motivated by them. More often than not, their philosophical concerns center around metaphysical and spiritual issues.

Critics, on the contrary, have made the professionalists' concerns their target of criticism, and have advocated an emphasis on the very issues neglected by the professionalists. They have in addition given a significant emphasis to logic, which they regard as a critical instrument. Members of both groups, however, are professionals, especially since the professionalization of the discipline in the 1950's, in the sense that they

meet such requirements as advanced degrees in the field (usually a Licenciatura as well as graduate work overseas), publications in refereed journals, and a substantial record of university-level teaching. The difference, which the military understood clearly, is that while professionals rarely go beyond the boundaries of professionalism, critics make a point of going beyond them to address issues of social relevance.

This paper also suggests that soon after the military intervened in the universities, it discovered that it could not trust either group of philosophers, so it appointed academic personnel more amenable to military rule who for that reason as well as because of their adherence to the political objectives of the regime I call officialists. Finally, this paper suggests that continued restrictions on philosophical activity eventually led to the union of the two previously antagonistic groups, which now distanced themselves and on occasion opposed the official philosophers installed by the military regime. Thus, after a decade of tight control over the discipline and the university, the military achieved exactly what it sought to avoid: an increasingly disenchanted community of scholars who once again are vocal not only about the problems of the university, but those of the country as well.

Chilean Philosophy After 1973

While it is true that the disputes concerning the objectives of philosophy, and those of the academic disciplines in general, became highly antagonistic during the 1960's, the full extent of such disputes would only become clear with the military intervention at the universities in 1973. Inevitably, the violent character of this intervention, particularly at the Faculty of Philosophy and Education, which was still known as the Instituto Pedagogico, posed the question about which conception of philosophy would coexist with military control of the universities.

For those who viewed philosophy as a professional and academic exercise, the military intervention represented a much wanted end to the politicization of the universities during the 1960's. It also meant the possibility of cultivating a conception of philosophy free from the social and critical demands which characterized the discipline during the pre-military period. This view of philosophy was by definition exempt from having to question the legitimacy of the military intervention, and from expressing opinions that could be construed as political.

For those who viewed philosophy as a critical instrument responsive to national problems, the situation under military rule became not only precarious but openly dangerous. In the aftermath of the intervention, the professors and students who followed this view of philosophy were either forced to resign their chairs or expelled. Some of them were imprisoned and others exiled, or both.

Instead, the military appointed professors who were marginal to or altogether unknown in the Chilean philosophical community. Although they did not have the international, or even national reputation of the professionalists, these new academics shared with them the view that the discipline was fundamentally academic and apolitical. But perhaps more importantly, these professors supported the military fully and were willing to work in administrative positions under military supervision.

In turn, the military gave full institutional support to these professors and their philosophical preferences. At the same time, it alienated those who, because of their philosophical professionalism and prestige, had expected to become the dominant current in Chilean philosophy. The intervention at the universities made it clear to them that what the military was looking for was not philosophical professionalism, but a model of philosophical activity

compatible with the political objectives of the regime. The new official philosophy was expected to obliterate social and critical elements from its teaching. The military found many academics willing to do just that, but only after alienating the leading professionalist philosophers, and eliminating the critical ones.

A closer examination of the philosophical production of the three following groups will shed light on the actual impact military rule has had on Chilean philosophy.

The Official Philosophers

Although the official philosophers have no major significance on philosophical grounds, it is important to consider this current because it occupies most major academic positions in the leading universities, and particularly at the National University. Indeed, the National University's program in philosophy is the major stronghold of official philosophy in the country. However dominant this current may be at the National University, its dominance is clearly the product of the political conditions created by military rule and might thus very well disappear when such conditions change. This current may nevertheless outlive its present importance at the university, for it has already had a decade to educate students in the tenets of official philosophy.

Despite this power, however, no philosophical pieces of note have been produced by this current, nor have any outstanding new professionals emerged from their ranks. The Revista de Filosofia, which published regularly for more than twenty years, has now been reduced to a trickle.

Directly related to this lack of productivity is the dependence of this current upon the institutional bases laid out by the military at the universities. Having no major connection with the development of the discipline in Chile, this current has no life of its own and depends on the

continued support of the regime to maintain its academic presence and its present level of productivity. While it is true that official philosophers have made an attempt to join the mainstream of Chilean philosophical production by going back to the professionalistic model of the 1950's, in some cases resurrecting the very schools and thinkers studied during that period, that attempt is regressive and has been abandoned by the very professionals who introduced it to philosophical studies in the past. While the core of Chilean philosophy has continued its life beyond the university, official philosophy has found little base from which to develop its own distinct type of philosophical activity.

Generally, official philosophy has failed to represent Chilean philosophy in spite of occupying the key academic chairs that the former leaders of the discipline held before 1973. Still, their presence at the university is significant if only because they continue to implement a model of philosophical activity which is permitted by the military regime.

The Professionalist Philosophers

The military intervention at the universities has forced the established professionalist philosophers to stand perhaps the most difficult trial of their careers. Although generally opposed to the tenets of the critical philosophers, as well as to the philosophers' involvement in politics, many professionalist philosophers have reacted in one way or another to the military intervention at the universities. The spectrum of these reactions is wide, and range from collaboration to open opposition. In all cases, however, their reactions took some time to take place. This delay may be due to their uncertainty about how long the military intervention at the universities would last, as well as to their hope to see the military reinstate the philosophical professionalism which they had helped to create. As neither the military left

the universities, nor was their view of professionalism restored. these philosophers proceeded to react.

The most explicit case of collaboration with the regime comes from Juan de Dios Vial Larrain. As opposed to the official philosophers, Vial enjoys a considerable reputation in his field of metaphysics. Presently the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the Catholic University, and formerly a professor at the Austral and National universities, Vial entered the Ministry of Foreign Relations as an aide to then minister Hernán Cubillos in 1979. This public proclamation of support for the military regime, however, represents an exception. By and large, professional philosophers have avoided identifying themselves with the regime. But they have avoided criticizing it as well. Felix Schwartzmann, for instance, collaborates with neither the military regime nor with the official academic circles. In his work, both before and after 1973, Schwartzmann has maintained a line of thought whose basis he established in his acclaimed El sentimiento de lo humano en América. His work, although consistently referring to contemporary issues, is so universal in character that it is indeed difficult to gauge the extent to which his thought has been affected by the events of the post-1973 era. What is obvious, at least, is that his work during the last decade does not dwell on the themes that concern the official philosophers. On the contrary, his writings reveal an interest in applying philosophy to the understanding of contemporary social problems such as the forms of human interaction, the role of the state, and the effects of rapid technological change. However, his assertions are universal enough to make it difficult to establish a connection between his philosophy and more specific national problems.

Schwartzmann's lack of specification was recently questioned by the writer Enrique Lafourcade in the leading Chilean newspaper El Mercurio. In an interview with Schwartzmann, Lafourcade asked him for the reasons why Chilean

philosophers "say nothing" to either "dissent or applaud" the actions of the military regime. Schwartzmann's laconic answer was: "I have never been silent," even though his writings do not make specific references to the current situation. However, Schwartzmann himself provides the key to understanding his manner of breaking the silence: "To speak of Einstein's philosophy means more for democracy than to talk about unpaid loans (carteras vencidas)."

This way of referring to both the military regime and Chilean philosophy without naming them specifically can also be found in Gastón Gómez Lasa, a professor of Ancient Philosophy at Austral University who was removed from his post at the National University after the coup. Like Schwartzmann, Gómez Lasa enjoys a considerable professional reputation thanks to his work on, and direct translation of, Plato. First, his emphasis on the Platonic dialogue, which (as the critical philosopher Edison Otero has pointed out) shows Gómez Lasa's effort to contribute from the field of philosophy to the politically relevant question of dialogue being discussed in other areas of national life. Gastón Gómez Lasa has concentrated on the study of the Platonic dialogue for most of his academic life, which already spans a quarter of a century, thus reflecting an interest in the subject that goes beyond the political moment. Still, the relevance and the implications of such study have not escaped the attention of the wider public. The organized opposition to military rule, in particular, has made dialogue one of its leading demands since 1978.

Second, Gómez Lasa's choice of texts reveals a view of philosophy which, although obvious only to specialists, not only pays attention to the political aspects of the philosophical tradition, but gives them the stature of central themes within that tradition. In effect, during the post-1973 period, Gómez Lasa has translated and published Plato's Seventh Letter and Socrates' Apology.

both of which address the dilemmas of the philosopher before authoritarian power. But Gómez Lasa's concern with this issue is even more explicit in the book Platón: Primera Agonía, which discusses Plato's Gorgias, perhaps the most profound reflection on the limits of philosophy in relation to political power. "The cardinal question of power," asserts Gómez Lasa, "is not just another theme within the dialogical process; nor simply a question to be discussed in essentialistic terms; nor a problem of definitions. As the Gorgias presents it, the question of power is a factum which provides the very basis for adopting a definitive decision regarding human life. Power not only lays out man's fate, but it also determines his human condition even beyond his life on earth."

Gómez Lasa's focus on power, and the legitimacy he gives it as a genuine subject of philosophical concern, represents an attempt by Chilean professional philosophy to understand the contemporary social and political situation through the contents of the philosophical tradition. However, Gómez Lasa refers to this situation only indirectly. Specific references to Chilean philosophy are missing in his work, and Gómez Lasa himself acknowledged in a recent interview that "his silence of years might very well be a considerable mistake."

But if Gómez Lasa has spoken of the predicament of philosophy before authoritarian power through the classics of the discipline, there are other professionalist philosophers who have made specific references to the problems of the country, the university, and philosophy, but without substantially altering the contents or the themes of their philosophical activity. Such is the case of Marco Antonio Allendes, a professor of philosophy at the University of Concepción, who has recently written a major essay on the unity of art and science, unity which he perceives in the type of "creative imagination" which guides the development of both. That is, an interesting

theme from the point of view of philosophy in general, but one that has little to do with the specific situation of Chilean philosophy.

Still, Allendes is one of those professional philosophers who has gone beyond the limits of the academic discipline to address concrete problems at the university. In September of 1979, for instance, Allendes publicly expressed his discontent with the expulsion of professors from the university, referring specifically to his colleague Humberto Otárola, whose firing he regarded as unjustifiable, and repudiating the military decrees for the governance of the university. More recently, Allendes labelled the military intervention at the universities "irrational," and called for the return of Rectores to the institution to civilians on the grounds that the appointment of Rectores delegados, or rectors (usually military officers) directly designated by the government, was one of the most damaging blows to Chile's international image. He further added that both the man of the cap and gown, and the man of the sword had respectable yet not interchangeable professions. On account of the misplaced expertise of military men at the universities. Allendes concluded that the decade-long experience of military intervention was "deplorable."

Similarly, Huberto Giannini, who is another professionalist philosopher with a well-established reputation in philosophy, has gone beyond the limits of academic philosophy to address some of the abnormalities he perceives as resulting from military intervention. On several occasions, for instance, Giannini has manifested his disagreement with the authoritarian handling of student conflicts at the universities. Moving to positions that could be seen as openly antagonistic to the military government, Giannini has publicly expressed his solidarity with Fernando Ortiz, a professor of history who was abducted from a street in Santiago in 1976, presumably by the intelligence police. He has also expressed his preference for a democratic government and

254

is an active member of the Chilean Commission for Human Rights.

In regard to Chilean philosophy, Giannini has recently manifested his preference for the type of philosophical activity which characterized the 1960's. In addition, as editor of the journal Escritos de Teoria, Giannini has provided a forum for various non-official philosophers. But insofar as his own philosophical work is concerned, Giannini remains attached to a traditional and professionalist philosophical orientation. Even though he has written on such themes as nationalism and ideology, more representative of his work in philosophy is his Tiempo y espacio en Aristoteles y Kant, which deals with the most traditional aspects of the discipline.

But it was the late professionalist philosopher Jorge Millas whose intellectual and philosophical work was most profoundly affected by military intervention. Of the members of the professionalist group, it was Jorge Millas who became closest to the critical philosophers persecuted by the military government. However, the differences between Jorge Millas and the critical philosophers are still quite substantial, although mainly during the pre-1973 period, and the first years of military rule. In 1974, for instance, in a prologue to William Thayer's Empresa y universidad, Millas described the last ten years at the university as years of disorder. Prior to this, Millas had actively resisted the attempts to reform both the discipline and the university from his position as chairman of the Department of Philosophy during the 1960's. The advent of military rule represented, for him, in many ways a new beginning for the universities. As he suggested in the aftermath of the military coup. "Once again we ask ourselves about the identity of the university, and about the forms of interaction and efficiency which it requires to be saved." These cautious words of hope, however, turned into bitter disappointment by 1976. At that time, Millas not only changed the orientation of his philosophical work, but he also became one of the most

outspoken critics of military intervention at the universities.

In his philosophical work, Millas expressed his concern for the situation of contemporary Chile in his writings on violence. Violence, he explained, is not only a legitimate theme of philosophical inquiry, but one of particular relevance in Chile, where ignoring it "might accentuate the dangerous manicheanism and pharisaism of the moment." Even more significant was his willingness to gauge the value of the different philosophical schools according to their capacity to account for the concrete problems of society. This demand was repeatedly made by the critical philosophers during the 1960's, when phenomenology and existentialism, in particular, were accused of ignoring such problems. Phenomenology, popular among the official philosophers in the mid-seventies, came under the attack of Millas, who was himself instrumental in introducing it in professional circles.

The reason for Millas' change of orientation lies in the nature of his focus, for the problems of violence, in his view, cannot be treated in phenomenological terms. A phenomenological study of violence, according to Millas, is merely analytical and leads to "talking about worlds that are not in this world." With phenomenology in mind, Millas proceeded to attack those philosophical schools, Marxism included, which he viewed as compatible with violence. Without openly acknowledging it, Millas belatedly agreed with the foremost critical demand of the 1960's: to judge the value of a given philosophical school not so much for its internal coherence as for its capacity to address the problems of society.

Expelled from Austral University for declaring opinions contrary to the military regime in the city of Concepcion in 1980, Millas returned to his teaching position only after a flurry of protests from academics around the country threatened the precious peace sought by the military at the

universities. Still, he was stripped of his administrative responsibilities. These events led him to devote the last two years of his life to the critique of military rule and its implications for the universities. Although uninvolved in politics for several decades, Jorge Millas, who had been a member of the Socialist Party and the president of the Chilean Federation of Students (FECH) in 1939, became once again a political figure after he resigned from Austral University in 1981, to meet his own demand for "authenticity."

The same man who had denounced the heavily politicized "committed university" of the 1970-73 Salvador Allende administration, now attacked the "university under surveillance" and the "barracks university" of the Pinochet regime. In his view, all of these models of the university violated the essentials of a genuine university life. But the current situation of the universities seemed to him to be a reflection of an even graver problem, for he considered the university problem to be "one of the most serious in the serious spiritual prostration of the country." His reasons for resigning were that, given the "autocratic" powers of the rectors appointed by the military government, and the massive expulsion of academics, "one's presence approves of this situation." His resignation, he explained, had become a matter of moral and intellectual integrity.

After his resignation, Millas became active in the recently founded Academia Andrés Bello, an association of academics and intellectuals who have taken a critical stand with respect to the military regime. Millas also taught private seminars, and often expressed his critiques against the government through the opposition media. Unlike other professionalist philosophers, his philosophical work could not be separated from his political opinions. In effect, during his last months, Millas was finishing a book on Friederich Von Hayek, whose economic neo-liberalism was being promoted by

Supported by such professionalist philosophers as Gastón Gómez Lasa and Cástor Narvarte, and basing their arguments on the principles of the 1968 university reform, which included the academic autonomy of the departments, Rivano and Otero resisted repeated attempts to introduce a Marxist-inspired curriculum without departmental consensus.

Such opposition activities did not make them any more acceptable to the military authorities, which concentrated instead on the critical activities of these philosophers and the potential they represented for similar opposition against the military intervention at the universities. Both professors were interrogated by military personnel and expelled in 1974 amidst the silence and in some cases open hostility of the professionalist philosophers. The sense of collegiality which, however precarious prior to 1973, had existed among professionalists and critics as members of the philosophical profession suffered a serious breakdown under military rule. Despite the lack of support from members of the profession, the absence of charges against Rivano and Otero restored them to their teaching posts, although they were removed again in 1975. In that year, Edison Otero was expelled from the university, and Juan Rivano expelled and imprisoned, in both cases without charges.

A significant current of Chilean Philosophical thought was thus purged from the university, and forced to exist beyond the academic world. This current, however, has maintained a remarkable level of philosophical productivity, given the serious obstacles presented by the lack of academic resources and, in the case of Rivano, by exile. Because of the non-academic situation of this current, such thinkers as Juan Rivano and Edison Otero have had to use alternative means of expression, which have in turn led them to establish significant connections with other fields in the social sciences.

In Edison Otero's case, these connections were established almost immediately after his removal from the National University. In 1976, Otero

official circles. But seemingly, the coming together of philosophy and politics in Millas, which has so sharply divided the activity of other professionalist philosophers, was not enough to sustain him. His resignation from the university, and, in the words of Humberto Giannini, the "systematic and devastating war" waged against him because of his critiques of the military government, apparently caused him great sorrow. He died at the age of sixty-five in November of 1982.

With Millas' death the future of professionalist philosophy is presently unclear, due to the general tendency of this group to abstain from actions and opinions that might be interpreted as political. However, Millas' stature during the last years of his life, his constant presence in the media, has in many ways created an audience which now demands certain pronouncements from those engaged in philosophical activity. The latest exposure of such philosophers as Humberto Giannini, Gastón Gómez Lasa and Félix Schwartzmann in the press is certainly an indication of that demand. Although they may retreat to the security of professionalism, there is enough public pressure to prompt these intellectuals to assume some of Millas' concerns.

The Critical Philosophers

Unlike the professionalist philosophers, the critical ones did not expect a restoration of professional philosophical activity from the military government. The very nature of their writings reveals their awareness of the implications of military rule for national and university life. Two notable cases are those of Juan Rivano and Edison Otero, who had been critics of the "committed" philosophy propounded by leftist academics at the National University's Faculty of Philosophy. They had also led university-based opposition movements against the authorities of that Faculty, then headed by historian and Communist Party leader, the late Hernán Ramírez Necochea.

published his "The Distinction Between the Social and Natural Sciences," in *Estudios Sociales*, a journal edited by the Corporación de Promoción Universitaria (CPU), which is an institution that has provided a means of expression for an important number of academics purged from Chilean universities since 1973. In this publication, as well as in others of the *Documentos de Trabajo* series edited by CPU, Otero established the basis for a study of the connection between philosophy and the social and natural sciences. In these writings, Otero also offers a critique of the obstacles which in his view keep the disciplines separated, as well as an attack against academic and professionalistic practices in general. These are the practices which in his opinion have imposed on knowledge the fragmentary character that it now has.

Philosophy, according to Otero, is the discipline best suited to overcome this fragmentation, due to its capacity to establish connections among different disciplines. But philosophy, he regrets, has also been fragmented by professionalistic practices. "These days," Otero suggests, "official academic philosophy neglects the development of connections (with other sciences) and instead affects an air of self-sufficiency by cultivating the scholastic study of its own past." Although without specifically mentioning it, Otero seems to be pointing a critical finger at the practices of the official philosophers.

Further evidence of Otero's interest in the themes that are the province of other social sciences is his concern with the subject of violence. Like Jorge Millas, with whom he co-authored *La violencia y sus mascaras*, the problem of violence constitutes in his view a genuine subject of philosophical inquiry. Unlike Millas, however, he uses the results of the social and natural sciences to present his views on this phenomenon. The same is apparent in Otero's subsequent book on this theme, *Los signos de la violencia*.(45)

country to accept a visiting professorship in Canada, he declared "only that philosophy which (the authorities) believe serves to legitimize the present is guaranteed peace."

Also out of the country, since 1976, is Juan Rivano. Unlike Otero and Cristi, Rivano can neither return to Chile nor regularly publish there. A prolific writer, Rivano has met heavy censorship, as exemplified recently by the military authorities' threat to confiscate an issue of Estudios Sociales, which included an article by him in 1982. With such restrictions, the circulation of Rivano's writings has been limited, although it is still significant enough to maintain a presence in the country, where it is known in philosophical circles and where it has been commented on by other authors. With the lifting of some of the censorship regulations in 1983, there are indications that Rivano's philosophical work is reaching a wider audience.

Rivano's ideas on the nature and objectives of the philosophical discipline had already been expressed during the 1960's, concurrently with his critique of academic and professional philosophy. His view of philosophical activity suggests that, particularly in a nation such as Chile, the discipline cannot ignore the cultural, social, political and economic reality of the country. On the contrary, in his view philosophy must take its substance from that reality. Academic and professional philosophy seemed to him too alien and almost arrogantly unconcerned with the specific problems of the nation. Chilean philosophy, as he perceived it in the two decades prior to the military coup, consisted of an academic exercise largely occupied with those subjects that allowed the discipline to avoid any contact with the social and political problems surrounding it.

As a response, Rivano concentrated on themes which he thought were more pressing than those of a speculative nature. Among such themes are the

where he argues in favor of interdisciplinary research, and proceeds to advance a view of intellectual activity which he finds necessary to counter the effects of violence.

This emphasis on reflection as an antidote to violence reveals the form of violence he has in mind: that which is triggered in the name of ideological and political convictions. Obviously aware of Chile's human rights record and of the political violence of the decade, Otero's writings on violence represent an attempt by the critical philosophical current to shed light on a pressing contemporary Chilean problem.

Edison Otero is perhaps one of the most productive and better informed philosophers concerned with social science research in Chile today. However, the absence of a university affiliation limits the circulation of his work. One attempt to surmount this difficulty was Otero's creation and editorship of the journal Carnets, which was closed down by the military government after publication of the first issue in 1979. Otero's case is only one illustrative example of the censorship that meets independent critical activity in Chile.

Another example is that of Renato Cristi, a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto who returned to Chile to teach philosophy at the National University. Prior to his return, Cristi had disagreed with the military government by criticizing the political views of one of its chief ideologists, Jaime Guzmán. Once in the country, Cristi made public his advocacy of democracy, and, like Jorge Millas, took issue with Friedrich Von Hayek's neo-liberalism. In his opinion, and that of his co-author Carlos Ruiz, Hayek's ideas were being promoted by official circles because they coincided with the economic policies of the military government. Furthermore, they believed, such ideas were being used to justify "the overwhelming prevalence of the free-market economy," ideas which they questioned on moral and ethical grounds. In 1981, Renato Cristi was expelled from his teaching position. Before leaving the

impact of technological change in society, particularly in underdeveloped areas: the import of scientific developments for philosophy, and above all, the search for concepts to understand those aspects of reality neglected by traditional philosophy. One of the major concepts he developed prior to 1973 was that of "dilemma," which he regarded as appropriate to understanding contemporary forms of social existence, and which served him to advance one of the most devastating critiques of traditional philosophy ever expressed in Chilean philosophy. Traditional philosophy, he charged, was consciously neglectful of those social instances that defied the harmony of the discipline.

Rivano's work after 1973 follows similar lines. As a professional trained in mathematics, logic and theory of knowledge, Rivano has maintained close ties with the most traditional aspects of the discipline. But his activity in these areas is largely critical. Criticism, however, allows him to set forth a view of philosophical activity as a practice that addresses contemporary social, cultural and political problems. Since 1973 he has written seven book-length manuscripts and some twenty-one essays, a level of productivity which is only matched in Chile by that of Gómez Lasa, and which is remarkable considering that he spent a year in prison and even more time resetting in the Middle East and Europe.

Rivano's production can be classified, rather schematically, in three major groups: 1) logic and epistemology; 2) social and political philosophy; and 3) literature. The theme that unites these writings concerns Rivano's conviction that the complexity of human and social experience can be apprehended logically. His main argument suggests that logical categories can be devised so that such complexity can be handled and understood rather than simplified or obliterated, as he claims is done in formal, mathematical and even dialectical logic. This leads him to explore a variety of examples.

mainly from the contemporary social and political world, which in his view illustrate how traditional philosophy and logic fail to provide an intelligent apprehension of reality. Although he uses a number of findings from the natural and social sciences, it is clear that his major sources come from the field of logic. Even his literature, which merits consideration that space does not permit here, is more often than not a vehicle for the expression of his logical concerns. And logic has served him to address disciplinary and extra-disciplinary subjects in a critical fashion.

Rivano's view of philosophical activity was, and still is, incompatible with official philosophy in Chile. Because he and his current require philosophy to address all aspects of reality, even if this means going beyond the academic and political boundaries of the discipline, critical philosophy has met the hostility of the official circles that have a mandate to cultivate an uncritical brand of the discipline. However, there has been no debate, philosophical or otherwise, between critical and official philosophers on the objectives of the discipline. Rather, the ideas of Juan Rivano, as those of Edison Otero and Renato Cristi, have been met with force. This situation reveals how undesirable critical philosophy is, not only for official philosophical circles, but for the military regime itself.

Conclusion

The military intervention at the universities, and the repercussions this intervention has had for philosophical activity, has produced a previously unexpected turn in the orientation of contemporary Chilean philosophy. It has brought closer together the professionalist and critical views of the discipline, which seemed to be so thoroughly incompatible during the 1960's. Both views and their followers have borne the brunt of government censorship and repression. Only that philosophy which is compatible with the political

Orientations of the regime, or which at least does not question them, has been tolerated by the military government. Both the professionalist and the critical view of philosophy, without government sanction, have had to look for support in other areas, or among the philosophers themselves.

Thus, the encounter between both views of philosophy has translated itself into concrete examples of exchanges of ideas, and even joint publication ventures. The collaboration between Jorge Millas and Edison Otero, and the latter with Gaston Gómez Lasa, well illustrates this. There is also an ongoing philosophical exchange among professionals, most notably Juan Rivano, Gastón Gómez Lasa and Marco Antonio Allendes. They maintain ties and connections which have in effect kept professional philosophy alive, thus providing a measure of continuity with respect to the historical development of the discipline.

Finally, military intervention has prompted many, including the professionalist philosophers, to pay increasing attention to such themes as violence and power. These concerns have in turn made philosophers more responsive to the findings and work of other social scientists, as well as more responsive to the notion that their professional calling includes pronouncements on the situation of the country and its higher education institutions. What all of this means and where it will lead is not apparent under the present conditions of military rule. What is obvious, however, is that a significant part, if not the greater part, of Chilean philosophical activity takes place outside official philosophical circles. The main conflict, then, is no longer between professionalist and critical philosophy, but between official philosophy, supported by military rule, and a largely non-academic yet free critical and professional view of the discipline.

NOTE ON SOURCES

This research is based on interviews conducted in Chile in 1978 and 1979 with Edison Otero, Gastón Gómez Lasa and Felix Schwartzmann, and in Sweden in 1980 and 1981 with Juan Rivano. In addition, I have benefitted from epistolar exchanges with them, and with Humberto Giannini and Marco Antonio Allendes. I have also relied on interviews conducted by Rogelio Rodríguez with Juan Rivano, Felix Schwartzmann and Humberto Giannini. His interview with Rivano was published in Pluma y Pincel, No. 10 (October–November 1983): 32–36. Rodríguez's interview with Schwartzmann was published in Bravo, No. 64, July 1982, pp. 4–6. His interview with Giannini is forthcoming in Pluma y Pincel. I am indebted to him for making the tape interview available to me. Other interviews with Gastón Gómez Lasa in Ercilla, February 16, 1983, Felix Schwartzmann in El Mercurio, February 20, 1983, Edison Otero and Ricardo Lopez in Bravo, May 1980, pp. 37–42, and Marco Antonio Allendes in El Sur, July 8, 1983, have been particularly useful.

This research is also based on numerous published and unpublished writings by the authors discussed in this paper. These writings include: "La función social del estado en el último cuarto del siglo XX," (1979) and "Cultura nacional y mundialidad como forma de poder," (1980) by Felix Schwartzmann; "La imaginación creadora en la ciencia y el arte," by Marco Antonio Allendes; the Seventh Letter (1979), Apología de Sócrates (1979), Platón: Primera agonia (1979), Platón: El periplo dialógico (1978), Aporías dialógicas (1978), La institución del diálogo filosófico (1980), and El expediente de Sócrates (1980), by Gastón Gómez Lasa; Desde las palabras (1981) and Tiempo y espacio en Aristóteles y Kant (1982) by Humberto Giannini; "Las máscaras filosóficas de la violencia" (1978), and Idea y defensa de la universidad (1981), by Jorge Millas; several articles by Edison Otero which have appeared in Estudios Sociales since 1976, and his books Los signos de la violencia (1979) and Televisión y violencia (with Ricardo Lopez, 1984); "Hacia una moral de mercado?" (1981), by Renato Cristi and Carlos Ruiz; and the following manuscripts by Juan Rivano: Dicotomía, dilema, isología, antinomia y sinsentido en la vertebración de la filosofía (1974), The Technological Argument (1979), Contrapunto del mulato Taguada y don Javier (manuscript in progress), and numerous other essays on individual authors.

Finally, this article is part of my ongoing research on the history of Chilean philosophy. I have discussed some of the concepts contained in this essay in my "Philosophy and University Reform at the University of Chile: 1842–1973," Latin American Research Review 19, No. 1 (1984): 57–86, and in "The Philosophy of Juan Rivano: The Intellectual Background of the University Reform Movement of 1968 in Chile," (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1981). In addition, my article "La filosofía chilena en entredicho: Profesionalismo versus compromiso social," (Paper presented at the XI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Mexico City, October 1983), discusses some aspects of the impact of military rule on Chilean philosophy since 1973.

MEMOIRES COLLECTIVES, IMAGINAIRES SOCIAUX ET POUVOIR POLITIQUE; ZAIRE, 1920-1980

B. Jewsiewicki

SYNTHESE

Pratiquement au moment où je mettais au point la dernière version de ce texte j'ai pris part à la discussion de l'important texte de V.Y. Mudimbe (1984) "African Gosis" qui pose la question du pourquoi de l'invention de la discipline anthropologique par et uniquement par l'Occident à partir du moment (siècle des lumières) où au moins les philosophes affirment la doctrine de l'universalité de la nature humaine. C'est comme si au moment où l'humanité est affirmée une et où le principe de l'égalité et donc de la liberté de l'individu sort du champ encore res- treint du catholicisme pour devenir le principe politique laïc, la diffé- rence devrait être mesurée par rapport à l'universel pour mieux y être réduite. Le rapport entre l'expansion du "modern world system" (I. Wallerstein, 1974) et la dialectique entre l'affirmation idéologique de l'universel et la construction "scientifique" de l'Autre est évident. La doctrine de la nature humaine universelle et unique appelle à "surmonter" les différences par l'action "civilisatrice" qui est autant idéologique que sociale et économique. La colonisation politique elle-même est d'une certaine manière une prise en charge des différences pour les amener progressivement à l'unicité d'étape, celle de l'Etat-nation déjà univer- sel dans sa structure et encore particulier dans son contenu.

Même si le mythe national se réclame partout au XIXe siècle du peuple dont la volonté usurpée est censée fonder la légitimité de l'Etat nation, l'ethnographie et/ou folkloristique cultivent, inventorient et surtout placent au centre de l'épistémé la dialectique de l'universel et du particulier. En même temps que l'histoire invente le passé national au par la volonté d'atteindre la souveraineté politique de la communauté

nationale l'anthropologie construit l'Autre-le miroir de nous.

La norme nationale qu'il s'agisse de l'identité, de l'imaginaire ou de l'histoire (une saisie écrite et institutionnalisée de la mémoire collective) se propage par un double processus; elle dévore les cultures particulières qu'elle restitue sous forme statique d'une tradition natio- nale (Hobsbawm et Ranger 1983).

La culture qui ne demande pas de qualificatif puisque toute la nation devrait la partager grâce à l'acquisition démocratique qui passe par l'école gratuite et obligatoire ne peut s'affirmer qu'à condition de produire son double de cultures "populaires". Le principe de ce rapport est cannibal comme le remarque F. Lambert (1984) à propos de la littéra- ture africaine de langue française mais la participation au rituel pro- page la norme dominante comme moyen de "résurrection" des formes cultu- relles dominées. C'est ainsi que l'ethnicité en Afrique noire ou le régionalisme en Occident se nourrissent des bibliothèques anthropologi- ques et folkloriques et inventent leurs traditions (Trevor-Roper 1983; Bertho, 1980) en tant que nationalisme. Le poids de l'épistémé où s'en- racine un modèle spécifique de mobilisation politique est tel qu'on cons- truit "scientifiquement" des normes-cultures de classes (culture proléta- rienne), des marginaux (culture de la pauvreté), des groupes d'âge (les adolescants), des sexes (culture des femmes), inventant des "traditions" spécifiques. Il reste à savoir dans quelle mesure identités et mémoires et non seulement histoire suivent.

Coutumes, tradition (Hobsbawm, 1983) et mémoire collective ne sont séparables qu'analytiquement puisque toute norme appliquée demande une mise en scène sociale qui la situe dans un sytème et lui donne un sens au-delà de la contrainte. Toute mémoire collective est histoire qui prend place dans une historiographie (Heller, 1982:79) qui se veut épis- témé et dont l'archéologie est possible (Foucault, 1969). Si nous accep- tons que "historiography is mediated in the direction of pragmatic goals, it is absorbed as ideology" (Heller, 1982:85) le rapport entre épisthémé, la mémoire et l'imaginaire est à la fois nécessaire et contraignant.

Ce n'est donc pas la forme du discours historique ni le medium de

sa transmission et conservation (oral, écrit) qui déterminent ses critères de vérité mais l'épisthémè et les conditions sociales de sa reproduction.

La mémoire collective (orale) et l'histoire (écrite) expliquent toutes les deux le passé pour le présent. Elles analysent les traces contenues dans le présent en les transformant en messages (c'est-à-dire en leur accordant un sens). La lecture méthodique (à l'aide d'un modèle ou ensemble des modèles) et critique (par rapport à l'authenticité de la trace) produit un discours socialement situé. Si l'intérêt pour le passé (accumulation des traces) peut être socialement marqué. Quant à son impact politique, c'est moins la forme qui importe que la capacité des lecteurs/auditeurs de l'utiliser pour lecture critique du présent dans le passé, leur capacité de construire cette lecture à l'aide de l'épisthémè du système socio-politique dominant. Il y a dans tout présent des dépôts de traces, dépôts qui peuvent être explorés et même capitalisés dans la lutte pour le pouvoir symbolique. A leur tour les messages et les méthodes qui servent à les construire à partir des traces circulent entre la mémoire collective et l'histoire sur un marché qu'on peut comparé au marché d'échanges linguistiques de Bourdieu (1982); elles sont souvent deux formes de la même historiographie.

Les récits de vie mais également les formes artistiques dites folkloriques (E.P. Thompson, 1978; K. Thompson, 1980), la peinture, le théâtre ou la chanson "populaire", la rumeur (le Genre Humain, 1983) dite au Zaïre "radio trottoire" expriment et reproduisent à chaque performance la mémoire collective. En tant que lieu de production idéologique, ces expressions d'une culture "populaire" actualisent autant socialement que politiquement à travers des performances individuelles une connaissance méthodique et critique du passé dans le présent. Elles sont donc des lieux où s'affrontent, à travers leurs productions, les "intermédiaires culturels" (Université d'Aix-en-Provence, 1981) appartenant aux divers espaces sociaux et politiques, des lieux où s'affrontent et s'interpénètrent l'oral (Meschonnic, 1982) et l'écrit (Goody, 1977), des lieux où le politique pénètre le social puisqu'ils ne sont "populaires" que dans la mesure où un pouvoir qui s'approprie un épisthémè les faits tels (Bourdieu, 1982; 1983).

l'analyse de ces discours (j'y inclus le discours graphique -Ropars-Wuilleumier, 1981) qui utilisent les faits (ou leurs souvenirs) du passé pour situer les groupes sociaux (y compris division de sexe) dans un présent politique, permet une saisie dynamique de l'imaginaire collectif qui informe discours et sentiments d'identité collective (Ber-que, 1978). Ainsi s'ouvre au chercheur l'accès à la perception du politique par les diverses composantes de la société civile (notons qu'elle est un phénomène historique contemporain à la monopolisation du politique par l'Etat) qui est loin de constituer un bloc monolithique. Dans la mémoire et l'imaginaire collectifs s'expriment les idéologies des modes populaires d'action politique (Bayart, 1983; 1984). Il est donc important d'y saisir les visions de l'autorité et des mécanismes d'exploitation ainsi que la légitimité interne de l'opposition, de la subversion, de la violence en tenant compte du marché des messages, modèles et formes qui existe entre la culture dominante et celles "populaires" (de Certeau, 1980).

Notons cependant que la mémoire collective est dans sa forme finale (discours sur le passé), contrairement à ses matériaux, le produit d'une couche sociale aux intérêts particuliers; les intermédiaires culturels sont des agents de la pénétration vers "le bas" des idéologies venant d'"en haut", c'est-à-dire des artisans de l'articulation des modes populaires aux actions politiques institutionnelles. C'est ainsi que les récits de vie deviennent un témoignage de première importance, ils expriment autant l'implantation de la mémoire collective dans un projet individuel de vie qu'ils permettent de suivre le rôle concret des intermédiaires culturels.

Dans la mesure où la "tradition" n'est pas un héritage fixe et immuable du passé mais un construit du présent, une norme qui autant unit que sépare les acteurs historiques puisqu'elle nourrit les identités collectives du présent (Hobsbawm et Ranger, 1983) des matériaux du passé, les conventions narratives (cyclique ou linéaire) sont surtout pertinentes pour saisir le rapport du présent au futur (Vansina, 1978). La "tradition" actualise le passé non pas pour le plaisir des acteurs mais pour accorder les projets individuels aux stratégies collectives qu'un pouvoir oriente à travers le processus de production culturelle. Une tradition qui n'est pas histoire, doit être authentique mais pas

nécessairement vraie, pratique et pertinente mais point critique. Ainsi l'authenticité au Zaïre est une tentative étatique de créer une tradition en suivant le modèle des traditions ethniques et régionales (Trevor-Roper, 1982). La construction d'une tradition ne peut pourtant pas être réduite à la propagande et la tradition n'est pas la même chose que l'imaginaire collectif. L'invention d'une tradition suit habituellement l'existence matérielle d'un groupe social prenant conscience de ses intérêts et de son identité. La tradition n'est cependant jamais entièrement imposée, elle est un cadre de mobilisation et un enjeu des conflits sociaux, où les rapports de classe sont une donnée fondamentale mais le plus souvent non apparente. Solidarités, traditions et identités ouvrières et paysannes sont éclatées en ensembles où l'expérience collective a une inscription matérielle immédiate: ville ou village, quartier, usine, métier (Bourdieu, 1984). La tradition n'est pas uniquement orale, elle peut même être essentiellement écrite quant au véhicule mais elle est inséparable des "coutumes" qui fixent la norme et l'imposent.

E. Hobsbawm (1983:2) remarque "a village's claim to same common land or right 'by custom from time immemorial' often expresses not a historical fact, but the balance of forces in the constant struggle of village against lords or against other villages". C'est ainsi qu'il faut saisir le mécanisme social de la vérité dans le discours de la traditions, son critère fondamental est constitué par le concessus social (Vansina, 1982), c'est -à-dire un équilibre donné des forces politiques et sociales en présence. Autrement dit, est vrai ou faux dans le discours de la tradition ce qui est pertinent aux enjeux spécifiques du présent, ce qui légitime dans un cadre social donné les "coutumes" pertinentes -normes sociales ritualisées- dont la "tradition" dit l'"histoire" et actualise une légitimité. Les traditions des migrations constituent un excellent exemple de l'infusion de l'anachronisme venu de la logique propre au lieu social du pouvoir colonial aux matériaux et récits autochtones. Le collecteur colonial, à la recherche d'un pouvoir à associer et d'une structure sociale à redreser donne un sens aux récits et en extraits des faits. Convaincu à juste titre que le discours sur le passé est un discours proprement politique, il arrache de forces s'il le faut, les faits qu'ils lui manquent pour construire une tradition du pou-

voir qu'il cherche mais dont il a déjà appris le secret à l'école coloniale ou dans les traités d'ethnologie. C'est en interrogeant les dépositaires des traditions qu'il invente et enseigne une tradition par la langue véhiculaire qu'il utilise, par les intermédiaires et les "experts" choisis, par le pouvoir qu'il détient et qu'il déléguera en conclusion de sa découverte. C'est ainsi que du début du contact colonial les traditions africaines chercheront à intégrer les données et à assimiler les modèles des traditions occidentales du récit biblique au discours anthropologique (Chrétien 1985, Vansina 1985). Les traditions africaines sont des traditions populaires dont le statut et les catégories principales ne peuvent être compris sans référence au système épistémologique de la science universitaire et au pouvoir politique qu'elle informe. Ceci ne veut point dire que ces traditions ne soient pas des créations originales par contre elles ne sont ni autonomes ni innocentes. Pour être authentique une tradition politique doit être ancienne ou en tout cas immémoriale c'est-à-dire au-delà de la portée des mémoires collectives; plus elle est vénérable plus elle est malléable et sur ce plan l'Afrique comme l'Europe sont riches en exemples des recours à un passé qui est matériellement totalement étranger à la société en question pour y enraciner la légitimité du pouvoir: le Ghana de Nkrumah, le Zaïre de Mobutu, le Bénin de Kérékou ou encore les antiquités négro-égyptiennes pour un Etat négro-africain de Cheikh anta Diop. Ainsi la tradition est surtout une conscience collective d'être ensemble entre un passé commun et un futur nécessairement commun.

L'historicité n'est pas seulement comme soutient A. Heller (1982;3) non seulement une conscience collective de la durée en affirmant qu'elle est présente à partir du moment où on a pu dire "once upon a time". L'historicité c'est surtout une valeur accordée à la durée en tant que contexte où s'inscrit et donc où prend un sens l'évènement. Ainsi la conception circulaire de la durée n'exclut pas l'historicité, elle implique une autre lecture sociale de l'évènement. L'historicité est donc une grille de lecture des évènements les uns par rapport aux autres dans une relation diachronique, un code permettant une lecture du présent (ce qui est en train de se produire) à partir d'une mémoire collective (un discours sur le passé présent) et un moyen de son intériorisation à travers l'imaginaire social.

Les événements sont individuellement des accidents qui même dans les sociétés les plus totalitaires ne sont et ne peuvent pas être entièrement contrôlés puisqu'ils résultent des pratiques souvent opposées des acteurs historiques qui les produisent collectivement mais les vivent individuellement. Par contre la lecture des événements, donc le sens social qu'ils prennent, est largement (mais jamais entièrement pour un individu) fourni par la mémoire collective. Par ailleurs, un événement décontextualisé peut également prendre place dans l'imaginaire collectif. Sorti de la durée (de cette historicité concrète) et placé dans un rapport conventionnel propre à chaque imaginaire collectif, il n'est plus important quand et si jamais il est arrivé.

C'est ainsi que le pouvoir de nommer (le Genre Humain, 1982) rejoint le pouvoir symbolique non pas de manière mécanique mais à travers un rapport de négociation, un marché des échanges symboliques qui comme tout marché n'est point neutre. Comme il n'y a pas de mémoire collective ou d'imaginaire social exclusifs et tout individu est capable (mais n'est pas socialement libre) de lecture multiple d'un événement selon l'une des grilles disponibles pour le penser et classer.

La mémoire collective est un discours sur le passé, discours qui se nourrit des connaissances collectives et individuelles mais dont l'objectif est de produire un sens aux enjeux du présent. Plus immédiate que l'historicité, elle confronte les enjeux politiques et sociaux à plus court terme que l'historicité. Dans la terminologie braudelienne on pourrait assimiler l'historicité à long terme, à un cadre de légitimité qui assure la permanence d'identités, et des forces politiques et économiques, (je dirais volontiers d'un mode de production si ce concept n'avait pas été si gravement dévalué). Ainsi un temps linéaire de progrès par accumulation géométrique des moyens techniques, est propre aux sociétés industrielles. Il s'agit d'une historicité dominante mais point exclusive et les luttes sociales se jouent autant sur la notion de l'historicité et donc du temps (E.P. Thompson, 1967) que sur ses concrétisations dans les mémoires collectives. C'est ainsi que la folklorisation des historicités dites populaires vise leur élimination du présent, leur retrait du champ des luttes sociales vers les musées de la connaissance (E.P. Thompson 1978; K. Thompson 1980).

Les imaginaires sociaux "représentations de la réalité sociale et non pas simples reflets de celle-ci" (Baczko, 1984: 8) enfin qui se situent entre, mais point nécessairement à mi-chemin, entre l'utopie et la propagande disent les rapports sociaux légitimes et organisent le temps collectif sur le plan symbolique. Mémoire et imaginaire se complètent et s'alimentent et la première n'est pas toujours conservatrice comme l'utopie n'est pas toujour subversive. Elles disent cependant la réalité sociale plutôt que morale. La violence peut être légitime si le rapport entre le groupe dominant et les dominés est habituellement vécu sur le mode de la violence effective ou potentielle. Ainsi, l'exercice arbitraire du pouvoir que confère dans l'idéologie de la parenté le rapport d'aînesse est traduit dans l'imaginaire collectif par l'exercice de la sorcellerie mais ne peut être compris s'ils est séparé de la relation patron-client qui est son cadre nécessaire. Cet exemple me semble particulièrement intéressant pour parler du fonctionnement de l'imaginaire dans la réalité sociale mais aussi dans le discours qu'on tient sur cette réalité. La sorcellerie politique légitime deux notions de base: violence comme moyen d'exercice du pouvoir et hiérarchie (la liste) comme justification de position personnelle. Au moins dans son aspect de lutte contre les sorciers on trouve aussi la causalité et donc, aussi paradoxale que cette affirmation puisse paraître, le raisonnement rationnel en tant que principe logique. Ainsi on est obligé non seulement de se poser la question sur l'ancienneté de la "tradition" actuelle de la sorcellerie et du discours politique qui en découle mais aussi sur les fonctions de légitimation de l'ordre politique que le discours de sorcellerie joue à travers le sens que les mémoires collectives lui accordent (Biaya 1984a; 1984b; Buakasa, 1980).

Il est ainsi facile de trouver de l'imaginaire social véhiculé par les discours du pouvoir, dans la mémoire collective et dans le récit de vie mais aussi dans le discours "populaire" sur le présent (chansons, peinture naïve). Bula Matari y exerce sa protection si non paternelle au moins patronale mais confie l'exercice réel du pouvoir à une hiérarchie d'agents, maîtres de la violence. Le formalisme de cette hiérarchie renvoie à la logique causale de la sorcellerie où tout événement a sa cause et s'explique au niveau de la rationalité formelle qui renvoie à l'arbitraire d'une hiérarchie d'un ordre fixe. C'est aussi la condamna-

tion radicale de tout désordre, toute anarchie que souligne l'importance des signes extérieurs: drapeau, chapeau, pipe, chemise et de tout attribut moderne de l'exercice de la violence: armes à feu, avion, char, etc.

C'est ainsi que la mémoire urbaine retient François, un Luba pendu à Elisabethville en 1922 pour avoir poignardé son maître surpris en flagrant délit d'adultère avec sa femme alors que le monde colonial vente la rigueur des peines "traditionnelles" luba contre adultère. Comme tout récit de la violence coloniale le tableau est très ordonné: une cathédrale et une potence dominent une foule anonyme massée en rangs serrés. La légende est pourtant explicite "La vraie justice non appliquée". Dans la mémoire collective la violence coloniale est subie par des êtres sans visages, anonymes dans un décor qui respire l'ordre: selon le principe de la modernité coloniale elle semble s'exercer directement sur les mâles mais est essentiellement ressentie et exprimée en tant que souffrance par les femmes. La violence post-coloniale est par contre désordre qui frappe indistinctement. Le culte de l'ordre aussi arbitraire qu'il soit est frappant. C'est ainsi que l'ignorance des règles, des codes arbitraires (y compris le français) est la faute de la victime qui pénètre le monde des mindele dont la blancheur peut être indistinctement sociale ou raciale. Alors on pleure la victime individuellement mais on en a honte collectivement (Olema 1984) puisque dans le monde de l'arbitraire seuls les forts jouissent de la légitimité.

L'imaginaire collectif est essentiellement ici "un schéma collectif d'interprétation des expériences individuelles" dont "la puissance unificatrice (...) est assurée par la fusion entre la vérité et normativité" (Baczko, 1984: 35) qui s'il ne le légitime pas le fait au moins subir le pouvoir. La mémoire collective est sensible à la durée et au changement même dans le domaine aussi important que l'identité: "Pour la danse, on dansait ensemble, c'est-à-dire tous les domestiques de chaque tribu sans discrimination tribale car elle n'existait pas encore". et "L'association Franco-Belge était pour nous tous, les gens de chaque colonie, exemple les gens de l'Angleterre, les Français..." (Jewsiewicki, 1983: 5). De même, comme je l'ai montré ailleurs (Jewsiewicki, 1980), la lecture des rapports sociaux semble être parfaitement lucide. S'il faut parler pour la période coloniale plutôt d'une conscience d'exploitation que de

celle de classe, l'usage actuelle du terme blanc —mundele ou muzungu en fait clairement, surtout dans la chanson, un terme de classe et pas de race. Le tableau "Simba Bulaya" construit autour de la légende du blanc mangeur d'hommes renforce cette perception.

Une absence qui frappe dans ce corpus pourtant très conscient du temps et du changement, est celle de l'utopie et donc d'espoir. L'imaginaire semble confisqué par le pouvoir et avec lui est confisqué l'espoir du changement.

Bibliographie

Baczko,B.(1984).Les imaginaires sociaux.Paris.

Bayart,J-F.(1983."La revanche des sociétés africaines",Politique africaine,11:95-126.

——(1984)."L'homme à la reine:les modes populaires d'action politique en situations autoritaires",ECPR Joint session of workshop, Salsburg,13-18 Avril.

Biaya,T.K.(1984a)."De l'aube des temps jusqu'alors:l'histoire contemporaine des Luluwa par Mbunyi Wa Buana",in Jewsiewicki 1984: 23-34.

——(1984b)"Malamba IV Mangole et Mwembe:histoire,idéologie et politique",in idem:66-69.

Bourdieu,P.(1982).Ce que parler veut dire.Paris.

——(1984)."Vous avez dit populaire?",idem,46:98-105.

G.Michaud(éd.).Identités collectives et relations inter-culturelles. Paris:11-19.

Buakasa,T.K.M.(1980).L'impensé du discours.Kinshasa.

Certeau,M. de(1980).L'invention du quotidien.Paris.

Chrétien,J.P.(1983)."Les historiens confrontés à l'échange inégal de l'oral et de l'écrit",13ème Conférence annuelle de l'ACEA,Québec.

Foucault,M.(1969).L'archéologie du savoir.Paris.

Goody,J.,1977.The domestication of the savage mind.Cambridge.

Genre Humain(1982),Paris,2:Penser,classer.

——(1983),Paris,5:La rumeur

Hobsbawm,E.(1983)."Introduction:Inventing Traditions",in Hobsbawm et Ranger(1983):1-14.

Hobsbawm,E. et T.Ranger(éds)(1983).The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge.

Jewsiewicki,P.(1980)."Political consciousness among African peasants in the Belgian Congo",Review of African Political Economy,19:23-32.

——(1983a)."Mémoire collective picturale,identités sociales et conscience de class à Lubumbashi",13e Conférence annuelle de l'ACEA, Québec.

——(1983b)."Iconographie,histoire et anthropologie:la peinture populaire urbaine au Zaïre",séminaire Anthropologie et histoire, Université de Provence,Aix-en-Provence,7 décembre 1983.

——(éd.).1984.Etat Indépendant du Congo,Congo belge,République Démocratique du Congo,République du Zaïre,?Québec.

Lambert,F.(1984)."A critical evaluation of African Texts",27e Conférence annuelle de l'ASA,Los Angeles.

MacGaffey,W.(1981)."African Ideology and Belief.A Survey",African Studies Review,24:

Meschonnick,H.(1982)."Qu'entendez-vous par oralité?",Langue française,56:6-23.

Mudimbe,V.Y.(1984)."African Gnosis",27e Conférence annuelle de l'ASA,Los Angeles.

Olema,D.(1984)."Société zaïroise dans le miroir de la chanson populaire",in Jewsiewicki 1984:122-130.

Pouillon,J.(1977)."Plus c'est la même chose,plus ca change",Nouvelle Revue de Psychoanalyse,15:203-211.

Ropars-Wuilleumier,M-C.(1981).Le texte divisé.Paris.

Trevor-Roper,H.(1983)."The Invention of Tradition:The Highland Tradition of Scotland",in Hobsbawm et Ranger(1983):15-42.

Thompson,E.P.(1967)."Time,Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitali Past and Present,38:

——(1978)."Folklore,anthropology and social history",Indian Historical Review,3:247-265.

Thompson,K.(1980)."Folklore and sociology",Sociological Review,28 249-275.

Université de Provence(1983).Les intermédiaires culturels.Actes du colloque du Centre méridional d'histoire sociale,des mentalités et des cultures.Aix en Provence.

Vansina,J.(1978).Children of Woot.Madison.

——(1980)."L'image,l'idéologie et histoire en Afrique Équatoriale", Enquêtes et documents d'histoire africaine,4:133-152.

Wallerstein,I.(1972).The Modern World System.New York.