The 2nd LSE PhD Symposium on Modern Greece: Current Social Science Research on Greece

LSE, June 10, 2005

Athanasia Chalari
PhD candidate in Sociology

University of Warwick
Sociology Department

Paper title:

"Why Greeks talk at the same time all together:

Examining the phenomenon of overlaps in everyday Greek conversations"

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Abstract

In recent work on Conversation Analysis there has been a growing interdisciplinary interest among conversation analysts and linguists with regard interpretation of social interaction and grammar/syntax. This paper investigates the phenomenon of overlaps in everyday Greek conversation within the context of the amalgamation of interaction and grammar/syntax. The core of the present investigation would be the study of how Greek grammar and syntax make possible the occurrence of overlaps in specific locations, in everyday Greek conversation. Greek grammar and syntax have specific functions (such as freer word order, much information included in the verb, subject omission) which allow interaction to occur in specific forms (displays early projectability and early occurrence of overlaps). Furthermore, the co-existence of the above grammatical and syntactical characteristics within a Greek turn, make possible the appearance of overlaps in specific locations. Consequently, syntactic practices of Modern Greek language shape the organisation of overlaps that occur in everyday Greek conversations.

In Greek, grammar and interaction organise each other and more specifically syntactic practices of language shape the organization of overlaps. This study proposes that if over time the suggestions of this study are generalisable then it could be supported that social and national stereotypes (for example that Greeks are loud or impolite or that they talk all together) actually born in interaction. Namely, those kinds of patterns (the production of early overlaps because of the Greek grammar and syntax) lead to those kinds of perceptions (that Greeks are loud and interruptive, as many of us characterise ourselves).

General Review

Conversational interaction can be understood as a form of social organization through which the work of most institutions of society –family, economy, policy, and socialization- gets done. The natural environment that helps conversation to develop and grow is language. One of the most fundamental preconditions for a viable social organization is the opportunity to participate in social interaction. For the members of societies, i.e. humans, conversation is the complete representation of this aspect of sociality. One feature that underlines all forms of talk-in-interaction is the turn-talking organisation. Schegloff, 2000 suggests that turn-taking is an organisation of practices

designed to allow routine achievement of what appears to be overwhelmingly the most common default 'numerical' value of speakership of talk on interaction: one party at a time (however, the cases of more than one speaker talk at a time are not rare and those cases are called *overlapping talk* or simultaneous talk, and this kind of conversational element will be the core of the present study).

This is a matter not so much of politeness as of the constitutive features of commonplace talk-in-interaction, as an enabling institution for orderly commence between people. In 1988, Schegloff mentions that the absence of such an organisation would subvert the possibility of stable trajectories of action and responsive action through which goal-oriented projects can be launched and pursued through talk-in-interaction, whether to success or failure. The organization of turn-taking practices in talk-in-interaction is among those features of social life that are so deeply embedded in ordinary common-sense practice that they challenge articulate awareness and explicit disciplined description.

Conversation (and other forms of talk in interaction) is the key organisational core into which language is introduced. An important organizational device for the structuring of talk in turns and especially the units from which turns are constructed is called: turn constructional units –TCU (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, -SSJ 1974: 702-703). The TCU can be identified as grammatical structuring as language's 'equivalent' fitting to the organizational need of turns as the 'host space' in which language deposits are accommodated. TCUs can constitute possibly complete turns, on their possible completion; transition to a next speaker becomes relevant. Therefore, grammar could be considered as a basic organization for the turn constructional unit. Consequently, a key unit of language organization for talk-in-interaction is the turn constructional unit; its natural habitat is the turn at talk; its organization should be called 'grammar' (Schegloff, 1996a).

The first possible point at which a turn-constructional unit is hearably complete is called turn-relevance place (TRP). This is a juncture where turn-transfer or speaker-change may potentially occur, though it need not necessarily take place at the first transition-relevance place (Tanaka, 1999: 27). Therefore, the accuracy of the turn-taking system must rely on a method of prediction on the part of inter-actants as to

where a turn is likely to be completed. The TRP is a spot in a turn that participants recognize as the potential end of a turn, a place where a transition from one speaker to another becomes relevant, and thus TRP can be understood as the possible completion of the turn. TRP is related with *projectability*, since, through projectability TRP can be recognised (in the following section this issue will be further analysed). Consequently, a word (or a phrase, or a clause or a sentence) being used as a complete turn will have TRP at its end. In conversational turn taking, the various practices that participants use to change from one speaker to another (or give another turn to the same speaker) operate at the TRP (Nofsinger, 1991: 81).

Furthermore, Schegloff mentions that grammatical and syntactical structures of language should be understood as at least partially shaped by the organization of the turn, the organizational unit that 'hosts' grammatical units (Schegloff, 1979). The following section will present the notion of projectability and relevant grammatical elements will also be discussed (although a more comprehensive discussion concerning Greek grammar and syntax follows in the next section).

Projectability.

An important concept for the establishment of common understanding and the regulation of talk is that of *projectability*.

> *"Projectability can be understood as those features of a Turn-Constructional Units (TCU), which allow participants to anticipate or predict where an instance of the unit will come to an end (…)The first possible point at which a TCU is hearably complete is the TRP"* (Tanaka, 1999: 27).

This is the property of utterances to project what is going to occur within a turn and its possible completion point or turn relevance place – TRP (SSJ, 1974: 702; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998: 48). The way turns are constructed and the units are used is important for what is projected. In post-positional languages such as German and Japanese, the 'sense' of what is being said is most often left for the very end, where the verb appears in clause-final position. In these languages we have low projectability. The opposite occurs in a pre-positional language such as English:

projectability is high, as the crucial elements of the clause are in the beginning of the fixed SVO (Subject –Verb-Object) (Schegloff et al., 1996). Research has shown that turn beginnings in English are important places in the turn for turn-shape and turn-type projection (Schegloff, 1987). According to Schegloff:

> *"Projectability is the capacity to project for a hearer more or less what it would take for the talk-unit then in progress to be possibly complete. Such a projection could, of course, be confirmed or transformed by any next bit of talk out of the speaker's mouth, or any talk-related other conduct (gesticulation, facial expression, posture, etc.)"* (Schegloff, 2000: 43).

A key element of the turn-taking organization is the projectability of possible turn completion in advance of its actual arrival[1]. As Ochs, et al (1996) demonstrate, it is clear that a basic contribution to projectability is grammar structure. They also state that it is possible that projectability might vary within different grammatical structures. English grammar for example gives more weight to word order than to morphological inflection, and that is –within the word order languages – a so-called SVO language[2]. Therefore, by the time ordinary English clauses/sentences approach their ends; their last elements have often been substantially adumbrated, and may appear well determined. The projectability can then be very high (Schegloff, et al 1996). Schegloff (1987a) also says of English conversation:

> *"Turn beginnings are an important initial place, and an important initial resource, for the projection of the turn-shape or the turn-type of the turn that is being begun at the turn beginning. Such projection is a critical resource for the organisation of the turn-taking system for conversation. It is a critical resource for the organisation of a system that aims to achieve, and massively does achieve, the feature: one speaker speaks at a time in conversation."* (Schegloff , 1987: 71).

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[1] Further analysis see Lerener,G. H., (1996) & Ford, C. E. and Thompson, S .A. (1996)
[2] Note that Greek is a VSO language as it will be discussed but the pattern of SVO is used more often.

 Elsewhere, Schegloff mentions that generally the starts of turns are designed to connect to their prior turns, and their ends are designed to provide projections and connections for their following turns (Sacks et at 1974: 722).

Hence, as it becomes clear, projectability is a very important tool in everyday conversations in order to predict or understand what the speaker might say next. Also, projectability is directly related to syntactic practices of each language and English (as a SVO) language can be characterised as language that could offer 'early projectability'. Finally as Schegloff in 1987 argues, and SSJ, in 1974 states, the beginnings of TCUs are very important in CA studies as they could project what it might follow. In Greek, as it shall be argued, there are often cases of 'early projectability' which derives from the Greek word order and the phenomenon of 'subject deletion'[3]. Furthermore it will be argued that syntactic strategies of Greek language shape the organization of overlaps. In other words, early projectability in Greek language is directly related with the phenomenon of overlaps which occur in specific locations within Greek TCUs.

<u>The identification of the phenomenon of overlap.</u>

As it was discussed, the basic method that conversations are organised in a way that can present a form of social organization and the notion of talk-in-interaction is turn-talking organization. As SSJ argues in 1974, the basic target of turn-taking organisation[4] is the achievement of one party talking at a time. The absence of such an organisation would subvert the possibility of stable trajectories of action and responsive action through which goal oriented projects can be initiated and practised through talk in interaction, whether to success or failure (Schegloff, 1988: 98-99).

The organisation of turn taking which represents the practice of talk in interaction directly derives from every day common sense practices. This characteristic of social life was first observed and studied by E. Goffman in 1955. After this first attempt Duncan and his associates (1972 and 1977) continued analogue studies (i.e. two

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[3] Further discussion will follow.
[4] For further reading on turn-taking: Tanaka, H. (1999), Nofsinger, R. E. (1991) and Ten Have, P. (1999)

persons interactions). However, the main account offered in the social sciences has been that of SSJ in 1974. According to SSJ the central problem in turn taking in conversation is an organization device that would allow parties to achieve the design feature of one-party-at-a-time in the face of a recurrent change in which the speaking party was, while providing as well for such occasions of multiple speakership as the parties might undertake to co-construct (Schegloff, 2000).

Schegloff (2000) supports that talk by more than one person at a time in the same conversation is one of the two major departures that occur from the basic design feature of conversation, and of talk-in-interaction (more generally namely 'one at a time'). The other departure is silence i.e. fewer than one at the time. Comparison with activities that are designed to apply other values of 'one-at-a-time' (e.g. 'all-at-a-time' in political or athletic venues) allows an appreciation of a different sound talk-in-interaction has by virtue of its one-party-at-a-time design. No matter how much overlapping talk can be found in the talk of members of such categories the talk appears to be co-constructed by reference to one-at-a-time as its target design feature, rather than to any other value Schegloff (2000).

> *"However simultaneous talk comes into being- whether by simultaneous start-ups of a next turn by more than a single speaker, or by apparently orderly and warrantable start-ups by a next speaker while a prior is still talking (Sacks et al, 1974:721, Jefferson, 1984a, Lerner, 1991, 1996) or by outright interruptions whether designed or not (…) The most obvious practice for stopping talk by more than one at a time is to stop talking. One or more of the parties to the simultaneous talk should stop talking; and to display that it is the overlapping talk that is the grounds for stopping, they should stop talking before coming to a possible completion of the turn-constructional-unit they are producing "* (Schegloff, 2000: 3).

Therefore, as it was presented above, *overlap,* which can also be understood as *simultaneous talk,* is identified as the talk two or more persons produce at the same time. Furthermore, the notion of overlap or simultaneous talk should not be confused with the term 'interruption' whose service (as Schegloff, 2000 states) an analytic resource is overwhelmed by serious problems and which is used as a vernacular term.

Moreover, it should be underlined that in the present study we are not interested in the management of overlaps or who produces them or why, as Schegloff, 2000 tries to analyse in his study. This study investigates the position an overlap can take in a Greek clause and the connection this position might have with the Greek word order (i.e. the position of the verb and subject). In other words, how the function of Greek syntax and grammar can make the appearance of overlaps possible in particular positions. Finally 'overlaps' refer to talk by 'more than one person at a time' and as Schegloff, 2000 suggests, regularly when more than one person talking at a time, two persons talk at the same time and no more. Talk by more than two at a time seems to be reduced to two even more effectively than talk by two is reduced to one.

 The involvement of syntactical and grammatical elements

Overlaps in the present study are examined in relevance with projectability that syntactical elements within the turn can provide. As it was discussed before, linguistics can contribute to the further understanding of projectability and in this study, linguistics provided the basis for the understanding of the projectability, according to the word order patterns Greek language can offer. Therefore, syntactic organisation can determine how projectabilty can be unfolded and in which spot within the turn. In this study, syntactic practices of Greek language shall be supported that shape the organization of overlaps.

Conversation Analysis on Anglo-American interaction has proven to be an innovative field of investigation into the detailed organization of a wide variety of naturally occurring interactional phenomena. This study attempts to make a contribution to the area through an examination of the phenomenon of overlaps in everyday Greek conversation. This examination shall be based on the syntactic organisation of Greek utterances, which shall guide this investigation to the appreciation of the early projectability Greek everyday conversation sentences could display. The next step would be the identification of a possible location overlaps might take, according to the most preferred word order pattern Greeks use.   However, since basic research on Greek interactional organisation and conversation analysis and therefore overlaps is still relatively sparse, this dissertation will be centred on Greek language, while relying on existing work on overlaps and projectability by others (e.g. SSJ. 1974,

Schegloff, 2000, Lerner, 1996) and on Greek syntactic organization by linguistic scientists (e.g. Philippaki-Warburton, 1985; 1987; 1990; Mavrogiorgos, 2003; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 1998; Georgiafentis, 2001).

Method:

In this study, the method of Conversation Analysis is used – an approach to the analysis of spoken interaction that was first developed in the 1960s by the sociologist Harvey Sacks and his collaborators. The data for this dissertation is from an audio recording of naturally occurring conversations that take place in three different encounters. The first encounter involves three students (two law students and a girl) lasting 90 minutes. The second encounter involves three young men, lasting approximately 60 minutes and the third encounter takes place between the members of a family and it lasts 60 minutes. Each transcript is labelled after the people who take part. Thus, in the first encounter the transcript is called "Law students", the second "Kostas-Petros-Nikos" and the third "Family". All participants are Greek native speakers and they come from Athens. The ages of participants are between 20 and 50. The setting for each encounter is informal and the two first conversations ("law students" and "Kostas-Petros-Nikos") take place in a café whereas the third ("family") takes place in the family's home.

The study is based on the analysis of 210 minutes of the recording. The first line of each turn in each transcript is written in English characters but it is a phonetic rendering of the original Greek utterance. The second line is a direct word-by-word translation in English of the previous line (including grammatical descriptions) and the last line is the English gloss. All symbols that are used in the second line are analytically presented in the appendix. The following example taken from the transcripts constitute an illustration of the above description:

(1. Family Transcript)

```
05.I:  >pes  mu pos geernusate to  vradee< sto Peeso Leevadee
       >tell me how came back  CLI night < CLI Piso  Livadi
       >tell me how you were going back in< Piso Livadi at night
```

```
06.A:  °me   to  leoforeeo°
       °with CLI bus°
       °by bus°
```

The main phenomenon that it was identified was overlapping talk and the following symbol marked it: […], but also some prosodic features are marked. An example of overlapping talk shall make clear the above symbol:

(2. Family Transcript)

```
25.A:  elate edo  Keereea Taseea [pu    pate?]
       come  here Ms      1nameF [where go?]
       Ms Tasia come here [where you are going?]
26.T:                            [erhome:e ]
                                 [comi:ing ]
                                 [I'm comi:ing]
```

CA Presentation:

Conversation Analysis (CA) is a research tradition that grew out of ethnomethodology, and has some unique methodological features. It studies the social organisation of 'conversation', or 'talk-in-interaction', by a detailed inspection of tape recordings and transcriptions made from such recordings. Conversation Analysis is a disciplined way of studying the local organisation of interactional episodes; its unique methodological practice has enabled its practitioners to produce a mass of insights into the detailed procedural foundations of everyday life. It has developed some very practical solutions to some rather thorny methodological problems.

As Heritage & Atkinson (1984) mention:

> "*The central goal of conversation analytic research is the description and explication of the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction. At its most basic, this objective is one of describing the procedures by which conversationalists produce their own behaviour and understand and deal with the behaviour of*

> *others. A basic assumption throughout is Garfinkel's (1967: 1) proposal that these activities - producing conduct and understanding and dealing with it - are accomplished as the accountable products of common sets of procedures".*
> (Heritage & Atkinson 1984:1)

The idea is that conversations are orderly, not only for observing analysts, but in the first place for participating members (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973: 290; Sacks, 1984 a: 22). This orderliness is seen as the product of the systematic deployment of specifiable interactional methods - 'devices', 'systems', an 'apparatus' - that are used by members as solutions to specifiable organisational problems in social interaction. These methods have a double-faced characteristic: on the one hand they are quite general, while on the other they allow for a fine-tuned adaptation to local circumstances; in the terminology used by Sacks et al (1974), they are both 'context-free' and 'context-sensitive'.

CA researchers insist on the use of audio- or video recordings of episodes of 'naturally occurring' that is non-experimental, interaction as their basic data. This insistence is quite unique in the social sciences. The subject of investigation for conversation analysts is sequences and turns within sequences rather than isolated sentences or utterances that have become the primary units of analysis. This focus on participant orientation to the turn-within-sequence character of utterances in conversational interaction has significant substantive and methodological consequences. In a variety of ways, the production of some current conversational action proposes a here-and-now definition of the situation to which subsequent talk will be oriented. Instances of this process occur when the current turn projects a relevant next action, or range of actions, to be accomplished by another speaker in the next turn – a phenomenon generally referred as the 'sequential implicativeness' of a turn's talk (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973: 296). Therefore, the vast majority of utterances occur as selections from a field of possibilities made relevant by some prior utterance, and in their turn project a rage of possible 'nexts'.

Greek Grammar and Syntax: a Linguistic Approach

The Greek grammar.

In this section we shall investigate how Greek grammar and syntax make some actions possible. This way of analysing data through conversation analysis (i.e. interaction and grammar) is very strongly supported in English literature (Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson, 1996). Since Greek language is different from English, and there is no relevant literature regarding this view on Greek syntax, the basic features of Greek syntax and grammar are considered vital, and therefore should be presented.

Although Greek has been traditionally considered an SVO (Subject, Verb, Object) language (cf. Greenberg 1963; Lightfoot 1981), nowadays it is generally accepted that VSO is the basic word order, being the most neutral one in structural and pragmatic terms (cf. Philippaki-Warburton 1985; Tsimpli 1990). Furthermore, in Greek the subject and/or the object may precede or follow the verb, yielding a relatively free(er) word order.

However, generally, the most repeatedly form of word order in a clause in Greek language is: Subject (S), Verb (V) and Object (O). The verb is the central element of the clause since every clause must contain a verb with the exception of some popular clauses where the verb *"eeme"* - *"I am"* may be unexpressed/implicit. Furthermore, the number and the type of components that may combine with the verb are determined by the type of the verb (direct, indirect, locative, benefactive e.t.c.) or predicate complements as well as the manner, place and time adverbials, which modify the verb. It would be beneficial to present an example:

"Kostas sees Athens"

The VERB in a sentence tells us what is happening (here it is sees). Who is doing the seeing? Obviously, Kostas is doing the seeing. We call the doer the SUBJECT of the sentence. There is one word left over in this sentence, Athens. This is what Kostas sees, the object of his vision. We call this the OBJECT of the verb. In order to understand better Greek syntax we should focus our attention in verb, subject and object separately.

In Greek we use single words to express each of these tenses. Thus, in English "I was stopping" is three words, while in Greek it is only one (*stamatusa*). Greek tenses are very important in Greek language. This observation is essential for the present study. As will be shown, the occurrence of an overlap could depend on when a participant could guess what the speaker might say. In Greek language a single word, (e.g. a verb) might project more information than it could project in English language or other languages, and in that sense, the overlap might occur earlier in a Greek sentence. As will be shown in the following section, the position of an overlap could be related to the position of the verb in a clause, and therefore it is very important to understand the projectability verbs could contain. This projectability is actually 'located' in the Greek verb ending. Thus the more we can understand of how the Greek verbs operate, the better we shall understand the position of the overlaps.

(3. Family)

```
05.I:  >pes   mu pos geernusate to  vradee< sto Peeso Leevadee
       >tell me how came back  CLI night < CLI Piso  Livadi
       >tell me how you were going back at< Piso Livadi at night
```

This is a characteristic example, which shows clearly the difference between the use of a Greek verb, and the analogous in English. The verb *"geernusa-te"* is a single word that the ending –te indicates the person: you, the tense: past continues, the number: plural, the voice: passive etc. As it is obvious, there is much information that a single verb can provide. Therefore, in an everyday Greek conversation, a participant may easily guess what the present speaker is about to say, just by hearing the first verb of a clause.

The Subject.

Subject, in Greek language is the word (or the part of sentence) that shows the one who acts or the one who receives an action or the one who is in a situation. An additional important point that requires clarification is when we can have omission or deletion of the subject (ellipsis or implicit). This case occurs very often in Greek language, but mainly when the subject is easily understood. For example:

(4.Law students)

```
77.A:   =eeha par[ee:ee]
        = had   ta[ke]
        =I had cho[sen]

78.D:             [to single] market    den>eehes paree<?=
                  [CLI+SG single]market NEG> had    take<?=
                  Haven't you chosen the single market (module)?=
```

In this fragment the verb is in blue. In the phrase "eeha paree:ee", we observe deletion of the subject. This deletion however, is perfectly understandable since the verb 'eeha' contains the meaning of the subject. The subject is the word 'ego' or in translation 'I'. As we will see in the following sections, this phenomenon is very common in Greek language. Furthermore, it is a very important observation which will be related in the following analysis, with the position of the overlaps. In the previous example, the overlap is located very early in the clause, and a possible reason could be the early projectability of the following phrase. A further and more detailed analysis will make this point clear in the following sections.

A synthetic example.

In order to understand how Greek verbs function and how the subjects could be omitted in Greek, some characteristic examples taken from the Family transcript demonstrate the above characteristics. (Please note that the words in blue are the verbs in each sentence).

 (5. Family)

```
615.T:  menun        [olee mazee   ]?
        live         [all  together]?
        do they live [all together]?
616.F:             [.h mazee    ke] ee    gee  tus?
                   [.h together and] CLI+PL sons POS?
                   [.h with them and] their sons?
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617.A:   e:eh den xero
         e:eh NEG knoW
         e:eh I don't know
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 In the above example, the verb is "*men<u>un</u>*" which directly means "they live" (the ending –*un* provides this information). Also there is a question. In Greek language the question is identified from the voice's tone, but in English language the word "do" has to be added. Thus, the word "menun?" is translated as: "do they live?". Furthermore, is the case that the subject is implicit because it is inferred from the verb. We can also see that the verb is at the beginning of the sentence and exactly after F. heard this word, overlapped with the first speaker and he made clear that he understood what T. was about to say. If this dialogue was in English the second speaker may have had to wait to hear three words instead of one in order to understand what the second speaker was about to say, and then decide if he will overlap with him or not.

 The Greek syntax – The Linguistics' contribution.

In Modern Greek (hence Greek) the structure of a clause depends in many ways on the subject. There have been many arguments concerning a general pattern of the Greek word order and the recent linguistic research has focused its attention on the location of the subject. It should be mentioned briefly that Casimali (1991) has argued that Greek language is a non-configurational language with 'flat' clause structure while Tsimpli (1990) advocates a 'configurational' analysis in which subjects invariably occupy a position structurally superior to complements. Tsimpli also argues, following Philippaki-Warburton (1985, 1987, 1990) that Greek has VSO as its basic word order, and that VSO order arises only when a topicalized constituent adjoined to the projection of a higher functional category is coindexed with a null subject (pro) in the canonical, postverbal, subject position. Horrocks (1992) also supports this view by providing further evidence. However, two recent studies propose a different approach concerning word order in Greek language. Georgiafentis (2001) studies the VSO order and criticises Philippaki-Warburton's models. Furthermore, Mavrogiorgos (2003) presents the basic patterns of word order in

Modern Greek. In the present discussion we shall present the importance of the subject in Greek word order.

Greek is a Null Subject Language (NSL), and many properties of Greek subjects have been attributed to this fact. There have been quite a few analyses of Greek subjects and other related issues by a number of linguists, mainly in the GB model (e.g., Philippaki-Warburton 1987; Drachman 1989; Horrocks 1992), but also in the Minimalist Program (e.g., Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998; Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 2001). As we can understand, the role of the subject is central in linguistic analysis and some recent research has taken place concerning the nature of Greek subjects and their structural positions (Mavrogiorgos, 2003, Georgiafentis, 2001). As we shall support in the present study, the position of the subject (or the deletion of the subject) is one of the key elements in the position of an overlap in Greek language and therefore the understanding of the structural position of it is essential. The following section describes the word order patterns in Modern Greek, and therefore the main properties of Greek subjects shall be analysed.

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 The nature of Greek subjects.

As it was mentioned above, Greek is a Null Subject Language. This means that in Greek clauses the pronominal subject can be dropped. Note that pro (representation of subject deletion) must be identified by the agreement suffix on the verb, the latter being the only element in the clause that bears the appropriate person and number features. This is related to the traditional view that verbal agreement morphology is in some way responsible for the possibility of null subjects (cf. Taraldsen 1978)[5]. The availability of pro (subject deletion) is associated with a group of other phenomena, such as subject inversion, apparent absence of filter effects, and in general subject-object asymmetries (cf. Rizzi 1982 for Italian). In all these cases the overt subject is said to move to a postverbal position, while an expletive pro is in. The null hypothesis is that an element enters the numeration only if it has an effect on output (Chomsky 1995: 294). Since pro has by definition no phonological features, only semantic evidence can support its existence (Mavrogiorgos, 2003: 15-17).

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[5] Rich morphology is not enough, as languages like Hebrew or Chinese show (cf. Rizzi 1997b).

Quantitative Evidence.

As it was described above the basic word order pattern in Greek is the SVO. This conclusion derives either from theoretical linguistic aspects or from quantitative studies. In Lascaratou, (1989: 42 and 47-48) on the basis of the analysis of 2530 active declarative clauses, it was shown that SVO was by far the most frequent active transitive order (49.2%), in contrast with VSO (1.1%) and VOS (0.7%), as well as the overwhelmingly most frequent main clause order (62.8%). In other words, SVO is the main clause order *par excellence,* which justifies the widely held view that Modern Greek is an SVO language. However as Laskaratou states and as modern literature supports, Greek should plausibly be classified as having free word order with SVO as its *dominant* active transitive order.

The above study supports in statistical terms the most common word order. In the present study, the fragments that are going to be used will mainly have the SVO word order and therefore it was necessary to explain why this word order is the basic and – as it was supported- the most frequent. Also many fragments that will be used for this study should present the phenomenon of the subject deletion. The following study could present some statistical frequencies which might explain this preference:

The study examines the frequency of the deletion of the subject and took place in 1996 by Katsimali. . In newspapers' articles she observed that the subject is missing very often from the sentence (72.2%) but in natural occurring dialogues the frequency of the subject deletion is even higher and the presence of the subject is the lowest (27.7%). This fact according to Katsimali can be explained as long as the two speakers have given all their attention to the dialogue and they can easily understand what the next speaker wants/tries to say. It was also observed that in natural occurring conversations the subject was located before the verb (SV) slightly less times (49.4%) than the verb was located before the subject (VS) (50.5%).

As becomes obvious the phenomenon of subject deletion is common in Greek as it was explained in the previous section, but also there is some statistical evidence that it is frequent especially in natural occurring conversations. Therefore, it can be

supported that the examples that are going to be studied (which present the phenomenon of subject deletion) in this study are not rare occasions in everyday dialogues. The linguistic literature investigates mainly written (and not oral-verbal) conversations-fragments-sentences and dialogues which could be produced in everyday life (or can be characterised by linguistic scientists as typical examples). Therefore both studies (especially the first one) which were discussed above are mainly based on written and not oral speech and especially not on spontaneous oral conversations. Nevertheless, they support the existence and the importance of phenomena (subject deletion in relation to word order) that this thesis investigates from a different scientific point of view.

Exploring projectability through overlap.

Projectability and Overlaps in Greek Language.

Schegloff proposes a key role of grammar: to provide orderliness to the shape of interactional turns and to facilitate the calibration of possible turn endings and turn-taking. Cecilia Ford and Sandra Thompson (1996) found that syntax alone is not an adequate guide to projecting when a speaker is completing a turn, but rather that interlocutors also rely on intonational and pragmatic structures in making such projections. Lerner in 1996 studied further the interlocutors who anticipate the remainder of a turn before a current speaker has completed his/her utterance. In the present study, Greek grammar and syntax were extensively investigated in order to understand how they contribute to the possible appearance of certain social actions. Such action is overlap or simultaneous talk.

So far it was supported that Modern Greek is characterized by flexible order of constituents in the clause (Holton et al., 1997), but at the same time it was suggested that, VSO is the basic word order. The subject is very often omitted and therefore the verb regularly takes, the place of the first word in a Greek clause. Verbs contain a big amount of information in their endings (including the subject) and therefore when the verb appears in the beginning of a sentence the following speaker is able to anticipate

what might follow. This can point to the argument of early projectability[6] in Modern Greek.[7] Turn initial position in Greek is therefore an important structural point for the study of conversation.

In the transcripts that were used for the present study, there were found numerous examples of early projectability. Several of those fragments contain overlaps[8] within the turn in progress that the early projectability is observed. Overlaps in those cases indicate early understanding of the hearer of what the current speaker might say next. Furthermore, syntactic elements shall be connected with early projectability in order to demonstrate the relevance between Greek word order, projectability and overlaps.

Early Projectability and Overlap.

Firstly we have to describe how projectability is related with overlaps in Greek every day conversation.

(6. Family)

```
269.M:   poso  to  peeres  to  walkman?
         How   CLI bought  CLI walkman?
         How much did the walkman cost?


270.A:   e:e 50 evro
         e:e 50 euros


271.M:   kalee [teemee]
         good  [price]
272.A:          [eehe  ke] akreevotera    ke  kaleetera
                [had  and] more expensive and better
                [there were] some others more expensive and much
                 better.
```

---

[6] As it was discussed, "Projectability can be understood as those features of a Turn-Constructional Units (TCU), which allow participants anticipate or predict where an instance of the unit will come to an end (…)The first possible point at which a TCU is hearably complete is the TRP" (Tanaka, 1999: 27).

[7] Projectability in Greek may be even higher than English, as it will be analysed later on.

[8] As it was discussed *overlap,* which can also be understood as simultaneous talk, is identified as the talk two or more persons produce at the same time.

In this fragment A and M are talking about a walkman A bought. After M asks A how much the walkman cost, A says the price and in line 271 M starts the utterance by saying 'good'. The word 'good' is what A heard and it was enough to understand that M was characterising the price. Therefore, A produces simultaneous talk after the production of the word 'good' by M, and explains that there were some more expensive walkmans in the store. Obviously this is a case of early projectability which is followed from an overlap. We have to add at this point that the overlap occurs close to TRP since as M said 'good', A understood that he was referring to the price and that M was close to a possible completion of the turn. This is why he overlaps with him. Word order in this fragment does not have any interesting application but it constitutes a characteristic example of early projectability.

Subject deletion, early projectability and overlap.

As it was discussed in the previous chapters, subject deletion is a very common syntactic phenomenon in Greek language. We shall now see how subject deletion is related to early projectability. The following fragment shall exemplify this case:

(7. Law students)

```
76.D:  esee peea ↑eehes  paree?=
       you  which  had   taken?=
       which ones you have chosen?


77.A:  =eeha par[ee:ee]
       = had   ta[ke]
       =I had cho[sen]
78.D:           [to single] market    den>eehes paree<?=
                [CLI+SG single]market NEG> had    take<?=
                [haven't you] chosen the single market (module)?=
```

D and A are students and they are talking about some modules they've chosen. D asks A in line 76 which modules he has chosen. In line 77 A begins his utterance by saying the word 'eeha'. This word in blue is the verb (= had) of the sentence. As it was discussed in the second chapter verb endings provide much information for the

syntactic sentence and for the understanding of the participants. Therefore, in this case the verb ending (–a) indicates that 'I' was the one who had (e.g. chosen). Thus 'eeha' indicates that the subject is the word 'I' which does not have to be spoken because it can be understood from the verb ending. As A pronounce the word 'eeha' (= I had) D understands that A is talking about something *he had* done in the *past* (the time is aorist). Therefore, since the question had to do with the modules A had chosen he did not wait for A to complete his utterance but he understood and predicted his answer, although, D takes the floor not close to TRP. This is why he overlaps with him in the middle of the second word (which he might understand which that word was) A produces and he says what modules he thought A had chosen.

In this fragment we have a case of subject deletion and early projectability which is understood by the production of the overlap the participant displays in the middle of the production of the second word. We have to mention though that although early projectability is achieved, the change of the turn, does not take place close to TRP. In other words the overlap does not occur close to a possible end of the current turn.

<u>SVO word order, early projectability and overlap.</u>

As it was supported, VSO is the basic word order in Greek language. However, in the present study the SVO pattern is going to be used because this pattern occurred repeatedly and as it was discussed, this is the word order Greeks use more often in everyday conversations. Furthermore, subject deletion arise very often and therefore, the SVO is considered as SVO and not VO although S is not expressed verbally.

(8. Law students)

```
292.A:  mu   les o      Deemaras tha  [paree 8%]
        POS say CLI+SG 2nameM   will [get  8%]
        you tell me that Dimaras will [get 8%]
293.D:                                [OHI deeno] 10% sto
                                      [NO(I)give] 10% CLI+SG
                                      [NO I give] 10% to

294.D:  Deemara ke  8% sto    Kuvelee
```

```
        2nameM   and 8% CLI+SG 2nameM
        Dimaras and 8% to Kuvelis


→295.A: boro    [na eeme seguros]
        can     [CO be sure]
         I can [be sure]
→296.D :        [pereepu mu les]
                [nearly POS say]
                [(tell me more or less)]
```

In this fragment, A and D are making some estimations concerning the percentages two politicians are going to get in national elections. In 292 A says what he thought D believed about the percentage one of the politicians would get. In 293 D overlaps (but this overlap shall not be analysed at this point) with A as he corrects him. In 295 A begins his utterance with the verb in blue 'boro' (=I can). We have a case of subject deletion and therefore after the production of the S and the V it is expected (in syntactic terms) that O should follow. Indeed the sentence 'na eeme seeguros' (= to be sure) constitutes the O. However, D overlaps with the speaker after the production of the verb, obviously not close to TRP, which means that the only word he heard was the word 'boro' (= I can). Consequently, the present word order-SVO offered the hearer the chance to predict what the current speaker would say next, after the production of only one word, and therefore, he overlapped with him. It has to be underlined once again that the TCU in line 295 was not close to completion, thus not close to TRP. However, D takes the floor from A as he overlaps with him and at the same time he displays understanding of the current turn-in-progress Finally, D in 296, displays understanding of the utterance A produced although he did not hear it because he was talking simultaneously with A.

This is an example of SVO pattern which contains subject deletion, gives the chance of early projectability by the production of the first word/verb and also this example ends with an overlap between the two speakers which occurs after the production of the first word/verb i.e. very early in the utterance and not close to TRP. The combination of the above contradictory findings (early projectability that leads to an overlap but not close to TRP) are characteristics that occur repeatedly in everyday Greek conversations.

A synthetic example:

(9. Family)

```
355.I:  steen Eveea eetan orea
        CLI   Evia  was   nice
        in Evia was nice


356.T:  peegename      [polee seehna]
        going          [very  often ]
        we were going [very often]
357.M:                 [eemun ke ego?]
                       [was   and I? ]
                       [I was with you too?]
```

In this fragment we have the chance to see all the syntactic and CA elements co-exist in one turn. I, T, and M are talking about a place they used to go in their holidays. In 356 T, produces the verb 'peegename'. This verb is translated as 'we were going'. As we can see, the subject once again is deleted (S = we), and although the pattern is SVO the verb is located in the beginning of the utterance. As it was discussed in the second chapter, the verb under the present circumstances contains much information that the hearer can understand just by the production of a single word, i.e. the verb. Therefore, the verb 'peegenane' displays early projectability and thus, the next speaker understands what the rest of the turn could be (although the end to the production of the verb 'peegename' does not constitute a TRP) and he overlaps with the current speaker in order to make an explanatory question. The question concerns the turn the current speaker produces but the next speaker (M) does not hear because of the production of the simultaneous talk. Namely, as T says 'we were going' M understands that T refers to that place (Evia) but he can not understand if T means that M was with them in that place. Thus, he overlaps with T in order to clarify this point. This example is very characteristic of SVO pattern, which encloses a subject deletion and at the same time the first word is the verb that provides early projectability and the 'ground' of an early overlap, although it does not occur close to TRP.

Possible placement of overlap in SVO patterns.

As it was discussed, the present dissertation focuses its attention on the cases of SVO word order pattern and at the same time the syntactic phenomenon of subject deletion is considered. It was observed in the transcripts that were used for the present study that overlaps tend to take a specific position – a position that is made possible by the syntax of Greek [According to Levinson (1983), overlaps tend to occur close to TRPs. When they do not, they are hearable as interruptive]. Furthermore, after an extensive study in the linguistic area, it was found that SVO is indeed the most repeatedly pattern of word order in Greek language and subject deletion is a regular syntactic phenomenon. Therefore, the pattern that the overlaps occurred in the present data (SVO) was not accidental. Furthermore, it can be argued that the location of the specific overlaps was not coincidental either, since as it was deeply investigated, those overlaps have every reason to occur at that location. In terms of syntactic theory it was supported that the first verb in the utterance can contain extensive information and can also enclose the subject. Therefore the hearer can understand much information from one single word. Furthermore, in CA terms it was supported that projectability plays a central role in the evolution of a turn and more importantly, as Schegloff proposed, the beginning of the turn is the most important part for the projectability this turn could display.

Therefore, the position of a verb in the beginning of a sentence, which has a SVO form and the subject is deleted, can be supported that could produce early projectability. Moreover, early projectability could lead the hearer to overlap with the current speaker since he/she displays early understanding of what the rest of the turn could be. The overlap however, does not occur necessarily close to TRP.

However, we have to add at this point that in a TCU which begins with a verb, it is very difficult – if not impossible to locate a possible TRP after the production of the verb. Although, the first verb of a TCU can display early projectability, it can not be considered as a location of TRP. This observation was also mentioned in the fragments that were presented so far. This leads us to the suggestion that overlaps which occur under the conditions described above are also related to the rest of the content of the conversation. The understanding from the participants of the rest of the conversation and the co-occurrence of the above characteristics could guide this

investigation to a suggestion of how the Greek syntax and grammar make certain actions possible, or else, suggests possible positions of overlaps that are made possible by the syntax and grammar of Greek.

According to these reflections the possible location of an overlap could be identified as follows: In every fragment that was presented in this section, the overlap occurs just after the production of the verb, i.e. just after the production of the first word. This means that this analysis offers the presumption that in SVO pattern it is possible that *if* an overlap would occur, this overlap might take the position after the first verb:

SUBJECT – VERB – *OVERLAP* – OBJECT

(S – V – [ ] – O), []: overlap

But as it was discussed in a case of subject deletion, the verb comes in the beginning of the utterance, and then the overlap shall take the following position:

VERB – *OVERLAP*- OBJECT.

(V – [ ] – O)

Furthermore, as it was observed in many fragments, the current speaker might not complete his/her turn, thus in this case the position of the overlap is simply the following:

VERB – *OVERLAP*.

(V – [ ])

The present suggestion of the location of overlaps in Greek is only applicable under the specific circumstances that were analysed above. Any kind of generalisation can not be implied. However, further research on the location that overlaps could take, is essential, but not only in Greek language. Also, further comparison of the above findings with the form of early projectability that English language was claimed to have, would be enlightening. It has to be mentioned however, that the term 'early projectability' can not be understood in the same way in both languages (Greek and English).

Furthermore, Chalari in 2005 tried to reveal the placement of overlaps within some syntactic patterns that were not discussed in this paper. A syntactic phenomenon like this was the omission of the verb. Early overlaps could also occur in utterances without a verb. This observation is seditious and confined at the same time, since on the one hand, the core of a utterance is the verb according to linguists and the present research supports that the occurrence of overlaps is strongly related with the position of the verb, and on the other, the occasion of a utterance which does not have a verb is obviously atypical. As Chalari suggests, even if the verb is omitted we can still observe occasions of early overlaps. This observation however, can not relate the occurrence of the overlaps with a location close to TRP. In some cases overlaps did occur close to TRPs but in some others they did not. The content of the whole conversation allows early projectability to occur, even if the TCU does not begin with a verb.

Furthermore, it was supported by Chalari (2005), that early overlaps might occur in sentences which the subject is not omitted or in sentences with different word order (i.e. not SVO which was used in this study), such as the unusual word order of OVS. Again, those observations although constituting examples of non-typical occasions, support the argument that early overlaps can occur even in a different syntactic structure. Finally, as Chalari argues, anticipatory completions could be understood as an alternative understanding of overlaps which involve simultaneous talk within a distinctive syntactic pattern (i.e. if X $\rightarrow$ then Y).

Conclusively, it can be argued that overlaps in everyday Greek conversation constitute a distinctive phenomenon which has many and different ways to occur within a turn in progress. Although this study tried to identify the most typical pattern in which overlaps could arise, it becomes apparent that there are endless occurrences that the phenomenon of overlaps (and especially early overlaps) could take. Therefore, further research on more syntactic patterns is essential.

Finally, what became apparent from this paper is that Greek grammar and syntax organise interaction and vice versa. Greek grammar makes such early overlaps

possible, under specific circumstances which were discussed. It was supported that Greek word order and specifically the position of the verb is strongly related with the early appearance of overlap or else, social action such as overlaps within everyday Greek conversations is connected with the position of the verb within a turn in progress. In this study, TRPs were not related with the appearance of overlaps and since simultaneous talk occurred in locations not close to TRPs they could be characterised as interruptive [as Levinson (1983) states].

Discussion.

The central attempt of this research was to support the argument that syntactic practices of Greek language shape the organisation of overlaps that occur in everyday Greek conversations. In order to propose that grammar and interaction organise each other, we had to follow an amalgamative path which had a dual departure: the deep understanding of how conversational interaction is organised and how Greek grammar and syntax function. In order to achieve this target, we had to combine CA and linguistic analysis in order to explore the phenomenon of overlaps in everyday Greek conversations, or in order to support the suggestion that *syntactic practices of language shape the organisation of overlaps*.

What became clear was that the understanding of Greek grammar and syntax constitute the basis for this exploration. The extensive discussion of how linguists perceive Greek word order and how they explain syntactic phenomena (i.e. subject deletion) guided this endeavour to the core of its investigation: the synthesis of syntactic elements (the basic SVO word order and the co-existence of subject deletion) with CA concepts (projectability) and phenomena (overlaps). The outcome would be the suggestion that:

The position of a verb in the beginning of a sentence, which has a SVO form and the subject, is deleted, can be supported that could produce early projectability. Moreover, early projectability could lead the hearer to overlap with the current speaker since he/she displays early understanding of what the rest of the turn could be. The overlap however, does not occur necessarily close to TRP.

The above suggestion, offers the presumption that in SVO pattern it is possible that *if* an overlap would occur, this overlap might take the position after the first verb:

$$\textbf{VERB} - \textbf{\textit{OVERLAP}} - \textbf{OBJECT.}$$
$$\textbf{(V} - \textbf{[ ]} - \textbf{O)}$$

Moreover, it was supported that even in rare cases of verb deletion or in instance that the subject is not omitted, or even in atypical syntactic patterns, overlaps might still occur early in the turn. These exceptional instances were examined in order to support the central connection between syntactic patterns and the early occurrence of overlaps in everyday Greek conversations. It has to be mentioned though that it was not observed that overlaps occurred systematically close to TRPs, in any word order pattern. Therefore, we could not provide a generalisable conclusion concerning the position of overlaps in relation to TRPs.

Finally, what was suggested in this study is that in Greek, we can understand why overlaps occur often and early in the turn. The underlying reason was supported to be the Greek grammar and syntax. What it was proposed thus, was that Greek participants have a distinguished way to interact with each other while they talk, because of the Greek syntax and the grammar. Therefore, over time if the suggestions of this research are generalisable then it could be supported that social and *national stereotypes* (for example that Greeks are loud or impolite or that they talk all together) actually *born in interaction.* Namely, those kinds of patterns (the production of early overlaps because of the Greek grammar and syntax) lead to those kinds of perceptions (that Greeks are loud and interruptive, as many of us characterise ourselves).

Thus, by looking to the detail of a single interactional phenomenon, such as overlaps, we found that Greek participants tent to overlap with each other repeatedly and easily, not only because of possible cultural idiosyncratic reasons, but also because the Greek grammar and syntax make this kind of interaction (and in this case Greek interactional characteristic within conversation) possible.

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Charitini Karakostaki

ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES EN SCIENCES SOCIALES
Groupe de Sociologie Politique et Morale (GSPM)

Title of Paper :

THE EMERGENCE OF A COLLECTIVITY IN THE STATE OF INDIVIDUALISM

A sociological approach of "Euro 2004"

PARIS 2005

Contents:

Introduction: The meta-discourse of the recognition and the narcissism of the flag

The European Football Championship can be considered a significant event for two reasons. First of all, because it created a great amount of discourses about itself. And secondly, because all these different types of discourses, no matter which point of view they adopted, agreed on a common point: They all underlined unanimously the great importance of the event.

Team agents, football players and other professionals of the sports community saw in it a great proof of the potential of the Greek sports activity and a promise for the future. Journalists kept repeating the major effects that the victory of Greece had on the other countries. Sports fans poured in the streets in the name of the unique success that filled them with joy. Politicians hastened to congratulate the Greek team by accompanying them in Portugal and attending the matches as well as by organising several kinds of rituals in order to honour the athletes after the end of the championship. At the same time, a considerable part of the intellectual community foresaw behind all these unprecedented and continuous celebrations the core of a dangerous nationalism and did not hesitate to show its strong disapproval.

The event activated a whole semeiological mechanism and did not stop constituting a source of inspiration for a whole set of comparisons, metaphors and slogans. The Greek prime minister compared himself to Otto Rechagel and the country to the national football team; even more, he stated that the "ingredients" of that great athletic success must also be the ingredients of successful governance and he did not hesitate to urge the German referee to stay in Greece because "the country needs him"[1]. Nikos Konstantopoulos, who was at that time president of Synaspismos[2], compared the pass of the national team to the finals with an eventual victory of his party in the elections.[3] On his turn, the archbishop Christodoulos, who never forgets to remind us that Greece is not yet a secular country, detected behind the victory the sign of God and hurried to bless the footballers and the cup. Finally, the sports fans in the streets could not stop singing "Raise it, raise it", meaning raise the cup.

The football championship and in particular, the Greek victory, was inscribed in the collective memory and was socially consolidated in the collective consciousness at the very moment it was happening. Beyond the discourse, the confirmation of its importance took place at two additional levels: firstly, at the material one, which was ensured by the demonstration of the –individual and collective– human body; secondly, at the symbolic one, which was ascertained by the demonstration of the flag.

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[1] *Eleutherotypia*, 5/7/2004, *TA NEA*, 5/7/2004
[2] Synaspismos is a greek political party (Coalition of the Progressive Left)
[3] *Eleutherotypia* 28/6/2004, Andreas Roumeliotis repeats at his article the statement of the president of Synaspismos.

The flag, this multiply charged symbol, was the object of the suspicion of many intellectuals and people of the Left. Though we believe that their attitude was not arbitrary, we recognise that the flag was crucial for the establishment of the connection between the human bodies in the streets and the fact of the victory. It was the necessary vehicle which gave an identity to the event and at the same time provided the people with the way to appropriate it. For many days after the end of the championship, many public places, such as some commercial shops, cafeterias and bars as well as many home balconies were overflowed by flags fluttering and reminding of the victory.

Of course, the keen criticism could be the only spontaneous and healthy reaction of the Left who saw behind the torrent of the flags the danger of a well known, contemporary Western threat: nationalism.[4] However, we do not believe that we encountered a menacing nationalistic danger. We do not deny of course, that the chapter of the flags contained all the usual elements of a nationalistic expression; but we maintain the conviction that the attempt to explain this behaviour only in the context of nationalism is insufficient.

Irrespective of our approval or disapproval, the appearance of that great amount of flags in the streets at the time of the celebration did not surprise us. What we found yet really strange was the obsession with the flag that started and remained even after the end of the championship and the celebration. An entire group of people, everyone separately now, everyone as an individual and not as a member of the crowd anymore, started to wear a flag on their clothes, on their T-shirts, on their shoes, on their wrist watches. A flag was put on everything. It continued to be there, to demonstrate its presence and to remind of the victory.

The victory of a football team was suddenly a case for the whole country. Even social groups such as women, children and elderly people who remained traditionally indifferent toward football started now to be interested in it. The massive participation in the celebration also testifies the general acceptance. And the flag was there to prove that it was not the national football team that won the championship but all the Greeks that won the other Europeans on a fictive antagonism. After all, there was an antagonism. There was a battle which was supposed to show off the best of all. Greece just happened to share the same flag with the team that won the championship. From that time on, the victory should be remembered, it should stay alive in everyone's mind and as far as possible it should be reproduced. In other words, the victory should be individually appropriated.

Freud would have said that we are in front of a simple and classical example of what he used to call "narcissism with respect to minor differences" for the pride which individuals, groups and nations manifest about small insignia which distinguish them from other individuals, groups and nations. Although we believe that the Greek behaviour corresponds to a large extent to the Freudian description, it cannot be exhaustive. Carrying a flag on a T-shirt can be the result of a particular national narcissism but it is also something more. Very soon,

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[4] We refer to many articles of left newspapers such as *I Avgi, I Epochi*

the flag became a trend, the latest fashion tip. No wonder why when we asked many people to explain their dressing preferences for the flag on their clothes they did not refer to the victory at all, neither to the country; but they simply answered as if it was a matter of course: "The Greek flag is all the vogue."

We are in front of a double narcissism for the flag. On the one hand we admire the magic ability of our country, which always had difficulties to follow the European rules, to leave now all the other prestigious countries behind and to get crowned queen of Europe. On the other hand, we admire our own individual ability to follow with great success and no backwardness the contemporary social orders. On the one hand, it is the narcissism of the collective distinction through the means of the idea of nation. On the other hand, it is the narcissism of the individual distinction through the means of the practice of consumption. None of them is a part of the narcissism of the being. Both of them are parts of the narcissism of the showing.

The European Football championship, from the point of view that was experienced in Greece, constitutes a complex of opposite ideologies and contradictory behaviours that coexist and help each other to the same direction: They all propose a way, or many ways, to feel, experience, appropriate, conserve and finally handle, a posture of life, which in the luck of a better word, we will call it, happiness.

In the present paper we will attempt a brief sociological analysis of the individual and collective behaviours that took place during the period of the championship in Greece, emphasizing the celebrations which followed each game and which reached their peak after the final match. We will proceed to refer to the current social and historical condition of Greece in order to be able to incorporate the event, and in particular, the massive presence of the crowd on the streets, into the general context from which it emerged. Finally, we will argue that the European Football Championship, carrying and embodying the demand for happiness, consolidates our era, other times by rewarding it and other times by opposing it.

Living in the rhythm of the championship[5]

For over a month the country appeared to live in the rhythm of the championship. The time was separated into three successive intervals which were repeated again and again: The time of the preparation, the time of the match and the time of the celebration.[6]

The time of the preparation was always longer and less intense than the two others. Usually the preparation consisted of a kind of inner, moral preparation of the spectators, and only after the passing of the first matches did it take a more material form. The most passionate sports fans started to take care of their behaviour while they have been watching the matches and very soon, the preparation took the form of a repeating ritual. They kept wearing each time the same clothes and they insisted watching the matches from the very same position.[7] The reason for that is a strong feeling and an uncertain conviction of the spectators that each of them possesses a kind of a strange power, capable to influence the outcome of the matches and so far he/she considers him-/ herself to be in some way responsible for the result of the game. No wonder why, even some of the most rational persons appeared to be re-enchanted and followed that kind of irrational behaviour the more we were closing to the end of the championship.

The time of the match was the shortest of the three periods but it was the most crucial one as it determined the time of the celebration. The couple of hours, when the games took place, were accompanied by their own stereotypic behaviours. The ideal condition to watch a match is of course in the football field. But even if the ideal cannot be reached, it can always be constructed. That is the reason why we saw the atmosphere of the football field to be reproduced at all the places where the matches were projected. The greatest preference was given to close, public places, as for example the cafeterias with a big screen, where somebody could go alone or with company. Another possibility, that also attracted many people, was to watch the match on the big screens that were put in some central places of the big cities and even more, on a summer cinema, which projected the matches at the prize of a movie ticket! The same atmosphere of the field was reproduced even in private places, inside someone's living room, where all the friends were gathered together. No matter the place, there is a simple but inviolable condition: The match must always being watched with other people.

In front of the screen the people are sited as if they were at the tiers of the stadium. They clap their hands, they sing the slogans, they scream and they don't hesitate to express their emotional status. The spectator can yell and insult the referee with the same passion he/she

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[5] The information that we present at this part of the text concerning the way the people experienced the championship, came from a research that we made. We talked with 14 people about their personal experience from their own point of view and from the responses we took at a corresponding questionnaire which was answered from 30 people.

[6] The Greek word for it, which is used to describe that special type of celebration, is panigyrismos. It is about spontaneous celebration that accompanies a cheerful event, such as a victory on football or basketball.

[7] *TO VIMA*, 4/7/2004, at the article of Ant. Panoutsos

would have if he/she was in the football field. This illusion of being inside the stadium, which is reproduced without special effort, almost spontaneously, but always successfully, is very important for the following of the game. Sometimes is even the prerequisite of the watching, as we have many examples of people who preferred not follow the matches when they were alone.

The process of the watching constitutes a form of expressing the sociability. At that moment we can already observe the first phase of the formation of the collectivity that will be transported in the streets after the end of the game. It is a collectivity, conscious of itself, with one and only clear target: to watch the match and to relieve its feelings. Somebody who is alone at home doesn't yell every time somebody scores, while in the same time, somebody in a cafeteria or at the central square feels in some way obliged to yell and express his/her feelings for the goal.

The same atmosphere remains also during the time of the celebration, which presents for us the greatest interest among all. The people continue to reproduce with their behaviour the atmosphere of the football field and to spread it in the streets. They don't stop repeating the slogans that were heard in the time of the game. The slogans are the language of the crowd, expressed briefly but effectively. They give the rhythm, they unify and they identify all those who sing them.

Moreover, the people scream and jump up and down in a wave of enthusiasm. They immobilize their cars in the middle of the streets, they climb on them, they take off their clothes, and they dance. In other words they do anything they are not allowed to do in a public place in their every day life. The festive exaltation is born exactly by the transgression of the prohibitions and by the excess that the celebration itself authorizes. At that moment the crowd legitimates all the extraordinary reactions and establish a new and momentary social order in the streets: a kind of a general disorder.[8] However, all these exaggerated reactions of the crowd seem to obey to certain limitations. Nobody was hurt or injured during the celebration. This is a proof for the fact that when the rules are not in force and the punishment disappears, the crowd takes the responsibility upon itself. The limitations that are being kept are the auto-limitations of the people themselves. So, the disorder takes place within certain conditions.

[8] Freud, œuvres complets, tome XII, p.103

A sociological approach of the celebration: The sacrifice of individualism on the altar of happiness

The celebration is first of all and above all an act of recognition, a sort of confirmation of the value and the importance of the event. That type of celebration that follows a success in a sporting event and takes place in the streets is called in Greek *πανηγυρισμός*, and unfortunately there is no equivalent in English, nor in French or in German. It comes from the adjective *πανηγυρικός* that described in ancient Greece the speech that was announced in front of the crowd which was gathered to receive with all honours the men who returned from the battle. It was a speech of triumph that aimed to recognise the victory and to extol the soldiers as heroes.

Nowadays the battle field became the football field and the soldiers gave their place to the football players. After all, football was always considered to be a representation of the war. And that is also the function of the sporting activity in general. It aims to confine the antagonism within a context and in so far to allow its pacific formation and its restricted development.[9] Football transfers the opposition to an independent and symbolic field, outside the real social and political battle, and as a state institution constitutes a contemporary form of the economy of violence.

The potential of sports to favour the identification of the spectators with the players must be seen in the same context. All those people who don't participate in the game but follow its outcome in distance experience the antagonism and the opposition between the two teams and get emotionally involved. Obviously, the more a team wins, the bigger becomes the number of its fans. There are no fans without identification and no identification without victories. That is the reason why the number of the fans of the Greek team during the European Football Championship had been steadily increasing the more the team was wining.

Beyond the power of sports to provoke the massive excitement of the people, the celebration itself has also the ability to carry the crowd along with it. We have the example of a lot of people, who did not get excited with football not even at the last moment; who participated though at the celebrations that followed, because they were carried away by the general enthusiasm and the atmosphere in the streets.

The streets play always a very important role for that type of celebration. They are actually their material prerequisite. Massive celebrations can only take place in the streets and the greatest preference is given to the most central and biggest streets of the town – in other words to those streets who are "more public" than the others. Usually, the streets as public places never have the role of a destination. We don't stay in the streets; we only traverse them quickly in order to get to another (close) public place, or to a private one. So, their

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[9] Norbert Elias, Eric Dunning, *Quest for excitement – Sport and Leisure in the civilising process*, 1986, p.191

mobilisation, which happens only seldom, signifies every time an event of general interest, massive participation and as a result, an event of a great importance. At the case of the European championship, the mobilisation of the streets as the place of reception of the crowd testifies also the significance of the event.

We would like now to refer to some constant characteristics of the celebration as a social and anthropological experience. First of all, it is always a collective experience; the feeling of happiness and the exaltation come within the meeting with the others. It is as if somebody had smiled us in the street and made us spontaneously to smile him/her back. Secondly, it is a transformational experience. What we mean with that is the ability of the celebration to influence the individuals to become something different from what they usually are in their everyday life. It is true, that everyone concentrates on his/her person a set of social characteristics and undertakes many social roles. In that measure he/she is expected to act and behave in certain ways. For example, a forty five-year old man who happens to be the director of a company and also a father of two children does not drink or dance in the streets, he does not yell and he does not climb on his car. However, the celebration gives him for an instant the opportunity to go out of his social roles and to act however he likes. That does not mean that he is obliged to act differently, but that if he wants to act in another way from what he usually does, it would be allowed and socially accepted. The celebration legitimates the extraordinary behaviours for everyone.

Moreover, the celebration is a particular equalizing experience, or to be more correct, it proposes its own answer at the demand for equality. At the time of the celebration every distinctive characteristic of the persons in the crowd disappears. It does not have a meaning anymore. The only thing that counts is the feeling of the massive happiness and the exaltation. Everyone's personal identity, all the private insignia of one's life, his/her economic condition, his/her social class, and all the individual interests are now put away and kept apart. This is a standard characteristic that remains the same since the time of the Dionysian rituals.

Nietzsche described the Dionysian celebration as following: "The Dionysian celebrations do not only conclude with the peace between the people, but they also renew the relationship of the affiliation between the man and the nature. […] All the separations of the casts that the necessity and the arbitration have installed between the people disappear: the slave is a free man; the noble and the commoner are unified inside the same bacchic chariot. In a crowd which is steadily increasing, the gospel for the harmony of the worlds passes conclusively from place to place: singing and dancing, the man appears to be as a member of an ideal and superior community: he un-learnt to walk and to talk."[10]

The description of Nietzsche is more than accurate. The crowd that celebrates has the power to level all the individuals that compose it. In this condition the people not only is not hierarchically rated and socially separated, but it is also authorised to reach the excess. Every

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[10] Friedrich Nietzsche, *La vision dionysiaque du monde*, Edition Allia, p.26-27

person of the crowd is so the owner of a very special liberty. At that time, the people are neither equal, nor unequal; simply, the question of equality constitutes no longer an issue.

The final game of the European football championship, which determined the winner, gave the signal for the biggest but also the last party of a series of consecutive celebrations. The Greek fans poured in the streets, determined to reach their limits and to experience the opportunity with the greatest possible intensity. At the White Tower of Thessaloniki arrived among the other cars a bulldozer. It parked there, right in the middle of the crowd, filled its nippers with people, raised it up and hold it in the air while the people inside it were dancing and singing.

At the same moment, at Omonoia Square, the central place of Athens, a young man arrived with his brand new and expensive sport car and spoke to the crowd: "I deliver it to you", he said. "Do whatever you want in order to destroy it on the name of the victory". At that moment, this young man sacrificed on the altar of joy and happiness a material but yet symbolic characteristic of his personal identity, distinctive of his social class and economic status. His valuable car, which differentiates him and places him in the social hierarchical structure of the every day order, has no more a value. On the contrary, having this car constitutes rather an obstacle at that moment, while it prevents his total equation –equation, and not equalization– with the other celebrants. The car reminds him of his social class, when the social class should not exist, when there are no hierarchies and no insignia.

At the same time the car takes over an additional function. It constitutes the object of a sacrifice that appears to be necessary: it is the sacrifice that will attach even greater value to the event and in the same time that will reassure that the celebration will continue. We have already mentioned the auto-limitation that the crowd puts on it. The crowd did not hurt anybody. The human victim that would be necessary for the sacrifice has been replaced with a material one, which remains though an object of a great value –both material and sentimental value– capable to lend the necessary importance to the sacrifice and also, to the event for the shake of which the sacrifice has been made. When the son of Abraham is being replaced by the sheep, the sacrifice does not lose its meaning. The victim still remains innocent and of an important value.[11]

The chubby-faced, well-bred young man stayed in front of his car looking at it during the whole time of its destruction. He evoked in our mind the famous scene of the film of Andreï Tarkovski when the protagonist, after he had set fire to his house, remained there looking at it while it was burning. The other people cannot understand this action. They see in him a frenetic man. In the case of the young Athenian, the people that were gathered there had the same reaction. It was completely incomprehensible to them, why somebody would that. Indeed. Somebody who accepts to have his expensive car broken down and burned is as absurd as if the Third World War had broken down. But both of them know very well at that

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[11] René Girard, *La violence et le sacré*

moment what they do and are completely conscious of their action. The actor knows very well that the war has been avoided because of him and his sacrifice and the well-off young man knows very well that the celebration continues because of him and his sacrifice.

However, the young man who sacrificed his car in the name of the victory could not remain silent for quiet a long time, as the protagonist of the movie. Besides, he had no problem to justify his action. So, he made a very important statement in order to give an explanation for its behaviour to the surprised people who were gathered around him: "Don't worry about the car" he said laughing. "My mum is going to buy me another car tomorrow".

This phrase, though it doesn't play down the importance of the sacrifice, adds a totally new element to the story. He destroys his distinctive characteristic and in the same time, he reassures everybody that this will last only temporary. Tomorrow, after a few hours, after the end of the celebration, everybody will receive back his/her personal identity. In the real life, in the real social order, he is going always to be wealthy; he is going always to have a different social and economic status from all those people that he shortly met in the celebration. This is the usual ending of every celebration. But in this case, the re-entrance in the reality will take place in a very special way: By a new act of consumption.

After having localised on the celebration for the European Football Championship all the traditional anthropological characteristics of the celebration as human social practice, it's high time we looked for the particularities that render it unique. For that, we will try to place the event among the social and historical context that created it.

Inscribing the event in the socio-historical context

It has been a long time since we last saw such a great amount of people pouring in the streets of the Greek cities. The last similar event was the victory of the national basketball team in the European championship at 1987.[12] Before that, we sure have a wide set of examples but they all had a different connotation. In the past, a mass of people in the streets could mean and signify just one thing: A political demonstration or another social event which was also transformed into a political demonstration. We recall in mind the demonstrations for the anniversary of the "Polytechnic School" after the reestablishment of democracy. We can also recall the funeral of Georgios Papandreou and the arrival of Konstantinos Karamanlis in Greece after the Dictatorship[13] –both of them were social events which were transformed into political demonstrations. We can also mention the enormous manifestations of the political parties at the early 80's. What we try to say is that all the masses that were traditionally in the streets incarnated always the expression of collective critical demands. The people in the streets were the vehicles of a critical discourse: they expressed above all a critic against the state, the political condition, the economical system, the poverty, the inequality, the social injustice.

That kind of massive expressions appears to be in hypnosis since the end of modernity at the early 80's. They seem to have no place in our post-modern society. The massive expressions gave their place to individual expressions and the critical demands became demands for individual prosperity. The triumph of the model of consumption, the personal happiness, and the private pleasure in our capitalistic economy, as well as the "reproduction" of the individual liberties have weakened the critical reactions in our western democracies. Power and violence assumed their most complete, soft and rational form: that one which makes us accept the injustice with an always greater facility and with an always diminishing resistance.

The modern Greek society makes undoubtedly part of that situation. The neo-greek culture demonstrates in the clearest way that the moral commands for pleasure and happiness don't leave any space for the development of collective critical reactions. The triumph of the consumption model is in its apogee. The liberal pluralistic democracy created under others a very special relationship between its citizens and ownership. And especially in Greece, in a country where the breaking majority of people are themselves their homeowners, the consumption need is being easily transferred into secondary benefits, which aim to operate as status symbols of one's identity.

And now, the crowd that celebrated for the European Championship came to remind us all those forgotten collectivities that we once met in the Greek streets. Indeed, this recent massive

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[12] Many columnists made the same remark. Eleutherotypia, 28/6/2004
[13] See in Eleutherotypia, 7/7/2004 the statements of the president of Democracy.

expression seemed to have gathered all the traditional characteristics of the modern mass: incoherent, aesthetically indefinable, with an ability rather to react than to act. Its enormity makes no doubt. This mass of celebrants, this enormous crowd of people, conquered with its own "body", through this particularly material procedure, the space of its action.

Is there, finally, a relation between the two different types of mass, between the critical one and the celebrating one? And if they are two parts of the same thing, then where can we assign the object and the cause of their difference? A genealogy of the mass would allow us to conclude that the appearance of massive formations is owed to a pathology of the human sociability, which is expressed as a habit to constitute collectivities. In that extent, the crowd of our recent example is also an expression of the one and same habit.

However, this new mass does not criticise anything. Or at least, it does not criticise anything directly. We could argue that alone its existence is particularly reactionary as it is opposing to the socio-historical condition that engendered it. We are supposed to live –and we believe that it is really so– at a state of a general social individuation. The new moral command, the search for happiness is usually fulfilled through the consumer's goods. It is something ephemeral and steadily recycling. It is also individualized: that is the reason why we don't search it in a collective activity but in the individual practice of consumption.

What signifies though the emergence of the collectivity of our example, which is a crowd that celebrates and not a mass that criticizes? We can assume two opposing things which may be both correct. On the one hand, it is a sort of confirmation of the social condition that engenders. It incorporates the pursuit of new ways, even collective ways, to express and to appropriate the dominant demand of happiness. On the other hand, it is a sort of criticism to the individualistic society, just because of its collective formation. The emergence of a collectivity in the state of individualism is, admittedly, a great objection.

In what extent can those two assumptions correspond to the real nature of the event?

Epilogue: The crucial penalty of liberal democracy

We are almost convinced that the event of the European Football Championship had such a great sensation and succeeded to rouse the public feeling because it appeared to fulfil the dominant demand of our era: the conquest of happiness. What it was the salvation of the soul for a north-European protestant at the beginning of the 19th century is today the happiness for the western disenchanted citizen.[14] The hope of salvation that urged the people to work hard and to save up replaced from the demand for happiness that urges the people to consume and to spend. Happiness lies behind all consumers' goods: behind the trip to the Canaries and behind the new electric device.

Exactly as it was the case of the salvation, this contemporary happiness, which is presented as demand and supreme target of our era, has to be always individual. In other words, it is a liberal happiness. Not only because it appears in the state of the liberal democracy, but also because it is individually demonstrated and accomplished. In any case, it is better and bigger when it is individual, namely, when it is self-determined, self-directed and self-achieved. Of course, Derek Parfit would have added that it this happiness is also self-defeating. Indeed. You can never conquer it completely.

The celebration for the European Football Championship incorporated to a large extent the feeling of joy and happiness, particularly through the massive exaltation and the mutual influence of the people to each other. Apparently, this happiness differs from the one that we just described. But also, this happiness comes to an end as soon as the celebration is over and the crowd is dispersed. And always after the end of the celebration and the pass of happiness, what follows is the deception. In another case, when the feeling of happiness, that gives us for example the individual consuming action, comes to an end, the target of happiness is being placed to the next object that could make it recur. In that case, more or less the same thing was attempted.

The day after the definitive end of the celebration the feeling of happiness that had been following a whole nation for about a month had to be transferred into something else. And what would be better to receive and to incorporate it than an individual act for a renewed pursuit of happiness? Let's return to what we said at the beginning about the narcissism of the flag. The victory in football had already stamped itself indelibly not only in the collective memory but also at a whole series of objects, clothes and accessories. The crowd yielded to the temptation. Until the end of the Olympic Games on August and even a little later than that, the people wore a Greek flag on their clothes, put a Greek flag on their balcony and didn't hesitate to give a smile or to turn friendly a blind eye to everyone who behaved the same. It

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[14] Beaudrillard was the first to make this comparison. Jean Beaudrillard, *La société de consommation*, livre de poche, p.59

was a sort of conspiratorial communication which assured that the memory of the victory was still there.

The collective happiness of the celebration has been individualized not only in order to continue to exist through other activities, but also because, after all, the individualized happiness matches better with the present social condition. So, on the one hand, the event of "Euro 2004" got adapted to the circumstances and the circumstances got adapted to the massive acceptance of the event: the consumer's goods get dressed with its colours, they appropriate its characteristics and, in general, they enter in its state.

Postscript: When the unique is repeated. The anniversary

The problem with the events such as the football championship is that after their end they stop to exist. They are ephemeral, not only because they last for a short period of time, but also because it is difficult to keep them alive after their end. At the time of the championship the celebration is institutionalized and legitimated and we are in some way obliged to participate. But when the championship is over we are obliged to forget it. And sure, it is good to give an end to the celebration, as the continuation of it could have brought many serious political and social repercussions.[15] However, there is a feeling that resists to the order to forget it and to leave it behind. Apart from the demonstration of the flag, which aims to show mutually that the event is remembered, there is a set of rituals that are being invented almost spontaneously and which reconstruct the event. We should consider all the songs and the broadcasts of the games, which continue to be for sale and to sound in public places, a part of that need to conserve the feelings and the memory. The songs help to recall and to relive the experience. Another attempt to re-enact the scene of the raising of the cup was being made in many summer clubs when the people have been raising every object that looked like a cup they found on their table at the moment when the corresponding song has been heard.

The anniversary would be a way to institutionalize the memory, but that type of events never gets an official anniversary. However, the excited crowd tried to find other ways to relive the experience. The Olympic Games of Athens were a very good occasion to repeat the party and to sing the slogans. The recent experience of the contest of Eurovision, where the Greece didn't miss to win, was also used for the same reason. A distinction to a song contest was enough to mobilise hundreds of people who were ready to transform and fire the event as if it has been a football match!

The question that remains is what is really what we want to recall? The event or the celebration that just happened to take place because of the event? The answer is obvious.

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[15] We mean by that the possibility of the development of nationalism, which proposes as principal demand the continuation of the celebration.

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Cold Wars after 1989:

The Reception of Thanasis Valtinos' *Orthokosta*

Dimitris Païvanas

(University of Birmingham, UK)

Since the publication of his novel *Orthokosta* (1994), Thanasis Valtinos (1932—) stands accused of reviving an allegedly falsified representation of the Greek Civil War, and of pursuing a retrogressive path towards similar misinterpretations of the conflict, promulgated by its conservative victors from the 50s to the end of the military dictatorship in 1974. The cultural ambiance in post-dictatorship Greece can loosely be described as a climate of "leftism" (see, e.g. Chouliaras 2003: 434) which was largely inspired by the 1973 Polytechnic events (see, e.g. Vasileiou 2004: 7) and was to gradually develop into the ideological climate of populism in the 80s (Clogg 1993). Valtinos, whose early work was appropriated by the leftist intelligentsia in the late 70s as part of its own canon of texts, was, in 1995, decisively denounced as a reformed "conservative of the pre-dictatorship period" (Stavropoulos 1995: 34).[1] It was claimed that with *Orthokosta* Valtinos had defected to the other side, an alleged switch which was attributed to the dissolution of European Socialism after 1989 (Moraitis 1994: 16 and Stavropoulos 1995: 34). Indeed, it has been consistently suggested that Valtinos would or could not have composed *Orthokosta* at all, if the Berlin Wall had not been torn down and made available to tourists in small fragments as Cold War memorabilia (see Kazantzaki 2004: 30).[2]

The purpose of this paper is to investigate aspects of the ideological climate which seems to have legitimized, consistently for over a decade now, such responses to *Orthokosta* and, to some extent, to assess the reception's validity as an interpretation of Valtinos' novel. The paper is divided in two parts corresponding to these aims.

I. *Orthokosta* and the Left's historiography on the Civil War

The publication of *Orthokosta* was followed by a concatenation of reviews and articles in the literary and daily press which announced the beginning of a long and complex controversy. The text divided the critical community and was criticized on both ideological and aesthetic grounds. The intellectual skirmishes were described in the daily press as a "second Civil War" (Vasilakou 1994: 76), a sensationalist description which has survived until recently, although

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[1] See also Chatzivasileiou 1994: 19, Voulgaris 2001: 696, Karahalios 2001b: 1066 and Pylarinos 2003: 50.

[2] The author himself claims to have had the book practically finished since 1984 (personal interview 23. 6. 2001).

in mildly varied form (see "almost Civil-War-like debate" Chouzouri 2004: 66). Despite the fact that a number of critics spoke in the novel's defense, some of them well known leftists themselves,[3] its negative reception seems to have proliferated.[4] In 2003, Valtinos' was again characterized as a "neoconservative" who was recoiling to the "hard-core reactionary nationalism [the Greek term is *ethnikofrosyni*] of the German Occupation" (Kostopoulos 2003: 44), in 2004, *Orthokosta* was criticized for confusing the reader by abstracting a personal view to the status of historical truth and for defying historical research on the agreed chronological beginnings of the internacine conflict (Sella 2004: 47); in the same year the novel was proclaimed as a "symbol of a revisionism" in the historiography of the Civil War (Voulgaris 2004: 19-20) and in February of 2005 Valtinos was described as a reformed "rhetorician of the new Right" (Kazantzaki 2005:19).

These assessments were largely the result of the "*Orthokosta* controversy" having expanded, in big-bang fashion in the last five years, into a number of research fields with historians, anthropologists, political scientists and literary critics becoming involved in a revived discussion about the Civil War. The implications of research findings in historiography were seen as being in accordance with the challenge that *Orthokosta* presented to certain political identities of the leftist intelligentsia and its post-1974 reliance on a representation of the Civil War. As a result, a causative link was established between *Orthokosta* and so-called "revisionist" historians who were seen as contesting the Left's historiographic truths about the Civil War (Raftopoulos 1994b: 51 and Kostopoulos *et al* 2003: 44-5). I doubt that this causative link can be scientifically demonstrated,[5] but Valtinos' novel seems to have raised an issue which sections of the leftist intelligentsia in Greece appear to have treated as resolved once and for all after 1974.[6] The novel also appears to have brought the discussion of a sensitive historical topic out into the public forum once again. Since 1994, a sector of the critical community in Greece has relied on *Orthokosta* for

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[3] The historian Philippos Iliou, the poet Titos Patrikios, and the literary critic Dimitris Raftopoulos (see Moraitis 1994:16 and Sella 2004: 47) formed the troika that was invited by the author to present the book on the day of its inaugural launch in 1994. Valtinos confessed to me in a personal interview (23.06.2001) that he had anticipated some reaction to *Orthokosta* from the leftist sector. The troika of the presentation panel aooears to have been strategically chosen by the author to mitigate possible negative responses from members of the intellectual population. See also the somewhat provocative pre-publication of part of chapter 41 of the novel in Lambria and Bati 1994: 16.

[4] Notable recent exceptions to this are Pylarinos 2003: 45-51, Kendrotis 2003: 149-175, Souliotis 2004: A50-1 and Ziras 2003: 41-53. The latter avoids commenting on the controversy of *Orthokosta*.

[5] Judging from the posthumously published proceedings, there was not a single mention of Valtinos or of the *Orthokosta* controversy in the commemorative conference on the Civil War held in 1995 (Fleischer 2003).

[6] In 1978, Tsoukalas argued that the Civil War had ended in 1974 vis-à-vis its ideological and cultural implications (Tsoukalas 1984: 561). In 1995 Chouliaras wondered "When did [the Civil War] actually finish" (Chouliaras 2003: 429). Ironically, in 1994, Katia Lebesi of the "Kedros" publishing house had claimed that the theme of the Civil War was "a bit *passé*" (quoted in Chouliaras 2003: 428, n. 2).

producing a daunting amount of commentary that sought to legitimize its views on the subject of the Left's motives and conduct during the Civil War.

The critic who is generally credited with starting the *Orthokosta* controversy was the leftist social analyst and political commentator Angelos Elefantis. His main objection was the text's excessive focus on atrocities committed by ELAS (=National Popular Liberation Army) during the so-called "first phase" of the Civil War (1943-1945). Elefantis argued that, by eliminating references to the "ideological imperatives" that had, in Elefantis' view, fueled the Communist struggle during the Resistance and the violence in the ensuing conflict, Valtinos was misrepresenting the Left's role in it. Elefantis' review set of a chain reaction of commentaries that sought to confirm, elaborate, or question his claims.[7] Commentators of *Orthokosta* were divided in three general groups. The first group consisted of those who criticized the book for its alleged attempt at exonerating the "Security Battalions" (Τάγματα Ασφαλείας) which were and continue to be generally treated as collaborationist traitors in leftist historiographic discourse (see, e.g. Kostopoulos *et al* 2003: 43-5). They also reacted to the less than flattering image of the leadership of ELAS, the military leg of EAM (= National Liberation Front), and the KKE (= Greek Communist Party) which was behind the first two. Indeed, some of the novel's commentators sought to restore explicitly the dented image of these organizations through their own interpretations of their role in the Civil War attributing a one-sided treatment to Valtinos (e.g. Voukelatos 1994: 22-7 and Voulgaris 1999: 52-3). A second group of commentators praised the book mainly for giving voice to identities generally ignored in the "dominant discourse of official historiography" (Politi 1997: 233), and for capturing the sheer irrationalism of the civil conflict (Raftopoulos 1994a: 34). The third group was an extension of the first. Its two members claimed, in conjunction with underlying ideological objections, that the novel was not literature at all because it had failed to transform the 47 loosely connected testimonial narratives that comprise it into an "aesthetic form" (Kangelari 1994: 52-3, and Karali 1994: 20). There was also a single commentator, Maro Triandafyllou, who claimed that she had difficulty getting through the book (Triandafyllou 1994: 161; see also Stavropoulos 1995: 34), and admitted to reading its pages

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[7] The novel was defended by a variety of commentators including journalists (Boukalas 1994: 14), historians (Philippos Iliou spoke in favour of the novel on the day of its inaugural launch- personal interview with Valtinos 23.6.2001 and see also Moraitis 1994: 16), literary critics (Daskalopoulos 1994, Chatzivasileiou 1994, Kouvaras 1994: 73-5, Raftopoulos 1994a and 1994b, Mendrakos 1994: 24, Fokas 1994: 129-33, Politi 1997: 229-45, Charalambidou 1997: 249-77, Calotychos 2001: 151-65) and other writers (Dimou 1994:65, Nollas 1994:12 and Fais 1995a:74), and, in a series of published interviews, by the author himself (Georgakopoulou 1994: 28-9, Vasilakou 1994: 76-8, Chartoulari 1994: 63, and, more recently, Chouzouri 2004: 66-7 and Pimblis 2004b: 12-3). See also Valtinos 1997 329-339, and the dialogue between Voulgaris and Karahalios in Voulgaris 1999: 49-55, Karahalios 2001a: 472-80, Voulgaris 2001a: 694-6 and Karahalios 2001b: 1066-7. Negative commentaries include Theotokas 1994: 61-3, Machairas 1994 and Machairas 2004: 11, Voukelatos 1994: 22-7, Karali 1994: 20, Kangelari 1994: 52-3, Moraitis 1994: 4 and Moraitis 2004: 11, Triandafyllou 1994: 160-64, Voulgaris 1995: 46-7, Stavropoulos 1995: 34, and the ambiguous Voulgaris 2004a.

diagonally in an effort to avoid the scenes of graphic violence and bypass its unfamiliar place names and excessive number of characters (Triandafyllou 1994: 163).

On the basis of the above, it appears that *Orthokosta* was criticized on both ideological and aesthetic grounds. The former are linked to biased, balanced or neglected aspects in representations of the Civil War and the latter to the reading public's aesthetic expectations in reading a text that announces itself clearly on its cover as a novel. It is significant that the discourse generated using *Orthokosta* as a pretext seems to have followed both of these directions with historiographical commentaries and literary contributions. It is also significant that some of the people who produce it are in some way connected with Elefantis who had himself contributed to the construction and promotion of the Left's positive role in the Resistance and the Civil War (see Apostolidou 2003: 248-63). Elefantis wrote a series of articles some of which are now collected in a volume that includes a reprint of his review of *Orthokosta* (Elefantis 2002c).

In 1995, the literary critic Tzina Politi claimed that *Orthokosta* "exposed the dominant discourse of official Historiography" [sic] on the Civil War (Politi 1997: 233). This "dominant discourse" gained, somewhat belatedly, one of its official exponents in Giorgos Margaritis' two volume history on the topic. I'm no historian, but, on the basis of the language used to describe some of the darker sides of Communist leadership,[8] the work can, to an extent, be described as a somewhat sentimental tribute to the historiography of the Left. It is not surprising that Elefantis is mentioned in the acknowledgements as one of Margaritis' "truly wise teachers" (Margaritis 2000A: 21). In 2004, Kostas Voulgaris, a writer, self-proclaimed literary critic, and confessed disciple of Elefantis, published a hybrid text that was half fiction half commentary on *Orthokosta*. In it he expressed his wish to dislodge the text from the literary firmament, the impossibility of the task, and the need for an "anti-*Orthokosta*" that would challenge Valtinos' text, not on historiographic, but on literary grounds (Voulgaris 2004a).[9] Voulgaris had previously attempted to achieve both in his literary endeavours (Voulgaris 2001b) and in his literary analyses (Voulgaris 1995, Voulgaris 1999: 49-55 and Voulgaris 2001a: 694-6). Elefantis' own contribution to this was a semi-autobiographical fiction that draws on the language and themes in a number of texts by Valtinos including *Orthokosta* (Elefantis 2001: 3-45).

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[8] For example, the atrocities committed by the Communists in Yugoslavian camps are not adequately discussed by Margaritis, despite the fact that a text that does discuss them to some extent is listed in the bibliography (Koutsoukalis 1989). The matter is described in very general terms as a "dark page in the history of the Greek Left" and is dramatized in highly abstract fashion when it is described as "another sad story of uprooted refugees" (Margaritis 2001B: 592-3, my translation).

[9] See also Voulgaris 2004b and Voulgaris 2005: 19 where the commentator attempts to prove that Valtinos is in error on historiographic grounds betraying his treatment of the text as historiography.

These historiographic, critical and literary texts are supplemented by a variety of other comments involving *Orthokosta*[10] and the impact that the text, in conjunction with recent developments in historical research, has had on certain circles of the leftist intelligentsia. Indeed the recent developments in the historiography of the Civil War attributed mainly to historians such as Stathis Kalyvas and Nikos Marantzidis, were contended with, and questioned in, an ongoing debate that took place recently in the Greek daily press in both polemic and less contentious articles.[11] *Orthokosta* is often connected, both explicitly and implicitly, with these developments. It is, in my view, significant that the skirmishes also involve, directly or indirectly, the issue of Postmodernism which is often associated with a current inclination towards neoconservatism, relativism, depoliticization, and other theories, supposedly of transatlantic origin, whose alleged aim is to erode the foundations of historical knowledge and the hard-earned freedoms of post-dictatorship Greek society.[12] It appears, therefore, that apart from a camaraderie that has evolved amongst a group of commentators who appear to see themselves as united against what the name "Valtinos" is thought to represent (see e.g. Voulgaris 2004c: 24), *Orthokosta* is related to a more general challenge that part of the intellectual community in Greece feels has been mounted against it, to a large extent starting with the questioning of the Left's conduct during the Civil War. This image was laboriously constructed after 1974 by a number of individuals whose political identity seems to have been reinforced as a result (see e.g. Elefantis 1979b: 68-9) and, hence, challenged by Valtinos' novel. It is perhaps noteworthy that, occasionally, there are objections to the content of current historiographic discourse from people who actually participated in the events and feel that their experience is being distorted or that their perceived social integrity is threatened (see, e.g. Kapralos 2004: 67, Venetis 2004: 44, Syros 2004: 44, and Apostolidou 1997: 16).

The controversy that began in 1994 around *Orthokosta* was not new to Greek cultural life. The same issue was the cultural *thème du jour* in the early 60s, with the intellectual

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[10] See e.g. Elefantis 1995: 32-45, Elefantis 2002b: 24-28, Kourtovik 2000: 34, Sella 2004: 47, Kazantzaki 2004: 30, Alexiou 2004: 14, Pimblis 2004a: 22, Papaioannou 2004b: 12, Machairas 2004: 11, and Voulgaris 2004b: 29.

[11] See e.g., Margaritis 2002b: 333-4, Kalyvas 2003a, 2003b, 2003c: 37-70, 2004a, 2004b: 38, 2004c: 12-3, Kalyvas 2004d: 40, Kalyvas and Marantzidis 2004a: 10-11 and 2004b:14-5, Elefantis 2002a: 14-7, Kremmydas 2002a: and 2002b, Exertzoglou 2002, Gazi 2003a: 18-21, Theotokas 2003, Liakos 1999:21-5, 2003: 12-7, 2004a: 12-3, 2004b: 14-15, Bohotis 2003: 32-5, Psychopaidis 2003: 36-42, Chartoulari 2003b: 32, Machairas 2004: 11, Margaritis 2004a: 6-7, 2004b:10-11, Mailis 2004: 11, Panourgia 2004: 22, Meyer 2004: 10, Papaioannou 2004a: 8-9 and 2004b: 12, Kairidis 2004: 11, Kambylis 2004: 12-3, Fleischer 2004: 12-3, Syros 2004: 44, Nikolakopoulos 2004: 10-11, Voglis 2004a: 20-8 and 2004b: 40-1, Lambropoulou 2005: A46, Lambropoulos 2005: 4, and Moschopoulos 2004: 3-7.

[12] Unfavourable criticisms of Postmodernism include Terzakis 1988: 84, Elefantis 1989: 37, Tsoukalas 1996: 63-5, Tsinorema 1996: 42f, Theotokas 2002: 24, n. 3 and 2003: 25, Datsi 2003: 46, Bohotis 2003: 33, Papamichail 2003: 36-40 and Vagenas 2002. For less biased approaches see Gazi 2003a: 18-21, and Kindi 2003: 34-40.

debate that took place over Stratis Tsirkas' first two novels of his trilogy *Drifting Cities* (*Ακυβέρνητες Πολιτείες*). The issue then was, as with *Orthokosta* twenty three years later, the questionable conduct of the Left's leadership during the Civil War, although this seems to have been partly overlooked in the commentary on the recent republication of the trilogy in Chrysa Prokopaki's critical edition (Sella 2005: 8 and Chartoulari 2005: 30-1). In 1962, Dimitris Raftopoulos, who spoke in favour of *Orthokosta* at its inaugural launch and contributed to the relevant debate, had commented on the first of Tsirkas' novels claiming that it revealed the "breach of revolutionary legality" by people who were responsible "for the repeated failures of the [communist] movement" in Greece (Prokopaki 1980: 65). Indeed the issue was raised again in 1974 by Aris Alexandrou's novel *To kivotio* (*The Crate*), a text that comments allegorically on the ideological void, in the form of an empty crate, carried by the Communists during the Civil War.[13] It is perhaps an indication of Margaritis' perceived similarity between the ideological effects of historiography and "realistic" fiction, that his project is presented in the introduction as an attempt to "correct a historical misunderstanding" which he attributes explicitly to Aris Alexandrou's novel *To kivotio* (Margaritis 2001A: 31, note 4).

This is perhaps an indication why Valtinos felt that another, less allegorical and more graphically violent, literary text on the Civil War was needed, to add to his own balanced treatment of the theme in his earlier novella *The Descent of the Nine*. This earlier text was first published, against Valtinos' knowledge, in the September issue of the literary journal *Epoches* in 1963, in the very midst of the debate about Tsirkas' novels and came out in book form for the first time in Greece in 1978.[14] The *Descent of the Nine,* contains allusions to wasted and pointless Communist violence resulting in the ideological disappointment of some of those who employed it. Yet, in 1979, the text was read as commenting on "the tragic defeat of the [leftist] movement" (Tsaknias 1979). This interpretation, as I have argued elsewhere (Paivanas 2004: 308-14 and Paivanas 2005), is an ideologically charged misreading of the text, which resulted in an appropriation of Valtinos' texts by the leftist intelligentsia after 1974 and in his perception as a Party-affiliated leftist in the eyes of some commentators. It has also shown remarkable resilience until recently and, indeed, was revived, as one might have expected, in juxtaposition to *Orthokosta*. The latter text could be treated as both a belated reaction to the misreading of Valtinos' earlier piece on the Civil War and to a new, post-1974,

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[13] For commentaries on Alexandrou's *To kivotio*, see Raftopoulos 2004: 348-60.

[14] *The Descent of the Nine* was written in 1959 and submitted to the periodical *Epoches* in 1963 against Valtinos' knowledge by George Savvidis, apparently as a literary contribution to the debate around Tsirkas' novels to which Savvidis himself had contributed (see Paivanas 2004b: 306-14 and 2005). *The Descent of the Nine* was described, somewhat ambiguously, as an "antipode" to *Orthokosta* (Mendrakos 1994: 24).

historiographic falsification of the conflict which was to be generalized in the populist climate of the 80s (see Mavrogordatos 1999: 39).

In very general terms, it appears that after 1974, the issue of the Left's illegitimately violent conduct during the Civil War was thought of as best forgotten, a matter which served those members of the leftist intelligentsia who appear to have sought to construct a new role for the Left in the political scene of post-dictatorship Greece. Part of that construction was the exaltation of the positive role played by ELAS, EAM and the KKE in the people's struggles against fascism during the Resistance and the ensuing Civil War. Forgetting or misrepresenting aspects of the past seems to have also served the political aspirations of the political party of PASOK (= Panhellenic Socialist Movement), which exploited the "leftist" cultural atmosphere to its political advantage and eventually won the elections in 1981. The decade that followed has been described in a volume edited by Richard Clogg as "The Populist Decade" (Clogg 1993). During that decade the contributions of the Left to the Resistance were officially recognized and war pensions were awarded to its once persecuted members (Carabott and Sfikas 2004: 2). However, in 1989, Valtinos was one of 120 writers and artists who signed a petition protesting to the policies and overall conduct of the PASOK government. The gesture almost duplicated the protest of "the eighteen" in 1970 against the censorship measures of the dictatorship which resulted in the historical volume of *Eighteen Texts* (Seferis *et al* 1970). The volume included Valtinos' own story "The Plaster Cast", a caustic satire of the metaphor used by the dictator George Papadopoulos to describe Greece as an ailing patient who was in need of corrective treatment from the "disease of Communism".

In 1989, the accompanying document of the 120 protested against the "violation of the rules of pluralism... the misinformation and biased control of the Media... and the frivolous and manipulating use of History..." (cited in Valtinos 2003: 79). All of these, according to the same document amounted to a "symptom of totalitarianism that was unacceptable in a democratic form of government" (ibid.) and make up my general working definition of 80s populism. It seems paradoxical at first, but both Elefantis and Valtinos were united in their caustic criticisms of this climate. The former wrote a series of polemic articles against PASOK's populism in the periodical *O Politis*[15] and the latter openly expressed his disapproval in a series of interviews (see, e.g., Liontis 1984: 50-4, Schina 1989 and Paivanas 2004a: 142-5). With the publication of *Orthokosta* the apparently united front between Elefantis and Valtinos against populism was almost instantly transformed into antagonism. One might conclude from this that Valtinos' novel appears to have revealed the Left's dependence on, and contribution to, the populist climate of the 80s, partly through historiographically-based image-building of the Communist cause during the Civil War.

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[15] See Elefantis and Kavouriaris 1977: 14-25, Elefantis 1981: 6-15, Elefantis 1987: 11-14, Elefantis 1988a: 13-17, Elefantis 1988b 11-15, and Elefantis 1989: 28-37.

It appears, then, that *Orthokosta* presented a new challenge to a constructed representation of the Civil War and to the leftist political identities that were formed on its basis or found an opportunity to articulate their views in the ideological climate that evolved in the first two decades of post-dictatorship Greece. The constructed narrative can be described as a historiography that largely sanctified the role of the Left in the Civil War despite its claims to distancing itself from previous oversimplifications (see Elefantis 1979b: 68). In fact, the sanctification of the Left and the demonization of the Right is the underlying assumption in most negative assessments of the novel. This also helps to explain why, in the early stages of its reception Valtinos' novel was treated as an attempt at exonerating the "Security Battalions" (Moraitis 1994: 16 and Voukelatos 1994: 23) which are indiscriminately treated as collaborationist in leftist historiographic discourse. This assessment of the novel is indeed surprising as some of the most barbaric acts of violence in *Orthokosta* are committed by characters who joined their ranks in order to avenge themselves against Communists, to legitimize their own violent inclinations or to seek protection from the violence of ELAS.

The reading of Valtinos' the *Descent of the Nine,* as a text about "the tragic defeat of the [leftist] movement" (Tsaknias 1979) is significant for another reason that pertains to the historiographic poetics of the Left in Greece and is indirectly related to the literary aesthetics of *Orthokosta*. With regard to this aesthetics, it is important to repeat here that at least one commentator criticized *Orthokosta* for not being literature at all and for failing to transform the 47 testimonial narratives that comprise it, into what she termed an "aesthetic form" (Kagelari 1994: 53). This response is echoed in Triandafyllou's, Karali's and Sella's assessments of *Orthokosta* (Triandafyllou 1994, Karali 1994, and Sella 2004) and is to a certain extent, understandable since the novel is an extremely labyrinthine and difficult text. The response also betrays a certain aesthetic or a set of reader's expectations which the text appears to fail to fulfill. The same thing appears to occur in the commentaries that focused the majority of their discussion on the paratextual aspects of the novel such as the cover, the prologue and the epilogue (e.g. Politi 1997 and Calotychos 2000), finding, perhaps, the main corpus of the testimonial narratives comprising the novel too nebulous for comment.

The challenge that *Orthokosta* presented to the Left's historiography of the Civil War and to the political identities which helped to construct it, is related to what, commenting on the historiography of the Civil War, the historian Giorgos Mavrogordatos effectively describes as the romantic transformation of a military defeat into a historiographic triumph (Mavrogordatos 1999: 38-40). The paradox relates to a more general tendency that I associate with an aspect of the Greek version of Modernism. This is the tendency to view history in terms of an unjust, yet unavoidable, outcome, whose psychological or emotional wound can be healed through the aesthetic experience effected by an artistic use of language. In other

words, to view history as a kind of cathartic tragedy, a current necessity according to Andonis Liakos (2004b: 15).

On the basis of the above, it would seem that the aesthetic becomes unavoidably involved in the way one views, writes, and the expectations one labours from, historical discourse. *Orthokosta* is not, of course, historiography. In my view, the text encourages its readers to acquire a less biased understanding of the Civil War, or even assumes such an understanding. In addition, it violates the aesthetic of an elaborate and refined "neosocialist realism" on which leftist historiography of the Civil War in Greece appears to draw (Fokas 1994: 133).[16] To say that, in 1994, *Orthokosta* caused a controversy that shook a number of leftist intellectuals out of their unacknowledged populist complacency seems like an understatement, but the text also challenged the underlying aesthetics of leftist historiography that treated the outcome of the Civil War as a tragic defeat of the "leftist movement". As a linguistic construct, Valtinos' novel resists the transformation of the civil conflict into a kind of literary laxative and ultimately denies the metamorphosis of historical trauma into a certain kind of literary hedonism. How exactly it does this is another issue.

II Reading *Orthokosta* as literature

Orthokosta is a fragmented, discontinuous, and disorderly narrative. It has in excess of 500 characters and that's just the named ones. Time indices tend to be general and non-specific while place indices are often excessively specific to the locality of Kynouria as the narrators tend to use local rather that official terminology. One of the primary effects of all these features, at least during the first two readings, is a confusion of the reader as to where, why and with what motives characters act and events occur. As Maro Triandafyllou admitted, these are not conducive to what might be described as a comfortable armchair or bedside reading. One could therefore argue that the novel violates its reader's expectations for a reading where logical narrative sequences are evoked or ultimately resolved and characters act on the basis of stable and consistent traits. This violation is thematically related to an irrationality of the violent conflict and to the meanings one can deduce or formulate from the Civil War's treatment in a narrative. In *Orthokosta* the reader is not encouraged to abstract the narrative to a facile metaphor that would either serve an ideology in the political spectrum of public life or help to decipher the Civil War's meaning once and for all.

The Civil War in *Orthokosta* is presented as a complex set of circumstances that defy demystification through anachronistically imposed characterizations on a wide variety of identities and their motives under the aegis of labels used traditionally to describe the

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[16] See also Raftopoulos 1994b: 50, Georgakopoulou 1994: 5/29 and Kazantzaki 2004: 30. On "Socialist Realism" in Greece see the debate in Prokopaki 1980, Kotzia 2002: 404-14 and on its origins see Tsantsanoglou 2005: 8-10.

opposing sides. The alliance of individuals to either side is presented as premeditated, compulsive, self-serving, fortuitous or inexplicable, but also as forced (see Cloze 2003: 164-5). According to the novel, one of the methods employed by EAM was the legitimate and illegitimate persuasion of people to join its side.[17] Often, in the event that these methods failed or were met with resistance, the non-complying characters are forced or instructed to join the other side in the interests of reinforcing the divisive spirit (e.g. pp. 46-7, 74, 115, and 296-8). The mass enlistments in the corps of the "Security Battalions" are presented as a reaction to the illegitimate actions of the Communists (e.g. pp. 23 and 105).

One might deduce from all this that in the novel there is an underlying critique of a crudely Marxist narrative which the members of EAM attempted to enforce on the social reality of the time ignoring other aspects of the local social dynamics. The interpretation of this historical and social development aimed at the creation of a climate that approximated the social conditions of a "class struggle" which is uncertain if they actually existed (Svoronos 1982: 27-9). In *Orthokosta* there is a systematic resistance to facile categorizations of the characters to either side of the combatants. As a result it appears necessary to include any ideologically tinted characterization such as "Communist", "*elasitis*" (= "member of ELAS"), "reactionary" or "*tagmatasfalitis*" (= "member of the 'Security Battalions'") in quotation marks. This means that the descriptiveness of these terms is undermined to the extent that they cease to have a valid or stable referential meaning, whether pejorative or not.

On practically every page of the novel one comes across some form of criticism of the homogenization of a variety of views and people under the aegis of an ideological label. Some salient examples are the extortion of, or reprisal against, a person through the harassment of his or her family members (e.g. p. 17, *et passim*); the extermination of a group of harvesters who wave to a platoon of passing Germans with the latter misinterpreting their sickle-bearing salute (p. 264); an adolescent girl's error in embroidering the royal crown instead of the hammer-and-sickle on the berets of a group of ELAS' guerillas is almost interpreted as intentional on her part (pp. 46-7); another example is the threatening of a young woman with her forced allocation to the brothels of Argos for her participation in a theatrical performance of the bucolic melodrama *Golfo* before an audience of guerillas (p. 93). On the basis of these examples, it appears that the novel comments on the issue of eschatological or dogmatic interpretation critically and explicitly. In short, Valtinos' text comments on the very arbitrariness of dogmatic absolutism that blurs judicious judgment leading potentially to premature and unnatural death.

Orthokosta is also full of differentiations between, restrained ideologues and frantic partisans (on both sides), humanitarians and fortune-hunters. References to characters who

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[17] Similar methods are attributed to the other side (p. 29). All page references to the novel are to the second reprint of the first edition (Valtinos 1994). All quoted translations from the novel are mine.

refused to join EAM's policy of violence abound (e.g. pp. 177-9, 230, and 260f), while ELAS guerillas are not presented indiscriminately as homicidal maniacs. The narrators often refer to them a "kids" (p. 277 *et passim*), a reminder of the age-groups that often joined, or were forced to join, their ranks, while there is also a marked tendency to forgive them as in this example: "It wasn't their fault. It was the fault of others above them" (p. 228). There are a number of references to the registration of people as members of EAM without their consent (e.g. pp. 53 and 65) and suspicions that historical personages who faithfully served the EAM movement, like Tsigris and Kondalonis, did so forcedly (pp. 45 and 124 respectively). There is an abundance of examples of people who claim to have suffered the violence of both sides (e.g. pp. 51-2, 90-3, 115-9, and 303), there are frequent references to the psychological, linguistic and physical violence exercised by both sides and less so to German brutality (e.g., pp. 53, 67, 68, 126, 217, and 219), there are instances of conflict amongst different groups of "Security Battalions" (p. 204) and plundering attributed to both sides.

On the grounds of all these it would seem that the readers who responded unfavourably towards the novel didn't really read it or, at least, not carefully enough. The violence of the "Security Battalions" is presented as the result of "Communist" violence, but this does not justify the former by demonizing the latter. One may argue that "White Terror" or "reactionary" violence in *Orthokosta* is an implicit comment on the absolutist manner in which Communists were treated after the Varkiza agreement (12 February 1945) and, later, in the 50s, a treatment which fueled the political and ideological Manichaism in the last part of the 20th Century.

Orthokosta does not present the Civil War as a conflict between saints and demons. In the novel, lives are saved, alliances are formed, and conflicts occur not on an ideological basis but on the basis of personal differences, individual ethos, interpersonal relationships, and anthropologically based antagonisms. This "de-ideologizes", in the political sense, the Civil conflict and appears to explain the negative responses to the novel whose critics seem to propound the maintenance of a kind of "Cold War" antagonism in the interests of sustaining and justifying an engagement to a specific political identity.

My comments thus far may give the impression that I am treating the novel as a historiographical text. However, the features of *Orthokosta* that I have commented on are part of a novel. In addition, one needs to be aware that the testimonial narratives that comprise the novel are not presented as unbiased representations. There is ample evidence in the text that some of the events are not experienced first hand but, instead, they are hearsay narrations. Testimonies are also self-honouring texts where the speaker attempts to justify his or her own actions and amplify his or her contribution, benevolence, social position or understanding. This is clear, for example, in the fourth chapter of the novel. Moreover, in every testimony there is a good-faith agreement between the speaker and his listener or interlocutor that the

truth is being told. However, in *Orthokosta* the issue is not so much historiographical truth as the role of personal and collective memory in the construction of certain community identities.

The novel's narrators use the events of the past as elements in personal narratives that illustrate their ethics and the human endeavours their community appears to privilege (honesty, friendship, acquisition of personal wealth, love, marriage, child-bearing, family, music, creative and persuasive use of language) all of which, it is suggested, were under serious threat during the Civil War. Some salient examples of this are the arbitrary extermination of a musician (p. 19) and the death of a man who is said to have been drawn to Athens during the December events of 1944 because of his love for a woman (p. 73-5). The suggestion is that art and love cannot flourish under conditions of violent conflict. The violence of either side of the civil conflict is not silenced in *Orthokosta*, nor is it employed in a narrative that serves the interests of political parties. Contrarily it's memory is incorporated in narratives that illustrate its arbitrariness and the transgression of certain fundamental rules about what, according to the narrators, constitutes ethical human conduct. At the same time it is put to the service of its narrator's inclination towards a creative, persuasive and poignant use of language in telling stories about the local past.

Thus the stories told by the narrators of *Orthokosta* suggest the ethical principles and the institutions that their community privileges. These define its identity both individually and collectively. In these stories there is a distancing from generalizing and Manichaic assessments of people and events during the Civil War and a suggestion that the passions that once fueled the conflict have subsided (see, e.g. pp. 26-7). A contributing factor is the humour and the lexical irony that one comes across at times (see, e.g. pp. 131 and 137), and the restrained boasting in stories of survival, of being courageous, resilient and inventive against the odds. Given that certain parts of the narratives in *Orthokosta* have this effect, it can be claimed that the novel is, to a certain extent, a tribute to the community of the author's birthplace and its collective will to survive. However, the novel could not be at a further remove from being an ode to the Kastri cluster of villages in Kynouria or to Arcadia and its people for that matter. Valtinos is aware that history is not a personified entity that evolves of its own accord (Chartoulari 1994: 63), but that it is people who make it happen and it is people who sustain its effects in their memory. So, the positive aspects of the community are counterbalanced by narratives and assessments of people and events which seem to illustrate an accentuation of a Manichaic view of both the past and the present. This does not mean that the novel argues for a kind of amnesia regarding the violence of the past. On the contrary, some of the subsidiary plots that are unraveled across the chapters lead to the revelation of its perpetrators on both sides.

It is quite clear in the text that the denial, the silencing or pretending to not remember the committed atrocities is not conducive to reconciliation and the sanitization of the local community. In the second chapter the narrator blames Potis Leggeris for pretending to not remember atrocities committed by ELAS, its collaborators (p. 14) and especially his brother. In chapter 41, the two narrators are two "reactionary" characters who avenged themselves against members of ELAS. Part of the time of reference is the year 1946 when the narrators arrest Anestis Poulios, a witness to the stripping of a dead body by ELAS guerillas. Poulios is beaten savagely and seems to suffer other unconfessed humiliations while confined in a barrel. Despite this, the first narrator (Nikolaou) takes the edge off his viciousness progressively as he narrates. His story evokes how he himself pretended not to recognize his victim when they accidentally came across each other at a bus stop sometime during the early 80s. The episode reaches its climax with the recognition of the perpetrator by the victim who greets Nikolaou with restrained irony for not helping him get on the bus. The narrator is obliged to respond with a similar greeting (p. 286). In this verbal exchange, and in the narrator's musings that follow it,[18] underlies an unarticulated apology and mutual forgiveness. It is of course ironic that this apology is articulated in the most unlikely context in the sixth chapter where an anonymous shepherd apologizes for the murder he committed against one of the narrator's co-villagers in 1922 (p. 48). The suggestion here is that gratuitous of poorly justified violence in the area had precedents. It is equally important that chapter 41 ends with the accentuated hatred of the second narrator (Christofilis) for another "Communist" victim of the "reactionaries". Thus, the identity of the local community, as it is presented in the novel, displays both its inclinations towards constructive and symbiotic aspects of human existence as well as destructive and antagonistic ones. Its characters also display an inclination towards forgiveness and mutual apology without always realizing these inclinations. The suggestion is that certain cultural factors are interfering with this realization. However, the Manichaism in the political scene after 1974 which appears to have perpetuated them is only partly responsible.

In a number of narratives in the novel it is suggested that the very difference between linguistic persuasion and physical violence was eliminated during the conflict. The purposes served by this elimination were personal gain and the expression of personal antipathies whose resurfacing remains in the novel a forever imminent possibility. *Orthokosta* contains a number of chapters that are not related chronologically to the Civil War events. In one of these chapters the repeated attempts of two brothers to reconcile their differences over mutual land claims by legitimate means are repeatedly postponed (pp. 256-9). Civil War violence, and inclination towards (self-)destruction is attributed to a great extent to these kinds of

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[18] «And I thought, why since we will die, why did we do all thise things. It was the need for revenge» (p. 286, my translation)

antagonisms and anthropological differences in the novel.[19] There is also evidence in the novel that violence inhabits the language of the community and that in its means of expression resides the potential of yet another violent outbreak.

In chapter 12, for example, it is implied that linguistic persuasion is a lot more constructive and less harmful than physical violence (pp. 99-101). The linguistic violence that underlies this persuasion ("The man was shattered, he broke his morale", p. 101) echoes the psalmist verse of the novel's motto (Psalm B, verse 9) and carries the meaning of persuasion. The ethical value of this persuasion can only be assessed retrospectively on the basis of its results ("And they lived happily for almost half a century. They had four children", p. 101). The treatment of people as objects to be shattered or broken up to components of their anatomy (e.g. pp. 323-4) as a means to persuasion suggests the futility of the act and implies that during the Civil War the metaphorically violent expressions that reside in the community's expressional means were interpreted literally. It is, therefore, implied that under the conditions of violence that were initiated by leaders of EAM-ELAS, and which were subsequently perpetuated by the "reactionary" side, people avoided resorting to other more legitimate and less harming means (Tsoukalas 2002: 278-82). Instead, they chose to use physical violence rather than employ the language of negotiation and the persuasive power of the tongue, which, according to a well known saying in Greek, "contains no bones but breaks bones".

Thus, *Orthokosta* appears to both praise and condemn the characters of the local community for their conduct during the conflict. It praises them for their creativity and for the ethics they appear to privilege and condemns them for transgressing not only the code of these alleged ethics but also of a linguistic code that claims to assert a difference between literal and metaphorical meaning. This is directly related to the issue of arbitrary naming and forced characterizations of individuals in the novel with a view to maintaining antagonism. As one narrator puts it "They call you a traitor, you are a traitor" (p. 109). The question that evolves from all this is of a narratological nature and concerns the sequence of cause and effect. If the ethical code of the community is deduced in equal measure from the institutions and behaviours it claims to privilege as well as from its actions, then this code includes violent behaviour and arbitrary naming in the interests of eliminating the entity that refuses to be homogenized. Therefore, it becomes difficult to discern cause from effect, where the former is the narration about the ethical code of the community and the effect is the violence

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[19] See, e.g. «There was the village of Oria. They hated the people from Karatoula, there was a lot of hatred between the two villages» and «...you know what I'm thinking? I understand having differences, having interests, but up to that point my man? Up to that point?» (p. 46, my translation). See also chapter 47.

that its collective memory cites or commemorates. In other words it becomes difficult to tell whether violence has precedence over the discourse of the community or vice versa.

The novel illustrates the possibility of reconciliation and mutual forgiveness but also the difficulty of their realization under current ideological and cultural conditions, where "current" means both the time of the novel's composition and the time of reference in the narrations. It is not so much the memory of the Civil War that defers this reconciliation but the memory which is fueled by an ongoing attitude that separates the world into saints and demons, displacing the sensibility that might have otherwise led to reconciliation, mutual forgiveness and symbiotic conditions. This attitude is a Manichaism that resides in the political scene, as suggested by the narrators' references to PASOK's indiscriminate award of war pensions to participants of the "Resistance" (e.g. p. 286), but it is also an antagonism that inhabits the community as a cultural trait. The theatre critic Kostas Georgousopoulos commented on this recently referring to the debate over *Orthokosta* as a national characteristic of the Greeks who "appear forever prepared to engage in a brawl even when there is no serious reason" (Georgousopoulos 2004: 16). *Orthokosta* appears to comment on the unwillingness to change this "cultural trait" through the wholesale adoption of a persuasive narrative which would form the basis for its alteration or for a new arbitrary naming that does not carry the potential to violate corporal integrity. At this point, it becomes important to discuss the prologue, epilogue and title of the novel.

The testimonial narratives in *Orthokosta* are framed by two putatively extraneous segments which are italicized and are, therefore, semiotically set apart from the main corpus of narratives. The prologue presents itself as an excerpt, anterior to the timeframe of the Civil War, from the writings of the bishop Isaakios and is written in Puristic Greek (*katharevousa*). In it the narrator describes the area around the monastery of Orthokosta which was used as a prison camp by ELAS during the civil conflict. The description is lyrical and charts, in a general manner, the geographical territory in which most of the events of the novel unfold. The excerpt also contains some of the novel's basic themes such as plundering, the destruction and devastation of the monastery by military raids (in 1742) and its following reconstruction by a monk called "Varnavas". The monk's nickname is "Kafsoxyliotis" (= 'wood burner'), an ironic name given the dominant theme of arson in the novel. While the prologue describes the process of a reconstruction and evokes a lyrical description of the surroundings, the epilogue demolishes the lyricism by describing it as a "poetic evasion under duress of a coerced life" (p. 338). The message appears to be that violence as a theme cannot adopt lyricism and metaphor on a wholesale basis for the transformation of the discourse that deals with the topic into an "aesthetic form" (Kagelari 1994: 53). *Orthokosta* does not deceive its reader with this kind of aesthetic hoax. For example, the area around the monastery cannot exclusively be treated as "beautiful and evergreen" and it does not cause "pleasure and delight" as claimed

by Issakios (p. 10) since in the main narratives it is associated with plunder, fire, violence, and overall destruction. Indeed in the narratives themselves there is a tendency to give negative attributes to place names such as "Memos' field" (p. 72) where a character's killing is commemorated, the village of "Masklina" where the German headquarters were and where many characters sought protection from ELAS, or an unspecified locality where mules instinctively refuse to approach (p. 160). However, there is also an element of doubt about their categorical or monosemic signification.

The same occurs with the characters of the novel with the information that accumulates about them almost never being consistently negative or positive. Some notable exceptions to this are the martyr-like figures of Themistoklis Anagnostakos and Alexandra Boini on the side of those who suffered premature and unjust deaths and the frantic "reactionary" Michalis Galaxydis who is presented as a short-tempered, impulsive and sexually repressed individual, an example to be avoided. Overall, however, there is a tendency towards what might be termed as a "double" or "contradictory signification" of the proper noun. This is related to a radical ambiguity that underlies the novel and concerns the significance attributed to narratives about the violent civil conflict. If the narrators commemorate this violence in didactic allegories that illustrate their desire to eschew the violence both at the time of narration and in the future, they are doing so in order to make the memory of this violence viable. The issue that arises from this is whether the possible viability is yet another form of self-deceit about the potential resurfacing of this violence. The epilogue of the novel provides an ambiguous but, in my view, interesting answer.

In the epilogue, the narrator mentions that the monastery was originally built in the Byzantine time of the Iconomachies, that is in the time of another kind of fratricidal conflict between Christian dogmas. It has already been suggested that religious and political dogmatism are paralleled in the novel (e.g. Raftopoulos 1994a:32-3 and Politi 1997: 231). This reading is reinforced by the psalmist maxim at the beginning of the novel and by the information that Isaakios was incarcerated in the monastery for twelve years for "erroneous belief and simony" (p. 338), in approximately the same manner that captives of ELAS were held in the same place. However, this juxtaposition between religious dogmatism and supposedly politically-based intolerance is both drawn and undermined in the text as most of the atrocities committed appear to not have belief, or any kind of dogma, as their basis but impulsive, arbitrary and self-serving behaviour. The building of the monastery during a time of conflict confirms this, as it is inconsistent with what occurs in the community of Kastri in 1944 where humans and buildings are destroyed in equal measure. The inconsistency accords well with the rebuilding of the monastery by the ironically nicknamed Varnavas as "wood burner". The resulting irony draws the reader's attention to the unjustifiably and inexplicably extreme conditions of the Civil War as these are presented in the novel. It also draws attention

to the significance of the themes of rebuilding, constructing and destroying for an understanding of Valtinos' text.

Narration and narrative are presented in the novel as creative or constructive activities. Yet, the meaning that is attributed to the title of the subsidiary narratives that make up the novel is full of negative connotations that relate to torture, destruction and unnatural death. However, the narrator of the epilogue states that the meaning of the place name "Orthokosta" eludes him or is unclear ("lanthanei" p. 337). In this formally expressed statement it is suggested that the signifier "Orthokosta" is not irreversibly attached to its current signified. Contrarily, it may acquire a new significance in the future as it did in the past in the lyrical puristic discourse of Isaakios. The novel is permeated by the potential of, or desire for, this new signification, but with a certain reticence on the part of the anonymous narrator of the epilogue who cannot see it happening at this point in time. Hence his dismissal of Isaakios' lyrical description of the area as "poetic evasions" and as "inaccurate" (pp. 337-8). The implication is that a new narrative is required that will exploit the resources of historical memory for more creative purposes without falsifying them in the interests of a Manichaic view of the world. This narrative, is, to an extent, *Orthokosta* itself, but there is also the underlying implication that it could have been different thatn what it is. The exploitation of memory includes the mythologizing of certain characters who will serve the narrative as types who symbolize the ethos of a community. In most cases, this community attributes greater value to the moral fibre of an individual than to the party, bloc or organization that he or she chose, happened or was forced to serve.

In conclusion, one might claim that in the reality which the narrators of *Orthokosta* represent is at a considerable remove from the reality that leftist historiography of the Civil War presents. With *Orthokosta* Valtinos appears to be making a request for a different kind of historiographical narrative without pretending to produce one himself. The naïve requests of some commentators that the novel comply with the agreed findings of historical research (Sella 2004: 47) seem absurd as a result. By contrast to the novel, leftist historiography of the Civil War seems like a form of realistic literature which is confined retrogressively to a melancholy aesthetic of Greek Modernism (Kolokotroni and Taxidou 1997) which treated history as a national tragedy and its otherwise active participants as prey of higher forces that moved inexorably towards their unjust demise. This kind of tragic sense is undermined and restrained in *Orthokosta* as indeed it was in *The Descent of the Nine* in 1963. Through the narration of the events of a microhistory, both texts appear to request an as yet unwritten historiography which, instead of claiming to be "correct" (*orthos*) by presenting the Civil War as a kind of "Star Wars" between the forces of good and evil, will restrain its inclination towards a Manichaic ideologization of the conflict. The discourse of this consciously unfinalized historiography will be receptive to new narratives without displaying its

intolerance for difference in its attempt at homogenizing them into a grand narrative about a "pandemic people's tragedy". In my view, this state of suspending an unreserved scientific or hermeneutic eschatology is an issue of a literary aesthetic *par excellence* and one of the crucial features of Postmodernism.

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Political apathy amongst Greek students: is Learned Helplessness the corollary of their perception of the quality of the democracy in Greece? An empirical study.

by

Marietta Papadatou-Pastou

Supervisor

Dr Alexandra Hatzi

(This work was submitted as the senior thesis for the author's undergraduate studies in the Department of Psychology, Panteion University, Athens)

2005

Abstract

Background: The factors underlying the gradual decline in the participation in the elections and the devocalization of the political movements that are being observed during the last decades in Greece have not been previously studied through the looking glass of psychological processes, such as the phenomenon of Learned Helplessness first put forward by Maier and Seligman in 1976. The latter phenomenon postulates that when a belief that events are independent of behaviour and thus uncontrollable is established, it results in affective, motivational and cognitive deficits e.g. a tendency to be a passive learner who depends on others for decisions and guidance, unwilling to try and influence his/her environment. The objective of the present study is to explore the presence of the phenomenon of Learned Helplessness amongst Greek students as well as its possible correlation with their negative perception of the quality of democracy in Greece. **Method**: Questionnaires were administered to 220 Greek Students attending the Kappodistrian University and the Panteion University, both located in Athens. **Results**: The data revealed that 18 students (8.1%) were subject to the phenomenon of Learned Helplessness, 174 (79%) fulfilled one or more of the three criteria, while only 28 (12.7%) students did not fulfil any of the criteria. A correlation was found to exist between the presence of Learned Helplessness and the perception of the quality of democracy. (Pearson's r = -0.300, a = 0.05). **Conclusion**: The present study was the first piece of research to explore the possible correlation between the subjective perception of the quality of democracy in Greece and the phenomenon of Learned Helplessness in Greek students. The findings were consistent with the notion that a negative perception of the quality of democracy would positively correlate with the presence of Learned Helplessness and thus its

effects i.e. that the person becomes an apathetic receiver of the events that affect his/her life, unwilling to act in order to change the status quo. That correlation was rather weak due to the strict methodological manipulations employed and the small sample size.

Introduction

Humans as well as many other species seem to have a psychological need to control the environment in which they function (Levine 1977). This need is considered to be amongst the basic needs, since only by feeling that one can control one's own environment can one feel safe in an unsafe and adverse world and be motivated for action. This theoretical view is a point of convergence between the different approaches that investigate the matter ((Adler 1929); (Fiedler, O'Brien et al. 1969); (Winter 1973)), even though the explanatory factors they propose in respect to the development and onset of the need for control may be different. Experimental evidence has also been provided by studies that have shown in a systematic way that the loss of control over one's environment can be instabilitating for an individual and can even prove to be fatal ((Schulz and Aderman 1973)). Therefore, even a minimum feeling of control is crucial in order for humans to feel healthy.

A number of experiments designed to test the need for control started taking place back in the '60s and were conducted by Seligman and colleagues in the USA ((Maier and Seligman 1976); (Mikulincer 1994); (Seligman, Maier et al. 1971); (Seligman 1975)). Indeed Seligman et al. observed that living organisms that systematically failed to control their environment turned into passive and maladjusted organisms that quit any subsequent attempt to survive.

A characteristic example of the findings of the animal studies undertaken by Seligman et al. is the finding that even though under normal

circumstances dogs learned quickly how to avoid electric shocks by jumping over a barrier, dogs that were first given inescapable shocks subsequently failed to escape shocks in a shuttle box. Even if they made an occasional response that turned off the shocks, they failed to learn the association between this behaviour and its outcome. In contrast, dogs given escapable shocks or no prior shocks at all learned to escape quickly (Overmier and Seligman 1967; Seligman and Maier 1967). This interference and the process underlying it have been called "Learned Helplessness" ((Maier, Seligman et al. 1969) (Seligman, Maier et al. 1971)). According to Seligman (1975), Learned Helplessness is the result of lack of control and predictability and is a process through which the learning of response-outcome independence leads to subsequent changes in behaviour. Learned Helplessness occurs in a variety of situations, with a variety of uncontrollable events, and across a number of species, including rats ((Maier, Albin et al. 1973); (Maier and Testa 1975); (Seligman and Beagley 1975); (Seligman, Rosellini et al. 1975)), cats ((Masserman 1971); (Seward and Humphrey 1967); (Thomas and Dewald 1977)) , fish ((Frumkin and Brookshire 1969; Padilla, Padilla et al. 1970)) and mice ((Klein and Seligman 1976)) (but also see (Seligman 1975) for a comprehensive review).

Once Learned Helplessness was demonstrated in animals, the next step was to attempt to produce similar effects in human experiments ((Fosco and Geer 1971); (Glass and Singer 1972); (Gatchel and Proctor 1976); (Hiroto and Seligman 1975), (Krantz, Glass et al. 1974); (Klein, Fencil-Morse et al. 1976); (Klein and Seligman 1976); (Miller and Seligman 1975); (Racinskas 1972); (Roth and Kubal 1975)). The experiment of Hiroto (1974) was one of the earliest of this research trend and yet one of the most representative. Hiroto used a "triadic design" with three training conditions, following the design of animal experiments: no training, training with outcomes that were

beyond control and training with outcomes that were under control. The subjects in the escape group were exposed to 50 trials of unsignaled loud noise which they could terminate by pressing a button four times. The subjects in the helplessness-training group were exposed to the same unsignaled loud noise, which was terminated independently of their responses –in fact it was terminated as a result of the responses by a subject in the escape group, in order for the two groups to receive the same amount, duration and pattern of noise. A third group, the no training group, was not exposed to any noise. In the test phase all subjects were exposed to 20 trials of loud noise which they were told they could stop by moving the handle of a finger shuttle box from one end of the box to the other. All of the subjects could control the end of the noise. The results of the experiment were parallel to those of the animal studies: the subjects in the escape group as well as the subjects in the no training group learned quickly how to escape the noise, whereas the subjects in the helplessness-training group were less likely to learn to escape the noise than subjects in the other two groups. Subsequent research has shown that human Learned Helplessness effects are to be found not only in noise escape learning, but in a wide variety of cognitive problem-solving tasks as well, such as anagrams, intelligence tests, block designs, digit-letter substitution etc. (see (Miller and Norman 1979), for a review).

Although a number of alternative hypotheses have been proposed in order to account for the debilitating effects of experience with uncontrollability (see (Maier and Seligman 1976) and (Mikulincer 1994), for a review of the hypotheses), only the Learned Helplessness hypothesis provides a unified theoretical framework integrating both animal and human data. ((Abramson, Seligman et al. 1978), (Maier and Seligman 1976), (Seligman 1975)). According to the Learned Helplessness hypothesis,

perceived noncontingency between response and outcome results in three deficits: motivational, cognitive and emotional. More specifically, the motivational deficit is manifested as a reduced incentive towards instrumental responding and is seen as a consequence of the expectation that the environment cannot be controlled. Moreover, the Learned Helplessness hypothesis postulates that learning that the environment is uncontrollable results in a cognitive deficit. Such learning makes it difficult to later learn that responses produce an outcome, since a cognitive interference takes place in learning new associations of response to outcome. Further, the Learned Helplessness hypothesis argues that depressed affect is the emotional consequence of learning that outcomes are uncontrollable. The Learned Helplessness hypothesis is cognitive in that it postulates that the mere exposure to uncontrollability is not sufficient to render an organism helpless. Instead, in order for the organism to exhibit helplessness, it must come to *expect* that outcomes are uncontrollable.

In 1978, Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale in their classical paper ¨Learned Helplessness in Humans: Critique and Reformulation¨ criticized the Learned Helplessness theory and attempted a reformulation by focusing on the causal attributions a person makes after having perceived the personal-environment mismatch created by uncontrollable failure. In their reformulated account, Abramson et al. argued that when a person finds he is helpless he asks *why* he is helpless. The causal attribution he makes then determines the generality and chronicity of his helplessness deficits as well as his later levels of self-esteem. This reformulation was necessary in order to differentiate between animal and human research findings. Animal research attempts to delineate the environmental boundaries of the phenomenon whereas the human Learned Helplessness research attempts to delineate the contribution of both the environment and the person to the

Learned Helplessness effects, and is guided mainly by a cognitive orientation that emphasizes the subjective experience of uncontrollability.

The first distinction in the way a person attributes his feelings of helplessness is the self/other dichotomy which is the criterion of internality. When people believe that outcomes are more likely or less likely to happen to themselves than to relevant others, they attribute these outcomes to internal factors. Similarly, persons make external attributions for outcomes that they believe are as likely to happen to themselves as to others. For example, a father of a child with leukemia attributes the fact that he cannot control the course of the disease to external factors e.g. the fact that leukemia is an incurable disease. This situation is termed universal helplessness. Alternatively, a student who despite his hard work fails in school will attribute his failure to internal factors e.g. that he is not intelligent enough. This situation is termed personal helplessness. It should be noted that comparisons are made with the "relevant other" as opposed to "random other" or "any other". No student would question his/her intellectual ability when failing to solve mathematical problems that only professional mathematicians can solve. But he would question his ability if his peers had succeeded in solving the same problems in which he failed.

The second distinction in the explanation that the person gives to the noncontingency between his actions and their outcomes is the dimension "global-specific" which is orthogonal to "internal-external" and distinguishes between the Learned Helplessness deficits that occur in a broad range of situations and the deficits that occur in a narrow range of situations. In the case of specific helplessness the person attributes his failure to factors that are short-lived or intermittent e.g. if a student that failed a math's test attributes his failure to the fact that his is not good in mathematics, he will not do poorly if he is examined on a different subject

(specific helplessness deficits) . On the other hand, if the person attributes his helplessness to more global factors, it is likely that the helplessness deficits will generalize to other situations as well. Following the example of the student, if he attributes his failure to his lack of ability, then he is very likely to expect to fail an English exam as well and thus he will quit even trying to pass it. This is a case of global helplessness.

Finally, the third explanatory dimension is the "stable-unstable" dimension which is orthogonal to the previous two dimensions and affects the time course of helplessness. Stable explanatory factors are those that the person believes are either long-lived or recurrent e.g. the student failed his exam because he suffers from insomnia, and unstable factors are those that are transient or short-lived, e.g. the student failed the exam because his parents were having a party and he didn't get enough sleep the previous night. Hence, according to the causal attributions the person makes, some helplessness deficits may last only minutes and others may last years. In the former case helplessness is called transient and in the latter chronic.

Learned Helplessness theory is therefore based on the following three premises:

(a) Contingency, which refers to the objective relationship between the individual's actions and to the expected results. More specifically, contingency refers to the lack of control over the outcome i.e. responses and outcomes are independent of each other.

 (b) Cognition, which refers to how uncontrollability is perceived and explained. This process involves a number of steps. Firstly, noncontingency must be perceived and this perception might as well be right or wrong, i.e. the lack of control can be perceived as control and vice versa. Then, an attribution of this noncontingency to a cause takes place. For example, a failure can be attributed to bad luck or to the lack of intellectual ability.

Lastly, the attribution chosen influences the expectation of future failure. Hence, if the individual had attributed his failure to lack of intellectual ability, then he is likely to expect to fail again once faced with situations that require high intelligence.

(c) Behaviour, which refers to the visible consequences of contingency and cognition. The Learned Helplessness theory predicts that passivity as well as other deficits will follow the expectation of future helplessness such as sadness, low self-esteem, low levels of aggression, physical illness etc.

Learned Helplessness is therefore developed through three concurrent conditions: (a) an environment in which the outcomes are independent of the actions and thus uncontrollable, (b) an expectation that no action can change an event or control its outcome; this expectation arises from an internal (personal helplessness), stable (the expectation that the causal factors are going to persist) and global (the expectation that the same factors apply to a wide range of situations) attributional style and (c) a reactionary relinquishment from unpleasant events.

The presence of Learned Helplessness can be empirically tested on the basis of three different criteria with respect to the above three conditions: (a) the perception of uncontrollability, (b) a pessimistic explanatory style and (c) a behaviour of inappropriate passivity (Ντάβου and Αρμενάκης 2000).

Early experimental studies ((Brown and Inouye 1978); (DeVellis, McEvoy DeVellis et al. 1978)) have also shown that Learned Helplessness effects can be found in humans even through mere observations of similar individuals in similar circumstances, without people personally experiencing the lack of control. For example DeVellis, DeVellis and McCauley (1978) exposed observers to participants who were either successful or unsuccessful in avoiding loss of reward on an instrumental task. On a subsequent instrumental task, both observers and participants in

the success condition scored better on a response latency measure than those in the failure condition. Brown and Inouye (1978) similarly found that observation of a competent model who ostensibly failed on an anagram task resulted in reduced persistence in a subsequent anagram task. This phenomenon is termed "vicarious helplessness" and refers to the situation when a person feels helpless by witnessing other people being helpless. This phenomenon has been claimed to reflect that "assumptions about the degree of contingency in one's life are based, in part, on observations of similar individuals in similar circumstances" (DeVellis, McEvoy DeVellis et al. 1978). Moreover, "group helplessness" has also been claimed to exist (Simkin, Lederer et al. 1983), possibly allowing for whole societies to be termed helpless.

In 1975 Seligman argued that the Learned Helplessness deficits show great similarity with the symptoms of depression, to the extent that if the deficits are transient, then the Learned Helplessness phenomenon is thought to be present. However, if those symptoms persist for weeks or years, then the person should be thought as to suffer from depression. Subsequent research indeed showed that the two phenomena are parallel in respect to their aetiology, therapy and prevention ((Peterson and Seligman 1989)). The major factor that was identified was causal attribution style, which is considered to be a risk factor for depression. Thus, when the person attributes his uncontrollability to internal, stable and global factors and at the same time attributes his positive experiences to external, unstable and specific factors, then he is in the hi-risk group for depression.

To reiterate, Learned Helplessness has been defined as a state of idleness, inaction and passivity coupled with the feeling of personal inability, which is developed when people who are exposed or who witness other people being exposed to uncontrollable and inescapable events of

failure learn that responses and outcomes are independent of each other. This learning can lead to an expectation that responses will be futile and can generalize to new situations and interfere with future learning. The resulting passivity can stabilize and can debilitate subsequent performance through motivational, cognitive and emotional effects, resulting in the person being a passive learner who depends on others for decisions and guidance, unwilling to try and influence his/her environment, even in situations when he/she can indeed control it**.**

The above theory has been developed in controlled experimental settings, where helplessness was systematically induced. It would be equally interesting to investigate the intermediate levels of the Learned Helplessness phenomenon that people might be experiencing in settings where helplessness is not induced systematically, but rather through everyday life situations that the person feels he/she cannot have control over. Life as a member of a democratic state lends itself to this kind of investigation, since people often argue that they are not participating, i.e. they express apathy, because they feel they cannot make a difference, i.e. they believe that they have no control over the political environment.

To the best of the author's knowledge, the investigation of political behaviour through the looking glass of the Learned Helplessness phenomenon has never been conducted previously. However, one must be very careful not to assign explanatory status to Learned Helplessness, as it is essentially a descriptive term. When applying the concept, it is important to delineate the psychological processes that underlie Learned Helplessness effects and to evaluate whether these processes parallel those in the targeted human problems.

The objective of this study is to explore the possible correlation of the phenomenon of Learned Helplessness with the perception of the quality of

democracy. Democracy is the political regime in which "people are in power", thus its perceived quality should illustrate the extent to which the citizens believe they have control over political life. It is hypothesised, that a negative perception of the quality of democracy will positively correlate with the Learned Helplessness phenomenon. Should such a correlation be detected, there will be room to suspect that political apathy is the cognitive and behavioural deficit of the citizens' feeling of helplessness in the political sphere.

It would be of great theoretical interest to target the investigation towards a group that is naturally motivated towards action and reaction and that tries to influence and change its environment and its life style ((Coleman 1980); (Yonnet 1985)). If a correlation between Learned Helplessness and the perception of the quality of democracy is detected in a group with the above characteristics, it will be easier to generalise the results than if using any other group that would be more naturally inclined towards passivity due to age or other life events. On these theoretical grounds, students were chosen as the study's population under investigation.

Method

Participants

The sample used consisted of 220 students (26 male and 190 female, 4 failed to report sex, mean age=22.6 yr., SD=0.2) enrolled in Universities in Athens, Greece. Sixty-nine of them were enrolled in the Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, 77 were enrolled in the Law Department of the Kappodistrian University and 74 were enrolled in the Department of Education of the Kappodistrian University. 93% of the participants had already completed 2 years of University education (in Greece 4 years are needed to obtain a degree).

Instrument-Variables

The instrument of the study was a questionnaire constructed by the author which included questions about the demographic characteristics of the sample, a scale measuring the participants' perception of the quality of democracy in Greece, scales designed to detect the Learned Helplessness phenomenon, Beck's Depression Inventory, as well as some questions targeted in the way participants felt about their participation in the elections (see Appendix).

The scale measuring the perception of the quality of democracy comprised of the 12 questions on pageς 7 and 8 of the questionnaire. Each of those questions was developed to match one of the 11 criteria for the measurement of the quality of democracy (the fourth criterion corresponds to questions 4 and 5), as described by Micheletti (1998). These criteria are used in Sweden for an annual measurement of the quality of democracy.

Learned Helplessness was measured using 3 different scales, since according to the theory, the phenomenon of Learned Helplessness is empirically detected when the three following conditions co-exist: (a) a perception of uncontrollability, (b) a pessimistic explanatory style and (c) inappropriate passivity. The scales used for the measurement of the perception of uncontrollability (page 9) and of the explanatory style (pages 8-9) are the same as those previously used by Ντάβου & Αρμενάκης (2000). Inappropriate passivity was measured using an adversative question, asking whether the students had attended any one session of the student assembly (which is open to all students).

Depressed mood was assessed by means of the Beck Depression Inventory, which consists of 21 four-choice statements ((Beck and Steer 1993)). Participants were asked to mark the statements that describe best how they felt at the time of the testing.

Procedure

The questionnaires were administered in the universities' premises. The participants filled in the questionnaires on a voluntary basis. The students enrolled in the Kappodistrian University filled in the questionnaires after having finished their exams and the students enrolled in the Panteion University filled them in after a lecture or in the library. After the completion of the questionnaire, the purpose of the study was explained. The participants needed a mean time of 15-20 minutes to fill in the questionnaires, which were collected on the spot.

Results

Statistical analysis of the data was performed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software program (version 11.0).

Since only 26 out of the 220 participants were male, sex could not be used as an independent variable.

The scale for the measurement of the perception of the quality of democracy was tested for internal validity and was found to be highly valid (Kronbach's a=0.789), so it was analysed without any further manipulation. Two groups, the "positive perception of the quality of democracy group" and the "negative perception of the quality of democracy group", were identified by employing the median number of the participants' scores as the cutting point.

Further, the presence of the Learned Helplessness phenomenon was explored though the three scales described above, each one accounting for a different condition that needs to be met: (a) the perception of uncontrollability (b) inappropriate passivity and (c) pessimistic explanatory style.

The scale used to explore the first condition, that of the perception of uncontrollability, was found to be highly valid (Krombach's a=0.7427). Two groups (perception of uncontrollability vs. perception of controllability) were identified by using again the median of the participants' scores as the cutting point.

Inappropriate passivity was measured by inquiring on whether the participants had attended any one session of the student assembly. Results show that 49.6% of the participants had indeed attended at least one session of the student assembly, whereas the remaining 48.6% abstained from such sessions.

The scale employed to explore the attributional style of the participants was found not to be internally valid on a satisfactory level (Kronbach's a=0.3524), therefore a factor analysis was performed. The factor analysis identified three factors: (a) positive explanatory style (questions 1,5,6,8,13,15,18,19) (b) negative explanatory style (questions 2,7,9,11,12,14,16,17,20) and (c) stability of the future (questions 3 and 10). It follows from reason, that the people with a high score on the factor "negative explanatory style" and a low score on the factor "positive explanatory style" should be the ones satisfying the condition for pessimistic attributional style. Again, the median number was employed as a cutting point for both factors. So, in order for a participant to be classified as having adopted a pessimistic explanatory style, he needed to be above the cutting point for both factors of negative and positive explanatory style. In the case of those participants who did not satisfy this criterion, their scores were not used for further analysis, as they were probably caught filling in the questionnaire in a careless manner. This procedure allowed for 24% of the participants to be identified as having a "pessimistic attributional style" and 34% as having an "optimistic attributional style". The rest of the participants failed to fill in the scale or were not classified in any of the two categories.

The combination of the results of the three scales revealed that 18 students (8.1%) fulfilled all three conditions put forward to identify a person subject to the phenomenon of Learned Helplessness, 174 (79%) fulfilled one or more of the three conditions, while only 28 (12.7%) students did not fulfil any of the criteria. Further analysis included only the students that fulfilled all three conditions, although this manipulation is strict, and a number of previous studies have in fact considered that any combination of at least two conditions is sufficient for describing Learned Helplessness (Ντάβου and Αρμενάκης 2000).

Depressed mood was also assessed by means of the Beck Depression Inventory. The results revealed that 87.7% of the participants did not show any signs of depressed mood, 8.4% were found to suffer from a low level of depression, 2.6% were found to suffer from a moderate level of depression and 1.6 % or 3 people were found to suffer from serious depression. Unfortunately due to the anonymity of the participation, these individuals could not be traced down in order to be provided with treatment or be referred to a specialist.

The possible correlations between the variables "perception of the quality of democracy", "Learned Helplessness" and "depressed mood" were then tested using Pearson's r. As the theory predicts, there was a positive correlation between "Learned Helplessness" and "depressed mood" (r = 0.380, a = 0.01), the latter being regarded as the most serious and chronic form of Learned Helplessness. It is interesting to note, that 22% of the participants who were identified as belonging to the Learned Helplessness group suffered from some level of depression.

Moreover, the variables "Learned Helplessness" and "perception of democracy" were found to be correlated (r = - 0.300, a = 0.05), confirming the hypothesis of the study that a negative perception of the quality of democracy would positively correlate with the Learned Helplessness phenomenon.

Interesting results were also obtained from the analysis of the answers that the participants gave to the questions about whether their participating in different kinds of elections (national, local, European parliament elections or student elections) would have an effect on their lives. (Tables 1). The 4 questions dealing with the 4 forms of elections were found to have a high internal validity (Krombach's a= 0.78). Only 46,3% of the participants seemed to believe that their participation in electoral processes can have a

very big, big or moderate effect on their lives, whereas the majority of the participants believed that their participation can have only a small effect or no effect on his life. These results seem to be stable across the different kinds of elections.

Table 1.   Do you believe that your participation in the elections (European parliament elections, national, local, or student elections) can have an effect on your life?

	European parliament		National		Local		Student		N	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Very big effect	1	,5	8	3,6	13	5,9	3	1,4	25	2,9
Big effect	27	12,3	41	18,6	69	31,4	19	8,6	156	17,7
Moderate effect	52	23,6	57	25,9	59	26,8	33	15,0	201	22,8
Small	51	23,2	55	25,0	49	22,3	61	27,7	216	24,6
No effect	55	25,0	53	24,1	25	11,4	94	42,7	227	25,8
No answer	34	15,5	6	2,7	5	2,3	10	4,5	55	6,3
N	220	100	220	100	220	100	220	100		

Discussion

The present study is the first piece of research to explore the possible correlation between the subjective perception of the quality of democracy in Greece and the phenomenon of Learned Helplessness in Greek students. The findings were consistent with the hypothesis that a negative perception of the quality of democracy would positively correlate with the presence of Learned Helplessness and thus its results i.e. that the person becomes an apathetic receiver of the events that affect their life, unwilling to act in order to change its environment. Furthermore, a correlation between the Learned Helplessness phenomenon and depressive mood was detected. Therefore, there is room to argue that political apathy is the cognitive and behavioural deficit of the citizens' feeling of helplessness in the political sphere.

Previous studies have also shown that young adults in Greece are not directing their energy towards common goals. On the contrary, abstention from political activities and withdrawal from other spheres of social life have been argued to characterize young adults ((Παντελίδου-Μαλουτά 1993; Χρηστάκης 1994)). This conclusion was also drawn by Δεμερτζής & Αρμενάκης (2000) in their study on political discontentment and the media using students as subjects. According to their study, only one half of the student population are interested in politics.

Yet, if students, who comprise a social group that has the privilege to be able study and to engage in critical thinking, show such a reluctance to work toward common goals, possibly because they feel they cannot have control over them, then this phenomenon should be magnified amongst the young adults who are not receiving university education. Ντάβου and Αρμενάκης (2000) have argued that political discontentment and withdrawal form political life is to be found to a further extend in the

general population. Indeed, the percentage of the general population that lacks interest in politics is somewhat higher, at 59.1 % ((Δώδος, Καφετζής et al. 1997))

It might be worth looking more closely at the three conditions that need to be satisfied in order to render an individual as subject to the Learned Helplessness phenomenon (perception of uncontrollability, inappropriate passivity and pessimistic explanatory style) as explored by previous research undertaken in Greece.

The first condition of the perception of uncontrollability was investigated by Δεμερτζη and Αρμενάκη (2000) and Δώδος, Καφετζής and Νικολακόπουλος (1997), looking at a student population and a general population accordingly. They asked their participants whether they agreed with the following statement: "People like me cannot influence what the government does". The results showed that 60.8% of the student population and 56.3% of the general population believed they cannot influence what the government does. Moreover, 54.4% of the general population seemed to agree with the statement that "Sometimes politics seem to be so complicated that people like me cannot understand what is really going on", let alone have control over it, one might add.

As far as passivity is concerned, one should not have a hard time detecting it. Passivity is depicted primarily in the constantly decreasing percentage of people who vote, a phenomenon that is being observed throughout the world. In the case of Greece, the turnout in the national elections was 74.97% in the 2000 elections (http://ekloges2000.tanea.gr). In other words, one out of four Greek citizens did not turn up in the polling station. This is rather serious for a country like Greece where voting is obligatory, even if one chooses to use the "blank vote", indicating no preference. Abstention from voting is a characteristic of the student elections

as well, where only half of the students bother to vote. (In the 1998 election 54% abstained, and in both 1999 and 2000, 50% abstained.) Passivity is further illustrated in the lack of interest young people show when it comes to politics. Only 15,6% of the students report being frequently engaged in discussions on political issues. ((Ντάβου and Αρμενάκης 2000)). Moreover, when asked what kind of emotions politics bring to mind, 51.5 % students answered that politics bring to mind boredom, an emotion closely related to passivity and the less than half said that politics bring to mind an urge for involvement (32.5%), enthusiasm (8.1%) and passion (10%).

Furthermore, pessimistic style is indirectly depicted in some of the results of the Ντάβου and Αρμενακης study (2000). More specifically 18.7% of the participants of the study agreed to the statement that "The future looks dark", 16% to the statement "I have lost a lot of chances and I believe this is not going to change in the future" and only 67.8% agreed to the statement "I am particularly lucky and I expect to have a better life than the mean person". These percentages may not be remarkably high, but one should keep in mind the age group of the sample i.e. students, who are the ones expected to show self-confidence and motivation.

A number of findings therefore exists that supports the existence of a perception of uncontrollability, passivity and pessimistic explanatory style. Still, the above findings were not analysed as a group of data in order for their co-existence to be evaluated and the existence of the Learned Helplessness phenomenon to be supported, as in the case of the present study. Hence they can only indirectly support its existence.

Nevertheless, this study was designed to test the correlation of the Learned Helplessness phenomenon with the perception of the quality of democracy. This correlation was rather weak. It should be noted, however, that the presence of the phenomenon in question was tested by the co-

existence of all three conditions (perception of uncontrollability, pessimistic explanatory style and inappropriate passivity), whereas previous work has usually settled for the co-existence of any two of the three conditions (Ντάβου and Αρμενάκης 2000). The methodological approach of the present study may have resulted in the exclusion of cases that would otherwise have been classified as Learned Helplessness cases and would have given more power to the results of the study, but this approach is consistent with the theory of Learned Helplessness in a strict manner. Thus, it was considered optimal, since the scientific status of psychology cannot be preserved by making compromises in the methodology employed for the collection and analysis of the data.

Some cautious remarks need to be made. Firstly, the age group of the participants presents a potential limitation as it is not representative of the general population. In addition to that, the sample size was rather small and it was not representative of the student population of all the Greek Universities or even those located in Athens, thus one should be careful when attempting to generalize. Moreover, the students' attending of the student assembly may not be the most valid measure for their passivity, but was nevertheless the best one that could be used.

There are many ways in which this work can be carried forward. Future studies need to consider using larger sample sizes, investigating possible differences related to gender as well as exploring causal relationships between the quality of democracy and psychological processes such as Learned Helplessness.

In conclusion, the present study has demonstrated the correlation between a negative perception of the quality of democracy and the Learned Helplessness phenomenon. This finding has implications for understanding the psychological factors that effect political behaviour and more specifically

political apathy. Further, it is indicative of the fact that psychology stands in a unique position to explore the factors underlying political apathy, to increase the knowledge about the mechanisms that are employed and by doing so, to work towards providing more efficient ways of political participation in order to give our democracy the quality it deserves.

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Δελφίνι.

APPENDIX

Αγαπητέ συμφοιτητή/τρια,

Το ερωτηματολόγιο που κρατάς στα χέρια σου αποσκοπεί στη συγκέντρωση πληροφοριών σχετικά με την διπλωματική μου εργασία με τίτλο: ¨η λειτουργία των πολιτικών θεσμών και της δημοκρατίας σήμερα σε σχέση με το φαινόμενο της επίκτητης αίσθησης αδυναμίας¨.

Σε παρακαλώ να διαβάσεις προσεχτικά όλες τις ερωτήσεις και να απαντήσεις σε όλες με ειλικρίνεια και σαφήνεια.

Το ερωτηματολόγιο είναι ανώνυμο και η γνώμη σου για τα διάφορα θέματα που εμπεριέχονται θα ληφθεί υπόψη μόνο για ερευνητικούς σκοπούς.

Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας μπορείς να τα μάθεις εφόσον σε ενδιαφέρουν σε δύο μήνες περίπου, ερχόμενος σε επαφή με το γραφείο της κυρίας Αλεξάνδρας Χατζή στο Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο.

Ευχαριστώ για τη συνεργασία,

Μαριέττα Παπαδάτου-Παστού

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ

Α. ΔΗΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ

Φύλο: Αγόρι ❑   Κορίτσι ❑   ❑

Σχολή φοίτησης:

....   ❑

Τμήμα φοίτησης:

....   ❑

Έτος γεννήσεως: …………………………..   ❑❑

5. Έτος σπουδών: ……………………………   ❑

6. **Τόπος μόνιμης κατοικίας:**
   α. Χωριό   ❑
   β. Κωμόπολη (από 2.500 μέχρι 5.000 κατ.)   ❑
   γ. Πόλη (από 5.000 μέχρι 10.000 κατ.)   ❑
   δ. Πόλη (από 10.000 μέχρι 50.000 κατ.)   ❑
   ε. Πόλη (από 50.000 μέχρι 100.000 κατ.)   ❑
   στ. Μεγάλη πόλη (από 100.000 μέχρι 300.000 κατ.)❑
   ζ. Θεσσαλονίκη   ❑
   η. Αθήνα ή Πειραιάς   ❑   ❑

7. Τι δουλειά κάνουν οι γονείς σου;

	πατέρας	μητέρα
1. Αγρότης	❑	❑
2. Εργάτης	❑	❑
3. Αυτοαπασχολούμενος (βιοτέχνης, έμπορος, επαγγελματίας)	❑	❑
4. Ελεύθερος επαγγελματίας (γιατρός, δικηγόρος, μηχανικός)	❑	❑
Ιδιωτικός υπάλληλος	❑	❑
Δημόσιος υπάλληλος	❑	❑
Διευθυντικό στέλεχος	❑	❑
Εργοδότης	❑	❑
Συνταξιούχος	❑	❑
Οικιακά	❑	❑
Άλλο επάγγελμα………………………………………		❑
Δεν απαντώ	❑	❑

8. Ποιο είναι το μηνιαίο εισόδημα της οικογένειάς σου;

- Μικρότερο των 800.00 ευρώ ❑
- 800,00 έως 1000,00 ❑
- 1000,00 έως 2000.00 ❑
- 2000,00 έως 3000,00 ❑
- Μεγαλύτερο των 4000,00 ευρώ ❑
- Δεν γνωρίζω ❑ ❑

9. Ποιες είναι οι γραμματικές γνώσεις των γονέων σου;

	πατέρα	μητέρας	
α. Απόφοιτος Δημοτικού	❑	❑	
β. Απόφοιτος Γυμνασίου	❑	❑	
γ. Απόφοιτος Τεχνικής Σχολής	❑	❑	
δ. Απόφοιτος Λυκείου	❑	❑	
ε. Απόφοιτος ΤΕΕ	❑	❑	
στ. Απόφοιτος Ανώτερης Σχολής	❑	❑	
ζ. Απόφοιτος Ανωτάτης Σχολής	❑	❑	❑
η. Μεταπτυχιακό Δίπλωμα	❑	❑	❑

Β. ΚΥΡΙΕΣ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1. Έχεις ψηφίσει στις τελευταίες Βουλευτικές Εκλογές;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑ ❑

2.Εάν δεν ψήφισες ποιοι ήταν οι λόγοι;

α. συνειδητή επιλογή μη συμμετοχής ❑

β. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα πολιτικά ❑

γ. μου είναι δύσκολο να αποφασίσω ❑

δ. θεωρώ ότι η ψήφος μου έτσι και αλλιώς δεν κάνει διαφορά ❑

ε. κάτι άλλο ❑

❑

3.Πιστεύεις ότι η συμμετοχή σου στις βουλευτικές εκλογές μπορεί να επηρεάσει τη ζωή σου;

Πάρα πολύ ❑ Αρκετό ❑ Μέτριο ❑ Λίγο ❑ Καθόλου ❑ ❑

4. Έχεις ψηφίσει στις τελευταίες δημοτικές/νομαρχιακές εκλογές;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑ ❑

5.Εάν δεν ψήφισες ποιοι ήταν οι λόγοι;

α. συνειδητή επιλογή μη συμμετοχής ❑

β. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα πολιτικά ❑

γ. μου είναι δύσκολο να αποφασίσω ❑

δ. θεωρώ ότι η ψήφος μου έτσι και αλλιώς δεν κάνει διαφορά ❑

ε. κάτι άλλο ❑

❑

6.Πιστεύεις ότι η συμμετοχή σου στις δημοτικές/νομαρχιακές εκλογές μπορεί να επηρεάσει τη ζωή σου;

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

7.Έχεις ψηφίσει στις τελευταίες ευρωεκλογές;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑

❑

8.Εάν δεν ψήφισες ποιοι ήταν οι λόγοι;

α. συνειδητή επιλογή μη συμμετοχής ❑

β. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα πολιτικά ❑

γ. μου είναι δύσκολο να αποφασίσω ❑

δ. θεωρώ ότι η ψήφος μου έτσι και αλλιώς δεν κάνει διαφορά ❑

ε. κάτι άλλο ❑

❑

9.Πιστεύεις ότι η συμμετοχή σου στις ευρωεκλογές μπορεί να επηρεάσει τη ζωή σου

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

10. Ψήφισες στις φοιτητικές εκλογές όταν βρισκόσουν στο 1ο έτος;

 ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑

❑

11.Εάν δεν ψήφισες ποιοι ήταν οι λόγοι;

α. συνειδητή επιλογή μη συμμετοχής ❑

β. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα πολιτικά ❑

γ. μου είναι δύσκολο να αποφασίσω ❑

δ. θεωρώ ότι η ψήφος μου έτσι και αλλιώς δεν κάνει διαφορά ❑

ε. κάτι άλλο ❑

❑

12.Ψήφισες στις φοιτητικές εκλογές όταν βρισκόσουν στο 2ο έτους;
ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑ Δεν έχω φτάσει στο έτος αυτό ❑

❑

13.Εάν δεν ψήφισες ποιοι ήταν οι λόγοι;

α. συνειδητή επιλογή μη συμμετοχής ❑

β. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα πολιτικά ❑

γ. μου είναι δύσκολο να αποφασίσω ❑

δ. θεωρώ ότι η ψήφος μου έτσι και αλλιώς δεν κάνει διαφορά ❑

ε. κάτι άλλο ❑

❑

14.Ψήφισες στις φοιτητικές εκλογές όταν βρισκόσουν στο 3ο έτους;
ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑ Δεν έχω φτάσει στο έτος αυτό ❑

❑

15.Εάν δεν ψήφισες ποιοι ήταν οι λόγοι;

α. συνειδητή επιλογή μη συμμετοχής ❑

β. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα πολιτικά ❑

γ. μου είναι δύσκολο να αποφασίσω ❑

δ. θεωρώ ότι η ψήφος μου έτσι και αλλιώς δεν κάνει διαφορά ❑

ε. κάτι άλλο ❑

❑

16. Πιστεύεις ότι η συμμετοχή σου στις φοιτητικές εκλογές μπορεί να επηρεάσει τις σπουδές σου;

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

17. Είσαι μέλος κάποιας φοιτητικής παράταξης;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑   Ήμουν αλλά σταμάτησα να ασχολούμαι ❑

❑

18. Κατά τη διάρκεια των σπουδών σου σε πόσες περίπου γενικές συνελεύσεις έχεις συμμετάσχει;

α. Καμία   ❑

β. 1-2   ❑

γ. 3-5   ❑

δ. 5-10   ❑

ε 10-20   ❑

στ. 20 και άνω   ❑

❑

19. Ποιοι είναι οι κύριοι λόγοι της συμμετοχής σου;

α. Βελτίωση θεμάτων που αφορούν τις σπουδές

❑

β. Βελτίωση των θεμάτων που αφορούν τις φοιτητικές παροχές (π.χ. σίτιση, στέγαση)   ❑

γ. Θεωρώ ότι είναι υποχρέωσή μου ως φοιτητής

❑

δ. Από περιέργεια

❑   ❑

20. Ποιοι είναι οι κύριοι λόγοι της μη συμμετοχής σου;

α. συνειδητή επιλογή μη συμμετοχής

β. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα φοιτητικά θέματα

γ. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα πολιτικά

δ. δεν θεωρώ ότι η συμμετοχή μου θα κάνει διαφορά

ε. Κάτι άλλο

21. Εάν συμμετείχες τουλάχιστον σε μία Γενική Συνέλευση, είχες τη δυνατότητα να εκφράσεις τη γνώμη σου;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑   ❑

22. Αν Ναι, πιστεύεις ότι η γνώμη σου εισακούστηκε;

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετά ❑   Μέτρια ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

23. Πιστεύεις ότι μπορείς να επηρεάσεις τις αποφάσεις των Γενικών Συνελεύσεων των Φοιτητών;

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετά ❑   Μέτρια ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

24. Είσαι μέλος πολιτικού κόμματος;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑

25. Είσαι μέλος

α. αθλητικού συλλόγου   ❑

β. πολιτιστικού συλλόγου   ❑

γ. θρησκευτικής οργάνωσης   ❑

δ. άλλης οργάνωσης   ❑

❑

26. Εργάζεσαι;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑

27. Επιθυμείς να εργαστείς και δεν βρίσκεις δουλειά;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑

❑

28. Εάν εργάζεσαι, ψήφισες στις εκλογές του σωματείου σου;

ΝΑΙ ❑ ΟΧΙ ❑

29. Εάν δεν ψήφισες ποιοι ήταν οι λόγοι;

α. συνειδητή επιλογή μη συμμετοχής   ❑

β. δεν με ενδιαφέρουν τα πολιτικά   ❑

γ. μου είναι δύσκολο να αποφασίσω   ❑

δ. θεωρώ ότι η ψήφος μου έτσι και αλλιώς δεν κάνει διαφορά ❑

ε. κάτι άλλο   ❑

1. **Σε ποιο βαθμό, κατά τη γνώμη σου, μπορεί να υπάρχει έλεγχος από τον πολίτη, ή την κοινή γνώμη, στα θέματα (agenda) που συζητούνται στο Κοινοβούλιο;**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

2. **Πόσο μπορεί η "κοινή γνώμη" να επηρεάσει τα δρώμενα είτε στο κοινοβούλιο είτε σε άλλα κέντρα λήψης πολιτικών αποφάσεων;**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

3. **Πιστεύεις ότι η συμμετοχή του πολίτη στις εκλογές μπορεί να καθορίσει τη δημοκρατικότητα της εκλεγμένης κυβέρνησης;**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

4. **Πιστεύεις ότι για τη λήψη των πολιτικών αποφάσεων από μια εκλεγμένη κυβέρνηση ισχύει η "αρχή της ισότητας των πολιτών";**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

5. **Πιστεύεις ότι για τη λήψη των πολιτικών αποφάσεων από μια εκλεγμένη κυβέρνηση ισχύει "η αρχή της ισότητας των μειονοτήτων" και άλλων κοινωνικών ομάδων;**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

6. **Πιστεύεις ότι στα δημοκρατικά πλαίσια μιας εκλεγμένης κυβέρνησης θα πρέπει να ισχύει η ανοχή των πολιτών προς τους "ξένους";**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

7. **Πιστεύεις ότι το "δικαίωμα της ελευθερίας του πολίτη" μπορεί να εκπληρωθεί μέσα από το νομικό και πολιτικό πλαίσιο που επικρατεί στο νομικό μας σύστημα;**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

8. **Πιστεύεις ότι η έννοια του κράτους δικαίου μπορεί να εκπληρωθεί μέσα από το επικρατών "νομικό σύστημα";**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

9. **Πιστεύεις ότι τηρείται "ο διαχωρισμός των εξουσιών" μέσα από το επικρατών "νομικό σύστημα";**

Πάρα πολύ ❑   Αρκετό ❑   Μέτριο ❑   Λίγο ❑   Καθόλου ❑   ❑

10. Πιστεύεις ότι υπάρχουν τρόποι όπου οι εφαρμόσιμες αποφάσεις που λαμβάνονται και αφορούν την οικονομία υπόκεινται σε έλεγχο από τον πολίτη;

Πάρα πολύ ❏   Αρκετό ❏   Μέτριο ❏   Λίγο ❏   Καθόλου ❏   ❏

11. Πιστεύεις ότι ο πολίτης έχει την ικανότητα να εντάξει τις προσωπικές του αποφάσεις στις τελικά εφαρμόσιμες αποφάσεις που λαμβάνονται;

Πάρα πολύ ❏   Αρκετό ❏   Μέτριο ❏   Λίγο ❏   Καθόλου ❏   ❏

12. Πιστεύεις ότι ο πολίτης έχει τη δυνατότητα ελέγχου στο αποτέλεσμα των εφαρμοσμένων αποφάσεων;

Πάρα πολύ ❏   Αρκετό ❏   Μέτριο ❏   Λίγο ❏   Καθόλου ❏   ❏

Παρακάτω παρουσιάζονται 20 προτάσεις. Παρακαλούμε διάβασε τις προτάσεις προσεκτικά μία προς μία. Εάν εκφράζει τη στάση σου ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗ ΔΙΑΡΚΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΒΔΟΜΑΔΑΣ ΠΟΥ ΠΕΡΑΣΕ ΕΩΣ ΚΙ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΗ ΣΤΙΓΜΗ, βάλε σε κύκλο το "ΝΑΙ". Εάν η πρόταση δε σε εκφράζει, βάλε σε κύκλο το "ΟΧΙ".

	ΝΑΙ	ΟΧΙ	
1. Κοιτάζω μπροστά το μέλλον με ελπίδα και ενθουσιασμό…………………………..	❏	❏	❏
2. Αφού δε μπορώ να κάνω τίποτα για να βελτιώσω τη ζωή μου, θα μπορούσα και να παραιτηθώ από κάθε προσπάθεια………………………………………	❏	❏	❏
3. Όταν τα πράγματα δεν πάνε καλά, με βοηθά να ξέρω ότι δε μπορεί να παραμείνουν έτσι για πάντα…………………………………………………	❏	❏	❏
4. Δε μπορώ να φανταστώ πώς· θα είναι η ζωή μου σε 10 χρόνια από σήμερα………….	❏	❏	❏
5. Έχω αρκετό καιρό για να πετύχω όσα θα ήθελα να κάνω………………………..	❏	❏	❏
6. Πιστεύω ότι μελλοντικά θα πετύχω τις κύριες επιδιώξεις μου………………………..	❏	❏	❏
7. Το μέλλον μου φαίνεται σκοτεινό……………………………………………..	❏	❏	❏
8. Συνήθως είμαι ιδιαίτερα τυχερός /ή και προσδοκώ να έχω μια ζωή καλύτερη από το μέσο όρο……………………………………………………………..	❏	❏	❏
9. Έχω χάσει πολλές ευκαιρίες και πιστεύω ότι αυτό δε θα αλλάξει στο μέλλον………	❏	❏	❏
10. Οι προηγούμενες εμπειρίες μου με έχουν προετοιμάσει καλά για το μέλλον………	❏	❏	❏
11. Βλέπω να με περιμένουν δυσάρεστες κυρίως παρά ευχάριστες στιγμές………….	❏	❏	❏
12. Δεν περιμένω ότι θα πετύχω αυτά που πραγματικά θέλω…………………………	❏	❏	❏
13. Κοιτάζοντας στο μέλλον φαντάζομαι τον εαυτό μου ευτυχέστερο/ η από ό, τι είμαι τώρα. ………………………………………………………………………..	❏	❏	❏
14. Τελικά τα πράγματα δε θα εξελιχθούν όπως τα θέλω…………………………	❏	❏	❏

15. Πιστεύω πολύ στο μέλλον……………………………………………………..	❏	❏	❏
16. Είναι ανόητο να επιδιώκω οτιδήποτε, αφού ποτέ δεν τα καταφέρνω………………	❏	❏	❏
17. Είναι πολύ απίθανο να νιώσω οποιαδήποτε αληθινή ικανοποίηση στο μέλλον……..	❏	❏	❏
18. Το μέλλον φαίνεται ασαφές και αβέβαιο…………………………………………	❏	❏	❏
19. Προσδοκώ περισσότερες καλές παρά κακές στιγμές……………………………..	❏	❏	❏
20. Δεν έχει νόημα να προσπαθώ πραγματικά για κάτι που θέλω αφού πιθανότατα δε θα το πετύχω………………………………………………………………………..	❏	❏	❏

Σε ποιο βαθμό, νομίζεις ότι ισχύει κάθε μία από τις παρακάτω προτάσεις:

	Πάρα πολύ	Πολύ	Μέτρια	Λίγο	Καθόλου	
1. Νομίζω ότι μπορώ να επηρεάσω πολιτικές αποφάσεις σε θέματα που με αφορούν……………………………………………………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
2. Αισθάνομαι ικανός /ή να αντεπεξέλθω στις απαιτήσεις της καθημερινής ζωής……………………………………………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
3. Έχω την αίσθηση πως οτιδήποτε θα μπορούσε να συμβεί την οποιαδήποτε στιγμή…………………………………………..	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
4. Αισθάνομαι ότι ελέγχω την προσωπική μου ασφάλεια……………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
5. Από μένα εξαρτάται το πώς· θα εξελιχθούν οι σπουδές μου…………...	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
6. Πιστεύω ότι τελικά εγώ θα επιλέξω το επάγγελμα που θα κάνω……	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
7. Το πώς θα εξελιχθεί η καριέρα μου εξαρτάται από παράγοντες έξω από μένα………………………………………………………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
8. Αισθάνομαι ότι εγώ ορίζω το τι θα μου συμβεί αύριο……………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
9. Αισθάνομαι ότι δεν μπορώ να αντιδράσω στον τρόπο που διαμορφώνεται η σημερινή κοινωνική πραγματικότητα…………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
10. Ακόμη κι αν αισθάνομαι αδικημένος /η, ελάχιστα μπορώ να κάνω για να βρω το δίκιο μου………………………………………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
11. Νομίζω ότι έχω τη δύναμη να δράσω για να αλλάξουν ζητήματα της· σημερινής κοινωνικής πραγματικότητας………………………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏
12. Σε γενικές γραμμές· πιστεύω ότι το να δραστηριοποιείται κανείς επιφέρει θετικά αποτελέσματα……………………………………	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏

9

Διάβασε όλη την ομάδα των προτάσεων σε κάθε κατηγορία και μετά διάλαξε εκείνη την πρόταση της κάθε ομάδας που περιγράφει καλύτερα αυτό που νιώθεις σήμερα, δηλαδή ακριβώς τώρα. Βάλε εάν x στο κουτάκι δίπλα από την πρόταση που διάλεξες. Αν νομίζεις ότι περισσότερες από μία προτάσεις σε κάποιες ομάδες σου ταιριάζουν, βάλε x σε περισσότερα από ένα κουτάκια.

Α.

❑ Είμαι τόσο λυπημένος ή δυστυχής που δεν μπορώ να το ανεχτώ.

❑ Είμαι κακόκεφος και λυπημένος συνεχώς και δεν μπορώ να ξεφύγω.

❑ Αισθάνομαι άσχημα ή λυπημένος.

❑ Δεν αισθάνομαι λυπημένος.

Β.

❑ Αισθάνομαι ότι το μέλλον είναι χωρίς ελπίδα και ότι τα πράγματα δεν μπορούν να φτιάξουν.

❑ Αισθάνομαι ότι δεν περιμένω τίποτα.

❑ Νιώθω απογοητευμένος για το μέλλον.

❑ Δεν είμαι ιδιαίτερα απαισιόδοξος ή απογοητευμένος με το μέλλον.

Γ.

❑ Νομίζω ότι είμαι πλήρης αποτυχία σαν άνθρωπος.

❑ Καθώς βλέπω προς τα πίσω την ζωή μου το μόνο που βλέπω είναι αποτυχίες.

❑ Αισθάνομαι ότι έχω αποτύχει περισσότερο από ένα μέσο άνθρωπο.

❑ Δεν αισθάνομαι ότι έχω αποτύχει.

Δ.

❑ Δεν είμαι ικανοποιημένος με τίποτα.

❑ Δεν ικανοποιούμαι με τίποτα πλέον.

❑ Δεν απολαμβάνω τα πράγματα όπως στο παρελθόν.

❑ Δεν είμαι ιδιαίτερα ανικανοποίητος.

Ε.

❑ Αισθάνομαι λυπημένος και χωρίς αξία.

❑ Αισθάνομαι πολύ ένοχος.

❑ Αισθάνομαι άσχημα ή ότι δεν αξίζω πολύ συχνά.

❑ Δεν αισθάνομαι ιδιαίτερα ένοχος.

ΣΤ.

❑ Μισώ τον εαυτό μου.

❑ Είμαι αηδιασμένος με τον εαυτό μου.

❑ Είμαι απογοητευμένος με τον εαυτό μου.

❑ Δεν αισθάνομαι απογοητευμένος από τον εαυτό μου.

Ζ.

❑ Θα σκοτωνόμουν αν είχα την ευκαιρία.

❑ Έχω κάνει σχέδια να αυτοκτονήσω.

❑ Αισθάνομαι ότι θα ήταν καλύτερα αν πέθαινα.

❑ Δεν έχω καμιά πρόθεση να βλάψω τον εαυτό μου.

Η.

❑ Έχω χάσει όλο μου το ενδιαφέρον για τους άλλους ανθρώπους και δεν με ενδιαφέρουν καθόλου.

❑ Έχω χάσει το μεγαλύτερο μέρος του ενδιφέροντος μου για τους άλλους και ελάχιστα αισθάνομαι για αυτούς.

❑ Ενδιαφέρομαι λιγότερο για τους άλλους από ότι στο παρελθόν.

❑ Δεν έχω χάσει το ενδιαφέρον μου για τους άλλους.

Θ.

❑ Δεν μπορώ να πάρω μια απόφαση πλέον.

❑ Έχω μεγάλη δυσκολία να πάρω απόφαση.

❑ Προσπαθώ να αναβάλλω την λήψη αποφάσεων.

❑ Παίρνω αποφάσεις καλά όπως πάντα.

Ι.

❑ Αισθάνομαι ότι είμαι άσχημος ή αποκρουστικός.

❑ Αισθάνομαι ότι υπάρχουν διαρκείς μεταβολές στην εμφάνισή μου και με κάνουν να φαίνομαι μη ελκυστικός.

❑ Ανυσηχώ γιατί φαίνομαι μεγάλος ή μη ελκυστικός.

❑ Δεν αισθάνομαι ότι φαίνομαι χειρότερα από πριν.

Κ.

❑ Δεν μπορώ να εργαστώ καθόλου.

❑ Πρέπει να πιέσω τον εαυτό μου πολύ για να κάνω κάτι.

❑ Απαιτείται εξαιρετική προσπάθεια για να αρχίσω να κάνω κάτι.

❑ Μπορώ να εργαστώ όπως πριν.

Λ.

❑ Είμαι πολύ κουρασμένος και έτσι δεν κάνω τίποτα.

❑ Κουράζομαι από ότι κάνω.

❑ Κουράζομαι ευκολότερα από πριν.

❑ Δεν κουράζομαι ιδαίτερα περισσότερο από το συνηθισμένο.

Μ.

☐Δεν έχω όρεξη πια καθόλου.

☐Η όρεξή μου χειροτέρεψε.

☐Η όρεξή μου δεν είναι τόσο καλή όσο ήταν.

☐Η όρεξή μου δεν επιδεινώθηκε.

Σημειώστε   οτιδήποτε   άλλο   θα   θέλατε   σχετικά   με   την έρευνα.:…………………………...……………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

……………...……………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………