

## From the “Faith to the Ideals and the Values of the Nation” to the “Ideological Extremeness” The Phenomenon of the Nationalism according to Greek University Students’ Opinions

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### Abstract

*The aim of this research is to inventory the means used by a population group with specific social characteristics, which have to do, on the one hand, with the school and social trajectory of the subjects but which on the other might have evolved – given their attendance - into a freer educational institution and assess the nationalism phenomenon. The sample of our research was constituted by 200 students, males and females, of the Pedagogical School of the University of Western Macedonia, who were invited to answer spontaneously the questionnaire of this research during the academic year 2006-07. For the data analysis, the Factor Analysis Method was chosen which is widely used in the filed of the Social Sciences. The Factor Analysis was used so as to become aware of the pattern of the response of the social subjects – students, as it gives us the possibility to draw precious conclusions about a sum of variables while diminishing their number to a smaller number of factors from which each of whom corresponds to several of the initials. From the students’ answers in their total, five analysis axes are revealed, on the semantics of the nationalism, the historical semantics, the cultural provenience of the nationalism, the political functions and the social inequalities.*

### 1. Introduction

“... a nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, land, economical life and psychological commendation which are expressed in a cultural community” J. Stalin (1912): *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, 8.

In the field of social studies there are different approaches of the nationalism: the modernist group defends the idea of the nation as well as of the nationalism as products of the Illuminism.

A sub team of Marxists represented by E. Hobsbawm and of neo Marxists (B. Anderson) define the nationalism as a contemporary manufacture of the capitalistic production (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1999). A second sub team which belongs to E. Gellner, analysis the perspective of modernization, where the modern, sovereign nations triumph over the traditional nations. Another sub team represented by E. Kedourie rebut the nationalism without following the Marxist theory (Gellner, 1983; 1994; Kerdourie, 1993). On the other hand, primordialists consider that the idea of the nation depends on the primitive, primordial need of belonging to a community and precedes the modernism. The anthropologist C. Geertz belongs to this team whereas similar readings exist in the work of A. Hastings, A.D. Smith (Geertz, 1993; Hastings, 1997; Smith, 1991; Smith, 1998).

The social analysis of the nation and its correlation with the request of the political existence constitutes a phenomenon of the 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> century: contemporary theories perceive the nation as a form of collective identity which survived from the past through the memory of the mythmaker mechanisms, so that the groups evolve in a nation. The contemporary nations are considered as transformations of the nations' identity: the nations describe the populations with a common name, myths on the provenience, history, patterns, land and solidarity and respectively, the ethnic identity describes the dialectical relationship among the feeling, the psychological co identity and the interaction of the members of a group.

D. Horowitz, experienced researcher of the changes of ethnic identity, supports that this type of identity is acquired mainly during the birth, however, in some cases, linguistic or religious proselytism contribute to its radical change. In other cases, this procedure is completed with the passage of many generations through intermarriages and reproduction. Horowitz classified the ethnic changes in "assimilation" and "differentiation" ones and reminded that in transitional periods, owning a double identity is probable (Horowitz,1975). On the parallel, the national identity determines on a second level the political meaning of the ethnic identity. The participation and the attachment to a nation is a phenomenon of western European nationalism of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as we read in the history of the Nations whereas the contemporary perception of the nation emphasizing on the political context of the political group dates back on 1789.

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there is a vivid interest for the research and the publishing of historical past as well as the massive demonstration of the liberation movements in Spain (1820), Greece (1821), Italy (1831) and the Para Danube Dominations. The nationalism as a political principle supports the reconciliation of the political and national entity on the ax of the common feelings and the common action, as, since 1852-1878 there is a change in the way of achieving the national demands in Central Europe: in this way popular revolutions are replaced by governmental decisions, the war and the diplomacy during the phase of the national accomplishment of Europe.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the efforts for nationally homogenic states mark the exercise of a policy of national clearance, as the Armenians' genocide during the period 1915-1917 in the New Turkish State or the population exchange policy: in the Balkan Peninsula, almost 2 million people moved 1.200.000 Greeks, 600.000 Turks and 200.000 Bulgarians.

In the same field, 3.000 towns exchanged inhabitants and in 1923, the Lausanne Treaty defined the limits of these movements. Nowadays, we observe that the dismantling and splintering off method is adopted by those powers which founded their puissance on their unification (U.S.A. U.K. E.U., The Soviet Union). It seems that the independence of Kosovo liquidates the criteria of founding states and becomes a symbol in the hands of the secession movements (Flanders, Scotland, Vasques, Osetia, Cyprus).

## **2. The Meaning and the Phenomenon of Nationalism**

The social and political theory is still, at an extent, captive of the nation-state. Most of the basic notions of the social sciences – sociology, state, democracy, community – are related with the nation and the form of nation-state. At this point we stress that the political thought and the social sciences got the contemporary aspect in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the frame of the fantastic national communities. Most of the social sciences still persist in the container model of the society and politics, as written by Ulrich Beck (Beck,1999; 2006; Papakonstaninou,2008).

During the last 20-30 years we learn and experience an inter-connected world in which the meaning of borders has completely changed.

The land, social, cultural and political borders do not coincide as in the past.

We need new perspectives so that we can understand the new interactions, the decisions, the institutions – we need hyper-national perspectives or what is called a cosmopolite approach. Because of the new communication structure, the new technologies as well as the new commuting systems, all different cultures, different nations, and different religions live in the same present, even if at the same time they live in a different past and a different future. In a way, it is an incorporated present. We mention indicatively the concept of modernization in relation with the Marxism: the fight of the classes was considered as an international problem and this was recorded with the establishment of the International Socialism. Next, the nation-state was invented and most of the communist parties starting placing the fight of the classes in the ethnic sphere. Today, the issue remains open. We see that several problems that had been nationalized in the 19<sup>th</sup> century cannot remain nationalized in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

During the last years, we observe in Greece a clear redistribution of the jobs, which is characterized in the one hand by the penetration of the immigrants in jobs practically related to lower social levels and on the other by the pressing by the local working forces. This is how the illusion of ascending social movement is created for a large part of the local population. This illusion becomes dynamic through the aspects of the everyday life as well as the semantic symbolism

without, in principle, taking into consideration the material living conditions.

The class diversity, old catalyst of the social forms integrity remains nowadays as current as ever. However, it has artificially changed the metacenter of the dynamic from the material living conditions to the semantic and ideological aspects of the social life and the king of people that form the contemporary societies. The class diversity of the local population is now covered by the national – cultural homogeneity whereas the class otherness has now changed into a national otherness. This is the new class enemy, the lower social subject.

The normative idea of the cosmopolitanism is one of the most important matters as well as the critics of the methodological nationalism. This results into the invention of a new methodology which opens the theoretical and research perspectives of social sciences in hyper national, interdependent links. David Held, in his book, *Global Transformations*, shows how this linkage increases in many dimensions in the 1970s (Held, 2004; Held&Mephram, 2007; Held& McGrew, 2007; Beck, 1992). If it is true that the international linkage increases, then all the research problems on the globalization and the nationalism become a major epistemological issue.

The issue is which unit of measurement we need so as to form an idea on these bi-national linkages. Can we insist on the nation-state or the national societies as basic units and simply do a comparative research or should we set different units of measurement?

Until now, the basic differences mainly exist between national/international sphere and in some cases analysts introduce a globalized sphere. These differences do not exist any more: we have more interaction round which do not suit with these dualisms. All these spheres cover each other: the “hyper-national” cannot be perceived as the opposite of the national – on the contrary – they coexist. Likewise, the dilemma “either this or that” between the national and the hyper-national seems false. There is a new research camp for the hyper – immigration, as well as there is a difference between the cosmopolitanism and the bi-nationalism/nationalism. All these different notions are related to how societies face the problem of the cultural difference. There is also a racist answer to this matter, according to which national teams are evaluated in hierarchic terms. Bi-nationalism is the opposite, all those who are culturally different, all the cultural differences are in their basic principle equal. The bi-nationalism creates equality between the different national/religious groups. However, the ecumenism ignores the difference or at least it underestimates the burden of the difference (Beck, 1992; Vamvakidou, 2006).

The principle of the cosmopolitanism is that all possible cultural diversions should be taken as different and equal at the same time. This means that differences are not ignored but are evaluated as productive elements, important as far as their self-determination is concerned. Cosmopolitanism is, on the one hand opponent to the ecumenism, but on the other, it needs several global norms to fix the difference. The recognition of other cultures might be appraised as long as they do not transgress basic human rights. The cosmopolitanism realizes that the way of reaction under circumstances/conflicts/aggressive movements as procedure is an open matter.

### **3. The Research**

Nowadays, the research interest for the perception of the nation is involved with the apprehension of the historical knowledge by young people as well as the respective configuration of the historical thinking and the historical identity with are enlarged both in Western Europe as well as in the Balkan (Kyridis, Andreou, Tsakiridou, Vamvakidou, Drossos, 2006; Kyridis, Dinas, Drossos, Kassidou, Gallani, 2001).

In this way, it seems that the model of traditional history telling is deprecated as the model the silence of the national history is revealed (Ferro, 1985). In the sociological study (Tsoukalas, 1999) of the Greek nationalism, it is attempted to determine the historical phenomenon which, for the western society, constitutes a “catholic ideology” and functions “as cohesive answer of the modern society to the abolition of the traditional society as well as the traditional forms of communication” (Lekkas, 1989)

From the sociologic point of view, we are interested in the preponderance of the subjective (Foucault, 1982) criterion for the determination of the national identity (Lekkas, 1989) the procedure and the mechanisms through which the nationalistic ideology creates the nation by assigning it and persuading its parts about its existence.

Sociological (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Anderson, 1991) social history (Iggers, 1999) and social psychology studies (Konstantinidou, 2000) to pupils, students and teachers have shown that national stereotypes on out-national groups are more powerful than the stereotypes on the different character of another compatriot, fact which results in the creation of a national prejudice already from the educational field (Esses, Haddock, Zanna, 1993). Additionally, the politicization of the religion, as modulated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the new nation states as a need of effusion and idealization of the national independence (Vamvakidou, 2000) seems to have penetrated in the speech of the people, but mainly of the teachers’ (Nakou, 2000) as “double re-sensegiven” (Bernstein, 1990).

The aim of this research is to inventory the means used by a population group with specific social characteristics, which have to do, on the one hand, with the school and social trajectory of the subjects but which on the other might have evolved – given their attendance - into a freer educational institution and assess the nationalism phenomenon.

The sample of our research was constituted by 200 students, males and females, of the Pedagogical School of the University of western Macedonia, who were invited to answer spontaneously the questionnaire of this research during the academic year 2006-07.

**Table 1:** Distribution of subjects according to gender

Gender	Frequency (v)	Percentage (%)
Boy	103	51,5
Girl	97	48,5
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 2:** Distribution of subjects according to their birthplace

Region	Frequency (v)	Percentage (%)
Athens/Thessaloniki	105	52,5
Capital town of a county	40	20
Semi- urban region	55	27,5
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100</b>

From the 200 students the 53% (103) are boys and the 48,5% (97) girls. 105 out of them (52,5%) come from urban areas (Athens/Thessaloniki), 40 (20%) from the capital town of a county and 55 (27,5%) from a semi-urban region.

**Table 3:** Distribution of the subjects according to their academic semester

Gender	Academic semester								Total
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	
Boy				32 (16)	19 (9,5)	31 (15,5)	21 (10,5)		103 (51,5)
Girl	22 (11)		22 (11)		17 (7,5)		23 (11,5)	13 (6,5)	97 (48,5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>22 (11)</b>		<b>22 (11)</b>	<b>32 (16)</b>	<b>36 (18)</b>	<b>31 (15,5)</b>	<b>44 (22)</b>	<b>13 (6,5)</b>	<b>200 (100)</b>

From the 200 students of the sample, 44 (22%) are in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> semester, 32 (16%) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> semester and 36 (18%) in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> respectively.

Finally, there are 31 (15,5%), 44(22%) and 13 (6,5%) students in the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> semester respectively.

For the needs of the research, the students were invited to fill in a 5 point questionnaire based on the Likert scale (1: Totally disagree, 2: Disagree, 3:Do not agree-do not disagree, 4: Agree, 5: Totally agree), which is formed of 45 proposals- statements, in order to trace their opinions on the phenomenon of racism.

For the data analysis, the Factor Analysis Method was chosen which is widely used in the filed of the Social Sciences. The Factor Analysis was used so as to become aware of the pattern of the response of the social subjects – students, as it gives us the possibility to draw precious conclusions about a sum of variables while diminishing their number to a smaller number of factors from which each of whom corresponds to several of the initials.

Furthermore, by using it, we were led to the localization of the variables which characterize each factorial axe and contribute to the creation and the tracing of groups of students concerning the position – point of views on the phenomenon of nationalism.

The internal consequence of the questionnaire sentences was counted with the alpha reliability (alpha Crombach's). We mention that for researching the relationship of the factorial axes with the gender, the academic semester, the functioning of the university, the job and the education of the father, the job and the education of the mother ANOVA was applied.

#### 4. Results

**Table 4:** Average and *typical variations*

	Statement	Mean	Std. Deviation
1	I am proud of the Greek history	3,81	,943
2	There is no reason to study other people's history	1,92	1,102
3	Greek history is glorious	3,61	,769
4	Greek history is superior to other people's history	2,59	,881
5	The other people do not have a glorious history	2,36	1,182
6	We must respect the culture of the others	4,78	,553
7	The Greek civilization is superior	2,30	1,103
8	All people contributed to the global civilization	4,40	,743
9	Greeks where heroic fighters	3,58	1,136
10	Greeks gave their culture to the rest of the world	3,07	1,369
11	All civilization have the Greek one as a basis	2,43	1,262
12	Nationalism is a political principle	2,86	1,477
13	Nationalism serves the national interest	3,39	1,243
14	Whoever is not a nationalist, he cannot be considered as a patriot	1,92	1,200
15	The country needs nationalists	2,84	1,419
16	Nationalism constitutes the basis of the nation-state	2,77	1,190
17	The roots of the Western civilization can be found in the classical Greek Antiquity.	3,48	,770
18	"Heroes fight like Greeks"	3,09	1,115
19	Nationalism dominates even during the globalization period	3,33	,897
20	Greek education thrives nationalism	3,64	1,081
21	Nationalism is identical to national awareness	2,99	1,180
22	State policy uses the nationalism	3,38	,630
23	Nationalism results into the identification of the people with the nation	3,23	,955
24	Nationalism results into the identification of the nation with the state	3,24	,870
25	Nationalism is an ideology	3,69	1,254
26	Nationalism can constitute a political practice	3,60	1,195
27	Nationalism constitutes a reason for war conflict	4,82	,385
28	The 2 world wars are examples of nationalism	3,81	,955
29	Nationalism obstructs the peaceful cooperation of the people	4,27	,849
30	Nationalism is a synonym of racism	3,71	,836
31	Nationalists respect their foreign fellow citizens	1,65	,868
32	Nationalism promotes intolerance	3,84	1,132
33	Nationalism can be a positive element in a state's policy	2,30	1,102
34	The consequences of the nationalism are devastating	3,73	1,012
35	Nationalism serves mainly financial purposes	3,05	,768
36	Nationalism serves mainly political purposes	3,84	,648
37	The phenomenon of nationalism mainly appears in undeveloped societies	2,64	1,308
38	Nationalism protects people from becoming a mass	2,40	1,102
39	Nationalism aims at the creation of autonomic states	3,14	,737
40	Social inequality constitutes a reason for the modern nationalism	3,38	,684
41	Nationalism requires the existence of a state	3,76	,836
42	The Greek foreign affair policy is characterized by nationalistic tendencies	2,97	1,063
43	Balkan states foreign affair policy is characterized by nationalism	3,17	,983
44	Nationalism transgresses human rights	3,68	1,055
45	Nowadays, there aren't any nationalists	1,82	1,442

The data obtained according to the answers of the subjects were analyzed with the technique of the Factor Analysis in main non associated factors-axes. With this analysis, the data were grouped according to their relation so as to record those factors which describe more completely the attitude of the students on the object of the study. According to the factorial analysis, there are 5 independent factors which interpret the 75,324% of the total intertie of the data (Table1) and are separately.

**Table 5:** Table of Factorial Analysis

Factor	Interpretation Of Diaspora %	Load	Statement
1 <sup>st</sup> factorial ax: Semantic of nationalism	17,798%	.823	*25. Nationalism is an ideology
		.712	*13. Nationalism serves the national interest
		.621	*30. Nationalism is a synonym of racism
		.549	*27. Nationalism constitutes a reason for war conflict
		.751	*39. Nationalism aims at the creation of autonomic states
		.761	*21. Nationalism is identical to national awareness
		.641	*23 Nationalism results into the identification of the people with the nation
		.584	*32. Nationalism results into the identification of the people with the nation
2 <sup>nd</sup> factorial ax: Historical semantic of nationalis	16,693%	.855	*4. Greek history is superior to other people's history
		.839	*15. The country needs nationalists
		.830	*5. The other people do not have a glorious history
		.704	*3. Greek history is glorious
		.695	*14. Whoever is not a nationalist, he cannot be considered as a patriot
		.644	*28. The 2 world wars are examples of nationalism
		.641	*17. The roots of the Western civilization can be found in the classical Greek Antiquity
		-.625	*2. There is no reason to study other people's history
		.573	*18. Heroes fight "Like Greeks"
		.562	*9 Greeks are glorious fighters
.506	*1 I am proud of Greek history		
3 <sup>rd</sup> factorial ax: cultural provenience of nationalism	15,348%	.854	*11. All civilizations have the Greek one as a basis
		.841	*10. Greeks gave their culture to the rest of the world
		.729	*6. We must respect the culture of the others
		.501	*8. All people contributed to the global civilization
		.445	*7 The Greek civilization is superior
4 <sup>th</sup> factorial ax: Political functions of natioalism	13,240%	.935	*43. Balkan states foreign affair policy is characterized by nationalism
		.917	*16. Nationalism constitutes the basis of the nation-state
		.841	*24. Nationalism results into the identification of the nation with the state
		.816	*26. Nationalism can constitute a political practice
		.739	*33. Nationalism can be a positive element in a state's policy
		.716	*36 Nationalism serves mainly political purposes
		.649	*42. The Greek foreign affair policy is characterized by nationalistic tendencies
		.545	*12. Nationalism is a political principle
		.514	*41. Nationalism requires the existence of a state
		.513	*22. State policy uses the nationalism
5 <sup>th</sup> factorial ax: Nationalism and social inequalities	12,244%	.917	*31. Nationalists respect their foreign fellow citizens
		.844	*29. Nationalism obstructs the peaceful cooperation of the people
		.842	*20. Greek education thrives nationalism
		.814	*35. Nationalism serves mainly financial purposes
		.761	*34. The consequences of the nationalism are devastating
		.744	*19. Nationalism dominates even during the globalization period
		.704	*38. Nationalism protects people from becoming a mass
		.608	*44. Nationalism transgresses human rights
		.589	*40. Social inequality constitutes a reason for the modern nationalism
		-.580	*45. Nowadays, there aren't any nationalists
-.412	*37. The phenomenon of nationalism mainly appears in undeveloped societies		

#### 4.1 Analysis of the factorial axes

##### 4.1.1 1<sup>st</sup> factorial axe: Semantics of the nationalism

According to the students' positions, as they resulted from the factorial analysis, the first factorial axe includes the statements which express evidences on the nationalism (table 6). The Crombach's reliability coefficient **a** of the first factor is statistically important and equals to 91%.

**Table 6:** Percentage of the degree of agreement of the first factor

Statement	Totally disagree	Disagree	Do not agree do not disagree	Agree	Totally agree
*25. Nationalism is an ideology	33 (16,5%)			131 (65,5%)	36 (18%)
*13. Nationalism serves the national interest	39 (19, 5%)		19 (9,5%)	129 (64,5%)	13 (6,5%)
*30. Nationalism is a synonym of racism		13 (6,5%)	68 (34%)	83 (41,5%)	36 (18%)
*27. Nationalism constitutes a reason for war conflict				36 (18%)	164 (82%)
*39. Nationalism aims at the creation of autonomic states		42 (21%)	88 (44%)	70 (35%)	
*21 Nationalism is identical to national awareness	24 (12%)	55 (27,5%)	34 (17%)	74 (37%)	13 (6,5%)
*23. Nationalism results into the identification of the people with the nation		60 (30%)	47 (23,5%)	80 (40%)	13 (6,5%)
*32. Nationalism promotes intolerance		40 (20%)	26 (13%)	60 (30%)	74 (37%)

Table 6 presents the percentages of the students' degree of agreement as far as the first factor is concerned. We observe that the majority of the students (83,5%) believe that the nationalism and the ideology which serves the national interest (64,5%).

In parallel, they believe that nationalism results into the identification of the people with the nation (40%) and is identified with the national conscience (37%). Even if they are not sure that Nationalism aims at the creation of autonomic states (44%), they totally agree that it constitutes a reason for war conflict (82%). Likewise, they express the ideology that racism promotes intolerance (67%) and is a synonym of racism.

#### 4.1.2 2<sup>nd</sup> factorial axe historically semantics of the nationalism

While observing the second factor (table7) which interprets the 16,693% of the total data diaspora, it becomes evident that the statements which concern the historical semantics of the nationalism are the main variables that contribute to the formation of the factor. The reliability factor (Crombach's  $\alpha$ ) of the second axe is statistically important and equals to 89,4%. The arrangement of the statements according to their load reveals the ethnocentrism with the aspect of the absolute values, showing in parallel that the Greek history is ethnocentric as it is overwhelmed by stereotypes concerning the heroes. We could observe that the second factorial axe expresses the mono-cultural orientation of the Greek educational system whose further purpose is the homogenisation and the political subsumption of whatever foreigner to the sovereign culture (Kanakidou&Papagianni, 1994; Damanaki, 1989).

**Table 7:** Percentage of the degree of agreement with the opinions of the second factor

Statement	Totally disagree	Disagree	Do not agree do not disagree	Agree	Totally agree
*4. Greek history is superior to other people's history	21 (10,5%)	72 (36%)	75 (37,5%)	32 (16%)	
*15. The country needs nationalists	55 (27,5%)	22 (11%)	55 (27,5%)	36 (18%)	32 (16%)
*5. The other people do not have a glorious history	56 (28%)	73 (36,5%)	17 (8,5%)	51(25,5%)	3 (1,5%)
*3. Greek history is glorious		19 (9,5%)	57 (28,5%)	108(54%)	16 (8%)
*14. Whoever is not a nationalist, he cannot be considered as a patriot	100 (50%)	55 (27,5%)	19 (9,5%)	13 (6,5%)	13 (6,5%)
*28. The 2 world wars are examples of nationalism		21 (10,5%)	51 (25,5%)	74(37%)	54 (27%)
*17. The roots of the Western civilization can be found in the classical Greek Antiquity.		21 (10,5%)	76 (38 %)	90(45%)	13 (6,5%)
*2. There is no reason to study other people's history	98 (49%)	53 (26,5%)	17 (8,5%)	32(16%)	
*18. "Heroes fight like Greeks"		94 (47%)	17 (8,5%)	67(33,5%)	22 (11%)
*9. Greeks where heroic fighters	23 (11,5%)		50 (25%)	92(46%)	35 (17,5%)
*1. I am proud of the Greek history		19 (9,5%)	54 (27%)	73(36,5%)	54 (27%)

In the second factorial axe, even though 65,5% of the students declare proud of the Greek history, because it is glorious (54%), they do not believe that other people do not have a glorious history (64,5%) and that the Greek history is superior



to the others (46%). Even if they state that the roots of the western civilization are found in the Greek Antiquity (45%), they totally disagree with the statement according to which there is no reason to learn other people's history (49%). Even if they agree that Greeks are glorious fighters (63,5%), they disagree (47%) with the stereotype "Heroes fight like Greeks." Likewise, the majority of the students disagree with the opinion that whoever is not a nationalist is not a patriot either (77,5%) and that the country needs nationalists (38,5%). Finally, they agree with the statement that the two world wars constitute examples of nationalism (64%).

#### 4.1.3 3<sup>rd</sup> factorial axe: Cultural provenience of the nationalism

The third axe of the analysis (table 8) which summarizes the 15,348% of the total variability is related to the cultural provenience of the nationalism. The coefficient of reliability (Crombach's a) of the third factor is statistically important and equals to 91,7%.

**Table 8:** Percentage of the degree of agreement on the opinions of the third factor

Statement	Totally disagree	Disagree	Do not agree do not disagree	Agree	Totally agree
*11. All civilization have the Greek one as a basis	35 (17,5%)	111(55,5%)	19 (9,5%)	3 (1,5%)	32 (16%)
*10. Greeks gave their culture to the rest of the world	35 (17,5%)	40 (20%)	36 (18%)	54 (27%)	35 (17,5%)
*6. We must respect the culture of the others			13 (6,5%)	19 (9,5%)	168 (84%)
*8. All people contributed to the global civilization	3 (1,5%)		13 (6,5%)	83(41,5%)	101 (50,5%)
*7. The Greek civilization is superior	52 (26%)		68 (34%)	64 (32%)	16 (8%)

The position of the students as far as the third axe is concerned consent the cultural dimension of the nationalism.

It is worth while mentioning that 40% of the sample students consider *the Greek civilization as superior*. Although they agree on the statement "*the Greeks gave away their civilization in the whole world*"(44,5%), they disagree on the opinion *that all civilizations have on their basis the Greek one* (73%). Likewise, they totally agree that *we must respect the civilization of the other peoples* (84%) and that *all people contributed to the global civilization* (50,5%).

#### 4.1.4 4<sup>th</sup> factorial axe: Political functions of the nationalism

**Table 9:** Percentage of the degree of agreement on the opinions of the 4<sup>th</sup> factorial axe

Statement	Totally disagree	Disagree	Do not agree do not disagree	Agree	Totally agree
*43. Balkan states foreign affair policy is characterized by nationalism	23 (11,5%)		110 (55%)	54 (27%)	13 (6,5%)
*16. Nationalism constitutes the basis of the nation-state	43 (21,5%)	41(20,5%)	36 (18%)	80 (40%)	
*24. Nationalism results into the identification of the nation with the state		57(28,5%)	38 (19%)	105(52,5%)	
*26. Nationalism can constitute a political practice	33 (16,5%)			148 (74%)	19 (9,5%)
*33. Nationalism can be a positive element in a state's policy	74 (37%)	19 (9,5%)	81 (40,5%)	26 (13%)	
*36. Nationalism serves mainly political purposes		16 (8%)	13 (6,5%)	159(79,5%)	12 (6%)
*42. The Greek foreign affair policy is characterized by nationalistic tendencies	13 (6,5%)	58 (29%)	71 (35,5%)	39 (19,5%)	19 (9,5%)
*12. Nationalism is a political principle	69 (34,5%)	3 (1,5%)	38 (19%)	67 (33,5%)	23 (11,5%)
*41. Nationalism requires the existence of a state		19 (9,5%)	43 (21,5%)	106 (53%)	32 (16%)
*22. State policy uses the nationalism			16 (8%)	93 (46,5%)	91 (45,5%)

The fourth factorial axe, according to the load of the statements, refers to the political dimension of the nationalism and interprets the 13,240% of the data inertia (table 5). The reliability factor (Crombach's a) of the fourth factor is statistically important and equals to 86,7%. In this specific factorial axe the 45% of the subjects believe that *nationalism is a political principle* and 74% agree that *racism can be a political practice*. Even if they do not give a clear answer to the statement according to which nationalism constitutes a positive element in a state's policy (40,5%), they agree that it serves political purposes (79,5%). Likewise, they have no clear answer to whether *foreign policy of Balkan countries is characterized by*



nationalism (55%) or Greek foreign policy is characterized by nationalistic tendencies(35,5%). Initially, they declare that nationalism constitutes the basis of the nation – state (40%) or that it leads to the identification of the nation – state (69%.)

They agree that nationalism requires the existence of a state (53%) and they are deeply convinced the state policy uses the nationalism (90%).

#### 4.1.5 5<sup>th</sup> factorial axe: Nationalism and social inequalities

**Table 10:** Percentage of the degree of agreement with the opinions of the fifth factorial axe

Statement	Totally disagree	Disagree	Do not agree do not disagree	Agree	Totally agree
*31. Nationalists respect their foreign fellow citizens	110 (55%)	64 (32%)	13 (6,5%)	13 (6,5%)	
*29. Nationalism obstructs the peaceful cooperation of the people		13 (6,5%)	13 (6,5%)	81 (40,5%)	93 (46,5%)
*20. Greek education thrives nationalism		42 (21%)	40 (20%)	67 (33,5%)	51 (25,5%)
*35. Nationalism serves mainly financial purposes		51(25,5%)	91 (45,5%)	55 (27,5%)	3 (1,5%)
*34. The consequences of the nationalism are devastating		26 (13%)	59 (29,5%)	59 (29,5%)	56 (28%)
*19. Nationalism dominates even during the globalization period		45(22,5%)	57 (28,5%)	85(42,5%)	13 (6,5%)
*38. Nationalism protects people from becoming a mass	52 (26%)	62 (31%)	41 (20,5%)	45(22,5%)	
*44. Nationalism transgresses human rights	13 (6,5%)	13(6,5%)	36 (18%)	101(50,5%)	37 (18,5%)
*40. Social inequality constitutes a reason for the modern nationalism		20 (10%)	87 (43,5%)	90 (45%)	3 (1,5%)
*45. Nowadays, there aren't any nationalists	132 (66%)	36 (18%)			32 (16%)
*37. The phenomenon of nationalism mainly appears in undeveloped societies	49 (24,5%)	54 (27%)	37 (18,5%)	41 (20,5%)	19 (9,5%)

In the 5<sup>th</sup> axe, which interprets the 12,244% of the data inertia, opinions on social inequalities as a consequence of nationalis are gathered. The reliability variable (Crombach's a) of the fifth axe equals to 82,2%. The students of the sample agreed that nationalism dominates even in the globalization era (42,5%) and the reasons are found in the social inequality (45%).

**Table 11:** Axes – Aggregate Table

Axes	Boys		Girls		Total	
	M***	S****	M***	S****	M***	S****
1 <sup>st</sup> axe*: Semantics of nationalism	35,28	8,062	28,10	6,542	31,80	8,179
2 <sup>nd</sup> axe*: Historical Semantics of the nationalism*	20,78	7,607	25,15	5,405	22,90	6,967
3 <sup>rd</sup> axe*: Cultural provenience of the nationalism*	24,79	5,295	27,18	6,745	25,95	6,145
4 <sup>th</sup> axe*: Political functions of the nationalism*	19,58	7,241	23,88	2,326	21,67	5,843
5 <sup>th</sup> axe: Nationalism and social inequalities **	38,56	3,828	32,02	6,187	35,39	6,060

\* p > 0,05; \*\* p = 0,000 < 0,05; \*\*\* M = Average; \*\*\*\* S = Typical deviation

57% of the students disagree with the statement that *nationalism protects the people from becoming a mass and that the answer is given in undeveloped societies (51,5%)*. Likewise, they disagree with the opinion that *nationalists do not exist (66%)*. On the parallel, they believe that *the consequences of the racism are devastating (57,5%) as nationalism transgresses the human right (50,5%) and constitutes an obstruction for the peaceful co-existence of the people (87%)*. Finally, they totally agree that *the Greek education cultivates the notion of nationalism (58%)*

## 5. Discussion

From the students' answers in their total, five analysis axes are revealed, on the semantics of the nationalism, the historical semantics, the cultural provenience of the nationalism, the political functions and the social inequalities. We observe that for the third axe the averages of the degree of agreement move towards the answer *Do not agree do not disagree*. In the 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> axe, which refer to the semantics of the nationalism, it is statistically observed an important difference as far as the gender is concerned, boys having a clearer position on the phenomenon and the consequences

of the nationalism. In the same way, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> axe, we observe a statistically important difference as far as the gender is concerned as boys tend to disagree with the historical semantics and the political functions of the nationalism whereas girls do not express a clear point of view.

At the answers/declarations of the students on the nationalism, nationalists and the role of education, we can observe confusion, the same as the one existing in the Greek educational policy as far as the ambiguous functioning and the necessity of nationalisms in the bipolar form of the nationalism/other is concerned.

The majority of the students (83,5%) believe that *nationalism is an ideology which serves the national interest* (64,5%), that *nationalism results in identifying the people with the nation* (40%) and *is identified to the national conscience* (37%). They though agree on that *it represents the reason for war conflicts* (82%) and *declare that the nationalistic ideology promotes intolerance* (67%) and *is a synonym of racism* (41,5%). *The students who form the sample agree that nationalism dominates in the era of globalization* (42,5%) and *the reason is the social inequality* (45%). *Even though they do not give a clear answer to the statement that nationalism constitutes a positive element for a state's policy* (40,5%). *They agree that it serves political aims* (79,5%). Likewise, they do not give a clear answer to whether *Balkan states' foreign policy is characterized by nationalism* (55%) or *Greek foreign policy has got nationalistic tendencies* (35,5%). Even if 63,5% of the students declare proud of the Greek history because it is glorious (54%), they do not consider that other people do not have a glorious history (64,5%) and that Greek history is superior to the other peoples' history (46%).

Even if they state that the roots of the western civilization are found in the classical Greek antiquity (45%), they totally disagree with the statement that *there is no reason to learn other peoples' history* (49%).

Even if they agree that Greeks are *glorious fighters* (63,5%), 47% of them disagree with the stereotype "Heroes fight like Greeks".

As for the important difference between genders, we note that "feminists denounce the financial inequality: according to the data provided by UNESCO, women perform the two third of the global work on the planet, get the 1/10 of the total salaries and own the 1/100 of the total real estate property" (Kokkinos et al., 2002). A larger perception of the Marxist notion about social reproduction can help us realize the further financial importance of the reproductive and domestic role of women. Nowadays, both practical experience as well as practical evolutions design the multiple interpretations of gender inequalities, so that every one-dimensional theory (as those of the financial system, the family, the sexuality, the pornography, the reproduction, the culture, the language) is considered insufficient.

Judie Butler's work was decisive: "the social gender as performance" contests the oppressive structures and provides us with the possibility of a society which is not organized any more on the basis of a dual contrast between masculine and feminine. In this way, gender identities could be fluid, freely chosen and multiple, or even they could disappear (Butler, 1990; 1993; West & Zimmerman, 1991; Lorber & Farren, 1991). As Judith Grant supports, "the aim of the feminist policy is the end of the social gender and the creation of new human beings, who are self-characterized and participate to the development of their evolutionary subjectivity (Grant, 1993).

In the girls' statements we can though trace the indifference for the state/social sector reminding the ideology of "separate spheres" developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century according to which the women's role, naturally and essentially was domestic and family-centred whereas the men's role was in the public world of work and politics (Bryson, 2004). At this point, many answers are found in P. Bourdieu work as well as the research model he adopts as far as the feminist analysis is concerned: "the man is a special being perceived as a catholic being, which monopolises, and take part to the human, that is to say the catholic, both objectively and rightfully. He is empowered to feel as the bearer of the entire image of the human situation [...] The honest human being is from definition a man, and all the virtues that characterizes him and which design power, rights, skills, duties and qualifications constitute purely masculine characteristics" (Bourdieu, 1999). So men, being positioned on the exterior/ official/ public space, seem to take advantage and use at the same time the short/dangerous/ impressive actions in the field of the glorious history of heroes, but also in the post-administration of the past (Bourdieu, 1999).

As recorded in the international literature, the distinction between male and female, is still organized around the interior and exterior contrast, between the house/the raising of the children and the work. This distinction was founded by the bourgeoisie with the distinction between the entrepreneurial sphere which is oriented towards the production and the profit, and the domestic sphere, dedicated to the biological, social and symbolic reproduction of the members of the family living together. It goes without saying that, with the women's access to the labour market, the boundaries were transposed but not abolished as protection factors in the inside of the world of labour were set up (Bourdieu, 1999).

In the university education, the stereotypes on the gender seems to be maintained by the transponders of the research/knowledge as well as the direction: "the stereotype, the lack of information, the lack of knowledge of the difficulties encountered by the women – members of the University Teaching Staff are the biggest impediments in the

improvement of their position. For example, from the 21% of the women who managed to get a high position in the upper education, very few of them participate to decision making councils, fact which asserts that even in the inside of the oldest university of the country women are treated unequally. Women's absence from the upper decision making positions in the scientific field not only is it an equality matter or a question of equal gender treatment but an issue which can influence the orientation of the research programmes. Women, given the fact that they represent more than half of the global population, must have coequal occasions on making decisions on investments in various research fields. In the same way, men's predominance in the scientific sector has indescribable consequences in the images presented in the Medias and the education. For this reason, the United Nations Committee for the Woman's position (1990) and the report of the European union for the scientific Policies (Etan Report, 2001) state that "women should hold at least 30% of the positions in the decision making councils" (Vosniadou, 2006; Laliotis & Benveniste, 2006; Avdela, 2006; Chatzaroula, 2006; Redetzi, 2006; Athanasiou, 2006; Kantisa, 2006; Lada, 2006; Chroni, 2006).

In a relevant U.N. list, among 188 states, Greece has the 80<sup>th</sup> position with regard to women's participation to the Parliament (Ependitis newspaper, 7-9.03.2008, 34).

In the students' statements we observe the very few influences of the new subjects and the new orientations of the social studies as the teaching and the books of the primary and secondary education seem to be imposed to the educational luggage of the children. However, history is now an international science and in the same way the instruction of the new historians: despite the book retraction, the river never comes back, writes A. Liakos (Liakos, 2007). From Australia, professor Bill Leadbetter adds up writing that "history is not about collecting information but for forming the meaning through the information (Leadbetter, 2007). Today, despite the conspiracies and the political interferences in the school history (Abasse, 2007). we encounter an evolution of the history into a social study. The contemporary historical matters in the educational field are the critical thinking, literacy, political studies and the post-knowledge (Repoussi, 2007).

What we find interesting is the differentiation of the basic principles and the basic institutions of innovation. An example of a basic principle is the autonomy of a person, a basic institution is the foundation of social and political rights. The ways this principle was legislated were limited to a specific group: for example, all the basic rights were given to men, excluding initially women. Nationality was given to the citizens of the nation state. Today, we have a new radicalization of those principles of innovation different from the previous restrictions. For example, the equality movements cannot exclude women any more. The basic changes of the institutions of innovation come from the radicalization of their principles.

Nationalism seems to function today as a enemy of Europe (Beck & Giddens, 2005) and promotes social inequalities through returning to gender, race and class racism. At this point, we refer to the vindication from the European Court of members belonging to the Muslim minority of the Western Thrace who asked to use the national determinant "Turk" for their associations with the argument that the use of such term do not constitute a threat. In parallel to this paradox, we also refer to the vindication of Muslim women from the Primary Court of Rodopi for their right to the administration of their heritage as Greek/European women against the anachronistic sari.

The modern post-industrial society overpasses the national borders and acquires an international character, but we should always stress that this fact does not annihilate its class structure either at national or international level because the technological evolution not only reduces the distances by facilitating the creation of hyper-national social groups but also encourage the dissemination of ideologies and points of view which invite people to international social action. Class difference of local population is covered now by a national-cultural homogeneity, whereas class otherness becomes now national otherness (Kyridis, 2005).

While analyzing Bourdieu's statement (Kokkinos, 2003) that "the word class will never be a neutral word: the question of existence or non-existence of classes is a challenge of the fight of the classes," we understand the provenience of the nationalisms and their rivalry: nationalism was a result of the double revolution, the socio-political in France and the techno-economical in England. The new "national state" proved to have practically a serious advantage as it assured an obvious bond between the exploiters and the exploited: despite their difference as far as the income and the lifestyle is concerned, they had a common language, opposite the "others", either referring to the domestic national minorities or the conquered people in the colonies" (Hartman, 1993).

Today the "others", but also the refugees/workers are used by mechanisms of promotion of the geo-political strategies of the neo-colonialism metropolitan centres. Many metropolises use in a systematic way the immigrants' and others' national and religious identities so as to misquote the social relationships which "are transformed from structure into disstructure relationships" (Gouliamos, 2008). We need a research re-examination to uncover the instinct of obedience to the authority, as it was cultivated by the A. Comte School: the methodology of historical materialism is proposed so as not to slip to positivistic sociological theories or abstract sociological/historical ones.

From the statements of persons subjected to this research, the contradiction of the reality we all live is evident: theoretically and ideologically, there is tolerance towards the mixed identities, but at the same time, there is difficulty in the functioning of the multicultural model. It is also evident that the assimilation of the citizens in other cultures has got certain limits as the multicolour/composite multiculturalism might become frightening. However, the nationalistic effusions have got a financial basis and in this direction, social sciences cannot change the world but can create resistance focuses towards prejudice, political guidance, ideologically guided knowledge (Kokkinos, 2003).

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