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Top right: Patience is a Virtue to Success and Glory. © kentoh/123RF.COM

Bottom left: The landmark New York Stock Exchange in New York City.

October 13, 2010. © sepavo/123RF.COM

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IT e Computing



Humanities

PREFACE

The Centre for Research and Interdisciplinary Studies (CRIS) was founded with the idea of developing interdisciplinary research crossing several fields and subject areas underlying the academic curricula at Prague College, and its main purposes are:

- To promote a medium of participation and discussions by means of regular interdisciplinary workshops and seminars.
- To promote and to encourage the collaboration among different schools and programmes in the design and creation of multidisciplinary courses in the college.
- To provide a means of publishing research work for both students and staff as part of a quarterly academic bulletin and e-journal.
- To cooperate with other education institutions and organisations in the development of common projects of interest.

The Centre was developed from projects initiated by Stefano Cavagnetto in the context of his role as Head of the School of Business and the School of Computing, by Bruce Gahir, Principal Lecturer in the School of Business and Computing, and by Pascal Silondi, Director of Libat and Principal Lecturer in Interactive Media. Beginning in 2009, research in the following areas had been initiated:

1. Game theory and its application to economics, business, philosophy, and international relations.
2. The history of programming languages and history of computers.
3. Experimental media (Prague College and the CRIS, formerly PCRC, is an associate partner for Underground City XXI an international interdisciplinary EU project).
4. The history of cryptology and the science of enciphering.
5. Art and mathematics: a profitable relationship in history - from classical geometry to fractals and topology.

By combining academic study with practical training, the CRIS aims to create an environment where personal achievement goes hand-in-hand with social responsibility. Strategically, this offers students the chance to actively collaborate in several research areas with the support of faculty members and lecturers of the college.

Since 2010 a quarterly Bulletin has been published detailing progress in relevant research activities of lecturers and students. This bulletin forms an integral part of the CRIS and provides a medium whereby the research activities of the centre can be documented. Faculty members, lecturers and students belonging to every school of the college are welcome to submit their work for publication.

You can find the published Bulletins of CRIS on Ebrary (electronic library), in the college library, in six Prague libraries (Narodni knihovna, Knihovna Narodniho muzea v Praze, Ministerstvo kultury CR, Parlamentni knihovna, Mestske knihovne v Praze, Knihovna a tiskarna pro nevidome K.E. Macana), Moravska zemska knihovna in Brno, Stredoceska vedecka knihovna in Kladno, Jihoceska vedecka knihovna in Ceske Budejovice, Studijni a vedecka knihovna Plzenskeho kraje in Plzen, Severoceska vedecka knihovna in Usti nad Labem, Krajska vedecka knihovna in Liberec, Studijni a vedecka knihovna in Hradec Kralove, Moravskoslezska vedecka knihovna in Ostrava, Vedecka knihovna in Olomouc, Krajska knihovna in Pardubice, Havlickuv Brod, Zlin, and Karlovy Vary.

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GRAPHIC DESIGN APPROACHES FOR VISUALLY IMPAIRED PEOPLE

HELENA JAKOUBĚ

This essay will discuss graphic design approaches for the visually impaired people. It focuses on several graphic design fields such as typography, images, printing, reading and writing, info graphic in different parts of life, packaging and web design and how they meet with the visually impaired people's needs. Many useful things were invented and are helping the visually impaired people in their daily life but I see there are still significant problems and issues that need solutions. The graphic designers are those who can do much more to help these people to be part of the society more than before and to make their life easier. The approaches include suggestions to the simple changes as well as more difficult ones being open to more discussions and further research by the scientists and specialists.

The thought behind this essay is to improve the life of the visually impaired people through graphic design, which is a powerful tool. The graphic designer's aim should not be to only produce visually nice work but to think of how the environment can be changed to make everybody feel comfortable in it, whether it is done through small changes or revolutionary ideas. It is important to take the needs of disabled, and this essay focuses on the visually impaired people around us that need to be brought into consideration.

I have tested myself how it feels to be 'blind' for some time during my research, and it helped me to clearly understand more about the whole subject. Based on my research I came up with a several ideas and helpful suggestions and solutions. Some of them might be time consuming at the beginning but when implemented I believe they could save a lot of time and mainly help the visually impaired people to enjoy their life and be an equal part of our society.

1. VISUAL VS. TACTILE

The important thing to be mentioned at the beginning is the difference between the people who are completely blind and those who are partially sighted. Within the second category, there are many different disabilities varying from the contrast sensibility, ability to contradistinguish colours, sensation of depth, ability to localise, recognise shapes or watch them in movement. It indicates that each disability faces different needs and the sensation and comfort of the graphic design elements such as colours, contrast or shapes are individual and vary from a person to person, as confirmed by Dudr (2011) from TyfloCentrum in Prague, specialist in removing the architectonic and transportation barriers for the visually impaired. Most of the visually impaired people try as much as they can to use their remaining sight to maximum effect so they try to read print materials as well as websites using optical aids or travel without the cane. They do so to keep the visibility in their life as long as possible because it helps them to orient themselves better than relying on the tactile only. It is understandable especially for those who lost their sight during the life. This does not apply only to graphic design but to their whole life in general.

2. GRAPHIC DESIGN

At this point, it would be appropriate to state what actually is 'graphic design' and how it can be represented. Most graphic designers would probably agree that graphic design is a means of visual communication using various elements such as images, symbols and words to visually interpret ideas and messages. Is then graphic design something useful for the visually impaired people? Those people without any sight problems are able to visually receive the graphic design as a complex when the designers' aim is to induce a certain impression or feeling in them. For the visually impaired people the term 'visual' loses its sense and it is important to consider they orient themselves - as for example when reading a text - by means of the optical aids. It allows them to read almost letter by letter but not seeing the whole text as one unit. Blind people use only their touch which helps them to learn about the environment and determine an object's sizes, shapes, weights, textures, and/or temperature. When narrowed to the graphic design field, according to Gonzurova (2011), a specialist from Tereza centre in Prague supporting visually impaired students, they can touch objects like shapes or embossed - always protrudent, never extruded - images as well as embossed fonts when the most used worldwide is the Braille font.

2.1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE FONTS FOR THE VISUALLY IMPAIRED PEOPLE

The first known reference about developing a font for blind comes from ancient Rome, were M. F. Quintilian, a philosopher, writer and encyclopedist mentions in his institution oratory the possibility of reading the engraved or carved font by fingers (Smykal, 1994). Before the formal education of visually impaired people began, lots of systems of special characters were developed as well as the embossed Roman characters when the blind students tend to use the special characters as opposed to the teachers who tried to adapt the Roman alphabet for reading by the touch. Among many others trying to develop a font for visually impaired people, Francesco Lana Terzi, an Italian monk was the key scholar who in 1670 developed a system out of dots and lines, numbers and punctuation, based on the analysis of all the previous known ways. His font was the first one taking not only the reading, but also the writing into consideration.

2.1.1 HAÜY, KLEIN, AND MOON

The first educational centre for visually impaired people was established in Paris in 1784 by Valentin Haüy (Smykal, 1994). He developed a font based on the Roman upper and lower cases, and he simplified it compared to the coloured print. He set a certain font size which he believed is the best to be read. The letters, however, took more space and print material was required, so he came up with an idea of implementing

the abbreviations into his font, based on adding dots or lines below or above the letters. Though this way did not allow the possibility of reading the font by the index finger and the experience showed it as a very complicated, hard to read method. When he was exploring the print of standard books, Valentin Haüy got an idea of how to emboss the letters into paper so they would be readable by touch. He noticed that on the back side of each printed paper the letters are a little pressed. In 1788 a book about French grammar was written by Haüy font, the first in the history of education of visually impaired people.

In 1800, the Austrian director of the centre for the visually impaired in Vienna, Johann Wilhelm Klein, developed his own embossed font based on the Roman characters, but compared to Haüy's font it was simplified and more geometric. According to Smykal (1994), Klein for example removed the horizontal bar from the letter A. Each letter was produced separately and a set of needles were fixed on a little wooden (later on even metal) block forming the letter's shape (Fig. 1) as explored during the visit of the E. Macana print house in Prague. This method allowed writing as well, however it was time consuming as each letter had to be printed one by one (Fig. 2). This way also did not allow to print double sided as the needles had to perforate the paper to make the text readable. In spite of the Klein's font disadvantages, the alphabet was accepted and was used through several decades (Fig. 3).

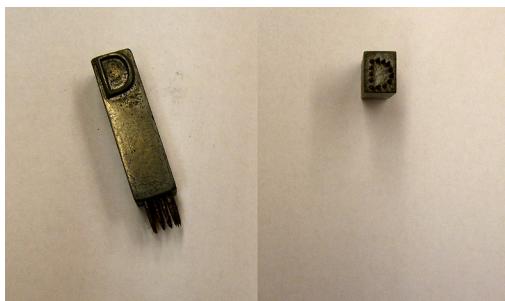


Figure 1: The letter D represented by the Klein font.



Figure 2: The Klein's alphabet.

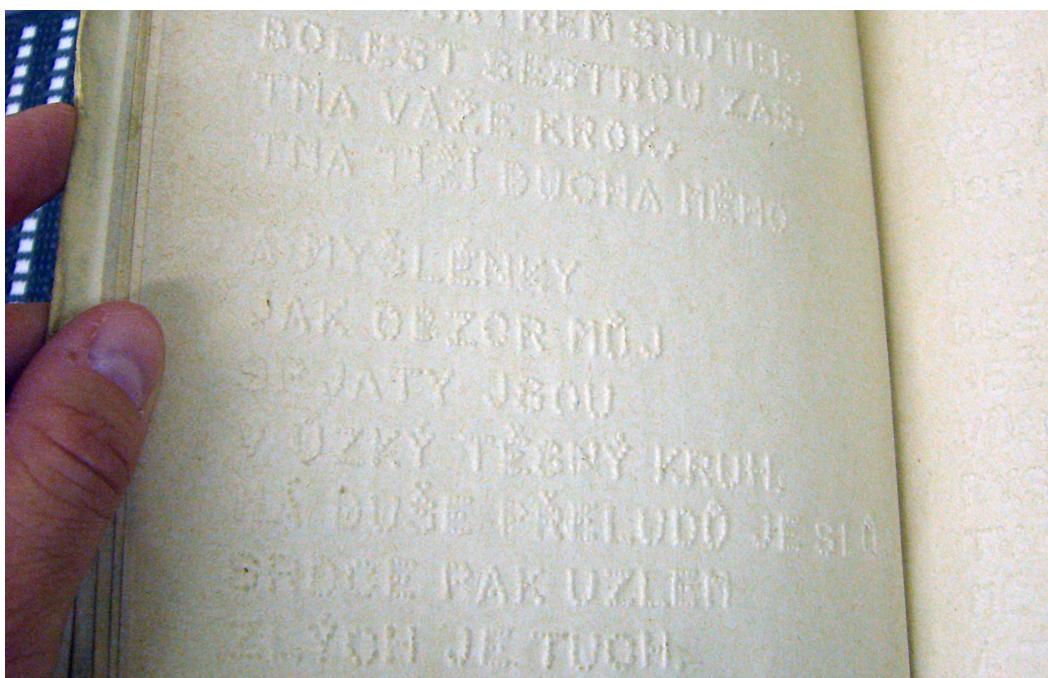


Figure 3: The last extant book with poems written by Klein font in the archive of the E. Macana print house.

Due to the regional isolation, new designers and typographers tried to develop new fonts and special characters out of the dots and lines based on reduction of the Roman alphabet and different kinds of the secret fonts. Most of the font developers became aware of the fact the Roman characters are not so suitable for reading by the touch.

The most important person in the United Kingdom and Scotland was William Moon, the English lawyer who lost his sight during his life (Smykal, 1994). He studied lots of known fonts, and in 1847, based on his knowledge, he announced his own font based on the transformation of the Roman, easily understood by the touch due to its simplification. Some specialists from England agreed the Moon's font is the most suitable for those who lost their sight during the life and those who work manually and hence do not have the sufficient sensitivity in touch. His font was the only one out of the English ones that was undertaken in practical life. Its favour however rapidly decreased due to the computer systems for the visually impaired using the Braille font (Smykal, 1994).

2.1.2 LOUIS BRAILLE AND HIS FONT

Louis Braille was a French student who was visually impaired since his childhood (Smykal, 1994). He studied in the National Institution for young blind people in Paris. He was only 16 years old when he participated in one of his schoolmate's competition announcing to develop better font for the visually impaired. His system of six dots placed in two vertical columns, each including three points (Fig. 4) was considered as the best one by the students. The teachers, however, did not agree with them as they considered the dot characters isolating the visually impaired from non-partially sighted who would have to learn the whole system. Louis had to wait 25 long years, until 1850 to be appreciated. According to Smykal (1994), during this year, all the Roman fonts for the visually impaired were left as unsuitable as it was understood and proved that the dots can be felt better than the lines. In the same year the first books started to be printed in the Braille font in Paris.

a	ď	h	k	o	ř	u	x
á	e	ch	l	ó	s	ú	y
b	é	i	m	p	š	ö	ý
c	ě	í	n	q	t	v	z
č	f	j	ň	r	ť	w	ž
d	g						

Figure 4: The Braille alphabet (Czech version).

The Braille font has many advantages, as for example the size of one letter is approximately equal to the size of the index finger used to read it. It means the information can be obtained more quickly than reading the Roman letters. It has special characters for the upper case letters as well as the punctuation. It can be used for mathematics, chemical or musical notation. Any language can be basically written in Braille and it can hence be considered as a separate cultural typeface. The history shows that the Braille's dot system was applied on Chinese, Arabic, and many other languages. For example, there are not many differences in the Russian Braille alphabet compared to the Roman one.

The already mentioned Francesco Lana Terzi was the first developer of the font for the blind who surmised that the dots are more important for the reading by touch compared to the visual reading where the lines work better. This fact was also confirmed by the blind proof reader in E. Macana print house in Prague (2011) who explained the embossed Roman would take too much time to read, and to explore each line forming a letter would not be easy.

2.1.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BRAILLE FONT IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The Braille font was spread into other European countries as well as the USA and later on to the Arab countries and Asia. The Braille in each country had been modified according to the language and was implemented for example into these countries (Smykal, 1994):

1855 - Switzerland

1858 - Denmark (modified by J. Moldenhawer)

1859 - Netherlands

1860 - USA (S. Pollak)

1868 - England (visually impaired Rh. E. Armitage)

1870 - Italy (visually impaired organist and composer A. Ascenso)

1873 - Czech Republic (J. Maly), the author of slovak alphabet was A. Fryc

1876 - Amsterdam and Germany

1882 - Russian alphabet (A. I. Skrebickij)

1887 - A. Murray created the first system of dot font for middle-Chinese language area

1889 - Poland (Schonfeld)

1890 - Japanese

1892 - Portugal (A. Mascaro from Lisbon) and Spain

1893 - Hungary (Pivar)

1895 - Arab languages

1902 - Esperanto (H. Thilander)

1905 - Bulgarian alphabet (Donev), Romania (Tassu)

1990 - The congress of the visually impaired's teachers took place in China. It was decided to unify the Braille font for each of the three language areas of China separately.

2.2 TYPOGRAPHY FOR THE VISUALLY IMPAIRED PEOPLE

The main issue as far as typography is concerned is the text formatting, however the functionality plays the most important role. The partially sighted people who are able to read the printed materials by means of the optical aids have an integrated opinion of certain font preferences such as bigger font sizes - the comfortable size of printed text in the informative magazine issued by the TyfloCentrum in Prague is mostly 16 pt, Arial font according to Kaucka (2011), qualified in the field of social work - bolder, straight font, no usage of italic, no usage of serif or decorative fonts, leading at least 25 to 30 percent of the point size - as finding the beginning of the next line while reading is not always so easy - and a bigger tracking. As far as the colours are concerned, the partially sighted people have preferences for black colour font printed on white background or vice versa, or a combination of dark blue / yellow or green / white. In most cases the red and green colours are the less visible ones and it causes troubles seeing them clearly (Dudr, 2011).

The text formatting in materials printed in the Braille font has stricter rules. The text in Braille is always read line by line which means it can not be formatted into columns. There is no problem with the bulleted or numbered listings and the preference is to transfer usually chaotic tables into a bulleted list. It is of course

possible to even write some mathematical or physical formulas however for example two characters of 22 take six characters in Braille (Gonzurova, 2011). One A4 page takes about 27 lines and 32 characters per row including spaces. Compared to the coloured print where up to 4000 words can fit on one A4 page, it makes the books printed in the Braille font a lot wider.

All the above knowledge indicates there are not many options for shortening the text in the standard Braille font. Although the shortened version of the Braille font exists it is for English speaking people only. It is called Grade 2 Braille (Tennessee Council of the Blind, 2009) where each character represents the whole word, not only a single letter. Saving the space is indeed an advantage and if it can work in one language, a shortened system could be created with Grade 2 Braille as a model that other languages could implement accordingly, especially when the Braille reading and writing system is basically the same all around the world, as mentioned in chapter 3.3 of this essay. The organisations in each country helping the visually impaired people could try to implement this system in cooperation with their governments and support its development and implementation as learning another coding system is not always welcome.

Would a graphic designer still be able to improve the formatting even without the shortened Braille version? Highlight the title by a dotted frame (proofreader of E. Macana print house in Prague, 2011) or printing the first letter of a paragraph by bigger or bolder font in the colour print could be a small suggestion of how to make the orientation within a page easier. There could be other formatting rules implemented mostly based on highlighting certain elements like paragraphs or subtitles by different characters or amount of lines for faster and clearer orientation.

2.3 IMAGES

The images that remain functional but have the ability to increase the enjoyment of reading at the same time should be the graphic designers' target in the field of image production for the visually impaired people.

I have received several anonymous responses from the partially sighted and completely blind clients of the TyfloCentrum in Prague on my questions regarding image appearance within the print materials for the visually impaired people. I also asked if the images are helpful to better perceive and understand the book's contents, if they are enriching the reading or if they are rather functionless and disturbing. To summarise this research, the images are mainly a part of educational books and if they are correctly embossed it works for the reader's benefit. Some more graphic design elements within the books or magazines are rather disturbing.

There are three ways of how to create / print images for the visually impaired people.

The first option is producing the matrix out of the different materials (textures, papers etc.) which is then vacuum pressed into a special thermal plastic sheet (Fig. 5, Fig. 6, Fig. 7) (Gonzurova, 2011). The images produced this way are usually part of some educational materials as well as the first textbooks teaching the visually impaired children about the basic shapes which help them to understand the world around them. The images produced by such way always need to be simplified as too many details cause disorientation and are hard to be recognised. On the other hand they should not be simplified too much so not to lose their purpose. There are certain rules of how high the embossed parts should be as if too low or too high they can not be recognisable. If lines are used they should have certain width for the same reason of recognisability, as per Mr. Dudr (2011) and Mrs. Gonzurova (2011). The production of these matrixes is a long-term process as it usually has to be done manually and hence these images can be expensive especially when not used for a series production.

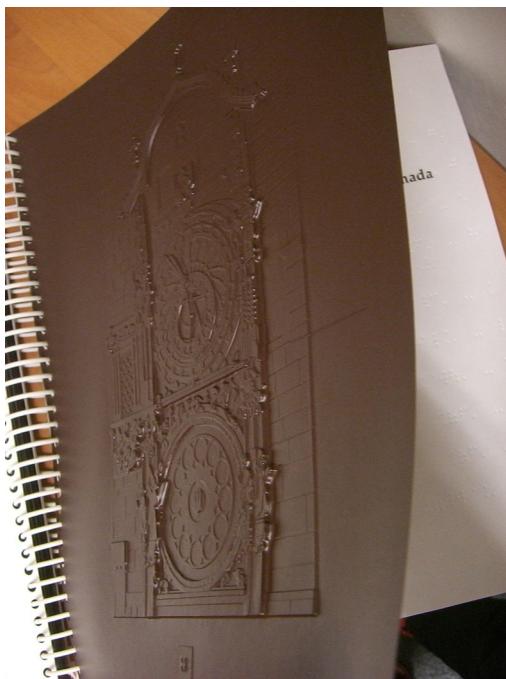


Figure 5: The Prague's astronomical clock.

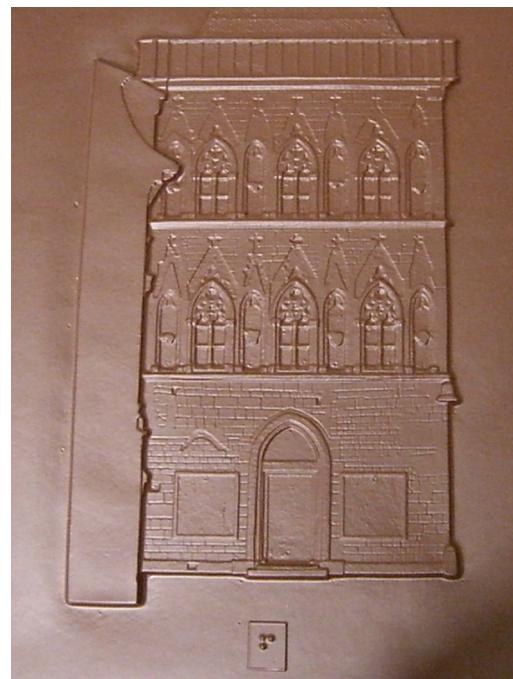


Figure 6: The tower in the book about Prague.



Figure 7: Map of Great Britain in Braille Atlas of the World.

The second option of how to produce the images is the hot print on a special micro capsulated sheet when the black colour merges with the microcapsules and so the pre-prepared image embosses out from the paper (Fig. 8, Fig. 9, Fig. 10). To reach the most functional result is to create the images out of the lines, as if bigger area would be covered it might amalgamate together and the image would not be recognisable. According to Gonzuova (2011), this special paper is called fuser paper and costs about 2 Euro each when the stove's price is up to 40 000 CZK.

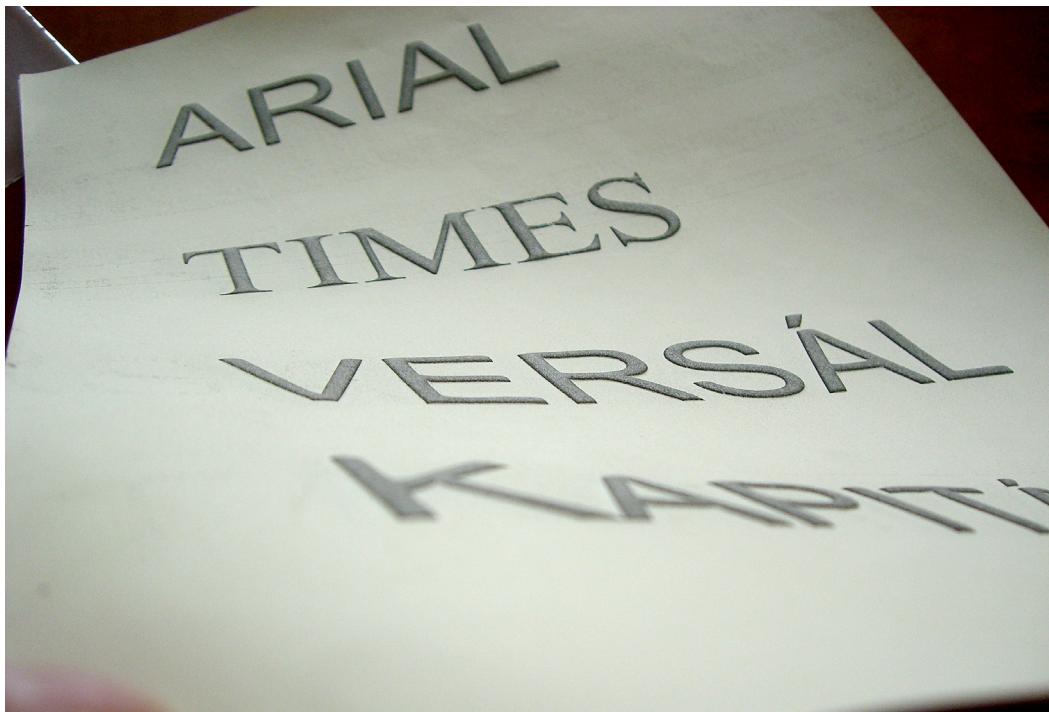


Figure 8: An image showing serif and sans-serif fonts so visually impaired people can touch the difference.

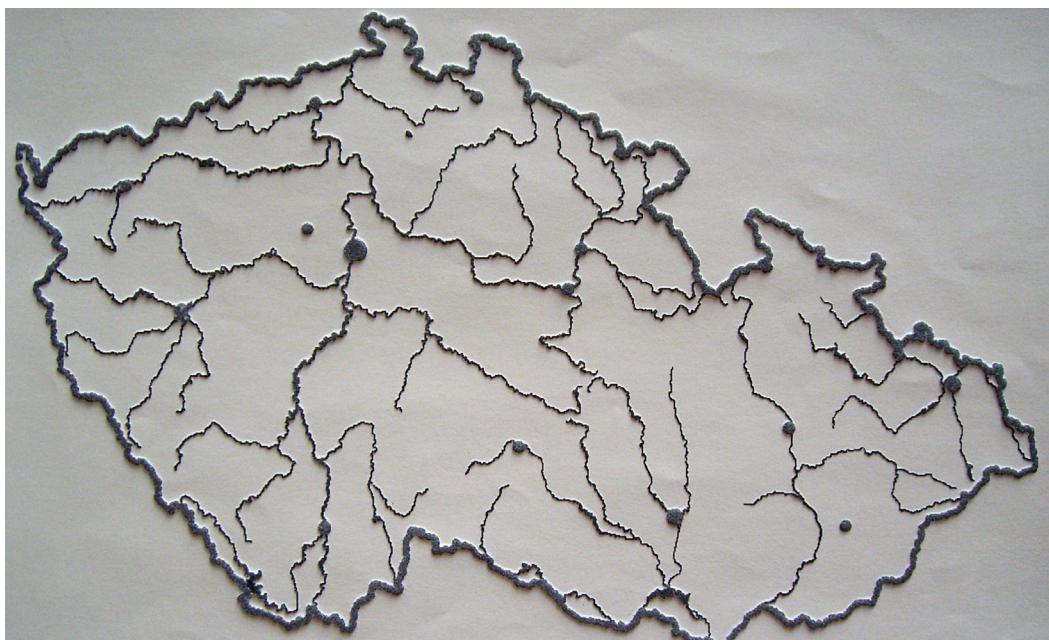
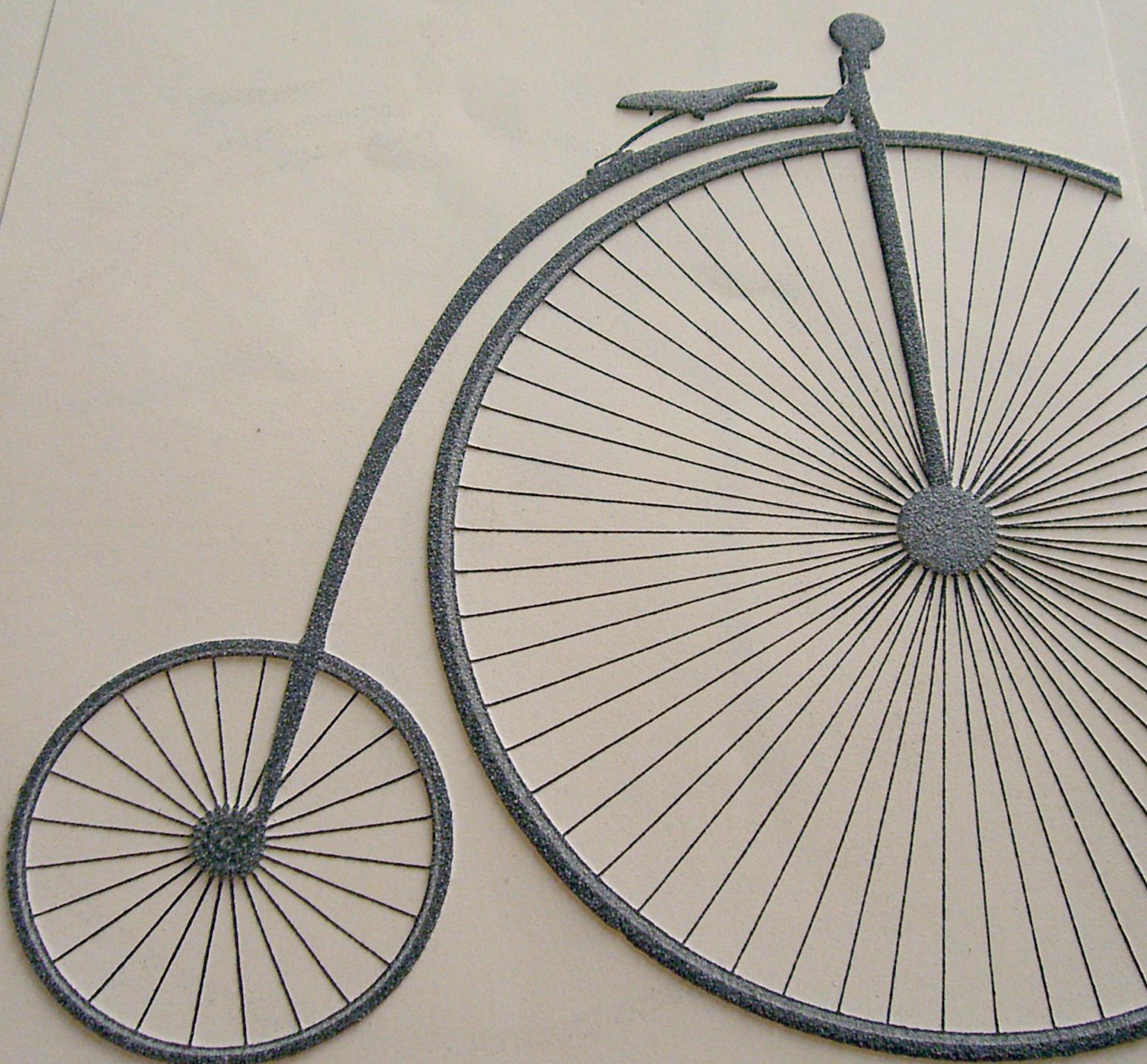


Figure 9: The blind map of the Czech Republic with rivers and some major cities.

Figure 10 (right): A bicycle.



The third way is using a special print machine which is the new technology nowadays working on an embossing basis, when even larger areas can be covered (Fig. 11, Fig. 12, Fig. 13). Based on the colours in the source image, the embosser is able to print different heights of the dots by variable pressure into the paper rolling through the roller die, the darker the colour, the higher the dot. The graphic elements and images are then more detailed and are not distorted as if printed by dots of the same height. This embosser allows to print diagrams and graphs (Fig. 14) which can be a strong teaching tool as more details distinguished by the variable dots height can be captured and shown. It also prints the Braille font and as the dots are sharper compared to the standard ones those people with lower tactile ability can read it more easily (ViewPlus, 2011). This method can serve even the partially sighted people as the images can be printed in colours underneath the dots and hence the materials produced in such way can serve the students with variable sight problems simultaneously. The printer (as for example Spot Dot M-Print) costs around 240 000 CZK, but the print itself is then made on the thicker papers and the cost is comparable to the ink print (Gonzurova, 2011).

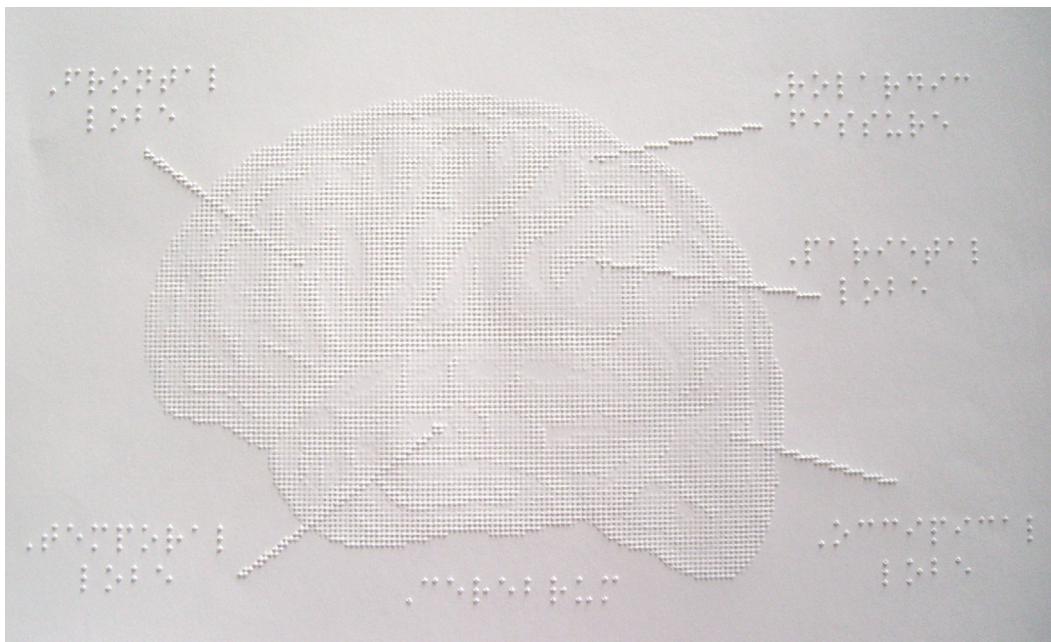


Figure 11: An image of the human brain and its parts.



Figure 12: Map of the USA.

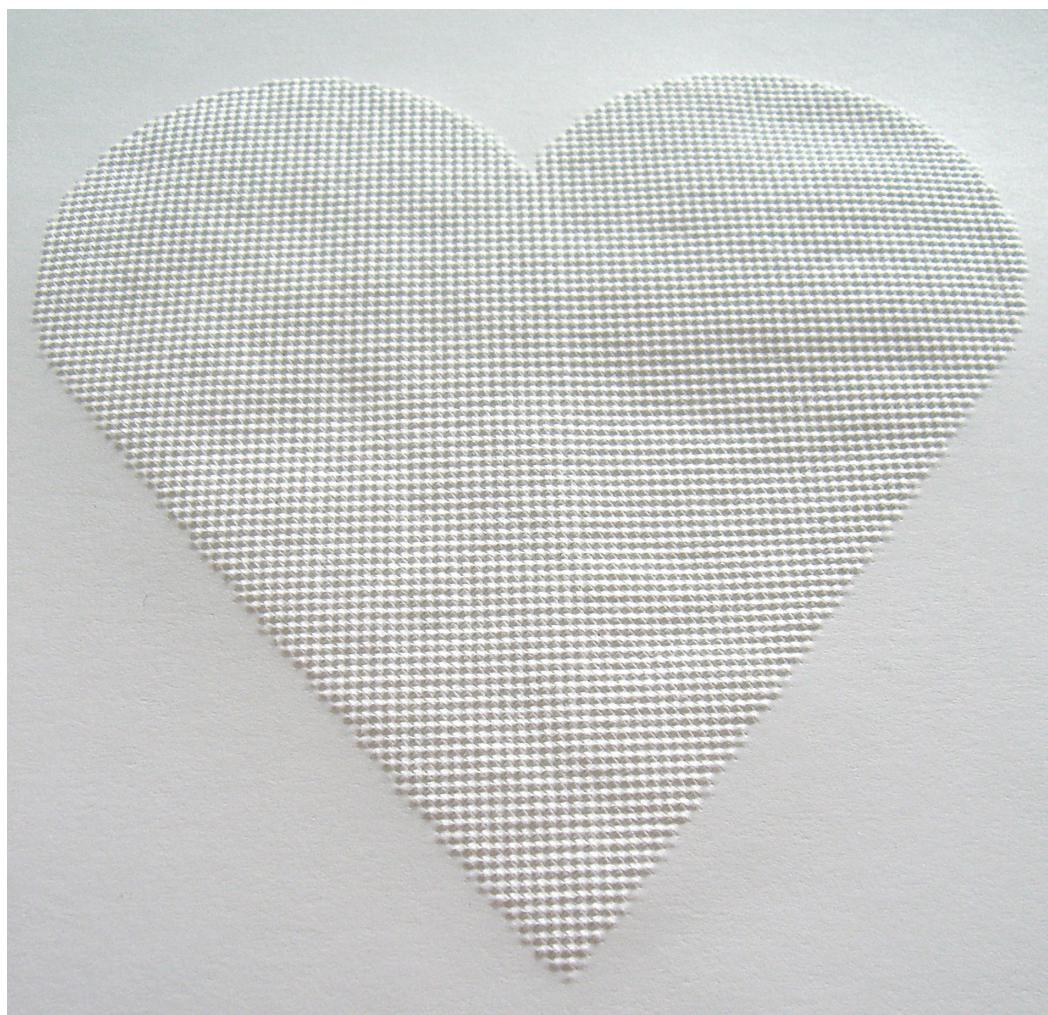


Figure 13: A heart.

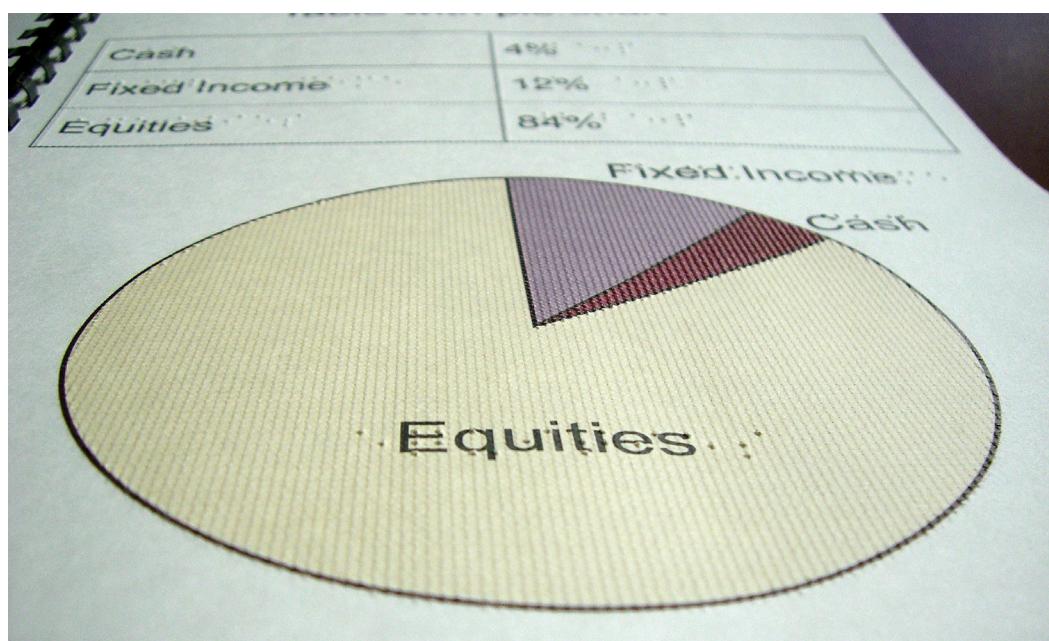


Figure 14: A graph.

I have tested some of the images produced by all three mentioned ways by myself and all were hard to recognise. The most comfortable for touch was the second option that felt soft, like a suede. The best usage is where only the lines can represent the image as for example in the book about astronomy showing the constellations. The third option beside other features allows the graphs or diagrams that can be easily imported into the Word document and printed straightaway which does not require any special and long matrix preparation. The first option, however, remains the most interesting way as if the matrix is thoroughly and carefully created it can bring the person closer to the reality. It also has a great potential as far as children education is concerned when they learn about the basic shapes, animals, nature or various equipment and their imagination is supported by using the different materials in the matrix. The graphic designers should be more involved in the production of these matrixes as they could bring new ideas into the process and develop new simplified approaches.

For the partially sighted people the images should be drawn without any unnecessary details and the colour contrast and a right choice of the colours should be bared in mind. The combinations of blue / yellow, black / white or orange are comfortable for most of the people rather than green or red as confirmed by Dudr (2011).

Besides the colours choice and contrast, generally, the graphic designers creating the images for the visually impaired people should take several things into consideration. There should always be some dot or point indicating the start within an image, the construction of image is very important as well as if they are about to explore it by one or both hands. The images should not include too many details as they are mainly confusing and dysfunctional and keep in mind the images should be more illustrative and supplemental rather than beautiful. Because as Gonzurova (2011) stated, exploring the images is more or less "an analytical process".

2.4 PRINTING

The most serious problem as far as the printing is concerned is consuming lots of materials, the books are a lot wider than those printed by coloured ink as well as such amount of paper being used can not be considered as eco friendly. Blaha (2011), the manager of production in E. Macana print house in Prague, confirmed the Braille text is usually printed on a special thicker paper (135 gms to 160 gms) with the glue-coated surface so the dots remain longer and the paper is not perforated during the printing process. Blaha (2011) also explained that this special paper is more expensive than the standard one and hence despite no ink being used it increases the printing cost. The matrix for printing in Braille consists of six raised dots in three horizontal lines, each including two points, forming the Braille letters. The various combinations of raised dots in the matrix are relevant to the Roman alphabet letters. Branko Vukelic (2009) provided information about Braille printing techniques. As the roller of a printing machine rotates, the paper is pressed against the zinc matrix and the raised dots are impressed into the paper. Although the papers allow double sided printing - which is impossible for example with the Klein font - it still consumes lots of material due to limitation of the characters' amount per page. The same question of better text formatting is being raised here again as the formatting is touching the majority of the print related issues. Could the existing functional and strong graphic design typographic rules be applied into the text written by the Braille font?

Many of the print manufacturers nowadays invent different finishing methods and apply the new technologies as for example the metallic foils, relief embossing, UV or effect varnish which allows to produce variable surfaces or even different thickness on one printed page. Such methods could be applied on the printed materials as for example book covers for the visually impaired people so they had a chance to tell the books apart accordingly.

3. READING AND WRITING

3.1 READING

If you are a completely blind person and you do not know to read the Braille font than you can not read anything at any reasonable speed. The only tool you could use if you are a computer user is the software which in fact reads everything that is on the screen with a human voice. The sound is however not very pleasant as the words are compiled out of the separate prerecorded syllables, which I was shown by Mrs. Kaucka (2011) at TyfloCentrum in Prague.

The older reading tools for visually impaired people include a machine where one finger of one hand is placed onto a special metal plate from which the tiny needles come out in shape of a Roman letter, at the same time as the second hand moves over the colour-printed text by a small scanner (Fig 15). I have tested this machine myself during my visit of E. Macana print house and except for quite a pleasant vibrant feeling I was unable to recognise what letter it showed.

Another device connected with the computer is the refreshable Braille display which is an additional device attached to the standard keyboard (Fig. 16). The Braille font is displayed by raising the dots on a flat surface as the text in the computer is read. The refreshable Braille display does not allow to view the images. I have tested this device too, also with no success.



Figure 15



Figure 16

Kaucka (2011) as well as Dudr (2011) explained that partially sighted people use different kinds of glasses, optical aids, or magnifying lenses which might not be always comfortable. There are also special electronic reading tools where the backlit text appears on a screen, as explored on the Invisible Exhibition (2011). Such devices can be hand (Fig. 17) or in a size of the computer screen (Fig. 18) which can be used not only for reading but also for any kind of hand work. For the computer users there are special zooming software as for example Zoom Text increasing everything on the screen. Among other features it can set for example the pages contrast (Kaucka, 2011). Many visually impaired people however still use this software together with the classic optical aids.

John Mahoney (2009) introduced four designers, Seon-Keun Park, Byung-Min Woo, Sun-Hye Woo, and Jin-Sun Park from Korea who have developed the idea of an electronic Braille E-Book (Fig. 19). The concept works on a basis of the electroactive polymer raising the Braille dots and its surface is changed whenever the pages are turned. Such approaches are an innovative step forward not only because it could solve the big amount of the paper material consumption but also visually impaired people would have the access to wider range of the literature and would not be dependent on the specialised print houses which, at least in the Czech Republic, do not publish that many books per year as are available in the standard bookstores (Blaha, 2011). This solution could be applied globally and help in getting the literature, books, educational materials or magazines in different languages and would not limit the readers to gain the information in their own language only. Although the Braille E-Book invention did not see the light of day yet as there is no financial support for its actual production, the four mentioned designers clearly showed their interest in helping the visually impaired society in the field of reading. More of such inventions should be developed so to break the impediment for the completely blind people in gaining any information or getting any book of any genre they are interested in.

3.2 WRITING

The reading does not give many great options and the field of writing is not any better. The writing tools include a standard QWERTY keyboard for the computer users who first have to learn to type by all ten fingers.

The older machine similar to the typewriter is a Braille writer (Fig. 20) which comprises of six keys, each for one of the six dots in Braille cell and one extra key for space. It was developed by Oskar Picht in 1899 (Smykal, 2006, p. 301), a teacher in the Berlin centre for the visually impaired children. This machine is easy to use and the text can be written in quite a fast way as reviewed in E. Macana print house.

It is also possible to make the notes manually using the table with a handheld stylus (Fig. 21). The table contains of two parts holding a piece of paper. On the top of the table there is a custom grid where each cell has the same size as one Braille character and allows maximum six dots to be pressed by the stylus. The dots have to be impressed mirrored so to be able to read the embossed dots when the paper is taken out, as explored during the Invisible Exhibition in Prague (2011). I have tried to write three simple first names using this table, watching the Braille alphabet at the same time. It took me five minutes and one name was even wrong.

Graphic designers creating new writing tools could take the inspiration from the T9 dictionary, a useful tool saving time, people can select in their mobile phones. The special software the visually impaired people could use in specific devices or even in their mobile phones could be developed. It would enable them to write remarks, shopping lists or simple notes. The software could be connected with the voice outcome or some simplified tactile method of listing and selecting the words, based on the raised dots of the Braille font or some other characters that could be understood even by the non-Braille readers.

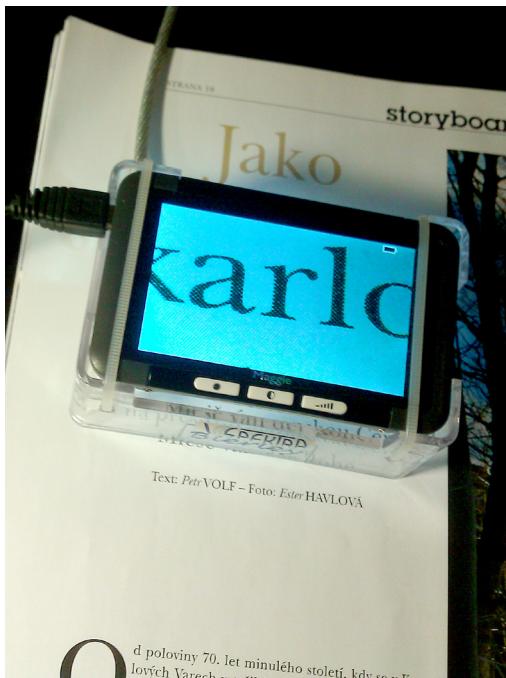


Figure 17

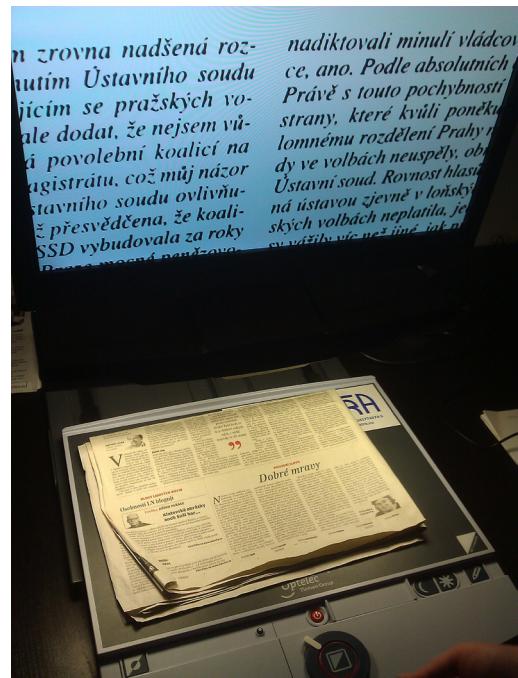


Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20

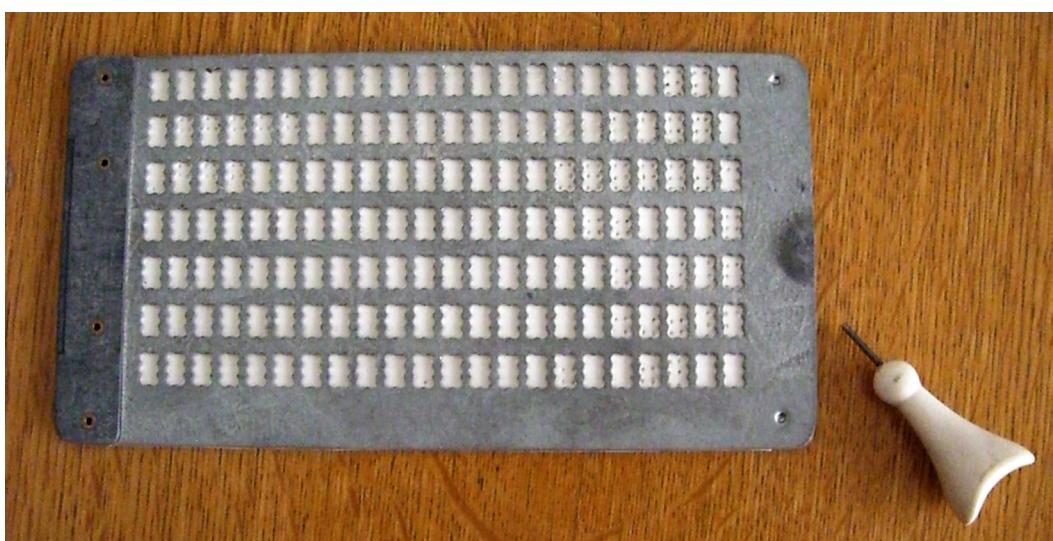


Figure 21

3.3 READING AND WRITING WORLDWIDE

In 1949 UNESCO set the target based on its General Conference to establish and promote Braille uniformity all around the world. UNESCO stated (1990, p. 3) that Braille symbols have been developed in each country based on phonetically sounds rather than the letters. Each country uses its own Braille font standards varying from one to another as every language has its own specific characters, however the system of reading and writing is the same worldwide, following the same international rules for printing in Braille. According to the Lebanese Institution for the Blind (2011), Hala Abdelkhaled from organisation specialising in help to visually impaired children in Egypt (2011) and Simon Ager (2011) providing information about Chinese Braille, all the visually impaired people reading Braille read it in the same way - from left to right, arranged in the horizontal lines. It means in spite the different historical, political, cultural, national, or social aspects the visually impaired people have something in common which nobody else is able to share. Their handicap gives them the unique ability to create a special environment as there is no other group including such amount of people all around the world who would use the same tool for gaining the information without any major differences. Except the font, more applications worldwide could be unified to make the visually impaired people's life easier not only in the frame of their own country. This could cover for example some of the info graphic fields.

4. INFO GRAPHIC

Seventy minutes in the absolute dark with the eyes wide open but still seeing nothing gives you the complete view of how the visually impaired people feel and live. Visiting the Invisible Exhibition (2011) forced me to think of how graphic designers can be more involved in the visually impaired people's life and how they can improve it in the field of the info graphic.

4.1 GETTING TO KNOW THE SPACE

After the Invisible Exhibition I tried to draw a plan of the exhibition place based on my sensation of the visited space. Putting logic into it, considering where was the entrance and where the exit, it would not look like I draw it which means to understand the space without seeing it might be difficult. I have asked other two non-visually impaired visitors to do the same and all three results differentiated diametrically from each other.

Since 1995 the Czech Ministry of Health rewards the people who work for the benefit of their disabled fellow-citizens. In 2006, Dudr (2011) was awarded for his work for the benefit of the visually impaired and partially sighted. He was involved in the implementation and promotion of the audible alarms at crossroads, the public buildings of the transport constructions, the means of transport or information boards on the bus stations and in the airport. These inventions help the visually impaired people to orient themselves on the streets but what about the unknown interiors? According to Svoboda, owner of the RE/MAX Harmony (2011), real estate companies use special devices for measuring room sizes relying on the ultrasound waves or laser beams. Its function is simple and it calculates the room's size quickly. Such device could be developed even further to serve visually impaired people to understand the space they are currently in, considering a specific reach of the meters as well as indicating any impediment or object on their way describing its size and position. It could work specially inside of the buildings and rooms which are unknown to the blind visitors. The outcome could be by a voice describing the situation or by touching the specialised screen of the device or mobile phone that would create the embossed 3D plan calculated from the data of scanned surrounding. The inclusion of the objects could be optional depending on the user's current needs.

4.2 HOSPITALS

When at the point of the unknown places, visiting the hospital is not a pleasant activity but is a serious one and the hospital management should try to make it as stressless as possible. If one can not find his department because of a wrong information system, it does not help it. Some big hospitals have the colour navigation system (Fig. 22, p. 24) or using any other information graphics like signs, symbols or pictograms (Fig. 23, p. 25) but they do not always work properly. I am sure in some hospitals they might have special assistance available for the visually impaired people but what if not and what if these people want to be self-dependent and manage to freely arrange all what they need by themselves to feel they live full-valued lives and are not outside of the society?

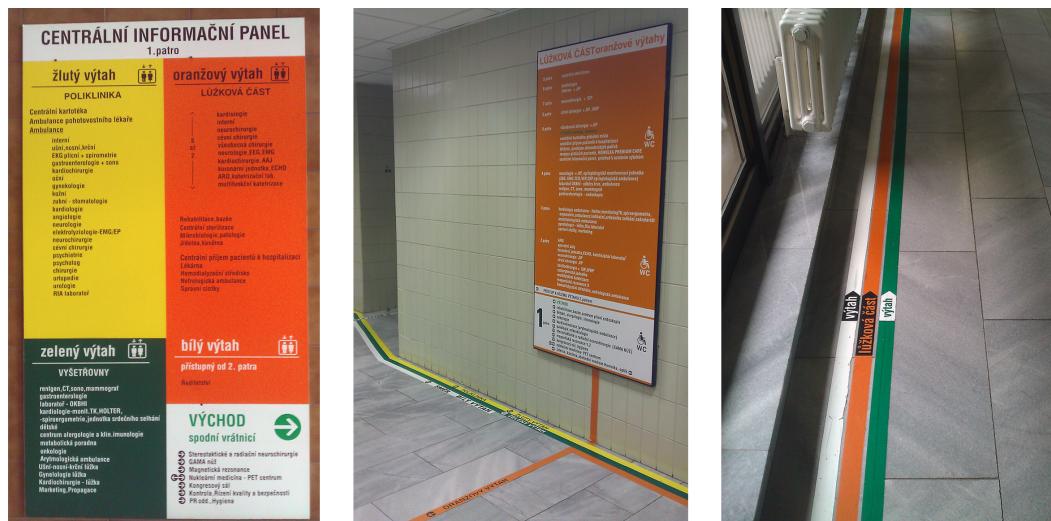


Figure 22: The info system in the hospital Na Homolce in Prague.



Figure 23: The info system in the hospital Na Bulovce in Prague.

The info graphics in the hospitals have a solution. Brightly coloured hand railings could be implemented when each colour would correspond to some embossed pattern on the top of each hand railing, either it could be a dotted pattern, one to several lines next to each other, the pattern of arches, waves, rectangles or triangles and many other variations. The bright colours could serve as a clear navigation to the people with no visual problems too, as well as to the partially sighted ones.

To make it easier for the patients, the hospitals could unify the info system so that people will know a red colour with two lines pattern always takes them to the cardiology and a dark blue colour with a triangle pattern to the stomatology. The problems could appear in case the hospital has too many departments and there will not be a sufficient amount of the bright colours. The combination of the coloured strips could however be the solution. Another problem could appear with usage of more patterns on one hand railing or using more hand railings on one wall same as if the crossroad is reached. At the beginning and end of each hand railing there could be a note of where the certain pattern / colour leads and where it ends, eventually small arrow indicating which direction to go to continue on the crossroad. Already existing hospitals could face some difficulties if they try to implement this system but it depends on their wish to improve and implement new helpful strategies.

4.3 SHOPPING

We should be meeting more visually impaired people in the shops. But the shopping malls or even some smaller shops with clothes or any other common products are sometimes hard to orient within even for the people with no sight problems. Again, the orientation within space can be one problem but not only that, there are not many blind friendly labelling systems applied in ordinary shops, which is something the graphic designers have the ability to change.

4.3.1 FOOD

Most of the shopping malls place a big board at the entrance and sometimes in every floor, listing all the available shops, for example the shopping centres Letnany or Palladium in Prague (Fig. 24). They sometimes even provide a small printed booklet with all these information (Fig. 25). To comprehend all the spaces would be probably difficult for the visually impaired people but why not to apply this system into single shops with for example food and modify it by the embossed lines forming the shop's shape with all its sections? Each section could include a description in the Braille font and a button with the voice outcome, serving the non-Braille readers. The same system could be implemented to the shop inside, each section would be clearly labelled and described on a small board. The visually impaired people could have the possibility to borrow a device at the shop's entrance leading them through the shop with prerecorded voice informing them about the section they are currently in. The device could also include a special code scanner enabling them to read information such as the description and / or the price of each product. If the food producers agree to add the same special codes on their products than the visually impaired people owning the device could use it practically in any food shop worldwide.

4.3.2 EVERYBODY LIKES TO BE ADMIRE

How do the visually impaired people recognise the blue jeans from the black ones or whether the jacket can be washed in the washing machine? How do they recognise how much does the T-shirt cost or what size it is available in? Every piece of the cloth in the shop includes a label with certain information about it, for example in Jannis, C&A or Marks&Spencer shops (Fig. 26). As these labels are being produced, they could include the most important information like the price, colour, size and how to wash it written also in the Braille font. To extend the labelling system on non-Braille readers the special code or chip carrying all important information could be included and scanned by a special device available to borrow in the shop or even by the specialised software installed in the user's mobile phone, both including the zooming and the voice outcome options.

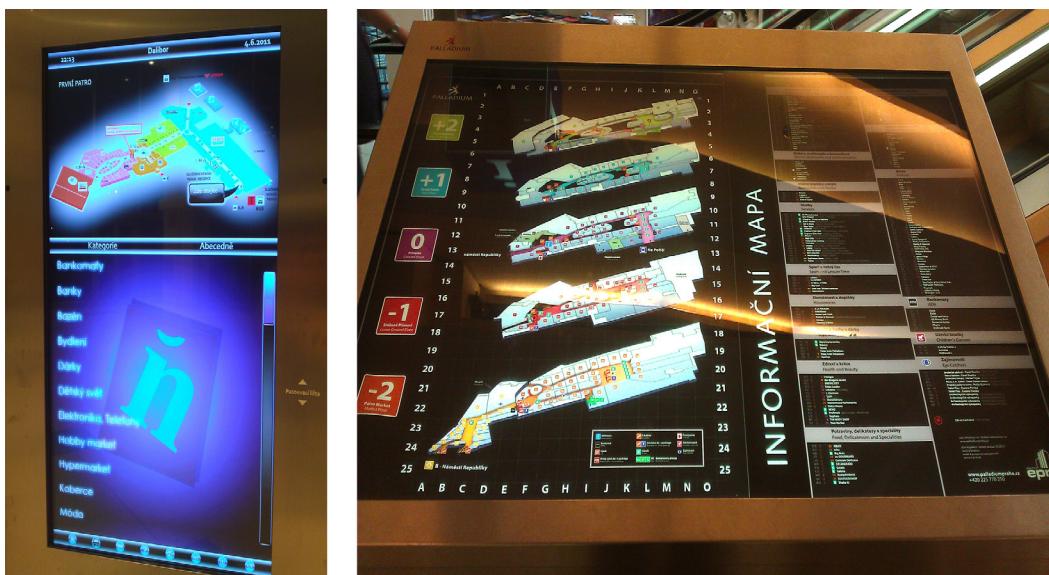


Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26

To save time a machine could be installed at the shops' entrances where the requested item could be asked for. The machine could respond whether it is available or not, providing a small plan of where in the shop the required item can be found. This system could even be used by people who are not visually impaired but for example are in a hurry. As everybody likes his look to be admired we should help the visually impaired people to get the same feeling out of shopping and help them to participate in daily social life. This could also work as a good marketing tool to bring new customers who can not be attracted visually.

4.3.3 HOW DO THE OBJECTS LOOK LIKE? BUYING A CHAIR.

People sometimes buy things they do not need, they do so just because the thing looks nice. Sometimes it is the shape deciding what product we buy. And sometimes, besides the functionality, the shape is the most important characteristic. For example a chair. Everyone, including the visually impaired person would probably test the chair by sitting on it and testing whether it is comfortable or not. But there are hundreds and thousands of comfortable chairs available so which one to choose? The designers could develop a device being able to scan the object and transfer its shape onto a screen where the special technology would transfer the shape into the embossed 3D object. So the user would be able to touch it and get a better image of how it looks. Such device could be effective also for the visually impaired children and students who need to learn about the basic shapes. It would save the cost for producing specialised educational matrixes as well as printing materials all together with the whole printing process.

We are regularly meeting the visually impaired people travelling alone by the underground and other means of public transportation. So it should not be that difficult to bring them into the ordinary shops. It is up to the designers to find the solutions.

5. MILK OR JUICE?

How do the visually impaired people recognise the milk from the juice inside their fridge if some of them are packed, at least in the Czech Republic, in the same boxes? (Fig. 27)

Many special aids for the visually impaired people helping them to manage their everyday life already exist as for example the watches, compasses, rulers as shown by Kaucka from TyfloCentrum in Prague (2011) (Fig. 28), medication boxes with the first letters of each day embossed, signature template (Fig. 29), talking cans / bottles / household sprays content identifier, voice labelling systems for the home, tags for labelling clothes, documents organiser and others available at MaxiAids (2011), and blind people even invent their own most suitable ways within their own homes. However there are still possibilities to invent new labelling systems that would be brought directly to the people homes upon purchase. The manufacturers of the mentioned milk and juice boxes all around the world could implement simple embossed marks on their packages identifying its content. For example circles for the milk - one circle for the skimmed milk, two for the semi-fat and three for the full-cream. The juice could have squares or lines. Nobody would ever be in doubt of what he is buying as well as what is in his fridge.

Such system of the labelling boxes could be introduced in any other products industry using the boxes as a packaging solution. For example the shoes. Many people store their seasonal shoes in the boxes they bought them in during the time they do not wear them. The boxes for the summer shoes could have different symbols than those for the winter which would serve the visually impaired people in two ways.



Figure 27: Juice and milk boxes

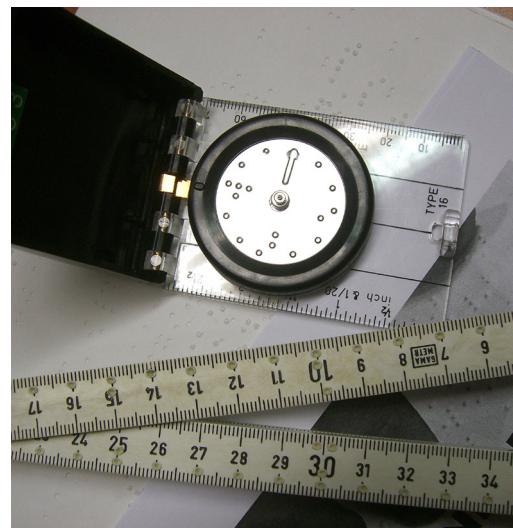


Figure 28



Figure 29

6. WEB DESIGN

Nowadays many web pages are not blind friendly. My anonymous questionnaire already mentioned in chapter 2.3 also focused on a question regarding web design. I have asked what is the biggest impediment in the area of web sites readability as well as what change would help to gain the information more comfortably. The majority of all who answered find difficulties with the text being created as an image which makes the web page unreadable. The big concern was also about badly structured websites and the priorities listed as well as the excess of unnecessary, unimportant and unclear information. All the visually impaired people called for simpler and more well-arranged pages.

According to the specialists in web design for the visually impaired people, supporting the Blind Friendly websites (TyfloCentrum Brno, SONS Czech Republic, 2011) there are several rules all the web designers should take into consideration when building a website, for example:

- 1.** adding the alternative text (alt) to every graphic element
- 2.** the information being communicated through the scripts, objects, cascading styles or images should be available without these elements
- 3.** the tables should be read by the rows
- 4.** the contents of the web page change only when the user activates some element
- 5.** every link includes the description and its target
- 6.** the information being communicated by the colour should be available even without the colour differentiation
- 7.** the background and foreground colours are in a sufficient contrast
- 8.** the font size does not use the absolute size
- 9.** the HTML or XHTML code is valid
- 10.**the correct usage of titles and lists in the code
- 11.**every element within the form has an apposite title

Some corporations require to present themselves with a website that might break some of the above rules as for example the table's structure or the background / foreground colours contrast, but still wish to create blind friendly web pages. It could be solved by a special interface for the visually impaired people or simple additional pages with possibilities to set the background and text colours as well as the text size. The pages would be structured in a simple, one column way focusing on the most important information written in a clear way. A good web design is not only about the proper arrangement of its elements which work well visually but also about its functionality and accessibility. And that is what the visually impaired people need most of all as in many cases they use the voice outcome when browsing the internet and if clear data are received than the clear and understandable outcome is provided to them.

7. GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORT

Graphic designers regularly come up with ideas of how to improve the visually impaired people's life and how to help them to be an independent part of the society. Some ideas would however not be accomplishable without the help of the government or specialised organisations. Makovcova (2011) from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in the Czech Republic confirmed that governments in the European

Union support the organisations focused on visually impaired people or children, as well as the individuals with a wide range of social benefits that vary in each country and are based on the individual's needs. For example in the Czech Republic the state covers 50 - 100% of the purchase cost of specialised and rehabilitation aids helping and supporting the visually impaired people's needs (Czech Republic Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 1991).

CONCLUSION

Although it does not seem obvious from the beginning, graphic design for visually impaired people is a wide topic covering many fields and looking into lots of aspects in depth. The historical evolution goes back to ancient Rome and some parts of it are still being developed nowadays, for example the Braille font implementation into certain countries. I am fascinated that all the visually impaired people use this system in exactly the same way no matter their culture, origin or nationality. The Braille font indeed gives big possibilities and I consider it as a unique and wise system. It still however brings impediments that need to be solved which I trust is in the hands of the graphic designers. My main concern is that the text formatting does not allow the books to be printed in a smaller and compact format. This might be the reason the specialised print houses do not print that many materials. Of course the amount of visually impaired people is not the same as sighted ones but they should still have access to any book, magazine, or educational material they need.

The existing ways of interpreting images for the visually impaired people have been improved and the new technologies allow better displaying, however if more technologies are involved, the process of producing the matrixes could speed up. The development of new software could be the solution for completely new ways of displaying images as well as objects which would not only bring a pleasant feeling from reading but could also serve learning purposes and could improve the orientation within the space as well. Such ways would have a significant impact on the printing process as its main concern is the consumption of lots of material and the printed outcome can hardly vary in the term of the size.

There are many technologies for the non-visually impaired people supporting them in gaining information especially when they work with the internet. They can download, stream, watch and search online at a very high speed and the reading is getting faster. The visually impaired people do not have such possibilities and I believe in today's world where we are surrounded by so many technologies there should be a way to improve it. The Braille E-Book is a great example of the innovative approach that more graphic designers should share. The same attitude applies to the field of writing. I understand it is not easy for the visually impaired person to make notes when basically seeing nothing, but again the technologies could help. And not to leave everything on the technologies, the human factor should be involved as well. A new attitude towards these people could help. The wish to change something and to involve more people whether they are the general public or the producers, package designers, shop owners, business men, or even organisations or governments, all of this could help. And although the governments and different organisations support the visually impaired people, I think even more can be done and graphic designers should be those to assist it.

I am sure obtaining the information could be easier if the websites are build in a more proper way following the basic rules which I do not see as anything difficult. The graphic designers should be taught to keep this in mind already when they learn about web design whether it is in the school or from learning materials, while the websites owners should keep the visually impaired people in mind when they are building their websites. Not only the marketing point of view but foremost the functionality and better involvement in the social life for the visually impaired people should be the graphic designers target. ■

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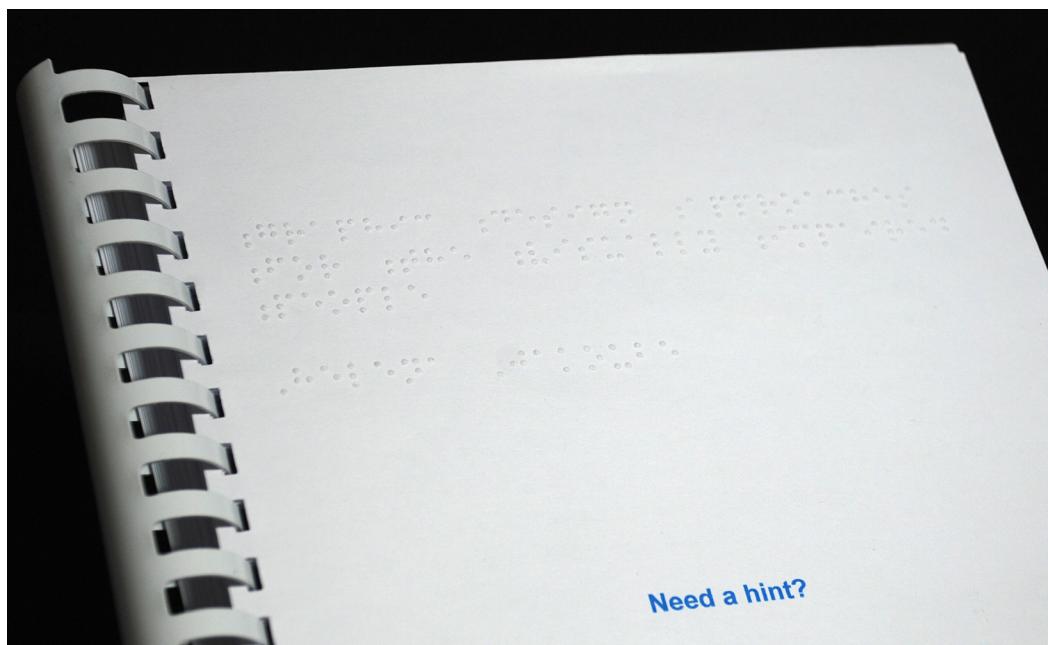
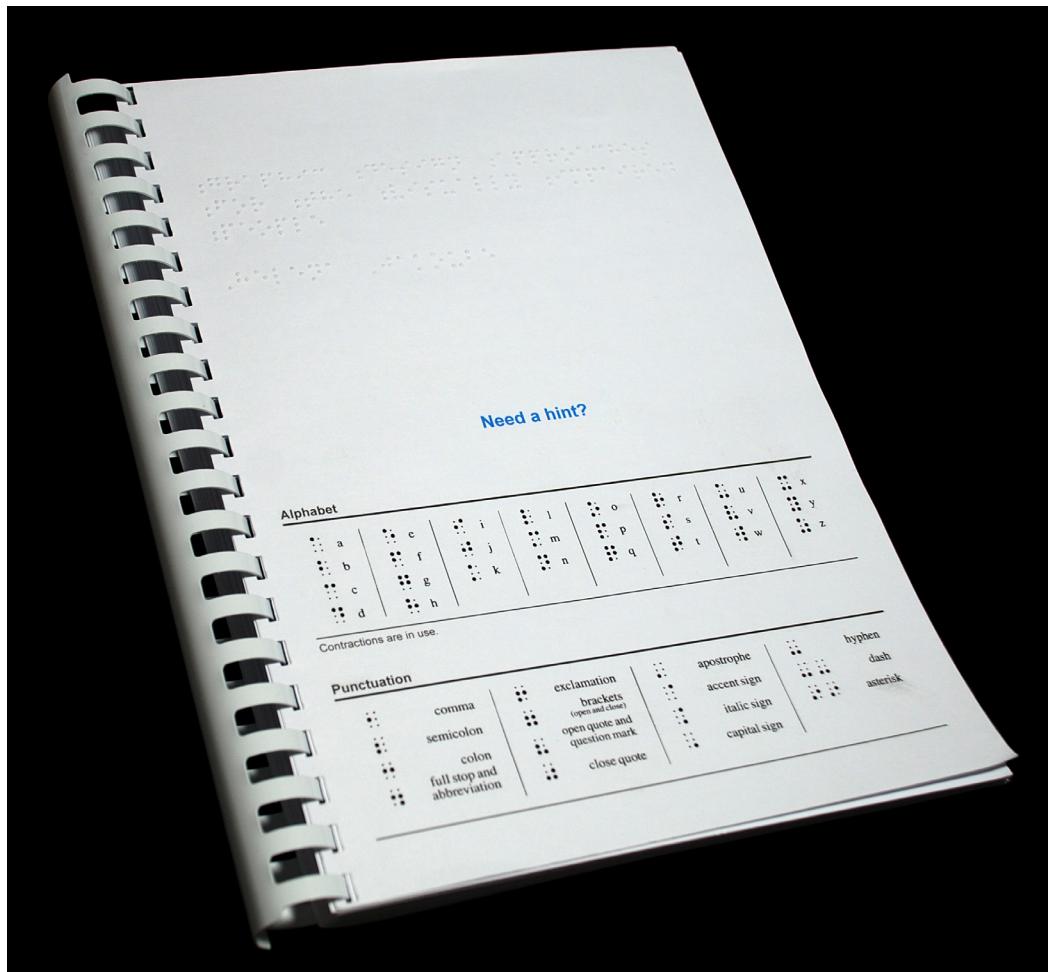
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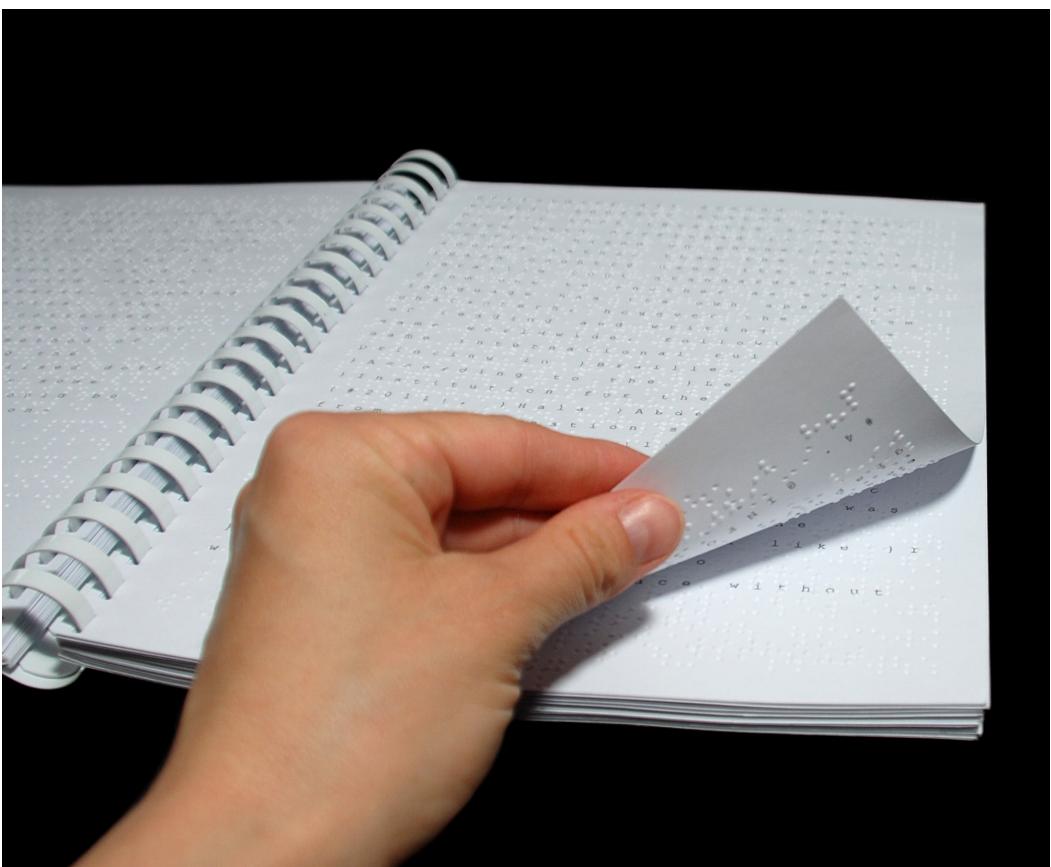
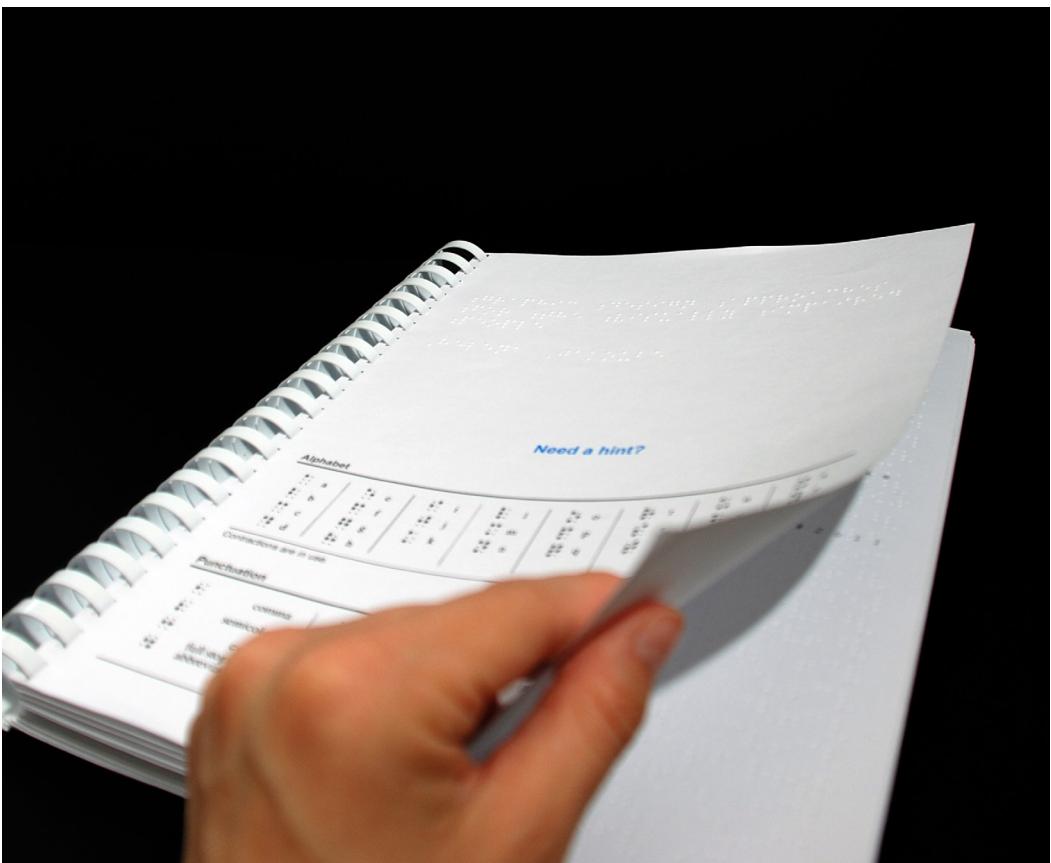
Figure 1 - 3, 5 - 18, 20 - 29: Jakoube, H. (2011) [Photograph].

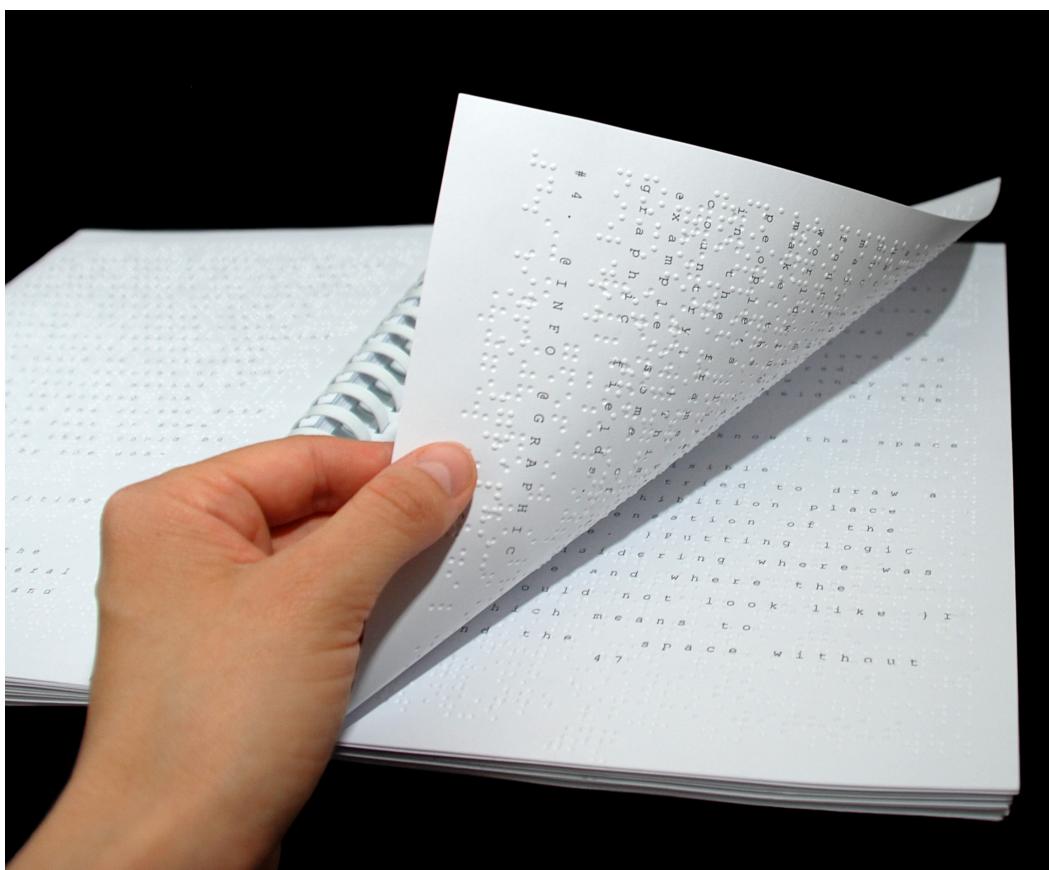
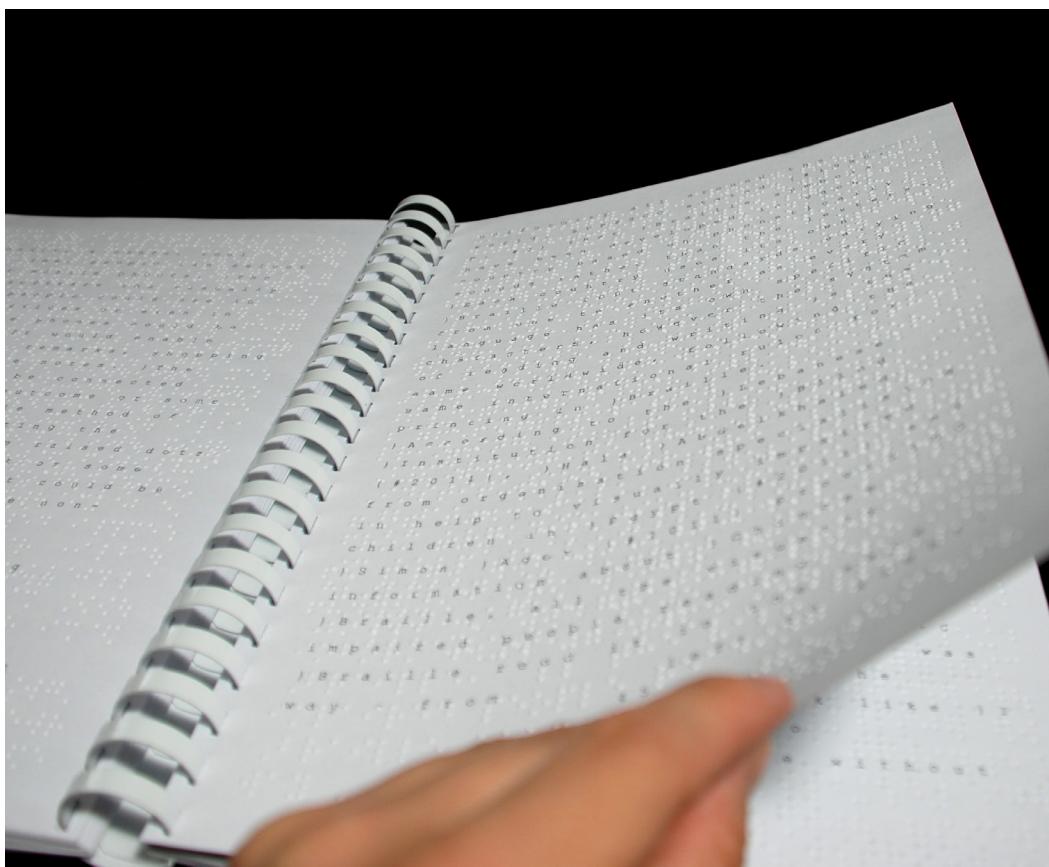
Figure 4: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, National Library Service for the Blind and Physically Handicapped and Library of Congress (1990) *World Braille Usage*. Paris: UNESCO, Washington DC: Library of Congress, p. 21.

Figure 19: Braille E-Book (2009) Available at: <http://gizmodo.com/5219669/braille-e+reader-concept-raises-dots-with-e+ink> (Accessed: 13 May 2011) [Photograph].

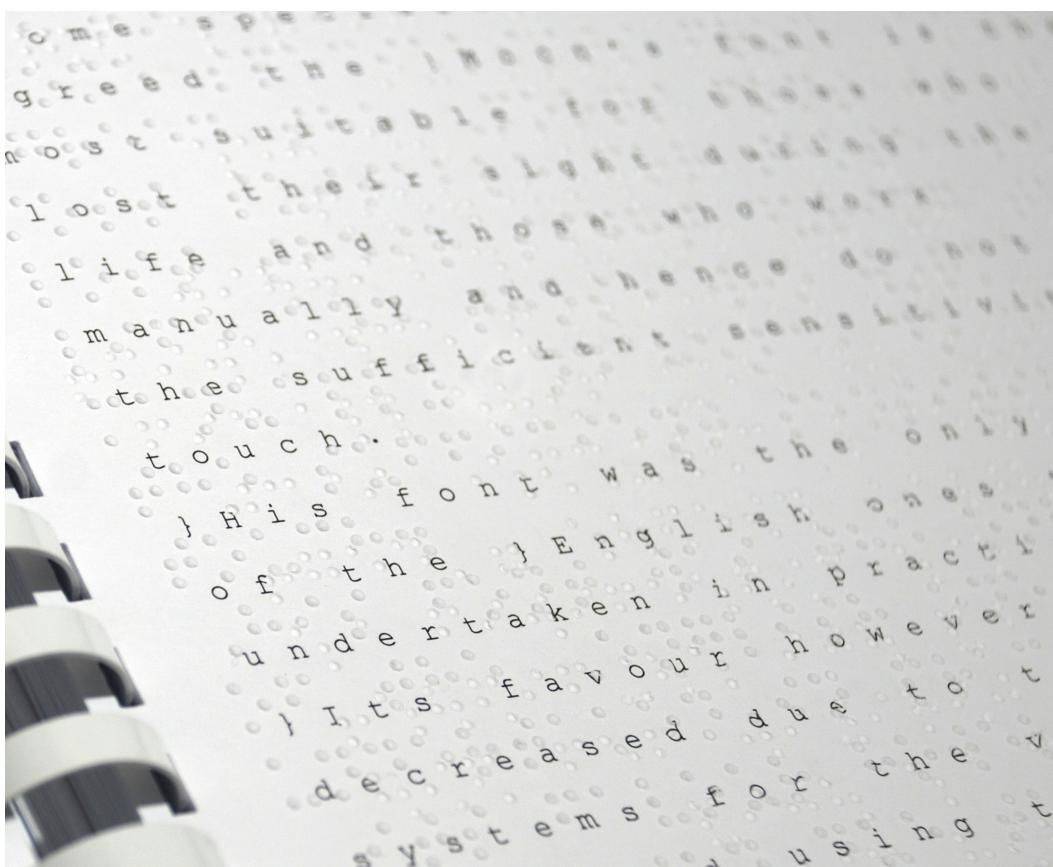
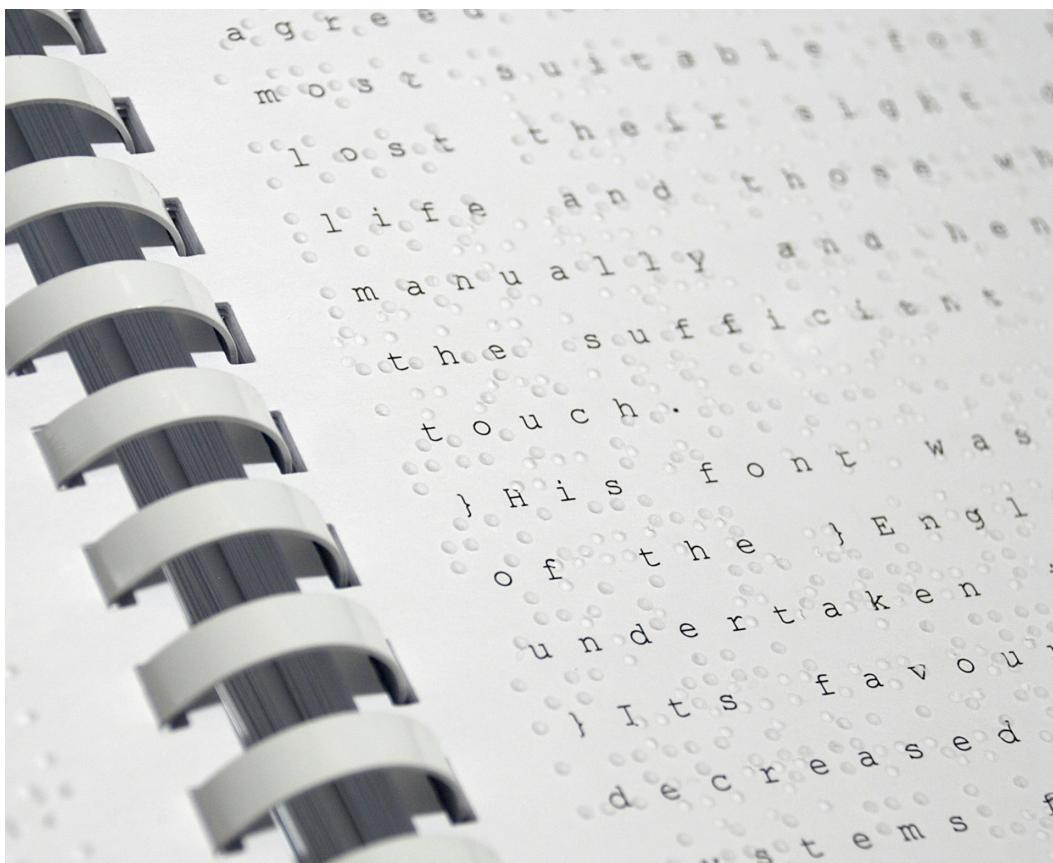
APPENDIX 1







and those who
usually and then
sufficiently
such.
font was
His
of the English
undertaken
It's favour
decreased
systems



ON/OFF NATIONAL TYPE

ROMAN BIRICKAI

Although every classification in the Latin script type is concerned with either a period, forms, or shapes of letterforms, and no category deals with the national feel of type, the absence of such a category does not exclude the existence of faces with emotional impact on viewers as well as their specific targeting capability. What is a national font? Are there any national fonts? Are there any fonts resembling a culture, a country, or a nation? The importance of having fonts resembling national feel, look and characteristics tends to be more adequate and urgent these days than it was in history. Behind the shapes and forms (Fig. 1) of a vast variety of different fonts, there must be some of them which not only prove to carry national features, but show the ability to be recognised by viewers as a label of a country, the origin of products and companies, or as communities with similar beliefs or interests. The power of faces' visage might be underestimated in the world of globalisation we are living in, and when strong marketing campaigns can rely on type with its ability to show characteristics of products, companies, or even governments.

It is a well-known phrase repeated again and again that the image is worth of thousand words, but what if it is true the other way round? Type is not a formless, structureless, and meaningless entity not able to express both visual and written form or words. Even one simple glyph can be enough to bring endless visions and imaginary pictures into viewers minds and initiate the visual decoding. A simple lowercase "f" letterform (Fig. 2) could have been a simple sans-serif "f" a couple of decades ago. Today placed in a small blue rectangle, it immediately links to a social network used by millions of users. But what if we change the face of that lowercase "f" from sans serif to a script face (Fig. 3)? Would the link still be to this social network? Or would it rather address jazz music lovers and especially those not only playing the guitar, but more importantly recognising the f as "f holes" (Fig. 4) on guitar bodies? This trivial change might alter the targeting point of view, just within the shapes the message might be hidden in. This is the case of type, which in fact could possibly reveal, once decoded, national attributes, features, or characteristics. Since Facebook's ambitions were to be international, there could not be the intention to code it in the font, which is why a neutral sans serif font was chosen.

Fig. 1 (p. 34): William Caslon's Type Specimen Sheet (Facsimile), Mergenthaler Linotype Company, New York, 1923. The specimen includes Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic, Samaritan or Syrian scripts.



Fig. 2 (left) Icon of the social network Facebook.

Fig. 3 (middle) Collaged icon. The original font was substituted by Mercurius extra bold.

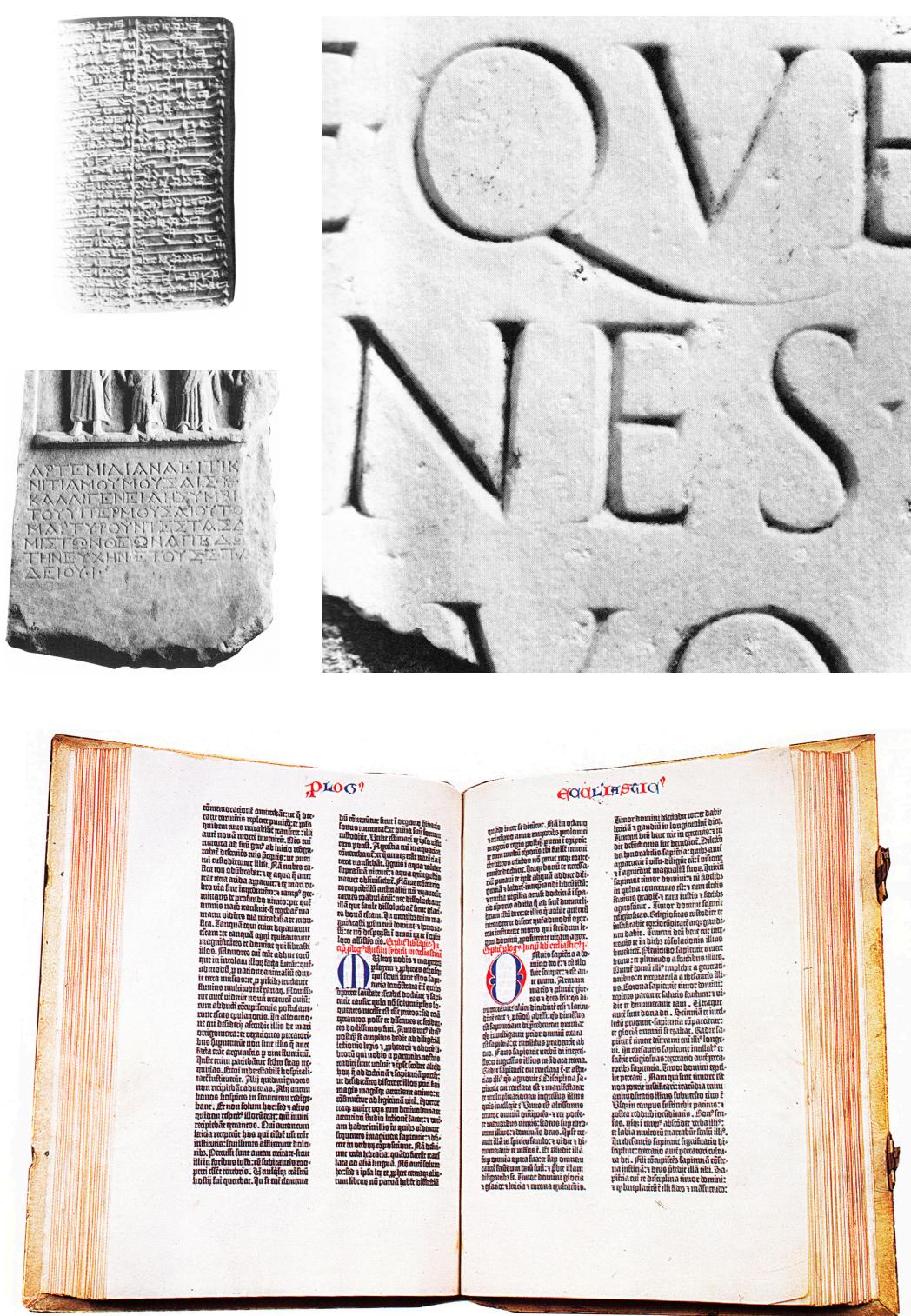
Fig. 4 (right) Washburn jazz guitar with "f" holes in the body.

MILESTONES OF TYPE IMPORTANCE

The importance of any type, not only in its forms and shapes, but also in the ability and necessity to convey a message to a viewer is more intense and profound than it was before. Is it possible to link typefaces to nations and cultures undoubtedly at all? Was it possible to connect them to any written language in history? Were the milestones in design history the factors influencing it? What are those factors which inevitably need to be present to show national features of a typeface?

Looking back in history, we can assume that any written form of a language functioned mainly for the communication purpose. The cuneiform from 2100 B.C. was written on a tablet (Fig. 5) using a wedge-shaped form. When we compare two dominating but different nations later in history, Greek (Fig. 7) and Roman (Fig. 6), the stones of the written text reveal similarities of the two scripts. Even connections to the cuneiform are partially visible. Especially the stone carving was done with similar features of creating serifs. This method of creating letterforms was predominantly responsible for having similar features in the written form despite two different scripts and nations. The milestones in design history were those that determined the direction and later the variety of shapes and forms used for different purposes besides communication and writing down the content. In Gutenberg's time around 1450, when the invention of movable type saw the light in Europe, not only in Germany but worldwide, this invention enabled type to be widespread and to be designed in other shapes and forms than it was done previously by hand. German blackletter, which was used in Gutenberg's bible (Fig. 9), plays an important role in conjunction with a German potential national type. However, it was not the purpose to create it to be seen as national. The way in which scribes used their quill was a method of putting ink on a piece of writable material and not the way how to express Germanness. At this time, the body type was the prevalent one and definitely not indicating the national feel. The other important type in that period was the Roman type primarily connected to Italy. The same message and content expressed by different typefaces open new angles of perception, a view and eventually the understanding of the message. This is the power and capability of typefaces covered and hidden in every single letterform. Was Francesco Griffo concerned with the actual feel while creating the first italic typeface (Fig. 8)? He might have been preoccupied with the aesthetics, proportions, and the form of letters, but it is doubtful he did mean it to be Italian—expressing the nature, land or nation—possibly encrypted in his glyphs.

If the country of the type's origin would be the factor determining the perception of typefaces to be seen as national, these days we would probably have thousands of national fonts, but with no national feel. However, in the 15th century this kind of perception might have been working fine and be acceptable, because there were only couple of different typefaces around. Thus, for example, those typefaces created in Italy could have been meant to be Italian, those in France French, those in Germany German, those in the Netherlands Dutch, and so on.

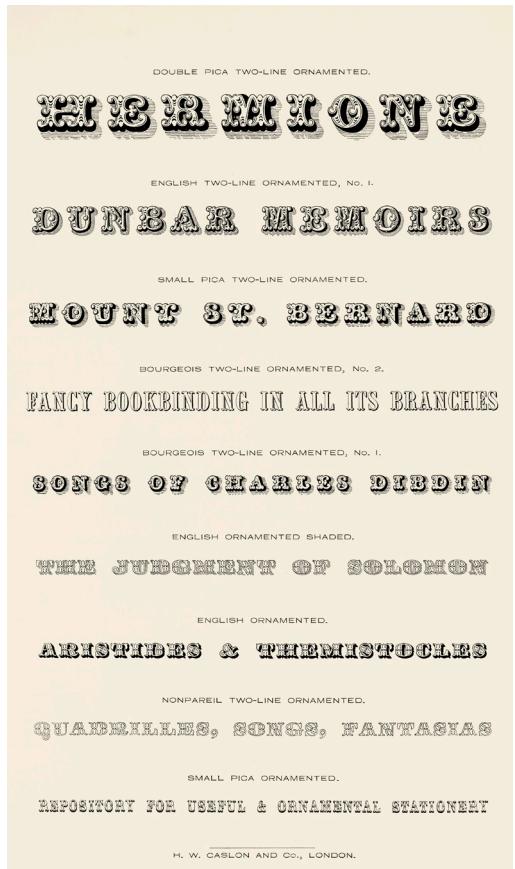


P.V.M·GEORGICORVM LIBER PR
MVS AD MOECENATEM·

q
Vid faciat letas segetes, quo syd
terram,
V ertere Mecenas, ulmsq; ad
genuies,
Conueniat, que arra boum, q
ultus habendo

S it pecori, atq; apibus quanta experientia parcis,

Fig. 5 (top left): Cuneiform tablet listing expenditure of grain and animals, c. 2100 B.C.
 Fig. 6 (top right): Carved inscription from the base of Trajan's column, c. 114 A.D.
 Fig. 7 (middle left): Design excellence of Greek inscriptions, 5th century B.C.
 Fig. 8 (bottom left): Francesco Griffo, the first italic typeface, based on chancery script handwriting, 1501.
 Fig. 9 (center): Johann Gutenberg, pages from the Gutenberg Bible, 1450-55.



The next milestone was paramount for letting type to be seen and perceived everywhere by everyone as well as designed and used in an unprecedented way. It was the industrial revolution in 1880s. It was the era when presses, wood type, lithography, and first sans-serif typefaces appeared and eventually Mergenthaller's invention enabled type to be set faster than ever before (Fig. 11). That was the time when hundreds of new specimen (Fig. 10) emerged and the purpose of usage changed dramatically, allowing type to be in bigger size or as a display type. Especially, moving from only a body type to a display type with various forms along with attributes, gave typefaces certain feel. One of the attributes expressed by a display type might have been nationality and the emotions or feelings encrypted in those various letterforms. But was it really done that way? What is more than certain is the fact that Europe, which was biased to Latin scripts, began to produce specimen (Fig. 12) of Eastern civilisations' scripts including Cyrillic, Arabic, or Hebrew. This was an inevitable precondition for creating Latin scripts transforming glyphs from non-Latin scripts with a national feel. The 20th century is, however, the key turn in recognising type with national features.



Fig. 10 (top left): Specimen of Printing Types, H. W. Caslon & Company Limited, London, 1862.

Fig. 11 (bottom): 75 Jahre, printing & communication in Leipzig, Germany, 1894.

Fig. 12 (right page): Specimen of Printing Types, William Caslon, London, 1785. The specimen includes Greek, Latin, Hebrew, music and floral decorations.

During the 20th century, among that immense number of different typefaces, some start to show national features. A first glimpse could be seen in the poster of the Beggarstaff Brothers (Fig. 13) which shows a Latin font reminding Asia. But it is only the last milestone—the digitalisation—and the era of computers, which allowed to design fonts, especially display fonts, with the intention to be national. However, this attitude is only present in transforming non-Latin scripts into the Latin script. Rudolf Koch's Neuland typeface (Figs. 14–16), which Meggs (2006, p. 185) described as unexpected new design, was created in 1922–23 and is connected to his medieval manuscript admiration. The Lithos typeface (Fig. 17) was designed by Carol Twombly in 1989 and was inspired by ancient Greek inscriptions on temples. However, none of these typefaces are used primarily for expressing and visualising Greek or German culture, but for rather uncultivated, even primitive, African culture creating stereotypes or clichés. Once typefaces designed and used over a substantially long period of time might create the associations with nations through marketing. Subsequently, the repetition and reproduction all over the world is capable of establishing those necessary visual connotations. However, the visual stimulus must be strong and repeated enough to create the bridge.

The most important seems to be a division of typefaces according to the scripts they are formed with, the Latin and non-Latin. Some contemporary foundries call other than Latin as "Orientales". According to Bi-lak (2008) these terms have more or less colonial overtones, which would suggest the idea of "the other". This way, as he adds, only typography continues to be biased towards western civilisation shamelessly. For focusing on a national type the Latin and non-Latin groups is crucial to show the origin of typefaces and their potential transformation from the non-Latin to the Latin version.



Fig. 13 (top right): *A Trip to Chinatown*, Beggarstaff Brothers, variant of Mandarin script, 1899.

Fig. 14 (top left): *Madagascar Escape 2 Africa*, Dreamworks, "Escape", "Africa" words set in Neuland typeface, 2008.

Fig. 15 (p. 41): Rudolf Koch, Specimen of Neuland, 1922-23.

Fig. 16 (bottom left): Specimen Book of Continental Types, Continental Typefounders Association, New York, 1930. Neuland typeface by Rudolf Koch.

Fig. 17 (bottom right): Carol Twombly's Lithos typeface inspired by old Greek inscriptions, 1989.

DENN EINE JEGLICHE KUNST
ODER WERK SWIE KLEIN
SIE SEIEN ★ DASS SIND ALLES
SAMT GNADEN UND WIR
KET SIE ALLES AMT DER HEIL-
LIGE GEIST ZU NUTZ UND
ZU FRUCHT DER MENSCHEN
+ WÄRE ICH NICHT EIN PRI-
STER UND WÄRE UNTER
EINER VERSAMMLUNG + ICH
NÄHME ES FÜR EIN GROSSES
DING ★ DASS ICH SCHUHE MA-
CHEN KÖNNTE UND ICH
WOLLTE AUCH GERNE MEIN
BROT MIT MEINEN HÄNDEN
DEN VERDIENEN ★ KINDER
★ DER FUSS NOCH DIE HAND
DIE SOLL EN NICKT DAS AUGE
SEIN WOLLEN : EIN JEGLI-
CHER SOLL SEIN AMTTUN
DAS IHM GOTZ ZUGEFÜGT.

Fig. 18 (left): *The Ewige Jude*, the most famous Nazi propaganda film, 1940.Fig. 19 (middle): *Die Hebräische Schrift*, H. Berthold AG, Berlin, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Vienna, Riga, 1924.Fig. 20 (right): *Die Hebräische Schrift*, H. Berthold AG, Berlin, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Vienna, Riga, 1924.

NON-LATIN SCRIPTS

These days, non-Latin alphabets, as for instance Hebrew (Figure 19, 20) and their scripts with all characters, are highly prone to be mimicked, imitated, or faked to have a look of the Latin type. Quite often these fonts are called fake or pseudo, which could suggest the fact they are not real. The more accurate expression for them would be "transformed" referring to their ability to transform the emotional aspect of the original language and form. Among the most frequently transformed scripts are Cyrillic, Arabic, Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Korean, Greek, Hebrew, Indian, Thai or Bengali. Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese and Korean are quite often referred as "Asian" scripts. Adding typical or characteristic features or glyphs that simply evoke the feeling as though they were written in that particular language create the glyphs of the Latin version of these fonts usually. However, they usually do not have anything in common with original script writing techniques, as for example, the Chinese calligraphy. These fonts, mainly display typefaces, are in most cases created as free fonts and not by type designers or foundries, which is why their proportional and aesthetic criteria are questionable. However, the purpose of creating these fonts resides in the emotional aspect and ability to transform the feeling, not in the proper form or technique. Transformed fonts with a national resemblance are often used for marketing and promotional purposes, tourism, propaganda, parody, or inability to read the original script.

GREEK SCRIPT

It is quite surprising how easily the letterfoms could be substituted, however, not all transformed Greek fonts (Fig. 22) use the same method. Some transformed Greek fonts use shapes of letterforms, which are dominated by diagonal strokes instead of having curves. The Greek script has curves in beta, theta, omicron, rho, phi, omega and partially psi considering uppercase glyphs, which are mainly transformed. Lowercase letters seem to be too distinct for the transformation. The trick to fool the viewers mind can be done with Greek alphabet quite easily. Two E letters in the word Greek could be substituted with sigma (Fig. 24) and the feel of the word becomes Greek, even if the sigma represents completely different sound in Greek. A slight change of letterforms can provide the illusion of nationality and in fact the uppercase Es still retain their shape. The word Greek is entirely legible, even without knowing the Greek script. American university campuses often use Greek alphabet for their sororities and fraternities; however, they are used in an appropriate form. For people not knowing the Greek alphabet, it might be quite difficult to read such letters as phi, gamma, or sigma.

A 0065	B 0066	C 0067	D 0068	E 0069	F 0070	G 0071	H 0072	I 0073	J 0074	K 0075	L 0076	M 0077	N 0078	
A B < Δ < F G H I J K L M N														
O 0079	P 0080	Q 0081	R 0082	S 0083	T 0084	U 0085	V 0086	W 0087	X 0088	Y 0089	Z 0090			
◊ P Q R S T U V W X Y Z														
a 0097	b 0098	c 0099	d 0100	e 0101	f 0102	g 0103	h 0104	i 0105	j 0106	k 0107	l 0108	m 0109	n 0110	o 0111
A B < Δ < F G H I J K L M N ◊														

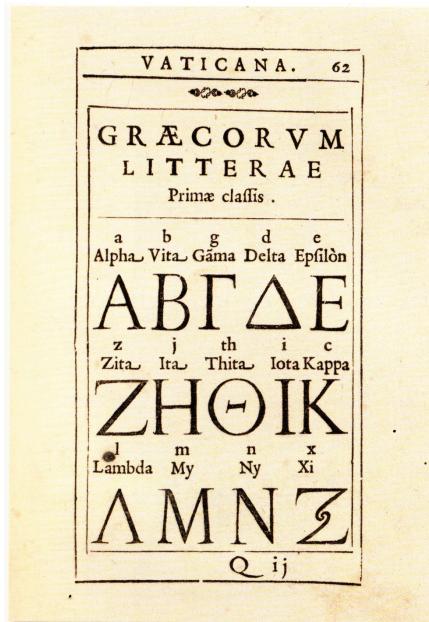


Fig. 21 (center left): *Indice de Caratteri, Stampa Vaticana, Andreas Brogiotti, Roman, 1628.*

Fig. 22 (top): *Dalek, font resembling the Greek script.*

Fig. 23 (center right): *Die Hebräische Schrift, H. Berthold AG, Berlin, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Vienna, Riga, 1924.*

Fig. 24 (bottom right): *E letters substituted by Greek Sigma on an advertisement, 2010.*

A 0065	B 0066	C 0067	D 0068	E 0069	F 0070	G 0071	H 0072	I 0073	J 0074	K 0075	L 0076	M 0077	N 0078	O 0079	P 0080	Q 0081
ા	ં	ટ	રે	ણ	ફ	કુ	ં	િ	જ	હે	ી	લ	ન	ઠ	પ	વ
R 0082	S 0083	T 0084	U 0085	V 0086	W 0087	X 0088	Y 0089	Z 0090								
ર	ં	ટ	પ	ચ	ષ	ઝ	પુ	ં								

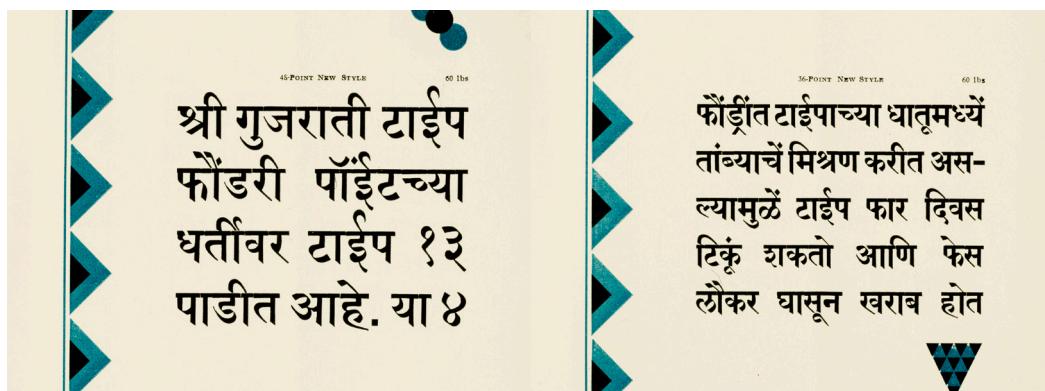


Fig. 25 (bottom): Type Styles, Gujarati Type Foundry, Bombay, 1930.

Fig. 26 (top): Samarkan, font resembling the Hindi script.

HINDI SCRIPTS

Transformed Hindi fonts rely on one main feature carried over from the original Hindi scripts (Fig. 25). There is a dominant horizontal cross stroke, which is present across all letterforms. When letters are set and placed one after another these cross strokes in each letter create a visually very strong horizontal line appearing where an imaginary x-height line would be. The overall contrast is quite low, the stress is oblique and the tone is quite dark due to the close placement of letters. There is a feel of calligraphy present. The look of transformed Samarkan (Fig. 26) Hindi font is truly Indian; however, there are more variations of transformed Hindi.

CHINESE (ASIAN) SCRIPTS

Asian languages and their scripts have a wide range of forms, which results from the fact that there are quite a lot of different languages even within one country and all these nations and ethnic groups use different kinds of scripts. For western civilisation it is easier to call them Asian in order not to differentiate among so many various scripts. These fonts have nothing in common with, for example, Chinese calligraphy (Fig. 27). They rather imitate Chinese inventions such as chop sticks or Asian cultural prides such as pagodas or even natural resources such as bamboo trees. (Fig. 28 and 29) Locally these fonts were given special names. In America with strong Asian communities they are known as "Chop Suey" fonts because they could be found on many Asian restaurants (Fig. 30). According to Shaw (2009) "Chop Suey" became famous in connection with San Francisco's China Town. Shaw also added, "it was Chinese-American restaurateurs who were choosing the chop suey lettering (and serving the dish), conferring a bit of authenticity on two American inventions." It is apparent that these days the competition on market dictates different strategies and it is not an exception to see Asian lettering on different products or promotional materials. As China becomes stronger as a country in its production and influence on world's market this becomes more apparent. The average person cannot read or write Chinese, so obviously the Chinese use Latin script to be understood and for marketing purposes they might use typefaces that would immediately reflect their culture.



Fig. 27 (bottom left): Chinese poem, regular style, calligraphy.
Fig. 28 (top): Faux Chinese Regular, font resembling the Chinese (Asian) script.

Fig. 29 (middle): Chinese Menu, modelled after an old sign on a building in New York City, 2009.

Fig. 30 (bottom right): Yu Shan Chinese Restaurant, Chicago, 2007.



On the other hand, there are not only small sole traders or companies attempting to use this national type approach, but also big corporations. An example would be the Lidl company, which runs a chain of discount supermarkets all over Europe and belongs to a bigger corporation called Schwarz, which owns for example Kaufland. Lidl does not only create their campaigns on weekly basis according to a national culture product range such as "Mexican", "Asian", or "Greek" week (Fig. 31), but they also have products with the logo (Fig. 32) created from transformed Asian lettering. In this case it is Vitasia, which is registered brand under Lidl company. Even if there was no pagoda as a background image on the logo, the type itself would suggest the place of the origin, not mentioning the word Asia incorporated in logotype. Vitasia definitely did not want to leave any doubts where their products come from supporting them with an image, name and typeface resembling Asia.



Fig. 31: Asian week on Lidl's marketing bulletin, localised in Slovak Republic, 2012.

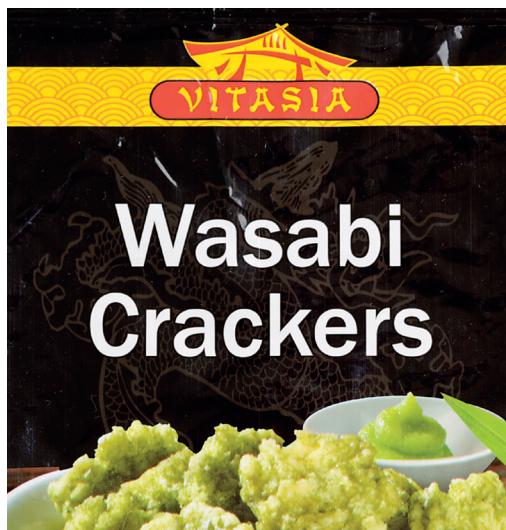


Fig. 32: Vitasia logo used on one of their products, 2012.

CYRILLIC SCRIPTS

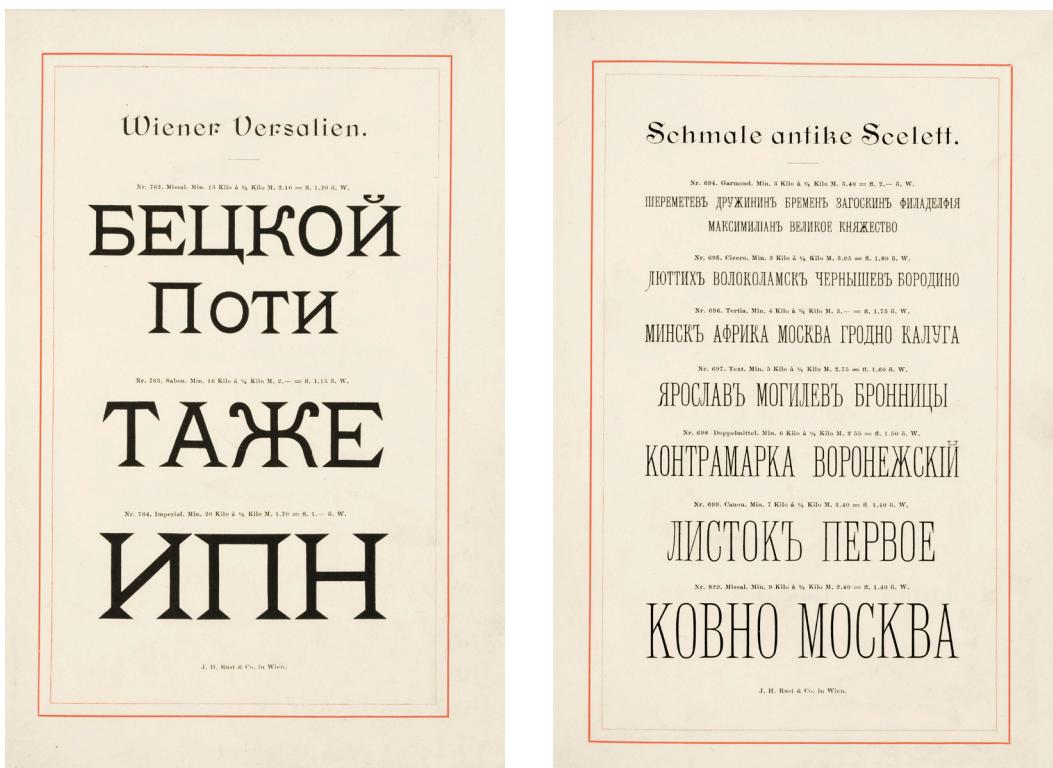
The Cyrillic script (Figs. 34 and 35) is mainly linked to the Russian culture, but the origins and roots can be traced back to Slavs and Slavic origin languages. Among others Cyrillic script is used in Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Mongolia, Montenegro, Serbia, Tajikistan or Ukraine. Many of these countries and nations belonged to previously known state called U.S.S.R. (The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) or the Soviet Union. It existed between 1922 and 1991. The wider spread of Cyrillic alphabet can be backlinked to Russian constructivism and its representatives who uses the Cyrillic script in their posters or other marketing materials at the beginning of the 20th century.

The typefaces, which show the transformation of Cyrillic scripts (Figs. 36 and 37) into Latin alphabet rely on letterforms, which can be read in Latin, but in Cyrillic have different pronunciation or meaning. When we take for example Latin "R" and we flip it horizontally we get Cyrillic "Я", which is read "ya", but still looks like "R". This apparently means that reading this kind of transformed script needs a bit more imagination, although a viewer is familiar with the form.

Fig. 34 (top left, p. 47): Schriftproben, Schriftgiesserei und mechanische Werkstätte J. H. Rust & Co., Vienna, 1887.
Fig. 35 (top right, p. 47): Schriftproben, Schriftgiesserei und mechanische Werkstätte J. H. Rust & Co., Vienna, 1887.

Fig. 36 (center, p. 47): Kremlin Alexander, free font resembling the Cyrillic script.

Fig. 37 (bottom, p. 47): Soviet, free font resembling the Cyrillic script.



КРЕТЬІН ДѢЖАПЭР

First seen on DaFont: 11-04-2008

A 0065	B 0066	C 0067	D 0068	E 0069	F 0070	G 0071	H 0072	I 0073	J 0074	K 0075	L 0076	M 0077	N 0078	O 0079
Д	В	С	А	Е	Ғ	Ҷ	Ҥ	И	Ҹ	Ҵ	Ҹ	ҵ	Ҷ	Ҹ
P 0080	Q 0081	R 0082	S 0083	T 0084	U 0085	V 0086	W 0087	X 0088	Y 0089	Z 0090				
Ҹ	ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ

СФVIET

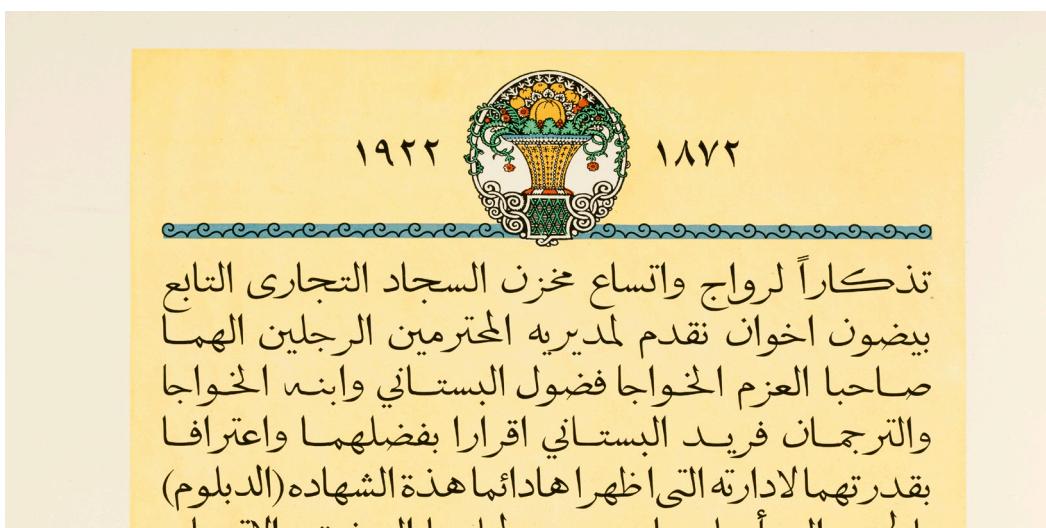
First seen on DaFont: before 2005

A 0065	B 0066	C 0067	D 0068	E 0069	F 0070	G 0071	H 0072	I 0073	J 0074	K 0075	L 0076	M 0077	N 0078	O 0079	P 0080
А	Б	С	Д	Е	Ғ	Ҷ	Ҥ	И	Ҹ	Ҵ	Ҹ	ҵ	Ҷ	Ҹ	Ҹ
Ҹ	ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ
Q 0081	R 0082	S 0083	T 0084	U 0085	V 0086	W 0087	X 0088	Y 0089	Z 0090						
Ҹ	ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ	Ҹ

نہبی ملکہ بی

First seen on DaFont: before 2005

A 0065	B 0066	C 0067	D 0068	E 0069	F 0070	G 0071	H 0072	I 0073	J 0074	K 0075	L 0076	M 0077	N 0078	O 0079	P 0080	
أ	ب	ج	د	ه	ف	ع	غ	ل	ظ	ن	ز	ك	ل	م	ن	ة
Q 0081	R 0082	S 0083	T 0084	U 0085	V 0086	W 0087	X 0088	Y 0089	Z 0090							
ڭ	ڭ	ي	ڭ	ن	ۋ	ت	ڭ	لا	ڙ							



ARABIC SCRIPT

It is quite difficult to imitate Arabic scripts (Figs. 38 and 40) because of the curves and strokes of the original script and the direction of writing from left to right, which are not used in the Latin script. Nevertheless, there are couple of fonts able to transform the form of the Arabic script and the feel of such font is quite comparable to the official script. The main methodology of creating fonts with the Arabic resemblance (Fig. 39) is in placing a substantial amount of dots, which are not meant to be used as diacritical marks, above or below the letterforms, wider shapes and also imitating a handwritten feel and look.

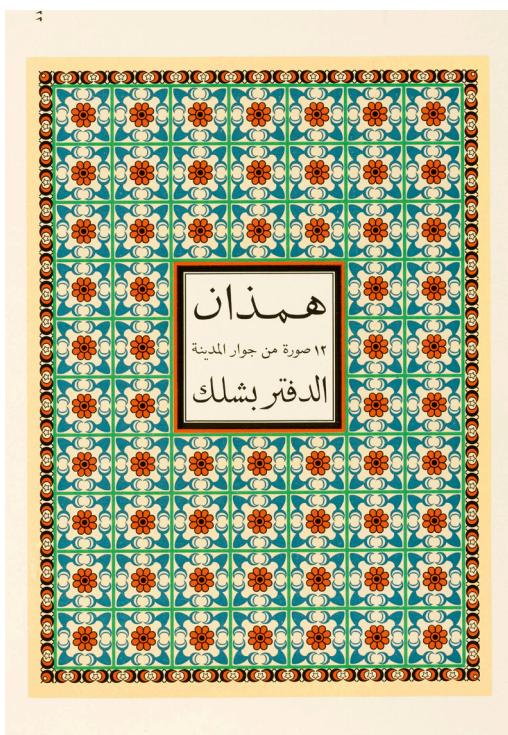


Fig. 38 (center), Fig. 40 (bottom left):
Arabisch-Türkisch, type specimen from D. Stempel, Frankfurt,
Leipzig, Vienna, Budapest, 1922.

Fig. 39 (top):Pseudo Saudi, free font resembling the Arabic script.

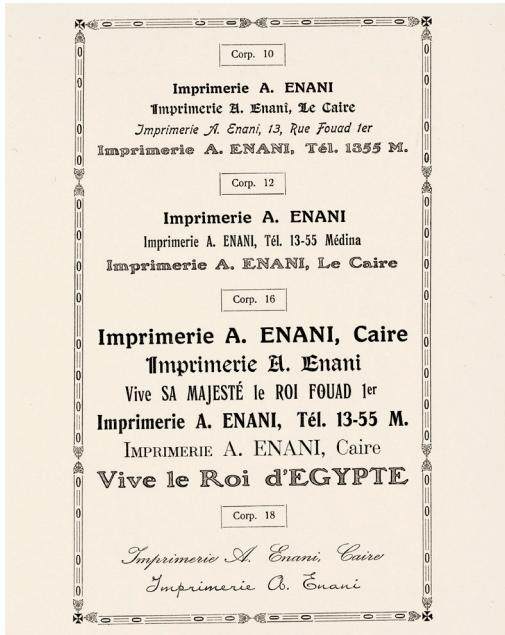


Fig. 41: Spécimens des Caractères, Imprimerie A. Enani, Cairo, 1910.



Fig. 42: Schriftprobe, Karl Brendler & Söhne, Vienna, 1912.

LATIN SCRIPTS

While non-Latin scripts (Figs. 41 and 42) are driven by transformation of letters or sounds to resemble the look of the original script enabling them to be written in Latin script, the Latin alphabets cannot imitate the feel by transformation—it has to be already present in the form. The variations of forms in Latin scripts are so elaborate that identifying a Roman script or simple giving it a label "national" seems to be more difficult than it might appear at first sight. Apparently, a simple substitution of glyphs used in languages is not possible, particular Latin font has to bear national features in the form. It also has to convey the meaning and to show the ability evoking a national feel and look via attributes covered or hidden behind shapes of individual letterforms. The variety of opinions on the national feel could start to increase when larger countries or nations are investigated and willing to express their nationality via type. In other cases the typefaces are given a status of being national despite the fact that the initial intention of designing them had absolutely no connection to nationality. The question resides in a point whether typefaces can be marked as national and whether they were created and designed with this attribute. On the contrary, whether they were given this status after the constant use, the perception of viewers or a famous era they were mainly used in, is fundamental. The confusion might start when we would like to mark some fonts as "American", "Italian", "French", "Mexican", "Egyptian", "German", or otherwise.

Once the characteristics of a nation are followed while designing a typeface it should be possible to give glyphs features evoking feelings of a nation. However, whether they would be perceived only by members of that nation or by a wider audience, would really be a matter of a worldwide recognition. The usage of typeface and its inevitable displaying should be one of the most important factors when linking the typeface to a nation or a nationality. Is Garamond typeface able to reflect the French? Or is Bodoni typeface (Fig. 43) able to express Italians and their temperament, skills, and nature? None of Latin origin typefaces appear to be designed for reflecting nationalities. Once the typeface was designed according to general or specific rules of aesthetics, balance, mathematics, or geometry, the irrelevance of the place, person and country would only confirm the fact of having typefaces created with similar feel regardless of nationality. Following this assumption suggests that viewing typefaces as national or giving them national features must have been the result of long-term process mainly viewed and credited only in the modern world.

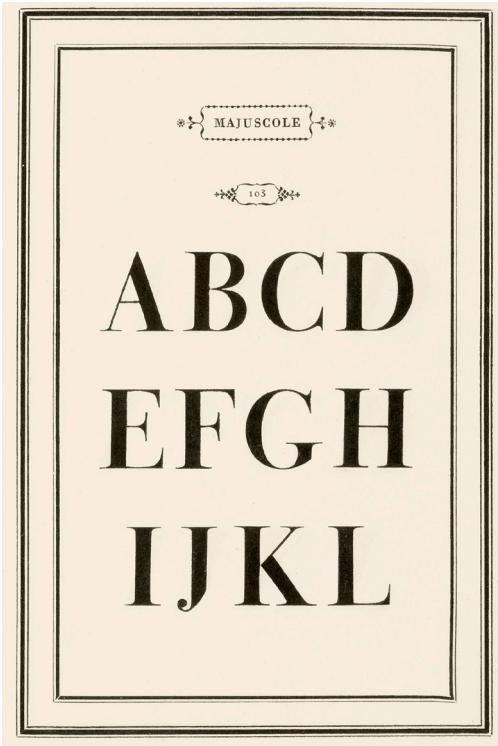


Fig. 43: *Manuale tipografico, Volume Primo*, Giambattista Bodoni, Parma, 1818. The thin strokes of the Bodoni were made the same weight as the serifs, creating a dazzling contrast.



Fig. 44: *Ja!*, Nazi referendum poster, 1938.

Heller (2004) pointed out that the Nazis had the most successful national "identity" and a visual propaganda ever designed. It is not a coincidence that they had chosen German blackletter (Figs. 44–52) or German "Fraktur" as it was called as the typeface representing and resembling their nation. It can be found on almost all pre-war and war posters, newspapers and even in books. (Fig. 45) When we look at German blackletter, we could see precision, a tradition, a skill and solidness—the virtues that could describe a German nation or their products. Even the proximity of letters, which are closer to each other, would suggest the compactness and coherence of a German nation. According to Shaw and Bain (1998, p. 17) there was no Roman type designed as successful as Fraktur despite the fact that a lot of experiments were done in the 20th century.

The beginning of the 20th century, just after the boom of printing and during the flourishing time of hundreds of new typefaces occurring in foundries, Germans were still designing their versions of blackletter. There are numerous variations with different names, however, in many cases when a typeface included a word German in their name, it was blackletter. They usually called them "Deutsche", "Neue Deutsche", or "Germania" (Figs. 47–51) and this way the name of the typeface reflects the nationality. When Europe was surrounded and clothed in Art Nouveau with its graceful, seductive and warm shapes, Germans were able to accompany this gracefulness with their blackletter as we can see in the calendar (Fig. 52).

Despite the fact that blackletter itself is the type with a questionable readability and overall poor legibility, it is very nicely and skilfully drawn and once accustomed to it, as Germans over centuries were indeed, it becomes less difficult to read. This is why Germans also used blackletter in book prose. Would German blackletter guarantee a true Germanness when used on labels, logotypes or posters? It definitely shows part of their history, traditions, precision and skilfulness; and in most cases the link would certainly find its way to Germany.

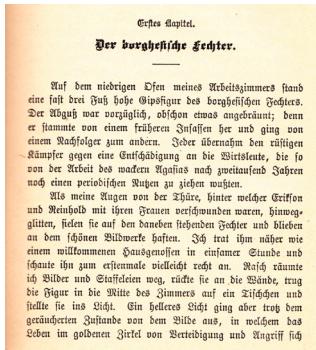


Fig. 45 (top left): Der Grüne Heinrich, Gottfried Keller's novel written in blackletter (Schwabach), 1898.

Fig. 46 (top middle): Der Stürmer, anti-Semitic weekly in Nazi Germany, 1941.

Fig. 47 (top right): Neu-Deutsche Schriften und Ornamente, Genzsch & Heyse, Hamburg, 1901.

Fig. 48 (middle left): Germania, Aktiengesellschaft für

Schriftgießerei und Machinenbau, Offenbach am Main, 1905.

Fig. 49 (middle): Eine Deutsche Schrift, Gebr. Klingspor, Offenbach am Main, 1910.

Fig. 50 (middle right): Eine deutsche Schrägschrift, Gebr. Klingspor, Offenbach am Main, 1912.

Fig. 51 (bottom right): Deutsche Anzeigenschrift, D. Stempel AG, Frankfurt am Main, 1924.



April

M 1 Theodora
D 2 Theodosia
F 3 Christian
S 4 Ambrosius
S 5 5. Judika
M 6 Sixtus
D 7 Cölestin
M 8 Heilmann
D 9 Bogislaus
F 10 Ezechiel
S 11 Hermann
S 12 6. Palmarum
M 13 Justinus
D 14 Tiburtius
M 15 Obadias
D 16 Gründonnerst.
F 17 Karfreitag
S 18 Florentin
S 19 Hl. Osterfest
M 20 Ostermontag
D 21 Adolf
M 22 Lothar
D 23 Georg
F 24 Albert
S 25 Markus Ev.
S 26 1. Quasimodo.
M 27 Anastasius
D 28 Therese
M 29 Sibylla
D 30 Josua

Mai

F 1 Phil. u. Jakob
S 2 Sigismund
S 3 2. Mis. Dom.
M 4 Florian
D 5 Gotthard
M 6 Dietrich
D 7 Gottfried
F 8 Stanislaus
S 9 Hiob
S 10 3. Jubilate
M 11 Mamertus
D 12 Pankratius
M 13 Servatius
D 14 Christian
F 15 Sophia
S 16 Honoratus
S 17 4. Kantate
M 18 Liborius
D 19 Sara
M 20 Franziska
D 21 Prudens
F 22 Helena
S 23 Desiderius
S 24 5. Rogate
M 25 Urban
D 26 Eduard
M 27 Beda
D 28 Himmelfahrt
F 29 Maximilian
S 30 Wigand
S 31 6. Exaudi

Juni

M 1 Nikodemus
D 2 Marquard
M 3 Erasmus
D 4 Ulrike
F 5 Bonifatius
S 6 Benignus
S 7 Hl. Pfingstfest
M 8 Pfingstmontag
D 9 Barnim
M 10 Quatember
D 11 Barnabas
F 12 Klaudina
S 13 Tobias
S 14 Trinitatis
M 15 Vitus
D 16 Justina
M 17 Volkmar
D 18 Fronleichnam
F 19 Gerv. u. Pr.
S 20 Raphael
S 21 1. n. Trinitatis
M 22 Achatius
D 23 Basilius
M 24 Johannes d. T.
D 25 Elogius
F 26 Jeremias
S 27 Sieben Schläf.
S 28 2. n. Trinitatis
M 29 Peter u. Paul
D 30 Pauli Ged.

DIACRITICS AS A NATIONAL INDICATOR

Although diacritics and their usage might show nationality, is not achieved by the feel of the script, but simply by adding diacritical marks above or below some characters. Fonts these days contain a large number of diacritics. Some of these diacritical marks such as acute, caron or diaeresis are very common in languages, even English uses them when foreign words appear in the text. There are certain diacritics, which are not so common, but still used more languages as for example "ogonek" (Fig. 53), a little tail, which is used in Polish, Kashubian, Lithuanian, and in Native American languages. Regardless of usage and appearance in the text, the viewer or reader does not have to be familiar with all these diacritical marks thus not able to accommodate them with the nation. Because of huge variety and elaborate appearance of diacritics in Latin script, it is quite difficult to associate them with a certain nation. Even if we do not know the language, do not speak or write in it, according to particular diacritical marks we might be able to be directed to one of Latin scripts used by some nation.

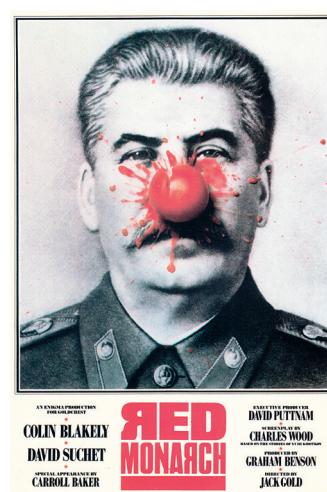


Fig. 53 (left): Ogonek, diacritical mark used i.e. in Polish language.

Fig. 55 (center): Steele Savage, WWII propaganda poster, 1944.

Fig. 56 (right): Red Monarch, a film poster designed by John Gorham, 1983. The poster is meant to be a parody.

PROPAGANDA TYPE

Expressing national consciousness or behaviour applies to a form of marketing, which does not involve products or companies, but rather countries, their leaderships or movements via political or other parties. It is propaganda—naturally hidden marketing point of view or rather only a view of thoughts and beliefs based on impact, urge, pressure and brainwash. Nonetheless, type excluding the importance of content would depend on the form and shape used for propaganda materials. The Soviet Union, Germany or the United States behaved according to propaganda principles during "wars" on the highest level.

The highest presence of propaganda is evident before and during war times and was enormously used around two world wars in the 20th century. Type in propaganda played as important role as the imagery or the content itself. The national type or the type showing national features reinforced the idea. The German identity, as mentioned before, was highly dependant on their German blackletter.

Fig. 52 (p. 53) : Neue Jahreszeiten Bilder, Gebr. Klingspor, Offenbach am Main, 1909.

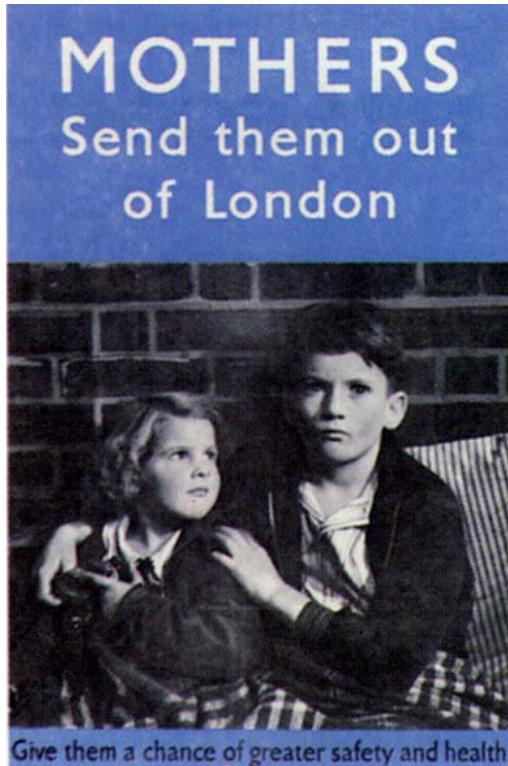


Fig. 54 (left) : British war poster, 1940.

Fig. 58 (right): Example of a fictive communist propaganda poster.

Although England, France or the United States were not so preoccupied by type as their identity a small traces of carefully chosen typefaces with strict origin of their country was outlined in some of the posters as for example Gill sans used in the British poster Mothers (Fig. 54). The feel was also important and with the ability to address the message, yet identifying some of the war posters (Figs. 54 and 55) by national type, could have been the intention of designers. In case of the Russian Propaganda, it is quite common to see a parody (Fig. 56) or a poster, in which it is difficult to say whether it is supposed to be a parody or a legitimate, serious and credible poster. To demonstrate this situation I designed a possible communist propaganda poster (Fig. 58).

A small experiment with type on imaginative propaganda posters (Fig. 57) was executed to show the power of targeting via type. Four different nations have been chosen to represent the countries, in which the propaganda could be spread. The colours, images, and the background are purposefully let the same in order to dissolve the importance of other elements except type. Furthermore, all countries have a flag with same colours, so the only difference is in type used.

Since the only difference resides only in the shapes of the individual words on each poster, their targeting audience is clearly specified. Would, however, a viewer be able to determine the countries, in which these posters could appear? If one would the nationality in type could be used as a strong targeting factor.





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GLOBALISATION OF TYPE

Marketing happens on more levels—from small street corner shops or shop windows and signage (Fig. 59) to huge corporation marketing campaigns trying to target a specific audience as well as specifying promoted products or services. One of the ways to advertise or promote anything is via a nice imagery. However, typography is as important as the image. It not only supports images, but it can evoke the feeling of the country and subsequently its traditions, which might be hidden in letterforms of a transformed non-Latin script and also in some Latin scripts. Transformation is possibly done for western civilisations' sake, for those who do not speak oriental languages. Apparently, any kind of the Latin script can be chosen for this purpose, but in certain cases it is more than desirable to pick the one, which is written in one of transformed scripts (Figs. 31 and 32). In this case, this very specific targeting immediately evokes the feel of the nation and subsequently its features or characteristics.

Viewers because of constant use made products or companies, which became recognised outside the country's border, recognisable and perceivable in different media. Such a company with long tradition and history is Coca-Cola. The logo of the company has not changed much since the end of the 19th century and became one of American icons. In this sense the script font used for letterforms Coca-Cola could be subconsciously connected to the United States and the American nation. It is not its attribute or role to be national, nor a mission to evoke Americanism, nationalism or patriotism. It has simply grown into this status and wide recognition has made our brains to look for links. It is true that not everybody should be aware of the product, but because of its long history and globalisation it is highly probable to be widely recognised and eventually associated with the United States. Any product with similar font might be able to evoke a feeling of being American. Although not meant to be strictly national, it is a secondary accompanying phenomenon being able to show the place of origin via type.

As an example of viewers' perception, for illustrative purpose, two brands' logotypes along with its type could have been changed to see the impact and importance of the form used in fonts. The interchange (Fig. 62) of the script used for Coca-Cola wordmark with the blackletter used for Jägermeister could serve as a visual demonstration of the font expressiveness and a fair national indicator. If not directly determining the country of origin or the nationality, a viewer might see and feel a definite difference not only in the look and the whole visual appearance, but almost the change in the taste. Coca-cola written purely in the blackletter is quite capable of suggesting a stronger alcoholic drink and not a soft drink. The same might be applied to lettering on bottles of Jägermeister, but in reverse. Paradoxically, famous trademarks or brands with long history become localised to be closer to a nation or the country they are distributed in. This leads to either transformation of their brand names into different scripts or using the same font in a different language (Fig. 60). Another option is, if a brand feels to be strong enough in its recognition, completely leaving out typography and thus relying solely on the provided image (Fig. 61).



Fig. 59 (top): A restaurant signage in Latin script imitating the Indian script.

Fig. 60 (center): Variations of Coca-Cola logo and its wordmark according to the country where it is distributed.



Fig. 61 (bottom left): The new Starbucks logo without any wordmark.

Fig. 62 (bottom right): An illustrative example of typefaces interchange in Coca-Cola and Jägermeister wordmarks.

SMALL vs LARGE

As the adjectives could suggest, the larger the country or the nation, the more designers and foundries work are there, and therefore more typefaces can be designed. Not only a large variety of ethnical groups could be located in larger countries, but also any groups possibly willing to represent themselves by a certain font. Could these fonts mirror the behaviour, character, merit or even multiculturalism of the groups living in a huge society? American football and its connection to universities introduce an archetype of manliness, masculinity, strength, endurance, and a certain degree of aggression. Is it a coincidence that fonts used by these groups show these features? A majority of football teams at Universities and the national league use either slab serif fonts or so typical geometric sans-serif faces with diagonal cuts instead of curved shapes, usually in bold or heavy weights. Having sharp edges and only straight lines instead of curved lines suggest the aggression but also determination and purposefulness. When "football" word is placed in the search engine of "Fontshop.com", the results of the search show typeface family ITC Machine Western (Fig. 63). The fonts help to express the attitude; in fact, they could scare the opponent and show who is stronger. Would choosing this kind of font show Americanism and or the American nation? As far as we regard a sample group within a nation as a part of the society they are live in with certain patriotic and national feel, using this kind of font should indeed create connotations and a bridge to the American culture in whatever situation. However, not only football and universities use these fonts, but also they are present in ice hockey, basketball and partially in baseball (Figs. 64 and 65). It seems to be that American team sports and especially contact sports try to visualise the features of their team and game by very same fonts. A jersey is a good place expressing and sending feelings to the audience.

SALINGER

MY HARD NOSE, GLASS JAW, AND SOFT HEART



Fig. 63 (top): ITC Machine Western typeface. This kind of typeface and similar ones are often used in American sports.

Fig. 64 (bottom left): American National Football League jersey with typical robust lettering.

Fig. 65 (bottom right): NHL jersey with type frequently used in American sports.

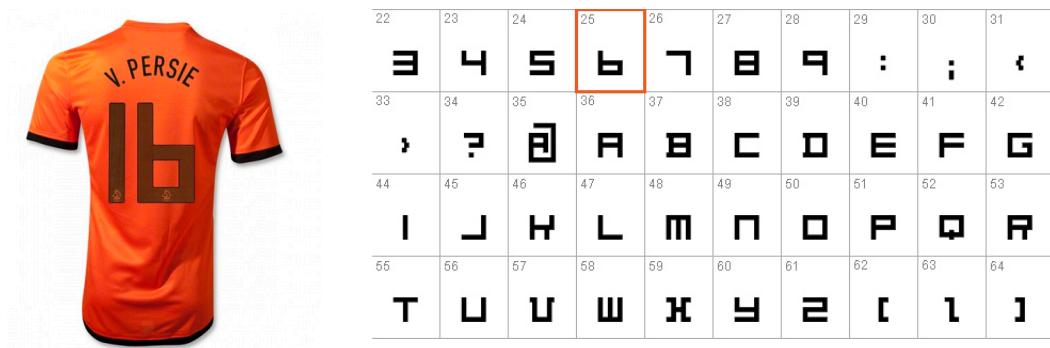


Fig. 66 (top left): The Dutch national football team jersey with numbers in De Stijl style.

Fig. 67 (top right): P22 Destijl Regular typeface designed by Theo van Doesburg, Richard Kegler and Michael Want.

Fig. 68 (bottom): Menhart Regular typeface designed by Oldřich Menhart and which was supposed to be distinctly Czech typeface.

Apparently, this attitude is present not only in the United States, but can be found in other countries. An example would be the Netherlands, which in contrast to the United States is a small country, however, as Unger states, "Holland today has more type designers per capita than any other country in the world, a remarkable fact considering that there is now not one surviving Dutch type foundry" (cited in Bilak, 2004). It might not be a coincidence that the Dutch national soccer team play in jerseys (Fig. 66) with numbers reminding of the De Stijl movement (Fig. 67) from the beginning of 20th century and connected to the Netherlands. However, one might argue that these kinds of numbers are only a reflection of our modern digitalized era and reminiscent of numbers on digital devices. The Dutch went even further in utilising their designers and their strong national heritage in type design when the Dutch government decided to unify all their departments and ministries by one typeface. The new typeface should not have been more legible and space economic only due to a huge number of printed materials used in all departments, but according to Baumann (2008) it should be recognisable as the "government". If in this sense the government represents the nation the "Dutchness" can be reflected in type or at least carry on the national features. Particularly, in case of governments, choosing or commissioning an artist or a designer to produce a typeface reflecting the country's features might be questionable because the "Dutchness" does not have to be perceived by other nations, only by the Dutch. However, during the process of visualisation and displaying the typeface, which is in constant contact with foreigners, can such a typeface slowly be adopted and perceived as Dutch by other nationalities in future.

Comparable situations might have happened or happens in other countries, and the intentions to design a typeface being able not only to reflect the nation as a collection of features, but also their attitude and expressiveness in perception of viewers, can be desirable. This was the case in Czechoslovakia in the beginning of the 20th century when according to Bilak (2006) Menhart Roman (Fig. 68) was supposed to be a true Czech typeface in its expressiveness. At that time, this approach to type design was blessed, because before that period there was a strong German influence in the country. There is no doubt that smaller nations were forced to rely on something that was believed to be working and done with the utmost precision, the mastery of craft and long history of the usage. This was exactly the case of the blackletter type. Howsoever successful in constructing and designing new typefaces with the intention to be national, or at least carrying certain national features and attributes of a nation, a designer's typeface stood before a long journey of the constant usage and inclusion into designs of other artist being able to transfer those national intentions and characteristics into a trustworthy message reflecting them.

NATIONAL TYPE SURVEY

The aim of this survey was to get the feedback on the ability to associate fonts with nationalities. The variety of fonts was presented in 17 questions (Fig. 69) comprising both transformed non-Latin and Latin fonts. The neutral sequence "Type by Nationality" offered the opportunity to find the connection to nations. All respondents were asked to fill in their nationality and the area they work or study in. There were 27 different nationalities answering the survey—Slovak, Czech, Bosnian, Vietnamese, Ukrainian, Malaysian, Hungarian, Portuguese, American, Ecuadorian, Russian, Uzbekistani, Circassian, Croatian, Swiss, French, British, Mexican, Chechen, Latvian, Armenian, Canadian, Iranian, Moldovan, Serbian, German, and Slovenian. 60% of respondents were from a country where Latin script is used primarily and 40% were from non-Latin script using countries. Paradoxically, nationalities using non-Latin scripts in their country can write and read Latin scripts, but it is not true in reverse. The gathered information was very valuable for drawing the results globally and according to nationalities or respondents' working/studying area. The choices for choosing the national look were described as American, Italian, Greek, French, Russian, Dutch, Czech, English, African, Asian, Hebrew, Arabic, German, Swiss, Indian, Mexican, Egyptian, or none/other. Three categories of respondents were chosen to reflect their perception of typography and graphic design history. Designers or people working in media were in contrast with IT personnel, who work with typography and fonts but not necessarily know their origin, and with people from any other areas.

The global results (Fig. 70) only underlined the expectations and the comparison analysis of non-Latin and Latin scripts, especially when linked to nations. The most successful in showing the link to nationalities are fonts transformed from non-Latin scripts. Globally, the highest percentage showing the ability of connecting the font to a nation had the Asian font, which was filled in by more than 70% of respondents. This high percentage was seen across all groups of respondents. Due to expanding Asian culture and more dominant

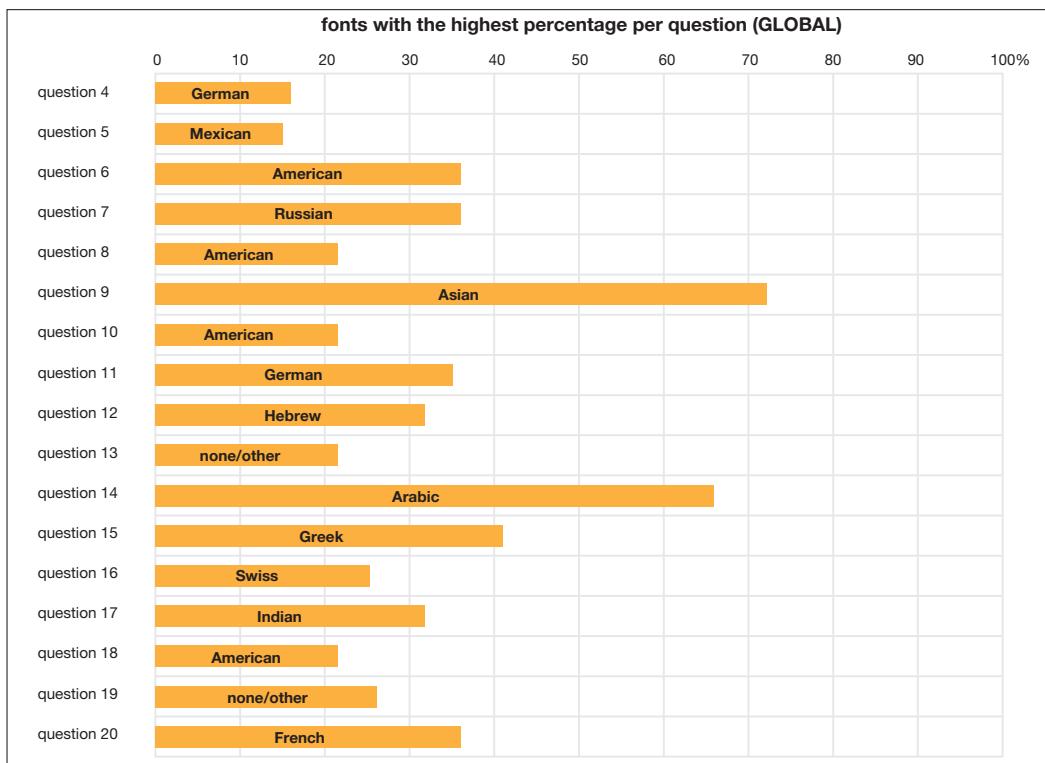


Fig. 70: Global results from the National Type Survey which was conducted online.

Fig. 69 (p. 61): 17 typefaces were chosen to show the national feel and look, including non-Latin and Latin script.

question 4

Type by Nationality

question 5

TYPE BY NATIONALITY

question 6

Type by Nationality

question 7

TYPE BY NATIONALITY

question 8

Type by Nationality

question 9

TYPE BY NATIONALITY

question 10

Type by Nationality

question 11

Type by Nationality

question 12

TYPE BY NATIONALITY

question 13

TYPE BY NATIONALITY

question 14

Type by Nationality

question 15

TYPE BY NATIONALITY

question 16

Type by Nationality

question 17

Type by Nationality

question 18

Type by Nationality

question 19

Type by Nationality

question 20

Type by Nationality

position of Asian corporations operating globally in the world, as well as spreading of Asian people integrating in other countries' societies, creating strong ethnic groups results in reliable recognition of transformed Chinese, Vietnamese or Korean. The trend of using these transformed Asian fonts is increased in marketing (see Figs. 31 and 32), which also helps to link and recognise these fonts despite the fact of not showing an exact representation of the original script. In fact, Asian people to resemble their country often create these fonts. Transformed Arabic, Indian, and Cyrillic scripts were also very well recognised by the respondents, however, the chosen transformed Cyrillic font was also marked as Greek. There are more variations of the transformed Cyrillic and Greek scripts which might be difficult for people to recognise as Russian or Greek. On the other hand, the transformed Greek script was also felt as Egyptian or Mexican.

Interesting partial findings were seen in three groups of respondents divided by their work or field of study. The most visible difference was in the perception and the feel of fonts. Respondents from non-design areas were more prone to choose the option, which either reminded them other nationalities as those listed or none of them. Alternatively, fonts could have been chosen and felt as neutral, expressing no national feel. This only indicates that for majority of people it was really complicated to pick and link any of the available options. It also leads to a fact that although the emotions and feelings coming from typefaces are perceptible, the national feel is so sophisticated, comprising more than one emotion, that it is hard to feel nationality in general.

What is national for one person does not have to be for the other one.

The fact that nationality might be felt and recognised by members of the nation more reliably is evident. This is applicable for Latin scripts and even more for non-Latin scripts transformed into the Latin version. Asian, Arabic, and Cyrillic transformed fonts were the most successful and reached the highest percentage (Fig. 72).

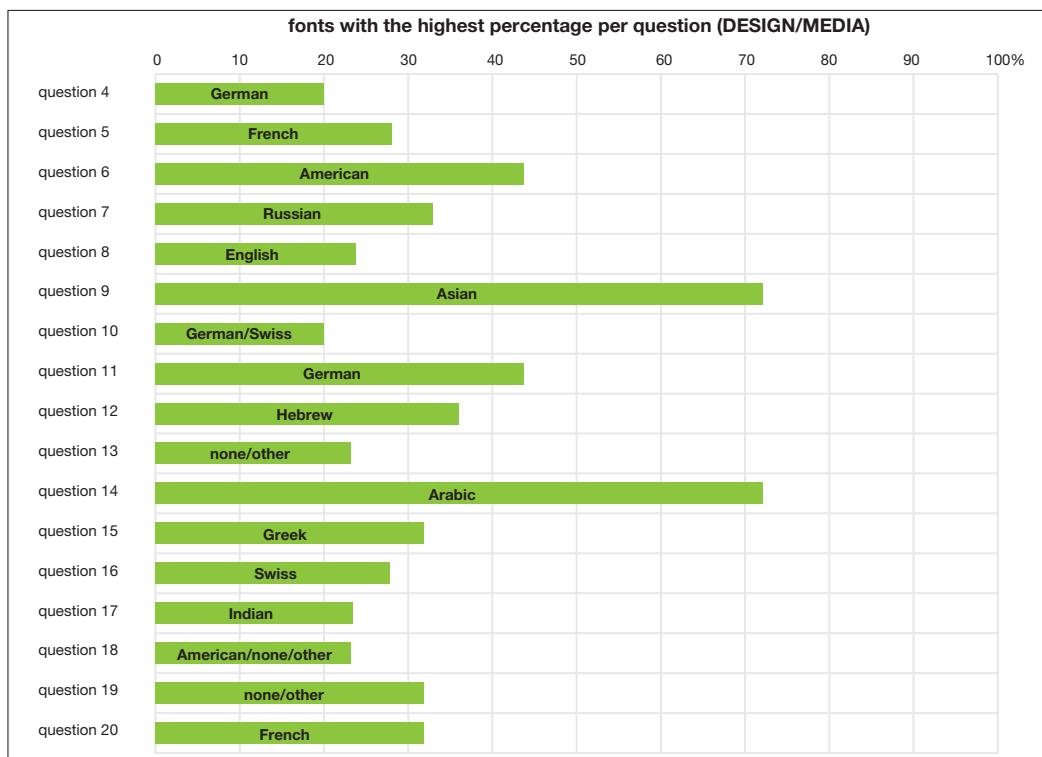


Fig. 71: Design/Media group results from the National Type Survey conducted online.

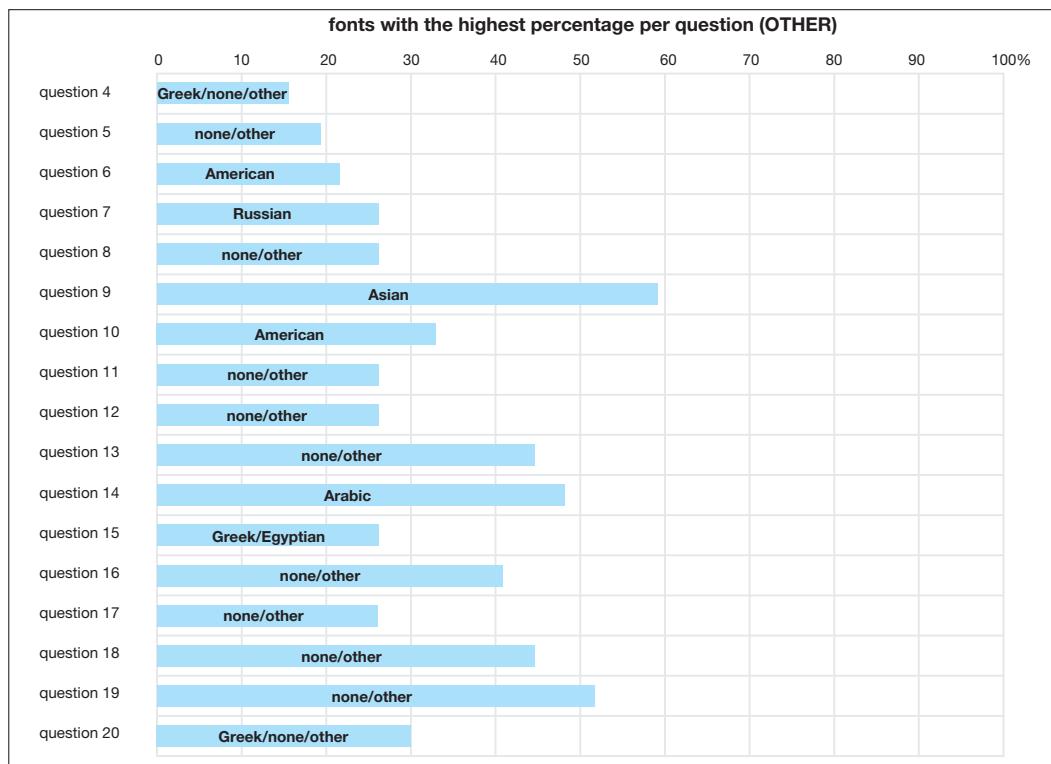


Fig. 72 (top): Other or non-design group results from the National Type Survey conducted online.

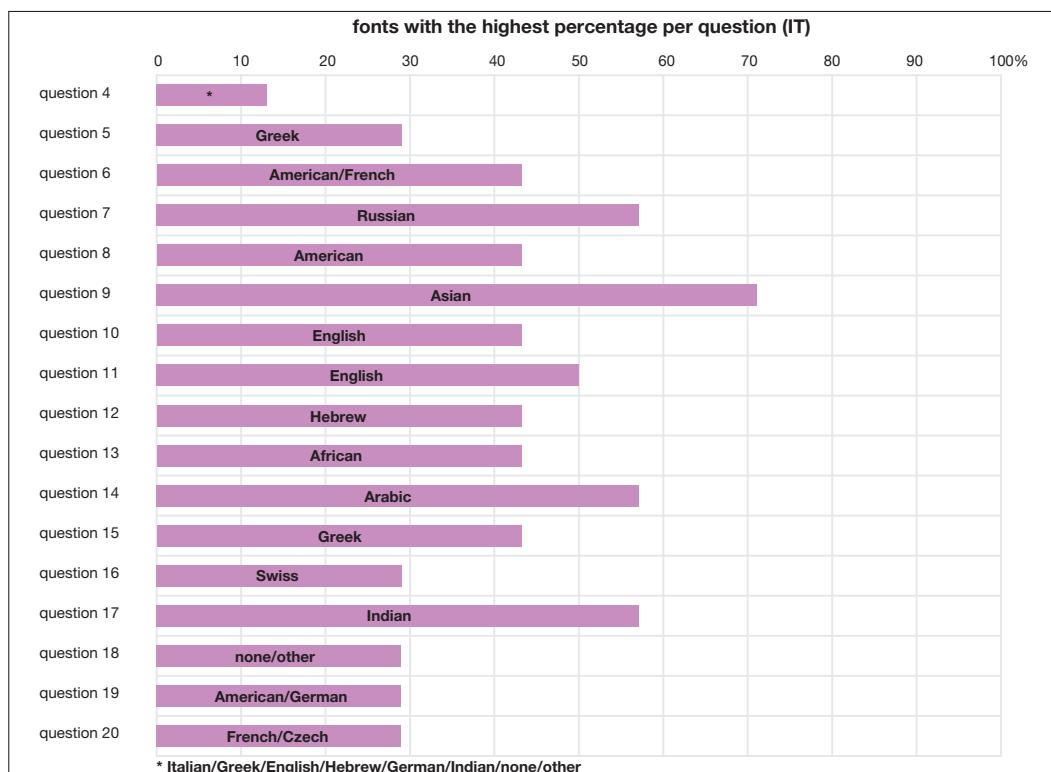


Fig. 73 (bottom): IT group results from the National Type Survey conducted online.

The New York Times



Fig. 74 (top left): The New York Times wordmark written in blackletter typeface.

Fig. 76 (bottom left): Big Chill logo used on refrigerators in USA.

The Telegraph



Fig. 75 (top right): The Telegraph, British newspaper wordmark is constructed from blackletter.

Fig. 77 (bottom right): "Ouky Douky.", a seconhand book shop with vintage American lettering.

Designers, artists, or people working in media were less "none/other" oriented in their answers; they tend to link the fonts according to their feel or even knowledge. The results of transformed Asian, Arabic, Cyrillic, and Hebrew were very close to the results of other groups, which means that these "exotic" scripts, even transformed into the Latin form, are easier to connect to a nation than any of the Latin scripts. According to the strong German national identity presented throughout centuries and especially during world war times in the 20th century, when German Fraktur (blackletter) was used almost everywhere, the expectation was to feel this kind of font as truly German. However, as the survey revealed (Fig. 71), the answers were not as single-valued. Although one third of respondents felt it as German, an English feel was chosen quite often as well and was placed as second. This might be because the occurrence of blackletter in British Isles, the United States and partially in other countries, but never in such extent as in Germany. The blackletter is still quite popular nowadays in the publishing, especially in newspapers with long tradition and history such as The New York Times (Fig. 74), The Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, The Daily Telegraph (Fig. 75), Daily Mail, Le Monde, and many others.

The feel and look of the Latin script is extremely difficult to bridge to a certain nation or nationality

The lowest number of respondents was from the IT group, but the answers were also very important for strengthening the overall results (Fig. 73) from previous two groups. Although the IT area uses fonts quite a lot, whether in a web territory, applications, on displays of various devices or in the software development, they felt non-Latin scripts almost identically as other groups. The highest percentage was achieved by the transformed Asian script, which only mirrored the results from previous groups, followed by the transformed Arabic, Cyrillic, and Indian scripts. The decision-making around Latin scripts was more hectic than guiding and there was no clear winner in this category of scripts. This fact suggests as well as confirms that the feel and look of the Latin script is extremely difficult to bridge to a certain nation or nationality.

CONCLUSION

When we walk down the streets, open newspapers, magazines, books and these days it is more about laptops, smart phones and all kinds of pads—it is there—though we might not notice it at first sight, but type which reflects or at least is trying to reflect the nationality, culture, or an ethnic group is present. Although the classification of typefaces does not mention nationality as a feature or characteristics, it does not exclude its existence with the possibility to use it. However, the major difference is whether the typeface was made and designed with the knowledge and intention to reflect the national spirit, attributes, feel and possibly the history, or the chain of events of the constant use on products or in printed materials created this status. Once it reached this status, it is not entirely clear whether everyone would be able to perceive it in that way.

So is there a safe choice when a designer or practically anyone could choose a font representing a nation and this way the viewers would perceive it reliably as national? The answer is quite prosaic—yes and no. But besides, would such a font help to visualise a product, a film, a company, a shop or a printed material better? The non-Latin scripts, which are made into the "transformed" Latin version are recognised by viewers in the world as national more than fonts in the Latin script supposed to carry the national feel. The significance of the look and feel is noticeable in displaying the name of the second-hand bookshop (Fig. 76). Although okey-dokey is written phonetically, the intention and the message are clear. The typeface reminding 50s American cars or refrigerators (Fig. 77) must have been chosen purposefully to depict American vintage look. However, it is not certain that this kind of font would show the link to America for everyone. The globalisation of fonts and their use around the world guaranteed their wide recognition, but also redoubled the connotations. The only safe choice of the Latin script font would be its proprietary use for certain products or materials and not having the ability of using them anywhere else. In that case the font could slowly build the phenomenon of national linking. Or the other option, which is quite difficult these days, would be a dominant use of the font by a country as it was in case of Germany and the blackletter. That is why it is not a coincidence that from the Latin script just the blackletter has the highest chance to be recognised and connected to a nation.

Nationalism, patriotism, traditions, or inner beliefs can be implemented in type, but if present, they would only underline the fact of being able to evoke certain feelings in viewers and more importantly in the content with the "national" connotation. Any emotional aspect reflected in type might be perceived individually and since national feel is a collection of emotions it is quite difficult for readers or viewers to distinguish among those feelings as well as among nationalities dressed in some typeface. Since transformed non-Latin scripts are more or less imitations of shapes and forms and perhaps dominant cultural phenomena, it is their purpose to act as national. But in case of Latin scripts and a huge variety of different typefaces it is more complicated to find the link to their nationality. More prominent than elaborate reflection of nationality is in the ability to show a visage of medieval, western, romantic, or modern looks. Paradoxically, in the world of globalisation we live in, even if there would be clear fonts with national feel they will sooner or later, inevitably, might become international. ■

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IMAGE LIST

FIG. 1 De Jong, C., Purvis, A. and Tholenaar, J. (2009) *Type A Visual History of Typefaces and Graphic Styles. Part 1: 1628-1900*. Köln: Taschen, p. 6.

FIG. 2 Habitat for Humanity (2012) *Facebook*. [Icon]. Available at: <http://www.habitatbuilds.com/home/facebook-icon/> (Accessed: 15 May 2012).

FIG. 3 Biričkai, R. (2012) *Collaged icon*. [Collage].

Font used:

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FIG. 4 Sound Technology (2011) *Washburn J600*. [Online]. Available at: <http://soundtechuk.blogspot.cz/2011/02/washburn-guitars-introduces-new-vintage.html> (Accessed: 17 May 2012).

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FIG. 10 De Jong, C., Purvis, A. and Tholenaar, J. (2010) *Type A Visual History of Typefaces and Graphic Styles. Part 2: 1901-1938*. Köln: Taschen, p. 30.

FIG. 11 De Jong, C., Purvis, A. and Tholenaar, J. (2009) *Type A Visual History of Typefaces and Graphic Styles. Part 1: 1628-1900*. Köln: Taschen, p. 17.

FIG. 12 De Jong, C., Purvis, A. and Tholenaar, J. (2009) *Type A Visual History of Typefaces and Graphic Styles. Part 1: 1628-1900*. Köln: Taschen, p. 37.

FIG. 13 Beggarstaff Brothers (1899) *A Trip to Chinatown*. [Online]. Available at: http://www.printmag.com/design_articles/stereotypes/tabid/383/Default.aspx (Accessed: 5 May 2012).

FIG. 14 Dreamworks (2008) *Madagascar 2 Escape to Africa*. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.desktopwallpaperhd.com/wallpapers/7/3325.jpg> (Accessed: 6 June 2012).

FIG. 15 Meggs, P. and Purvis, A. (2006) *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 4th edn., p. 184.

FIG. 16 De Jong, C., Purvis, A. and Tholenaar, J. (2010) *Type A Visual History of Typefaces and Graphic Styles. Part 2: 1901-1938*. Köln: Taschen, p. 338.

FIG. 17 Twombly, C. (1989) *Lithos*. [Typeface]. Adobe Systems Incorporated. Available in category Linotype at: <http://www.myfonts.com/fonts/linotype/lithos/> (Accessed: 26 May 2012).

FIG. 18 The Eternal Jew. (1940) [Poster]. Available at: <http://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/posters/ewige.jpg> (Accessed: 8 May 2012).

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PRACTISING VIRTUE: A CHALLENGE TO THE VIEW THAT A VIRTUE CENTRED APPROACH TO ETHICS LACKS PRACTICAL CONTENT

BRUCE GAHIR

A virtue-centered approach to ethics has been criticised for being vague owing to the nature of its central concept, the paradigm person. From the perspective of the practitioner the most damaging charge is that virtue ethics fails to be action guiding and, in addition to this, it does not offer any means of act appraisal. These criticisms leave virtue ethics in a weak position vis-a-vis traditional approaches to ethics. The criticism is, however, challenged by Hursthouse (1999) in her analysis of the accounts of right action offered by deontology, utilitarianism, and virtue ethics. It is possible to defend the action guiding nature of virtue ethics: there are virtue rules and exemplars to guide action. Insights from Aristotle's practical approach to ethics are considered alongside Hursthouse's analysis, and it is suggested that virtue ethics is also capable of facilitating action appraisal. It is at the same time acknowledged that approaches to virtue ethics vary widely and those who embrace a radical replacement virtue approach would reject that the challenges offered here.

Hursthouse (1999) has said that virtue ethics is both old and new: old because of the Aristotelian heritage and new in the sense that its contribution to ethics has been considered only in recent years. In the ethics literature of the 1960s and 1970s virtue ethics was mentioned in the form of 'interesting points' but not as a 'third possibility' in relation to utilitarianism and deontology. Now virtue has emerged from the shadows and is featuring more clearly as a challenge to these theories. It is, however, still considered with a degree of skepticism, particularly by practitioners. This is unfortunate since virtue ethics has so much to offer, particularly in relation to moral development and the moral life in general. Ethics permeates the whole of life and is not something that can be taught by formulae and simply 'applied' to problems arising in practise.

The objectives of this article are to:

- 1.** Challenge the assumptions of those who dismiss virtue ethics as vague and lacking any practical content.
- 2.** Engage skeptics by presenting a virtue ethics approach that enriches and guides professional practice.
- 3.** Generate some debate, particularly among those who teach professional ethics. I am perhaps 'putting the cart before the horse' in presenting the problems with virtue ethics without having first expounded in detail the nature of the approach.

WHAT IS MEANT BY VIRTUE ETHICS?

Recent appeal to a neo-Aristotelian approach to ethics focuses to a large extent on Aristotle's practical outlook that is reflected in his concern for particular problems rather than universal principles. Following Anscombe's (1958) inaugural articulation of a growing discontent with modern moral philosophy, there has been a huge interest in offering alternative methods of doing ethics. There are many different approaches to virtue theory, and alternatives to deontology and utilitarianism differ widely. Those who offer these alternatives are joined by one common thread: dissatisfaction with traditional moral theory and the rules and principles generated by such theories. They also share a concern that the attempt to articulate principles of right has failed. The latter point has been identified as one of the main reasons for an interest in virtue ethics. This lack of confidence in traditional theory and general principles is coupled with a concern that the moral agent seems to have disappeared from the scene. While Anscombe and MacIntyre (1985) identified the problems and called for a change in our approach to ethics, they both stopped short of explicating an alternative, that is, a virtue theory. This challenge has been taken up by others who have offered various (often conflicting) resolutions to the problems inherent in traditional moral theory.

The word 'virtue' in itself can also put people off this approach to ethics. The Greek notion of virtue, however, differed significantly from our modern understanding of the concept, which is in many ways related to concepts such as charity, holiness and 'Christian virtues'.

The Greek word arete (virtue) means excellence in relation to a skill or trait of character. It is a word used to describe a quality that is not limited to human beings, but may also be in the possession of inanimate objects and other species, for example a horse (a good race horse) or a knife (a good sharp knife). Arete is very much linked to function: a good knife cuts effectively, a good horse wins races; anything good performs its function well. For example, a good nurse or a good doctor perform their functions well and this requires excellence in skills, in theoretical knowledge and in moral virtue (excellence of character). Virtues can also be described as attributes, character traits, or excellences of character. These have been described by different authors as falling into various categories but, for the purposes of this article, there follows a list of those virtues, or attributes, which could be considered to be important:

- Practical wisdom (prudence); Theoretical wisdom (knowledge);
- Justice (as fairness); Competence (skills);
- Compassion; Understanding;
- Benevolence; Imagination;
- Integrity; Deliberation;
- Honesty; Diligence;
- Veracity; Perseverance.
- Courtesy;
- Generosity;
- Kindness;
- Genuineness;
- Patience;
- Tolerance;
- Courage.

The point to be made here is that the paradigm person (excellent character, the person who exemplifies the virtues, excellences or attributes) represents, in virtue ethics, the core concept. In virtue ethics there is no cardinal principle such as duty or utility from which we can derive secondary moral rules. There is rather a concern with what sort of people we must be if we are to flourish or to achieve the good life. It is claimed that this can be gained without recourse to rules and principles, and some make the even stronger claim that rules and principles can actually blind the good character and steer it in the wrong direction.

Aristotle's approach has been adopted by those attempting to find a more 'person centered' practical ethics. Aristotle refers to his treatises as the 'ethika', today called ethics. The Greek word means 'matters to do with character', which is why Aristotelian virtue ethics appeals to those who consider character to be of primary concern, perhaps even replacing the rules and principles of modern moral theory. The very idea that the good person is one who acts according to the right principles -/ be they categorical imperatives or the principle of utility -/ has always struck me as being colossally out of tune with the manner in which ordinary people (and most philosophers) think about and judge themselves and their actions. This is also expressed by Kupperman (1988), who says that, whether someone is appealing to Kantian duty or to consequentialism, it is easy to get the impression of a "faceless ethical agent" who is equipped by moral theory to make decisions, but that these are not psychologically connected to the agent's past or future.

In virtue ethics there is no simple rule to deal with all events, no general rule by which we can decide on the right course of action. The complexities of life defy the formulation of such rules. There are important general principles but we cannot use these to determine how we should behave on particular occasions. The question 'how should one live?' is, in McDowell's (1979) words, approached via the notion of a virtuous person. In virtue ethics, things are turned "inside out" and "a conception of right conduct is grasped, as it were, from the inside out". It is this virtue-generated conception of right action that will be explored here.

THE RETURN TO VIRTUE

Virtue, therefore, is to be interpreted here as the core or key-organising concept and as a justification for morality. The return to virtue involves focusing on the agent: the paradigm person (the person of excellent character who exemplifies the virtues) replaces the moral theorist. In a purely virtue-based ethic, the normative standard is the good person, the person upon whom we can rely habitually to be good and to do good under all circumstances. Virtue ethics, then, is an approach according to which basic judgments in ethics are those about character. It suggests that the right action is that which is done by the person with the right state of character. Virtues come first and we understand what to do by appeal to them.

Virtue ethics is commonly referred to as an ethic of being rather than an ethic of doing. Virtue ethics rejects the primacy of duty and obligation that fails to acknowledge character-centered moral judgements: a person is good or bad, admirable or vicious, not the acts. However, virtue ethics does not necessarily, and in all versions, dismiss a concern for action, or 'doing', as some texts would imply.

CATEGORIES OF VIRTUE ETHICS

Given the complexity of a virtue ethic, it is not surprising that many different views are reflected in the literature. Various writers categorise these different interpretations of virtue ethics depending on the degree to which they include or exclude the possibility of concepts such as duty and obligation, and rules and principles, which are characteristic of traditional moral theory. The strongest and most radical version of virtue ethics rejects completely any of these concepts. A weaker, less radical, view is a combined approach. The position held here is that the concepts derived from other theories (e.g. duty or obligation) can be used as long as we remember that they are derivative from the core concept of virtue. Statman (1997) refers to this as a reductionist view and it allows for some sort of combination of approaches and the priority of virtue. This combined approach opens up the possibility of virtue ethics being action guiding.

Virtue ethics is often described as having a concern for 'being' not 'doing', which can add to the perception of vagueness. According to Kristjansson (2000), however, it is a logical mistake to attribute good character to someone who fails to exemplify it in his or her deeds. If a person is asked to explain why another person is good, the answer will more than likely be one that makes it clear that the goodness is manifest in the deeds of the individual. A person may have a good character; he or she is good, but I can know that only if I can see evidence of this in the person's deeds, or if someone else tells me that the person has done good things. There is also the possibility that a bad person can do good things, and that a good person can uncharacteristically "miss the mark", as Anscombe (1958) would say, and do something bad.

Nevertheless, a good person who is never seen to do good things would not be known to others as a good person. The virtuous person has a developed disposition to do the right thing and we have to have some idea of what the right thing is in order to obtain a notion of a virtue. There is, therefore, a need in any theory of ethics to say something about both the goodness of people and the rightness of action. Aristotle, for example, was not exclusively concerned with character rather than action and he did consider some actions to be absolutely prohibited.

Hursthouse, however, says that virtue ethics can provide a specification of right action. This specification is what the virtuous agent would characteristically do in the circumstances. This, which is charged with being too vague, or 'circular', can, however, generate rules and principles. Virtues generate instructions such as 'be honest' and each vice generates a prohibition. Virtue-rules emanate from the character and within the virtue perspective the individual is engaged in a dynamic process of moral development. The example of virtuous people is crucial to this development.

Aristotle's account of learning excellence of character and practical wisdom is summarised by Urmson (1998). Aristotle compares acquiring a good character with acquiring a skill. Paradoxical though it may sound, one learns to play the piano by playing the piano, and to ride a bicycle by riding one. Before one has acquired the art or skill one acts in accordance with the instructions of a teacher, who tells us what to do, and one does it with effort. Gradually, by practise and repetition, it becomes effortless and second nature. In the same way, one is trained as a child (if lucky in one's parents and teachers) to become truthful, generous, fair, and the like by being told how to behave well and encouraged to do so. Parents supply the intelligence and experience that one has not yet developed, and with practise and repetition it becomes easier and easier to follow their counsel. At the same time, he [Aristotle] believes, one's practical intelligence will develop so that one will less and less need parents and guardians to tell one how to behave in various circumstances; one will come to see for oneself. If properly trained one comes to enjoy doing things the right way, to want to do things the right way, and to be distressed by doing things wrongly (p. 26).

Action guidance in virtue ethics emerges from a synthesis of experience, maturity, the influence of exemplars and the acquisition of practical wisdom and other intellectual and moral virtues; these virtues then generate virtue-rules. This approach clearly challenges the criticism that virtue ethics does not come up with any rules. Virtue ethics comes up with a large number of rules.

Each virtue generates a prescription and each vice a prohibition. Critics still insist that 'do what is honest' is vague and does not give the action guidance that deontology and utilitarianism give. Virtue ethics does not fail to be action guiding, and it does come up with a specification of 'right action': an action is right if and only if it is what a virtuous agent would characteristically (i.e. acting on character) do in the circumstances. A further question emerges, however: if virtue generates virtue-rules that are action guiding and (some want to say) universalisable, requiring balancing and specification by a person with practical wisdom, what is there about it as an ethical approach that should commend it to practitioners?

In virtue ethics a person is concerned with being 'good' and 'acting well' rather than with 'doing the right thing' or following 'obligation' and 'duty'. In addition to this, virtue-rules represent, as McDowell (1979) suggests, virtue 'from the inside out' rather than 'from the outside in', as we have with codes, rules and principles imposed on us from other sources. Virtue ethics requires the agent to take account of context and to behave appropriately in particular circumstances. The agent draws on experience and insight gained from maturity, not abstract concepts. Another advantage that Williams (1973) highlights is the notion of integrity, or the idea of the unfolding self that leaves more abstract traditional moral theory looking impoverished. Virtue ethics is action guiding without being abstract and out of touch with people who practice.

A significant concern generated by the view that virtue ethics is vague and lacking action guidance is that it is unable to provide us with a way of holding people responsible for actions. At its core, ethics is practical; it is not just about being action guiding, it also needs to facilitate act appraisal. In a professional capacity people often act in such a way that their behaviour, when judged in the light of outcomes and against the background of rules and principles, is considered to be wrong, immoral and unethical. Ethics is not only expected to tell us what to do, but also to appraise the acceptability of acts carried out by colleagues. It is suggested here that virtue ethics offers insights into act appraisal and person appraisal, which is more valuable from a professional perspective.

As Hauerwas (1972) suggests, we are frequently in situations where we need to make decisions that have no relationship to objective standards of right and wrong. In these situations we must "fall back on ourselves in order to make decisions". We are more than the "sum total of our responses to particular situations". Virtue ethics, with the emphasis on character rather than acting alone, seems to have more rather than less to offer in relation to understanding moral responsibility than traditional moral theory.

Dispositions to act deliberately one way or another, using a certain range of reasons, make up character. This range of reasons is what is meant by moral vision. We can, however, look at character and action only within the context of the community, society and constraints operating on an individual. This raises the issue of control: are people really in control of their actions? Nagel (1979) suggests that luck is central to both character and action; success or failure in life depends to some extent on factors beyond our control. This is true, says Nagel, of almost any morally important act: "How can one be responsible for the stripped-down acts of the will itself, if they are the product of antecedent circumstances outside of the will's control?"

If people, through no fault of their own, lack certain capacities, is it possible to change or improve their character? Kupperman (1988), for instance, thinks that this is not feasible: people seem to be stuck with certain attributes and consciously attempting to change character and move in a different direction seems dubious. Sometimes people do change, but with pressure from the outside rather than their own efforts. Even if virtue ethics can be action guiding, does it fail the test when it comes to moral evaluation and responsibility? Should people be evaluated only for what they can control? If people should not be evaluated on the basis of their character but rather for their actions, should we not consider that to evaluate someone for an act, it must be caused by character?

The issue of control in relation to moral responsibility is one that arises frequently in the literature on virtue ethics. Virtue ethics needs to be able to assert, however, that we have control over how we behave if appraisal focuses on who we are rather than on what we do. Since the first premise of the virtue ethics approach to right conduct is personified in the character of the good agent, and critics point to the problem of moral luck, this seems to be a 'thorn in the side' of those who want to oust rival modern theories in professional ethics. Is this really such a problem? Is it not possible, for example, for a person to fail to do the right thing because this person lacks the moral strength to carry out a duty rather than that which the person is inclined to do?

Utilitarians may be tempted to put their own interests before those of others, thus failing to maximise good. All of these people could claim: 'It's not my fault; I was born with this weakness; I was just unlucky!' A character deficit, then, can be as much a flaw in traditional moral theory as it is supposed to be in virtue ethics. It does, however, have the potential to present as a more 'fatal' weapon in the armoury of the anti-virtue lobby owing to the nature of the guiding ideal of virtue ethics.

While modern philosophers ponder over the issue of moral luck and control, it is to ancient virtue ethics that we can turn for some practical help in dealing with the issue of moral responsibility, culpability and control from a professional perspective.

Aristotle refers to three classes of action (sometimes translated as 'voluntary', 'involuntary' and 'not voluntary'). In this element of his ethics, Aristotle considers different reasons for behaviour and raises some problems relating to punishment, blame and pity that are useful in the appraisal of professional conduct. Praise or blame is appropriate for intended action but pardon, or pity, is appropriate for action that is contrary to intention. This action contrary to intention can be of two different kinds:

A person can do something that he/she does not want to do through force. This must be actual physical force, not simply circumstances or psychological pressure. For example, a nurse who is called to carry out life-saving treatment is prevented from doing so because of civil unrest, including blocked roads, and the casualty passes away.

The act needs to be examined within the context of the motives of the virtuous agent and his or her sphere of knowledge and the capacity to be in control of the situation

Assuming that Aristotle's exoneration extends to omissive actions, this nurse must be pardoned because the failure to attend the patient was contrary to her intention, and she was physically prevented from attending the person. However, it is 'debatable', or uncertain, that the nurse would be exonerated if she had failed to go because she faced some psychological pressure or threat that prevented her from attending.

The other situation is ignorance of the facts at the time of the action, which must be of the sort where one could claim that had the person known such and such he or she would not have carried out the action. In other words, it must be of something contrary to the person's intention. We can be pardoned only for actions on the grounds of ignorance of the facts. Not knowing how to act, or acting in a particular way as a result of a bad character does not warrant exoneration.

For example, a nurse injects a patient with a prescribed drug. The patient develops an acute anaphylactic reaction and dies despite appropriate resuscitative measures being taken. No one could have known of this allergy before the drug was given. The nurse and the prescribing doctor would not be considered negligent in any way, since the facts were not known until after the event.

An important point that emerges here is that we need to be in control of the situation if we are to be held morally responsible (blameworthy). It is not just the act that we need to consider, but the act needs to be examined within the context of the motives of the virtuous agent and his or her sphere of knowledge and his or her capacity to be in control of the situation. Strictly speaking, the nurse has 'killed' the patient, but we would not use the words kill or murder in this context. We would probably say that the 'patient died' as a result of an accident. If, however, there was a warning in the patient's notes, which the nurse or doctor did not check, then an accusation of killing through negligence would be more appropriate.

This distinction of Aristotle's is, therefore, of great interest and significance for the modern health care professional. It is a distinction that arises often in professional conduct hearings and in law; it draws a line between negligence and unavoidable accident, between virtue and vice, much more explicitly than can any consideration of duties or consequences or acts. In addition to the above useful distinction from Aristotle, there is also the issue of weakness of the will (incontinence) and moral responsibility that again can be useful in professional conduct, but is largely ignored by most texts on ethics.

According to Aristotle there are four states of character:

- 1.** The person of excellent character, the virtuous person, acts properly and does so because he or she wants to; acting properly is effortless.
- 2.** A strong willed person (continent) wants to act improperly but makes himself or herself act properly.
- 3.** A weak willed person (incontinent) wants to act improperly, tries to make himself or herself act properly, and fails.
- 4.** A person of bad character wants to act improperly and does so without misgiving.

The strong willed person struggles but is guided by reason and resists temptation; this is not so praiseworthy as excellence of character where the person does not have to struggle. The weak willed person does not become the sort of person who accepts or condones his or her behaviour, yet is one who shows remorse. Generally, this sort of person does not attract such strong disapproval as the person of 'bad character', who, in addition to choosing to act in a bad way, feels no regret afterwards.

Mrs Brown is 80 years old and has been cared for in a unit for elderly people for four months. She is suffering from senile dementia and has had a mild 'stroke'. Prior to admission to hospital, Mrs Brown had lived at home with her son, Ben, who has Down's syndrome. Ben is now in a residential home and visits his mother every day. Mrs Brown also has a daughter in Australia but she has no other relatives.

Staff nurse A has been caring for Mrs Brown since her admission. The ward is not very busy today, so she decides to spend some extra time with Mrs Brown. Nurse A looks through Mrs Brown's locker to see if there are any photographs or other memorabilia that could help with some reminiscence. While doing this, she finds a substantial amount of money tucked into the back of a photo album. It has not been noted by the admission nurse or locked away with other valuables because it was well hidden. It is now obvious to nurse A that Mrs Brown is no longer aware of the existence of the money. Nurse A has some financial difficulties and this money would solve her immediate problems. Without even hesitating, or considering her own financial difficulties, nurse A shows the money to Mrs Brown and asks her about it. Mrs Brown seems to have forgotten ever having the money and fails to recognise it as belonging to her. Nurse A takes the money to the charge nurse; it is counted and put in the safe.

Now imagine that the same sequence of event takes place with different nurses, B, C and D. All of these nurses have similar financial difficulties and all know the patient well. Nurse B is tempted to pocket the money but honesty prevails and she refrains, and behaves as does Nurse A above. Nurse C cannot resist the temptation to take the money. She knows that it is dishonest but her financial problems overcome her disposition to honesty. She pockets it and, on several occasions throughout the day, she nearly hands it over, but eventually takes it home. Every time she looks at Mrs Brown and her son she feels remorse, but she lacks the moral courage to be honest. Nurse D sees the money, realises that no one knows about it, and does not hesitate to take it. She knows that it is dishonest but does not care. She goes home and has a night out with her partner to celebrate. She feels no remorse and the next day, when the opportunity arises, she searches the locker for more money.

A virtue ethicist would say that nurse A who is not even tempted, is more admirable than nurse B who struggled against inclination. Nurse C, although she does the same thing as nurse D, somehow seems to attract less reproach than the latter. Virtue ethics appeals to some people because of this richness in the interpretation of acts as played out by characters living real lives. Stealing is dishonest and it can be cruel, but people who steal are not all the same. This view might be shared by Utilitarians who may try to justify stealing on humanitarian grounds, but not in circumstances like these.

People who do not steal in such situations are obviously more morally praiseworthy, but, again, there is a difference between those who are tempted and those who do not even consider stealing. If we examine this and ask with which nurse the vulnerable Mrs Brown is most secure, it seems clear that nurse A comes top of the list. The main point is that nurse A is not the sort of person to steal from a patient while the others are. Nurse B did not steal, but she might have done, and she may well do so in other circumstances where her will weakens more than on this occasion. Similarly, on other occasions, nurse C may find the willpower to resist the temptation, but there is still uncertainty. Nurse A, however, inspires confidence.

Virtue ethics does facilitate an approach to appraisal of acts that can help to differentiate between intended acts, acts done contrary to intention and unintended action. Aristotle's analysis of the four states of character in relation to weakness of the will and moral responsibility also help when considering act appraisal and moral responsibility. In virtue ethics, from its inception in ancient Greece, moral appraisal focuses squarely on the agent, not on the act. This is not to say that acts are not important, but the question of moral culpability and responsibility is much more complex than merely pointing to the act done. There is choice and control to take into consideration.

CONCLUSION

There is the expectation that the morally good person will be capable of resisting the temptation to waver. Aristotle's view of good character is that it is firm, unchangeable, permanent and hard to change. People can sometimes have misfortunes that make it difficult for a virtue to operate, but they will not act viciously. The virtuous person will act appropriately in any circumstances and, as McDowell (1979) suggests, the properly habituated character deals with the temptation to act viciously by silencing it.

The role of virtue in health care ethics does not stop with the specification of right action. An exploration of the concept of virtue and how it operates in individuals can throw important light on our understanding of how people behave, why they behave as they do and to what extent their actions, if not virtuous, deserve the title 'vicious'.

Sometimes good people can behave badly and feel regret and sometimes people struggle with temptation, barely managing to resist stepping over the edge. There are also the exemplars, those who never even feel temptation, and those who behave badly without regret. The acceptance of virtue ethics as an alternative to traditional moral theory, which has been hitherto blocked by the notion that there is a lack of practical content, opens the door to an opportunity to enrich practice through the many valuable insights offered by this approach. There is the sensitivity that a consideration of context brings to the moral encounter and, in addition to this, the practitioner is perceived as someone at a certain point on a journey. Decisions made in particular circumstances are taken, while having some regard for the judgement and experience of the agent.

Tremendous insights into education and moral development are also to be found, particularly in the work of Aristotle. It is to be hoped that those who have stopped short of exploring the potential of a virtue approach because of a belief that it has little to offer the practitioner will begin to consider the very valuable contribution such an approach can make to a moral professional life. ■

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF FRACTIONAL RESERVE BANKING WITH REGARD TO REGULATORY ARBITRAGE

THOMAS DRAPER

The concept of a fractional reserve to be retained in any bank or lending institution is as old as money lending itself. The practical necessity of being able to maintain liquidity in terms of covering withdrawals was well understood by the early Jewish money lenders of renaissance Italian states. The statement "I would rather the worst debtor were indebted to me, than I to the best of creditors" is a saying still well known today amongst certain communities (Feldman, 2011). This paper will thus first examine the history of fractional reserve banking. Second explain the organisations currently operating in this field, including the Basel 1, 2, and 3 accords which have been developed as a result of continual problems. Third, it will explore the scope and inclusiveness of international organisations and agreements in regard to their efficacy. Finally conclusions will be drawn, and a formula derived, to calculate appropriate financial penalties for transgression. Lastly recommendations will be made for an effective enforcement system for a given fractional reserve.

HISTORY

The need to maintain an adequate reserve to pay back creditors has been established since the earliest days of money lending. In the following paper the word "bank" refers to any lender that lends largely borrowed money. The word "bankrupt" derives from the bench which was the workplace of a money lender being broken when he could not pay back his creditors (Mish, 2011). The development of an appropriate level of reserve has happened slowly. Firstly on an ad hoc basis, but later through the increasing regulation imposed by city and later nation states. The Code of Hammurabi, an ancient text from Babylonian law, is the first written code we have that regulates banking - of sorts. Certainly one individual considered possibly active as a banker by modern standards (Goetzmann, 2011a) was alive during the eighteenth century BC. Whilst there was some government control on debt levels (Goetzmann, 2011b), the issue of an appropriate reserve until modern times was left up to the individual lender. There was thus no incentive to maintain a prudent reserve.

The impact of the financial scandals of the Mississippi Company and John Law and the South Sea Bubble, were thought to be based solely on fraud and negligence and thus a private matter of the directors of the company and their clients. Certainly not on the failure of the former to keep a reserve that would prevent a possible run (Ferguson, 2008). The chartering of the Bank of England in 1694 and subsequent acts did not change this opinion. This appears to have been the mindset for many years. The principle established, for example, in the trial of the directors of Overend Gurney in 1866 (Swarbrick, 2012) was that the directors are not liable for fraud even in the case of a "grave error" based on reckless practice which caused the collapse of their bank.

The next major set of banking regulations of note was in the United States of America in 1863 (Hall and Kaufman, 2002a), but this also did not address the issue of an appropriate fractional reserve. In this period for bank depositors the principle of caveat emptor held sway, only amended by the judgement at specific trials. Even in modern times, the EC Directive No 77/780 enacted in 1977 and The Banking Act enacted in the United Kingdom in 1979 dealt only with the licensing and definition of banking, and played no part in regulating or specifying an appropriate percentage of fractional reserve. This was also the case for the first (1977) and second (1989) EU banking directives (Pilbeam, 2010a). Indeed it was not until the Basel agreements and the Basel banking accords that this subject was numerically specified.

THE ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

Due to the piecemeal development of finance there are many organisations involved with influencing or regulating banking on a day to day basis, only some of them specifically deal with the fractional reserve. A clear distinction must be made between those whose opinions eventually have a statutory footing – for example the Bank of International Settlements (BIS) and trade interest bodies which seek to benefit their members but have no direct influence. These can be differentiated into International and national players.

INTERNATIONAL

The organisations involved are broadly divided into those with direct and indirect influence: those with direct, are the Financial Stability Institute (FSI), the Committee on the Global Financial System (CGFS), the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (BCBS) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Those with indirect, are the International Banking Federation (IBF), the Institute of International Finance (IIF), the Association for Financial Markets in Europe (AFME), The Financial Markets Association (ACI), Asia Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association (ASIFMA), Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association (SIFMA), and lastly the bizarrely sounding International Organisation of Securities Commissions Organisation (IOSCO).

DIRECT

The Bank for International Settlements (BIS) and the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision jointly created the Financial Stability Institute (FSI) in 1999 to assist financial sector supervisors around the world in improving and strengthening their financial systems. The FSI's objectives are to promote sound supervisory standards and practices globally, and to support full implementation of these standards in all countries. It also provides supervisors with the latest information on market products, practices and techniques to help them rapidly adapt to innovations in the financial sector. It is hosted by the BIS which suggests some influence of one over the other – though the degree of such is obscure. The objectives are to help supervisors develop solutions to their multiple challenges by sharing experiences in seminars, discussion forums and conferences. It uses the resources of the BIS to assist supervisors in employing the practices and tools that will allow them to meet everyday demands and tackle more ambitious goals. The BIS has many committees which play a part in regulating the financial system. The FSI seems to have the greatest influence on the role of the fractional reserve (Bank of International Settlements, 2012a).

The Committee on the Global Financial System (CGFS) is a central bank forum for the monitoring and examination of broad issues relating to financial markets and systems. It is also hosted at the bank of International Settlements (BIS). It helps to elaborate appropriate policy recommendations to support central banks in the fulfilment of their responsibilities for monetary and financial stability. In carrying out this task, the committee assists central bank governors in recognising, analysing, and responding to threats to the stability of financial markets and the global financial system. The issue of general capital reserve levels is thus one of very much interest (Bank of International Settlements, 2012b).

The Financial Stability Board (FSB) was founded as the Financial Stability Forum in 1999 and is hosted by the BIS in Basel Switzerland. It has been established to coordinate at the international level the work of national financial authorities and international standard setting bodies and to develop and promote the implementation of effective regulatory, supervisory, and other financial sector policies. It brings together national authorities responsible for financial stability in significant international financial centres, international financial institutions, sector-specific international groupings of regulators and supervisors, and committees of central bank experts. Sometimes confused with the FSI which is also part of the BIS – the organisation is in fact completely different. The BIS is in fact a member of the FSB not vice versa. The FSB coordinates many financial institutions from many countries at a high level and is chaired by Mark Carney, Governor of the Bank of Canada. It is thus closely concerned with the issue of global financial security and fractional reserve banking. The FSI, CGFS, and FSB above and BCBS below are all based in Basel at Centralbahnplatz 2, Basel, Switzerland (FSB, 2012).

The Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (BCBS) is a forum for regular cooperation on banking supervisory matters. Its objective is to enhance understanding of key supervisory issues and improve the quality of banking supervision worldwide. It does so by exchanging information on national supervisory issues, approaches and techniques, with a view to promoting common understanding. The committee uses this common understanding to develop guidelines and supervisory standards in areas where they are considered desirable. It is best known for its international standards on capital adequacy; the Core Principles for Effective Banking Supervision; and the Concordat on cross-border banking supervision. This particular organisation is instrumental in the recent attempt to regulate fractional reserve banking. The committee's members come from Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, Hong Kong SAR, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These are expected to increase in the near future. The present Chairman of the Committee is Mr Stefan Ingves, Governor of Sveriges Riksbank.

The committee encourages contacts and cooperation among its members and other banking supervisory authorities. It circulates both published and unpublished papers to supervisors throughout the world providing guidance on supervision. Contacts have been further strengthened by an International Conference of Banking Supervisors (ICBS) which takes place every two years. The committee is located at the Bank for International Settlements headquarters in Basel, Switzerland, and is staffed mainly by professional supervisors on temporary secondment from member institutions. In addition to undertaking the secretarial work for the committee and its many expert sub-committees, it stands ready to give advice to supervisory authorities in all countries. Mr Wayne Byres is the Secretary General of the Basel Committee.

The Current Basel regulations, overseen by the BCBS were developed by the Bank of International settlements (BIS) which in the latter half of the 20th century branched out from its initial role of settling reparations payments after the Great War and assumed a coordinating role, over many aspects of international banking regulation. One of which is now to determine the level of fractional reserves. The first banking accord was signed in 1988 (Hall and Kaufman, 2002b). In the years since the 2002 United Nations International Conference for Financing for Development produced the Monterrey Consensus (Griffith-Jones and Young, 2009) which stated the desirability of the Basel committee to expand to include as many countries as possible. At this time the impetus was really to increase the development potential of the economies included. There were many regulations enacted but a fractional reserve level was not specified. The Basel 1 (1988) agreement specified a bank must retain risk weighted assets of 8%. The Basel 2 accord (2004) reiterated an 8% level but stated that different levels had to be retained against different types of assets based on their perceived risk. Basel 3 (2010-11) included an element specifying the fractional reserve at 7% but with an allowance for reducing this by 2.5% to 4.5% in case of a "run" on the bank as long as no dividends could be paid until the buffer reached 7% again. There was also a countercyclical element to raise the requirement by 2.5% to 9.5% to restrict lending in an overheating market. A seasonal element of 2.5% for common equity was also added. This is always included in the total capital ratio and is always assumed to be needed as liquidity increases in many countries and peaks during the harvest and sale of the agricultural sector. In the Basel 2 agreement different types of capital had been given different nomenclature – tier 1 for the safest, tier 2 for that less so and so on. The Basel 3 agreement thus decided that the addition of all these various areas of capital should, to be adequate, produce a ratio of 8.5-11% against tier 1 capital (the safest) and 10.5-13% for the total capital. Enforcement was left up to national regulators (Bank of International Settlements, 2012c).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an organisation that was created on July 22, 1944, at the Bretton Woods Conference and came into existence on December 27, 1945, when 29 countries signed the Articles of Agreement. It originally had 45 members. The IMF's stated goal was then to stabilise exchange rates and assist the reconstruction of the world's international payment system post-World War II. It is thus interested in fractional reserve levels as it often provides loans to countries with banking and bond crises. Countries contribute money to a pool through a quota system from which countries with payment imbalances can borrow funds with temporarily many attached conditions. Through this activity and others such as surveillance of its members' economies and policies, the IMF works to improve the economies of its member countries. It has access to very large funds and is thus instrumental in the current (2012) European "bail out" of highly indebted countries. The IMF describes itself as "an organisation of 188 countries (as of April 2012), working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty." The organisation's founding objectives are to promote international economic cooperation, international trade, employment, and exchange rate stability, including by making financial resources available to member countries to meet balance of payments needs. Its headquarters are in Washington, D.C. at 700 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20431. It is closely related to the World Bank (International Monetary Fund, 2012).

INDIRECT

The International Banking Federation (IBF) was formed in March 2004 to represent the combined views of a group of national banking associations. As such the inception of this organisation predates the current financial crisis. The countries represented by the Federation collectively represent more than 18,000 banks with 275,000 branches, including around 700 of the world's top 1000 banks which alone manage worldwide assets of over \$31 trillion. The Federation claims to represent every major financial centre, and its members' activities in every time zone. This enables the Federation to function as an international forum for considering legislative, regulatory and other issues of interest to the global banking industry (International Banking Federation 2012). The statutory influence of this organisation is small, but it has considerable other influence due to its size and scope. It is an "umbrella association" that includes others such as the Basel Committee on banking Supervision (BCNS) and many others. It is based in London at Pinners Hall, 105-108 Old Broad Street EC2N 1EX.

The Institute of International Finance, Inc. (IIF) was created by 38 banks of leading industrialised countries in 1983 in response to the international debt crisis of the early 1980s. The IIF now serves its membership in three distinct ways: First, providing analysis and research to its members in emerging markets in regard to central issues in global finance. Second, developing and advancing representative views and constructive proposals that influence public debate on particular policy proposals, including those of multilateral agencies. It also makes comment on other issues that it feels are of importance - though with no statutory influence on the parties involved. Third, coordinating a network for members to exchange views and offer opportunities for effective dialogue among policymakers, regulators, and private sector financial institutions. The Institute's current 35-member Board of Directors is led by Chairman Douglas Flint; Vice Chairmen Roberto Setúbal, Walter Kielholz, Richard E. Waugh, and Marcus Wallenberg (also Treasurer of the IIF). The IIF's Managing Director is Charles Dallara, who has held the position since 1993. The headquarters is in Washington, D.C. at 1333 H St NW, Suite 800E, DC 20005-4770. In November 2010 the organisation opened its Asia Representative Office in Beijing at Fortune Resources International, South 17th Floor, 18 Taipingqiao Street, Xicheng District, 100032 (Institute for International Finance Inc., 2012). This is one of the many coordination and interest committees which have some influence over policy but little statutory power.

The Financial Markets Association (ACI) counts affiliated associations in some 65 countries across the world. ACI International acts as a focus of all of its local associations. Each national association serves the local financial community (mainly members, working with financial institutions or a financial services provider). The members are engaged directly within the financial trading or sales environment in the global financial markets. Being a non-commercial organisation ACI represents the interests of its individual members and provides a large international platform for networking in globalised markets. The individual members of this organisation provide market experience based on their financial day to day activities. It is based at 8, Rue du Mail F-75002, in Paris (The Financial Markets Association 2012). This institution appears to be a group that is orientated towards the benefits of networking opportunities by its members with no statutory footing.

The Asia Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association (ASIFMA) is a broadly based professional advocacy organisation that seeks to promote the growth and development of Asia's debt capital markets and their orderly integration into the global financial system (ASIFMA, 2012). ASIFMA works to develop more open domestic capital markets, standardised market practices and a stable and transparent regulatory environment that will help mobilise and redirect the region's financial savings to support Asia's continued economic growth and development. ASIFMA is the Asian regional member of the Global Financial Markets Association (GFMA). ASIFMA is based in Hong Kong at Units 610 and 611, Bank of America Tower, 12 Harcourt Road, Central Hong Kong (SIFMA 2012). Again - this organisation has growing informal influence, particularly with the current rebalancing of economic weight from east to west.

The Securities Industry and Financial Markets Association (SIFMA) expresses the shared interests of more than 650 securities firms, banks, and asset managers. SIFMA's mission is to promote effective and efficient regulation, facilitate open, competitive, and efficient global capital markets, champion investor education, retirement preparedness, and savings, and ensure the public's trust in the securities industry and financial markets. It represents its members' interests in the U.S. It has offices in New York City at 120 Broadway (35th floor) and Washington, D.C. at 1101 New York Avenue NW (8th floor). It is associated with the Asia Securities Industry & Financial Markets Association (ASIFMA). SIMFA is the American originator of the former, and both although projecting influence appear to have no statutory standing.

The Association of Financial Markets in Europe (AFME) concerns Europe's wholesale financial markets. It represents the leading global and European banks and other significant capital market players. It focuses on a wide range of market, business and prudential issues and offer a pan-European perspective, bringing to bear policy and technical expertise and constructive influence with European and global policymakers. It has a London office at St. Michael's House, 1 George Yard, London EC3V 9DH and another in Bruxelles at Square de Meeùs 38-40,1000 (The Association of Financial Markets in Europe, 2012). There is another similar organisation called the Global Financial Markets Association (GFMA) which coordinates the activities of SIFMA, ASIFMA, and the AFE. Again these organisations are influential but with no direct statutory footing.

The International Organisation of Securities Commissions Organisation (IOSCO) has three main roles. First to cooperate in developing, implementing and promoting adherence to internationally recognised and consistent standards of regulation, oversight and enforcement in order to protect investors, maintain fair, efficient and transparent markets, and seek to address systemic risks. Second to enhance investor protection and promote investor confidence in the integrity of securities markets, through strengthened information exchange and cooperation in enforcement against misconduct and in supervision of markets and market intermediaries. Third to exchange information at both global and regional levels on their respective experiences in order to assist the development of markets, strengthen market infrastructure and implement appropriate regulation (OCIV-IOSCO, 2012). It is based in Spain at C/ Oquendo 12, 28006 Madrid. It is focused more directly on securities and this aspect of banking, and less on fractional reserve considerations.

NATIONAL

Each country has its own internal organisations which enforce banking regulation and the obligations of that nation to the international agreements that it has signed up to. The regulatory architecture in this area is thus very varied. If we examine for example United Kingdom the regulator is the Bank of England (BoE) and the Financial Services Authority (FSA). The FSA is to be replaced with the Prudential Regulatory Authority (PRA) and the Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) which will be again part of the BoE and report directly to its Financial Policy Committee (FPC).

The Bank of England is the central bank of the United Kingdom. Sometimes known as the 'Old Lady' of Threadneedle Street, the bank was founded in 1694, nationalised on 1 March 1946, and gained independence in 1997. Operating at the centre of the UK's financial system, the bank is committed to promoting and maintaining monetary and financial stability as its contribution to a healthy economy.

The bank's roles and functions have evolved and changed over its three-hundred year history. Since its foundation, it has been the government's banker and, since the late 18th century, it has been concerned with the banking system more generally. Its address is Threadneedle Street London, EC2R8AH. As well as providing banking services to its customers, the Bank of England manages the UK's foreign exchange and gold reserves. The bank has two core purposes - monetary stability and financial stability. To that end it has a Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) and a Financial Policy Committee (FPC). The bank is perhaps

most visible to the general public through its banknotes and, more recently, its interest rate decisions. The bank has had a monopoly on the issue of banknotes in England and Wales since the early 20th century. But it is only since 1997 that the bank has had statutory responsibility for setting the UK's official interest rate known as the Minimum Lending Rate (MLR) (Pilbeam, 2010b).

Interest rate decisions are taken by the Bank's Monetary Policy Committee of nine members. The MPC has to judge what interest rate is necessary to meet a target for overall inflation in the economy. The inflation target is set each year by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The bank implements its interest rate decisions through its financial market operations - it sets the interest rate at which the bank lends to banks and other financial institutions. The bank has close links with financial markets and institutions. This contact informs a great deal of its work, including its financial stability role and the collation and publication of monetary and banking statistics. This is the role of the Financial Policy Committee (FPC).

The Bank of England produces a large number of regular and ad hoc publications on key aspects of its work and offers many educational materials. The Bank offers technical assistance and advice to other central banks through its Centre for Central Banking Studies, and has a museum at its premises in Threadneedle Street in the City of London, open to members of the public free of charge (Pilbeam, 2010c).

The Financial Services Authority (FSA) is due to be disbanded and its role taken over by other bodies. It is a quasi-judicial body responsible for the regulation of the financial services industry in the United Kingdom. Its board is appointed by the Treasury, although it operates independently of government. It is structured as a company limited by guarantee and is funded entirely by fees charged to the financial services industry. Its main office is based at 25 The North Colonnade, Canary Wharf, Greater London E14 5HS. There is another office in Edinburgh. When acting as the competent authority for listing of shares on a stock exchange, it is referred to as the UK Listing Authority (UKLA), and maintains the Official List. The FSA's Chairman and CEO are currently Lord Turner of Ecchinswell and Hector Sants, although on 16 March 2012 Sants announced his resignation, effective from the end of June that year (FSA, 2012a).

The Prudential Regulation Authority (PRA) is a future United Kingdom financial services regulator formed as one of the successors to the Financial Services Authority. It will be part of the Bank of England and will carry out the regulation of financial firms, including banks, investment banks, building societies, and insurance companies. It will be a quasi-governmental regulator, rather than an arm of the Government per se. It will formally come into being in early 2013 Andrew Bailey, will be the initial responsible official for banking supervision (FSA, 2012c). The organisation will move into 20 Moorgate, London, EC2R6DA.

The Financial Conduct Authority (FCA), previously known as the Consumer Protection and Markets Authority (CPMA), is a future agency of the Government of the United Kingdom, formed as one of the successors to the Financial Services Authority. It will regulate financial firms providing services to consumers and maintain the integrity of the UK's financial markets. It will focus on the regulation of conduct by both retail and wholesale financial services firms. Powers will include overseeing the design of financial products and being able to specify minimum standards and other requirements on products. The FCA will be able to ban financial products for up to a year before considering an indefinite ban; it will have the power to require firms to immediately retract or modify promotions which it finds to be misleading, and to publish such decisions. In early 2011, it was announced that the head of the FCA will be Martin Wheatley, previously chairman of Hong Kong's Securities and Futures Commission. In June of 2012 it was confirmed that John Griffith-Jones would become the non-executive chair of the FCA once the FSA ceases operations in 2013. Griffith-Jones will join the FSA board in September, 2012, as a non-executive director and deputy chair (FSA, 2012b). The organisation has no fixed address as yet.

SCOPE & INCLUSIVENESS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS & AGREEMENTS**PROBLEMS THE OLD SYSTEM GENERATED**

The multiplicity and deficiencies in the governance of international regulatory institutions generated a serious weakness in financial regulation. While the system of informal information sharing, coordination, and communication witnessed some advances, the formal regulatory policies pursued were inadequate. There was a strong set of incentives to promote a financial services sector that competed with the need to manage risks within it. Countries such as the US and UK with extensive and sophisticated financial sectors had a large incentive to protect these existing standards. By under-regulating, systemic risk was allowed to build up. Many of the approaches taken, such as the drive toward quantitative, model-driven, and fundamentally microeconomic approaches to risk reflected a confidence that large banks could measure risk parameters themselves. This became a problem with a bank's assessment of their own risk in relation to various types of assets which the Basel 2 Agreement allowed them to measure themselves. The experience of the current recession has thrown these assessments clearly into doubt. Several major developing countries were indeed much more sceptical of such approaches, and were fearful of the pro-cyclical dimensions of the regulations developed (i.e. their capacity to exacerbate swings in the economic cycle). If they had been represented at the BCBS, their positions could have improved decision making and policy design.

RECENT REFORMS: PERHAPS STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

In the midst of the recent global financial crisis, there have finally been significant expansions of the memberships of the global financial regulatory institutions. These developments demonstrate that under severe criticism, global financial regulatory institutions can be moved to reform their memberships. In the context of a major crisis in the core countries, collaboration of developing countries is needed to resolve the dilemmas of both legitimacy and effectiveness in these institutions. Following the Washington G20 Summit in November 2008 which encouraged the international financial standard setting bodies to review their governance, a number of important institutions expanded their memberships, particularly to developing and emerging countries. Table 1 summarizes these changes in the public regulatory institutions.

GLOBAL FINANCIAL REGULATORY BODY	PREVIOUS MEMBERSHIP	PREVIOUS MEMBERSHIP (DEVELOPING COUNTRIES)	TIME OF EXPANSION	EXPANSION TO INCLUDE MEMBERS FROM:
IOSCO	Australia, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Canada, Spain, Switzerland, UK, USA	Mexico	February 2009	Brazil, India, China
BCBS	Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States	None	March 2009	Australia, Brazil, China, India, Korea, Mexico, and Russia
FSF/B	Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Singapore, Switzerland, UK, USA	None	March 2009	Argentina, Brazil, China, India, South Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Spain, European Commission

Table 1: Changes in Public Regulatory Institutions.

CONCLUSIONS

A global financial regulator is essential to help provide the regulatory coordination needed for pursuing the global public good of financial stability. Both academics and some market actors have long called for such an institution (Eatwell & Taylor, 2000). As stated by Perspectives on the Governance of Global Financial Regulation in item 23 of their report, "with regard to comprehensiveness, in order for regulation to be efficient, it is essential that the domain of the regulator is the same as the domain of the market that is being regulated. The crisis has shown that globalized private financial players are supported by increasingly internationalised lender of last resort facilities. Without stronger international financial regulation to complement this, moral hazard will significantly increase once again as financial activity and risk-taking will grow rapidly in areas where international regulatory gaps exist, but there is implicit or explicit coverage by lender-of-last resort facilities. Perhaps more importantly, regulatory arbitrage will take place where regulatory gaps exist" (Griffith-Jones, 2009).

In order to stop regulatory arbitrage in the area of fractional reserve banking there is a need not only for a single regulator and agreement on general accounting principles, but agreement about the nature and scale of penalties for transgressing the limit of the financial buffer. Without these any system will be largely ineffective. Penalties will usually take the form of a fine. In current operating systems there is no consistency in the scale of the fines across national boundaries, and indeed all enforcement is national. The problems in this case are that the incentive to transgress the buffer ratio should be reduced to zero, without excessively reducing the liquidity in the banking system more than is required, or indeed forcing a certain bank into insolvency with the result of reducing competition in the total banking market.

As finance flows increasingly internationally, seeking optimum returns and least regulation, it can be viewed as an open access resource. A conceptual formula produced by Garrett Hardin (1915-2003) in his paper "The Tragedy of The Commons" to describe this may be useful (Hardin, 1968). This can be adapted to:

$$I = A - E - X - P(X-X_{nc}) - X \cdot TLC$$

Where:

I = The incentive to breach the enforced fractional reserve.

A = The aggregate total return on investment derived or reasonably expected (note $A \geq 0$ for there to be any chance at all of a positive incentive)

E = The amount of money that the enforced fractional reserve is depleted below its minimum mandatory level.

P = The penalty for transgression of limit of fractional reserve level (note $P \geq 0$)

X_{nc} = The number of banks who are not cooperating with a regulator and not honestly following the same fractional banking level.

X = The total number of banks in the system.

TLC = The Total Legal Cost including auditing and investigation costs by the regulator.

If we assume the incentive I should = 0 then we can remove this term, and transpose for what the most appropriate financial level of penalty should be:

$$P = X - (X-X_{nc}), A - E - X \cdot TLC.$$

A worked example of a bank that makes an aggregate total return on an investment of 300 million dollars ($A=300$) by exceeding the fractional reserve level of 200 million dollars ($E=200$) in a system of 1000 banks in total ($X=1000$) where 500 do not cooperate with fractional reserve rules ($X_{nc}=500$) and the total legal costs are 10 million ($TLC=10$) would yield a penalty of 579.6 million to render the incentive to cheat zero. This would be in a system where half the banks do not cooperate with the rules. In the case of exactly the same sums of money where out of 1000 banks in total (X) 100 do not cooperate (X_{nc}) the resulting fine would be 321.999 (recurring) million. This is because the best proxy for the bank which is transgressing being caught is the number of banks in the system that will cooperate with regulators against the number who will not. There will usually be another bank or shadow bank which is receiving the funds and although it may not know that these come from an institution that exceeds the fractional bank limit, it is another source for investigation of a suspect bank. This is shown in the $P=X-X-X_{nc}$. function at the start of the equation. The above expression thus acts as a penalty multiplier. The size of the penalty is inversely proportional to the probability of being caught based on the number of operators in the system that are willing to cooperate with investigations. The second part, $A-E-X-TLC$. specifies that the amount the transgressor should pay is all of the revenues returned on the investment minus the risk to himself in terms of his own expenditure beyond the fractional reserve limit. The $-E-X$. function ensures he pays the proportion of this money used beyond the limit spread on all others but not the little portion that he bears himself as he would be effectively punished twice. Total Legal Costs (TLC) are borne personally and would include the costs of any investigation or audit required if an infringement was discovered. They will thus always be greater than 0. If the bank makes a loss on the money that it has exceeded the fractional reserve by, this is not relevant to the penalty, as A is the total amount of revenue returned on the investment that breaks the fractional reserve not the profit and must be greater or equal to 0. In the case where P would be negative the penalty would be zero. In this case borrowing well below the fractional reserve limit and not making as much money back as was borrowed together with the offsetting factor $-E-X$. and $-TLC$, the bank will already have lost money and in some sense has "penalised itself". It will have to pay its legal costs in addition. There is therefore no point fining it further. The object is not to destroy.

The equation makes some assumptions. First that bankers are rational and do not want to make a quick profit at the risk of their whole bank or banking sector collapsing and having to be bailed out. Second that an effective system of monitoring and control exists in most of the banking sector to make enforcement useful and that the financial information to use the formula is made available to regulators. This information needs to be used to derive a meaningful P function multiplier as explained above. With adaptations the formula can in fact be used to act as a rational basis to disincentivise any open access resource activity.

Other problems will arise, however with any stochastic system only a portion of which is restricted. If it is assumed that there exist in the whole banking sector (X) banks that are not abiding by the fractional banking level (X_{nc}) - such as those based in countries that are beyond the jurisdiction of the system - these banks will be more profitable and eventually grow and come to dominate the system. They will even benefit from the stability provided to the system by the less profitable banks that abide by the rules. For this, perhaps additional rules need to be suggested.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The current structure of international regulation is fragmented into many overlapping organisations which have been shown above. Matters are further complicated by the fact that enforcement is left up to national bodies with no clear consistency of penalty. This gives rise to an inherently unstable fractional reserve banking system. Clearly a respected and empowered central organising body is required as Eatwell & Taylor et al. have described. The United Nations is an organisation concerned primarily with the peace and stability of the world. It is known that there is a correlation between global recession and conflicts between nations and interestingly also suicides, indicating personal torment (Counihan, 2012). This is not the case

during periods of positive growth. The United Nations has various standing committees, and it seems sensible that one is created to enforce international banking regulation. The penalty for not cooperating with an efficient audit system of the regulations that were enforced would be eventual removal from the UN and or trade sanctions. This would isolate a bank from access to useful sources of capital and any reserve capital held in case of liquidity crisis by the international regulator. The penalty for noncooperation with audit should be larger than any penalty for breaching the fractional reserve limit. In this way it will always make financial sense to cooperate with the regulatory system. Care should be taken to give an institution that did cooperate and had breached the fractional reserve, a short space to rectify the situation before a penalty was applied. Those institutions that were not found to have breached their fractional reserve limit should not have to pay their legal and auditing costs. These should be paid from the fines of transgressing firms. To ensure a system with no possibility for regulatory arbitrage, the penalty equation should be given to the judges of each national jurisdiction in order to calibrate penalties on the same basis. They may have to contact the central regulator to obtain the current multiplier on the penalty (P) function. The system should grow at least as fast as the creation of new banks to stop the influence of unregulated banks becoming dominant.

This method, if followed, could reduce the scope for regulatory arbitrage and leakage of capital into inherently less stable banking systems with lower fractional reserve limits. It must be centrally recognised that to deter an institution is always better than to prosecute it. The penalty for breaking a fractional reserve should therefore be uniform throughout the banking system and well known to it. The formula included provides a reasonable basis to inform the financial penalty set by a central regulator and should be globally enforced. Whilst this may seem draconian, the near catastrophic consequences that can arise from lack of integration are all too obvious. ■

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TABLES

Table 1: Griffith-Jones, S & Young, K. (2009) 'Recent Membership Reforms since the G20's Call for Reform', in *Reforming governance of international financial regulation; have the G20 done enough?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 3.



PATRIOTISM AND IMPERIALISM 1870-1914 EDUCATION & THE YOUNG

DAVID GANNON

"Propaganda aims to turn resentment into rebellion or loose coalition into unity." (Mangan, 1986, p. 113)

Contemporary commentators and historians alike have commented on the way patriotic and imperial propaganda 'mushroomed' (Porter, 2004, p. 180) between 1870 and 1914. What is particularly remarked upon is the greater emphasis which was placed on patriotic and imperial themes in schools and youth groups. It is important then to examine this trend, to understand the reasoning and implementation so to be able to make a judgement as to its effectiveness and impact on the young of the day.

When examining the emphasis on patriotic and imperial themes in schools and youth groups it is first important to realize that it is a mistake to treat them as a homogenous whole. Treating Eton or Harrow the same as a school in a working class district of London or any larger industrial city would overlook some important differences in what propaganda was transmitted and how it was transmitted. As Mangan (1986, p. 113) points out, until 1902 there were essentially two different education systems, one encompassing the public schools and the other covering the vast majority of children. Only by accepting this fact can we begin to see clearly how and why values were transmitted and make some judgment as to its effect.

This difference can be seen clearly in the question of teaching materials for schools. A lot of focus has been on the introduction of new subjects in schools, especially the humanities, and the textbooks which were designed to teach these subjects. These text books, according to MacKenzie (1984, p. 177) were to instill a certain set of values; patriotism, good citizenship, and moral training. With a contemporary perception of external weakness and greater threat to Britain's position, it was natural to inspire the class of future leaders, through the example of role models who embodied virtuous and moral lives, to be part of the Imperial enterprise.

However, there is a problem when this view is applied to the greater majority of school age children, those of working class families. Firstly, as Heathorn (1995, p. 398) notes, it is doubtful that working class schools could afford such textbooks and further doubtful that the upper classes wanted to share an equal partnership with them as well. As Porter (2004) comments:

What most Imperialists hoped was that the workers would be made proud to serve. (Porter, 2004, p. 206)

Rather than using the same textbooks as the elites, according to historians such as Heathorn (1995, p. 398), it is more enlightening to look at the readers which were made mandatory in the education codes from 1880. The readers were to help children "identify with the nation in the present, and be prepared to serve the nation in the future" (Yeandle, 2003). A very different message was being promoted than to the elites. Rather than one of leadership, it was promoting service to the nation, in essence, cementing the social stratification of society.

This was clearly a response to the contemporary view that since the enlargement of the franchise, traditional ties which had bound society together, was breaking down. New ties, the creation of social cohesion, had to be found. It was unlikely that the elites, as Porter (2004, p. 207) argues, would want to share "economic wealth, social status or political power" with the masses. The working classes would have to be made to feel included and valued in society, without giving them anything tangible.

Therefore, the readers stressed two main themes, a sense of racial inclusion and service to the larger group. By stressing the idea of 'Englishness' and belonging, the working classes could be proud of its hard won achievements. Moreover, by stressing that everyone was responsible for its maintenance, there was in Heathorn's words (Heathorn, 1995, p. 420) a clear "inference that social and political decisions would threaten the continued prosperity of the nation, empire and race." The working classes were to be proud of being English and content with the position in society they occupied.

Youth groups multiplied in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, they were used as another means of inculcating patriotic and imperial themes to youth. The Scouts, to some historians such as MacKenzie (1984, p. 246), were "consciously founded as agents of class conciliation, designed to inculcate evangelical values of temperance, self-discipline, obedience and piety." Involvement in these groups was seen as an opportunity to create a sense of pride in belonging to the English, pride also in serving the community, feelings which would be translated into a new social cohesion. Youth were to be proud to serve and be subordinate to the wishes and commands of the elites. Whether they were actively enthused or simply obeying was a matter dependent on their status in society. In essence, we can see the continuation of the stratification found in schools, the working classes were being offered, what Porter (2004, p. 168) has called, a "vicarious share in the broader national enterprise that had previously been appropriated by the upper classes alone", although it was not meant to be an equal one.

Some historians have argued that the effect of this increased emphasis on patriotic and imperial themes was translated into real and tangible results. Historians have argued that Mafeking night, popular enlistment for the Boer and First World Wars were the end result of this process.

A whole range of propagandist imperial bodies conventionally regarded as failure, in fact succeeded in diffusing their patriotic intentions and their worldview, if not the specific and sophisticated plans of action through almost every institution of British life (MacKenzie, 1984, p. 246). However, an examination of the mechanisms through which these feelings were to be transmitted, teachers and teaching, the youth groups,

reveal that it is not as straightforward as some believe. A great deal of attention has been given to the new teaching methods which accompanied new classes and materials. As MacKenzie (1984) argues:

It was only through the new technique of teaching that history could achieve its proper purpose which was the inculcation of patriotism and good citizenship as well as the promotion of moral training.
(MacKenzie, 1984, p. 177)

The interest of children was to be stimulated by exciting stories of the past, having everyday objects brought to class and shown their imperial significance, to make children ready for their patriotic duties. Furthermore, the invention of rituals and the involvement of school children and youth organizations was meant to foster the sense of being part of a larger enterprise. The habits of order and obedience formed by drill were seen, according to MacKenzie (1984, p. 228), as "inculcating industry, discipline" and "instilling habits of submission, order and neatness". In its entirety, as Heathorn (1995, p. 421) argues the effect was meant to transmit to youth the idea that loyalty to the nation superseded all other class and community loyalties. Blanch (1979) takes this further by arguing:

The evidence then suggests that a significant part of school time in the period 1880-1899 was spent in transmitting nationalistic and imperialistic values to children. Linked to the drill and discipline it would seem that the ethos was often militaristic and emotive. (Blanch, 1979, p. 213)

As convincing as it sounds, there are some obvious problems with this reasoning. Firstly, doubtless though there were stimulating and exciting lessons, it is hard to accept that this was a universal experience. The evidence from working class memoirs, as argued by Porter (1984, p. 201), show that classroom imperial education was neither universal nor universally effective among the target audience.

Much of this could have been due to teachers. In elite schools there is a great deal of evidence of the dissemination of patriotic themes by teachers but even here, as Mangnan (1986, p. 118) concedes, it was not universal. In working class schools the situation makes it hard to support this argument. Teachers did not have prescribed curricula until early in the twentieth century as governments were afraid to alienate teachers or parents. Porter (1984, p. 202) therefore argues that what was taught was influenced by two pressures, the teachers and their attendant political leanings and agendas (often left wing and radical), and the pressure from parents who wanted their children's education to have practical application. Given these conditions, it is hard to agree that patriotic themes were as ubiquitous as some have argued.

Whilst the upper classes had sport to teach them esprit-de-corps, leadership, and manly prowess, the working classes had drill. Whilst perhaps effective in cultivating traits of order and obedience, it is hard to see how it was to give children a sense of patriotic pride. Through its encouragement in schools through the education acts of 1871 and 1875 and the view that it was described as an efficient teaching tool in pedagogical manuals, the effect may have been what Steadman-Jones (1974, p. 488) identifies as "deadening" rather than inspiring. It is perhaps more convincing to argue that the repetition of drill made it become seen as a chore or irritation rather than an exciting activity for the children leading to enthusiasm for empire.

As put forward by MacKenzie (1984, p. 246) working class children were to have received a "considerable infusion of middle-class values" whilst being members of youth groups. Drilling with weapons and association with the military may have stimulated some young people, but it must be remembered that some groups, especially those organised by the churches, were often wary of this connection. If this is the

case, then the argument that notions of service to the nation and empire were being produced by these organisations, is not as convincing as previously thought. The common view of the dissemination of values through these groups also forgets the motivations of many for joining in the first place. A desire for sport, a release from the drudgery of daily life, a way to make friends were often behind the decision to join rather than patriotic spirit and again the questions needs to be asked whether they paid attention to the themes which did not fit in with their reasons for joining. Believing that patriotic themes were successfully transmitted is even harder to accept when you consider that some joined, as Summers (1976, p. 107) notes, as they believed their weekly drill "served an anti-authoritarian or at least anti-aristocratic cause".

Similarly, the increase in school and public ritual like the celebration of Empire Day, the lauding of the monarch, military parades, and waving the flag which was intended to further promote feelings of patriotism and empire inclusion may have had little effect on the majority of youth. Enthusiasm for an activity does not necessarily imply that the message has been assimilated. As Porter (1984, p. 210) argues, "children could enthuse over the trappings of such events without being deeply persuaded".

It is important to remember that youth, especially working class youth, were not a 'tabula rasa' where ideas could simply be imprinted by what Porter (1984, p. 225) has termed "bourgeois propagandists". Ideas of patriotism and imperialism would take hold where the ground was most fertile, in the minds of those who already had a connection with the empire, the families of those already involved in it. For the vast majority of young people, ideas of patriotism and empire were not easy to disseminate (Porter, 2004, p. 262) as they had a culture of their own, a culture which had until the later part of the nineteenth century been excluded from it, and where people had different concerns and needs and their own sense of belonging.

It is possible to argue, as Price (1977, p. 97) does, that "the appeal of patriotic consensus never appealed much to the working classes," as it would be expected that the success of these schools and youth-groups to be trumpeted by contemporary commentators, yet the perception of imperialists at the time was pessimistic and the very fact that multiple media had to be engaged and for such a long period of time, does not indicate overwhelming success. Moreover, it was a frequent concern (Porter, 1984, p. 172) that the working classes were "temperamentally, almost proudly, unpatriotic".

It is hard to judge the effects of how effective the increased patriotic and imperialistic emphasis had on society. Some memoirs of the time certainly reflect the positive effect of this propaganda, yet the small number of working class memoirs available makes it difficult to make a judgment for society overall. Perhaps the best way to judge the effects, until further evidence is uncovered, is that whilst propagandist imperial bodies 'succeeded in diffusing their patriotic intentions' it was only to the point of raising awareness of the empire. As Porter (1984) comments that "in fact Britain was no more imperialistic in effect in 1900 than she had been in, say, 1850; the only difference as that now she was more open about it" (Porter, 1984, p. 196).

Through placing greater emphasis on patriotism and imperialism in schools and youth groups it was possible to raise awareness, if not the patriotism of the middle and upper classes. It may be too strong to argue that patriotism was largely irrelevant to the working classes, merely that it had tough competition from a strong and defined culture. If we return to the quotation from the beginning of the essay, if increased propaganda did not create the unity intended, perhaps it helped to continue and strengthen the loose coalition of classes in society, perhaps the ideas of order and service were to some extent communicated effectively into the national consciousness. ■

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REFLECTIVE PRACTISE AT PRAGUE COLLEGE

JEFFREY BUEHLER

Prague College aspired in its first tentative steps into higher and further education to create the right conditions for learning by providing the required resources, qualified academic faculty, and sound administrative systems. Over its short existence the college did in this way achieve a certain level of stability and experience as an institution. Nevertheless, despite achieving some success at providing students with an education, it became less clear why the same problems consistently cropped up, in repeating patterns that confounded the many patchwork solutions provided.

The aim of this paper is to summarise the work done in the dissertation Assessing the Potential for Reflective practise within a College-wide Professional Development Strategy (Buehler, 2011). Based on this research, the paper will explore how the Prague College faculty, and in particular its leaders, would view reflective practise as a tool for self and organisational learning, and what its role might be within a new strategy for professional development. The research drew on both articulated and observed communication as it sought to answer the following questions in relation to the topic:

- 1.** *To what degree is reflective practise already actively present in the college systems and processes?*
- 2.** *How is it currently understood and practised by faculty at the college?*
- 3.** *What are the attitudes of the faculty towards the introduction of reflective practise?*
- 4.** *What is most needed in terms of formal reflective practise?*
- 5.** *What are the leadership and management considerations, including national cultural, that hinge on effective implementation of a new professional development strategy, and how might these considerations inform the strategy?*

1.1 PRAGUE COLLEGE 'EXPERIENCE'

The idea for the research arose in relation to personal inquiry into questions such as: why would dissatisfaction among administration or faculty come bubbling unexpectedly to the surface? Why did certain complicated situations, as well as some seemingly simple situations cause paralysis and consternation? It had become apparent that despite gaining 'experience' as an organisation, the college had not always learned as one. In other words, the experience gained had not always translated into learning. Accumulated knowledge would sometimes suddenly evaporate as change took place, shifting the overall balance of operations in a new, unexpected or alien direction. The resulting response would again be clumsy and ineffective, and basic lessons would need to be learnt all over again, as the fundamental norms and practises of the college remained unchanged, leaving the college incapable of reacting well to the next crisis or change (Argris and Schön, 1974).

The culture of the college could be seen through a prism of varied value systems (Coleman, 2004) and formed a colourful tapestry to work within. Handy differentiates between four typical organizational cultures (Handy and Aitken, 1986 in Coleman, 2004) and on the surface Prague College appeared to be a "Task Culture", with its varied and nuanced needs, requiring the flexibility to respond. However Prague College arose out of a potent and diverse mix of influences. Under these conditions without a clear understanding of, and confidence in, our values and principles as leaders, we had little chance to become an effective school, or to create an effective learning environment. As Anne Gold has remarked, "clearly articulated values leave a leader less likely to vacillate between different political and educational orthodoxies and more able to respond thoughtfully" (2004, p. 6). In my experience at the college in those early days, decision-making vacillated according to situations. In the general confusion and energy of setting up a new institution the leadership was often left awash in the powerful flow of external demands, and decisions were too often made not out of internal value systems, but out of expediency. Or, as Gold puts it, there lacked "... a calm or stillness at the centre of this pressure, so that sound decisions are made" (2004, p. 8).

In order to better manage this growing and changing environment, and in order to compete with the local environment, a strategy was established to develop a core Prague College faculty that would be unique to the school. The college had previously only hired lecturers on per module contracts, which allowed quicker response to circumstances as they changed, and also allowed more flexibility in designing a long-term faculty. However, the effect on the culture of the college was clear. In the first years there was no focus on research and little involvement with the development of the college beyond the modules lecturers were teaching. The short-term financial and organisational benefit achieved by this first strategy quickly became a long-term obstacle to improving as a school. In those first years the turnover of teaching staff was nearly 40 percent a year, and student satisfaction, based on feedback from the students, was low, and in some programmes dire.

The original vision of the Director at this stage was important, and included the idea that the college was to be a more integrated, interdisciplinary learning environment, student facing, a place where research and reflection underpinned practise. Over time, with increased confidence and finance a new strategy of faculty development emerged, and its primary purpose was to build a full-time faculty that was involved, present and actively seeking opportunities to develop themselves and the college. This also included the present leadership organization hierarchy.

This new strategy had the effect of enhancing the student experience at the college while providing an identity as an institution. Faculty turnover dropped to about 2% a year on a new teaching staff of around 40. And student satisfaction, based on feedback and decreased attrition, rose steadily. Despite the substantial increase in overall cost, it was believed by senior management that this new strategy provided a long-term competitive advantage. The current view was that, over time, with the student and learning experience at the centre of concern, the reputation of the college would help to increase student numbers. Indeed, student numbers doubled or nearly doubled four years in a row. Unfortunately, however, the resulting increase in student

numbers did not increase the capacity to understand and work with the additional forces that naturally came into play, including micro-politics, rivalries, personal struggles, and conflicting values, the college's role in the local society and in the lives of the students, who come from over 70 countries to live, study and work in the Czech Republic.

As Fullan says, "Leading schools requires principles with the courage and capacity to build new cultures based on trusting relationships and a culture of disciplined inquiry and action" (2003, p. 45). Building a new culture meant building a full-time faculty with the added moral responsibility for the personal and professional development of all members of the college. The Director, Head of Teaching, and Heads of the Schools formed a rough professional development strategy that included everything from teacher induction to full degree programmes. The college began to offer semi-regular one-off professional seminars developed by lecturers to improve their practise, the content of which was often developed and delivered by faculty members. The response to change and growth was to work with and enhance the teams and people currently involved in the college, while nurturing relationships with individuals as they came.

However, this professional development strategy primarily fell into the realm of technical-rationality as described by Schön (1983), the main focus being on the passing on of information and skills, based on the mainly rational observation of facts. And the ad-hoc nature of the delivery and topics did not address the deeper issues the college was facing (Fullan, 2007). In the end, though useful, the current strategy has not led to the kind of learning, both institutional or individual, that supports and allows individuals to experience and learn more easily from a changing and unpredictable environment. In addition, the responses to situations that arose within the college were often reactive, impulsive and served only to "fix" the immediate problem. Learning in this case is "single-loop" and does nothing to change the underlying norms, policies or practises that created the problem (Schön and Argris, 1974). What was going to help the college get beyond an ad-hoc, superficial learning experience and allow for the deeper consideration of underlying values and conceptions?

1.2 REFLECTIVE PRACTISE

Dewey placed reflection at the centre of learning from our everyday experience of the world and this notion has carried on in the work of other experiential theorists (1933). For example, "reflection and observation" is one of the four elements of Kolb's famous model of experiential learning (1975). In addition, through my personal studies and experience, it also became clear to me that one of the crucial and central aspects of my learning has been the ability to reflect on my experience, both as it is happening and later. After discussing this topic with the Director and other colleagues in the college, as well as observing the environment over the past six years in relation to the continuing professional development of the faculty and its strategy, it became clear that there was a gap in the learning process as an institution, and a focus on reflective practise could begin to address this gap. However it has also been pointed out in the literature that in order for true reflective practise to take root in an institution, there first needs to be a trusting, open and caring environment in which practitioners feel confident and willing to expose themselves in order to learn and improve their practise as professionals (Senge, 1990; Smyth, 2003; Osterman and Kottkamp, 1993).

The research presented in the dissertation was chiefly phenomenological in design, as it set out to explore the multi-faceted feelings and attitudes of the lecturing staff, and in particular their leaders, about whether the college is in fact such a place. Could we open ourselves to each other for the purpose of learning? Did the leadership of the college have an accurate understanding of the needs of the lectures in order to implement a strategy that would be effective and not be seen as autocratic, dogmatic or simply awkward?

The dissertation explored the actual situation through a survey, interviews and observations, in order to capture and distil individuals' experiences, emotions, and insights with the aim to develop a strategy that took into account a broader understanding of how learning could take place most effectively at Prague College.

2 REFLECTIVE PRACTISE: THE INDIVIDUAL, PRACTITIONER, AND ORGANISATION

At the heart of the learning process is the ability to reflect (Dewey, 1997; Kolb & Fry, 1975; Boud, 1985; Senge, 1990), and the review of the literature examined the practise of reflection and its role in the learning process, and how learning also takes place at the institutional level.

2.1 REFLECTIVE PRACTISE: THE INDIVIDUAL LEARNING

Dewey is often cited as one of the first to articulate and define 'reflection' in the context of learning, and his understanding of thought and reflection run through the work of future key writers such as Boud (1985) and Schön (1983; 1987). In particular Dewey's book *How We Think* provides a good starting point for describing the history of reflective practise. He defines reflection as "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends" (1997, p. 6). The practitioner is asked to actively 'consider' any belief or the understanding of any other apparent phenomenon based on present evidence. The result of such an inquiry has the potential to bring new understanding. Of interest in the dissertation was the implementation of the conditions in which a practitioner may most effectively be allowed to actively, persistently and carefully 'consider'.

David Kolb and Roger Fry (1975) later explore effective learning and argue that there existed four different abilities: concrete experience abilities, reflective observation abilities, abstract conceptualisation abilities and active experimentation abilities. Kolb developed these into both a set of learning styles and his influential "learning circle" (1984). Kolb used models based on theories by Dewey, Lewin, and Piaget to describe learning as a continuous process that is grounded in direct experience, that "knowledge is continuously derived from and tested out in the experience of the learner" (1984, p. 27). Kolb's work in this area provided a crucial link to reflective practise as described by Schön (1983), who went on to provide the context in which professionals could learn to "reflect-in-action" and learn on the spot through their direct experience with situations.

In reflective practise, observable behaviour, which includes decisions and how they are made, habits, and actions, is governed by personal action theories (Osterman & Kottkamp, 1993). Theories in this case refer to the ideas that people attach to phenomena to explain how things works. These theories are associated closely with the personal experiences and everyday life of the practitioner. Using the notion of personal action theories, Schön and Argyris describe (1974) in great detail the difference between "espoused theories" and "theories-in-use". Espoused theories are essentially the views, values and beliefs that professionals believe their actions are based on, and will typically describe this beliefs to others. Theories-in-use are the views, values and beliefs that are demonstrated by their actual behaviour or actions. These behaviours are the observable consequence of the deeply imbedded maps, or patterns, that people carry in their minds, and which they make use of when taking action or making a decision (Argyris and Schön, 1974). In addition, people are often unaware that their theories-in-use are different from their espoused theories, and they can be completely oblivious to the existence of their actual theories-in-use (Argyris and Schön, 1974). This can result in situations, for example, where a school director of a private university states that academic standards are more important than short-term earnings. However when it comes to deciding on an individual student she may subtly manipulate situations in order to keep students in the school who either cannot cope or have failed to demonstrate the ability to perform, with the motivation being not to help the student but to keep them paying tuition. She may be completely unaware of the conflicting espoused view and the practise, and she may employ a number of defensive routines to protect herself and others from this knowledge (Argyris, 1994).

A practitioner may work to bring theories-in-use and espoused theories in line, and in this process become more effective (Argyris, 1980). According to Senge (1990) the practise of reflection and inquiry is vital in this process of bringing the two together. Senge refers to theories-in-use as "mental models" in his book *The Fifth Discipline*, stating that what is most important to grasp is that these models are "active" and that they "shape how we act" (p. 164). And that the "problem with mental models is that they exist below the level of our awareness" (p. 166). He argues, based on the previous work of Argyris, that the most effective way to examine and expose mental models is through the reflective process of inquiry and advocacy. As mental models can act to thwart change, "managers must learn to reflect on their current mental models – until prevailing assumptions are brought out into the open, there is no reason to expect mental models to change..." (p. 189). Senge stresses that by opening ourselves, our beliefs and ideas to public scrutiny an atmosphere of genuine vulnerability is created, and for this reason combining inquiry and advocacy in a highly political organisation that is not open to genuine inquiry can be challenging (1990). This means that any development strategy that calls for reflective practise would need to take into account the context in which it happens, and understand the vulnerability that practitioners would feel when asked to expose their own "mental models" or theories-in-use, potentially even public scrutiny, as suggested by Senge (1990).

2.2 THE REFLECTIVE PRACTITIONER

Schön in his seminal book *The Reflective Practitioner* draws a clear distinction between what he calls Technical Rationality, or the overly formulaic application of knowledge and learning to situations that are by their very nature uncertain, unique and unstable – and the "epistemology of practise implicit in the artistic, intuitive processes which some practitioners do bring to situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness, and value conflict" (1983, p. 49). How does this happen? The practitioner:

allows himself to experience surprise, puzzlement, or confusion in a situation which he finds uncertain or unique. He reflects on the phenomenon before him, and on the prior understandings which have been implicit in his behaviour. He carries out an experiment which serves to generate both a new understanding of the phenomenon and a change in the situation. (Schön, 1983, p. 68)

When a professional is acting, carrying out the craft of her profession as described above, Schön calls this "knowing-in-action". This is the tacit, intuitive knowledge or feeling for situations, materials or phenomena which are often just beyond words. A bowler for example may not be able to describe precisely what he 'knows' as he moves his body through space to send the bowling ball on its way to a strike. There is a knowing that happens as the body and mind respond to moment-to-moment situations, variables and relationships that arise as typically uncertain, unstable and unique phenomena.

Applied to an organisational environment, often professionals are unable to effectively respond by applying certain positivist epistemologies of practise (Schön, 1983). Such knowledge and practises cannot hope to address the uniqueness of the phenomena with which professionals grapple. Rather, what happens in practise is that they respond through their experience of knowing the "feel" of the situation (Schön, 1983). Professionals may also begin to actively think about their actions as they are performing them, and consequently inquire more deeply into them, probing the tacit knowing-in-action for limitations, discrepancies and gaps in knowledge. This active inquiry into knowing-in-action is how reflection-in-action takes place (Schön, 1983), and echoes Dewey's "active, persistent and careful consideration" (1997, p. 6). However difficult it may be to articulate intuitive knowledge, the practitioner, with the right circumstances and support, can still investigate the situation, asking, 'why has this happened in this way?' 'What are the reasons for this behaviour and what is my role in it?' It is possible that this happens on the spot, based in concrete experience, in an experimental way, in much the same way that Kolb describes the experiential learning circle, with its elements of experience, reflection and experimentation (1984).

2.3 ORGANISATIONAL LEARNING: CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR AN ENVIRONMENT OF REFLECTION

It could be concluded from this that in order for reflection to take place as described, there first needs to be an environment which safely allows practitioners to experience "surprise, puzzlement or confusion" (Schön, 1983, p. 68). An environment which gives space for reflection on unexpected phenomenon and situations and which allows or even encourages experimentation and gives the practitioner that freedom to make changes based on the new insight. Unfortunately, however, Schön, does not describe the greater environmental factors required for effective reflection-in-action to take place. With the exception of his work with Argyris on single-loop and double-loop learning (1974) Schön tends to focus more on the individual processes of reflection and learning.

So what does reflective practise mean in terms of organisational learning, if we understand that the practise is a way to examine, expose or consider, the deeper patterns, or models, on which individual actions are based? As mentioned above, Argyris (1974) described two levels of learning that can take place in an organisation: single-loop learning and double-loop learning. Single-loop learning is the detection and correction of error that moves an organisation towards the expected outcomes and away from the sidetracked or errant outcomes. Double-loop learning involves the questioning of underlying policies, goals or norms of the organisation itself, with the intention of fundamentally altering the conditions in which the error took place (Argyris, 1977). For example a new strategy of professional development might require teachers to complete a course in time management because there is a problem in the school with teachers not having enough time. This would be an example of single-loop learning, whether or not this course improves the situation in the school. Double-loop learning would involve the examination of the underlying reasons of why teachers might be too busy and look to change the causes in the prevailing norms of the organisation.

3 WHAT WAS DISCOVERED

The following section lays out the findings under each of the original research questions using evidence collected from the methods previously described.

TO WHAT DEGREE IS REFLECTIVE PRACTISE ALREADY ACTIVELY PRESENT IN THE COLLEGE SYSTEMS AND PROCESSES?

The survey questions employed for this were meant to identify the extent to which the conditions at the college are already supportive of reflective practise, if there is a degree of openness and trust (Osterman and Kottkamp, 1993, p. 44).

If the 19 respondents have observed colleagues looking for systematic causes of problems, and if they feel that the college already asks them to reflect and they have observed others engaging in activity that encouraged reflection then one could partially gauge the degree to which reflective practise is taking place in the college systems.

The results in the survey indicated that the sample considered the college environment to be moderately, but not overly, open. The systems may encourage reflection to some degree, but the results expressed doubts and not a great deal of confidence in the way things were being done. The sample felt somewhat confident in its ability to reflect and for the systems at the college to allow for it. The standard deviation in this grouping was generally higher than in the other groupings, indicating a wider range of feelings in this area (Buehler, 2011).

In response to the open question of what would you change about the college in order to create a more open and supportive environment for lecturers to work, all of the many comments were constructive and several noted that the college was already 'open and supportive'. The most useful comment in relation to the study was L.1 who suggested that the college:

create a more systematic way of allowing the teaching staff to develop. More structured approach within the college to allow this to happen rather than the ad hoc approach used at the moment where some teachers benefit as they are interested in this whilst others who feel they have nothing to learn, flat-line as professionals. *L.1*

The ad hoc approach mentioned describes succinctly what many of the comments hint at, and is also reflected in the comments of the leaders in the interviews. The college current development practises lack a systematic approach, which could account for the lower results above, despite having a generally caring and supportive environment. This demonstrates a need for a more comprehensive strategy that encourages more than just the interested parties to participate.

All eight interviewed leaders in the college described the college learning environment as being positive in many ways, with comments ranging from "the best I have ever worked in" to "it's open, with a lot of contact" and "it's very easy going, sort of calm."

Leader 1 expressed it this way:

I think that one of the main advantages of the college is the type of organisation that it is; it's quite flat, with very high communication among different departments. So this helps a lot in discussing with all the different departments. To develop interesting collaborations, which is excellent for students. In this respect I think the college is distinct from those environments which emphasize a lot of specialisations.

However, according to Leader 1, the feeling is also that there is little structure in the college to support reflection in the college's systems. It is felt that the potential is there but the support and mechanisms are not in place to allow it to take place.

In summary, there appears already to be a positive learning environment at the college, as described by many of the leaders and in the short answers in the survey. And this learning environment allows for practises like co-teaching to take place, which encourages reflective practise. However, the systems that are in place are ad hoc and not systematic, leading to a range of responses on different areas. For example formal feedback sessions to lecturers happen in some cases, but not all, and when they happen they are not particularly reflective in nature.

HOW IS REFLECTIVE PRACTISE CURRENTLY UNDERSTOOD AND PRACTISED BY FACULTY?

This survey grouping took a look at how current faculty understand and practise reflection at the college, and if they thought that this was important as professionals (for example, getting feedback from colleagues or students or learning from their colleagues). For comparison it also asked for feelings concerning more traditional methods of learning and whether they thought that they were effective.

The overall positive grouping indicated that lecturers saw the various current ways of practicing reflection in a positive light. Of note was the interest shown by most in looking into conflict rather than avoiding it. This, according to Senge (1990, p. 171), is a sign of a healthy organisation that was not suffering "the basic diseases of the hierarchy" with people who are willing to face any situation at hand, and showed understanding of the potential power of the practise for the college (Buehler, 2011).

In the open answer format respondents were meant to give examples of what reflection meant to them as professional teachers. About 30% of the 19 respondents simply listed techniques like getting and receiving feedback, dialogue, etc. But some presented insightful indications of how some teachers are considering their practise both within the college systems and outside them.

The emphasis in several other examples was on the experience of teaching outside of any formal processes, procedures or systems.

For me reflection is part of my life, it is a process that is essential for an examined life and hence needs to be part of the living process. In teaching and lecturing the reflective process is continuous and post delivery. During the lecture the continuous feedback in various forms from the students forms part of the reflective process in improving the delivery of content to students. Post delivery (after lectures) the reflective process is relating to the reflection of events in the lecture and increasing awareness. Leader 3

In this case no mention is made of a structured activity. What is important to the lecturer is the 'continuous feedback', which the lecturer uses to form a dialogue with the teaching situation in order to improve his or her practise. Other less nuanced answers see reflection as "constantly adapting my classes to the students' needs" (Leader 4) and "CONSTANTLY trying to think of better ways to develop classes to meet the needs of our students as well as the other lecturers" (Leader 5). These examples show a wiliness to engage in active improvement but less awareness of the ongoing reflective conversation with the situation (Schön, 1983).

Osterman & Kottkamp claim (1993), based on the work of Argyris, that avoidance is often due to the wish to maintain control and power. However, considering the strong community feeling in the college, as described in many of the interviews, it is more likely that members of the college do not wish to 'stir the pot.' That maintaining our collegial relationships and the peace of the community overrides the need to learn and grow. This is a different organizational defensive routine that was observed and also described by several leaders in the college and is also one that Argyris has explored in the literature (1999).

The overall evidence suggested that there was already an ingrained understanding and practise of reflection in the college, and there appeared to be an appreciation of reflection in its various forms, and an understanding of the need to reflect. However the current understanding of the practise may not be transferable, was not systematic or fully capable of skillfully being applied in interactions with others.

WHAT ARE THE ATTITUDES OF THE FACULTY TOWARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF REFLECTIVE PRACTISE?

This grouping captured the positions of lecturers and their attitudes towards different formal reflective practises that could be introduced in the future in the professional development strategy.

According to the results the sample saw themselves as professionals and were overwhelmingly in favour of experimenting with different reflective practises, including observing and learning from other lecturers, reflective appraisal schemes, and exploring enquiries into conflicts. There was some scepticism about appraisals that were not reflective in nature and simply assess lecturer performance (Buehler, 2011).

The majority of the interviewees were interested in creating a formal strategy that included regular seminars and reflective, even experimental learning opportunities. Leader 5 wishes to make these events contractual, formalise the process, meaning that lecturers would be required to attend a certain number of sessions. Leader 5 says:

I think we need to move away from the whole area of trying to convince the person. I don't think we need to. We just say it's part of the process, and we formalise the process. It makes it much easier that way. Then you can focus on the delivery, which is individual, and you can't formalise that. Then you can focus on the person, the style of teaching, the personality, etc.

This would address the ad hoc problem nature in the way systems are currently managed but raises other concerns, for example in the School of Art and Design where the faculty were more in favour of less structure, and a more natural process.

In conclusion, the attitudes of all the voices in the college towards the introduction of reflective practise were positive, sometimes overwhelmingly so. However when it comes to how this is to be accomplished there are differences of opinion and the attitudes shift. The leaders in particular from the School of Art and Design advocated a more 'natural' approach, without a lot of unnecessary meetings or time wasted in sloppy agendas. The Business School leaders pushed for a more contractual and systematic approach that removed the need to convince others of the importance of the practise.

WHAT IS MOST NEEDED IN TERMS OF FORMAL REFLECTIVE PRACTISE?

In the survey this was mainly addressed through the use of the open answers questions and a checklist which offered lecturers an opportunity to rank the possible formal practises in order from 1 to 5 from the most needed and useful to the participant as a lecturer to the least useful and needed.

The survey asked respondents to rank five potential activities in which reflective practise could take place from most useful to least useful.

Once again lectures expressed the wish to meet, have dialogue, and explore difficult issues, though this survey did not specify if this was as a group or between two colleagues. Workshops and observations also scored highly, whereas appraisals and writing reports faired poorly; this could be because of the current demands and time-consuming nature of teaching at the college (Buehler, 2011). A limitation to this survey question may be that lecturers presumed that 'difficult issues' were not related to their own performance, difficult or stressful topics but rather difficult classroom management or organisational issues.

What are the leadership and management considerations, including national cultural, that hinge on effective implementation of a new professional development strategy, and how might these considerations inform the strategy?



The most consistent management consideration that came up in all the interviews was both time management and timing. It was felt by several leaders that an additional activity added to an already busy schedule could be seen as nothing more than an additional burden. The timing of any new events would also have to be carefully managed and weighed against the priorities of delivery and management of classes. People in theory want to learn, but when it comes to spending time out of the day in a seminar, for example, they need to know there will be some benefit coming from that which will lead to change in practise. This echoed Hoban's (2002, in Coleman, 2004) warning about adoptive changes from outside where the school simply offers a workshop and then expects change to take place. The change, as was pointed out in the interviews several times, needed to be rooted in the culture of the college, in everything from how the contracts are designed to how the values of the organisation are recognised and referred to.

Leader 4 alone pointed out that the benefit of introducing a professional development strategy that asked for more time, space and activities has a financial consideration and needs to be budgeted. He said that we needed to ask ourselves:

Do we have the resources to do it, and if we don't let's take the resources from elsewhere. It needs to be resourced, and we haven't been good at identifying the time investments to accurately balance whether it can be done. We are not very good at counting up time investments.

Leader 1 and 2 focused more on the skilful implementation and the development of systems and policies. The two sides of the argument for an informal and formal strategy were clearly present in the interviews, with Leader 2 arguing that an informal strategy for professional development could be effective. Leader 5 suggested that the strategy should be contractual, with faculty being required to attend a certain number of seminars or participate in a certain number of activities a year. Both, however, recognised the drawbacks of each strategy, with the informal lacking a systematic approach that would not reach many of the more disinterested faculty members, and that the contractual approach might make lecturers feel overburdened or forced into doing things that might feel unnatural.

Only Leader 4 saw the multicultural environment at the college as being a significant factor in the implementation of the strategy. No other clear responses emerged from the interviews regarding culture. The leaders did not see national culture as playing a role in whether a lecturer would be willing or unwilling to engage in professional development, or be more or less defensive, regardless of the techniques or strategies used. What was focused on instead of culture was personality, subject areas, HR issues and other factors that, to the leaders, played a greater role in determining whether someone might or might not share experiences with others, engage in dialogue or be willing to inquire into dilemmas.

4 WHERE DO WE START?

The broader implications of this research demanded a deeper look at and analysis of the environment at the college and the organisational systems and structures that would support a college-wide professional development strategy based on reflective practise. The research set out to open up territory previously closed to the senior managers for the purpose of reflecting on what is it we are doing, or not doing, as leaders. In this final section a number of recommendations are made for the successful implementation of the strategy based on the multitude of voices that made up this research.

4.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the findings there is already a basis on which to form the strategy ("The environment at the college is open and supportive enough to allow me to consider trying reflective practises such as having reflective meetings in which the root of conflicts is explored." Mean = 2.21). Prague College has a faculty that considers teaching a professional activity ("I consider teaching a professional activity" Mean = 1.10), describes the learning environment as positive ("the best I have ever worked in" to "it's open, with a lot of contact" and "it's very easy going, sort of calm"), and wishes to look more deeply into the causes of dilemmas ("I believe that it is important to openly inquire with others into difficult and conflictive situations in order to understand them more clearly." Mean = 1.52).

As noted in the literature (Osterman & Kottkamp, 1993; Senge, 1990) trust is the essential condition for reflective practise to take root and thrive, and the research suggests that there is an atmosphere of basic trust, which perhaps needs some cultivation. However the conditions overall are in place for reflective practise to be introduced on the individual level ("I am willing to experiment with different methods for reflecting on my performance" Mean = 1.73). Some practises in the college already encourage reflection and development. One example is the practise of co-teaching a unit or module, which is considered by those lecturers an excellent 'natural' way to reflect on their practise as a teacher. Other practises in the college, like giving formal feedback, are not as effective in terms of asking lecturers to reflect or addressing problem areas. On the organisational level lecturers described the systems as too ad hoc and sometimes without purpose ("More structured approach within the college to allow this to happen rather than the ad hoc approach used at the moment" Leader 1) (Buehler, 2011).

According to Miles and Ekhholm (1985 in Coleman, 2004) in order for school improvement to take place there needs to be "a systematic, sustained effort aimed at change in learning conditions and other related internal conditions" (p. 48). Therefore it will be important to standardise and regularise the processes and systems that support professional development in the college. Without this any strategy that is implemented will not be effective, and will continue to be seen as ad hoc, irregular and inapplicable. To realise this a clear contractual relationship to professional development could be developed.

The challenge, however, is also to create the conditions for standardization to be adapted willingly, and to be owned by the faculty in the different schools. According to Hopkins (2002, in Coleman, 2004) the "adaptive" approach, and especially in the case of the different conditions in the Schools in the college, is more likely to be effective. Allowing the Schools to develop their own strategies according to their own needs in the school, with set objectives to be attained, is one way to do this. The level of formality, the nature of the techniques employed and the style of management in implementation should fall within the domain of the Schools in the college, as there are different approaches and understandings coming out of each.

A generalised 'programme' of reflection at the college would be a positivist and linear conception of teacher education and could eliminate the key elements of learning to reflect-in-action as described by Schön (Richardson, 1990). Rather what is required is a culture in which individuals are compelled naturally to learn through "making new sense of uncertain, unique or conflicted situation of practise" (p. 39, in Clift, et al. 1990).

In order for reflection to take place the culture must safely allow practitioners to experience "surprise, puzzlement or confusion" (Schön, 1983, p. 68). This can happen in more or less formal settings (Osterman & Kottkamp, 1993) and some evidence in the interviews among leaders suggests a need in the School of Art and Design to develop a strategy along less formal lines, but other evidence suggests a common need to meet, discuss, and hold formal workshops and other formal techniques. In both cases of informal and formal practise the culture in the college must give space for reflection on unexpected phenomenon and situations, and allow or even encourage experimentation (Schön, 1983). Practitioners must have the freedom to make changes based on new insights, whether in informal discussions or workshop formats.

The leaders in the college as a whole demonstrated at times a natural aptitude at reflection and the ability to learn through reflection; however it was not always the case that they could apply this skill with others. The leaders, which include the senior managers, Heads of School, and Programme Leaders, should receive more specific workshops and training in reflective practise in order to learn how to apply the reflective skills more effectively and transfer them to others. This training can then be brought into the specific development of the strategies in the individual schools. According to Argyris (1977) double-loop learning involves the questioning of underlying policies, goals or norms of the organisation, with the intention of fundamentally altering the conditions in which errors take place. The leadership in their training in reflective practise with others could create a culture of organisational learning through group sessions in which organisational mental models are exposed, and discussed (Senge, 1990). In this way the college could experience a culture that supports and encourages double-loop learning, or the constant questioning of its norms and practises Argyris, 1977). For this to happen the leaders in the college will need the support and training in reflective practises by external experts in the field.

According to findings the management considerations of time, budgeting and resourcing are all important, and these needs will have to be addressed through careful planning and agreement with colleagues on what the college can manage to support. According to Gold (2004), however, it is not always necessary to spend a lot of money and time encouraging professional development. A school which "pays attention to learning and teaching for everyone within the school community buzzes with discussions and thought-provoking arguments, as well as planned formal learning opportunities" (Gold, 2004, p. 33).

All of the management considerations are connected to the values shared by the leaders and managers in the college. As was revealed in the interviews, going forward from here with a strategy will be difficult without a statement of common values that creates a sense of institutional purpose. According to Gold et al. school leaders are driven by "personal, moral and educational values and are able to articulate these with total conviction, creating a clear sense of institutional purpose and direction" (2003, p. 135). Therefore the key recommendation that must be accomplished before pursuing a new initiative is the development of a common set of values.

If the college is to allow for difference within the organisation, expect lecturers to look into their own experience for answers to questions, and engage in greater learning environment then this set of values will need to be developed as a team, and referred to in addressing the changes as they take place. It is the responsibility of the leadership in the college to "consider fundamental beliefs" in the pursuit of deep change (Smyth, 2003, p. 52), change that goes beyond single-loop learning, but change that fundamentally alters the policies and norms of the college, in a concerted effort to see more clearly the causes and conditions of persistent dilemmas. ■

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