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Influence Work, Resistance, and Educational Life-Worlds: Quintilian's [Marcus Fabius Quintilianus] (35-95 CE) Analysis of Roman Oratory as an Instructive Ethnohistorical Resource and Conceptual Precursor of Symbolic Interactionist Scholarship

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Abstract: Despite the striking affinities of classical Greek and Latin rhetoric with the pragmatist/interactionist analysis of *the situated negotiation of reality* and its profound relevance for the analysis of human group life more generally, few contemporary social scientists are aware of the exceptionally astute analyses of persuasive interchange developed by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian.

Having considered the analyses of rhetoric developed by Aristotle (384-322 BCE) and Cicero (106-43 BCE) in interactionist terms (Prus 2007a; 2010), the present paper examines Quintilian's (35-95 CE) contributions to the study of persuasive interchange more specifically and the nature of human knowing and acting more generally. Focusing on the education and practices of orators (rhetoricians), Quintilian (a practitioner as well as a distinctively thorough instructor of the craft) provides one of the most sustained, most systematic analyses of influence work and resistance to be found in the literature.

Following an overview of Quintilian's "ethnohistorical" account of Roman oratory, this paper concludes by drawing conceptual parallels between Quintilian's analysis of influence work and the broader, transcontextual features of symbolic interactionist scholarship (Mead 1934; Blumer 1969; Prus 1996; 1997; 1999; Prus and Grills 2003). This includes "generic social processes" such as: *acquiring perspectives*, *attending to identity*, *being involved*, *doing activity*, *engaging in persuasive interchange*, *developing relationships*, *experiencing emotionality*, *attaining linguistic fluency*, and *participating in collective events*. Offering a great many departure points for comparative analysis, as well as ethnographic examinations of the influence process, Quintilian's analysis is particularly instructive as he addresses these and related aspects of human knowing, acting, and interchange in highly direct, articulate, and detailed ways.

Acknowledging the conceptual, methodological, and analytic affinities of *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian* with symbolic interactionism, an epilogue, *Quintilian as an Intellectual Precursor to American Pragmatist Thought and the Interactionist Study of Human Group Life*, addresses the relative lack of attention given to classical Greek and Latin scholarship by the American pragmatists and their intellectual progeny, as well as the importance of maintaining a more sustained transcontextual and transhistorical focus on the study of human knowing, acting, and interchange.

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The American pragmatist tradition associated with symbolic interactionism (and frequently linked with the individualism of Western democracy) often is seen as uniquely attentive to the active forging of people's identities and reputations, as well as other aspects of "definitions of the situation" and the "negotiation of the socially contested realities." However, those more intimately familiar with classical Greek and Latin literature (especially the texts of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian) can offer an advantageous viewpoint on this matter. Not only are the most central conceptual features of contemporary pragmatist sociology apparent in classical Greek and Latin literature but many aspects of human interchange have been articulated by the "scholars of antiquity" in ways that supplement, as well as extend the exceptionally potent human science associated with George Herbert Mead, Herbert Blumer, Anselm Strauss, Erving Goffman, and others generating what would become known as "Chicago-style symbolic interactionism."

As part of a much larger study of the historical flows of pragmatist thought from the classical Greek era to the present time,[1] this statement on *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian* is offered as an important ethnohistorical instance of pragmatist scholarship, as an intellectual precursor of symbolic interactionism, and as a set of instructive reference points for the transcultural, as well as transhistorical comparative analysis of persuasive interchange.

Following (1) an overview of Chicago-style symbolic interaction (Mead 1934; Goffman 1959; Blumer 1969; Straus 1993; Prus 1996; 1997; 1999; 2007b; Prus and Grills 2003), I (2) introduce rhetoric as realms of activity and analysis from the classical Greek and Latin eras and then (3) concentrate on Quintilian's notably substantial and detailed analysis of the careers and life-worlds of those involved in the practice of oratory in the classical Roman era. An epilogue (4) addresses the relative neglect of classical Greek and Latin scholarship in the human sciences and its illuminating and enduring importance for the study of human group life.

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[1] Some other explicit interactionist considerations of the affinities of contemporary pragmatist scholarship and Greek pragmatism (particularly the analyses of the human condition developed by Aristotle) can be found in the bibliography (see: Prus 2003; 2004; 2007a; 2008a; 2009a; 2011a; 2011b; 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; 2015; 2017; Puddephatt and Prus 2007).

To quickly establish some baseline familiarity with Blumerian symbolic interactionism, I first observe that Herbert Blumer's (1969) approach to the study of human group life is characterized by five emphases: (1) a scientific emphasis on studying the nature of community life *as this takes place in humanly known and actively engaged terms*; (2) a pragmatist philosophy that focuses on the nature of human knowing, acting, and interchange; (3) an ethnographic methodology that attends to the study of human group life "in the making;" (4) employing sustained comparative analyses of ethnographic data within and across realms of human group life as the base for conceptual development; and (5) the ongoing quest for a process-oriented set of concepts that increasingly and more adequately represent the most basic or fundamentally enabling features of human group life and people's experiences within.

Mindful of these emphases, symbolic interactionist theory may be characterized by the following premises.[2] *Human group life is* (1) *intersubjective* (is contingent on community-based, linguistic interchange); (2) *knowingly* problematic (with respect to the "known" and the "unknown"); (3) *object-oriented* (wherein things constitute the contextual and operational essence of the humanly known environment);[3] (4) *multiperspectival* (as in view-points, conceptual frameworks, or notions of reality); (5) *reflective* (minded, purposive, deliberative); (6) *sensory/embodied and (knowingly) materialized* (acknowledging human capacities for stimulation and activity, as well as practical [enacted, embodied] human limitations and fragilities); (7) *activity-based* (as implied in the formulative [engaging] process of people selectively acting toward or otherwise attending to particular phenomena); (8) *negotiable* (whereby people may anticipate, influence, and resist others); (9) *relational* (denoting particular bonds between persons and/or groups—reflecting affiliations or distancing regarding others); (10) *processual* (emergent, ongoing, or temporally developed); (11) *realized in instances* (attending to the specific "here and now" occasions in which people "do things"); and (12) *historically enabled* (being mindful of the ways that people build on, use, resist, and reconfigure aspects of the "whatness" that they have inherited from their predecessors and learned through their associates).

Methodologically, a fuller appreciation of these assumptions and orientations to the study of human group life would require that social scientists attend to: (1) the ways in which people make sense of the world in the course of symbolic (linguistic) interchange; (2) the problematic or ambiguous nature of human knowing and acting, as well as people's experiences therein; (3) the object-oriented worlds in which humans operate; (4) people's capacities for developing and adopting multiple viewpoints on (objects); (5) people's abilities to take themselves and others into account in engaging (objects); (6) people's sensory-related capacities and (linguistically meaningful) experiences; (7) the meaningful, formulative, and enabling features of human activity; (8) people's capacities for influencing, acknowledging, and resisting one another;

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[2] In developing this list of premises, I am very much indebted to Herbert Blumer (1969) and scholars in the interactionist tradition, as well as the intersubjective, ethnographic materials developed by the reality constructionists, the ethnomethodologists, the realist anthropologists, and the pragmatist sociology of Emile Durkheim (1915 [1912]; 1993 [1887]; also see Prus 2009b; 2011c; 2012; 2019).

[3] Consistent with Blumer (1969), the term "object" refers to anything (material, physiological, behavioral, conceptual, technological, interactional, or organizational) that people might act toward, knowingly attend to, discuss, think about, or otherwise reference as instances or categories of phenomena. Relatedly, objects do not have inherent meanings, but take on the meanings assigned to them as people more specifically act towards (those things).

(9) the ways that people take their associates into account in developing their lines of action; (10) the ongoing or emergent features of community life; (11) the ways that people experience and participate in aspects of community life in the specific "here and now" occasions in which they find themselves "doing things;" and (12) the ongoing developmental, historically-enabling flows of community life in each area of human endeavor—even as people linguistically, mindedly, and behaviorally build on, accept, resist, and reconfigure aspects of the (cultural) "whatness" that they have inherited from their predecessors and have come to know from their more immediate associates, as well as through their adjustive considerations of earlier, present, and anticipated activities.

Although I will be addressing the affinities between contemporary symbolic interaction and Quintilian scholarship later in this paper, it is important to briefly at least acknowledge the highly enabling base on which Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* was built.

Rhetoric: Quintilian's Intellectual Precursors

Whereas Plato (420-348 BCE) is often cited in reviews of rhetoric and warrants particular recognition for his commentaries on persuasive interchange (especially see *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*), and Demosthenes (384-322 BCE) is commonly referenced as the most compelling Greek practitioner of rhetoric,[4] it is Aristotle (384-322 BCE), Cicero (106-43 BCE), and Quintilian (35-95 CE) who provide the most sustained

analyses of rhetoric (or oratory) in the extant literature from the classical Greek and Roman eras to the present time.[5, 6, 7]

Although Plato provides some highly analytic material on rhetoric as a social process in *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus* (1997), Plato, at times (following Socrates), is especially intent on condemning both the rhetoricians and the sophists.[8] By contrast, Aristotle provides the single most enabling text on influence work in the literature as he more thoroughly and pluralistically takes rhetoric apart piece by piece in more distinct process-oriented, activity-based analytical terms. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* may be virtually unknown to modern-day social scientists, but this text has great relevance for contemporary scholarship in the human sciences (see: Prus 2003; 2004; 2007a; 2008a; 2015).

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[4] For some more extended interactionist considerations of Plato's work as this pertains to the study of human knowing and acting, see: Prus (2009a; 2011a; 2011b; 2013c) and Prus and Camara (2010).

[5] The term "rhetoric" is derived from the Greek ρητορεία (*rhetoreia*), "oratory" is from the Latin *oratoria*.

[6] For some materials that address the development of rhetoric from the classical Greek era to the present time, see: Kennedy (1963; 1972; 1980; 1983; 1989; 1991; 1999), Rosenfield (1971), Murphy (1974; 1989), Vickers (1988), Conley (1990), Kinneavy (1990), Stewart (1990), Vitanza (1994), Clarke (1996), Kastely (1997), Walker (2000), Nienkamp (2001), and Murphy and Katula (2003).

[7] Kenneth Burke (addressed further in the epilogue to this paper) is probably the best-known contemporary scholar who adopts a pragmatist viewpoint in developing his analysis of rhetoric. Although comparatively few pragmatist-oriented scholars seem attentive to the works of George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer, as well as symbolic interactionism more generally, some other pragmatist-oriented contemporary analyses of rhetoric can be found in the works of Ogden and Richards (1946 [1923]), D'Angelo (1975), Perelman (1982), Cooper and Nothstine (1992), Farrell (1995), Billig (1996), Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1996), Grassi (2001 [1980]), and Danisch (2007). Prus (2007a; 2010) provides explicit interactionist discussions of the rhetoric of Aristotle and Cicero, respectively.

[8] As used here, the term "sophist" refers to Greek educators who offered to provide instruction in matters of wisdom and technique for a fee. For a fuller appreciation of the disaffection directed toward the rhetoricians and sophists by Socrates and his student Plato, see: Plato's *Gorgias, Phaedrus, Sophist, Statesman,* and *Republic* (1997).

Addressing influence work (and resistance), identities and reputations, wrongdoing and culpability, emotionality and deliberation, and the broader process of human knowing and acting in political, judicial, and ceremonial (evaluative) contexts, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* represents an exceptionally articulate depiction of *image work* as an intersubjectively accomplished process. Focusing on (a) the characters (reputations), abilities, and tactical ploys of *speakers*, (b) the content of people's *speeches* and how speakers formulate and present their cases, and (c) the ways that speakers may appeal to, neutralize, and otherwise alter the viewpoints and commitments of the *judges* to whom their messages are pitched, Aristotle provides a remarkably comprehensive analysis of rationality *in the making*.

Marcus Tullius Cicero may be best known as the Roman counterpart of Demosthenes (see Plutarch's *The Lives*), but Cicero's contributions to the development and analysis of rhetoric are much more consequential than his reputedly exceptionally dramatic and effective oratorial presence. Having learned much about persuasive interchange, as well as philosophy during his studies of rhetoric in Greece, Cicero provides much of the most consequential analyses of rhetoric, religion, and philosophy encountered in the classical Roman literature (see: MacKendrick 1989; Prus 2010; 2011d). Building astutely on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and the works of other Greek and Latin scholars, Cicero not only extends the analysis of persuasive interchange in exceptionally informed, first-hand practitioner terms but he also provides a distinctively informative "comparative historical analysis" of rhetoric from the classical Greek era to his time. Cicero's contributions to the study of rhetoric are most remarkable and, in many respects, have never been matched.

Given the exceptionally stellar contributions of Aristotle and Cicero, it may seem that Quintilian (as an instructor and analyst of rhetoric who lived about 100 years after Cicero) would have little to offer to students of persuasive endeavor. Indeed, a careful reading of *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian* will reveal that Marcus Fabius Quintilianus is openly very much indebted to the exceptional analysis of rhetoric provided by Aristotle. Moreover, again and again, Quintilian explicitly identifies Cicero as the model to be followed in his illustrations, analyses, and more particularized instances of instruction on rhetoric. As well, and in contrast to Aristotle and Cicero, Quintilian introduces relatively little in the way of new conceptual insights or "ground-breaking rhetorical procedures." Accordingly, those looking for insightful theoretical extensions or "notably improvised modes of representation" may be disappointed with *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*.

However, even with these caveats, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* represents a largely unexplored treasure chest for students of the human condition. First, although one finds considerable overlap with the materials developed by Aristotle and Cicero, to whom Quintilian assigns particular positions of prominence in his analysis of oratory, Quintilian instructively dialogues with their texts along with the works of other Greek and Roman rhetoricians as he presents his thoughts, observations, and experiences regarding the educations, situated practices, and longer-term careers of orators and instructors of oratory. Quintilian's analysis of rhetoric also is enlightened by his practice of rhetoric and his extended familiarity with the classical Greek and Latin literature, as well as the practices and intellectual productions of his contemporaries. Moreover, Quintilian develops *The Institutio Oratoria* more centrally as an *analytic tutor* of the craft.

Notably, as well, whereas Quintilian emphasizes the development of the "ideal orator" and strives to encourage honesty, integrity, justice, and other noble virtues in the practice of rhetoric, he is particularly concerned with fostering competence in actively contested arenas. Competence most effectively, thus, is defined by "winning the cases at hand." Accordingly, Quintilian will stress the importance of education, memory, and preparation, along with the matters of acquiring broader stocks of knowledge, attending to auditors, achieving clarity in communication, maintaining self-composure, and examining cases in great detail. He also emphasizes the importance of promoting justice and maintaining personal integrity. Nonetheless, Quintilian also indicates the importance of orators *being resourceful* and, if need be, more broadly (deceptively, but legally) creative in representing, challenging, emphasizing, minimizing, and refocusing the issues at hand as they pursue auditor definitions and decisions in the cases before them.

Because his account of the oratorical venture is so extensive, Quintilian's *The Institutio Oratoria* is recognized by classicists as an especially valuable statement of Roman society and, more specifically, the educational practices of his time. Further, since Quintilian's material on education is so detailed, the first part of *The Institutio Oratoria* represents an important resource for developing transhistorical comparative analyses of "education as activity."[9]

Writing about a century after Cicero, Quintilian also extends the comparative-historical analysis of rhetoric beyond that developed by Cicero. Like Aristotle and especially Cicero (see Cicero as in *Brutus* [1962a]; also Prus 2010), Quintilian helps illustrate the importance of a *community of scholars* that contributed to the emergence and continuity of the study of rhetoric in the classical Greek and Roman eras—through their activities and interchanges, concepts, analyses, debates, instruction, and written texts. The ways that lateral and historically connected groups of scholars contribute to the emergence, development, and continuity of a particular field of study are often overlooked amidst tendencies to focus on individuals in the literature. However, a careful reading of *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian* indicates the importance of a broader scholarly community for achieving and maintaining the viability of rhetoric as a realm of practice, as well as an analytic tradition.[10] A more comprehensive reading of Quintilian also alerts us to the temporal, developmental, enacted interconnectedness of rhetoric with philosophy, history, politics, religion, theatrical productions, fiction, and abstract conceptual representation (also see Cicero's [1962b] *Orator*; Prus 2010).

Because his explanations of rhetoric as a socially engaged process are so thorough, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* not only represents a rich repository of materials on influence work and the contested definitions and negotiations thereof but this text also is a valuable source of transhistorical data

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[9] By building on Quintilian's text and comparing his material with other detailed accounts of instructional activity one encounters in the literature (e.g., Plato's [1997] *Republic* and *Laws* [Prus 2011a; 2011b], Durkheim's [1961 <1902-1903>] *Moral Education* [Prus 2011c]), contemporary analysts could develop insightful, more generic conceptualizations of "education as a socially accomplished process" by focusing on the similarities, differences, and analytic inferences of educator viewpoints and practices over the corridors of time. Also see Aristotle's "theory of education" (Prus 2013a).

[10] Whereas persuasive interchange seems an inevitable aspect of human group life, it is apparent (as a review of the intellectual history of Europe teaches us; also see Durkheim's [1977 <1904-1905>] *The Evolution of Educational Thought*) that this does not automatically translate into a distinct or sustained realm of study.

on a *broader, more concerted study of human knowing, acting, and tactical interchange*.[11]

In developing this statement, I have followed the overall flow of *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, providing "chapter and verse" references to the materials Quintilian presents—thereby enabling readers to locate analytic themes more readily in Quintilian's text. Still, I have been unable to adequately convey the highly detailed, informative, and thoughtfully comparative ways that Quintilian discusses the life-world experiences of those involved in the socialization and practice of oratory from the classical Greek and Roman eras to his time.

Quintilian's Oratorical Instruction

Building directly and openly on Cicero's work on rhetoric (oratory), Quintilian's (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus; circa 35-95 CE) *The Institutio Oratoria*,[12] represents the last major surviving manuscript on rhetoric from the classical Greek and Latin eras. Like Cicero, Quintilian intends to provide comprehensive literary and experientially informed conceptual analyses of oratory. However, in contrast to Cicero, whose writings more centrally reflect his participant-observer role as a courtroom advocate,

Quintilian approaches the topic as a distinctively dedicated and exceptionally astute instructor of oratory.

In his preface to Book I, Quintilian says that he has presented his material in twelve books. Book I discusses the *education of the ideal orator*, albeit primarily from the teacher's perspective; Book II considers the *content and viability of rhetoric* as a realm of study; Books III-VII examine *invention* or the development of arguments; Books VIII-XI are developed around *eloquence* (communication within oratory, including memory and delivery); and Book XII focuses on the *complete or ideal orator*.

To provide a slightly more detailed overview of Quintilian's *The Institutio Oratoria* I have created Book titles by identifying some of the major themes he addresses in each of the (previously *untitled*) books in his text:

Book I: Backgrounds, Circumstances, and Preparations of Prospective Orators

Book II: Providing Instruction: Defining the Content and Parameters of Rhetoric

Book III: Rhetoric: History, Components, Types, Causation, Aristotle's Categories

Book IV: Forensic Oratory: Introduction, Stating Facts, Confirmation

Book V: Proofs: Inartificial (Judicial) and Artificial (Contrived), Refutation

Book VI: Summarizing for Judges: The Peroration or Conclusion and Emotionality

Book VII: Arrangement: Conjecture, Definitions, Accountability, Interpretation

Book VIII: Achieving Eloquence: Comprehension, Clarity, Creativity, Amplification

Book IX: Figures of Thought (Ideas, Images), Figures of Speech (Expressivity)

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[11] In interactionist terms (Mead 1934; Blumer 1969; Prus 1996; 1997; 1999; 2007b; Prus and Grills 2003), this notably includes attentiveness to people's activities, perspectives, definitions of situations, identities, relationships, commitments, emotionality, humor, ambiguity, memory, linguistic fluency, impression management, morality, and character, as well as people's conceptions of causality, responsibility, and culpability. Still, as with scholarship more generally, the value of the richly textured texts developed by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian for comprehending matters of these sorts more generally through comparative analysis will depend on the dedication and thoughtfulness of future scholars.

[12] I am very much indebted to H. E. Butler's (1920) translation of Quintilian's *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian* in developing this statement. Readers will benefit considerably from a careful reading of Butler's four-volume translation. I also found helpful an earlier translation of this text by John Selby Watson (1891).

Book X: Striving for Excellence: Intellectual Depth, Writing, Meditation, Improvisation
Book XI: Displaying and Managing Style, Attending to Memory, Effective Delivery
Book XII: Virtue and Wisdom, Cases and Clients, Oratorical Styles, Retiring

Although readers are presented with "more linear senses of direction" as the individual topics Quintilian discusses unfold, it is important to recognize (*with Quintilian*) that actual instances of rhetoric (or oratory) much more accurately can be envisioned as interfused fields of activity. Thus, there is commonly some overlap of "ideal or desired" and actual interlinkages of conceptions, expressions, events, and adjustments as instances of "rhetoric" take place and are experienced in more notably "lived and enacted terms."

Consequently, even when the participants assume more focused initiatives and/or adjustive positions, the actual interchanges taking place between the involved parties may involve wide ranges of shared reference points, as well as contested standpoints, amidst unpredictable events and assorted emotional engagements.

Thus, many seemingly related *and* unrelated matters may achieve "presences of sorts" as interchanges between the participants take place. For practitioner-speakers, auditors, and other more directly affected parties, as well as students and other observers, *the actual interchanges taking place in rhetorical contexts have a dynamic, living, theatrical quality.*

However, and in contrast to "entertainment-oriented theatrical productions," it should be observed that *a great many (differentially defined, participant experienced) outcomes* may take *place in single actual in-*

stances of (a) *demonstrative or evaluative oratory*, (b) *deliberative or decision-related oratory*, and (c) *forensic or judicial oratory*. Thus, *each instance of "participant defined and experienced outcomes" more directly "grounds rhetorical interchanges in the pragmatic experienced reality of everyday life."*[13]

Book I: Backgrounds, Circumstances, and Preparations of Prospective Orators

Although our broader concern revolves around Quintilian's consideration of persuasive interchange, he presents a notably detailed account of Roman education in Books I and II of *The Institutio Oratoria*. In Book I, Quintilian addresses the backgrounds of young prospective orators in particularly thoughtful terms. Focusing more directly on the education of students receiving instruction in oratory, Book II has been especially valued by those attentive to early training in rhetoric, as well as those interested in more specialized forms of Roman education. Still, it may be appreciated that Quintilian's *The Institutio Oratoria* is very much a statement of the more comprehensive, ongoing nature of one's career-related education as a rhetorician.

Albeit focusing on the *education of the ideal orator*, Quintilian observes that all children have the potential for learning from birth. However, Quintilian (Bk I, i:1-11) notes that it is important for those who would become capable orators to grow up in settings in which they are exposed to appropriate (careful, accurate) modes of speech, intellectual stimulation, and moral companionship from their earliest days.

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[13] Note: All three modes of oratorical engagement (and especially *forensic or judicial* oratory) will be addressed in greater detail later. Still, it is to be recognized that the present depiction of Quintilian's text very much understates the depth and remarkable scholarly accomplishments of his *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian.*

Thus, Quintilian stresses the value of these children having articulate nurses, educated parents, and playmates of similar cultivation and integrity.[14]

Quintilian deems it important, too, *that prospective orators first learn Greek*, arguing that (a) they will readily learn Latin later and (b) Roman knowing has been centrally informed by Greek scholarship.

From there, Quintilian (Bk I, i:15-37) considers early childhood matters, such as learning the alphabet, attending to explanations, acquiring sagely expressions, mastering moral lessons, and sharpening their skills of imitation.

While emphasizing the importance of developing memory (at ages at which people's capacities for originality are still comparatively minimal), Quintilian places particular stress on prospective orators learning to read and write, stating that writing is especially consequential for developing one's thoughts.

Addressing the options of private and public instruction in some detail, Quintilian (Bk I, ii:1-17) acknowledges an assortment of viewpoints before presenting his thoughts (Bk I, ii:18-31) on these educational arenas. Observing that practicing orators live in public arenas and are exposed to extended levels of publicity, Quintilian argues that prospective orators likely will benefit from their exposure to a broader set of associates than that one would typically encounter in private elementary school settings.

In addition to having more opportunities for enduring friendships in public educational contexts, Quintilian contends that students in these settings will obtain greater stimulation, face more intense competition, and become more accustomed to performing in front of audiences.

While considering instructor viewpoints throughout, Quintilian (BI, iii) explores the importance of teachers attending and adjusting to various student abilities (notably people's memories, imitative tendencies, and capacities to absorb instruction) and characters (e.g., ambitious, concerns with honor, and personal composure). Acknowledging unevenness in student capacities and applications, Quintilian also enters into a consideration of play and discipline in the educational arena.[15]

When discussing subject matters for preparing students for entrance to studies in rhetoric, Quintilian (Bk I, iv-xii) elaborates on a broad educational agenda for instructors to follow. While stressing the study of the Greek and Latin masters in poetics (fiction) and philosophy, Quintilian also encourages the extended study of language (rules of speaking and writing, style, and expressivity), music, mathematics, theater (projecting images, delivery), and gymnastics (grace, gestures).

Book II: Providing Instruction: Defining the Content and Parameters of Rhetoric

Quintilian begins Book II by discussing *schools of rhetoric* at some length. Drawing attention to distinctions between *grammatice* or the science of letters

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[14] Readers familiar with Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* (1997), wherein Plato considers the education of the (ideal) philosopher-king (also see Prus 2011a), will find many parallels with Quintilian's attempts to define the conditions conducive to the production of the perfect orator.

[15] For some noteworthy parallels with Quintilian's emphases, readers are referred to analyses of instructional processes in education in Aristotle's works (Spangler [1998]; Prus [2013a]) and Emile Durkheim's (1961 [1902-1903] *Moral Education* (Prus 2011c).

(literature) and *rhetoric* or the science of eloquence (speaking well), Quintilian (Bk II, i:1-6) notes that the former has grown dramatically in recent years, absorbing almost all areas of academic knowing. While noting that some grammarians also teach rhetoric, Quintilian focuses his attention on rhetoric as a specialized career choice.

After observing (Bk II, i:7-13) that there is considerable variation in the ages at which students more directly engage in studies of rhetoric, Quintilian first stresses the importance of schools generating moral character through instructor models and peer relations (Bk II, ii). He next discusses the problems of students and instructors achieving mutually feasible levels of communication, given students' more limited capacities for comprehension (Bk II, iii).

Attending more directly to instruction in rhetoric, Quintilian (Bk II, iv:1-19) puts particular emphasis on students achieving familiarity and fluency with the major forms of narratives (fantastic and simulated-life fictionalizations; historical; legal). Mindful of the value of legal narratives for oratory, Quintilian is concerned that students develop imaginative capacities for generating narratives, as well as skills in confirming and refuting narratives. Quintilian (Bk II, iv:20-42) then considers the matters of: (a) denouncing vice and praising virtue; (b) developing theses; (c) dealing with conjectures (as in establishing motives or evidence); and (d) praising and denouncing various laws.

Quintilian (Bk II, v) also proposes that students in rhetoric programs be encouraged to develop conceptual and literary fluency through directed readings of the poets and orators, wherein instructors point out the strengths and weaknesses of major

authors. Quintilian (Bk II, vi-vii) then acknowledges debates among instructors and others regarding the amounts and sorts of assistance that students should be given in the development of classroom cases, as well as the modes and extent of memorization that should be expected of students in presenting the cases before others in practice settings.

As with his advice to instructors more generally, Quintilian (Bk II, viii) encourages those teaching rhetoric to differentiate between the natural abilities and acquired skills of students so that instructors may encourage students to develop oratorical specializations that are more appropriate to their talents and potentialities. Quintilian's (Bk II, ix) expectation for students is that they would regard their instructors as parents of their bodies and minds and show themselves to be teachable.

Quintilian (Bk II, x) next focuses on preparation for forensic oratory through the declaiming (prosecuting and refuting) of practice cases, arguing that simulated cases provide instructive parallels on which to build.

At this point, Quintilian (Bk II, xi) considers various criticisms that have been directed toward rhetoric more generally and toward Quintilian's approach (as too studious and demanding) more specifically. Acknowledging first those critics who argue for the superiority (and natural vigor) of the untrained orator, Quintilian (Bk II, xii) states that he is not proposing a set of rigid criteria.

Instead, he wants to stress the importance of students achieving broader educations and developing styles of speaking that are more completely under their control and direction (as more disciplined and principled speakers). To do otherwise, Quintilian

argues, is to reduce speech to barbarism and to forego the theory of rhetoric.

Observing that the Romans often use the term oratory in place of Greek rhetoric, Quintilian (Bk II, xiv) divides oratory into three components. The *art of rhetoric*, thus, *refers to the materials and procedures associated with persuasive speech*. The *artist* is the person who acquires and engages in the art. The *work* refers to the achievement or performance of the artist.

Focusing on *the art of rhetoric*, Quintilian (Bk II, xv:1-38) grapples with the question, "What is rhetoric?" Although Quintilian intends to reserve the term *orator* for those who are good or virtuous in their undertakings, he indicates that *most analysts have envisioned oratory to connote any persuasive speech or people endeavoring to speak in more persuasive terms*. Working his way through the issues and contradictions represented by several of the central figures in Greek and Roman oratory, Quintilian adopts a viewpoint that he describes as consistent with Plato.

Contending that Plato denunciates the evil uses of rhetoric, Quintilian argues that his definition of oratory includes only virtuous rhetoric since no evil character can speak well. Still, in contrast to Plato, who seems prepared to dispense with all modes of rhetoric, Quintilian (Bk II, xvi) makes the case that rhetoric is useful, arguing that what is virtuous is useful. [However, as *The Institutio Oratoria* unfolds, it also becomes apparent that Quintilian places particular emphasis on "winning cases." His suggestions for dealing with the opposition, at times, may involve tactics and representations that lack the more virtuous qualities that Quintilian so openly stresses in many sections of his text.]

In dealing with the somewhat related question, "Is rhetoric an art," Quintilian (Bk II, xvii-xxi) provides an instructive *defense of rhetoric* as he addresses several *criticisms* directed toward rhetoric as a specific, acquired skill. Among the more notable challenges from which Quintilian defends rhetoric, in turn, are claims that (a) persuasive communication existed long before the "concept of rhetoric;" (b) many successful orators never studied rhetoric; (c) rhetoric has no particular subject matter; (d) rhetoric specializes in falsehood; (e) rhetoric is contradictory (disputative) in direction; (f) speakers are indifferent about the viewpoints (and moralities) they represent; (g) rhetoric deals with opinion rather than fact; and (h) unlike knowledge based on inquiry, rhetoric is a speculative (unsubstantiated) field.

Distinguishing theoretical, practical, and productive arts (Bk II, xviii), Quintilian says that *rhetoric is centrally concerned with action*. Accordingly, he defines rhetoric primarily as a *practical art* (an active or administrative art). Still, rhetoric also *encompasses* aspects of theoretical (contemplative) and productive (generating specific effects or products) arts.

Next, Quintilian (Bk II, xix) observes that rhetoric as an activity is enabled by nature (as in physiological and untrained abilities), but that rhetoric *as a purposive act* benefits considerably from selective education. In response to the idea that rhetoric is characterized by indifference, Quintilian (Bk II, xx) reminds readers of his emphasis on virtuous rhetoric and of his (definitional) exclusion of those who do not practice virtuous speech from the realm of oratory.

When addressing the *material* or substance of oratory, Quintilian (Bk II, xxi) not only refers to the words and speeches with which orators work but also draws attention to dialectic reasoning (denot-

ing contemplative or argumentative exchanges) and wisdom. More centrally, Quintilian stresses the exceedingly wide range of topics (all things human) that speakers may introduce within instances of deliberative, judicial, or demonstrative rhetoric.

Book III: Rhetoric: History, Components, Types, Causation, Aristotle's Categories

Quintilian begins Book III (i-ii) by providing a highly compacted historical overview of the development of rhetoric. Referencing those contributing to classical Greek rhetoric, as well as Latin oratory in his time, he acknowledges many of the key participants in this venture, along with the diversity of their emphases. Still, Quintilian more particularly stresses the textual contributions of Isocrates, Aristotle, and Cicero. Quintilian also says that although his text is heavily indebted to his predecessors, he hopes his work may be appreciated for its more thorough, comprehensive quality.

Next, Quintilian (Bk III, iii) briefly lists **the five major components of oratory—*Invention*, *Arrangement*, *Expression*, *Memory*, and *Delivery*.** [Each of these components will be discussed in extended detail later.] While acknowledging these generalized conventions, Quintilian states that people in the field frequently describe, combine, and delineate these notions in different ways—as well as invoking different terms of reference for these components.

Noting that every speech consists of two parts, *that which is expressed* (i.e., signified—the subject matter) and *that which expresses* (signifiers—especially words), Quintilian (Bk III, v) proceeds to distinguish *theses* (also propositions, indefinite claims, or theoretical issues) from *hypotheses* (definite cases, actual instances, particulars). In contrast to those who

claim that orators need not bother themselves with theoretical matters, Quintilian (following Cicero) argues for the importance of orators considering cases in *both* more abstract and more concrete manners.

Quintilian (Bk III, v:16-vi:104) next embarks on a consideration of *Cause* as this is applied to cases (wherein definite people are connected with specific events in matters of place, time, and action). Approached thusly, cases are formulated as hypotheses, wherein the bases or foundations (central claims and counterclaims) of the cases under consideration are made explicit.

Explaining *how things may be defined*, in more generic terms Quintilian (Bk III, vi:23-24) references Aristotle's *Categories* (Bk III, ii:7) wherein Aristotle establishes ten reference points that are intended to enable people to define things in the most basic or generic terms. These are *essence* (whether a thing is), *quality, quantity, relation* (competence or capacity and comparison), *when, where, doing, suffering, possessing*, and *position* (condition).

Relatedly, Quintilian explicitly observes that it is specific combinations of Aristotle's categories—of particular matters, components, and connections—as these are defined (claimed and contested) in specific instances that form the bases of the actual cases with which rhetoricians deal.

After discussing various adaptations of Aristotle's categories to oratory on the part of rhetoricians (Bk III, vi:25-104), Quintilian addresses *demonstrative, deliberative*, and *forensic oratory*.

Quintilian (Bk III, vii:1-28) first attends to **demonstrative or evaluative rhetoric** (also *epideictic* or *panegyric* rhetoric). While noting that oratory involving

praise and blame is a category on its own, Quintilian observes that *evaluative definitions also may be readily applied to deliberative and forensic cases*, as well as developed more extensively in those speeches intended as a moral or ceremonial display.

Contending that the Romans have invoked more extensive pragmatic applications of demonstrative oratory than did the Greeks (Bk III, vii:1-6), Quintilian (Bk III, vii:8-28) then provides a more thorough treatment of evaluative oratory than that Cicero generates. Thus, in addition to identifying an assortment of objects (such as gods, individuals, groups, cities, and public works) that may be the targets of praise or blame, Quintilian elaborates on some of the tactics that orators may adopt in developing demonstrative speeches.

Next, Quintilian (Bk III, viii) addresses **deliberative or decision-related oratory.** Although adopting Cicero's general viewpoint on the desirability of pursuing honor in deliberative contexts, Quintilian (Bk III, viii:1-3) posits that appeals to expediency (and advantage) are apt to be more effective in dealing with some audiences than appeals to virtuous objectives.

Stating that deliberative speeches may be intended as advice and/or dissuasion regarding the selection of one of two or more options, Quintilian emphasizes *the comparative features of deliberative oratory.*

Following Aristotle, Quintilian also acknowledges the impact of the credibility assigned to the speaker by the audience in deliberative oratory. Relatedly, Quintilian encourages speakers to attend to audience viewpoints on honor and expediency and to pose choices on the terms that their audiences would find most appealing.

It is in his discussion of deliberative rhetoric, too, that Quintilian (Bk III, viii:49-58) introduces *impersonation* (or the fictional portrayals of other people or things) as a persuasive device. Noting that some Greek and Latin authors have developed collections of speeches that others may use and adapt to suit the characters they intend to portray in their speeches, Quintilian discusses impersonation as a somewhat common oratorical practice.

The characters represented seem virtually unlimited. Thus, speakers may take the roles of their clients, opposition speakers (or their clients), witnesses, judges, and any other affected persons, as well as other categories and types of people, animals, inanimate objects, and gods. Notably, too, impersonations allow speakers considerably greater degrees of freedom in representing and dramatizing the cases with which they deal.

From here, Quintilian's work focuses most directly on *forensic or judicial oratory*, organizing this around (1) **the *exordium* or introduction**; (2) **the *statement of facts* or narrative**; (3) **the *confirmation* or proof**; (4) **the *refutation* or challenge**; and (5) **the *peroration* or summary**.

Given the complexities of each of these five sets of forensic-rhetoric based processes, Quintilian uses **Books IV-XI** to provide more adequate discussions of these topics. Still, he does this in ways that are largely consistent with the works of Aristotle and Cicero. In that sense, Quintilian's work allows readers to appreciate many continuities in the realm of influence work over a period of four centuries. At the same time, however, Quintilian provides highly detailed illustrations of various features of rhetoric and, because of the way he dialogues with these aspects of rhetoric, Quintilian remains uniquely instructive in these matters.

Book IV: Forensic Oratory: Introduction, Stating Facts, Confirmation

The Exordium or Introduction (*proem* in Greek), as Quintilian (Bk IV, i) observes, is used to introduce judges to the basics of the case at hand. In general terms, plaintiffs or their representatives introducing a case for prosecution are expected to define or "invent" the nature and direction of the case to be presented. The charges may be stated in more direct and succinct terms, but much more work, thought, and preparations may be involved, particularly in cases deemed more consequential.[16]

In more instructive and expansive terms, Quintilian expects *orators* to (a) prepare the audience for the materials the speaker will present more generally; (b) encourage audiences to be favorably disposed toward themselves and their positions; (c) develop audience interest in the ensuing presentation, and (d) establish an appropriate frame for comprehending the materials to be presented. In short, the task, as Quintilian (Bk IV, i:5) explicitly states, is to "gain admission to the mind of the judges in order to penetrate still further."

Quintilian also contends (Bk IV, i:6) that it is a mistake to view cases as revolving primarily around the plaintiff, the defendant, and the judge. Arguing that the pleaders or speakers are also central to this process, Quintilian (Bk IV, i:7-39) elaborates on the multiple objectives that *speakers* may assume in developing the exordium.

First, by (a) more extensively portraying themselves as honorable, truthful, and credible *representatives*

and witnesses in the cases at hand, speakers may assume comparatively vital roles in the ensuing proceedings. As well, pleaders may (b) strategically emphasize their *adversaries' strengths* (as in capabilities, eloquence, fearsome reputation) to generate images of themselves as disadvantaged in the eyes of the judges. In particular, Quintilian cautions speakers against appearing arrogant, abrasive, or proud.

As well, speakers may use exordiums to (c) *establish the virtues of their clients* and denigrate the positions that opponents assume. Exordiums also provide opportunities for speakers to (d) *enhance the goodwill of the judges* by commenting approvingly on auditor characters and virtues. Where judges are thought to be more resistant or hostile, Quintilian anticipates that speakers would use the introduction to (e) *alleviate any fears, animosities, or prejudices* that judges might have.

To generate greater attention on the part of audiences, Quintilian (Bk IV, i:33-39) suggests that speakers promise to address (f) matters that (variously) are *novel, important, scandalous, precedent-setting, or are of great concern* to the judges, particular segments of the community, or members of the state at large. As well, speakers are encouraged to assert (g) that they will *be brief and maintain clarity* throughout.

After classifying cases as honorable, disreputable, ambiguous, extraordinary, and obscure, Quintilian (Bk IV, i:44-46) further insists that speakers maintain (h) a consistent *focus on the strengths of their case* and attack any weaknesses (case, character) of the other side. As well, speakers are instructed to (i) convey the impression of thoroughly *believing in the cases they represent*.

When speakers consider their opponents to have stronger cases, Quintilian (Bk IV, i:48) encourages

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[16] Indeed, the matter of "invention," as in orators creating, articulating, strategizing, and presenting opening positions to judges and other auditors, may be much more complex and evasive in its development.

speakers to (j) *invoke insinuations* and make claims that they will provide proof, amidst promises to be brief. In developing the exordium, Quintilian also suggests that speakers take care to (k) *not appear overly prepared* or overly eloquent, but instead attempt to be pleasing and direct. Thus, even in dealing with complex cases, speakers are instructed to (l) *avoid wearying audiences.*

Statement of the Facts (Narration)

After outlining an assortment of views that others have adopted on the *statement of facts* or the narration (and noting that these accounts of the events of the case sometimes may be integrated with exordiums), Quintilian (Bk IV, ii:1-87) discusses the methods by which statements of facts are to be developed. In generating accounts of what was alleged to have happened, speakers are instructed to be lucid and clear, and to make their materials appear plausible or credible to foster a greater sense of the absolute truth on the part of their audiences.

For Quintilian, *credibility* requires that the materials introduced not only represent things in ways that are true to typical occurrences but that all elements (as in reasons and motives, the character of the actors, the events, places, and time) *fit together.* The objective, Quintilian states, is to achieve the sort of correspondence or coherence that allows judges to imaginatively envision things developing as the accounts are presented.

Recognizing that speakers may invoke various falsehoods in developing their accounts, Quintilian (Bk IV, ii:88-96) subsequently elaborates on procedures for generating *false* statements of fact. Notably, he suggests that speakers engaging in deception (a) reference some external supports for aspects of their claims; (b) attend carefully to plausibility and coherence; (c) connect falsehoods with some things considered true in the case; (d) invent things that cannot be effectively refuted (as in private conversations, claims involving the deceased); and (e) put words in the mouth of one's opponent, possibly explicitly indicating that this is apt to be denied.

As with the exordium, Quintilian (Bk IV, ii:108-124) suggests that "the statement of facts" is not the place to argue points at length or to generate more intense emotionality. Nevertheless, speakers may well use this part of the case to lay a framework for later proofs or emotional appeals.

Confirmation (Proof)

From here, Quintilian (Bk IV, iii) embarks on a more sustained treatment of *confirmation* or proof. Most fundamentally, considerations of *proof* (Bk IV, iv) begin with propositions or statements of the issues at stake.

The issues, as Quintilian notes, may be (a) *accusations,* (b) *legal technicalities or considerations, and* (c) *definitions of the terms of reference* regarding the cases at hand. Where multiple issues are involved, Quintilian suggests that speakers enumerate, but try to delimit these, typically emphasizing only the most consequential matters so that auditors would not find the case too complicated or cumbersome to follow.

Next, Quintilian encourages pleaders seeking compensation from others to ask for more than they think appropriate, but still to keep requested awards within the realm of plausibility. As well, Quintilian (Bk IV, v:20) observes that speakers may make statements that appear to be against their clients' wishes to foster appearances of greater speaker (i.e., their own) impartiality on the part of the judges.

Observing that the *partition* or division may not be necessary in all cases, Quintilian (Bk IV, v:20), nevertheless, deals with the matters of agreement and disagreement between opposing speakers. Here, Quintilian distinguishes facts admitted by one or other speakers from matters that are more fully under dispute (by the speaker and/or the opponent).

Book V: Proofs: Inartificial (Judicial) and Artificial (Contrived), Refutation

Having established these parameters of the case, Quintilian (Book V) focuses more directly on **the forms that proofs may assume**. Like Aristotle, Quintilian divides these into *inartificial* and *artificial* proofs. Quintilian then provides an insightful discussion of how speakers try to prove (and refute) cases.

Under the heading of **inartificial proofs or arguments unique to judicial settings**, Quintilian includes legal precedents, rumors, evidence obtained by torture, documentary materials, oaths, and witnesses. Each of these is considered, in turn.

In discussing *legal precedents*, Quintilian (Bk V, ii) observes that the effect of referencing the judgments made by others in earlier cases is contingent on both the authority assigned to earlier decision-makers and the apparent similarity of the present case with its historical precedent.

Noting that it is often risky for speakers to challenge established authorities, Quintilian suggests that speakers who attempt to resist the application of precedents generally concentrate on illustrating dissimilarities between earlier cases and the present situation and, thus, encourage judges to make decisions more exclusively on the merits of the present case.

While recognizing that *rumor*, as loose public dialogue, has no particular authority and may be readily challenged, Quintilian (Bk V, iii) observes that speakers still may use insinuations embedded within rumors to cast doubt on the integrity of the most innocent of parties.

Quintilian (Bk V, iv) also discusses an assortment of claims and counterclaims that may be invoked when evidence has been obtained through *torture* (indicating the problematic and interpretive elements of this evidence).

Quintilian (Bk V, v) next introduces a series of issues on the integrity of *documents* or written forms of evidence. Thus, beyond questions regarding the authenticity of authorship of signed documents, speakers may challenge the knowledge, abilities, and interests of the authors of specific documents, as well as the timing of documents. No less consequentially, speakers may build challenges around any inconsistencies of specific written materials with other documents, evidence, claims, or features of the case.

Observing that the taking and requesting of *oaths* represent optional features of most cases (in his day), Quintilian (Bk V, vi) also considers the strategic deployment (as in the uses and evasions) of oaths on the part of speakers and their clients.

Stating that the most compelling evidence is typically that generated by *witnesses*, Quintilian (BV, vii) embarks on a detailed consideration of how speakers may engage witnesses thought to support or oppose the cases the speakers are trying to develop.

First, depending on whether speakers anticipate that their witnesses will be more or less compel-

ling than the witnesses of their opponents, speakers may begin their cases by stressing *or* undermining the *general integrity* of humans as witnesses.

Relatedly, if the opposition has a larger *number of witnesses* on which to call, speakers may question the validity of the viewpoints of masses or groups of people, suggesting, for example, that these collectivities may be subject to common rumors or conspiracies of sorts.

Where *individual witnesses* are involved, Quintilian suggests (following Domitius Afer who wrote on this subject at length) that speakers investigate their cases more fully so they would be better able to challenge individual witnesses as these are presented to the court.

Next, Quintilian (Bk V, vii:9-14) considers witnesses who testify of their *free will* as opposed to those who are summoned to court by one or other of the advocates. While observing that the speakers who introduce witnesses would have a greater opportunity to learn more about them, Quintilian also cautions advocates to be mindful of (and guard against) the impressions their witnesses give to judges, as well as the abilities of their opponents to confuse, trip, or trap witnesses into doing or saying things that would jeopardize the speaker's case. Quintilian also notes that while truthful witnesses are liable to confusion, those who agree to give false witness for one's client are even easier to challenge.

When discussing *summoned witnesses*, Quintilian (Bk V, vii:15-25) distinguishes those seemingly intent on harming the accused from those who are not. Recognizing that advocates may have some difficulty discerning witness viewpoints and relations with the accused beforehand, Quintilian

discusses a series of tactics that both speakers may use in identifying, directing, and challenging witnesses.

For instance, prosecutors may attempt to conceal any personal animosity their witnesses have for accused persons and solicit only information that is vital to the case, while defenders may pursue inquiries with hostile witnesses in more circuitous manners. This may enable defenders to obtain desired information or be better able to challenge the validity (as in motives, coherence) of the witness's testimony.

Quintilian (Bk V, vii:22-25) also considers the *comparative difficulties* that defenders and prosecutors are apt to experience in dealing with the witnesses they encounter.

Generally, Quintilian observes that defenders have limited opportunities to acquaint themselves with the prosecution's witnesses. Accordingly, defenders are apt to place more emphasis on examinations of the witnesses in the courtroom setting, particularly with the objectives of establishing suspicion of witness motives and neutralizing witness integrity (as in the case of minimizing the importance of less prestigious witnesses or accusing one's opponents of generating undue influence by introducing more prominent witnesses). For the prosecutor, the task is one of establishing the relevance and integrity of their witnesses.

After stressing the importance of "knowing your witnesses," Quintilian (Bk V, vii:26-32) observes that advocates can *adjust their tactics to the witnesses* they face. Thus, Quintilian contends, witnesses who seem prone to timidity may be terrorized, the foolish outwitted, the vain flattered, and so forth.

Shrewder, more intense witnesses may be accused of being malicious and obstinate, subjected to jest, or reminded of some of their misdeeds or failings.

When witnesses seem entirely honest and respectable, Quintilian suggests that advocates refrain from pressing those persons. However, Quintilian also observes that advocates may attempt to lead witnesses (in a Socratic fashion) from more general considerations to points at which they can extract more useful pieces of information.

Observing that documentary evidence is often at odds with that provided by witnesses, Quintilian (Bk V, vii:32-37) next considers how advocates may emphasize the *comparative validity* of documentary versus witness testimony both at more general conceptual levels and/or in attempts to establish (or refute) the more specific materials (documents vs. witnesses) in the case at hand.

Under the heading of **artificial proofs or contrived arguments**, Quintilian (Bk V, viii-xiv) deals with (1) *indications*, (2) *arguments*, and (3) *examples*. Although these proofs overlap in many ways with those earlier classified as inartificial, Quintilian emphasizes inference and deduction as more distinctive *works of art*, envisioning these as matters crafted to *produce belief*.

Stipulating that there are no questions that are not concerned with *things*, *people*, and their *connections*, Quintilian (Bk V, viii:4-7) observes that *all proofs* rest on establishing linkages between people and things (other phenomena or objects). He notes, as well, that proofs may be viewed variously as establishing (a) *necessary*, (b) *credible*, or (c) *not impossible* linkages between people and things (and between some things and other things).

In discussing *indications* of things, Quintilian (Bk V, ix) distinguishes (a) things that are considered to have indisputable connections with other things (i.e., if x, then y is inevitable) from (b) inferences that are thought more problematic (e.g., if x, y is highly likely), and (c) inferences more readily open to dispute among the parties involved (x and y are sometimes found together; or if x, y is still possible). In these latter cases (b and c), the relevance of particular signs may vary with other aspects of the case to which speakers and judges attend, as these linkages (ambiguous, trivial, or commonplace) are far from conclusive.

Quintilian (Bk V, x) then addresses *enthymemes* (Greek). Noting that enthymemes signify propositions based on reason and/or conclusions drawn from a denial of consequents or incompatibles, Quintilian distinguishes these rhetorical or incomplete syllogisms from regular (logical) syllogisms because the components of enthymemes are not as clearly defined or developed as completely. Enthymemes are forms of reasoning that seem deductively viable (i.e., probable), but lack the logical rigor of the (fuller) syllogism.

In developing this material, Quintilian (Bk V, x) focuses more directly on certainty and credibility. Quintilian identifies *four bases of certainty* of knowing in the courtroom setting: (a) sense-based information; (b) general agreement or consensus; (c) things established by law or custom; and (d) things that have been established in the setting or at least are not disputed by either party. It is on these foundations or notions of knowing that *probable* arguments or proofs are established.

Noting that Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, I:1-17 [1984]) discussed common types of linkages between things

at some length, Quintilian (Bk V, x:17-22) posits that *credibility* as a proof is contingent on the common linkages or assumptions that judges make between people and other things. In discussing enthymemes, Quintilian (Bk V, x:23-125) outlines a vast array of materials around which proofs or arguments may be developed. Among *the resources* on which orators may draw in establishing probabilities are aspects of places, people, actions, definitions of things, time sequences, similarities and differences, causes and effects, comparisons of degrees, and fictitious reference points.

In *discussing people involved in the case*, Quintilian (Bk V, x:23-31) comments on a wide range of human circumstances that orators may reference in making arguments. These include people's ancestors, nationalities, genders, education and training, bodily constitution and appearances, fortunes, friendships, reputations, occupations, ambitions, lifestyles, passions, dispositions, or even personal names where these might be highlighted in some ways.

Quintilian (Bk V, x:32-51) begins his discussion of *actions* by explicitly focusing on the questions of *who, why, where, when, and how*. He gives attention to motives, passions, circumstances, devices, and procedures as matters that may serve as focal points or supplementary materials for the proofs that orators generate.

Arguments developed from the *definitions of things* (Bk V, x:53-68) revolve around the location and meanings of particular phenomena; what things are in relative terms, and how these are to be viewed in the present circumstances.

Other arguments may be generated when speakers invoke *time sequences* of things or events (Bk V, x:71-

72) or draw on *comparisons* involving similarities, differences, and degrees of variation or even fictionalized (or idealized) references (Bk V, x:73-99).

Recognizing the virtually infinite sets of options that he has introduced as sources of argumentation, Quintilian (Bk V, x:100-125) suggests that orators concentrate on the more central features of the case at hand so that arguments built on any of these linkages between people and things might be more advantageously employed.

Next, Quintilian (Bk V, xi) turns to *paradigmatic proofs*, using this term to refer to inferences based on comparisons, particularly those involving historical parallels. These arguments are reliant on speakers drawing similarities or contrasts of the case at hand with external reference points.

In addition to citing specific or more general lessons of history, speakers may reference poets, politicians, gods, or others as authorities. Since these significations provide testimonies of sorts to the viability or morality of some aspect of the present case, Quintilian notes that speakers using paradigmatic arguments have an unlimited set of sources on which to build their cases.

Closing his discussion of proofs, Quintilian (Bk V, xii) re-emphasizes the importance of *achieving credibility* in the ways arguments are assembled and ordered. While suggesting that weaker arguments may be mixed for greater effect, Quintilian contends that strong arguments should stand more directly on their own, lest their effects be dissipated or obscured by weaker side issues. Quintilian also cautions speakers to maintain coherence between their claims or propositions and their arguments. He further warns speakers about overloading judges with

all possible arguments that may be brought into particular cases.

After reminding speakers of the importance of adjusting their materials to the judges on hand, Quintilian briefly comments on the sequential ordering of one's arguments; whether the strongest arguments should go (a) at the beginning, (b) at the end, or (c) at both the beginning and end, with weaker arguments occupying the middle. Quintilian suggests that speakers adapt the ordering of arguments to the situation they face, but (d) avoid listing arguments in consistent descending order from strongest to weakest.

Refutation (Challenge)

Quintilian (Bk V, xii) begins his analysis of refutation with the observation that while the defender's role revolves around the disconfirmation of the prosecutor's case, both defenders and prosecutors must be prepared to contest the claims of the other. Quintilian also stresses that speakers developing rebuttals may be drawing on the very same sets of sources as those from which proofs may be developed.

Following Cicero, Quintilian observes that the defender's role is generally more difficult. In part, this reflects the problems that defenders have in anticipating the direction, contents, and presentation of the case developed by the prosecutor. In part, too, Quintilian argues that it is easier to make allegations than to disprove them. Likewise, while prosecutors have direct propositions that they intend to establish, defenders are to consider (in more adjustive terms) how to attack prosecutors' arguments (e.g., singly or in mass; invoke justification or denial).

Envisioning defender's roles as commonly implying more adjustive activity than prosecutor's roles, Quintilian argues that defenders normally require greater eloquence to be effective. Relatedly, while searching for discrepancies on which to challenge prosecutions' cases, defenders are generally discouraged from repeating and emphasizing the prosecutors' charges and proofs in ways that might amplify these or otherwise more firmly fix these in the judge's mind.

Quintilian (Bk V, xiii:37-50) also reminds defenders that *it is the case* and not the prosecutor that they are refuting. Thus, for instance, should defenders more directly attack the prosecutor (as in the choice of words, troublesome ambiguities, appearance, or character), this is to be done mindfully with the objective of winning the case. Quintilian also cautions defenders not to assume that their opponents are fools and observes that personal attacks may engender retorts from opponents that may be particularly devastating to one's case at hand.

Quintilian (Bk V, xiii:51-53) subsequently warns pleaders against elaborations of their points. Instead, Quintilian advises defenders to concentrate on their stronger points and to project an air of confidence in presenting these to the judges.

Next, Quintilian (Bk V, xiv) provides a more extended discussion of various forms that *enthymemes* (as incomplete syllogisms) may assume in the arguments of the orator. Although resting more centrally on (a) a stipulated premise or proposition; (b) a reason for justifying its relevance in the present context; and (c) a conclusion drawn from the preceding materials, enthymemes may employ propositions and/or reasonings that vary in terms of their acceptability to opponents and judges.

Speakers presented with proof by enthymemes, thus, may challenge baseline propositions (and any supplementary premises), the rationale that connects premises to the present case, or the particular conclusions that the opponent has drawn. Still, it is the judges who ultimately define the relevance of all proofs and refutations.

Although enthymemes may be used with considerable effect in some cases, Quintilian (Bk V, xiv:27) discourages speakers from filling their cases with enthymemes, lest their speeches become extended dialectic engagements and fail to appeal to, or communicate effectively with, their judges (most of whom are not trained dialecticians).

Book VI: Summarizing for Judges: The Peroration or Conclusion and Emotionality

While devoting Book VI primarily to the *Peroration or Conclusion* of the orator's speech,[17] Quintilian provides readers with some particularly valuable materials on *emotion work* (and the somewhat related use of humor) in forensic cases. Although Quintilian's statement is reminiscent of that of Aristotle and Cicero, we gain yet a fuller appreciation of *how speakers may attempt to influence their adjudicators as they conclude their presentations*.

As Quintilian (Bk VI, i:1-14) notes, the peroration represents a summary of the case, but it can also be used to vastly strengthen one's case before a final

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[17] In the Preface to Book VI, Quintilian grieves the recent loss of his older son. Quintilian describes this youngster as having great potential as an orator and had hoped that his son might be the major beneficiary of his writings on rhetoric. The loss is particularly tragic for Quintilian, who earlier had lost his wife and his younger son. Indicating that he had worked intensively on this book during his elder son's extended illness, Quintilian now continues in the hope that this work may still be of service to others.

deliberation. Indeed, Quintilian (Bk VI, ii:1) later defines the peroration as the primary aspect of forensic cases and envisions this as the single most consequential site for shaping the emotions and ensuing decisions of the judges.

Quintilian insists that the peroration be approached in a highly engaging fashion. Speakers, thus, are encouraged to *refresh judges' minds* on matters of importance to their cases, but not laboriously so. The peroration also is a place in which to *discredit opponents' arguments* and to work on the *emotional inclinations* of the audience.

Relatedly, while Quintilian expects prosecutors to focus on *generating hostility* toward defendants on the part of the judges, defenders would concentrate on *fostering sympathy* toward defendants. Whereas speakers may invoke emotionality throughout the speech, Quintilian states that it is the peroration that offers speakers the greatest freedom to be creative, expressive, and forceful in representing their positions.

Although he will add further insight into the (enacted) matters of inciting anger and encouraging pity later, Quintilian establishes justifications for these practices at this point in the text.

Focusing first on the task of *inciting hostility* toward the accused, Quintilian (Bk VI, i:15-20) encourages prosecutors (a) to define the act broadly in the most deplorable terms possible and to enhance these claims by depicting, in expressly negative ways, features of (b) the act, (c) the accused, (d) the victim, (e) the purpose, (f) the time, (g) the place, and (h) the manner of the act.

Additionally, prosecutors may also draw attention to (i) the present and future suffering of the victim's

family and (j) the risks the victim has assumed in taking this case to trial, especially if the case were to be overturned. Likewise, prosecutors may (k) caution auditors about being tempted by any pleas for pity that defenders propose, lest auditors overlook their duties to deal fairly with the case.

Conversely, Quintilian (Bk VI, i:21) points out that defenders attempting to *generate pity* may emphasize the (a) the accused's worth (through things such as noting the defendant's services to the community or extended family responsibilities), as well as the accused's goodness and kindness toward others. Appeals also may be made for (b) fair and honorable treatment of cases in the courts and (c) the importance of judges setting precedents that will inform future cases. Likewise, (d) defenders may stress various past, present, and future losses and sufferings on the part of the accused and (e) the losses and suffering of the accused's family (as innocent victims).

Quintilian also notes that defenders may generate sympathy through (f) the use of *impersonation*, wherein defenders invent (fictitious) speeches on behalf of their clients. Here, Quintilian (Bk VI, i:25-27) draws parallels to the convincing portrayals of others that actors on stage may convey, arguing that impersonation can dramatically recast auditors' images of the case under consideration.

Quintilian (Bk VI, i:30-36) further observes that defenders may attempt to foster pity through (g) the use of the *display*. This could include presenting accused persons in more humble or pathetic attire, by having children, spouses, and parents appear with them, by showing the accused persons' wounds or other losses and having defendants overtly act in ways intended to convey more sorrowful states.

At the same time, though, Quintilian (Bk VI, i:37-43) reminds defenders of their dependence on the *cooperation of their clients* in all ventures of this sort. Where clients or other relevant parties fail to sustain the images projected by the defender, the entire case may be hopelessly jeopardized. As well, Quintilian (Bk VI, i:46-49) notes that prosecutors may assume active roles in neutralizing or more completely discrediting displays that were intended to generate pity on behalf of defenders' clients.

Despite the highly instructive material provided to this point, Quintilian (Bk VI, ii) wants to deal with the matter of *stirring people's emotions* in yet more detailed terms. It is here, too, that Quintilian considers oratory to be most singularly compelling as a persuasion device.

While observing that few orators can fully dominate the emotions of the judges, Quintilian argues that even less compelling speakers can encourage auditors to adopt viewpoints that stand at variance with the proofs presented in the cases at hand. Or, if unable to achieve this objective, speakers may at least encourage judges to give their clients more sympathetic hearings by introducing elements of doubt or justification.

Having earlier discussed some themes that speakers might invoke to generate hostility toward or pity for accused persons, Quintilian (Bk VI, ii:23-37) turns more directly to the *enacted features* of the presentation.

Arguing that performers best convey emotionality to others when they, themselves, more completely experience or are absorbed by particular emotional states, Quintilian encourages speakers (preparing for courtroom presentations) to present situations

to their imaginations in such vivid or intense manners that they, themselves, become stirred by and act mindfully of the visions or fantasies of the very situations (that they manufactured for this very purpose).

Quintilian (Bk VI, iii) then analyzes another emotional-related oratorical skill, that of *neutralizing* the more serious emotions of judges by *generating humor*. Stating that Demosthenes very much avoided wit, while Cicero frequently employed humor in courtroom settings, Quintilian envisions humor, wit, or jesting as problematic in its effects. Thus, while humor may be used with highly desirable results in some cases, Quintilian is pointedly aware that wit may also work against the speaker at other times.

Observing that humor may be generated around a great many things, Quintilian notes that humor may be invoked (consequentially) to (a) dispel hatred or anger on the part of auditors, (b) divert judges' attention from the facts or other aspects of the case, and (c) relieve auditors from boredom or more wearying aspects of the case.

While the arguments or circumstances of others may provide focal points for such jesting (Quintilian, Bk VI, iii:22-27), other targets notably would include the speakers (and their clients), as well as other items (words, circumstances, events) that somehow are connected with, or enter into, the courtroom setting at hand.

Mindful of the potential pitfalls of using humor in oratory, Quintilian (Bk VI, iii:27-65) introduces several cautions to which speakers should attend. Thus, Quintilian suggests that those attempting jests be mindful of (a) the character of the speaker, (b) the nature of the case, (c) the sensitivities of judges,

(d) the circumstances of the victim, and (e) the sorts of materials actually introduced in the case at hand.

Consequently, Quintilian reminds speakers of the importance of maintaining their dignity, attending to the seriousness of the case, and monitoring the tolerances of their judges. Relatedly, Quintilian cautions speakers about inadvertently implicating judges as targets of humor directed toward other targets. He also warns speakers to avoid appearing insolent or arrogant while trying to be humorous.

As well, Quintilian suggests that instances of wit achieve greater overall impact when these appear spontaneous as opposed to deliberately contrived. Likewise, Quintilian observes that while wit employed in developing attacks may be contrived beforehand, humor often has a greater impact on auditors when it is invoked more spontaneously in defense.

After providing a series of illustrations, Quintilian (Bk VI, iii:66-83) states that all forms of argument lend themselves to humorous portrayals. Still, since refutation revolves around denial, defense, or the minimization of charges, the defender role provides considerable opportunity for the strategic deployment of humor.

The remainder of Quintilian's discussion of humor (Bk VI, iii:84-112) is devoted to illustrations of how the meanings of things may be distorted to create witty effects. Distinguishing subtle from more pointed, intendedly laugh-provoking humor, Quintilian (Bk VI, iii:102-112) also refers to Domitius Marsus' book *Urbanity*. According to Quintilian, Marsus produced an elaborate text of charming, sophisticated statements that could be used to achieve wit in a wide range of oratorical settings.

Following his consideration of humor, Quintilian (Bk VI, iv) deals with the elements of *debate* (or altercation). Referring to the sets of questions and answers that speakers often develop around conjecture (proofs and refutations), debates normally follow the presentation of statements that had been developed in advance. Stating that other authors would consider debates to have been adequately covered in earlier topics, Quintilian intends to give debates more explicit attention (contending that the ideal orator would also be accomplished in debate).

In particular, Quintilian wants to acknowledge the rapid, usually brief, sometimes highly intense exchanges that may take place. Here, Quintilian stresses the value of a quick mind and the importance of speakers being familiar with all aspects of the cases they represent. No less significant, however, is the speaker's ability to meet and repel the tactics of one's opponent while maintaining composure and control over one's emotions (especially anger).

Relatedly, Quintilian observes it is especially important that speakers maintain a clear, concerted focus on the issues and objectives in the case at hand. As well, Quintilian suggests that greater preparation and forethought may also enable speakers to lure adversaries into traps within debates.

At the same time, though, Quintilian cautions speakers to attend to the judges (what they seem to accept and reject) throughout the debate so that speakers might adapt their materials accordingly. Finally, Quintilian notes that debates are reminiscent of cross-examinations involving witnesses. However, in this part of the contest, it is the advocates who directly engage one another.

Throughout this consideration of debates, Quintilian (Bk VI, iv:4-7) is mindful of the dramatic nature of these encounters. Envisioning judges to be exceptionally attentive to these exchanges, Quintilian stresses the relevance of the arguments made and lost during this more impressionable time in the minds of the auditors.

Book VII: Arrangement: Conjecture, Definitions, Accountability, Interpretation

Having dealt rather extensively with invention or the matter of developing appropriate arguments for addressing opponents, as well as those adjudicating the case at hand, **Quintilian dedicates Book VII to arrangement**. While addressing the ordering or sequencing of the materials developed for oratorical purposes, Quintilian takes us well beyond the simple task of putting one's materials in order.

Thus, in addition to dealing with the fundamental role of arrangement for giving form and impact to a speech in an overall sense, Quintilian provides valuable insight into (1) *conjecture or unsubstantiated suppositions*, (2) *definitions*, (3) *accountability* and (4) *sanctions*, (5) *interpretation* of "the letter" versus "the intention" of the law, and (6) *ambiguities* related to the use and arrangements of words.

Stating that *arrangement is contingent on division or how speakers break things into parts in the specific cases at hand*, Quintilian (Bk VII, i) begins his consideration of arrangement by emphasizing the importance of speakers being thoroughly familiar with one's case. To this end, Quintilian acknowledges a variety of issues, including anticipations of the things likely to be introduced by their opponents, that speakers may consider in ordering the matters with which they deal.

As well, while stressing overall expediency, Quintilian observes that people may generate different orderings of their materials, depending on such things as the complexity of the case, the importance of specific issues in the case, the particular laws in question, the matters under agreement and dispute, and issues of reputation versus issues of law or alleged activities. Consequently, even as Quintilian develops this section, amidst ambiguities and examples, we are left with a general emphasis on the importance of (a) *preparation*, (b) *anticipating one's opponent*, and (c) *focusing on the more central questions.*

Further, although prosecutors may put the stronger argument at the beginning and the end, Quintilian encourages defenders to deal with the strongest issues against their clients first, lest judges be distracted by other issues as defenders neutralize less central matters. Likewise, Quintilian suggests that matters of reputation be dealt with first by defenders so that judges may be more favorably disposed toward their clients. No less consequentially, Quintilian assumes that speakers will be especially mindful of the issue(s) on which the case most centrally hinges, ordering other materials around these issues.

Observing that all **conjecture** deals with facts or intention, Quintilian (Bk VII, ii) is especially attentive to temporal sequencing (i.e., past, present, future) of events. Since forensic courts focus primarily on matters past, a great deal of conjecture centers on issues of whether certain events did or did not occur and the identities and circumstances of those involved. Accordingly, one part of the arrangement of the speaker's materials revolves around the development of a narrative or an account of the sequencing of events central to the case at hand.

Noting that accused parties and their defenders may (a) acknowledge or deny acts, as well as (b) express a variety of viewpoints on the involvements, intentions, and responsibilities of accused persons (and other parties), Quintilian also considers (c) instances of mutual accusations (Bk VII, ii:18-24) and (d) multiple claims of responsibility and reward (Bk VII, ii:25-27).

Addressing the related matter of providing and contesting proof, Quintilian (Bk VII, ii:27-35) next focuses on the *character and circumstances of the accused*, following this (Bk VII, ii:35-38) with proofs associated with motives such as anger, greed, and fear. Where no motives seem apparent, prosecutors may speak of hidden motives or adopt the standpoint that a motiveless crime is even more ominous. Defenders, in turn, typically would endeavor to define positions of these sorts as incredulous.

Acknowledging the choices that prosecutors face in the relative ordering of perpetrator character and motives in developing their cases, Quintilian (Bk VII, ii:42-44) then focuses on *intention*. Here, he addresses people's (as perpetrators) objectives, anticipations of success in conducting the activity, and hopes and plans for avoiding detection or prosecution.

Quintilian (Bk VII, ii:44-45) next asks if suspects were in *position* (time, capacities, opportunities) to commit particular offenses before more directly considering (Bk VII, ii:46-57) proofs of whether accused persons *committed* the offenses in question.

Recognizing that speakers may build cases variously around intentions, opportunities, and proofs of acts, Quintilian (Bk VII, iii) subsequently turns to the *definition of the matter at hand*, wherein people

attempt to avoid prosecution by claiming that their activities do not fall under the terms of the charges.

Stating that definitions revolve around statements of the genus [categories], species [subtypes], further differences, and properties of phenomena, Quintilian distinguishes questions of (a) whether a particular term applies to the case at hand, (b) which of two seemingly applicable terms might be more appropriate, (c) whether different things are to be covered by the same term, (d) what the meaning of a particular term may be, and (e) which of the meanings of a particular term is to be considered viable for the case at hand.

Because the outcomes of cases may hinge centrally on the acknowledged definitions of the setting, Quintilian observes that speakers *may achieve a considerable advantage by establishing the prevailing terms of reference* and, correspondingly, by destroying (as false, too narrow, irrelevant) the definitions proposed by one's competitors.

The next topic Quintilian (Bk VII, iv) examines is that of people's *responsibility and accountability* for the eventual awards or penalties that judges may apply to the cases at hand. Here, the question is not whether people were involved in the specific acts at issue, but how their involvements in these events might be viewed, assessed, and treated by judges.

In some cases, defenders may not only admit the act and acknowledge the client's intentionality but also claim that the act was an honorable one (Bk VII, iv:4-6) because (a) the defendant acted virtuously from one or other perspectives. Likewise, defenders may justify particular acts based on their clients (b) acting in defense of threatened public or personal interests or (c) being forced to select the lesser of two evils in

a situation (Bk VII, iv:7-12). Other options (Bk VII, iv:13-21) involve (d) shifting the blame to other people, (e) referencing extenuating conditions, (f) claiming ignorance, and (g) more directly pleading for mercy.

Quintilian (Bk VII, iv:21-23) subsequently deals with the matter of *rewarding persons*. Here, he focuses on (a) whether specific people merit awards and if so, (b) how extensive the reward ought to be. Quintilian discusses multiple claimants, the dangers and difficulties of the tasks for which people might be rewarded, the circumstances of the recipients, and the intention or objective of the award. Quintilian (Bk VII, iv:24-40) then considers a variety of cases in which accountability is notably problematic, including disinheritance, lunacy, cruelty, and misconduct.

Noting that some cases revolve more directly around the *interpretation of specific laws*, Quintilian (Bk VII, v-viii) attends to (a) differences between "the letter" and "the intention" of the law; (b) ambiguous meanings of particular laws; (c) contrary laws; and (d) syllogistic (logically deductive) applications of laws.

Quintilian (Bk VII, ix-x) then focuses more directly on *ambiguity* (interpretational difficulties) associated with single words, compound words, and the arrangement of words in both spoken and written formats.

In concluding his discussion of arrangement, Quintilian (Bk VII, x:11-17) states that people learn ways of developing effective arrangements (from the exordium to the peroration) through preparation for specific cases, more sustained applications of natural abilities, and more intense study.

Comparing speaker skills in arranging oratory to the gift of successfully commanding troops in the

field, Quintilian urges speakers to exercise diligence, perseverance, and precision in attending to the arrangement.

Book VIII: Achieving Eloquence: Comprehension, Clarity, Creativity, Amplification

Quintilian uses the Preface to Book VIII to review Books II-VII before launching more directly into a consideration of eloquence. Noting that the Latin verb *eloqui* (Bk VIII, Preface:15) refers to speakers' abilities to communicate all that they have in their minds to their audiences, Quintilian argues that *without the capacity to achieve shared understandings on the part of the speaker and the auditor*, all the preliminary efforts of the orator are rendered inconsequential.

Viewed thusly, eloquence is much more than attending to the niceties of an extended vocabulary. Relatedly, Quintilian (Bk VIII, Preface:23-33) stresses the importance of using words that *generate more compelling impressions of realism as understood by the audience*.

Quintilian (Bk VIII, i:1) observes that notions of style or *elocutio* (*phrasis* in Greek) are contingent on word choices and combinations that are carefully developed, clearly conveyed, and effectively embellished for presentation.

Attending to matters of propriety and clarity, Quintilian (Bk VIII, ii:1-24) directly distinguishes effective erudition from more obscure elaborations. The task of the orator is not just to present materials in ways that may be understood by auditors but to ensure that auditors *do* understand the speaker's viewpoint. In some cases, this may mean apologizing for the obscurity of one's earlier statements

and providing a more lucid statement that will be understood.

Quintilian (Bk VIII, iii) next turns to *ornamentation*. While noting that clarity is essential for effective oratory, Quintilian observes that clarity is often taken for granted by auditors. It is in this respect that ornamentation (as more artistic or expressive speech) encourages recognition of orators as more admirable or compelling speakers by their audiences.

In addition to attracting greater attention, these orators also are seen to achieve higher levels of receptivity and credibility. These speakers would then be advantaged in encouraging their audiences to accept the realism of the viewpoints they project, and in absorbing or captivating audiences with their emotional appeals.

While viewing the use of striking metaphors and artful composition as central to eloquence, Quintilian (VIII, iii:42-90) introduces a series of cautions around the deployment of words, phrases, and metaphors. Thus, he particularly stresses the importance of maintaining propriety and pleasantry, and of achieving vivid and credible representations.

Next, focusing more specifically on *amplification* (magnification or enhancement of things), Quintilian (Bk VIII, iv) first refers to the strength (connotations) of the words that may be used to describe things. Subsequently, Quintilian delineates four methods of amplification: (a) augmentation, (b) comparison, (c) reasoning, and (d) accumulation.

In developing amplification through *augmentation* (Bk VIII, iv:3-9), speakers use a series of related descriptors (words or phrases) that may be presented in mass or sequence (usually with each

stronger than the last) to dramatize the point being made. *Comparison* (Bk VIII, iv:9-14) refers to the practice of drawing (and encouraging) affinities between aspects of the immediate case and external references of a more heightened or exaggerated quality.

Amplification based on *reasoning* (Bk VIII, iv:15-26) draws heavily on the emphasis of certain elements of the situation (that somehow may be related to specific other aspects of the case) to dramatize the focal matter. The fourth form of amplification that Quintilian (Bk VIII, iv:26-27) considers is *accumulation*, wherein speakers continue to concentrate on some specific feature of the case by making more concerted (frequent or persistent) reference to it in identical or related manners (words, phrases, gestures, or other indications).

Quintilian (Bk VIII, iv:28) then notes that *attenuation* or the diminution of certain aspects of the case may be achieved by the same methods as amplification.

Subsequently, following considerations of the meanings that people have given to the notion of "sense" or "feeling" over time and *enthymemes* or inferences drawn from implied premises, possibly seeming contraries (Bk VIII, v), Quintilian directs attention to *tropes*.

Tropes involve the artistic alteration of the meanings of words or phrases from more conventional uses to novel applications, as through (a) metaphors (Bk VIII, vi:2-30), (b) the creation of new words (Bk VIII, vi:31-43), (c) allegories (inversions, revealing hidden meanings or other than literal interpretations of references to objects) (Bk VIII, v:44-61), and (d) hyperboles or exaggerations of words or phrases for communicative effect (Bk VIII, vi:62-76).

Book IX: Figures of Thought (Ideas, Images), Figures of Speech (Expressivity)

Book IX centers on *figures of thought* and *figures of speech*—although (as Quintilian notes) much of the contents of Book VIII (especially tropes) may be viewed as overlapping with or contributing to figures of thought or speech. Still, Quintilian argues for the relevance of these devices as focal points in oratorical presentations. Thus, while recognizing that all words and expressions convey impressions of sorts, Quintilian wishes to focus more directly on the shaping of images or schemas by invoking artistic expressions.

Observing that **figures of thought** (*ideas, concepts, images*) permeate all aspects of oratorical expression (Bk IX, i:19-21), Quintilian (Bk IX, i:25), following Cicero, uses *figures of speech* (or verbal expression) to refer to *how speakers might present matters (as in ideas, terms of reference, concepts, claims, challenges) in particularly compelling linguistic ways*. The intent is to verbally control auditor images of the case at hand, thereby shaping auditor experiences of emotionality (and ensuing decisions).

To illustrate some of the great many ways that rhetoricians might productively employ *embellishments* to their advantage, Quintilian (Bk IX, i:26-36) quotes a substantial passage [*too long to provide here*] from Cicero's (1942) *De Oratore* (Book III, lii:201-208), following this (Quintilian Bk IX, i:37-45) with a related quote from Cicero's (1962b) *Orator* (xxxix:135-139).[18]

18 Some of *Cicero's embellishments* might be used, for example, to achieve vividness of images; amplify points for impressions of importance; suggest more than is said; create digressions; deal with topics in highly precise and systematic fashions; reiterate points; exaggerate; deliberately misconstrue matters; pretend to confer with audiences; develop impersonations; introduce fictitious characters; discuss consequences of actions; develop comparisons and contrasts; suppress things; or com-

Stating that one can find no better guide than Cicero on the preceding matters, Quintilian (Bk IX, ii:1-16) then re-emphasizes *the importance of speaker lucidity and clarity for instructing (and directing) judges* before stressing the value of *sustained anticipation* (Bk IX, ii:16-20) of the oppositional other on the part of speakers as a major element of the oratorical endeavor.

Quintilian (Bk IX, ii:20-25) next discusses *pseudo communication* as a device wherein speakers artificially make comments toward or seemingly pose questions to opponents or judges in the course of making their presentations.

Then (Bk IX, ii:26-29), after indicating the importance of simulating or *feigning emotionality* to convey specific viewpoints to auditors and assuming a license to emphasize by exclamation, Quintilian (Bk IX, ii:30-38) turns more directly to *impersonation*. Quintilian describes this as a bolder form of representation, but one which adds a particularly exciting variation to oratory:

> This is a device which lends wonderful variety and animation to oratory. By this means we display the inner thoughts of our adversaries as though they were talking with themselves (but we shall only carry conviction if we represent them as uttering what they may reasonably be supposed to have had in their minds); or without sacrifice of credibility we may introduce conversations between ourselves and others, or of others among themselves, and put words of advice, reproach, complaint, praise or pity into the mouths of

mand attention for things… Likewise, *speech may be presented in* composed, angered, playful, menacing, or graceful tones. Words and expressions may be used to create differing effects (through changes, increments, inversions) to suggest justifications, generate various kinds of conclusions, make distinctions, and so forth.

appropriate persons. Nay, we are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven and raise the dead, while cities also and peoples may find a voice. [Quintilian Bk IX, ii:30-31, Butler trans.]

Because speakers can assume the roles of real and fictitious people or other objects, the applications of impersonation are virtually limitless. Still, Quintilian cautions speakers who contemplate introducing greater falsehoods or more incredible claims to make their arguments. Whereas these fabrications may achieve particularly stunning effects on some occasions, at other times audiences may be strikingly disaffected with what they view as shallow attempts at deception.

Somewhat relatedly, Quintilian (Bk IX, ii:40-44) references *ocular demonstration* as another figure of speech that can have compelling effects. Here, speakers not only narrate aspects of the case but simultaneously *act out* certain features of these events to increase the vividness of the verbal portrayals.

Then, following considerations of the use of *irony* (Bk IX, ii:44-54), *digressions* (or diversions) from the focal topic (Bk IX, ii:55-57), *imitations and pretensions* (Bk IX, ii:58-63), *emphases and suggestions* (IX, ii:64-77), and the potential appeals of *hidden messages* to audiences (who may applaud themselves for their perceptual abilities [Bk IX, ii:78-92]), Quintilian (Bk IX, ii:93-95) directs some attention to *how these figures or communication devices might be neutralized by opposing speakers*.

In this latter matter, Quintilian suggests that speakers attempting to *offset the effects* generated by these communicative devices first consider the centrality of the particular figures employed for the case at hand, attacking those that appear particularly con-

sequential. In some cases, for instance, it may be stated that opposing speakers have relied on innuendo because they lack the conviction or evidence to make direct claims. Likewise, on other occasions, speakers may consider it more advantageous to ignore or pretend not to comprehend expressions generated by their opponents.

From there, Quintilian (Bk IX, ii:96-107) considers a series of more minor figures that speakers may invoke before noting (Bk IX, iii) *that figures of speech are more or less continuously in states of transition*. As well, regardless of the base (e.g., authority, tradition, reason) on which figures of speech may be acknowledged at particular points in time, *speakers are cautioned to use figures selectively and sparingly for greater effect*. Conversely, Quintilian observes that when specific figures of speech are used more frequently, with auditors becoming more accustomed to these elements of speech, these expressions effectively cease to be regarded as "figures of speech."

Quintilian (Bk IX, iii:6-102) then addresses an extended assortment of subtypes of figures of speech, following this with an elaboration on artistic structure (IX, iv:1-147). Building centrally on Cicero, Quintilian encourages speakers to strive for beautiful expression. Envisioning *artistic expressions* as an enabling (vs. a necessary) feature of oratory, Quintilian considers the relevance of *order* (Bk IX, iv:22-32), *connection* (Bk IX, iv:33-44), and *rhythm* (Bk IX, iv:45-147) for artistic structure.

Pursuing Oratorical Excellence

Assuming that readers are now well versed in the fundamentals of rhetoric, Quintilian (Books X-XII) embarks on a broader, more philosophic, instructionally-oriented consideration of oratory. While his intention is that of preparing rhetoricians for *actual* practice, Quintilian addresses an assortment of issues of a more encompassing academic nature. These include the matters of (1) achieving intellectual depth; (2) writing, meditating, and improvising; (3) displaying style; (4) attending to memory; (5) achieving expressivity; (6) striving for virtue, wisdom, and stocks of knowledge; (7) focusing on cases and clients; (8) acknowledging oratorical styles; and (9) retiring with style.

Book X: Striving for Excellence: Intellectual Depth, Writing, Meditation, Improvisation

Beginning with the matter of speakers acquiring greater *stocks of words* with which to develop speeches, Quintilian (Bk X, i:5-14) encourages speakers to listen diligently and read more extensively so that they may learn more effective ways of generating speeches.

Subsequently, Quintilian (Bk X, i:15-19) embarks on a brief, but thoughtful, analysis of some differences between *listening to* and *reading* oratorical materials. Here, Quintilian observes that speakers have greater potential to bring people into closer contact with things through enacted deliveries (voice, gestures, adaptation, audience applause) than can be accomplished through the images generated only by written words.

By contrast, Quintilian describes reading as a more flexible (user-engaged) form of activity. Thus, Quintilian notes that people who read text can invoke critical reasoning at their leisure, engage subject matters in time-frames of their choosing, reread passages, and more accurately fix statements in their memories should they so desire.

Next, Quintilian (Bk X, i:20) engages in a more extended discussion of the *authors* that he thinks should be read by orators. Here, Quintilian focuses more directly on people writing on poetics, history, and philosophy, as well as accounts of the practices of various Greek and Roman orators. Although building prominently on Cicero's works in these areas, Quintilian also shares his thoughts on these matters, as well as provides historical updates. Quintilian's materials are not developed as fully as are those of Cicero, but they are instructive nonetheless.

While cautioning readers about the human limitations of all authors, Quintilian (Bk X, i:20-30) insists that orators should concentrate on reading the best (classic) sources from the Greek and Latin literatures. Referencing Theophrastus' observation that it is beneficial for orators to read the *poets*, Quintilian contends that poets can serve as major sources of inspiration, imitation, and relaxation. *However, Quintilian cautions orators about attending too closely to the poets:*

> the orator must not follow the poets in everything, more especially in their freedom of language and their license in the use of figures. Poetry has been compared to the oratory of display, and further, aims solely at giving pleasure, which it seeks to secure by inventing what is not merely untrue but sometimes even incredible. Further, we must bear in mind that it can be defended on the ground that it is tied by certain metrical necessities and consequently cannot always use straightforward and literal language, but is driven from the direct road to take refuge in certain by-ways of expression; and compelled not merely to change certain words but to lengthen, contract, transpose or divide them, whereas the orator stands armed in the forefront of the battle, fights for a high

stake and devotes all his effort to winning the victory. [Quintilian Bk X, i:28-29, Butler trans.]

Quintilian (BX, i:31-34) next turns to the *historians* (notably Thucydides and Herodotus among the Greeks and Sallust and Livy among the Romans). Although observing that historians are more concerned about recording sequences of events for posterity than with establishing credibility or emotionality for the purpose of winning cases, Quintilian posits that orators who are more familiar with people's histories and (especially) legal precedents are apt to build more effective cases.

Quintilian (Bk X, i:35-36) deals with *philosophy* in a somewhat parallel fashion. He appreciates the dialectics of Socrates and the Stoics, but sharply contrasts the theoretical considerations of philosophers with the enacted perils of the courtroom.

Following this introduction, Quintilian (Bk X, i:37-45) reminds readers of the *follies* of either neglecting the classics or concentrating exclusively on the ancients. While acknowledging the value of some later developments, thus, Quintilian stresses the importance of being mindful of the profound *indebtedness* of oratory to its broader intellectual roots.

Quintilian (Bk X, i:46-72) then addresses the rhetorically enabling *poetics* of Homer, followed by considerations of the early Greek playwrights. Quintilian references Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander at some length, stipulating that a careful study of Menander (Bk X, i:68-72) alone would provide much valuable instruction on oratory.

Quintilian (Bk X, i:73-75) again acknowledges Thucydides and some early other *historians* for their at-

tention to oratory but also observes that history (by Quintilian's time) had fallen into considerable neglect.

From here, Quintilian (Bk X, i:76-80) cites a vast array of *Greek orators* (especially Demosthenes, Lysias, and Isocrates) before referencing some *Greek philosophers* (Bk X, i:81-84). While attesting to the supremacy of Plato's insights and elegance of style, Quintilian is no less impressed with Aristotle's knowledge, the multitude of his writings, and the extended range of his scholarship.

Quintilian (Bk X, i:85-131) next focuses more directly on the *Roman authors* that he envisions as more comparable to classical Greeks. In discussing *Latin poetics*, thus, Quintilian (Bk X, i:85-100) acknowledges the accomplishments and relevance of Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Varro, amongst others. Still, these comparisons are viable with the recognition that *only in certain respects, can Roman poetics effectively challenge Greek productions*. Likewise, when comparing the *Roman historians* Sallust and Livy with Thucydides and Herodotus, Quintilian (Bk X, i:101-104) makes very limited claims for Roman originality.

Thus, it is primarily in the area of *oratory* (Bk X, i:105-122) that Quintilian believes that the Romans are an adequate match for the Greeks. While referencing several skilled Roman orators, it is Cicero whom Quintilian (BX, i:105-112) envisions as the Roman counterpart of the highly esteemed Demosthenes (the Greek whose style Cicero specifically sought to imitate and extend).

Focusing primarily on Cicero's compelling oratorical presence (and temporarily letting Cicero's written materials recede into the background), Quintilian identifies Cicero as the model to be followed:

"Let us, therefore, fix our eyes on him, take him as our pattern, and let the student realize that he has made real progress if he is a passionate admirer of Cicero" (Quintilian Book X, i:112 [Butler trans.]).

Turning to *Roman philosophy* (Bk X, i:123-131), Quintilian again cites Cicero as the most competent Latin representative. Quintilian acknowledges the popularity of Seneca, Plautus (the Latin Stoic philosopher), and other Romans, but contends that it is Cicero who most adequately compares with Plato.[19]

From here (Bk X, ii:1-28), Quintilian turns to other aspects of the quest for oratorical excellence. Although clearly attentive to the baseline importance of people's capacities for *imitation* (especially selective imitation and synthesis) for greater success, Quintilian also urges speakers generally to attend to a fuller range of oratorical models so that they may invoke these in more discerning ways.

Writing, Meditation, Improvisation

Referencing Cicero's *De Oratore* (Bk X, i:150), Quintilian (Bk X, iii-iv) also develops a thoughtful discussion of *writing* and its considerable importance for achieving eloquence on the part of orators. Albeit on more suggestive levels, Quintilian subsequently considers issues such as (a) writing quickly versus writing effectively; (b) attending to optimal levels of editing; (c) dictating versus writing out text on one's own; (d) writing in secluded versus busier settings; and (e) explicitly planning for correction (via addition, excision, and alteration).

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[19] Although generally less well-known as a "philosopher" than are Seneca and Plautus, Marcus Tullius Cicero fully deserves recognition as the most accomplished Latin philosopher history has to show, at least until the time of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and, even then, Cicero still eclipses Aquinas in some very important conceptual respects.

Robert Prus

On a related note, Quintilian (Bk X, v) also discusses (f) the benefits accruing to orators who engage in the somewhat related practices of translating Greek orations into Latin and paraphrasing the speeches of others in written form.

Next, Quintilian (Bk X, vi) deals with the topic of *premeditation* or attempts on the part of speakers to prepare for cases in their minds without recourse to written text. This is followed by a statement on *improvisation* (Bk X, vii) and the general necessity of speakers to adjust to cases as these develop.

Even when *speaking extempore* or improvising on the spot, Quintilian encourages orators to (a) reflect as thoroughly as possible on the matter at hand. Likewise, he urges speakers to become more thoroughly acquainted both with (b) the case at hand and (c) more abstract related issues through continued practice (with others and alone) and yet broader studies. Quintilian also cautious speakers about maintaining clarity and precision of speech when speaking extempore.

In general, Quintilian stresses (a) the value of writing over meditation and (b) the value of meditation over highly improvisational speaking. Quintilian also encourages speakers minimally to *appear attentive* to the situation at hand and mindful of their clients' circumstances. As well, speakers are to be prepared to adjust throughout.

Book XI: Displaying and Managing Style, Attending to Memory, Effective Delivery

The first major topic that Quintilian discusses in Book XI is the matter of **displaying and managing style** or the ways of mindfully presenting speeches and representing cases. Building on Cicero's *De Oratore* and *Orator*, Quintilian (Bk XI, i:1-93) emphasizes the importance of speakers *adjusting their styles* to the cases, audiences, other speakers, and the occasions under consideration. In related terms, Quintilian (Bk XI, i:15-48) also cautions speakers about appearing boastful, impudent, disorderly, or angry, as well as excessively flattering, immodest, obscene, or disrespectful of authority.

Nevertheless, Quintilian observes that *auditor assessments of the appropriateness* of speakers' styles of expression are apt to be moderated by auditor considerations of speaker ages, experiences, and positions, with different audiences assigning varying meanings to matters of these sorts in the instances they encounter. Quintilian (Bk XI, i:48-93) subsequently focuses attention on how speakers may purposively adjust their styles in attempts to deal more effectively with particular cases, components, or events within, and the judges to whom speakers address their statements.

Attending to Memory

Quintilian (Bk XI, ii) subsequently turns to memory, noting that *all of the features of rhetoric* that he has discussed to this point *are contingent on speakers' abilities to recollect materials at will.* Thus, Quintilian (Bk XI, ii:3) asserts that even *extempore elegance* depends on no mental activity as much as memory.

Even as speakers address one point, Quintilian observes, the more astute will be searching ahead for relevant materials that they can link effectively to their present commentaries (or things they or their opponents may have already stated).

As well, better-developed memories not only enable orators to more readily access and order their

thoughts (and knowledge base) but these capacities for recollection also provide speakers with ways they may *assist their auditors* (remind, emphasize) with materials that these judges may have forgotten or otherwise neglected.

Following Cicero (*De Oratore*), Quintilian *stresses the importance of developing sequences of images as retainable symbols* when memorizing materials for presentations. At the same time, Quintilian notes that not all words or expressions are readily cast into recollectable images. Amongst other things related to the *memorization* of materials, Quintilian notes the advantages of learning longer speeches in a piecemeal fashion, speaking out loud (as additional stimulation) while memorizing text, testing oneself, and repeating more troublesome passages. He also observes that it is easier to recall verse than prose formats and to remember prose that is more artistically developed than that which is not.

Nevertheless, Quintilian insists that memory is most effectively developed through *practice, study, and preparation*. Accordingly, he recommends that those wishing to develop more adequate memories begin by learning increasingly longer passages from poetry verbatim on a daily basis, before moving to oratory, and then to freer forms of prose and speech.

Returning more directly to actual presentations, Quintilian (Bk XI, ii:48-51) reminds readers that more *extended preparations* will enable speakers to give a better account of themselves even if, for some reason, they are unable to master precise scripts. However, should orators lack both more viable memories and abilities to improvise on the spot, Quintilian suggests that orators who still possess some literary ability may turn more exclusively to writing speeches for others.

Achieving Effective Delivery

Quintilian's (Bk XI, iii:1-4) next subject is **delivery**. Following Cicero (*De Oratore*), Quintilian places heavy emphasis on the speaker's "presentation of self" (see Erving Goffman's [1959] *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*). Delivery is envisioned as encompassing both (a) *an expressive vocalization* and (b) *an associated physically enacted eloquence*. Likening orators to actors in a theater (Bk XI, iii:4-9), Quintilian asserts that delivery can achieve an emotional vitality that text alone cannot.

Focusing first on *voice* (Bk XI, iii:14-65), Quintilian provides an extended treatment of voice quality. This ranges from strength (capacities for projected volumes) to matters such as clarity, fullness, range of sounds, evenness, rhythm, styles of breathing, modes of enunciation, and vocal responsivity.

Intended to supplement the voice, Quintilian's (Bk XI, iii:65-184) discussion of *gestures* first draws attention to a wide variety of nonverbal modes of communication. Starting with the head (as in angle, eye movements, looks and glances, and expressions given off by the eyebrows, nostrils, and lips), Quintilian moves to appearances and motions associated with the neck, shoulders, torso, arms, hands, and fingers, noting as well how various impressions may be generated (intentionally *and* inadvertently) by speakers. Next, Quintilian (Bk XI, iii:124) considers the placement and movements of speakers' feet, as well as the speaker's styles of gait and other spatial movements within the setting.

While noting that no *attire* is particular to orators, Quintilian (Bk XI, iii:137-149) gives extended commentary and advice on speakers' appearances, attending to *people's styles of dress, and expressive usage*

of one's attire, as well as the somewhat related matters of speakers' comportment and dignity.

Quintilian (Bk XI, iii:150-184) then elaborates on the matter of *speakers adjusting their deliveries mindfully of* (a) the overall occasion and (b) the audience at hand, as well as (c) the more specific components (e.g., exordium, statement of facts, and peroration) within the overall speech, and (d) the shifting styles of fashion in the oratory community.

Book XII: Virtue and Wisdom, Cases and Clients, Oratorical Styles, Retiring

In Book XII, Quintilian *more explicitly continues his definition of the ideal orator.* Here, Quintilian's first objective is to establish **goodness or virtue** as a primary criterion of oratorial practice, arguing that an ignoble person is not a fit orator.

Recognizing that his (moral) emphasis introduces some practical and tactical problems, Quintilian subsequently spends time salvaging the reputations of Demosthenes and Cicero (positing that one's enemies need not view honorable people in virtuous ways).

Whereas Quintilian views truthfulness as a virtue, he also provides some noble motives for instances of (honorable) orators *withholding or misrepresenting the truth.* Likewise, noting that countless elements are common to both honorable and disreputable cases, Quintilian (Bk XII, i:45) states that speakers of integrity (as with less virtuous orators) will adjust their tactics as the circumstance warrants.

Although defining goodness in terms of virtue, honor, integrity, and the like, Quintilian (Bk XII, ii) argues that goodness is inadequate by itself. *Virtue needs to be accompanied by wisdom.*

Anticipating that speakers will be drawn into all manners of debate on human and divine issues and that the outcomes of many cases depend centrally on speakers' abilities to handle these matters in effective ways, Quintilian envisions *the ideal orator* as someone who is astutely familiar with all areas of philosophy (physics, ethics [as in community-based morality and human relations], and dialectics). *Thus, while it is one thing to strive for virtue, Quintilian places a premium on conceptualizing cases in more comprehensive ways.*

Quintilian (Bk XII, ii:23-28) then embarks on a brief but dismissive consideration of the philosophies of Epicurus (who discourages learning), Aristippus (who emphasizes physical pleasure), and Pyrrho (whose skepticism effectively precludes the existence of judges, oppositional parties, and forums in which to speak).

By contrast, Quintilian envisions those working in the tradition of the Academics (Plato), Peripatetics (Aristotle), and Stoics to be of greater value to orators. Still, even these philosophic advantages are to be pursued selectively, mindfully of speakers' more central tasks of developing virtuous and compelling oratory.

For Quintilian (Bk XII, iii), goodness and wisdom also are to be supplemented by an effective knowledge of *the civil law, customs, and the religion of the state* in which the orator works. Thus, while observing that speakers may seek out experts in particular fields as they might deem appropriate, Quintilian insists on the value of orators studying these matters in-depth for themselves so that they would have ready access to these resources at all points in their consideration and pursuit of cases.

In discussing the accomplished orator, Quintilian (Bk XII, iv) quickly acknowledges the importance

of speakers developing broad *stocks of examples* on which to draw, before briefly reaffirming the importance of virtue, wisdom, knowledge, confidence, and delivery (voice and gesture).

Subsequently, Quintilian (Bk XII, vi) addresses the issue of when people should begin their careers as speakers. While noting that a few prominent orators began in their earlier teens, Quintilian holds Cicero up as the model who best combines (and benefits from) the earlier study of theory and subsequent practice.

Focusing on Cases and Clients

From here, Quintilian (Bk XII, xii) considers the sorts of cases that orators might viably engage and how speakers might be compensated for their efforts. Quintilian urges orators to *approach cases selectively*, being particularly mindful of serving (a) just and noble causes and (b) persons of good character. Relatedly, Quintilian discourages speakers from (c) routinely offering one's services to more powerful people who oppose those of lower stations, and (d) deliberately supporting inferiors against those of higher position. He further states that (e) speakers may honorably withdraw from cases that they later find unworthy.

Quintilian (Bk XII, vii:8-12) also discourages orators from debasing their efforts by *setting fees* for their services, particularly should they attempt to proportion fees by (a) the difficulty of the case or (b) the comparative risks faced by the client. This, Quintilian observes, does not prevent orators from receiving compensation from grateful clients, but he explicitly states that any remuneration should be the business of the debtor rather than the charge of the speaker.

Quintilian (Bk XII, viii) subsequently considers *how cases should be studied*. Noting that many speakers are careless about such matters and that some only briefly consult with clients before the actual trial, he emphasizes the desirability of speakers achieving more detailed knowledge of the cases they represent.

Quintilian (Bk XII, viii:5-14) also expressly cautions speakers about *assuming* that their clients are knowledgeable, accurate, or honest in the statements or other materials that they provide to their advocates. As he points out, a lack of either (a) speaker preparation or (b) skepticism of one's clients may foster all sorts of speaker vulnerability in courtroom settings.

In developing competent cases, Quintilian (Bk XII, viii:15) also explicitly encourages speakers to *put themselves in the position of the judge* and to imagine that the speakers, themselves, are asked to judge on the case.

Quintilian (Bk XII, xix) next reminds orators that it is the *case* and not the orator that is of primary consequence in any instance. To gain personal praise at the risk of losing the case is thought particularly unbecoming.

Likewise, he discourages orators from avoiding cases (usually minor) because these are thought to provide inadequate arenas to display speaker talents. As well, Quintilian admonishes speakers against the practice of heaping verbal abuse on opponents for the sake of impressing (or entertaining) others with their oratorical skills.

Returning to the topic of preparation, Quintilian (Bk XII, ix:14-21) describes diligence and preparation both as requisites for good oratory and as expres-

sions of *loyalty* to one's clients. While encouraging speakers to write things out, he is also attentive to the unpredictable, emergent features of cases as these develop in court and stresses *careful listening* as a related skill in successful oratory.

Acknowledging Oratorical Styles

When considering styles of oratory, Quintilian (Bk XII, x) notes wide variations in emphases across regions, over time, and between established orators in the same arenas. Whereas his commentary on rhetorical styles is highly reminiscent of that which Cicero develops in *Brutus*, *De Oratore*, and *Orator*, Quintilian also provides his views on "plain," "magnificent," and "moderate" styles of oratory, as well as an assortment of prominent speakers (including Cicero) and their critics.

After a comparison of spoken Greek and Latin languages, in which Quintilian (Bk XII, x:27-39) makes the case that Greek offers speakers a considerably greater range of words with which to work, as well as a more graceful, harmonious, and subtle range of sounds, Quintilian (Bk XII, x:40-80) more directly returns to considerations of delivery and style.

Quintilian (Bk XII, x:58) delineates "plain," "grand," and "intermediate" styles. Arguing that all three can be correct, Quintilian (following Cicero) states that *plain* or unembellished speech is best for instructing audiences, *grand* or eloquent rhetoric is most effective for moving people emotionally, and *intermediate* or mixed style is appropriate for charming or conciliating audiences. Acknowledging some common variants on each theme, Quintilian (like Cicero) observes that more effective orators adjust their speeches and styles to suit the occasion, the more immediate portions of the speech being presented, and the judges on hand.

Retiring with Style

Quintilian (Bk XII, xi) also briefly considers people's *retirement* from oratory, noting that speakers should be mindful of the pitfalls of age and illness whereby they are no longer able to maintain former levels of oratorical prowess. Rather than risk their reputations through mediocre performances, Quintilian suggests that established orators use this time to instruct others in the act of speaking well.

Quintilian (Bk XII, xi:17-31) *concludes his broader statement on rhetoric* with encouragement for orators to continue their quest for knowledge through ongoing study.

Observing that the very greatest of scholars have built on the works of others, Quintilian considers it a high honor to learn from the greatest of these, to appreciate the benefits of their work, and to extend these wherever one might be able to do so.

In Perspective: Acknowledging the Exceptional Potency of Ethnohistorical Resources

Whereas (a) Aristotle (circa 384-322 BCE) provides a profoundly incisive analysis of rhetoric as a techné or enabling device and (b) Cicero (circa 106-43 BCE) generates an exceptionally instructive set of accounts regarding the practice of rhetoric, as well as some historical-comparative analyses that substantially extend classical Greek considerations of persuasive interchange, (c) Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (circa 35-95 CE) takes us even more deeply into the oratorical life-worlds of the classical Greek and Roman eras.

If one envisions the human community and the many subcommunities or *subcultures* within as constituted by groupings or collections of people who associate with one another around particular realms of involvement and activities therein, then *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian* represents an exceedingly valuable portrayal of "oratory as a subcultural life-world." Further, because this life-world is very much organized around influence work and the active shaping of people's "definitions of the situation," Quintilian's analysis addresses an assortment of reflective, enacted qualities and tactical and emotional interchanges that rarely are so explicitly and thoroughly developed.

Quintilian's work is even more compelling when one attends to the more foundational, enacted sociological features of human group life. This would include the symbolic interactionist development of the **generic social processes** of *acquiring perspectives, attending to identity, being involved, doing activity, engaging in persuasive interchange, developing relationships, experiencing emotionality, attaining linguistic fluency, and participating in collective events* (see: Prus 1996, 1997; 1999; Prus and Grills 2003; Grills and Prus 2019). Approached thusly, Quintilian's materials are highly instructive for contemporary scholars as they address these and related aspects of human knowing, acting, and interchange in highly direct and exceptionally detailed ways.

It is through *acquiring perspectives* and learning about group-based conceptions of "what is" and "what is not" that people begin to locate themselves within the shared frames of reference that define the worldviews of the broader community, as well as the particular subcultures in which they live, think, act, and interact with others. It is mindful of these fundamental orientational processes that Quintilian con-

siders the backgrounds, education, and preparations of prospective orators. He also addresses the matters of people learning the viewpoints and techniques of rhetoric and learning to discern and adjust to the viewpoints and practices of their associates (i.e., clients, judges, oppositional speakers), as well as coming to terms with prevailing notions of the law and community morality. Further, because speakers are trying to shape auditor definitions of reality, Quintilian's statement also provides readers with insights into how people may encounter and deal with differing viewpoints on, and definitions of, reality.

Since people know and act towards one another as they envision them to be, the matter of **attending to the identities of self and others** has far-reaching implications for people's day-to-day lives. Indeed, the images, impressions, reputations, and associated views of "self and other" are basic to a wide range of community and subcultural life. Because rhetoric so centrally focuses on "*identity work*," readers familiar with Quintilian's work are doubly advantaged here. Relatedly, he alerts readers to how all sorts of objects (i.e., any and all aspects of phenomena pertinent to the situation at hand) may be defined (*and redefined*) in the process of attending to and shaping the identities and reputations of individuals and groups. Thus, in addition to the contested realms of "self and other identities" that revolve around the definition of matters such as acts, intentions, laws, damages, and culpability, Quintilian acknowledges the centrality of influence (and resistance) work for the definitions of clients, victims, oppositional speakers, and judges in the settings at hand.[20]

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[20] As with the analyses of rhetoric provided by Aristotle (Prus 2008a) and Cicero (Prus 2010), there is much in Quintilian's work that more than anticipates the "dramaticism" of Kenneth Burke (1969a [1945]; 1969b [1950]; Prus 2017) and Erving Goffman's (1959; 1963) subsequent dramaturgical attentiveness to "impression management" and "information control."

Another generic social process of great consequence in the study of ongoing human group life is that of *being involved*. Being involved refers to the sequencing of people's participation in some particular setting. Interactionist approaches typically focus on "the how" or the ways that people *initially become involved in situations*, *continue to participate in those settings*, *become disinvolved from particular life-worlds*, and perhaps *become reinvolved in the same general social arenas*—albeit possibly in different ways. Like the other generic social processes, the matter of people "being involved" is central to so many features of our lives. Although Quintilian gives little direct attention to the disinvolvements and possible reinvolvements of students and practitioners of rhetoric, he does address people's initial involvements and continuities, as well as extended and ongoing instruction in the overall careers of rhetoricians. Still, he does indicate that rhetoricians struggling with recollection or otherwise having difficulties effectively presenting cases may consider alternative but related involvements in preparing speeches for others or assuming roles as instructors.

Quintilian's work also addresses the *doing of activity* in very central terms. Clearly, activity is one of the most central and obvious features of human group life. Indeed, it is difficult to envision community life without activity. It is ironic, therefore, that so many social scientists profess to talk in meaningful terms about society, culture, identity, crime, education, and the like while almost entirely disregarding meaningful human activity—and substituting factors, variables, forces, and conditions in the place of human activity. Fortunately, for students of the human condition, Quintilian is not one of these so-called "intellects." Oddly, while the same academics typically admire their capacities for thought and decision-making, they do not seem to recognize that other people might also have capacities for thought and decision-making activities. In contrast, Quintilian is highly attentive not only to learning and thinking as activities, but he also is highly mindful of *the thought and other activities involved in virtually every single aspect of becoming and assuming an actively adjustive role as a competent orator.*

The next generic social process, *people engaging in persuasive interchange,* is central to the entire range of demonstrative or evaluative, deliberative or decision-making, and forensic or judicial rhetorical ventures. Thus, in addition to the task of preparing cases, and presenting the exordium or introduction, providing the statement of facts or narration, and attending to proofs of inartificial or judicial sorts and artificial or contrived proofs in ways that are mindful of the associated details of who, why, when, where, and how, Quintilian also attends carefully to refutations or challenges within cases and the peroration or the conclusion and the associated emotional interchanges that commonly take place in that context. He also acknowledges the associated matters of arrangement and eloquence, as well as concerns with displaying and managing one's presentational style. He also is mindful of practitioner concerns about dealing with clients, adjusting to and contending with oppositional speakers, and negotiating viable settlements.

Another set of subcultural processes centers on *developing relationships*. Here, as well, Quintilian's material is highly instructive. In addition to discussing teacher-student relationships at some length, Quintilian also attends to speaker encounters and interchanges with clients, oppositional speakers, their clients, judges, and witnesses, along

with modes of competition in the field and the challenges of dealing with "external criticism of more detailed and honorable forms of rhetoric."

The topic of *experiencing emotionality* represents another subcultural theme that runs through Quintilian's text. Not only does Quintilian's material conceptually and analytically address what Goffman (1959) would later term "impression management" vis-à-vis *the speaker self* (as with preparation, presentation, composure, and strategic adjustment) but Quintilian also directs particular and extended attention to how speakers may generate, neutralize, and redirect the emotional experiences of other participants in the setting—most notably those judging the cases under consideration.

The matter of *achieving linguistic fluency* is no less consequential. Hence, Quintilian not only stresses the importance of orators developing more precise control of verbal expression from early childhood and pursuing this objective throughout their careers as speakers but he also shows in highly specific terms how people may employ speech in rhetorical arenas. Quintilian shows how oratorical performance is enabled through preparations and thought (as in learning, defining, conceptualizing, planning, anticipating, and cognitively adjusting to situations). He also acknowledges the emergent nature of linguistic formulations and participants' more overt, adjustive expressions of viewpoints and possible directions that characterize the more situated, but still overarching "realms of image work" that undergird human knowing, acting, interchange, and selectively focused decision-making in rhetorical contexts.

Like Aristotle and Cicero, Quintilian provides exceptional insight into **people's participation in** *rhetoric as situated realms of collective events*. In contrast to those contemporary social scientists who may be inclined to explain community life by reference to the dehumanized causal conceptions of structures, factors, and variables of psychological or sociological sorts, Quintilian is acutely attentive to how people engage one another in ceremonial, political, and judicial contexts. He also provides a highly detailed statement on how people engage one another in knowing, enacted, adjustive ways—and in terms that are mindful of the various roles and viewpoints that they and others may assume as these collective events emerge and take shape.

Quintilian also is acutely mindful of the conceptual and substantive affinities of rhetoric with philosophy, history, and poetics (fictionalized portrayals). Indeed, his analysis is notably informed by these broader scholarly productions. Thus, it is most instructive to attend to the communities of scholars that collectively enable the development of particular fields of study. However, it also is important to consider the somewhat concurrent developmental flows, interconnections, divisions, and disregard, as well as overt rejection of scholarship in temporally overlapping fields of study and analysis—as these transformations take place over the historical flows, shifting cultural emphases, and more abrupt disjunctures of local, as well as more territorially extended societal life-worlds.

Whereas some of the criticisms of oratory that Quintilian addresses in *The Institutio Oratoria* can be traced back to the negativity directed toward rhetoric by Socrates and his student Plato, Quintilian draws particular attention to the distinction between the expansive "literary emphasis of the grammarians" and the "emphasis on eloquence (persuasive endeavor) on the part of the rhetoricians." Relatedly, he observes

that the "science of letters" education promoted by the grammarians of his time not only has been attracting more students than instructors of rhetoric but that the grammarians also have been absorbing almost all areas of knowing (including rhetoric).

Both the longer-standing Socratic criticisms of rhetoric and the emergence of competition from the grammarians that Quintilian discusses not only may help account for the relative decline in the study of rhetoric *as a distinct field of scholarship* but also may help explain the relative disregard of the Aristotelian-oriented pragmatist study of persuasive interchange among Western European scholars over the ensuing centuries.

Like Quintilian, the grammarians have been attending to history, philosophy, theater, and other realms of the liberal arts. However, in pursuing this more encompassing academic umbrella, *the grammarians would lose much of the focus on activity, agency, and dynamic interchange—that is, the enacted, negotiated, problematic nature of human relations and community life. It is this latter emphasis that Quintilian, analytically following Aristotle and Cicero, tries to preserve.*

Epilogue: Quintilian as an Intellectual Precursor to American Pragmatist Thought and the Interactionist Study of Human Group Life

Although the linkages between "Quintilian's exceptionally detailed analyses of persuasive interchanges and resistances in the practice of rhetoric" and "Chicago-style symbolic interactionism" are notably fragmented within the broader historical flows of Western social thought, readers familiar with Chicago interactionism will find a great many conceptual methodological and analytic affinities between Quintilian's

Institutio Oratoria and contemporary symbolic interactionist scholarship. Some may be tempted to envision these as two somewhat coincidental, parallel cultural developments, but a more sustained examination of the developmental flows of Western social thought from the classical Greek era to the present time indicates that this is not the case (see: Prus 2004; 2007a; 2008a; 2009a; 2010; 2012; 2015; 2017).

Given the relative failure of the American pragmatists to cite their sources, it is difficult to precisely trace the intellectual foundations of William James, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead—whose works have been so consequential for the development of Chicago-style symbolic interactionism.[21] Moreover, an examination of the texts associated with this latter set of scholars suggests that although they were aware of the classical Greek and Latin literature in general terms, their work does not display particular familiarity with the pragmatist scholarship that Aristotle develops in his analyses of ethics, politics, poetics, or rhetoric—nor were the American pragmatists attentive to the Latin scholars (most notably Cicero and Quintilian) who built on the pragmatist features of Aristotle's texts. Thus, whereas James and Dewey acknowledge, albeit vaguely, some affinities with "the scholars of antiquity," it is surprising that they have given so little attention to the very texts that most extensively resonate with and would extensively supplement American pragmatist and symbolic interactionist conceptions of human knowing, acting, and interchange.

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[21] As indicated in Durkheim's *Pragmatism and Sociology* (1983 [1913-1914]) and his 1993 (1887) *Durkheim: Ethics and the Sociology of Morals,* both Emile Durkheim and Wilhelm Wundt (on whose text on *ethics* Durkheim [1887] clearly had built) addressed *"pragmatist social thought" with its attentiveness to community-based knowing and linguistic interchange.* This was not an unknown emphasis in 18th-early 20th century German social thought (see: Cloeren 1988; Prus 2009b; 2019).

In fairness, it may be observed that, like a great many scholars, the American pragmatists tended to become absorbed in, as well as distracted by the works of social theorists and controversies closer to their time. Thus, although their analyses of the human condition display affinities with Aristotle's conceptualizations of human group life (e.g., *Nicomachean Ethics, Rhetoric, Poetics, Politics*; see: Prus 2003; 2004; 2007a; 2008a; 2009a; 2013a; 2015), the American pragmatists appear to have learned about *pragmatist features of human group life* from *interim* British and German sources *rather than through direct, sustained examinations of the works of Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and others from the classical Greek and Latin eras.*

Moreover, the relative disregard of Greek and Latin scholarship, coupled with some fleeting acknowledgments and poorly informed depreciation of classical thought on the part of some American pragmatists (namely, James, Dewey, and Mead), suggest that little material of transhistorical conceptual worth would be found in the texts produced by the Greek and Latin scholars. Whereas the American pragmatists were not at all unique in their relative neglect of classical Greek and Latin scholarship following the highly touted "16th century Renaissance," those who studied with the early American pragmatists (*as with George Herbert Mead's students—Ellsworth Faris, Herbert Blumer, Everett Hughes, and other interactionist-oriented Chicago students) would have had little encouragement to return to these exceedingly enabling foundational sources.*[22]

Kenneth Burke (1897-1993), a relative contemporary of George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), also appears to have influenced the development of Chicago-style interactionism—particularly the aspects of "agency," "definitions of the situation," and the symbolic features of people's images and reputations. Still, despite his rather striking contributions to contemporary realms of "dramatistic analysis" and their significant implications for the study of human group life,[23] Burke only vaguely and partially references his sources.

As a result, because Burke incorporates some fundamental pragmatist features of classical scholarship into his dramatistic analysis, those lacking familiarity with the classical literature may readily assume that Burke has gleaned all that may be worthwhile from these "scholars from antiquity." Thus, despite his important, wide-sweeping, and more original, revitalizing contributions to 20th century rhetoric and dramatistic analysis (Prus 2017), Burke's portrayals of human activity and interchange (1953 [1931]; 1959 [1937]; 1961; 1966; 1969a [1945]; 1969b [1950]) are considerably less novel and less adequately representative of classical scholarship (rhetoric, ethics, poetics) than might appear on the surface. Although much overlooked in our own time, this is clearly evident in Quintilian's expansive, analytically detailed text,

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[22] As Emile Durkheim's (1977 [1904-1905]) *The Evolution of Educational Thought* (also see Prus 2012) illustrates in some detail, it is not uncommon to find scholars extensively disregarding, if not also disparaging (often in intense and notably distorted ways), the consequential intellectual accomplishments of their predecessors. While classical Greek and Latin scholarship were much neglected following the demise of the Greek and the Roman empires and the rather devastating Western European "dark ages," it should be stressed that the 16th century Renaissance was much more an architectural, artistic, and poetic-expressive revival of Greek and Latin materials than

a scholarly philosophic resurrection of classical Greek and Roman thought, science, and technology. It should be noted as well that the 16th century was also a time of great international expansion on the part of those Western European nations with access to the seas, as well as the site of a rather intensive, extended Christian religious upheaval as signified by the Protestant Reformation.

[23] Among the interactionists, it is Joseph Gusfield (1963; 1981; 1989; 1996) who has been most attentive to the texts developed by Kenneth Burke. However, Erving Goffman (1959), Orrin Klapp (1962; 1964; 1971), and Stanford Lyman and Marvin Scott (1970), along with those subsequently attending to their works, also have benefited notably from Burke's dramatistic analysis of the human group life.

and the works of Aristotle and Cicero whom Quintilian so centrally references in developing his text.

As indicated elsewhere (Prus 2003; 2004; 2006; 2007a; 2008a; 2008b; 2009a; 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2011d; 2013a; 2013b; 2013d; 2015; 2017; Prus and Burk 2010; Prus and Camara 2010; Puddephatt and Prus 2007), the affinities between American pragmatist philosophy and classical Greek and Latin scholarship—particularly the pragmatism of Aristotle (see: Prus 2007a; Prus 2008a; 2015)—are strikingly evident. Further, even though one encounters much transitory unevenness over the intervening centuries amidst the political and religious turmoil of community life and shifts in various arenas of scholarship (e.g., philosophy, rhetoric, education, religion, poetics, law, and politics), pragmatist thought represents a notably consequential feature in the development of Western social thought.

Quintilian may not have contributed to the development of pragmatist social thought in the ground-breaking ways of Aristotle and Cicero. However, as the last of the great analysts of rhetoric in the classical era, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* represents a significant precursor to what 2000 years later would become known as Chicago-style symbolic interactionism.

Indeed, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* not only represents an extended *ethnographic* (participant-observer) account of the career, activities, and life-world of a prominent Roman orator-instructor but his text also provides an exceptionally sustained analysis of people's interchanges in a wide array of presented and contested definitions of reality.

Moreover, in addition to (a) his attentiveness to examinations of how human interchange takes place in a broad range of contexts, Quintilian also is explicitly mindful of (b) the historical flows and connections of the community of practitioners, scholars, and students who collectively shaped the development of rhetoric in the classical Greek and Latin eras, and (c) the developmental scholarly linkages of rhetoric (as persuasive endeavor) with developments in the fields of grammar, philosophy, and poetics.

Still, whereas Quintilian's work merits extended attention both for its own, considerable contributions to the study of human group life and as a particularly valuable resource for more sustained ethnohistorical conceptual analyses of human interchange, there is a rather unsettling inference to be acknowledged as we look back to the broader set of analyses of persuasive interchange and human relations developed in the classical Greek and Roman eras to our time and then look to the future.

Thus, while we may tend to assume that pragmatist social thought more generally and symbolic interactionism more specifically will have an enduring academic presence, it is instructive to be cognizant of the fragile nature of *all* realms of scholarship and the particular importance of preserving materials that address human knowing and acting in more focused pragmatist and ethnographic terms.

It is vitally important, thus, that we are mindful of the precarious nature of scholarly ventures, both in developing our more immediate inquiries and analyses and through the preservation and comparative analyses of ethnohistorical accounts of human knowing, acting, and interchange—wherever and whenever we might encounter these.

We do not know what future scholarship may hold, but like Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, it is apparent that we can offer the most to those who follow by developing our accounts of

human group life in detailed, process-oriented terms that focus on the *actualities* of human group life and conceptually build on sustained comparative analysis—with the objective of providing pluralist (versus moralist or partisan) analyses of human knowing, acting, and interchange that are intended (as Thucydides would say) "to last forever within the human corridors of time."

Acknowledgments

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Citation

Generic Social Process and the Problem of Success-Claiming: Defining Success on the Margins of Canadian Federal Politics

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Abstract: Envisioning success and its pursuit as an enduring feature of human group life, this paper examines success as a humanly constructed and realized social process. As framed herein, success represents the attribution by some audience of qualities associated with achievement, attainment, and/or accomplishment to social act(s) and/or social objects. Consistent with symbolic interactionist approaches to the study of deviance, success is not a quality of the situation at hand, but rather is audience-dependent. Therefore, while the social construction of success may be evidence-based, what is defined as successful outcomes and what constitutes evidence of success is subculturally located. Drawing on extended ethnographic research, an application of alternate definitions of success is examined in the context of those participating in an electorally unsuccessful political party—the Christian Heritage Party of Canada. Specifically, this paper examines the definition of success in terms of political influence, providing political alternatives and demonstrations of religious faithfulness as strategies of success-claiming. Framing success in process terms, this paper examines the trans-contextual and trans-historical qualities of "doing success" as a feature of everyday life.

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Towards a Sociology of Success

While sociology is shaped by many perspectives, variants, and proclivities that mark the discipline, there are some key aspects of the study of the social world where those from very different perspectives can, for the most part, find some common ground. History matters. People act based on meaning. What those who have gone before us have built (organizations, laws, languages, concepts of race and gender) place real, practical restrictions on the action. Human communities define some thoughts and actions as deviant or otherwise offensive. Deviance designa-

tions may alter life chances. The definition of social problems is the result of a complex series of social processes. And the great pragmatist lesson—human group life is, at least in part, problem-solving.[1]

In all of this, we have been somewhat remiss in attending explicitly to how shared understandings of what constitutes success in everyday life are highly consequential for understanding human group life. I would suggest that the problem of defining success, attending to barriers to success, and what constitutes accomplishment in various settings has been very much a part of the sociological enterprise. For example, Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1992) may be framed as a detailed study of the problem of success.[2]

Weber's *Protestant Ethic* is, in many respects, an extended study of success-making and success-claiming—of addressing the problem of the assurance of salvation in the context of a doctrine of predestination. Weber examines the relationship between financial/entrepreneurial success and attributions of God's grace in the context of notions of predestination.[3] While Weber's work is foundational, we

also see an attentiveness to matters related to success-making and claiming in everyday life in the functionalist influence of work on deviance and deviant subcultures. Robert Merton's (1938) classic typology focuses on success indicators (cultural goals) and the strategies and tactics that people may utilize to achieve desired outcomes. While overly inattentive to human action and social processes, this model does address the cultural importance of socially constructed indicators of success. Relatedly, Albert Cohen's (1955) study of juvenile delinquency examines barriers to success that may contribute to status frustration and the responses of youths who may create subversive "games" and, through this joint action, alternate indicators of subcultural successes. These classic positions focus quite directly on definitions of success and people's abilities to adopt innovative strategies in their pursuit.

Symbolic interaction's long ethnographic tradition reinforces the associational, relational, intersubjective, and emergent qualities of people's efforts to define what constitutes success in any particular setting. It is rather central that those interested in examining success-making and success-claiming as a generic social process attend to these themes within the extended ethnographic tradition. Participants may not frame their activities explicitly in terms of success-related language—researchers, however, are encouraged to be mindful of success-related themes within the ethnographic tradition. For example, while the urban nomads whose lives and activities are examined by Spradley (2000) may not explicitly speak of their experiences as street-affected persons in success terms, there is an extended emphasis on "making it"—on developing a series of strategies to obtain the subculturally relevant resources to live life on the streets.

[1] This listing is illustrative rather than exhaustive and in no way suggests that how various sociologists engage these themes will share much in common at all.

[2] It is necessary to attend to both the notes and the body of the work to fully appreciate Weber's interest in success. Much of Weber's discussion of the more applied aspects of success in the context of capitalism is found in the substantial notes that accompany each chapter.

[3] Importantly, Weber (1992:271 [emphasis added]) writes, "The idea that *success reveals the blessing of God* is of course not unknown to Judaism. But, the fundamental difference in religious and ethical significance which it took on for Judaism on account of the double ethic prevented the appearance of similar results at just the most important point. Acts toward a stranger were allowed which were forbidden toward a brother. For that reason alone it was impossible for success in this field of what was not commanded but only allowed to be a sign of religious worth and a motive to methodical conduct in the way in which it was for the Puritan."

Becker, Geer, and Hughes' (1968) study of student worlds, Becker and colleagues' (1961) examination of doctors' worlds, and Becker's (1982) detailed rendering of art worlds all contain elements of the study of what constitutes success in each setting. In *Making the Grade* (Becker et al. 1968), we find a study of learning and being compensated in the alternate currency of universities—grades. In *Boys in White* (Becker et al. 1961) and in Haas and Shaffir's (1987) *Becoming Doctors*, we see a related emphasis on medical students and the pursuit of the success of professional accreditation. Moreover, in *Art Worlds* (Becker 1982), we see an examination of the complex set of relations that influence the definition of work as desirable, collectible, and museum-worthy. In short, a detailed examination of "making it" in art. Put simply, interactionists have a long tradition of attending to the grand diversity to be found in everyday life and how people in various settings create, sustain, and modify what is understood as "doing well." It may, however, take some effort on our part as interpreters of this work to draw out these central themes. It is in this context that I turn my attention to two important themes related to the sociological examination of success within the extended interactionist tradition—attending to conditions for success and success in subcultural settings.

Success and Social Processes: Conditions of Success

In addition to enriching our understanding of success in the context of the various relational and associational dynamics that mark our subcultural involvements, the extended interactionist tradition has also contributed to the sociology of success by articulating the necessary conditions for success that accompany various interactional sequences and outcomes. This tradition draws on phenomenologically informed approaches for examining the forms, types, and accompanying processes that help contextualize the human condition. Several classic works within the interactionist tradition may be profitably framed in terms of the examination of the successful realization of a particular interaction sequence or anticipated outcome.[4]

It was Garfinkel (1956) who engaged in the analysis of the successful conditions of degradation ceremonies. It is beyond the scope of this paper to recount the various conditions that Garfinkel elucidates. However, what is crucial for the purpose at hand is the emphasis in the analysis on the essential aspects of the process of degradation that, were they not to be met, would see the related encounters fail to achieve the intended outcome. Relatedly, Becker's (1973) examination of marijuana use is an examination of the essential processes that are requisites for successfully becoming a recreational marijuana user. Moreover, as Becker (1973:9) notes, "The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label." Goffman (1952) discusses effectively cooling out the mark, Prus and Grills (2003) examine the processes associated with successfully maintaining deviant subcultural involvements, and Blumer (1971) discusses the processes necessary to effectively cast some aspects of social life as social problems. As Blumer (1971:303) insightfully argues, the social conditions necessary to successfully label a social problem as "real" have more to do with the social process of legitimizing, authenticating, and creating a shared intersubjective reality than they do with the "intrinsic gravity of the social problem."

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[4] While attending to social processes that may accompany successfully becoming a marijuana user (Becker 1973) or entering the hotel community (Prus and Irini 1980), these models are in no way deterministic or prescriptive.

In this context, the theoretical emphasis is not so much on questions of "how-to" but on "how do"—how do actors successfully navigate the challenges of returning home after extended absences (Schütz 1945), manage the intrusion of chronic illness (Charmaz 1991), maintain faith in the context of failed prophecy (Lofland 1966; Shaffir 1995), or frame chess losses and draws to more established opponents as successes (Puddephatt 2003). Such work stands in stark contrast to more prescriptive (and often moralistic) approaches found in the advice/success-oriented literature.[5] That is not to suggest that a detailed examination of how people "do success" may not be quite helpful for those pursuing various projects or missions. Those attempting to have audiences attend to their claims that some aspect of the social world is highly problematic (e.g., homelessness, global warming, pandemic response) may find considerable advantage in understanding how the work of claims-making, evidence construction, and formulating plans of action occur within everyday life. However, unlike more advisory initiatives, an interactionist interest in "conditions of success" tends to be more fully attentive to the trans-contextual and trans-situational aspects of cases at hand.

Subculturally Situated Success

As Prus (1997) has argued, everyday life is marked by a mosaic of subcultures. As human actors we may live our everyday lives out in a variety of sub-cultural settings. These relationally enabled settings mark our lives as we go about the activities associated with work and everyday life—doing policing in the context of social media (Schneider 2016), providing secondary aid (Loseke 1992), mountain climbing (Mitchell 1983), becoming a mushroom forager (Fine 1998), undertaking political action (Hall 1980), and marking status passages (Glaser and Strauss 2011). This array of subcultures represents the various settings within which everyday life is lived. While these associations will be of varying relevance during the life course, it is rather central to appreciate that people engage in activities in a range of subcultural settings—each marked by the nuances of the lifeworld within.

One of the vital contributions of the extended interactionist tradition has been the detailed, ethnographically informed analysis of a wide array of subcultural settings. These in-depth studies often provide exceptionally helpful windows into processes associated with what it takes to meet with success in any particular setting. For example, Gardner's (2011; 2020) study of bluegrass festivals examines, in part, how the "portable communities" that are established in festival settings offer a version of a successful community whose qualities of openness and equality reflect desirable aspects of the social world absent from the world of everyday life to which they return.

We find a similar attentiveness to success and success-making in ethnographies of occupations and organizations. Edgerton's (1967) concept of the *cloak of competence* attends to strategies utilized by those with mental illnesses to successfully pass as some version of "well." Prus' (1989) study of the marketplace attends to the strategies utilized by those purchasing products for resale to effectively pursue

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[5] I am referring here to works that are oriented towards or provide various forms of advice, counsel, or strategies for being successful. Some illustrative titles include, *How to Win Friends and Influence People: The Only Book You Need to Lead You to Success* (Carnegie 1937), *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People: Powerful Lessons in Personal Change* (Covey 1989), or *The Law of Success* (Hill 2017). This literature stands in contrast to another large body of research that examines the variable-based analysis of predictors of and/or barriers to success (e.g., Litman 1983; Brunet Marks and Moss 2016).

customers. Relatedly, Besbris (2020) examines client/real estate agent relations and the emotive dynamics that may accompany successful home acquisition. Albas and Albas (1988) explore the impression management strategies used by highly successful university students (aces) in the context of their much less successful peers (bombers).

By attending to the rich and varied ethnographic tradition, we may profitably attend to success-claiming and success-making as a feature of everyday life. However, a key lesson to be garnered from this literature is that without a developed intimate familiarity with a setting, there cannot be a full and complex understanding of success-work.[6] For example, those internal and external to universities may employ various measures as indicators of institutional success—entering grade point average of students, external research dollars generated by faculty, student retention, time to graduation, or student/teacher ratios. These measures are utilized to generate what passes for subculturally relevant indicators of success.

However, as Becker (2017) notes, evidence-making is very much audience-dependent and relies, in part, on shared understandings of the worldviews of the group. Moreover, what constitutes evidence of success may be challenged, resisted, and problematized. By way of example, measures of external research funding are input measures. If, instead, output measures were utilized (e.g., articles per faculty member) and the related costs per article were defined as a relevant "factor" in assessing success,

then faculty members who are highly productive researchers yet require little in the way of external funding to support their accomplishments would be defined as relatively quite successful. Similarly, whereas universities may look to student retention as an indicator of success, learners may focus much more on persistence within post-secondary education. For learners, credential completion may be a much more salient indicator of success than whether they completed their studies at the institution where they began them.[7] If we are going to engage success as a sociological phenomenon, then we need to frame success as a subculturally situated and sustained aspect of everyday life.

As such, understandings of what constitutes the successful participation of subcultural members may be highly consequential for subcultural associations and those who make their lives within them. Office holders in management settings may find that a considerable amount of effort and time is consumed by matters associated with planning, assessment, evaluation, team construction, and other various aspects of accountability work—demonstrating success to internal and external audiences. Management work is, in various ways, attentive to indicators of success on the part of: 1) subcultural members (e.g., probation, promotion, discipline, dismissal); 2) subculturally-situated teams and the various missions they undertake (e.g., mission outcomes, team effectiveness); 3) more organization-wide concerns (e.g., issues of expansion/contraction, market share, disruptive competitors); and 4) national/international indicators of organizational success (e.g.,

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[6] It is Blumer (1969) who most clearly has articulated the necessity for the development of an intimate familiarity with settings at hand. In so arguing, he offers an important critique of those whose approach to social science privileges their moralistic or other agendas over a detailed, empirically-based attentiveness to the perspectives and processes central to everyday life.

[7] Sauder and Espeland (2009) offer a helpful contribution here. They encourage an examination of how the pursuit of increased university rankings in the public sphere may offer a particular "allure" for university administrators. As such, the pursuit of performance-based indicators of success may be salient to the everyday lives of organizational members.

competitive rankings, brand/name reputation, and identity).[8] While any detailed examination of success needs to attend to how it is lived out close to the ground—in the negotiations and interactions that accompany it—questions related to success-making and success-claiming can and should inform interactionist understandings of subcultural settings.

Considering Success: An Ethnographic Perspective

As Blumer (1969:133) argues, "The person who has a broad acquaintance with human beings…and who has an intimate familiarity with the area of experience that [they are] studying, should make a more able analysis than one who is less well equipped in these respects." Given the complexities of research sites, ethnographers may find it problematic to determine if this standard of a deep and complex understanding of the setting at hand has been met. While researchers have sought indicators of completeness such as saturation, linguistic fluency, awareness of unique perspectives, and relational affiliations within the setting, the pragmatic reality is that there is always more that could be done—another interview to undertake, another ritual to observe, another disruption in everyday life to attend to (Becker 2013).

I would suggest that one helpful marker of developing a sense of intimate familiarity in any setting is to be found as the researcher comes to understand what constitutes success within the research site. Such an appreciation of worldviews is marked by a long and patient presence in the field that affords researchers an understanding of the complexity of successes in the setting at hand (Grills 2020a). It is

vital that researchers do not substitute indicators of success that may be applied by others outside the subculture for the varied, complex, and fluid perspectives of members. For example, while external audiences may assert that the success of a prison system is to be found in its ability to effectively rehabilitate offenders and reduce recidivism, those within the setting may prioritize other outcomes. Processes such as negotiating order and maintaining dominative practices may be perceived as more highly consequential indicators of successfully navigating life in a total institution than indicators related to various versions of reform. In practice, recidivism is a source of return customers for prisons that represents a population that has, to some extent, learned the ropes. As such, those identified as repeat offenders may not be entirely unwelcome from a prison management perspective.

Researchers should also be mindful of the extent to which, in some settings, there may be considerable agreement and consensus related to indicators of success, yet in other local cultures, there may be considerable tension, conflict, and ongoing negotiation pertaining to missions at hand, accomplishment, and success. For example, publicly funded universities may be encouraged by funders (e.g., state/federal governments) to educate more students with fewer resources (e.g., funding, infrastructure, permanent faculty, and staff). As such, funders may employ results-based performance metrics that link resources to contestable versions of success. In this context, universities are rewarded for successes in increasing student/faculty ratios and increasing the proportion of contingent faculty.[9] However, for

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[8] See Grills and Prus (2019) for an extended discussion of management processes and enacting office.

[9] The term contingent faculty refers to those who teach in university settings on a sessional, term, or contractually limited basis. In some jurisdictions, the term *adjunct faculty* is used to denote this status.

learners, universities that adopt such a strategy may, in fact, be defined as less desirable as the university experience becomes more distanced and student/teacher relationships more elusive.

Relatedly, matters of failure also inform understandings of success in a subcultural context. While my intent in this paper is to argue for the analytical relevance of attending to success in everyday life, related notions of failure and loss are highly consequential for a more fulsome understanding and appreciation of success claiming. For example, definitions of success may provide an interpretive context through which failures may be discounted if not more fully neutralized. Festinger, Riecken, and Schachter's (2009) examination of failed prophecy illustrates how the "faith" of cult members may resist empirical evidence of predicted outcomes. As well, outcomes defined as unwelcome, threatening, or challenging to the interests of a team may afford managers/office holders situationally located opportunities to remove or marginalize team members who are linked (however tenuously) to the loss. As such, failure may be cast as an opening to pursue success via means that would not otherwise be organizationally available save for in the face of considerable trouble. In this sense, those who are former members of settings may also offer a helpful vantage point for understanding the complexities of success. Our appreciation of the experiences of former nuns (Ebaugh 1988), politicians (Shaffir and Kleinknecht 2005), and persistent property offenders (Shover 1996), offers considerable insight into the challenges, doubts, and performance considerations that may contextualize assessments of success and failures. An appreciation of disinvolvement processes (Prus and Grills 2003) may contribute to our understanding of success and its absence.

In all of this, it is vital that researchers attend to the complexities of success-making and success-claiming. Rarely will official documents or mission statements give accurate depictions of the negotiated and emergent qualities of the social construction of success. It is in this context that I turn my attention to an ethnographically-grounded examination of success-claiming in the context of a specific research site and subcultural setting—the Christian Heritage Party of Canada.

Success Claiming on the Margins of Canadian Federal Politics[10]

The Canadian federal political system is a multi-party system that elects representatives to the House of Commons based on a first-past-the-post electoral model. At the time of writing, parties represented within the House include the governing Liberal Party of Canada (154 seats), the Conservative Party of Canada (121 seats) in the role of the official opposition, two smaller parties with official party status—the Bloc Québécois (32 seats) and the New Democratic Party (24 seats), one party without official party status (the Green Party of Canada with 3 seats), and two members without party affiliation (Independents). In addition to these parties, there are an additional 16 registered political parties in Canada. In the 43rd General election of 2019, 2,145 individuals contested 338 riding/seats (an average of 6.3 candidates per riding). In this election, the Christian

[10] The ethnographic data presented here are based upon observation (e.g., attendance at party functions, recruitment events), participant observation (e.g., office support, editorial support), interviews (open-ended and unstructured), and a review of selected official documents with the Christian Heritage Party of Canada (e.g., constitution, statement of unalterable principles). The period represented in this research is from before the party's founding convention in the late 1980s to the present. See Grills (1998) for an extended discussion of research methods and the study of marginalized political voices.

Heritage Party ran 51 candidates, with at least one candidate in each of Canada's ten provinces.[11]

The political reality for most of Canada's more marginalized parties is that the election of their members to the House of Commons is an aspirational goal, as opposed to one that is likely to be realized. Quite apart from this electoral reality, the list of registered parties includes some that are, in a North American context, fairly long-lived. For example, of all currently registered parties in Canada, the second oldest is the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), which traces its roots to the early 1920s (Rodney 1968), while the oldest is the governing Liberal Party of Canada. The Christian Heritage Party (CHP) ran its first candidates in the federal general election of 1988. It has run candidates in every subsequent election. No member has been elected to the House of Commons, yet despite this lack of electoral success, the party persists and has done so for more than a generation.

It is a truism of the symbolic interactionist tradition that human action is best framed in terms of the meanings that inform it and that such meanings arise through interactions with others and are subject to ongoing interpretation, assessment, and modification.[12] Given the analytical importance of definitions of the situation, how do party members come to understand success in the absence of electoral success? How do subculturally located understandings of success contribute to continuing involvement of members, candidates, and other of-

fice holders within the party? It is to these questions that I turn my attention. This paper examines three central themes for contextualizing success within this setting: 1) Political Influence, 2) Offering Alternatives, and 3) Demonstrations of Faithfulness.

Political Influence

While party policy articulates that the purpose of the CHP is to vie for and become the government of Canada, party members and adherents evaluate success in part on the extent to which party activities produce what might be broadly referred to as *political influence*. I wish to stress that what constitutes evidence of successful influence may encompass a wide range of indicators—many of which are subject to ongoing interpretation and adjustment. Nevertheless, participants may attend to a variety of outcomes and indications of what they define as meaningful political influence. As a party organizer states, "While it is true that our constitution refers specifically to the objectives of a witness and electoral accomplishments, as a member of the CHP, I see yet another objective: Influence" [fieldnotes].

Members may be particularly attentive to the extent to which the CHP is "on the radar" of other political actors. For example, members may focus on those ridings where the CHP was a factor in the outcome of the election. Particular attention has been directed to those ridings where the candidate running for the Conservative Party of Canada (or its earlier variants or fragments),[13] lost the election, and the votes

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[11] Extracted and compiled from Elections Canada resources (https://www.elections.ca/home.aspx [retrieved August 02, 2021]).

[12] See Blumer's (1969) classic depiction of the tradition in *Symbolic Interaction: Perspective and Method*. For a more contemporary discussion of Blumer's influence, see the special edition of the journal *Symbolic Interaction* entitled "Celebrating and Interrogating the Blumerian Legacy" (Low and Bowden 2020).

[13] Between the founding of the CHP in the late 1980s to the present, the mainstream conservative presence in Canadian federal politics has been represented by the Progressive Conservative Party that was marginalized after being reduced to two seats in 1993. In 2003, the Canadian Alliance Party (formerly the Reform Party) and the Progressive Conservative Party merged to form the Conservative Party of Canada, which serves as the official opposition in the 43rd Parliament of Canada.

garnered by the CHP could have propelled that candidate to victory in Canada's first-past-the-post system. As a CHP strategist noted, "We were a factor in unseating five sitting members of parliament" [interview].

For participants, these indicators of influence may be taken as evidence that their actions are politically consequential. For some, success is running "spoiler campaigns"—ones that unseat incumbents or thwart challenges by strategically splitting voter support. For some members, this understanding of success via influencing outcomes is particularly enhanced where Conservative candidates who were defined as inadequately supportive of key policy issues for the CHP were unsuccessful in their campaigns. By being further to the right on issues such as marriage equality, abortion access, and capital punishment,[14] CHP members perceived that they had a vital role to play in preserving "family values" and applying political pressure on the Conservative Party to remain right of center. Success, in this case, includes successfully competing for votes on the right of the political spectrum and of denying electoral success to those who are "right" but not "right enough." As a former candidate notes,

> Now, the Conservatives have a party on the other [right] side, another party drawing away their votes. So, what they're going to have to do is to win back these votes to appease these people—present policies which are in accordance to their wishes and which I believe hopefully would be healthier for their country. To win would be nice, but basically, we are giving people an opportunity to see an alternative, and the

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[14] Capital punishment was removed from the Canadian Criminal Code in 1976. A motion to reinstate it brought forward by Conservative politicians was considered by the House of Commons in 1987 and defeated.

PCs [Progressive Conservatives] are going to have to keep us in mind. [CHP candidate]

The party's activities within the courts to advance its agendas may also be seen as indicators of success. Participants may view being charged with offenses as an indicator that the related protests were effective enough to warrant constraint by those with the power or authority to do so. Relatedly, funding and mounting legal challenges and associated legal victories or precedents may be framed as political successes. To be the target of the dominative practices of various office holders, may be interpreted by members as an indicator of success—for ineffective political actors do not warrant the attention of control agents and the moral entrepreneurial fellow travelers. We see an example of such renderings of successful political action in the party's account of legal action:

> the Christian Heritage Party…won a strong decision in its dispute with the City of Hamilton over the removal of political advertising from bus shelters in the city. A Judicial Review panel ruled overwhelmingly in favor of the party whose paid advertising was removed by city staff…The bus shelter ads which the party had contracted to run for one month simply asked the question: "Competing human rights: where is the justice?" and were posted as a challenge to the city's pending policy which would allow biological males to access female washrooms, change rooms, and showers. The Judicial Review examined the timing of events and the lack of consideration by city staff for the freedom of expression traditionally allowed political parties… This decision is a victory not only for CHP Canada but for all political parties. By this ruling, the panel has showed their support for the "competing human right" of freedom of speech in Canada. The Christian Heritage Party would like to express our thankfulness…for

a just decision which has bolstered our confidence in the judicial process. [CHP, 2018[15]]

Party members may also see the attention afforded by those holding some form of attributed expertise as an indicator of influence and political relevance. Notable here is attention to coverage offered by various media enterprises (local, regional, national) and by academics (e.g., Grills 1997; McKeen 2015; Malloy 2017). There are notable parallels here with Blumer's (1971) discussion of the social construction of social problems. Therein Blumer (1971:303) argues that for social problems to be legitimated, they must develop "the credential of respectability"— to enter into public discourse via the press, expert discourse, and/or social media. The comments of a political scientist included in a party press release serve as illustrative of this theme:

> According to my research where the Christian Heritage Party is running, I see 10 ridings where CHP candidates could steal enough votes to prevent the PC incumbents from winning…The CHP has built a solid organization in many of the ridings. I expect the CHP to get from 5-15% of the vote in these ridings. In ridings like [Southbend] and [Eastbend], [they] will likely do much better. [CHP press release draft, field notes, riding names are pseudonyms]

Party members may view the attention afforded by such audiences as having a legitimating quality for a party that may be viewed by others in quite negative terms. As such, discussions of party policy and political influence in the public square may be seen as important indicators of success—whether entirely supportive of party activities or not.

Offering Alternatives

In addition to attending to evidence of influence as an indicator of success, participants may also view the party's ability to offer voters a Christian alternative to more mainstream, non-theologically based parties as something of a success in and of itself. A press release issued to coincide with the founding convention champions this message,

> This convention marks the beginning of a new era in federal politics. When we in the CHP talk about a "real alternative" in Canadian politics, we do not only refer to a real choice at election time. We will present a real alternative in the way we conduct federal politics from the grassroots up. [Press release, field notes, 1987]

In this sense, the subculturally-situated work of building and sustaining a political organization is made meaningful, in part, through the options it provides the electorate. Success is located in the opportunity afforded others to participate in, as well as vote for a party that represents an explicitly Christian political witness. As a party organizer comments, "despite our shortcomings, we have sought to provide a real alternative based on biblical principle. We have been unapologetic for this and have not hesitated to appeal to scriptural principle as a final authority."[16]

What is unstated above, however, is that while participants may view the biblical text as the "inerrant word of God," all text requires interpretation and

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15 See: https://chp.ca/images/uploads/PressRelease-October_5_2018.pdf (retrieved August 21, 2021).

16 These themes are also central to the recruitment practices of the CHP—the emphasis on the biblical grounding of the party has also been a rather central feature of strategies utilized to recruit members, candidates, and party organizers. See Grills (1994; 1997) for a discussion of matters related to recruitment and party promotion.

sense-making on the part of those who engage it. As such, while there may be agreement that party policy be biblically based, the interpretive work that people undertake may lead members to divergent conclusions on specific matters at hand. For example, the original party membership application of 1987 states, "We believe that the major functions of government are to uphold law and order, to maintain justice in the land and to ensure for each individual…the sanctity of life from conception to natural death (capital punishment notwithstanding)."

However, some Christian communities or denominations are decidedly opposed to capital punishment. In 1965, the General Conference of the Mennonite Church adopted a position opposing capital punishment as unjust, and Pope Francis affirmed in 2018 that capital punishment is an attack on human dignity and is immoral in all cases. It is far beyond the scope of this paper to undertake a review of policy and policy-related disputes. However, it is vital to attend to the everyday experiences of party members in these wider contexts. For if one measure of success is to offer some form of alternative political expression, then the work of making distinctions, drawing out uniquenesses, and articulating points of tension is crucial to the enterprise. As a party office holder expressed,

> We have to impress upon the electorate that we are a party of compassion—and that makes Christian politics different from all of the [other] forms of politics. At the candidate training sessions—that is one of the things that struck me, that we have a lot of conservative candidates and not enough Christian ones. [interview]

Participants' definitions of success considering political influence and offering political alternatives locate success in terms of the world of party politics. As such, indicators of accomplishment attend to themes such as the creation of party policy, indicators of political consequence, and perceived relevance within the context of federal politics. However, other definitions of success may eschew defining success in political terms and instead emphasize the theme of *faithfulness*. It is to this theme that I turn my attention.

Demonstrations of Faithfulness

Party members may view party participation and involvement as politicized extensions of carrying one's faith into the political fray. Weber's (1992) discussion of the relationship between the protestant ethic and capitalism illustrates the importance of understanding religious worldviews in the context of everyday activities.

A word of caution here. Given that the CHP is a diverse political movement that includes members from a range of Christian communities (e.g., Evangelical, multiple Reform traditions, and Roman Catholic), there are multiple theological traditions present within the setting. Whereas Weber's rendering of Protestantism focused on the influence of concepts such as "calling" and "predestination" to frame members' understandings of work and labor, there is no such shared theological perspective within the CHP subculture. Nevertheless, members' interpretation of success is to be found in their larger framings of faith, duty, and living a scripturally-informed or obedient life. For these members, the idea of separating church and state is something of a heresy.

In this sense, faithfulness requires action—evidenced in worship, family life, education, and com-

munity. Political action, therefore, may be perceived to be an extension of a faithful life. And a faithful life is one marked by conflict—conflict between all that challenges faithfulness as various socially constructed manifestations of evil. If we are to fully appreciate the framing of success within this subculture, it is essential to grasp the importance of enduring conflict and the need for religiously-based resistance. This theme is somewhat thinly referenced in a promotional video, "In spite of all of these obstacles and roadblocks which faced the CHP at every turn, we went on believing that our efforts, although imperfect, were nevertheless the best we could do to be faithful to our principles and to our God" [fieldnotes].

In this context, party creation, maintenance, and its ongoing participation in the political process is an indication of obedience to the faith and, therefore, is an indication of subcultural success—for the organization and for the individuals whose sense of self is, in part, shaped by party involvements and related self-other identities as engaged actors in a Christian mission.

There's more to it than [political success]. Like, to me, a Christian's life is never supposed to become a utopia. It means sacrifice, not for a year or six months, but always. I mean, we are supposed to be fighting a battle here. You know, whatever happened to the weary soldier? That is what we are doing here—we are in a fight. [party organizer]

In Weber's (1992) analysis, the accumulation of wealth is not the purpose of the Protestant faith, but prosperity may be defined as an indication of living a faithful life. Likewise, for some subcultural members, electoral success is not the goal of party participation. Living a life faithful to their under-

standings of the obligations of adherents is. Party involvement may, therefore, be understood as pursuing a particular version of a good life.

Ultimately, it is for each person to ask him/herself what the Lord requires of them in political activity. The Lord does not require success of His people, but rather obedience, and He chooses often to bless obedience with success. And so, the challenge of the CHP continues seeking to be faithful to our God and in faith, waiting for Him to bless our efforts. [party candidate]

This perspective invites evidence of success to be based on indicators of faithfulness and obedience as evidentiary of God's blessing. Therefore, a lack of traditional electoral success is no meaningful challenge to the ongoing participation of members who hold related worldviews. As long as party involvement is understood as an extension of living an obedient life of faithfulness, the successes that encourage ongoing involvement are not to be found in the ballot box.

In Sum

Ongoing involvements in particular subcultures may, in some ways, be contingent on realizing and enacting success and success practices. Much as those participating in deviant subcultures come to acquire the perspectives of the subculture and overcome or manage resistances to participation (Prus and Grills 2003), so too do they engage in the intersubjective processes that accompany learning and embracing various definitions of success.

In this paper, I have attempted to make a case for those working within the extended symbolic interactionist position to profitably examine the social

processes of success-making and success-claiming as central features of human group life. We have a strong and diverse body of literature on which to draw—research that has attended to the social construction of success in a variety of subcultural settings, as well as research that has attended to the various conditions of success for various aspects of human group life. Both of these traditions of inquiry have contributed to our ability as researchers to examine the trans-historical and trans-situational qualities of success-making.

I have undertaken an application of this interest in a sociology of success to a specific subcultural setting—the Christian Heritage Party of Canada. While Blumer (1969) demands of interactionists that we achieve a deep and intimate understanding of peoples' activities and worldviews if we are to avoid creating "attentional ghettos" (Zerubavel 2015), we must move beyond cases at hand towards the generic social processes revealed within. By attending to definitions of success within the CHP, we gain a fuller appreciation of the processes of success making and claiming more generally. This work demonstrates how a deep and detailed understanding of peoples' socially constructed notions of success are integral to contextualizing subcultural continuance, self-other identities, notions of completion and conflict, and more personal assessments of success relative to offices held and roles undertaken. As Grills (2020b:631) writes, "Understanding the practical accomplishment of human group life is strengthened by our ability to move beyond the particular to the processes of everyday life through which the social world is accomplished and by so doing speak to the generic aspects of the human condition."

While the themes of influence, faithful obedience, and offering alternatives as pathways to success are research site-specific, the fundamental sociological problem at hand is not. Questions related to how people define processes and outcomes of human action as indicators of success and what evidence may serve as indicators of success are important for understanding the various life worlds we inhabit. A central aspect of learning the ropes for those initially involved in subcultural settings includes coming to appreciate and (potentially) adopt the framings of success located therein. For example, doctoral students may learn the importance of conferencing, the pressure to publish (in the "right" journals and with the "right" presses), the importance of adopting "marketable" theoretical and substantive positions in their work, and pathways to promotion and tenure—all socially constructed versions of the successful academic career. Importantly, subcultural participants can and do resist various organizationally situated definitions of success. But, such resistance may hold meaningful, at times quite unwelcome, implications for their advocates.

While emphasizing the centrality of social processes and the everyday world of people doing things together, it is also crucial to appreciate the extent to which joint acts occur within the context of organizations, rule sets, and established expectations of behavior. People can and do create the requirements for success in some settings via policies, procedures, legislation, and collective agreements. While consequential and determinative in a variety of ways, such organizational qualities are best framed as the products of human action. As Dingwall and Strong (1985:218) suggest, "there is an enormous difference between saying that [organizations] are, in principle, indefinitely negotiable and recognizing that they are, in practice, determinate. Our argument is for the study of the ways in which that actual determinateness is accomplished."

While the activities of the CHP occur within the organizational and structural realities of a set of codified rules about political parties, campaign financing, election practices, and a first-past-the-post parliamentary electoral system, analysts need to move beyond these themes to appreciate success more fully as it is realized in everyday life. As Blumer (as cited in Lofland 1980:261) suggests, more structuralist accounts produce "a complete inversion of what is involved…[Instead,] there are people who are engaged in living, in having to cope with situations that arise in their experience, organizing their behavior and their conduct in the light of those situations they encounter, coming to develop all kinds of arrangements which are ongoing affairs."

One such set of arrangements that people make is related to the processes of managing success. As people go about the everyday work of doing politics and religion and education and family life, they may also be actively engaged in ongoing assessments of these activities. I would encourage researchers to attend to the related processes of success-claiming, success-making, and evidence construction. An appreciation of these themes is crucial for developing an intimate familiarity with a wide range of subcultural settings and more fully articulating and understanding the human condition.

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Citation

Types of Rationality in Discourses on Work in (Post)Transformation Poland

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Abstract: Rationality is the key concept for understanding the reproduction of social life in the era of reflexive modernization. A fusion of lessons learned from the constructivist view of the world and analysis of the hermeneutic category of pre-understanding has become the basis of my belief that rationality is nowadays the basic modal concept, and the forms of its existence shape the order of social life. In my research practice, rationality has become a link between my interest in work and the theory of social order development. In this paper, I briefly present the relations between the notion of rationality and the theory of reflexive modernization. Then, I present my research path and the tools used in the analyses. The most important part is devoted to the effects of the conducted research. I classify and describe the types of rationality present in discourses on work in Poland. The discourses of politicians, experts, and the so-called "ordinary people" were analyzed.

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Rationality in the Era of Reflexive Modernization

The following article attempts to summarize the research presented in detail in the book *Racjonalność w dyskursach o pracy w Polsce (po)transformacyjnej* (*Rationality in Discourses on Work in (Post)Transformation Poland*). Thus, it is the result of work inspired by many years of theoretical interests and research activity related to three issues: rationality, work, and reflexivity. The belief in the anthropologically fundamental importance of the phenomenon of work

and the studies on the status of the concept of work in critical theory and the theory of economics was accompanied by the conviction that it is necessary to identify the links between this activity and the mechanisms of social order reproduction. I was, and still am, interested in attempts to understand research, often detailed, in the context of macro-systemic processes of the reproduction of social life. On the other hand, attempts to implement theory into the empirical experience at a mezzo- or micro-systemic scale are equally fascinating in terms of research.

The constructivist tradition of understanding the social reality, adopted in most of my analyses, has given rise to my conviction that it is necessary to search for essential explanations in various forms of contemporary social communication and its effects in the form of creating and reproducing definitions of phenomena and processes that play a key role for the organization of social life. For this reason, it seemed interesting to me to undertake a research challenge of providing an empirical foundation for the development of a promising yet still incomplete theory of reflexive modernization (Beck, Giddens, and Lash 1994). One of the basic assumptions of this quasi-theory is the discursive recreation of social order, and the key tool for the reproduction of order consists in the management of the processes of institutionalized reflexivity (Wynne 1996). The authors of the theory of reflexive modernization raise the issue of terms that are extremely important for the organization of social life, including, undoubtedly, the terms of security and threat or trust and risk (Giddens 1997). Repeated reading of the literature devoted to the theory of reflexive modernization, discussions with colleagues during seminars, practical seminars with students, moderation of thematic groups at the Congresses of the Polish

Sociological Association (PTS), and participation in conference discussions led me to the conclusion that the empirical supplementation of this theory should be sought in analyses of all kinds of linguistic and non-linguistic practices and rituals through which a sense of reality is constructed, along with a specific vision of society (including the economy). Questions of no less importance concern the problem of maintaining such a sense of reality.

Analysis of public discourse, together with conclusions from the history of concepts, allow me to believe that **rationality** is the key concept for understanding the reproduction of social life in the era of reflexive modernization. A fusion of lessons learned from the constructivist view of the world and analysis of the hermeneutic category of pre-understanding have become the basis of my belief that rationality is nowadays the basic modal concept, and the forms of its existence shape the order of social life (Foucault 1988; Habermas 2007a; Weber 2019). Therefore, rationality in my research practice has become a link between my interest in work and the theory of social order development, that is, what we define as real at the ontological level, what seems justified from the cultural perspective and has been institutionally legitimized. The assumption regarding the fundamental relationship between these three areas gave rise to the research and analysis that I commenced in 2010 and have continued until today. In an attempt to provide an empirical basis for a popular theory of reflexive modernization, which is hardly verifiable, I use both desk research on existing data (policy speeches delivered by prime ministers, economic broadcasts), as well as generated data (focus groups). The fruits of a closed stage of this work, together with my proposal for a research path corresponding to the assumptions of the theory, have been presented in this article.

Research Goals and Tools

The objectives of the article can be referred to in three areas. **At the theoretical level,** it was the conceptualization of rationality intended to contribute to the development of the theory of reflexive modernization. My point of departure was the assumption that the mode of reference truth, which is crucial for the processes of reflexive institutionalization, is based on the concept of rationality. The study of the dominant *types of rationality* was supposed to enable me to determine the key directions of developments in social life and the circulation of power. I assumed that the development of the theory of reflexive modernization was possible only by building a medium-range theory. **At the methodological level,** my goal was to develop a research path using interdisciplinary discourse analysis tools and focus group interviews, enabling the development of a popular and cognitively promising quasi-theory of reflexive modernization. The research work was intended to help obtain empirical foundations necessary for the existence of a scientific theory. I assumed that the theory of reflexive modernization would not come into being without developing and defining a system of concepts of fundamental importance to the organization of social life in all its aspects. If reflexive institutionalization is the main mechanism for recreating social order in late modernity, defining "what is rational" is the basic tool for directing the dominant forms of reflexivity. It was, therefore, necessary to propose a research procedure that would take into account the need to analyze the *defining relations*. The **scientific goal** was to create an empirical foundation for testing the theory of reflexive modernization and to reconstruct *defining relations* regarding rationality, that is, "the legal, epistemological, and cultural [power] matrix in which risk politics is conducted" (Beck 1998:18). Defining rela-

tions as power relations means that specific social actors in specific social contexts gain an advantage in problematizing and defining what is socially important, thus becoming "owners of defining means." I assumed that disputes concerning labor organize the most important elements of permanent socialization to define social relations in a specific way, with the associated risks of unemployment, social exclusion, and others.

Given the assumptions made and discourse analysis, as the research method applied, the objectives of the work were descriptive. In other words, I did not seek to verify any hypotheses. I believe that Norman K. Denzin's statement still holds, that is, that interpretation is the most important thing in social sciences for qualitatively-oriented researchers. The result is an organized, structured, and purposeful description that reveals the relations of power, the hierarchy of goals and values, the status of knowledge, as well as disclosed and covert beliefs in the community where the discourse is pursued.

The subject of my research consisted mainly of patterns of producing certain *types of rationality* in public discourses on work and their reception by media audiences. The pattern consisted of: thematic-rhematic organization of discourse (Fairclough 2003), presuppositions that make it universally understandable (Woroniecka 2003), implicatures (Grice 1980), conceptual frames, rhetorical/contra-rhetorical sets applied by the main discourse actors, types of linguistic operations on "us-them" categories, SEP-ization and contra-SEP-ization practices (Czyżewski, Dunin, and Piotrowski 2010), modality of utterances, and other elements of discourse analysis (Dijk 2001; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2002; Fairclough 2003; Duszak and Fairclough 2008). I reconstructed

the processes and mechanisms of the creation of reality through the use of specific communication patterns concerning discourse understood as a sphere of public communication (Czyżewski, Kowalski, and Piotrowski 2010). I classified the *types of rationality* together with the specification of each identified element concerning the basic approaches to this issue present in the sociological and philosophical literature.

How to Analyze Discourses on Work in Reflexive Modernization? A Proposal for a Research Path

In pursuit of my theoretical goals, I started with the analysis of inter- and intra-disciplinary differences in defining rationality, and then looked at the conceptualizations present in the works of Max Weber (2002; 2019), Talcott Parsons (1991), Alfred Schütz (1982; 2008), Harold Garfinkel (1984), Michel Foucault (2010), Jürgen Habermas (2007a; 2007b), Charles W. Mills (2000), Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant (2008), and Niklas Luhmann (1995). Based on the review of meanings, I concluded that it was necessary to define rationality primarily through the characteristics of its "systemic" properties. At the same time, my theoretical research led me to the conclusion that, as a consequence of the impact of structures (understood as wholes connected in time and space) appearing at the level of individual behaviors, rationality should be treated as a result of adaptation to specific symbolic and material dispositions. In this context, the tradition of relational thinking proposed by Bourdieu meets Weber and Parsons' value-normative concept of rationality and Garfinkel's ethnomethodological approach to the issue. Within such a framework, perhaps outlined in a somewhat risky way, I traced the existing material-symbolic structure in which the actions

of individuals took place. At the same time, I was no less interested in the strategic rationality of actors (conditioned by their position in the structure), present in their cognitive apparatus and, more specifically, in categories organizing the social reality as seen through their eyes. This conceptualization, although not directly related to Foucault's concept, draws on it to the extent that I use his findings concerning different types of rationality characteristic of modernity. In the critical aspect, it was my choice to refer to the programmatically non-normative concept proposed by Luhmann, that is, when attempting to explain the social reality, I departed from the assumption that it is necessary to repeat the question as to whether systems can make self-corrections of their functioning based on the introduction of environmental problems they caused into the social communication process.

I solved the issues with the application of the concept of rationality to the research practice by conducting the research through the following stages: (1) selecting the discursive fields that would bring me closer in my research procedure to reconstructing the dominant types of rationality (with justification); (2) selecting texts for detailed analysis (with justification); (3) selecting research methods and tools; (4) conducting the analysis; (5) conducting descriptive and exploratory work with the use of selected research tools; (6) attempting to reconstruct the dominant types of rationality in Poland with the use of concepts and definitions developed at the beginning. As a research corpus for the analysis, I chose the fields of political discourse, expert discourse, and "everyday life" discourse. I was convinced that the need to give "systemic" properties to the concept of rationality, which are only manifested in a secondary way at the level of individual behaviors, had to start with the selection of two ma-

trices of meanings of fundamental importance for social life, that is, politics and economy. If research aimed to reconstruct the types of rationality present in the discursive reproduction of social reality, the choice of these two institutional orders guaranteed that the researcher would obtain an insight into the macro-systemically established structures of meanings also present in the "life-world." To satisfy this condition, I decided to choose all the policy speeches delivered by prime ministers' during the period of the so-called "Third Republic of Poland" (an example of political discourse) and one hundred and four radio programs from the series *EKG – Ekonomia, Kapitał, Gospodarka* (EKG—Economics, Capital, Economy) in *Radio TOK FM* (an example of expert discourse).

The choice of prime ministers' policy speeches as a key material for understanding the mechanisms of the discursive production of reality was related to my interest in what the authorities wanted to tell the public about selected topics at the moment of ceremonies that played a key role in democratic social life. I analyzed all inaugural speeches of the prime ministers (policy speeches) delivered after 1989.

The choice of the *EKG* radio series was also purposeful and well-thought-out. The programs gathered experts who best meet the criterion of "owners of the means of definition," important from the research perspective. Programs hosted by Tadeusz Mosz largely monopolized public media discourse since the experts invited to the program appeared alternately in public and private media, even when invited by other anchors or, equally importantly, when they commented on the reality with the use of the new media. I analyzed 104 economic radio broadcasts.

To have a representation of "everyday life" discourse, I used ten focus group interviews. The discussion guide for the groups was written after an analytical procedure in the areas of politics and expert discourse. I used this method because focus groups create spaces for generating collective testimonies. From the perspective of the research objectives, the most important element of these testimonies is their structure, equivalent to the effects of individual entanglements in a complex network of intersecting social and material spaces. Moreover, this type of interview allows researchers to observe and reconstruct the processes of negotiating meaning along with their dynamics and says a lot about the past, as well as the strategies of activities, that is, what our socio-material entanglements allow us to do (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 2014:351-379). Therefore, it seems that this was the best way to reconstruct the dominant types of rationality. These interviews were used as a basis for assessing the affinity of the content and linguistic strategies presented in mass media by the authorities and the expert elites with the language of the target audiences of such content. The focus group interviews were carried out with the following groups:

- owners or managers of small and medium-sized enterprises: 25-40 y/o and 41-65 y/o; all types of education—2 FGIs;[1]

- white-collar workers: 18-34 y/o and 35-65 y/o; secondary and tertiary education—2 FGIs;

- blue-collar workers: 18-34 y/o and 35-65 y/o; vocational and primary education—2 FGIs;

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[1] Increasing the lower age threshold for this group of respondents (from 18 to 25 years of age) was based on the assumption that it would be difficult to find such young people performing such functions in the labor market, and even if they could be found, their professional experience would be marginal.

- self-employed individuals: 18-34 y/o and 35-65 y/o; secondary and tertiary education—2 FGIs;

- unemployed respondents: 18-34 y/o and 35-65 y/o; all types of education—2 FGIs.

The reason behind this selection of the respondents was the possibility of differences in defining "what is rational" in the labor market (socialization in different conditions, diverse biographical and professional experience) and their realistically different interests. I assumed that this would affect their definitions of economic reality. Each focus group was attended by 8 participants.

Discursive exemplifications allowed me to generalize the conclusions in each, and on this basis, I built models of the sought types of rationality.

Social Diagnosis: Key Findings and Conclusions

A collective summary of prime ministers' policy speeches called for a specific rule for this procedure. Given the descriptive-explanatory focus of the analysis, within which I was reconstructing rationality in the discourse of power, I identified two basic areas of communication activity—subjectivity and agency. The former one, referring to the analysis of transitivity to the greatest extent, was divided into two categories of entities mentioned in the policy speeches, and who are the targets of such speeches, that is, an individual addressee and a collective addressee, respectively. In the area of the agency, I distinguished between external and internal agencies, as well as individual and institutionalized agencies. These are the basic orders that emerged from the analyses that were carried out. An insight into the individual speeches helped to identify the subcategories supple-menting this picture. A meticulous analysis resulted in the reconstruction of three types of rationality:

- individualized historical necessity, characterized by the notions of society as the sum of individuals, relatively unlimited agency of social actors, freedom as a lack of institutional regulations of social life, social justice as a result of personal involvement and the real qualities of social actors, and the suggested personal responsibility for most of the social risks to which the actors are exposed;

- individualized social assistance, characterized by ideas of society as a community of interests, freedom as the ability to undertake entrepreneurial activity, social justice as a result of personal involvement and attributes of social actors, and the securing function of the state (only in borderline situations), as well as suggestions regarding the personal agency of social actors who find support in state institutions and personal responsibility of actors for social risks with marginal support of state institutions (always addressed only to those most in need);

- communal moral agency, characterized by the notions of society as an axionormative community, agency of social actors as a consequence of the axionormative tradition, freedom as a fusion of personal choices and the ability to manifest subjectivity and cultural distinctiveness, social solidarity as a result of redistribution of capital, and a suggestion of political responsibility of the authorities for any risks emerging in social life.

Each of these types of rationality is associated with a different type of political promise, although

a "common denominator' can be found for all of them in the form of images of a prosperous life. It should be remembered that the reconstructed types of rationality perform three functions: (a) they are a kind of *ad hoc* political justification of the adopted goals and means to achieve them; (b) they are an indispensable part of holistic stories about Poland, extended in time and space; and (c) they offer a symbolic and structural background shaping the identity of social actors.

Nearly all policy speeches offered a varied yet intensifying economization of the key premises of social life. The problematization of the definition of policies, transferred to the public discourse, was based on a deeply ingrained belief that it was necessary to find only "technical" answers to the question of *how to live our lives*. Therefore, the tradition of axial thinking about social development was abandoned. Until 2015, one could get the impression that the rationality of individualized historical necessity, perpetuated as a consequence of patient neoliberal "grammatical exercises" undertaken by the symbolic elites, was displacing the real dispute on defining political activity and tasks assigned to the state as an institution. The political successes of political formations invoking this type of rationality seemed to confirm this diagnosis. The language based on this particular type of rationality seemed to resonate very well with beliefs expressed by citizens at the level of the "life-world." The alternating presence of two types of rationality in political discourse before 2015, that is, individualized historical necessity and institutionalized social assistance, does not change the assessment of this period. The characteristics of the latter type of rationality leave no doubt as to the directions of the proposed policies. Assistance was always defined as an optional form of support in difficult situations or emergencies. The impression that emerged from the Polish political discourse was unambiguous: social inclusion was not a political goal, but only a temporary attempt to cope with the consequences of policies whose systemic properties necessarily entail the intensification of exclusion processes. A divide in the political rhetoric referring to individualized responsibility came with Jarosław Kaczyński's policy speech. The rationality of communal moral agency was a proposal that might have been surprising at first glance. Built on a complete reversal of the logic of the world image that had been ubiquitous during the first sixteen years of the transformation process, this proposal could seem archaic. And yet, it turned out to be more than functional. When analyzing the linguistic idiom of the Law and Justice party (PiS) in the understanding of the new meaning-making proposal of symbolic structures, one can put forward a claim that the success of this political formation sprang out of two complementary facts: the relatively common feeling of social and material dissatisfaction among many Poles and the contradictory, discomforting political rhetoric built around the rationality of the individualized historical necessity. The rationality of individualized historical necessity, which had prevailed for twenty-six years, effectively marginalized the ethos of communality in Polish society, with all its ethical variations. As a result, social assistance became a stigmatizing element, while entrepreneurship became an "ontological" categorical imperative of modernity. Law and Justice reached for rhetoric that introduced some errors into the communication system, made as a result of certain forms of aleatoric organization of the political/systemic transformation. Sets of symbols supported by the rationality of communal moral agency represented a promise of restitution of a state that would undertake aggressive political activity to diversify the living space.

Analyses of the 104 radio programs in the *EKG* series prove the domination of a single type of rationality, understood as a type of justification together with the agreements between the elites, defined as the owners of the means of definition. The radio program did not offer competing types of meaning-making to the listeners. The reconstructed, hegemonic structures of meaning underlying the analyzed acts of communication were subjected to the order of **individualized supra-historical rationality.** It is characterized by the following: an image of the society as a syndicate of egoisms; an axiom of personal agency of social actors who freely and actively create the rules and who are equal in the use of resources; an axiom of the personal responsibility of actors as a result of the aforementioned definitions; a synonymous understanding of freedom and entrepreneurship; an axiom of social justice understood as a consequence of systemic deregulation of social life; and personal involvement/agency. The construction of the narrative about the reality of "rational labor relations," present in the radio program, was based on the pre-assumptions that enabled its logical structure to be sustained. Thus, the ethical message of the argumentation used by the owners of the means of definition consists of the need to maximize competition to fulfill the promise of global (local) justice. Moreover, a key role in this idiom is played by the assumptions of the rationality of purely post-political forms of activity, where political guarantees should concern only ownership rights, compliance with agreements, and a guarantee of organizing background for capitalist production relations in the form of infrastructure. The differentiation of rules and resources solely around the parameters of economic science is connected with the process of economic rationality being likened to personal identity. This entails an ontological assumption about humanity that is realized through entrepreneurial activity. This model of humanity entails the economization of the priorities of the social and political project, which is by no means an attribute of all forms of political rationality that we can identify when analyzing the institutional foundations of the social and political order in other economic configurations. The universalization and popularization of this model of civilization and development are supported by two operations: capital being likened to the law and capital being likened to the state. Only in such a configuration do the expectations of political authorities become implicit—the authorities do not demand primacy over the dynamics of the markets, they do not define their functions through an active attitude towards market-oriented capital accumulation, and care to meet the imperative of competition on the global market of countries (Burszta et al. 2017). All governmental concessions, restrictions, interventions, regulations, as well as financial measures, are unavoidable limitations to the "emancipation from the states." At the same time, in this type of rationality, the active role of the state is to ensure the political legitimacy of *post-hoc* global solutions, which cannot be influenced by the state in conditions of turbulent and market-oriented modernization (Beck 2005:86-221). The rationality that emerges from the discourse produced by the guests of the *EKG* program, considered by myself as owners of means of definition, can be characterized as a constitutive element of the capitalist formula of organizing the world, gradually subordinating other social systems, imposing its "logic," criticizing the self-referentiality of activities that are initially conditioned differently in terms of everyday existence. This rationality included in the reflexive processes becomes the basis of a unique historical experiment, that is, an experiment consisting of a dilution of social relations. While globalization annihilates the ontological premises of

solidarity, the new capitalism intensifies multi-egoistic processes. Furthermore, the universalization and naturalization of this type of rationality mean that we all become cogs subjected to the power of processes without a specific center, actively deconstructing the tradition of morality that has been applicable since antiquity. In the context of questions about the ethical consequences of the domination of this type of rationality, what becomes central is the question about its internalization at the level of the "life-world." To determine the consequences of this type of rationality, it was necessary to look at the analysis of the focus group interviews.

The self-knowledge of the focus group respondents as regards the shaping and functioning of labor relations did not differ particularly from the images of labor emerging from the discourses of the symbolic elites. The differences in the languages used can be seen, rather, as a testimony to the "translation" of the technical expert language into the jargon of ordinary people. It was not difficult to find links between the aseptic expert discourses seemingly lacking ideological premises (ignoring the need for the ethical assessment of the consequences of the solutions being introduced) and the blunt and direct language of those affected by the changes introduced. To illustrate this state of affairs, I proposed analogous enumerative characteristics of the type of rationality that dominates at the level of the "life-world." I decided to identify only one dominant type, which defines the perceptions of reality across traditional class divisions related to the labor market position. Despite repeatedly returning to the source materials, and subsequent insights into their content and shape, and despite making the necessary summaries, I concluded that the ways of negotiating the meaning of the surrounding reality and the final result differ only in nuances. The analyzed interviews revealed

reflections of actual class tensions, but they were effectively transposed into the sphere of identity-related tensions, and the common affirmative acceptance of the order of explaining reality in contemporary capitalism completely obscured the systemic nature of the problems generated by its successive configurations. This nature is related to the effective reification of many institutional aspects of social life related to discourses about work. The existence of one type of rationality, evoked by unemployed, blue collars, white collars, and managers, is related to discursive advantages embedded into the structure of public communication. The final shape of the discourse on labor at the level of the "life-world" revealed the asymmetry in the representation of interests of individual interviewed groups. On various occasions, unemployed respondents and blue and white collars repeatedly stressed the need to "get into the shoes" of an entrepreneur and to understand the problems entrepreneurs are facing. One could say that there was far-reaching self-discipline in defining reality in this respect. I did not find any traces of this use of language and imagination among entrepreneurs. In terms of SEP analysis, their definitions of reality were mostly built around images of individuals who were "demanding," "cunning," or "lazy," and the state that was "plundering." In other words, entrepreneurs' systemic problems were noticed and symbolically legitimized by employees and the unemployed. Therefore, I categorized the type of rationality dominating the focus group participants as the **rationality of individualized agency and personal responsibility.** It is characterized by the ideas of society as a space of competition between individuals, beliefs in the individual agency of social actors who have no influence on rule-making, personal responsibility of actors despite the adopted definitions, synonymous understanding of freedom and entrepreneurship, and definition of social

justice as a consequence of personal involvement/agency and systemic deregulation of social life. The reconstruction of beliefs about work, common at the level of the "life-world," rendered several conclusions. The discursive landscape created by the Polish symbolic elites results in a single type of rationality for all, with no relation to the class status of the participants in social life. If we were to search for a frame of meaning as proposed by George Lakoff (2014), then the logical value of the statements made by the focus group participants was upheld by the belief that social responsibility is a simple equivalent of personal responsibility. The absence of "class language" enables structural problems to be presented as individual concerns. The sum of all basic discursive ideas, that is, the society as a collective syndicate of egoisms and politics as a set of technical solutions, results in the disappearance of social solidarity, and in establishing conditions for the dehumanization of others, in "separating the wheat from the chaff," in distinguishing between "people whose life is valuable and those whose life has no value at all" (one of the respondents expressed the issue of social work in this way, to the overall approval for this definition: "if they rely on social welfare, they are not useful and can be sent to work at quarries, at best"). All the interview participants easily accepted the popular explanation regarding superfluous/overspending social welfare or, in effect, the impossibility of running social policy. To characterize the dominance of this idiom in ethical terms, I will once again refer to the problem of social responsibility, which is among the keys to understanding the relations presented. There is room for using this term in social linguistic practice as a "fig leaf" for many economic activities that accelerate the emergence of existing income inequalities, while the habit of treating this term as synonymous with mutual care is disappearing. In the so-called "late capitalism," the term "social re-sponsibility" seems to be a tool for the reproduction of many structurally embedded injustices that affect our societies. The dominance of this idiom does not stimulate efforts aimed at institutionalizing cooperation as a substitute for competition. If we start thinking about society with the belief that was popular among focus group participants, namely that "it is so inhuman to give money to people in exchange for nothing," we can be almost certain that a human being is only afunction of capital in this world, and social responsibility stands for measurable, monetary usefulness. Repeated cyclical dissatisfaction with the existing living conditions, manifested both through support for the forms of political activity that are foreign to the "enlightened citizen," and through daily rituals of linguistic and non-linguistic hatred should be sufficient testimony to the weakness of the system we reproduce. Similarly, such testimony should be sought in "tables with hard numbers" (created, after all, by "enlightened citizens") reflecting the scale of growing social inequalities, progressing degradation of the natural environment, or the rising percentage of people affected by diseases triggered by modern civilization. And yet, we are unable to effectively introduce them into our communication milieu. In this context, "effectively" means that they could give us the ability to differentiate the existing environment, thereby restoring the basic human ability to shape the living environment. I believe that the reasons for this state of affairs can be found in the discursive and non-discursive hegemony of the most popular type of rationality, that is, individualized supra-historical necessity—a set of symbols legitimizing the *status quo*.

The types of rationality described here are the background for the struggle for symbolic dominance among the actors of social life. Contrary to the conceptualization of competitiveness popularized in

public discourse as a means to achieve individual and national successes, the explanatory orders based on the three types of rationality largely complement one another. While individuals internalize the knowledge of the natural foundation of the winner-loser order, the meta-insights into the operation of symbolic systems at the different levels analyzed here lead to different conclusions. In the summary of the work, I analyzed the basic categories that, together with the domination of particular types of rationality, undergo a change in their traditional scope of meaning. Conclusions from the performed work indicate that it is a two-stage process. The first stage consists in popularizing at least partially new definitions of terms that are important for the formation of social life. The second stage reifies the meaning of these terms so that they gradually cease to be part of a set of meanings that can be negotiated in discourse.

As a result of my research work, I identified a grid of such terms (keystones) that are common to discourses that invoke all the analyzed types of rationality. These include: investing in oneself; competitiveness; innovativeness; creativity; success; responsibility; self-discipline; self-development; self-control; trust; flexibility; self-discovery; decency; pragmatism; and efficiency (Kubala 2019:315-322). The fundamental importance of these terms in defining rationality lies in the fact that the meanings negotiated in individual groups would not exist without them. At the same time, the grid of these notion-symbols represents the "common denominator" for all types of rationality. The meanings attributed to each of them can be found in all of the analyzed discourses. Some, such as "investing in oneself," are more commonly used in the expert discourse while gaining secondary importance in the discourse of the "life-world," but the elements of each form a common symbolic structure. Following the observation that the per-

versity of late modernity consists in "deriving" notions that are relevant for the reproduction of social order from their previous meaning, it is necessary to look at the scope of meaning of different pillars of the symbolic construction supporting the common notions of rationality in Polish discourses on work.

To explore the real status of public discourse and its dominant types of rationality, I proposed reconstruction of "what is rational" for politicians, experts, and citizens. In my opinion, the empirical testimony of the content and structure of public discourses is an essential element in the development of the theory of reflexive modernization, which I see as an intellectually interesting proposal for understanding the processes that are taking place in the surrounding world. The analysis of late modernity and institutionalized reflexivity will always be connected with attempts to resolve the following dilemma: does the vector of change consist in the reification of the spectrum of meanings of symbols that are crucial for the constitution of the society, or does it consist in the social emancipation that, out of "necessity," occurs through negotiation of the meanings of these symbols? To resolve this dilemma, the structure and content of the studied discourses should be reproduced. The model that is common to all types of rationality was created during the "pendular movement" between the repeated study of theoretical materials and the analysis of research materials and an attempt to generalize conclusions. The model is an analytical construct built around meta-messages arising from the analyzed discourses. Following the old Enlightenment-like tradition, this kind of summary enabled generalizations that give an insight into the immediate content of the subject of research, but, above all, it enabled evaluation based on categories not strictly related to specific time and space, that is, it could be applied to the different contexts. External figures cor-

respond to the discourses of social actors, in this case: politicians, experts, and citizens. The inner figure reproduces the system of keystones characteristic of each of the analyzed discourses. The central keystone is the key topic invoked during the social negotiation of the meaning of "what is rational." To find elements common to all, I decided that the arms of the triangle making up the inner figure will be marked by references to the characteristics that are relevant to the different types of rationality and, at the same time, common to all the groups studied.

**Figure 1. Diagram representing the model common to all reconstructed types of rationality**
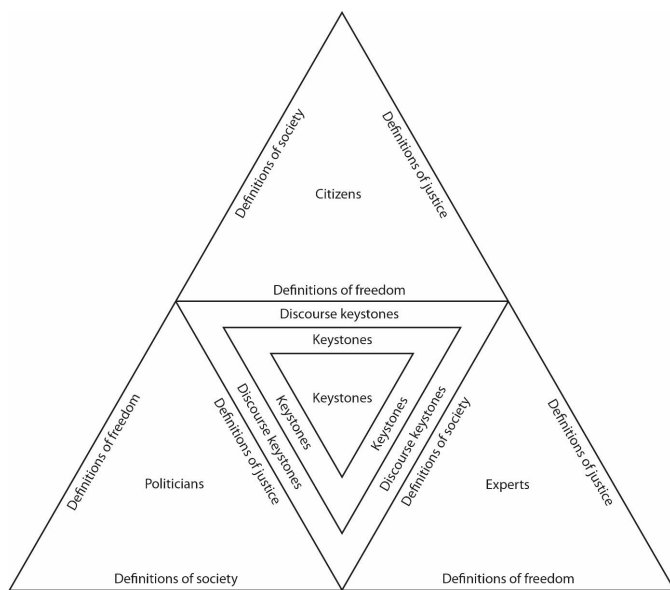
Source: Self-elaboration.

Summary graphs are intended to reveal common and different content, tensions, and harmonies relating to the negotiation of meanings at three different levels of social life. At the same time, they are intended to enable a diagnosis concerning the balance or dominance of socially negotiated meanings of symbols that play a fundamental role in defining the subject mat-

ter of the analyses, that is, rationality. It would seem that since three types of rationality that structure the policy discourse have been identified, it would be necessary to present three graphic variants, where only the component related to the question "what the authorities want to say to the citizens" will change. Reconstruction of the content and the meaning attributed to it in expert discourse and the "life-world" discourse resulted in one dominant idiom with one type of rationality attributed to it. Distinctive features of two out of three distinguished types of rationality characterizing the Polish political discourse, that is, the rationality of individualized historical necessity and rationality of individualized social assistance revealed a far-reaching similarity in ways of defining the key ideas for the emergence of society and the social reality itself. Given the similarities and analogies evident during the analysis, I decided that the summary would become more conclusive if I reduced it to two graphs. The first one is as follows:

Figure 2. Model of reconstructed types of rationality prevailing before 2005 and in 2007-2015
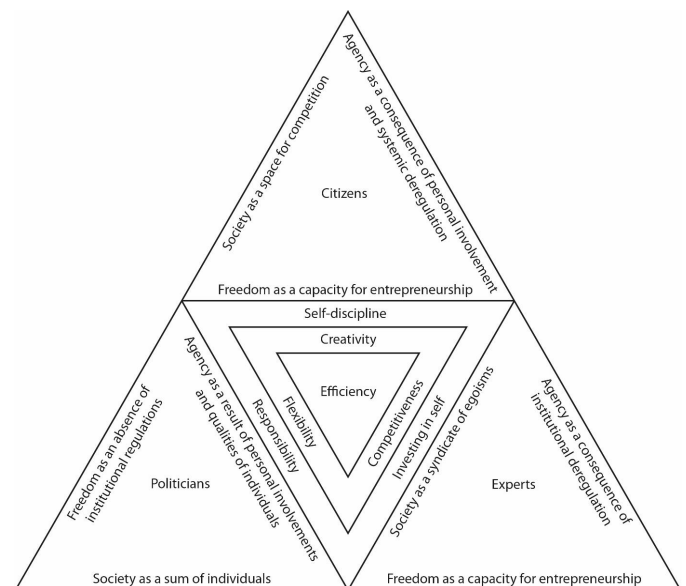
Source: Self-elaboration.

At the level of symbols that are the most important for the reproduction of the self-knowledge of social actors about the circumstances in which they live, the authorities created and recreated one message until 2005: abdication from the regulatory functions supporting the institutionalization of communal life. This is interesting both in the context of universal expectations articulated towards political authorities and the local context. As a rule, people expect politicians to be able to differentiate the existing reality. Without risking a far-fetched statement, we can also put forward a claim that based on the Polish experience before 1989, people expected political agency connected with promises of social advancement. In return, citizens received discursive training in individualization. During the first sixteen years, in the most important moments of democratic governance, the authorities told the public about the need to successively abandon specific institutions of social life in favor of an effective mechanism of the market agency. All the basic symbols that make up the public interpretation of sense were redefined in the way presented above in the description of meanings, where the keystones of the discourse "on what is rational" were found. The political naturalization of ideas about society as a space for competing individuals gained enough popularity among the elites of the Third Republic of Poland that it became an inertial collection of explanatory orders for subsequent prime ministers. The definitions of reality and rational action, negotiated in the political, expert, and "life-world" discourse described were so similar that a claim about their reification should be considered in the recapitulation. The rationality, expressed via following accumulation of competitive advantages, is not, and cannot be, the only form of human activity through which social actors gain self-awareness of the social life. And yet, this is what effectively happened in the Polish public dis-

course. Hence, we made the thesis of the subversive use of the concept of policy, aimed at the expansion of explanatory orders characteristic of late modernity (including capitalist relations of production and labor).

In the summary of the analyzed discourses, it should be clearly stated that the first sixteen years of the political/systemic transformation involved the dominance of the rationality type built almost exclusively around the symbolic figure of the individual, together with their freedom, responsibility, and agency. Until 2005, expert discourses and political discourses consistently built the ethos of the society as a sum of individuals (albeit it is not clear to what extent this was intentional). It will not be an exaggeration to say that nearly all meaning-making structures of social life were maintained solely through references to individuals. Individuals were asked to be patient at the time of political change, called to be reasonable in situations of political crises, determination and steadfastness were invoked whenever it was necessary to adapt to the new order, and thanks were offered for the hardships endured when favorable economic trends prevailed. This picture continued for the next eight years after a short interval of Law and Justice coming to power in 2005-2007. Communication was targeted "at each person separately," to quote the thank-you for the perseverance in the crisis offered to Poles by Donald Tusk in his second policy speech as a prime minister. Today, we can get the impression that the arrangements as to "what is real" were based only on one entity. No wonder words such as "responsibility," "trust," "effectiveness," or other keystones in the discourse on rationality, as described in my book, gained a new meaning. In this light, the use of symbols by the Law and Justice party revealed a completely different quality. These comments are

not about evaluating this party's policy, its proposals, or normative assessments of the consequences of its decisions. The proposed model of analysis enables the assessment of how symbols are used in the service of the power agents, and this is the only purpose. In my opinion, it can be used as a basis for attempts to understand attitudes in various configurations of late modernity, together with the constitutive processes of institutionalized reflexivity. An illustration of the fundamental change in the use of symbols in the public negotiation of meanings can be presented in another graph.

Figure 3. Model of reconstructed types of rationality prevailing after 2015
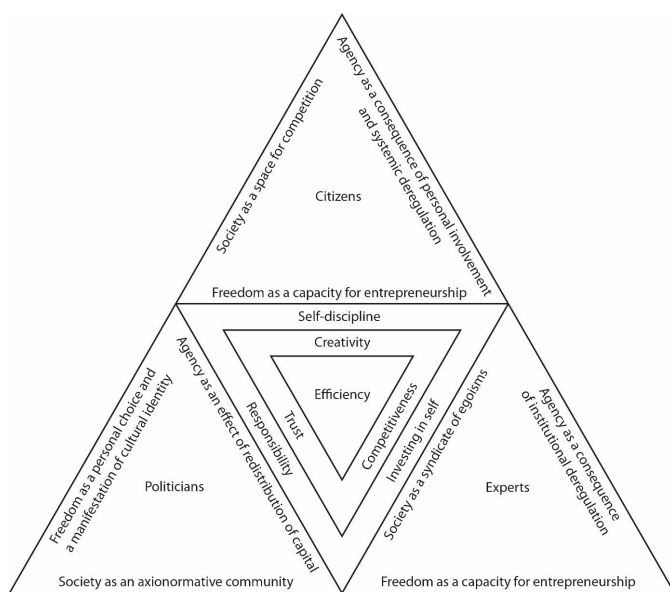
Source: Self-elaboration.

The core of the change that can be reconstructed in the analysis of public negotiation of meanings of "what is rational" is the restitution of the institution of the state, together with its traditional geopolitical characteristics of subjectivity and sovereignty. Another element that seems important is the aggres-

sive definition of the figure of the omnipotence of the state itself. After twenty-six years of individualization of social life, the offered set of "new/old" meanings may seem like naive symbolism since social actors had probably deeply internalized the explanatory orders based on the rationality of individualized (supra)historical necessity. On the other hand, however, as I wrote a few paragraphs earlier, the meanings of symbols offered in the set characteristic of this type of rationality have been, and increasingly are, falsified when they are referred to the non-discursive reality. In these circumstances, proposals for a new reading of "what is real" and "what is rational" may become cognitively and ontologically attractive. In this view, humans cease to be just independent entrepreneurs and begin to feel like a part of a symbolically delineated community, which takes on the well-known form of a nation. If we look more closely at the content and structure of what the authorities want to say to the citizens, then, in my opinion, we will see something much more important, that is, a redefinition of almost all the ideas essential for defining rational behavior. The ideas of society, freedom, justice, agency, and responsibility are an entirely new proposal in light of the idiom used by the Law and Justice party. Perhaps the emphatic empowerment of the state in the political rhetoric of Law and Justice can only be read and understood in close connection with the exaggeration accompanying the silent yet inevitable reification of the set of meanings characteristic of the situation preceding this party's coming to power.

The hybrid form of rationality arises from the habitual use of terms such as "freedom from" and personal responsibility, and the transfer of ideas of agency to the level of the state that represents the nation. All this, presented in a dignity-filled idiom, helps explain the reality using the dichotomy that can be

reconstructed from the discourse of the "life-world." Participants from all the focus groups, from the unemployed to owners of small and medium-sized businesses, invoked the "familiar-alien" dichotomy despite the discursive pressure on the "cosmopolitization" of ideas about relations in the social world (Kubala 2019:243-301). This dichotomy was the main tool for structuring the meaning of reality, enabling them, on the one hand, to maintain the existing definitions of explanatory orders in contemporary capitalism without undermining their structure, and, on the other hand, to organize the tension arising from the disappointments with capitalist production and labor relations. The analyses conducted do not represent empirical proof for the intentional/sociotechnical use of the "familiar-alien" dichotomy by Law and Justice, which governed Poland from 2005 to 2007 and after 2015. To my deepest belief, however, they represent evidence of a political response to a specific kind of symbolic deficiency that characterized the Polish public discourse (including the discourse on work) after 1989, together with the accompanying type of rationality. This deficiency was (and still is) a consequence of the experiment involving a dilution of social relations and, consequently, the images of social life as a sum of individual projects. The naturalization, universalization, and internalization of such knowledge of society can only succeed in Sloterdijk's "comfort zone," and this is not certain, either. Otherwise, the symbolic project of the atomization of social life cannot withstand a confrontation with reality. The discursive and identity-building transfer of tension from actual structural inequalities characteristic of contemporary labor relations to a simple "familiar-alien" dichotomy seems to be the only effective linguistic tool for maintaining the *status quo* on a local and global scale. All possible weaknesses of this tool are of secondary importance if we consider its political and operational ability to mystify reality based on the structure of individualized supra-historical necessity, that is, the type of rationality described in this article.

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Citation

"Being a Yid": Jewish Identity of Tottenham Hotspur Fans—Analysis and Interpretation

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Abstract: Tottenham Hotspur football fans are victims of regular antisemitic abuse from opposition fans. They are commonly referred to as "Yids." Interestingly, Tottenham supporters appropriated the Jewish image and embraced it as part of their fandom identity. They have been using symbols and content associated with Jewish identity, even if their club has never been a Jewish organization, and the vast majority of them are not Jewish. The objective of this paper is to describe and explain the main characteristics of the phenomenon of what I call the "Jewish identity" of the fans. The research presented in this paper was based on sociological and anthropological qualitative methods; above all—in-depth interviews with the fans and participant observation in the stadiums during Tottenham games. The analysis and interpretation of the material collected for the study allowed me to explore the questions of "how," "why," and "what" happens in the stadiums (and outside the stadiums) from the perspective of the fans in the context of their "Jewish identity." I particularly focus on the mechanism Tottenham supporters use to manage and fight stigma and investigate how different groups of fans have created different narratives around Jewish identity to make it meaningful for them.

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"Tottenham is a Jewish club" is a well-known slogan among English football fans. A slogan that has led to Tottenham fans becoming regular targets of antisemitic abuse by opposition fans, particularly teams from London, like Chelsea, West Ham, and Millwall. This abuse extends to referring to Tottenham fans as "Yids," references to the Holocaust in songs and chants, together with hissing sounds simulating the noise of the Nazi gas chambers (Foer 2004; Clavane 2012). While racism among football fans is a widely rec-

ognized and researched phenomenon (for example, Back, Crabbe, and Solomos 2001; King 2004; Kassimeris 2008; Burdsey 2011; Cleland and Cashmore 2014; Lawrence and Davis 2019), antisemitism draws less attention from researchers and organizations fighting broadly understood xenophobia and racism in football stadiums. Nevertheless, the last ten years have seen an increase in interest in this subject, especially concerning English fans (Poulton 2016; 2019; Poulton and Durell 2016; Stratton 2016) and Polish fans, researched by the author (Wilczyńska 2013; Kucia and Wilczyńska 2014).

The origins of the Tottenham club's association with Jews stems from Tottenham having traditionally attracted Jewish fans due to its geographical location in the north of London. Hasidic Jewish communities settled in the northern part of the city in the 1930s as they fled persecution in Europe (Clavane 2012). Since then, the team has had more Jewish fans than other English clubs. In a recent survey of season ticket holders by Tottenham Hotspur Football Club (2014), about 10% of the 11,389 respondents self-declared that they were Jewish (Poulton and Durell 2016). In response to antisemitic hate speech from the opposition fans, Tottenham supporters have appropriated and embraced the term "Yid," which started to be demonstrated through chants, songs, or symbols on scarves and T-shirts. It became an important element of the Tottenham fans' identity and a mark of in-group solidarity and camaraderie (Cloake and Fisher 2016). The use of "Yid" is controversial, with many perceiving it as a "race-hate" word, especially when used in the context of intergroup hostility. The use of the term by the Spurs fans was the subject of a high-profile public debate in which even the former Prime Minister, David Cameron, took the floor (Gibson 2013). The highlight of which was the prosecution faced by three Tottenham supporters due to singing "Yid Army" (Cloake 2014).

The phenomenon of the "Jewish identity" of the Tottenham supporters was the subject of valuable papers analyzing the problem from the socio-historical perspective (Foer 2004; Clavane 2012; Cloake and Fisher 2016). However, there is much less research investigating the issue from the perspective of attitudes and motivations of today's fans. The critical analysis of the Tottenham fans' Internet forums done by Emma Poulton and Olivier Durell (2016) tends to be an exception in the qualitative research approach toward the "Jewish identity" of the supporters. Anthropological and sociological research methods, such as in-depth interviews with the fans and participant observation used in my research project, can be considered a continuation of Poulton's approach to the topic. My research contributes to a deeper understanding of how Tottenham fans construct their identity around the "Yid" concept. Why do Tottenham fans keep calling themselves "Yids?" What is the function of this identity in their support for Tottenham? What is their attitude towards the controversy it causes? How do they justify this controversial practice? What do "Yid" and the whole identity mean for them? Those are the main research questions to be addressed in this article.

Antisemitism in Football

It is important to note here that antisemitism in football is of structural character (Stratton 2016). It differs from racism in that it is usually not an individual player who is identified as Jewish and, for that reason, targeted. The target is rather the whole club and its fandom. Moreover, the "Jewish labels" of specific clubs within different leagues are constant. We can find clubs considered by their opponents Jewish in both eastern and western European leagues (for example, Ajax Amsterdam in the Netherlands, AS Roma in Italy, Bayern Munich in Ger-

many, Austria Vienna in Austria, MTK Budapest, or several Polish clubs like Cracovia Krakow or Widzew Łódź), as well as outside of Europe like Buenos Aires' Club Atlético Atlanta (Stratton 2016). A club remains "Jewish" regardless of whether it has Jewish footballers and officials.

The antisemitism of football fans seemingly has nothing to do with the "real Jews" as it is usually not targeted at specific people, but the club and, in particular, its fandom. When used in a football context, the word "Jew" or "Yid," with its different variations depending on the country, has broken away from its original meaning. Unlike in traditional, modern, or contemporary antisemitism, for a football fan, "Jew" turns out to be a supporter of the opposing team (for different reasons labeled as Jewish) rather than a follower of Judaism, a member of an ethnic group, or an Israeli citizen. Football fans use any available contents to offend their rivals; the figure of a "Jew" is a showy, historically proven way of expressing contempt and referring to the "Other." Apart from this general context, the history of particular teams, connected very often to the past of Jewish minorities, seems very important as it constitutes an excuse/reason for using antisemitic hate speech against those clubs. It is hard to explicitly state what kind of stereotypes and images about the Jews football antisemitism is based on. Based on the research undertaken within my Master's thesis, in the context of Polish football fans, I can hypothesize that it results from perceiving Jews as different, strange, weird, and not falling within "normal" society. As supporting a club is based on the "friend-foe" identification system, the term "Jew" is a very "attractive" and appropriate way of expressing the fans' hostility to rivals. It is a term that can illustrate both: their separateness and superiority over the enemy (Wilczyńska 2013; Kucia and Wilczyńska 2014).

"Yid"—Stigma Exploitation and Symbolic Ethnicity

To clarify, by the term "Jewish identity" of the fans, I understand a phenomenon of using Jewish symbols and appropriating the words "Jews," "Yids," and others as self-referent terms. I distinguish the phenomenon that takes place at the football stadium from the actual Jewish identity resulting from belonging to a nation or religious community. In brief, "Jewish identity," in this context, is a kind of abstract construction, a label secondary to a sense of belonging to a certain fans' community. By using the term "Jewish identity," I do not assume that all the fans of the analyzed teams find it important to connect their fandom to Judaism or Jews. I assume that it is just one of many facets of their identity as Tottenham fans. However, one that is interesting and socially significant.[1]

Many academics state that, in the postmodern world, humans are experiencing an identity crisis. Major bases of collective modern solidarities are dissolving, and individuals cannot rely anymore on the traditional anchors of identity like class, nation, or gender. Consequently, it appears that identity is a fluid, open process that is never completed. Nevertheless, even if identity is today unstable and undergoing a continuous process of construction and reconstruction, both individuals and societies cannot exist without it. According to Amir Ben Porat (2010:278), "identity is a practice—mechanism—that relates the subject to its whole self, and simultaneously relates that same subject to the relevant social and cultural environment, which is primarily responsible for the formation of the subject as a social

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[1] Throughout the project, I will use the term "Jewish identity" as defined above. Despite its metaphorical meaning, in the latter part of the article, I will not use quotation marks.

entity." For him, the roots of identity are in culture, which provides what he calls "the realm of historical opportunities." Individuals, to a certain extent, have the freedom to choose from this broad set of possibilities—one of these possibilities is being a football fan. What is important to note here is that football seems to be a unique tool in the process of social identity construction and maintenance. For many people, supporting a football club is a lifelong experience. Loyalty, constancy, attachment to place and rituals are basic values in the football fandoms, which is exceptional in the time of *liquid modernity* (Bauman 2000). Footballers, coaches, and club officials change, but the fans remain faithful. "The football club is a deep water port; it offers the traditional fan anchorage in the past, present, and anticipated future" (Porat 2010:288). Hence, being a football fan of a particular club, for many people, constitutes one of the most important elements of their social identity. Moreover, in many cases, one's affiliation with a particular club represents the combination of many specific social, political, or religious attributes. Hence, we can say that "the realm of historical opportunities" provides here not only an option to be a football fan of a specific team but also the ways this identity is expressed and practiced, which are deeply connected to the fans' socio-cultural surroundings. Like in the case of Tottenham London fans who developed what I call a Jewish identity.

A football fan's identity is built as much on the basis of affiliation to one's favorite club and its fandom as on the basis of opposition to their rivals. This is an identity practiced in an atmosphere of constant competition: competition for victory, for which club is more popular, for which one is richer, for which one has a more remarkable history, et cetera. Hence, supporting a football club necessitates both sameness and otherness. In the case of confrontation,

very often otherness is as much celebrated as sameness. The aforementioned racism and antisemitism are good examples. Thus, there is no way to analyze the Jewish identity of the fans without focusing on antisemitic practices from the opposing teams' fans. Similar conclusions have been reached by Poulton and Durell (2016), who analyzed the Jewish identity of Tottenham fans in the context of linguistic reclamation theory (Brontsema 2004). Based on a critical analysis of fan Internet forums, they found out that there are different intentions behind this linguistic reclamation of "Yid": *value reversal* (to transform the negative into a positive); *neutralization* (to expunge its injurious meaning and so render it ineffective); *stigma exploitation* (to highlight the stigma that is purposefully retained as a confrontational, revolutionary call). Thanks to field research, especially interviews, I try to describe the process of Jewish identity construction as it exists in the minds of fans. Testing Poulton and Durell's conclusions was of key importance. First of all, the main mechanism behind the formation of this identity. Whether the fans see it the same way as Poulton and Durell—as an appropriation of their opponents' insults—or if there are other more important mechanisms that, in their opinion, fuelled the phenomenon. Secondly, if reclamation is the main mechanism of the Jewish identity construction, what are the motives and emotions behind it? One of the goals of this article is to test the three intentions specified by Poulton and Durell and to form a deeper understanding of it. Most of all, I focus on *stigma exploitation*, hypothesizing that it constitutes the ground of Jewish identity construction and persistence.

Academics usually link stigma with the processes of labeling, stereotyping, and discrimination, which inevitably leads to reduced access to social, economic, and political power. Reducing the common un-

derstanding of it to marginalizing stigma (Müller 2020). In short, they focus on what the stigma deprives people of. In this article, I follow Müller's (2020) approach, who writes about a wider understanding of the concept, also focusing on the questions about how people manage or fight the stigma. In the case of Tottenham supporters, it is worth going even further and asking not only about how they manage it but also about what it gives them.

It is not the purpose of this article to compare Jewish and non-Jewish fans. Nevertheless, when researching the Tottenham fandom, I was aware that being Jewish might constitute a very important factor in how a fan perceives, interprets, or uses the Jewish identity of the club. This identity is celebrated by both—Jews and gentiles. The phenomenon, of course, eludes a straightforward theoretical framework, by the simple fact that most of the fans identify with Jewishness primarily as a result of rooting for Tottenham. Hence, the phenomenon is limited to this section of their social life. That is how they show their support for Tottenham. At the same time, the perspective of Jewish Spurs fans cannot be overlooked. For them, the phenomenon is more directly related to their ethnicity. I argue in this article that, for Jewish fans, supporting Tottenham may play a role in the construction of what is called *symbolic ethnicity* (Gans 1979). According to Herbert Gans, attachment to ethnic origins among immigrants does not disappear, but is subject to changes. Successive generations of immigrants are less willing to express their identity through participation in traditional institutions—both sacred and secular. Instead, they practice it in suitable ways that do not conflict with other social roles and are of key importance for the level of acculturation and assimilation they feel. In the case of England, supporting a football club does not contradict these processes, but even favors them.

Moreover, Gans (1979:9) describes *symbolic ethnicity* as a phenomenon that takes on an expressive rather than instrumental function in people's lives, becoming more of leisure-time activity.

"Yid" and Social Memory

The topic of social memory is rarely raised in the context of sports. However, when searching for the sources of the Spurs fans' Jewish identity, historians, journalists, academics, and others often refer to the club's inter-war history. One of the most important aspects connecting different theories in the field of social memory is the key role of memory in the processes of shaping collective identities (Nowak 2011). It is not the past that decides what we remember and, accordingly, what we identify ourselves with, but the current needs of the group. According to Barbara Szacka (1997:120), collective memory:

> is a set of images of the group past, as well as all past figures and events commemorated in one way or another and all forms of that commemoration… These contents are continually being selected, interpreted and reinterpreted in socially determined ways…Memory content is collective to the extent that it is derived from social experience and is passed on through interpersonal communication.

My sociological and anthropological field research allowed me to gain insights into the memory content that fans share and use in the process of their Jewish identity construction. One of the key research questions I ask in the study concerns the role of memory about the pre-war history of the teams in today's Jewish identity construction. Is it memory about the history that determines the Jewish identity of the fans, or is it its role to sanction the identity which has different reasons and functions? Memory

content the fans narrate together with its emotional dimension also allows the testing of the concept of symbolic ethnicity in the context of the analyzed phenomenon. Gans (1979:9) characterizes symbolic ethnicity "by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation…a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour."

According to Frederic Barth (2004), the essence of an ethnic group's permanence is not its cultural character (which is constantly changing), but the existence of the boundaries between groups and an ongoing process of negotiations of those boundaries. Firstly, there is a boundary, and then the effort to establish and defend the boundary takes a cultural form. The football division into "Jews" and antisemites is a conflict with a distinct border. Both groups—"football Jews" and "football antisemites"—might produce different content and refer to different symbols, events, and historical facts that support and legitimize that division.

Methodology

The field research, the results of which are presented in this article, took place in the autumn of 2017 and 2018. The main focus was on in-depth interviews with fans of different backgrounds (both concerning ethnicity and types of fans). The interviews varied in length. They lasted between 30 minutes and an hour and a half, depending mainly on how much the fans had to say about the topic. The interviews were not only focused on the Jewish identity. As a kind of "warm-up," I raised the following matters in the conversations: first memories of being Tottenham fans, important reasons for choosing this particular club, people who influenced that choice, the role supporting plays in life, and the emotions it

gives. This way of opening the interviews was genuinely interesting for me and, in my opinion, brought me closer to my interlocutors and increased openness and trust. I heard many personal stories, sometimes sharing some aspects of my story, especially if my interlocutors were curious. In general, I had a feeling that my person as a researcher aroused curiosity in my interlocutors. I would mention two main simple reasons: I am from a different country researching their club, and I am a woman. In my opinion, it influenced the ease of establishing contact with fans—the vast majority of the fans I talked to seemed happy to make an appointment for the interview. I also have the impression that my relation to the research field constituted an important factor during the study. I am passionate about football, both playing it and watching regularly, which allowed me to talk with the fans about the matches we watched together and, in general, makes it easier to connect with the supporters. On the other hand, I have never been involved in supporting Tottenham. The Jewish connotations of the Spurs got me interested in this particular club. What I was surprised about was the ease with which the fans spoke about Jewish topics. I felt that my interlocutors spoke about the topic more freely and directly than I did, which I put down to obvious differences in the cultural context of Poland and England in terms of the history of Jews in the two countries.

In this paper, I analyzed twenty interviews with fans aged 20-60, which gave me an insight into differences in expressing and understanding the phenomenon among younger and older fans and elucidated the possible directions of the phenomenon's evolution. All the fans were regular attendees of the stadium (season ticket holders), and being Tottenham supporters is an important aspect of their identity. Five of the supporters were of Jewish origins, which

gave me an opportunity to reflect on the role Jewish Tottenham identity plays in their lives as Jews. The main criterion for the number of interviews was the saturation of the research material. The fans were recruited mostly in the Tottenham stadium. However, I also used some contacts I had made before going to London, using the recommendations of people I had reached thanks to my friends living both in Cracow and London. Sometimes I used social media, especially Twitter, which is very popular in Great Britain. After making contact with some of the fans, I used the snowball method for recruiting other respondents. To find time and space to discuss the topic at length, I decided to make appointments with the fans and conduct interviews outside the match and stadium context. The interviews took place in various conditions—sometimes in a quiet cafe or a library, sometimes in a loud pub in the evening. I was adjusting to the preferences of my respondents.

I chose qualitative sociological and anthropological methods as these enable me to draw more profound conclusions about how the phenomenon occurs. The results of this study will be entirely qualitative and descriptive in their nature. The research concerns the environment associated with a particular subculture. Konecki (2010:18) states that these types of social realities should be explored using qualitative methods because this is the only way you can draw profound conclusions about how a given phenomenon proceeds. According to Konecki, each phenomenon has different phases, which have an internal causal logic. To reconstruct it, we need descriptions of definitions and meanings attributed to objects by the actors who act and interpret the world. Thanks to the flexible structure of the interviews, I covered the key topics, but I also had the freedom to explore additional points and areas important to my in-

terviewees. As a result, I gained a rich insight into different dimensions of their experience with the Jewish identity, namely, how they feel it, how they see it, and, in particular, how they interpret it. Additionally, I made participant observations during the games. Both at the stadium (4 home games of Tottenham) and in the pubs in the neighborhood of Tottenham. Participant observation allowed me to experience "what happens" in a given context of intergroup rivalry. At the time of my research, White Hart Lane was being rebuilt. That is why I also decided to visit pubs around Tottenham Hotspur's home space, being aware that attachment to the local area is an important aspect of being a fan of the club.

Results

"It's Who We Are"

Let me start with two brief anecdotes from the field research. 1. A restaurant near Tottenham Hale station. The time of the Tottenham away game is approaching. I plan to watch it in one of the bars nearby. While eating fish and chips, a stranger joins me at the table. After explaining what I'm doing in London, the man takes his cap off and shows the skullcap hidden underneath. He is surprised by what I am telling him about the Jewish identity of the fans. He is not a fan of football, and he was sure that as a religious Jew, he should be rather afraid of the football fans from Tottenham. He wants to join me for the game. We find a place recommended by one of the locals—a classic little football bar with an old-school TV and flags of Tottenham on the walls. My new Jewish colleague asks as we approach the bar, "Is this a Yid place?" "Sure"—the barmaid answers in a tone as if my friend asked if they sell beer. He takes off his hat—this time more proudly—bring-

ing smiles to the gloomy faces of the pub's regulars. 2. A group of Tottenham fans reacted euphorically at the sight of a religious Jew approaching from the opposite direction, chanting "Yidoo" loudly at him and making gestures as if they wanted to hug him.

"Yids," "Yidoo," and "Yid Army" repeated rhythmically constitute an inherent choir at any Tottenham event. It is almost constantly shouted by the whole stadium, smaller or bigger groups of fans, or even individual supporters. After visiting a stadium filled with Tottenham fans, no one would have any doubts that those are widespread self-referents of the Tottenham supporters. Fans have a habit of shouting/singing "Yids," "Yidoo," and "Yid Army" in various circumstances surrounding the matches. For example, outside the stadium when they wait to enter the ground or after the match when they leave the stadium, very often on the subway or the train, in particular, when they meet a group of fans from opposition clubs. It is, obviously, also chanted during the games, especially when the fans celebrate a goal or a good performance.

These observations are corroborated during the interviews. All my interlocutors expressed a positive attitude towards the term and admitted that they use the word "Yid" and its variations to refer to themselves and other supporters. No one was against the use of it or even skeptical about this nickname. However, many supporters begin their statements about the term "Yid" with a disclaimer that they usually do not look for any deeper meaning of the word. Most of them agree that, for them, "Yid" means Spurs, and "Yid Army" is a term to describe them as a group of supporters. "That's the word that kind of describes us as a group...Yid Army is kind of everyone"—says 45-year-old Justin. Another fan— 55-year-old Andy, explains in more detail: "It seems

ridiculous, but the Jewish origins are almost irrelevant for me personally I think, it's more important that it bonded Spurs fans together and it's a shared identity, it's that feeling of togetherness of having a shared identity." Thus, the first conclusion from the interviews is that the term "Yid" has become an important aspect of Spurs fans' identity, an inherent part of it, something they take for granted, repeat, and pass on to the next generation of fans. What is very significant is that it is something shared by fans from different supporting contexts. A football hooligan—50-year-old Crombie—expresses himself in a similar vein: "it's sort of who we are...It's just identity, you know. It is what it is, we will never change it...It's fixed in people's identity, it's just fixed, it will never go."

What the fans emphasize very often is that football is the only context in which they use the word and hear it being used. Most of the fans who are not Jewish state that they do not think of Jews when they sing or say "Yids." Many of the fans, especially from the younger generation (including the Jewish fans), admitted that they got to know the original meaning of the word a long time after they started using it. For example, 33-year-old Neil acknowledged: "Before I knew the Yid man is a Jew, I thought it's a Tottenham fan, it's a Tottenham fan before it's a Jewish person to me. On the school books, it was like Yid Army, come on Yids." This does not change the fact that almost all my interlocutors at the time of the interview were aware of the Jewish connotations of the word and its derogatory antisemitic overtone. Just one person (a Tottenham fan from Australia) did not know that Yid is a derogatory term and could be seen as antisemitic hate speech.

From the perspective of Spurs fans (especially gentiles), this term broke away from its original mean-

ing, and, in the opinion of most of them, it means a fellow supporter and a term to feel proud of. The situation gets more complex when they try to answer the question of why this specific nickname and not another one. They realize that "real Jews" are involved in their statements relating to both the past and the present. The opening stories show that the connotations of the word are clear and, even if unwittingly, Spurs fans rather automatically connect Jewish people and Jewish symbols with their favorite club. Deeper afterthoughts about how they see this identity and, above all, how they interpret it show that it means more than just a nickname or label. The conclusions they reached in the course of deeper reflection on the topic were often a surprise, even to themselves.

Jewish Yids

What is the best place to celebrate a Bar Mitzvah? For a 13-year-old Jewish boy, a die-hard fan of Spurs, the answer was simple. It is White Hart Lane. "I think he was probably the biggest supporter, bigger than me and my other brother, so, yes, I don't know how it worked out but it did…I was pretty jealous, to be honest," narrates Jake, a 22-year-old fan whose family has been supporting Tottenham for generations.

> It's just a room that they rent out for events and things like that, but, yes, there is, like, an event room and he run across the pitch, it was cool. He got, like, a video message from a couple of the players…I don't know if we had supported, like, Chelsea or something would we have done it. I think probably yes. I think it definitely helps that it's a predominantly Jewish club, but I think we probably would have tried anyway, and I would be surprised if it was an issue in any of the other clubs. I think it would still, I don't know, maybe the fact that it is a Jewish club sort of put it in his head,

but I don't know if it was the deciding factor.—Jake continues.

The most important difference between Jewish and non-Jewish supporters of Spurs is that for the Jewish supporters I talked to, "Yid" seems to have a double meaning. It is not only a term to describe them as fans of a specific club but it also refers to their origins and background. They directly point to the Jewish connotation of the term, spontaneously and willingly sharing stories that associate Tottenham with the Jews. Just like 33-year-old Nick whose first statement about "Yid" took a very personal dimension:

> It's something that is actually, it gives me a lot of pride because, in a way, it kind of represents me more than just choosing like a random club because, obviously, that's my heritage and my background, and I think, you know, it's not so much of a coincidence that my grandfather went to Tottenham and that my dad chose Tottenham as well because a lot of their friends were Jewish and supported Tottenham.

Jake also refers to the history of his ancestors who supported the club in the first half of the 20th century:

> I feel, you know, like, my family originates from local area, which has always been, like, a big mix of different nationalities, religions, and groups of people, and it has always been quite working class. My grandfather, for example, owned, like, a market store in the east end of London, you know, all his social circles would have supported a football team and this is like a big part of their culture and community, and I feel really strongly about it that now I'm kind of carrying on the same, like, hobby like something that he passed down to me.

Both point out that cheering for Tottenham was an important part of their ancestors' social life. They somehow continue the family tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation. The stories of their ancestors are a living part of their memories, an influential part of their identity as both supporters of the club and Jews. Jake continues his reflections further as follows:

> Ha, ha, maybe football has replaced religion. There is still religion, it's something that I'm very proud of. For the same reason I support Tottenham, because it's my identity, it's my roots, and it's where I come from. We have traditions in my family, it goes back for many generations, and I wouldn't ever want to hide them, pretend that I'm not Jewish. So, maybe once I don't believe in the religious aspect, it forms, like, a very big part of my identity, which is more important than actually believing in specific texts.

For him, the importance of supporting Tottenham is similar to that of religion. He notices that by supporting the club, he feels connected with his ancestors and the family tradition. Thus, it is a way he can feel and express his Jewishness. Significantly, in this context, he also mentions having a Tottenham skullcap. However, not all of my Jewish interlocutors share similar experiences. Some come from families not interested in football, where linking the world of sporting competition with national/religious identity is not favorably received. Like in the case of Joel (45 years old), who recalled the moment, in the 80s, he got to know about the meaning of "Yid" and right away took an Israeli flag to the game. He heard at home that it is unacceptable to associate Spurs with the Israel flag because the only reason the fans identify this way is due to the fact that they were labeled this way by the nationalist element from West Ham and Chelsea. This criticism made him never again use the Israeli flag at the stadium. In general, fans believe that, usually, whether someone has a positive or negative attitude towards Tottenham's Jewishness depends mainly on whether that person is a fan of the club. Accordingly, for all my interlocutors, this identity is a reason to feel proud. Moreover, in the border socio-historical context, they appreciate that their identity is celebrated, and not marginalized as it has been for centuries. All of my Jewish interlocutors are fully assimilated British people whose ancestors had moved to England at least two generations ago. At the same time, they proudly and openly identify as Jews. None of them are religious and they do not function in traditional Jewish institutions. Nevertheless, the awareness of their roots and the feeling of belonging to the Jewish nationality constitute important values in their lives. Supporting Tottenham seems like a suitable way of feeling and expressing this identity. A way that does not conflict with other ways of life and has other important features of symbolic ethnicity construction, of which the nostalgic allegiance to the ancestral culture and the use of symbols are particularly visible.

"Yid"—Badge of Honor

The common element of the fans' statements (both Jewish and not Jewish) is the belief that many factors lead to the development of the Jewish identity, of which the most important manifestation is the use of the Y-word. Namely, the fans point out the following reasons: other fans' antisemitism, the history of Tottenham associated with the settlement of Jewish immigrants in the interwar period, the multicultural character of the district, both in the past and now, and the Jewish fan base and/or management of the club (the three chairmen since 1982 have all been Jewish businessmen).

For the fans, "Yid" is a self-referent that is inextricably linked to the way others label them. As in the statement of Ryan, a 34-year-old fan who recognizes the importance of both perspectives: "I think it's just as much a self-identity as an identity of how other followers see us." The fans seem to agree that the main factor that leads to the creation and durability of the Jewish identity is the process of reclaiming the offensive and changing it into a badge of honor. There was no fan I interviewed who would overlook the point of opponents' practices in the reflection on the Jewish identity of Spurs. Some fans describe it in detail, like 58-year-old Josh:

> I think it was, it started in the 60s. Allegedly, it was Chelsea fans who started kind of referring to Tottenham fans as Yids. I mean, they do other nasty things like hissing, which is supposed to be similar sound of the gas chamber, which I think is really horrible. They started, you know, kind of reference to, you know, filthy Yids this, this, this, and that's when, the kind of the response, which I think was quite smart, was to sort of appropriate the term and yes, yes, yes, we are the Yid Army.

Most of the fans do not have knowledge about how and when it started exactly. If they give any time frame, they usually talk about the late 60s and, in particular, about the 70s. During the interviews, it became clear that fans wanted to emphasize that the adoption of the term Yid was a conscious collective decision: "I think it's just, it was a label that was given to us, it was used as an insult, and we have decided that actually, it's not an insult, it fits, and we are gonna make it something that we are proud of"—states Rachel, a 63-year-old fan. Some of the supporters compare this process to the reclamation of the word queer—Jake says: "We reclaim it in a sense of, if someone wants to use it against you, then you use it as a positive yourself, like gay and queer."

The interviews confirm the conclusions reached by Poulton and Durell in their aforementioned study. Fans seem very aware of the motivations that, in their opinion, are the basis of the term's reclamation. The intention of *neutralization* and *value reversal* can be easily found in most of the fans' statements about the embracing of the term "Yid." To give an example, Alan, a Tottenham Jewish fan in his 60s, analyzes the phenomenon as follows:

> I think what happened was that Spurs took on that later to nullify the abuse to extinguish the abuse that was coming from other fans—you calling us this way? Yes, that's us, we gonna do that. We are not going to be bothered by this, we gonna take it as part of our identity.

This statement shows an opinion that the Tottenham fans have decided that the way they are labeled by others does not affect them. As a result, the insult that was meant to serve the opponents has been taken over by the Spurs and became their advantage. A lot of fans, regardless of whether they are of Jewish origin or not, go further in their analysis and emphasize not only the smart reaction they have undertaken to neutralize the abuse but mostly the positive feelings they have about the term "Yids." Just like Nick:

> They kind of adopted it and said, "Well, if we call ourselves Yids and we are kind of proud of you calling us the Yids, then it is no longer an insult, now it's something which is like, uh, something to be proud of, like a badge of honor." And that kind of feeling grew, and so that's kind of where I think it comes from.

Thus, the fans explicitly talk about neutralization and value reversal. What about the third intention pointed out by Poulton and Durell—stigma exploitation? From my point of view, stigma exploitation, to some extent, can always be seen as an element or even basis for the process of reclamation. However, in some of the Spurs supporters' practices, stigma exploitation can be found in an intensified form. Like in a chant quoted by one of the supporters:

> I'm only a poor little Yiddo
> I stand at the back of the Shelf
> I go to the bar to buy a lager
> And only buy one for myself

In this chant, we can find negative stereotypes about the Jews, in this case—greed. The negative stereotype is exposed and used as a confrontation tool. I did not hear this chant at the stadium, but some of the supporters knew it and recalled it for the interview.

Many supporters start from the reclamation process to talk about other aspects of the "Jewish character" of the Spurs that kind of legitimize the use of "Yid." One of the aspects is a large Jewish following. Like in a statement from Andy: "I do know for a fact that there is a really big Jewish following there, so again, it's not a coincidence, and there must be a reason why other fans started singing that as well, and it is because we have, like, large Jewish following." Even if the fans can see that the key factor that leads to the Yid Army identity is the opposing fans' behaviors, they seem to be saying that they are "Jewish" not only because others see them this way. In brief, others have a reason to associate the Spurs with Jews. However, obviously, for Spurs fans this is not a source of shame, but

pride as they either declare a positive attitude towards this minority or they are Jewish themselves.

It is also important to mention here the associations the fans have with "real Jews." For the vast majority of them, the first thing that comes to mind is the figure of a traditional religious Jew. The one who is distinguishable from the majority of society and who is a member of a community that is, as the fans state, disliked and marginalized by many. Interestingly, this is, in a way, consistent with what they say about their club. Fans have the impression that they are an exceptionally unpopular club, hated more than other teams. Many also complain that they are marginalized by the media that focus on more famous brands. Even in a situation where Tottenham is at the top of the Premier League or performs strongly in European competitions. We conclude that stigma exploitation might give them or strengthen their feeling of being special.

Context and Controversies

The phenomenon of embracing the "Yid" word as a self-referent has become the topic of lively debate after the Kick It Out[2] campaign film "The Y-Word." The 90-second film by David Baddiel, a Jewish comedian, and Chelsea London fan, promotes a zero-tolerance policy of the term "Yid" in football stadiums. Famous Premier League players make it clear that the word is as racist and offensive as the "n-word" and the "p-word." In a fairly unanimous opinion of Tottenham supporters, the campaign was misguided equating all uses of the term "Yid" as antisemitic. The ban on the use of the word in the stadium was met with opposition and indignation. As a result, instead of dropping the word, they composed the following chant:

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[2] English football's equality and inclusion organization.

> We sang it in France
> We sang it in Spain
> We sing in the sun, and we sing in the rain
> They've tried to stop us, and look what it did
> 'Cos the thing I love most is being a Yid!
> Being a Yid, Being a Yid
> The thing I love most is being a Yid!

Many supporters emphasize that they do not want anyone to interfere in what they call themselves, especially when it is something so meaningful and with such a long history. Most of them state that they will never stop using it. Konool, a 33-year-old fan, says: "That chant came from the fact that they tried to ban it. You can't stop us from calling ourselves what we are. I would be happy to get in trouble chanting it." Others also talk in a similar revolutionary tone, like Chris, a 50-year-old supporter: "If they are trying to ban us for singing it, we will sing it more, and then they have to arrest 80000 fans." The fans agree that the ban made them angry and strengthened their identity as "Yids." The keyword related to those statements is context. All the fans I talked to declare that, in their mind, the word "Yid" has only positive connotations, which is why it cannot be treated as hate speech. What should be tackled is the use of the word by those who say it and chant it to offend them. The argument that "Yid" as a self-referent favors the rise of antisemitism in football is, in their opinion, a responsibility reversal. Alan explains simply: "It's not our responsibility to stop using the word, it's other fans' responsibility to stop abusing us."

It is important to emphasize here that unlike most of the important social actors criticizing the use of the Y-word, Spurs fans see mostly the positive social consequences of identifying themselves as a "Yid." Consequences that extend beyond the world of football. Nick, a Jewish fan, explains his point in detail:

> When there was a debate whether we should say it or not, I was very, very strongly on the side that said we should keep singing it and keep saying it because if we stop saying it and it becomes a word that is not associated with football and being a badge of honor for Tottenham fans, then it becomes just a word again. Then it's something that people can start to use again, and it would mean an insulting thing.

In fact, Nick makes a very important point. Thanks to the attitude of Tottenham supporters, the word "Yid" has changed in meaning. The word has taken on a football context and means a Tottenham fan, while previously it was just an insult. Non-Jewish fans also tend to emphasize the positive effect of embracing the term and ponder the negative consequences of possible discontinuation of the use of the Y-word, like Andy: "If you ban using 'Yid' in every context, then there will be people who gonna want to use the word badly, and that would mean more because it's now a banned word."

Nevertheless, even if their position on this subject is clear and constant, they happen to have ambivalent feelings in some situations. One of the Jewish fans, Jake, quoted above, gives an illustrative example:

> I remember going to an away game, and I remember seeing a fan dressed up as a Rabbi, which is quite funny, right? And I don't have a problem with it at all, but then I kind of think, imagine if that was a black guy and somebody who wasn't black dressed up as a black or painted their face black or whatever. That could cause a lot of offense, and it kind of made me think, maybe they don't really understand everything about what it means. Sometimes it's like mak-

ing a caricature out of somebody, you don't treat them like a person, you are just looking at their identity.

The extent to which someone may go to express their identity is therefore questionable for many fans. The vast majority of them are not unequivocally against any kind of performance they described. However, they happen to have doubts if those fans are fully aware that what they do might be considered racist or at least patronizing. This is a concern shared by many of my interlocutors, both Jewish and non-Jewish. What is interesting is that the non-Jewish fans seem to have a stronger opinion on the topic. Chris, a 35-year-old fan, describing the situation in which a group of fans met a religious Jew and shouted "Yidoo," says: "Well, that's not proper because now you're actually using the term to say that this person is a Jewish person. In this context, it stops being an inclusive term." Two supporters compared certain fans' practices to the phenomenon of some American teams having mascots and names referring to Indigenous Americans.

A few supporters point out that the way the Jewish identity of the fans is expressed has changed. Today, it is mostly the word "Yid" in chants and everyday language. In the past, it was also the Star of David on Yid Army flags together with the Israeli flag. Some supporters are of the opinion that, at the moment, it is forbidden to bring the Israeli flag to the stadium, some also note the political context. Like Chris:

> It has got difficult because of the Israel-Palestine conflicts, so that's maybe a bit more difficult, but there used to be Star of David flags all over the stadium, it was really common to see that, and you can still find some Tottenham flags with those symbols on, particularly on the away games, and I would say because of that kind of political correctness you don't see it

so much now, but before it was definitely a big deal. I never knew if some people were wearing caps because they were Jewish or to show they are Tottenham fans, it became a symbol associated with Tottenham as well.

"Yid"—Different Meanings

As shown above, the term "Yid" and all the culture surrounding it constitute an important aspect of Spurs' fandom identity. Something the fans cannot imagine giving up, even under strong pressure from different social and political actors. The supporters' practices have persisted for over 50 years. During these years, the Jewish identity obviously has been evolving together with the cultural context at football grounds. At the time when the phenomenon started, the football stadiums were going through significant changes. In the 60s and 70s, a new supporting culture was born in which the leading role was played by young working-class men expressing the ideas of masculinity and tribalism (Giulianotti 2002). Grouped together in separate sectors of the stadium, they created the so-called terrace culture with all the well-known behaviors such as singing, chanting, clapping, and different body movements. This culture is based on the "friend-foe" identification system. Unquestionable loyalty toward one's group and hatred for that of the opponents' are its key conspicuous attributes. It was obviously known especially for its violent behaviors, but also its abusive and humiliating language that expressed a sense of superiority over the opponent and drew clear symbolic borders between the groups. Antisemitic abuse towards Spurs fans from the opposing supporters, and Spurs fans' unusual reaction of embracing what was meant to be offensive began in this specific context. Die-hard Spurs fans started something that has spread to large crowds of supporters. To repeat, through stigma ex-

ploitation, they neutralized invectives and turned an insult into a badge of honor. The phenomenon has been maintained and processed by many different groups of fans, including both Jews and gentiles. For some, in the beginning, it was unacceptable. Like for Rachel who stopped visiting the stadium for some time and, upon returning, was shocked by the new habit of singing "Yids":

> There was this chant and I couldn't hear what they, what are they singing, is it? It can't be, is it really? Yids. And I just couldn't believe it. I was really shocked and I certainly was not going to join in and I was just absolutely horrified, and then very quickly, once I started going back, you just realized that it's great, it's not shocking and awful.

She was shocked because at the time she returned to regular visits at White Hart Line, she only knew the insulting connotation of the term "Yid" and she was not aware of its new meaning coined by the Spurs fandom. Now, it means a fellow supporter for her, like for any other fan I talked to.

I asked myself the question of why it is such an important attribute of their fandom, something that bonds the fans, from a hooligan to a 63-year-old distinguished public school director. Based on the interviews, I came to the conclusion that its importance is related to the number of positive meanings the fans have connected with the term. I already specified the basic sense of the term shared by the fans that can be summarized in the sentence: "Yid Army is who we are." However, we can ask further questions concerning the beliefs about one's group that are hidden under this statement. Namely, what they are like and why "Yid Army" is a badge of honor for them. As language and identity are in a constant process of evolution, over the years many meanings have been built by different groups of fans around the Jewish identity and, above all, the term "Yid." I have distinguished the following meanings of it.

Firstly, the most common explanation of the word is that it is a term of endearment that brings people closer:

> It's a term of endearment, and people know the history when I say that word, and I use it all the time to refer to myself, to refer to other people, I don't think of Jewish people, it's not a connection, for me, now it just means, it's a term of affection for Tottenham supporters – says Konool.

Some of the Spurs fans raise another aspect of the meaning of the Y-word. A fan who can be called a "Yid" and who can call others this way can be seen as a proper fan. There is no doubt this person knows the context of this specific identity. It is something the fans explain descriptively, like Justin:

> You know, you see people who would be like: ah, you know, it's a fellow Yid, which straight away makes him all right. You are in the pub and: I will introduce you, he is a Yid as well. The fact that they said he is a Yid makes me think that he is a proper Spurs fan.

To use the word "Yid" there has to be trust that the person will not take it the wrong way, that they know the meaning and share the same positive, or even proud, attitude towards it. The same fan continues: "Someone has the confidence to use that word with me without fear of me taking it the wrong way, so there is trust there, the trust that I know." Therefore, the "Yid" word is important in the context of relationships between the supporters and the emotional aspect of it. In this context, the fans use the term as "endearment," "togetherness," and "comradery." To

summarize this first set of meanings that I have high-lighted, I relate it to some kind of **intimacy** that can be expressed by a shared understanding and use of controversial language.

Secondly, for the fans, it is also a manifestation of their **sense of humor and wittiness**, which also brings them closer together and makes them feel different and smarter than others. It can be seen as a very English Monty Python-esque kind of humor where traditional structures and values are being reversed—a synonym of outsider becomes insider, and an insult changes into a badge of honor (Stratton 2016). The young Jewish fan, Jake, explains it as follows:

> I think, well, we are quite well-humored, I think we've got a good sense of humor, and I wouldn't be surprised if that partly was because we have had, we are kind of used to the aggression. We are used sort of some of the most violent things that you can receive, and we are quite good at putting that into a positive, like, fun group energy.

Thirdly, I want to repeat that most of the supporters point out that embracing the Y-word makes them feel **different and special.** Andy says, for example:

> you can have a shared identity as an Arsenal fan or West Ham fan or, but actually only Spurs have embraced that, sounds a bit ridiculous, but it is what it is. I don't think most fans have got something like that, to be honest. I think we are different to most teams.

This feeling is shared by the vast majority of the fans. Another good example is this statement from Konool:

> I think it's a brilliant thing. And I like the fact that we got this unique nickname, it has a history, and it turned around something which was a term of abuse

into a term of endearment. I like that, and I think it's a nice thing, I don't think any other club has something like that.

Fourthly, in my opinion, for many fans, the term "Yid" is also a symbol of **opposition to what can be called modern football.** Globalization, commercialization, and gentrification are processes that have had a huge impact on the world of football for the last few decades, in particular, football at the highest professional level. Undoubtedly, profit-oriented clubs and authorities tend to control and eliminate fans' behaviors that could be spontaneous, violent, or politically incorrect. The use of "Yid" is definitely one of those problematic practices. I have partially touched on this issue in the section *Context and Controversies*. Supporters do not want to give it up because, from their perspective, it is a part of the tradition and history of the club and, what is essential, it is also a part of Tottenham as a place. As an act of opposition to the censorship of their practices, fans emphasize that they have the right to sing what they want. Alan says, for example: "I think Spurs fans saw this as an attack on them, and they have the right to say what they want." Another example from the interview with Josh: "I think it's about the pride, and the pride is too strong. It's something that might go with time, you know, as people become more disassociated with the club. But, it's impossible to ban, people will just chant, and you cannot arrest everybody."

Finally, something that is of central interest in relation to this research is the feeling of being special and different for the fans, and that it is related to their opinion that, as a fandom, they are **more inclusive and tolerant** than any other group of fans. The majority of them understand embracing the term "Yid" as an act of opposition to antisemitism, like Jewish fan Joel: "Historically, it was used by the hooligans

to make sure that they stood up to the antisemites." Fans emphasize that you need some kind of openness and tolerance to be able to embrace a term related to a minority, a minority that for centuries has been marginalized. It is important to mention here the biggest rivals identified by the fans. Traditionally, it has been Arsenal, also located in the north of London. The rivalry between these clubs has been fierce for decades. Every year fans look forward to the North London derby. For many, these are the most important games of the season. However, the vast majority of the fans I talked to mentioned other clubs like the ones they dislike the most or even hate. Chelsea and West Ham were the most common answers, and the reasons were the racism and antisemitism of their supporters. Tottenham fans often compare themselves to these two London teams, pointing out that the problem of racism and other kinds of intolerance has always been much bigger there than at White Hart Lane. In support of this opinion, many of the fans refer to some aspects of the history of Tottenham that they find important. One aspect they recall very often is the match between England and the Third Reich in 1935. The game took place at Tottenham Stadium and sparked numerous protests. During the half-time break, one of the Tottenham supporters climbed to the roof of the stadium and removed the Nazi flag that was hanging there. This behavior became a symbol of fidelity to the key principles and an important element of memory shared by the fans. Another historical fact that the fans sometimes mention is the first black player for Spurs. Walter Tull played for Tottenham as early as 1909. In comparison, most other major English teams did not hire their first black player until decades later. Although most fans do not know the details of his career, or even his name, the fact that, at the time, he was an exception remains important. This line of reasoning fits into a frequently repeated opinion that Tottenham was, and is, home to people of various ori-

gins. In the first half of the 20th century, this community was mainly composed of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, today, next to Jewish communities are people from all over the world. Many emphasize that multiculturalism has been their everyday life since childhood. Some of my interlocutors are immigrants. They willingly talk about football and supporting Tottenham as something that helped them fit in with the English society. Like a fan from Australia or the son of some immigrants from India. In brief, football binds them, gives them a topic to talk about, and allows them to feel more at home. This perspective can be seen as something that connects the beginnings of the presence of Jews in the history of Tottenham with today's multicultural reality of the district. Before the First World War and especially shortly after, White Hart Lane became the place where Jews of the area would mingle with gentiles. The stadium functioned as a melting pot and helped the Jewish population become a part of the English people. On the terraces of White Hart Lane, they sought belonging and identity (Clavane 2012; Cloake and Fisher 2016). "Proud of their heritage and faith people adopted football as another element of this new anglicized Jewish culture alongside the old customs" (Cloake and Fisher 2016:221). This type of narrative is also present in the statements of fans, especially Jews. To give an example, Nick says:

> Lots of Jewish people when they were new immigrants to London and to the UK were keen to, like, assimilate and to become more British and not be so identified as being Jewish. And one of the ways they did this was to go to football and to go to Tottenham. That is a way, you know, when you go to work and you meet no Jewish friends you have something to talk about and you have something in common. Just because Tottenham was one of the closest clubs to the area where most of the Jewish immigrants lived at the time, this became like a big part of that.

In this context, the nickname "Yid" seems very symbolic. As the fans underline, it can be used by anyone, it does not matter where the person comes from, anyone can feel equal and welcomed in the "Yids' world." For example, Joel says:

> From my experience, because I grew up in quite a multicultural environment, on Saturday, I met a guy who I went to school with, he is Greek, he calls himself a "Yid," I know black people who call themselves Yids, so everybody has taken that term and, yes, we are inclusive, I would say within the people that I socialize with, we are all inclusive, nobody cares, but I can't speak for everyone…We are not using it to say "we are better than you," it was used to say "we are different from you."

Another fan, Justin, explains it in a similar way: "It's the word that means we are inclusive whether you know, I have got lots of Jewish friends who go to Spurs, I have a lot of friends who aren't Jewish who go to Spurs, but that's the value that we will use, you know, to bring us together."

To sum up, "Yid" is a multi-dimensional term that encompasses a variety of important meanings for Tottenham supporters. It is an expression of the feeling of closeness between the fans, a manifestation of their sense of humor and wittiness, a source of feeling different and special, and proof that they can stand up for their tradition despite the outside pressure. Nevertheless, inclusivity as a value seems to be the most important dimension of the word.

Conclusions

Let me express the most important conclusion from the research. The term "Yid" is a very important aspect of a Tottenham fan's identity. It bonds supporters from different backgrounds together. It helps fans to feel part of the community and, at the same time, to distinguish themselves from the fans of opposing teams. The word represents a clear symbolic boundary, especially when competing with the fans who use antisemitic hate speech. Furthermore, it was in the process of interacting with them that the Jewish identity of the fans was formed and continues in an ongoing process of evolution.

On the one hand, "Yid" is simply a Tottenham fan, and when using the term, fans declare that they do not think of its original meaning. On the other hand, Jews are clearly present in their statements, both those associated with the club today and those who marked their presence decades ago. Additionally, we can distinguish a number of meanings, emotions, and functions that fans associate this word with. It is also important to repeat that some Jewish fans attach great importance to the Jewishness of the club. Supporting Tottenham binds them with the history of their ancestors and helps to strengthen and express their identity as Jews. In my opinion, this meets some important criteria of what Herbert Gans defines as *symbolic ethnicity*. However, I am aware that my study only scratches the surface of this topic, and more research would be required to demonstrate football's role in the construction of symbolic ethnicity in an exhaustive way.

According to the interviews, Jewish identity was developed by the hooligans as a reaction to the antisemitic behaviors of fans from the opposing teams and then adopted by the crowds of Tottenham supporters at large. Different groups of fans have created different narratives around the Jewish identity to make it meaningful for them. The key narrative is that of embracing the term Yid as evidence of exceptional tolerance and inclusiveness, which applies to both Tottenham as a club and a neighborhood. If we approach the identity construction process from the memory studies perspective, we can conclude that the history of the club might not

play a determining role but rather a legitimizing one. In brief, the fans remember what they need to remember to strengthen their identity as "Yids" and differentiate themselves from their opponents. In the case of Tottenham supporters, being different and unique also means not being liked and marginalized.

We can conclude that stigma exploitation is an important factor in the foundation of the identity of Tottenham fans. The methods Tottenham supporters use to manage and fight stigma is to accept it and build around it a positive narrative that refers to the values shared by the group. What raises doubts, including for the fans themselves, is how they sometimes express this identity. Specifically, how it can be seen as patronizing or stereotyping. Nevertheless, it is of key importance to emphasize that, in principle, Tottenham supporters are victims of antisemitism and that their attitude is a demonstration of opposition to racist and antisemitic abuse in football.

The interviews helped to shed more light on the complexities surrounding the term "Yid." I would conclude that the Y-word's deep roots in Tottenham's football culture do separate it from the traditionally antisemitic term. The interviews also demonstrate that the term's use by Tottenham fans is, in its own way, a push-back against what they perceived as antisemitic views expressed by the club's rivals. However, there remain questions surrounding the outside perception of the term, particularly within the Jewish community. It would be interesting if future studies focus more on the interaction between Jewish Tottenham fans and their football disinterested counterparts in the Jewish community. To see if the word changes its meaning for them as well, and what they feel about it.

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Citation

Body, Meanings, and Physical Exercise in Older Adults: The Qualitative Perspective of Frequent Gym-Goers

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Abstract: It is known that rates of participation in sports and physical activities among older adults decrease as they get older. This article focuses on the experience of the aging body at the gym, and it is one of the few that focuses on a little-studied group of frequent gym-goers. Based on an ethnographic work of more than two years in Amsterdam, I explain the goals of three older adults who frequently work out, what their relationships with the gym and their bodies are, and why they are interested in training in gyms. This article seeks to contribute to discourses on health, sport, and aging and, at the same time, to explain some of the advantages of qualitative studies in understanding the experience of aging and training in gyms.

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Aging is a multidimensional, progressive, intrinsic, and universal phenomenon (Huenchuán 2009; Huenchuán et al. 2007), and the aging population in the world is growing. For instance, it is estimated that "In 2030, more than 20% of the European population will be older than 60" (Tokarski 2004:99). Furthermore, statistics show that in both developed and developing countries, the population of older adults is increasing (Fernández-Ballesteros et al. 2013; Bauman et al. 2016). "In 2010, the percentage of elderly persons above 65 years was approximately

8% of the global population. Demographic projections over the next three decades anticipate that the global numbers of adults aged 65 years and older will double to around two billion by 2050" (Bauman et al. 2016:268).

These studies and the fact that people are living longer have led to the promotion of new ideas on aging. "Many of the elderly of today have completely different expectations and demands regarding their future life in society than former generations had" (Tokarski 2004:99). These ideas move between the old image of the elderly associated with a series of deficiencies, vulnerabilities, and being at an age to rest (Grant 2001; Tokarski 2004) and ideas of "active aging," a term used by the World Health Organization (WHO) and since then quickly popularized (Boudiny 2013). Other terms used are "healthy aging," "productive aging," and "successful aging," although there is no consensus on the precise meaning of these concepts. These concepts stress the importance of an active lifestyle in advanced age (Tokarski 2004; Boudiny 2013; Foster and Walker 2015).

Nevertheless, studies on the aging population and exercising are conclusive, indicating that the older a person is, the less involved in physical activity that person will be (Rudman 1989; Berger et al. 2005; Pantelić et al. 2012; Cvecka et al. 2015; Pinheiro and Coelho 2017; Pettigrew et al. 2018). Furthermore, studies on physical activity have pointed to a high prevalence of physical inactivity among older adults in different regions of the world, such as Australia (50.8%), New Zealand (51.4%), Brazil (59.3%), Colombia (62.4%), Switzerland (67.5%), and Sweden with the highest rate (72.2%) (Oliveira et al. 2019:3). To modify this situation requires an understanding of the factors that influence decreasing physical activity with age (Berger et al. 2005), especially when

considering that different institutions, such as the American College of Sports Medicine (ACSM), the American Heart Association (AHA), and WHO, have shown that the practice of physical exercise in older adults has a series of physical, psychological, and social benefits.

Different studies have indicated that exercising has a series of advantages for older people (Grant 2001; Tokarski 2004; Berger et al. 2005; Adams, Leibbrandt, and Moon 2011; Pantelić et al. 2012; Boudiny 2013; Cvecka et al. 2015; Bauman et al. 2016; Pinheiro and Coelho 2017; Oliveira et al. 2019; Sobiech and Leipert 2021), and this is reflected in "the inclusion of strength training recommendations in the World Health Organization's (2011) physical exercise guidelines for older people: Muscle-strengthening activities, involving major muscle groups, should be done on two or more days a week" (Pettigrew et al. 2018:494).

Space is the product of social structures and relationships and is an essential principle in social sciences (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). This article analyzes the relationship between old age and physical exercise in gyms, focusing mainly on how older adults embody this space and how they see it as a space that promotes or restricts the integration of older adults. In Western countries, gyms are everyday spaces with relatively easy access for everyone, where people can work on their bodies and from the body. Nevertheless, many authors have revealed that bodily capabilities (Sharon-David, Siekanska, and Tenenbaum 2021) or demographic characteristics (Salvatore and Marecek 2010; Schvey et al. 2017) can be obstacles to people going to gyms. Are older adults welcome in gyms? How are gyms and the culture of *no pain, no gain* viewed by older adults? How can we encourage physical exercise in this population in the words of older adults themselves?

Understanding the relationship between old age and physical exercise in gyms is relevant, first, because if physical activity decreases with age, even more so does physical exercise. Second, gyms are popular places for physical exercise and have become an integrated part of modern, urban society. Third, gyms are complex places that try to concentrate a large number of users through offering a series of offers and benefits: extensive opening and closing hours; massage and cosmetic services; saunas; group classes; areas with free weights, weight-lifting machines, and cardio areas; areas for healthy food; childcare services; hairdressing salons, et cetera. Fourth, even though they have become tremendously popular, seeing older adults in gyms is not common. Fifth, different researchers have indicated a lack of evidence in the literature regarding elderly practitioners of weight training (Oliveira et al. 2018; Pettigrew et al. 2018). Sixth, although gyms are places designed for physical exercise, an important point is that walking or gardening are considered sufficient physical activities in some studies; however, there are undoubtedly differences between gym-going and gardening. Bouchard and Shephard (1994) explained that physical activity is any bodily movement produced by the skeletal muscles that substantially increases energy expenditure over resting levels. In contrast, exercise is any form of physical activity undertaken by an individual during leisure time and repeatedly performed over an extended period to improve health or fitness. Finally, gym culture tends to promote discourses about the young, energetic, and fit body, but precisely those characteristics are lost with age.

Consequently, it is crucial to learn how older gym-goers view these discourses and fit in with younger gym-goers. By doing this, we can develop effective strategies to promote older adults' physical exercise safely and comfortably in gyms.

To analyze the relationship between older adults and physical exercise in gyms, this article is based on the experience of three older adults training in Amsterdam, a city where cycling and going to the gym are the predominant forms of exercise. Gyms here are mostly inexpensive and inclusive (it is common to see children, people with disabilities, and older people training in them) (Sossa 2020). In addition, the Netherlands Institute for Social Research shows that gym-going is the most popular way of exercising in the Netherlands (Sossa 2020).

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. First, I present the theoretical framework. Second, I explain the methodology. Third, I analyze the relationship between training and older adults in a specific gym and explain how, through this case and the testimonies of my collaborators, the gym is a space that can promote or restrict the integration of older adults. Fourth, I explain my collaborators' objectives in training and their relationships with their bodies. Finally, I present conclusions and make recommendations for making gym spaces more welcoming to older adults.

Theoretical Framework: Our Perception Occurs from the Location of Our Body

Here, I present a cultural study from a phenomenological position where I seek to understand how something is experienced and lived and the meanings people give to certain phenomena subjectively and individually. Consequently, the data are analyzed from a cultural phenomenological perspective grounded in embodiment (Csordas 1994). This cultural phenomenology is characterized by recognizing the importance of the socio-cultural context in which the phenomenon under study develops. It is also characterized by an emphasis on embod-

iment as the common ground for identifying the immediacy of intersubjectivity (Katz and Csordas 2003). In other words, it means the study, through various participant observation-like methods, of the structures of the life-world, which means the forms, structures, or features that people take as objectively existing in the world as they shape their conduct upon the presumption of their prior, independent existence (Katz and Csordas 2003:284).

Merleau-Ponty's (2006) perspective is advantageous for this kind of phenomenology since he characterizes the body as a knot of living significations that acquires abilities to move fluently in a physical and social environment. However, this perspective presupposes understanding a particular world in a non-conceptual, non-propositional, practical manner. To understand is to experience: we learn a type of movement through coordinating perceptual and motor capabilities, and this capability is adaptable to diverse contextual configurations. Thus, for Merleau-Ponty, the body must be understood as a "lived body," as a system of possible actions, defined by its task and its situation, reflecting social processes, living conditions, norms, values, power relationships, relational dynamics, and patterns of interaction among individuals of a given culture.

Merleau-Ponty avoids the body-mind dualism with the concept of body-subject, a body whose subjectivity is based on its pre-linguistic, intentional interaction with its world, in which habits are acquired while "being-in-the-world." The body is the recipient of various concrete practices, as well as of a whole symbolic world. The starting point for studying the "lived body" is the understanding that the perception of reality occurs from the particular location of our body. The lived body opposes the objectified body (Tietjens 2014:142-144). The body

is and belongs to the world of things, of objects. However, it is around it that other objects become important since I understand the world from and through my body.

Consequently, in this article, understanding older adults depends not only on talking and asking them questions but also on approaching and observing the types of experiences coming from having a body and being a body with several sensory-motor abilities. These abilities are inserted into a biological, psychological, and cultural context and are directly related to issues such as the perception of space from the body or the materiality of space as something intrinsically related to the body's motor skills (Sossa 2020). Through an ethnographic approach, I show how older adults' lived bodies (and their body experiences) are always mediated and influenced by their engagements with other bodies, spaces, and material artifacts (Sobchack 2004).

Merleau-Ponty showed how our cognition of the world is always an embodied perception. It is reversible, a seer, listener, toucher from the inside, and seen, heard, and touched from the outside. "Being-in-the-world" is mediated both through physical presence and a sense of perception. There is an intimate connection between body, experience, and identity. The world, as perceived through the body, is the ground level of all knowledge, and therefore, it is through the body that people gain access to the world. Our perception of everyday reality depends upon a "lived body," that is, a body that simultaneously experiences and creates the world. This phenomenological perspective provides us with sharp, perceptive, and well-grounded insights into the lived reality of the sensuous sporting body of the older people I studied (Allen-Collinson and Owton 2014).

This theoretical framework seeks to look at more incarnated dimensions focusing on how we go about making sense of our senses within a socio-cultural framework (Allen-Collinson and Hockey 2013:592). Authors like Bull and colleagues (2006), Allen-Collinson and Hockey (2013), and Allen-Collinson and Evans (2019) remind us that the senses mediate the relationship between mind and body and self and society. In this sense, this study gives voice to older adults themselves to explain their body-sport relationship, emphasizing the qualitative aspects of the very personal process that aging is. With this work, I connect with a growing literature that analytically embraces the sensory dimension of sport (Morley 2001; Potter 2008; Allen-Collinson 2009; Downey 2010; Allen-Collinson and Hockey 2013; Matthews 2020; Sossa 2022).

Methodology

I have conducted the fieldwork of this research as a single lower-middle-class, heterosexual, able-bodied man born in 1986 in northern Chile. The methodology for this study is linked to my life as a gym-goer and as a researcher. This paper draws from an ethnographic study about frequent gym-goers and gym culture in different settings that included 34 collaborators in seven gyms in two different countries (Sossa 2020). Here, I present my results obtained in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

It is well-known that aging is a multidimensional phenomenon. Therefore, it is vital to complement quantitative studies of old age with evidence to understand how aging is managed and what it means for those who live it. Qualitative dimensions are key to explaining the phenomenon of aging in a more grounded and personal way (Baltes and Carstensen 1996; Quéniart and Charpentier 2012). What is more

personal than our bodies? In this research, I was qualitatively paying attention to the relationship between body and exercising in gyms for older people.

As many authors have shown, we do well to think about the research act as a necessarily embodied activity (Coffey 1999; Giardina and Newman 2011). The researcher's body can serve as a "diagnostic tool" and "a way of knowing" the corporality of others (Blacking 1977:7). "Using one's own body in fieldwork, instead of just a set of theoretical tools, yields knowledge that is otherwise unavailable" (Leavit 2009:519). For example, many times with my collaborators, we moved our arms to see how our movement traits were different. By understanding our movements' abilities and limitations, our experiences at the gym and the exercises, and the positions we could adopt were limited to these movement capacities.

Through these kinds of situations, the body can be an empirical window to view and try to understand lived experiences, meanings, and practices and how those experiences are articulated in socio-cultural relations (Wiest, Andrews, and Giardina 2015). Wacquant (2006), for instance, suggested carnal sociology, which means that by performing the activities that informants do, the fieldwork can become an instrument of theoretical construction, a method of obtaining "carnal" knowledge, and a way of becoming an insider within the group.

Performing the phenomenon under study, that is, performing the same activity that the people under study perform, is a fruitful path towards capturing more details and achieving analytical depth. Ethnography is uniquely suited to helping us re-incarnate society by restoring the different dimensions of social existence. Ethnography is embedded and em-

bodied social inquiry based on physical co-presence with(in) the phenomenon in real-time and space (Wacquant 2015).

In my methodology, I sought understandings of the participants' world of significance through immersion in their world (Addison 1992; Benner 1994), and it was done through enactive ethnography, or what Samudra (2008) calls "thick participation," which is a type of immersive fieldwork based on performing the phenomenon under study. It means fieldwork through which the researcher acts out (elements of) the phenomenon, peels away the layers of its invisible properties, and tests its operative mechanisms (Wacquant 2015). Rather than limiting oneself to that which is readily observable "from the outside looking in," enactive ethnography's affordances foreground, in real-time, whole-body experiences of a particular situation in a specific social and material context "from the inside out" (de Rond, Holeman, and Howard-Grenville 2019:40). In the words of Adler and Adler (1987), I took an active role that involves a functional role in addition to an observational role. This facilitates trust and acceptance of the researcher and increases the identification of the researcher with members of the setting.

In this sense, my body, knowledge, and experiences as a gym-goer and researcher were indispensable tools for this study. As far as possible, at the gym, I helped my collaborators as a way of gaining trust from them and as a kind of retribution so they could gain something from my persistent presence (this was very valuable, especially for moving heavy objects). That is, we talked and walked on the treadmills during their workouts. I helped them to tidy up training machines, to put on and take off the disks of a machine, or assisted them if they needed a spotter.

During my fieldwork, we were very close and always friendly to each other. We shared the same spaces and activities, shifting from participant observation to observant participation. This methodology implies a more phenomenological position that seeks to capture participants' experiences by exploring their lived experiences and their perceptions of reality. This framework is usually carried out with a small group of participants and even with a single person (Smith and Osborn 2003; Smith 2004; Jones and Lavallee 2009).

Sample

During my fieldwork in Amsterdam, I distinguished between participants as collaborators or respondents among the people I worked with. Collaborators were those with whom I developed a close relationship and was in permanent contact throughout the fieldwork period. Respondents were gym-goers who participated in my research in a sporadic, brief, or casual way. For instance, even though personal trainers, gym owners, and people working in gyms were not directly the aim of my research, they were consulted when necessary.

My collaborators were recruited because they were frequent gym-goers, and they agreed to collaborate with me for an extended time. They were all aware that they were taking part in research, they knew what the research required of them, and they all gave me their verbal consent. In addition, this study was approved by the appropriate university ethics committee.

At the beginning of my research, I conducted fieldwork in different gyms to find other frequent users. Nevertheless, I was not expecting to see older adults (in my country [Chile], it is not common). At COF

(fictitious name), I found several more senior adults training, and three were doing it at least four times a week and had been doing it for more than two years, which were requirements to qualify as a frequent gym-goer in my main study (Sossa 2020). For two years, we discussed in-depth topics related to gym culture, training, corporality, and gym-goers, among others.

Economically speaking, my collaborators were all financially secure and belonged to the middle class. Their pseudonyms are Alex, a 72-year-old married man, father of two children, with some minor heart problems, retired and a Dutch person; Mara, a 67-year-old Surinamese woman, childless and in a relationship, self-employed and with some minor arthritis problems; and Todd, a 66-year-old Dutchman, married and father of one son and self-employed, sometimes suffering asthma problems.

Data Collection

The data collection process consisted of taking field notes, having conversations during training sessions, and conducting formal and recorded interviews (prior consent) through a multi-methods study. These resources were processed into a Microsoft Word document and examined to improve the observations and construct relevant topics for further exploration. As my primary research was of a comparative nature (Sossa 2020), I carried out fieldwork in different locations, which enabled me to contextualize and compare topics identified by research participants in the course of the fieldwork to analyze issues that only appeared in one research setting, and to explore and test how concepts and categories are employed by research participants in different locations (Rübner 2015).

At first, categories repeated in the fieldwork process at COF were identified and organized, for example, different gym-goers, injuries, social norms, age, and then discussed in more detail with my collaborators. As Conroy (2003) suggested, to achieve more valid interpretations, in addition to the participatory work with my collaborators and the many hours shared with them, as I was writing interpretations, key concepts, and analysis, I was also reading/discussing them with my collaborators to incorporate their perspectives better and to make me see what maybe I was not seeing.

Finally, through this multi-method study, the data were analyzed inductively; with the help of thematic content analysis, detailed lived-in accounts of the participants were synthesized into meaningful themes. Here, I will focus on the relationship between old age and physical exercise in gyms.

Findings

The Gym as a "Town Square"

In my first days of fieldwork at COF, I saw a few people training there; many were doing it with bad technique (and nobody corrected them) and without exerting great physical effort. My main goal once I got there was to find frequent gym-goers, but this gym seemed like a place where I would not find such members. However, as the days went by, I found some older adults looking to improve aspects of their lives through the gym. An illuminating moment occurred with Alex. I saw him training quite often. He said: "For me, this gym is like a town square; I don't come to have muscles, I come to look around, to have time for me, to relax, instead of going to the town square or a park, I come to the gym."

His words make sense; first, organized fitness training in a fitness gym is currently the form of exercise with the highest number of members (Sobiech and Leipert 2021:458). Second, considering Amsterdam's frequent rain and windy weather, a gym is a sheltered place, always with the same temperature where Alex can hang out and socialize with others. Holwerda and colleagues (2013), in the Amsterdam Study of the Elderly, point out the importance for older adults to feel accompanied, and they talk about feeling lonely rather than being alone. In this sense, Alex saw COF as a place to relax, watch people, and be with others. That was a discovery for me. There is no doubt that a workout helps one relax; nevertheless, in my experience, this happens after having trained hard, sweating, or after a good stretching session. However, some COF members went there to relax by spending time there without doing any type of exercise in particular and expending little effort. Therefore, the embodied feeling of relaxation between them and me is different, and with it, our way of moving and living the gym culture.

Embodiment and Gym Culture

Another difference between my way of understanding gym culture and how some of these members perceived it is some of these members were annoyed by loud sounds and by seeing overly muscular people. Some felt intimidated by their big physical appearance or strength. Others were upset with frequent gym-goers who train hard without a concrete target: just training and training for the single goal of training. Some comments:

> **Todd:** I don't understand why someone comes to the gym after working all day and trains like a maniac. I just don't get it. It's silly to me.

On another occasion, he said:

> For some, it looks like an obsession. They isolate themselves from their friends and exchange their lives just for the gym. It may be a lack of self-esteem, or they're obsessed with physical beauty. Whatever it is, the reasons are quite superficial, don't you think?

These comments helped me to understand better what was happening at COF. It was ideal for those who do not want to compete with other people, do not want to be seen or compared with others, and do not want to work out hard. COF was for those looking for a time of calm relaxation and sport. This situation was not accidental. In a conversation, I asked the gym manager if he was not concerned that the gym was often empty. He replied: "This is a gym, not a restaurant, the more people pay and don't come, the better."

In many areas of Amsterdam, it is possible to find several gyms only a couple of blocks apart. Perhaps that is why, at COF, those gym-goers who train hard were not present, and the gym administration was not interested in having such clients either, which allowed other people who wanted to train less hard to attend it and to feel comfortable. Alex said to me: "The best thing about this gym is that it's quiet." Mara said: "In this gym, the bars and plates are in place; one doesn't have to be unloading the weights that other lazy people didn't put back in the racks."

Tokarski (2004:101) explains that "according to gerontology and geriatrics, there is no point in implementing low-performance sports programs since elderly [people] can do any activity like younger people." Nevertheless, my research and others (Kelly 1993; Vertinsky 1995; Tokarski 2004; Salvador et al. 2009; Pettigrew et al. 2018) show that the

environment of many gyms (competition among members, exercises that require considerable exertion, loud music, among others) prevents older adults from gym-going. Without a doubt, the idea of *no pain, no gain* promoted in some gyms makes these places environments where many people, including older adults, feel insecure and uncomfortable.

In conversations with my collaborators, I noticed that my idea of a good gym and my concept of a frequent gym-goer centered around a particular type of physique, a form of exercise, and a mindset. However, at COF, I found a group of older adults who did not train for a long time, but did go there quite often (Mara goes six times a week), nor did they seek to exhaust themselves to the fullest or achieve a demanding goal. They went for 45 to 80 minutes (they did not agree to train together, but to coincide at some point in the day at COF and thus share/chat); they did a little bit of everything, and then they left. Still, even though they did not train hard or have a particularly fit physical form, they were frequent gym-goers. Some comments:

> **Mara:** In other gyms, the group lessons are very demanding; they're designed for young people, people with energy. I could do those classes without any problem some years ago. But not anymore, since my body has changed, I no longer enjoy those classes; I don't need them anymore.

> **Alex:** I do weight-lifting and other heavy activities, but I do them my way, slowly, not so heavy, not so often; I don't want to have big muscles. Who am I going to impress at this age? What I want is to be independent; I want to move without problems. I want to be able to play with my grandchildren. That's what I want; that's why I work out.

As Merleau-Ponty (2006) observes, our body, our sense experience is that vital and positive communication and engagement that we have with the world. "Being-in-the-world" is mediated both through physical presence and a sense of perception. Thus, as the bodies and capabilities of my collaborators change, so do their priorities, perceptions, and activities. Similarly, Allain and Marshall (2017:407) revealed that some older people, by strategically mobilizing their social position as elderly, free themselves from a drive towards greater achievement in their workouts and bodies. Occupying the social space of an older person means the ability to give up on a more traditional "sports ethic" that stresses rational acceptance of risks and pain in the pursuit of increasingly greater achievement (Hughes and Coakley 1991). Mara said: "In other gyms, people are shouting: one more, one more! Keep pushing! Things like that. I don't want to work out like them and be all sore the next day." Todd said: "Only when you're young, or stupid, it's possible to voluntarily expose your body to pain."

That way of experiencing the gym connects with what Grant (2001:779) explained, and that is inextricably linked to an "accumulation of not only the inevitable biological processes but also attitudes, expectations, prejudices, cultural values, and ideals of the society in which individuals develop and grow old." In my conversations with my collaborators, this topic was very present, and I asked them what it meant to experience their old bodies.

They all had different opinions requiring critical reasoning about different body states related to stamina, flexibility, strength, balance, agility, aerobic capacity, and coordination. For them, it is not the years that indicate how old they are, but what they can do with their bodies. "Thus, the mask of aging

implies a difference between feeling age (experiencing age) and looking aged (how old one looks)" (Öberg and Tornstam 1999:634). As other studies have pointed out (Cremmin 1992), older people distinguish between being old and feeling old. Therefore, there are essential qualitative dimensions to understanding the phenomenon of aging (Baltes and Carstensen 1996).

Aging and Staying Fit

In talking to this new (to me) frequent gym-goer, my observations about gym culture began to change. I noticed that at COF, many people no longer trained hard, but also that many users were in transition from training hard to a different way of training. For example, I can mention a situation with a respondent in his late 50s. He had finished running on the treadmill; he walked to one of the corners and dropped exhausted to the floor. He was on his back with his eyes closed and his legs and arms spread open. I walked toward him without him noticing. When he opened his eyes, he saw me in front of him, smiling. He said:

> I'm getting old. I didn't have this body a few years ago. I'm trying to get used to the idea that I'm getting old. I could run without a problem, but now my right knee starts hurting, and sometimes my hip. I get tired more easily now. I think I'm starting to have the body of an old person, but it isn't easy to get used to that idea.

Paulson (2005:230) explains that the loss of mobility is one of the worst experiences for the aging body as it is an ominous signifier of helplessness and dependence. Undoubtedly, our bodies change as we age, and we must adapt to these changes. Some comments:

Alex: Just some years ago, I could breathe normally, but not anymore. Now I think about that time. I took it for granted.

Mara: When I was younger, I used to get angry when I gained weight, but now what troubles me more than that is my loss of eyesight, some extra pounds are just something superficial, but vision, that's something else.

Todd: As you get older, you begin to distrust yourself. What you think or want, your body won't do, or sometimes your mind won't do. Your body and mind begin to have their own rhythm.

These quotes show how older adults look at their lives and bodies as they age. Many of these people now have skills and perceptions that are modifications or completely new skills they have had to acquire, skills to move, feel, and work on their "new old bodies," and as Koch (2011:151) shows, the body plays a central role in thinking, feeling, perceiving, and acting. Baltes and Carstensen (1996:401) state that aging is a dialectic between self-actualization and self-alienation. In this sense, "it is important to recognize analytically that older adults have not always been 'old' and to suggest otherwise is to relegate their past experience to an irrelevance" (Evans and Sleap 2015:336). Consequently, it is necessary to say, first, that not only are my collaborators getting old but we are also. Second, my collaborators remember their pasts and seek to adapt to their present (condition, skills, energy), using the gym as a tool to improve the physical and/or mental aspects of their lives.

Alex: When I look at younger bodies, I look at their backs, the fact that they can bend or just walk straight without problems. But, in my case, every

time I see my back, I notice how it curves more and more. I had to learn to adapt to this body, to walk, to change my shirt with this problem in the back. I do what I can, and I try to strengthen my body in the ways that I can.

Like Alex and others, they do not go to COF because it will give them that "attractive/impressive" body, which is commonly associated with gym culture, but because by training, they may develop a fitter body. As Mara said: "You make the most of what you've got." The group of older adults at COF highlighted that gym-going was an essential habit in their daily lives. It provided a sense of structure and purpose to everyday life. "In this context, routinized behavior seemed to provide the participants with feelings of control (albeit an illusion of control) over a (new) life, where the expanse of unallocated time could be overwhelming" (Phoenix and Orr 2014:98).

The Temporality of Aging

Age is a biological, psychological, socio-cultural, and historical variable (Frankish, Milligan, and Reid 1998). Nowadays, there is a desire to become self-reliant, independent, and responsible, whereas sickness is associated with dependence (dependence on others and on the State), and dependence and lack of health are associated with moral failure (Dean 1995). Aging becomes something that can be treated. For instance:

Hip features, spinal deformities, and loss of height used to be thought of as normal events in the late stage in the human life cycle. But, since 1994, the World Health Organization has classified osteoporosis as a disease that can be diagnosed, prevented, and treated. [Shakespeare 2002:48]

One crucial question regarding older adults is how can we counteract or slow down the decrease in physical fitness and functional capacity? (Cvecka et al. 2015). These ideas (that start at an early age) form a central element of gyms and gym culture: not only should bodies look in shape but they must also stay young. These ideas have brought a multitude of self-help ideas to stay young and healthy, and though they are ostensibly designed to relieve anxiety, they actually encourage it (Klein 2007:1102). Aging is now something that we must monitor to determine whether we are at the norm; aging too quickly is a "crime," as is the presence of extra fat. Success means looking younger every year and controlling hunger, desires, and aging. Success means anticipating faults—physical, medical, and aesthetic—and correcting them (Orbach 2009:136).

As observed in other studies (Allain and Marshall 2017), for many older adults, keeping themselves busy is their primary strategy for successful aging, and exercise is only one of many activities that fill their time. Some COF members are experiencing a loss of independence, less energy, and less ability to move. Attending COF enables them to feel autonomous and postpone the loss of autonomy. A recurrent theme in studies on body modification is the sense of taking control of one's body (Thualagant 2012:410). Mara said: "Because of the gym, I'm stronger; I can do things, like lifting things. I don't have to ask other people to do things for me." Todd: "Training gives me mental strength, yes, it's true that I'm getting old, but we all are, and yet I decided to slow down the process by exercising and living a healthy life." These members use COF as a means of not becoming biologically old and/or keeping their bodies fit and able to do things (Andreasson, Tugetam, and Bergman 2016:211). That agrees with other studies that indicate that physical exercise gives older adults

a sense of regaining control over their aging process (Massie and Meisner 2019).

Gyms and Social Relations

Older adults tend to go to accessible places where they feel comfortable. Minichiello, Browne, and Kendig (2000:272) show that some older adults withdraw from situations in which they are treated as old or unwanted or in which they would have to assert themselves and ask for special treatment to enable them to continue with an activity. Ryan, Hummert, and Boich (1995) revealed how younger people use patronizing verbal and nonverbal communication toward older adults at an interactional level. Likewise, researchers have shown that the set of characteristics used to describe unattractive people is quite like that used to describe the elderly (Hurd 2000:84). As a result, older adults tend to feel marginalized, which can also have physiological effects on aging (Öberg and Tornstam 1999; Evans and Crust 2014).

Culturally, older adults are stereotyped as incompetent (Cuddy, Norton, and Fiske 2005). Biologically driven bodily changes have bearings on one's level of physical capital. Aging, for example, affects appearance and shapes the way people perceive and interact with others (Paradis 2012). Training/being at COF with other people going through the same process helps these members feel more comfortable with their bodies and experiences. In addition, studies show (Adams et al. 2011) that in successful aging, social engagement is an essential element, where maintaining close relationships is crucial. Numerous international studies have demonstrated that being socially involved motivates older people to be physically active (Stenner, Buckley, and Mosewich 2020), and Eman (2012:470) describes how older adults in Sweden, who are active in sports, manage

to protect themselves against negative age stereotypes through their sports.

My collaborators train their bodies, but do not seek to generate pain or discomfort. Because of this, they experience the gym, other gym-goers, and their bodies differently. Mara said: "I don't need much, just a place where I can relax and feel safe." For my collaborators, sometimes the gym is a place to socialize, sometimes to relax, and sometimes to train. They check their bodies and then decide what to do. As their bodies are aging, they have new bodily experiences, and therefore they need to acquire new bodily skills and ways to be and use the gym. Alex said, "I listen to my body, sometimes having taken the time to come to the gym is effort enough, sometimes there is no reason even to work out, I can do some stretches or socialize."

Gyms and Inclusiveness

Another common question in my fieldwork was when would the gym no longer be healthy for you? Participants explained to me that COF was beneficial in their lives, but that it was because of its environment. In general, from a certain age, they had experienced in other gyms that they were looked at with pity, worry, or indifference as if they did not exist. Studies, for instance, show that many older women feel physically vulnerable and unsure about their actual risks and benefits in exercise settings (O'Brien 2000). Todd once said to me: "The first place where I realized that I was no longer just aging, but that I was already old, was in the gym." Todd explained to me that his first experience concerning feeling old was not related to a particular age, nor any diminished physical or mental capacity, but to how, specifically at a gym (he described it as "showy"), people looked at him.

That reminds me of a conversation with a 47-year-old woman in another gym during my fieldwork, and even though she is not an older woman, at her age, she had already noticed what it means to grow old, she said:

> I've noticed that it's not good for people of my age to say that one is dieting or training in the gym four times a week. It's more accepted if you're a man, but as a woman, I notice that people see it badly. It's like the gym isn't a place for a woman of my age.

Age is linked to personality-related individual differences, people's varying levels of bodily ability, and life changes in the family structure, work status, injuries, and illness. Nevertheless, it is a fact that physical abilities decay over one's lifespan (e.g., vision, hearing, and physical strength). What I could see in my collaborators was that they represent their social environments differently; because they have limited physical capabilities and, as Merleau-Ponty explained (2006), we understand the world based on our bodies, things like distances, weights, time, health, beauty, and life itself are perceived by them in indistinctive and personal ways.

At COF, some members had health problems such as arthritis, heart disease, asthma, et cetera. Nevertheless, they had developed a certain level of "physiological fitness" (McDermott 2000:347). Even when their bodies or performances did not fit the "fit" stereotype at first sight, it was enough for them and represented a clear achievement reached thanks to gym-going. Getting old is complex and is connected to feelings of freedom, autonomy, and an opportunity to set new life priorities, making it possible to spend more time focusing on, for example, family, health, recreation, and social life. Likewise, the transition is also associated with inevitable physical deterioration, loneliness, and the dissolution of old habits (Andreasson et al. 2016:210).

By talking to my collaborators, I realized how some gyms can be non-inclusive spaces where many people feel isolated, lonely, not integrated, or not taken into consideration (Coen, Rosenberg, and Davidson 2018; Fisher, Berbary, and Misener 2018). At COF, many felt comfortable because neither the people training there nor the group classes were demanding, energized, or sophisticated. Older adults are a group for whom physical exercise offers significant advantages because of its potential health benefits. However, over the last centuries, older people and their bodies have experienced low status (Tulle and Dorrer 2012). Paulson (2005:231) has shown chronic ambivalence in the language that concerns old age, as with color references. Old age may be a "golden" or a "grey" time. Aging can be described as both a time of spiritual growth and one of physical decline. In this sense, my collaborators rebel against the cultural discourse of aging as physical decline with anti-aging strategies with training and being at the gym, helping them to actively resist age.

Conclusions

On the one hand, physical exercise and sports increase life expectancy and contribute to many essential functions of life and daily routines (Tokarski 2004). On the other hand, age is the most critical factor influencing involvement in and adherence to sports and physical activity. As a person ages, there is a linear decrease in both involvement and adherence levels. In older adults, insufficient strength decreases the potential for an independent life, affecting individuals' perception of self and the body (Dipietro 2001).

In this article, through data collected over months of daily interactions with my collaborators, I have shown the experiences of some older adults in a gym, that by sharing with other people their age, and by being in an environment with few members training hard, they felt more comfortable and inspired to train more. These collaborators maintained supportive networks at this gym, had a sense of belonging, and undertook physical exercise at their pace. With this, I have reflected on how a group of older adults embodies a different gym culture (for instance, not the *no pain, no gain* culture) because their bodies, motivations, and ages are different. Therefore, their agency is circumscribed by the personal conditions they live in.

These older adults were regularly analyzing their bodies, sensations, and workouts. What they experience and how they make sense of what they experience depends on how they feel and perceive their bodies. This also relates to the context; their bodies react to stimuli outside the gym, such as stress, the weather, or family life. Consequently, I have shown how people's lifestyle patterns change at different phases in their lives through their words. Every person in every phase of life has temporal, financial, social, and physical possibilities and constraints.

As this article presents a study with only three collaborators, a conclusion cannot be generalized by any means. However, just as each body is different, old age is experienced in a very personal way. It is also important to note that not all older people do less as they age all of the time, not all older bodies are perceived as negative, and it is not only older adults who are "aging" (everyone does), and not all older adults need to do more. And for some, doing more is difficult or an impossibility.

Authors like Grant (2001) in the early 2000s indicated that we often lose sight of the lived body in the study of aging. Aging cannot be understood solely as a biological process. There are many non-quantifiable aspects of a person who is aging, and "by relying on quantitative research, the stories of aging may be accurate without being true, may represent the experience yet omit the essence of it: the humanity of the person whose experience it was" (Grant 2001:781). These ideas of Grant and the qualitative way that my collaborators themselves have of understanding old age might be another meaningful way of understanding them, especially considering that many quantitative studies tend to divide this population between young-old and old-old (Tokarski 2004; Pantelić et al. 2012; Foster and Walker 2015; Bauman et al. 2016), but as many studies show (Clarke and Warren 2007; Boudiny 2013), the literature lacks consensus regarding the cut-off point between the young-old (third age) and the old-old (fourth age).

Drawing on the opinions expressed in this article, four things can be argued and can help promote physical exercise and health in older adults.

First, ageism and age discrimination constitute significant barriers to older people wanting to train in some gyms. More than physical disability, what prevents them from training is the gym environment, for example, when they are looked upon with pity or as incapable. Second, with the right environment, older adults might see the gym as a place where they can satisfy a series of needs such as socializing, doing sports, and recreation. The gym can be enhanced beyond a training place, as a healthy space where other elements, such as relaxation, socialization, and food, among others, can be optimized and with them attracting more users including, as in our

case, older adults. Third, the lack of role models in a similar age group may discourage older adults and reinforce the belief that exercise for older people is not good. Studies show that weight-training areas in gyms are often perceived as dangerous, even forbidden ground for older people and that they emphasize what is essential: "exercising at their own pace, finding peers, competent staff, and accessible machines" (Lübcke, Martin, and Hellström 2012:140). Both gym staff and gym members can pay more attention to older adults training there, not in a condescending way, but to adjust to their needs and requirements; as at COF, the more older adults who train, the higher the likelihood that other older adults join that gym knowing that they will find people their age.

I have also discussed in this article that both concepts of physical exercise and being old mean different things to different people and are, therefore, difficult to quantify. Methodologically speaking, training with my collaborators helped me win their trust and friendship. It was helpful for any researcher's problem, namely, to increase the validity of the material gathered (Moeran 2007:13). As Moeran (2007) and Desmond (2014) have said, gaining entrance is among the most challenging and frustrating aspects of fieldwork. "The ethnographer often is rebuffed, avoided, exploited, hoodwinked, provided only limited access, or taken down paths that lead nowhere" (Desmond 2014:569). This type of approach can be favorable for investigations seeking to give voice to and understand in-depth how certain people relate to their bodies concerning particular activities where the bodies are deeply involved.

Physical exercise encompasses a complex set of movements/behaviors, frequencies, and intensities. Each person evaluates how old they feel concerning what they can do with their bodies. My collaborators indicated that training at COF regularly was doing something meaningful for them. They do not train for a better-looking body, but to have time for themselves, to gain strength and mobility for independent living, and to socialize. They identified these reasons as empowering and necessary for people of their age.

Finally, the gym-goers in this study exposed the gym culture to a much-needed critique of its focus on building the "body beautiful," celebration of youthfulness, and the *no pain, no gain* attitudes prevalent in many gyms. As such, this data could aid acritique of the consumerist fitness industry in favor of more inclusive exercise practices.

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Citation

Intimate Partner Violence Incidents and Solutions Reported by Turkish Couples in Long-Term Marriages: An Exploratory Qualitative Study

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Abstract: This qualitative study investigates the relationship between intimate partner violence (IPV) and the duration of marriage in the Turkish context and explores spouses' perceptions, experiences, and solutions concerning IPV. Participants were thirty Turkish couples married for twenty or more years. Data collection tools were a semi-structured interview, observation notes taken during the interview, and a socio-demographic questionnaire. Data analysis showed that psychological violence was the most reported type, while sexual and economic violence was not reported in long-term marriages. Only a few instances of physical violence were reported during the first years of marriage. Regarding gender, the perpetrators of physical IPV were all men except for only one case, while both men and women were the perpetrators and victims of psychological violence. Spouses' proposed solutions for IPV were identifying the determinants of IPV, encouraging religious and values education, solving economic problems, building communication and patience, learning respect, responsibility, and love; or getting divorced. The study suggests some implications for professionals.

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Background and Literature Review

Violence is one of the most prevalent and devastating social phenomena worldwide, affecting millions of lives with lifetime consequences (World Health Organization [WHO] 2014; 2021). It can be in different forms, such as intimate partner violence (IPV) and domestic violence.

IPV is defined as "any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological, or sexual harm to those in the relationship" (WHO n.d.:1). Governments, institutions, and organizations have recognized IPV as a significant social problem since it occurs in all countries among all socio-economic, religious, and cultural groups (WHO 2014; 2021; n.d.; Yang, Poon, and Breckenridge 2019).

Although the term IPV is often interchangeably used with domestic violence, violence against women, and domestic and family violence, it has conceptual and definitional differences (Yang, Poon, and Breckenridge 2019). For example, domestic violence has a broader definition and is more inclusive than IPV (Krug et al. 2002; WHO n.d.). Domestic violence may include any household members, whereas IPV might be limited only to partners or spouses (Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu [BAAK] 1995; Johnson 2005; WHO, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and South African Medical Research Council 2013; Peterman et al. 2020). IPV is used only for married couples in the current study as it focuses on long-term marriages. The terms *physical*, *sexual*, and *economic violence* were used as in the existing literature and the term *psychological violence* was used instead of verbal and emotional violence though some studies preferred to use them separately (e.g., Seith 1997; Krishnan, Hilbert, and VanLeeuwen 2001).

IPV is one of the significant social problems in Turkey, where this study was situated. Nearly one in two women in Turkey experienced a type of IPV in their lifetime, according to the findings of two research studies conducted in 2008 and 2014 (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı and Hacettepe Üniversitesi [ASPB and HU] 2015; ASPB 2015a; 2015b). Also, IPV is one of the main reasons for divorce in Turkey (Ministry of Family and Social Policies and Hacettepe University [MFSP and HU] 2015). Although the literature on IPV in the Turkish context has been growing (e.g., Akar et al. 2010; Güvenc, Akyüz, and Cesario 2014; Ortabağ et al. 2014; Alan et al. 2016; Demirtaş, Hatipoğlu-Sümer, and Fincham, 2017; Taşkale and Soygüt 2017; Yılmaz 2018; Dildar 2021), the relationship between IPV and the longevity of marriage needs more attention.

One of the previous international studies found that "the rate of total couple violence decreases from 18.2% for those married under two years to 2.3% for those married over ten years" (Yllo and Straus 1981:345). Besides, "married couples with a lower risk of violence will tend to accumulate in the married population over time" (Kenney and McLanahan 2006:128).

The effects of IPV on the duration of marriage and divorce can vary according to its type. One of the most prevalent, visible, devastating, and costly forms of IPV—particularly for women—is *physical violence*, such as hitting, slapping, beating, kicking, and stabbing (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] 2000). It could lead to marital conflict, dissatisfaction, and divorce (DeMaris 2000; Krug et al. 2002) or result in femicide (Weil and Kouta 2017). Physical violence against women in Turkish society has remained almost the same within the last decades since the first Domestic Violence Research in 1993-1994. Respectively, it was 34% in 1993-1994, 35% in 2008, and 36% in 2014 (ASPB and HU 2015). Considering the relation-

ship between physical violence and the durability of marriage, physical violence has been positively correlated with divorce in the world (Kalmuss and Seltzer 1986; Kurz 1996; DeMaris 2000; UNICEF 2000; Whitchurch 2008; Dhar 2014). Similarly, it was among the most important reasons for divorce in Turkey (Arıkan 1992). According to the Family Structure Survey in Turkey, 17.2% of divorced women mentioned physical violence (beating/ill-treatment) as the grounds for divorce in 2006. It was a valid reason for divorce for 12.3% of divorced women and 0.5% of divorced men in 2011 (Ministry of Family and Social Policies [MFSP] 2014). Being a victim of physical violence partly explains why most of the divorce decisions (48.7%) were made by women (Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri [HU] 2014) and how violence threatens the stability of marriage.

Physical violence is accompanied by *sexual violence* in many cases both in Turkey and globally, which comprises "coerced sex through threats, intimidation or physical force, forcing unwanted sexual acts or forcing sex with others" (UNICEF 2000:2; Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü [KSGM] 2009). In Turkey, 9.1% of IPV was sexual (coerced sex through threats, intimidation, or physical force)—the lowest type of IPV reported by married women in 1993-1994, and it decreased to 6.3% in 2008. Besides, 30.2% of married women said they were subjected to physical and sexual violence in 2008 (BAAK 1995; KSGM 2009). Concerning the relationship between sexual violence and maintaining the marriage, only 0.6% of the women and none of the men reported sexual violence as a reason for divorce in 2011 (MFSP 2014). Nevertheless, spouses who experience sexual violence might hesitate to talk about it due to cultural reasons (BAAK 1995; KSGM 2009). This situation may explain the reason that almost none of the spouses reported sexual harassment as a cause for divorce in 2011.

Psychological violence, which is sometimes called "emotional" or "verbal" violence, is accompanied by physical violence in some cases both in Turkey and in the world (UNICEF 2000; KSGM 2009). It "includes behavior that is intended to intimidate and persecute, and takes the form of threats of abandonment or abuse, confinement to the home, surveillance, threats to take away custody of the children, destruction of objects, isolation, verbal aggression, and constant humiliation" (UNICEF 2000:2). According to The Research on Domestic Violence in Turkey (1993-1994) report, 84% of IPV by the husband was verbal, and 29.3% was emotional. It was reported that 44% of women were the victims of psychological violence by their husbands or partners at least once in their lifetime in The Research on Domestic Violence against Women report both in 2008 and 2014. It has been the most common type of IPV in Turkey (BAAK 1995; ASPB and HU 2015) and both divorced women and men mentioned it among the primary reasons for divorce (ASPB 2015b). It was found that 17.4% of the divorced respondents (both women and men) "strongly agree" and 30% of them "agree" with the statement that a "spouse's jealousy and control of her/him" is a valid reason for divorce; 28.5% of them "strongly agree" and 39.3% of them "agree" with the statement that "apathy/lack of emotional support and sharing" is a valid reason for divorce. Besides, 21% of the respondents "strongly agree," and 26.5% of divorced respondents "agree," with the statement that "trivializing, verbal aggression, and constant humiliation" is a valid reason for divorce. Finally, 28.8% of the respondents "strongly agree," and 36.6% of the respondents "agree," with the statement that "ending the communication with blaming and fighting" is a valid reason for divorce (ASPB 2015a:98).

Last but not least, *economic/financial violence* is the other type of IPV that "includes acts such as the denial of funds, refusal to contribute financially, denial of food and basic needs, and controlling access to health care, employment, etc." (UNICEF 2000:2). According to the Domestic Violence Research in Turkey report, there was a negative correlation between the likelihood of IPV and the level of socio-economic status (BAAK 1995; ASPB and HU 2015). In other words, the possibility of IPV decreases when income and social status increase. Correspondingly, it was stated that the probability of violence was lower in a family where the wife works compared to a non-worker wife (BAAK 1995; Aizer 2010). Economic violence against married women by the husband was 17.5% in 1993-1994 and 30% in 2014 (BAAK 1995; ASPB and HU 2015). It also threatens marriage stability as one of the significant reasons for opening a divorce case that resulted in divorce in Turkey (ASPB 2015b).

Addressing and preventing IPV is not an easy task and requires serious efforts by individuals, societies, institutions, and governments. Some of the proposals to avoid it are identifying the determinants of IPV (Arthur and Clark 2009), counseling and therapy (Stith, McCollum, and Rosen 2011), interpersonal communication, patience (Wallerstein and Blakeslee 1995; Taylor and Sorenson 2005; Gnilka 2007), self-protective actions for victims (Taylor and Sorenson 2005), religious education and getting support from religious institutions and leaderships against IPV (Ellison and Anderson 2001; Ellison et al. 2007; Issahaku 2016; Nason-Clark et al. 2018), solving financial problems (BAAK 1995; Aizer 2010), and developing respect, love, and responsibility (Fields 1983; Gnilka 2007). Additionally, raising awareness of violence, educating the society, considering the family structure, teaching women about their rights and status (Guvenc et al. 2014), and increasing the number of state agencies, shelters, and counseling services (Alan et al. 2016) were among the proposed solutions

in the Turkish context. Finally, governmental efforts to prevent and stop IPV are essential. The Turkish government set some measures to prevent IPV and declared a "National Action Plan on Violence against Women" (KSGM 2016), but the actions do not seem satisfactory. Furthermore, the Turkish government recently declared to withdraw from the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention). Thus, the "UN women's rights committee urged Turkey to reconsider withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention as the decision takes effect" (United Nations [UN] 2021:1).

In conclusion, it is evident that IPV undermines marriage, and further studies should be conducted to examine the relationship between IPV and the endurance of marriage. Most of the literature on intimate partner and domestic violence focused on and addressed the victims of violence (that is, primarily women) and the perpetrators of violence (that is, primarily men) concerning social and psychological factors and personal control (Umberson et al. 1998). Additionally, research on IPV mostly has relied on "quantitative methodologies that lack the detailed and contextual information required for complex understandings of IPV" (Corbally, Hughes, and Delay 2016:1009). However, this paper provides a deep and broad understanding of the relationship between IPV and the duration of marriage in the Turkish context by exploring spouses' perceptions, experiences, and proposed solutions regarding IPV in long-term marriages. It examines the answers to the following questions qualitatively:

- Is there any relationship between IPV and long-term marriage? If so, how?
- How do women and men in a long-term marriage perceive and experience IPV?
- What kind of solutions are suggested by spouses in a long-term marriage to prevent and stop IPV?

Methodology

Sampling

Qualitative research techniques were preferred in this cross-sectional study. Thirty Turkish couples (sixty participants) in long-term marriages in Istanbul were selected using purposive and snowball sampling methods. The sample inclusion criteria were volunteering for participation, having the physical and cognitive ability to understand the questions and provide coherent and relevant answers, and being married to the first spouse for at least twenty years. Potential study participants who were married less than twenty years, divorced from the first marriage, lacked physical and cognitive abilities, and were unreachable were excluded.

In this study, snowball sampling means asking the contacted couples for referrals to recruit other couples married at least for twenty years. First, to recruit eligible study participants, the researcher reached the potential eligible couples via phone calls, introduced the research topic, the relationship between long-term marriage and IPV, and asked for voluntary participation. Second, the couples who accepted to participate were visited at their houses, and interviews were conducted. Third, the researcher asked them to refer other eligible couples for the study. Overall, the sampling process started with the researcher's contacts with the eligible couples and included the other referred couples until the saturation point was satisfied (Neuman 2006; Babbie 2010).

Measures for a long-term marriage are controversial in the existing literature. In the context of a long-

term marriage, different conditions, such as duration of marriage, culture, marriage period, togetherness, spouses' ages, and status of happiness, have been proposed (Gnilka 2007). Among them, scholars who considered the duration of the marriage as the criteria for long-term marriage used different time intervals such as ten, twelve, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, thirty, thirty-five, or more years (Swensen and Trahaug 1985; Weishaus and Field 1988; Robinson 1994; Glenn 1998; Weigel and Ballard-Reisch 1999; Rogers and Amato 2000; Bachand and Caron 2001; Fincham, Paleari, and Regalia 2002; Miller et al. 2003; Hawkins and Booth 2005; Mroczek and Spiro 2005; Gnilka 2007). This research study accepts twenty years as the lowest limit for a long-term marriage. The logical basis is that a couple needs to stay married at least for twenty years to raise a child to adulthood together. Twenty years include one year for pregnancy, eighteen years for raising a child to adulthood, and one year for any risk.

Data Collection Procedure

Data collection instruments were face-to-face semi-structured interviews, observation notes based on the observations at the time of the interviews, and a socio-demographic questionnaire.

The interviews were held at the participants' houses to provide a comfortable environment during the interview. The idea was that the best place to explore the feelings and attitudes of spouses would be their houses, where their marital life essentially existed. To obtain in-depth data, it was also necessary to create a safe environment where they could freely express themselves, especially women, while talking about different types of IPV experiences. Therefore, the researcher interviewed each spouse individually since the presence of the other spouse

could impact the answers. The other spouse either left home or stayed in another room not to see or hear the interview.

The researcher and participants signed the "informed consent form" before each interview, and then the participants filled out the socio-demographic questionnaire. After the completion of the form and the questionnaire, the researcher started the interview and took observation notes when necessary. Each interview was tape-recorded with the explicit permission of the spouses.

Data Analysis

The researcher conducted the data analysis following different stages using Atlas.ti software for qualitative data analysis in an integrated and complementary manner. The data obtained from the interviews were analyzed by using open, axial, and selective coding steps, as Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggested. Because "data collection and analysis are interrelated processes" in the grounded theory method (Corbin and Strauss 1990:6), the data analysis was started after the first interview and continued until the end of the research. An identification number was given to each interview, and the interviews were transcribed verbatim. Identifying information, like the names of the study participants, was removed, and pseudonyms were used to assure anonymity. The researcher used memos during the data analysis, as well as the data collection period.

In the open coding step, "data [were] broken down into discrete parts, closely examined and compared for similarities and differences" (Strauss and Corbin 1998:102). In the second step, axial coding, categories were linked to their subcategories by using the results of open coding. In the last step,

selective coding was operated to integrate and refine the categories considering the open and axial coding results. At the end of the analyzing procedure, coding revealed two major categories with the subcategories:

1. The notion of violence in long-term marriages and spouses' perceptions and experiences of IPV: Long-term marriages with physical violence, long-term marriages without physical violence, and long-term marriages with psychological violence.

2. Spouses' proposed solutions for preventing and stopping IPV in long-term marriages: Identifying the determinants of IPV, encouraging religious and values education, solving financial problems, building communication and patience, learning respect, responsibility, and love, or getting divorced.

While presenting the findings, excerpts were selected by general references to similar ideas representing common themes. Corrections were made to excerpts by excluding unnecessary parts and keeping the authenticity and integrity of the quotes. Both spouses' answers to some of the questions were compared to understand the dynamics and the discrepancies during the interviews. Diagrams were created to integrate the categories. The data obtained from observation notes were triangulated with the interview data. Descriptive analysis of gender, duration of the marriage, and related aspects were performed by analyzing socio-demographic questionnaires using the SPSS software.

Findings

Findings are presented mainly in six parts. The first part starts with the description of the sample. The second part focuses on the notion of IPV in long-term marriages and spouses' perceptions of IPV. The following parts present findings regarding the prevalence of IPV in long-term marriages with and without physical violence and long-term marriages with psychological violence. The final part demonstrates solutions suggested by spouses in a long-term marriage to prevent and stop IPV.

Description of the Sample

This section presents the quantitative data obtained from the socio-demographic questionnaire. The average age of the thirty men and thirty women was just over 52 (mean: 52.13). The couples had been married for an average of just over 30 years (mean: 30.23). The vast majority of couples, twenty-four couples, had two children, three couples had one child, one couple had four children, and two couples had no children. Nineteen participants were elementary school graduates, nine middle-school graduates, sixteen high school graduates, fourteen university graduates, and two with a graduate school degree.

The Notion of IPV in Long-Term Marriages and Spouses' Perceptions of IPV

To explore the notion of violence in long-term marriages, the participants were asked the following questions: a) Has your partner ever been violent towards you? b) Have you ever been violent towards your partner? c) What are your thoughts about how to prevent and stop IPV?

Wives and husbands were pleasant, friendly, and talkative during the interviews. By including both wives and husbands, spousal and gendered views were investigated and compared to reveal how each spouse individually perceived IPV within the same marriage. It was found that spouses' perceptions of

violence were initially limited to physical violence and did not include psychological (verbal and emotional), sexual, or economic violence. Therefore, a few of them reported only physical violence. In contrast, most of them did not report any type of IPV until the researcher asked follow-up questions to clarify participants' perceptions and experiences of violence. Then, spouses made statements about the psychological violence, mostly while smiling, because they did not recognize it as IPV. They had the impression that it was an inevitable and common part of marriage. A few spouses did not report physical violence, although their partners reported it. All participants denied sexual and economic violence.

Finally, when the length of marriage was considered, it was explored that there was a relationship between the lack of certain types of IPV and the duration of the marriage. Table 1 shows the prevalence of IPV and the spouses' perceptions of IPV.

Table 1. Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence in Long-Term Marriages

Type of IPV	Gender of Perpetrator	Prevalence	Spouses' Perceptions of IPV
Physical Violence	All men except for one woman	One or a few times in the first years of marriage	Not acceptable
Psychological Violence (Verbal or Emotional)	Both men and women	Prevalent	Acceptable
Sexual Violence	Not reported	-	-
Economic Violence	Not reported	-	-

Source: Self-elaboration.

Long-Term Marriages with Physical IPV

Physical violence was reported in eight out of thirty marriages. Spouses stated that it happened only once or a few times in the early years of the marriage with no repetition during the rest of the marriage. It occurred as hitting a spouse or throwing an object; however, none of the study participants reported any injuries. Regarding gender, it was always men who perpetrated physical violence except for one woman. In two cases, husbands reported physical violence while their wives did not report it. For example, one of the perpetrators of IPV, Hüseyin (husband, married for twenty-six years), said the following: "Violence against my wife? Well, we passed through such a period when we had physical violence. That was the only time that I beat my wife; other than that, I do not remember another incident."

Although Hüseyin reported physical violence in his marriage, his wife, Sevda, did not share it and only reported psychological violence by stating: "When it comes to physical violence, no, it did not happen. My husband is an angry man. Of course, psychological violence happened sometimes, but not any other kind of violence!"

One wife reported physical violence towards herself, whereas her husband did not report it. Melek (wife, married for twenty years) said that her husband used violence: "He did once. He just hit my leg; that was it. It was during an argument about our house." Her husband, Yusuf, reported a different story when he was asked about violence: "Yes, it happened during the first year of our marriage, but it was not violence towards her. I only broke a plate! I threw it towards a wall. Verbal, maybe, but I did not [use physical violence]."

As the excerpts above indicate, spouses did not talk about the incidents the way their husbands/wives did. Therefore, this finding implies that spouses may report IPV differently as personality, gender, and culture can play a significant role in the way in which husbands and wives experience and interpret IPV.

It was also discovered that the husband's immediate family members encouraged him to perpetrate physical violence. This finding shows how IPV by men is not only acceptable but also encouraged in some families. For example, Fatih (husband, married for twenty-three years) mentioned that he once used violence against his wife under the influence of his parents during the first years of the marriage. Similarly, Feride (wife, married for forty years) stated that her husband used violence against her as a result of provocations from her mother-in-law in the early years of their marriage: "We argued many times! I mean, if we are angry, either I shut up and go to the kitchen, or he takes his coat and goes out… But, well, when we were young, he used physical violence against me because of his mother's provocative remarks."

Another case is Seda (wife, married for thirty-six years), who mentioned the following:

> I swear he did not [use violence]! Thank Allah, there were minor problems; we were young at that time. My mother-in-law and her friends used to visit us. They advised my husband to "discipline" me. "As the twig is bent, so grows the tree!" One day, he hit me once for no reason!

As a final statement regarding how immediate family members can cause IPV, Adil (husband, married for thirty-nine years) stated that he used violence towards his wife once because of his brother's manip-ulation: "It was something private, it was because of misunderstanding, as my brother misinformed me about my wife!" However, his wife, Nazan, the other example of a victim who did not report physical violence, said: "It has never happened!"

As an exception, in only one case, the wife was the perpetrator. Murat (husband, married for twenty-five years) stated: "When she was angry, she used to throw objects towards me."

Excerpts above imply that physical IPV might occur in the first years of long-term marriages; however, husbands and wives may describe IPV differently. It might be self-motivated or encouraged by immediate family members. Extended family members can influence spousal relationships in a patriarchal culture, contributing to IPV. In certain situations, extended family members can also play a role in preventing and stopping IPV; however, it was not reported by the participants in this research study.

Long-Term Marriages without Physical IPV

On the contrary to the above examples, twenty-two out of thirty couples did not report any types of physical violence in this study. Statements of wives and husbands regarding the lack of physical IPV in their marriages were consistent with each other. Also, the attitudes of these couples were more positive during the interviews. For example, Nezihe (wife, married for twenty-three years) responded to the questions about violence as follows: "No, no! If he does, I will do the same!" while smiling. Her husband, Cemil, had a humorous approach and said: "No, of course, there should be a limit to it. For example, I have a fatty liver syndrome, so my wife does not cook red meat for me! I think this is also violence [laughs]."

Sinan (husband, married for twenty years) had a humorous approach, too, and said: "Every morning, I beat her softly for five minutes. I am just kidding! Thank Allah, it has never happened so far." Eda (wife, married for thirty-six years) said: "No, he never did!" and Sümeyye (wife, married for twenty years) said: "No, Allah bless! Alhamdulillah, Allah bless! I am small [laughs]. Allah forbids!" Yasemin (wife, married for thirty-two years) replied hilariously to the question of IPV: "No, no! He better not; otherwise, I would have beaten him more [laughs]. There is no such thing, no, no, never! My husband is against violence! Thank Allah! Nothing like that happened; otherwise, I would say it." Similarly, Elif (wife, married for twenty-four years) mentioned that her husband has never used any type of physical violence: "No, no! He is angry, macho, but there is no violence against our children or me!"

In conclusion, overlapping responses of the spouses demonstrated the lack of physical IPV in their marriages. Their disapproval of violence was identified as a significant contributing factor to the longevity of their happy marriage. Some of the spouses referred to Allah since violence is against the ethical teachings of Islam.

Long-Term Marriages with Psychological IPV

The most common type of violence reported in this study was *psychological* violence. When gender is considered, it was found that both men and women were the perpetrators and victims of it. For example, Betül (wife, married for twenty years) responded interestingly by generalizing and normalizing the psychological violence as follows: "There is no slapping! But, of course, we had hurtful arguments at times. It happens in all marriages!" Fatma (wife, married for forty-five years) shared her experience as follows: "No,

he did not beat me! There were so many times that he scolded me, but never laid a finger on me!" As an answer to the same question, her husband, Ahmet, said almost the same thing: "No, I have never used violence against my wife. I might have said bad words, but never laid a finger on her in forty-five years!"

As another example, Müjgan (wife, married for forty-three years) laughed and said: "That might have happened when we were angry with each other!" Similarly, Erol (husband, married for thirty-two years) stated that neither he nor his wife used physical violence, but mentioned that they used to yell at each other. Beyza (wife, married for twenty years) also reported psychological violence: "Of course, it happened. I am telling you, since we have been working together. It would not have happened if we had not worked together. We managed since we loved each other so much. In that sense, there has been psychological violence!" Finally, Hüseyin (husband, married for twenty-six years) is an example of a husband who beat his wife once and perpetrated psychological violence: "It happened, but it was not an abnormal situation! Shouting, calling names, something like that happened; when I get angry, I shout at her!"

As the above findings showed, spouses did not perceive psychological violence as IPV. Spouses commonly choose to rationalize their behavior to justify their actions. It has reoccurred during the marriage and has been recognized as part of communication and an unavoidable part of marriage. It has been the most acceptable and normalized type of IPV in Turkish culture.

Spouses' Proposed Solutions for Preventing and Stopping IPV

During the interviews, spouses were asked how to prevent and stop IPV to maintain a happy marriage.

It was found that they developed different suggestions for the solution. The most prominent of these proposed solutions are presented below with specific examples.

Identifying the Determinants of IPV

In response to the question, "How do you think IPV could be prevented and stopped," some of the spouses suggested investigating the causes of violence and developing solutions accordingly. One of the husbands, Erol (married for thirty-two years), said: "Intimate partner violence, it should be investigated, the underlying reasons should be investigated, the background should be investigated, and the sources should be investigated to understand the causes of violence." Similarly, Hüseyin (husband, married for twenty-six years) also reported that the causes of IPV should be examined first, then the solutions: "Underlying reasons of the violence should be explored so that the solutions could be explored!"

Encouraging Religious and Values Education

Some spouses emphasized the importance and the role of religion and values in preventing and stopping IPV. For example, Adil (husband, married for thirty-nine years) suggested: "Through Islamic practice! If you apply Islamic rules, then there is no way for violence. Because it is women who give birth and educate children, the mothers' status is unique, and they are certainly sultans!" Yusuf (husband, married for twenty years) also said that violence could be prevented with the help of religious education: "My suggestion, of course, would be valid for highly conscious people!…The Quran and the life of Prophet Mohammad are the keys. Solutions for everyone could be found there. I believe our Prophet's

life is the solution for marital problems" (Balkanlioglu and Seward 2014:F13).

Melek, Yusuf's wife, also thought that religious education could prevent violence:

> We can solve this problem by increasing the emotion of mercy. This can only be achieved by teaching religion to children, by teaching religious duties, and the importance of showing mercy to others. When a man marries a woman, if we could see women as gifts from Allah, nobody can lay a finger on them! A person who fears Allah and has faith in Allah would not lay a finger on his wife or children!

Another spouse believed that IPV could be prevented by religious and moral education. Sümeyye (wife, married for twenty years) stated that educating people about religion and values could be the solution: "Whoever, men or women, when they were young, it is the family where we can teach these values. Otherwise, it is not an easy problem to solve. Also, religious education is important, but a proper religious education!"

Solving Financial Problems

Some of the spouses in this research considered financial problems as the primary source of IPV and recommended that spouses should solve their economic issues first. In that sense, Seda (wife, married for thirty-six years) said the following: "It is all related to financial problems! Instead of using violence, let's work harder!…Everybody should work!... Whatever [the problem is,] they should talk. There is nothing that could not be shared. We share everything, including our earnings!" (Balkanlioglu and Seward 2014:F13). Sinan (husband, married for twenty years) also believes that the financial prob-

lems cause IPV and could be stopped by overcoming the economic difficulties: "If financial problems are solved; the issues can be solved."

Communication and Patience

Some of the participants believed that IPV could be prevented and stopped through communication and patience. For example, Salih (husband, married for thirty-six years) stated that IPV could be solved: "By reaching an agreement! I am against domestic violence! If there is violence, then there is no peace! There is no trust! No trust between a husband and a wife!" Serap (wife, married for twenty-eight years) mentioned that spouses should not use violence and they "should correct the behavior by communicating to each other."

Sevda (wife, married for twenty-six years) suggested being patient: "If one side is angry, I think the other side should be quiet and wait until the other person calms down!" Similarly, Beyza (wife, married for twenty years) believed that being patient could solve the problems: "Well, I cannot suggest people leave it [marriage]; I would advise being patient and praying that it gets better!"

Learning Respect, Responsibility, and Love

Some spouses believed that IPV could be prevented and stopped when couples learn respect, responsibility, and love. Nazan (wife, married for thirty-nine years), for instance, stated that violence could be solved through establishing respect: "Spouses need to learn their responsibilities and duties! Being a spouse to each other, not a slave, not an owner! I am not the owner of my husband, and he is not the owner of me! If they show that respect, violence can be prevented!" (Balkanlioglu and Seward 2014:F13).

Akif (husband, married for twenty-eight years) also suggested developing respect and love between spouses and families as a solution to IPV: "I think [the solution is] love and respect! There should be love between spouses and also families!"

Getting Divorced

Some spouses believed that IPV could not be solved; therefore, they—implicitly or explicitly—proposed divorcing. Among them, Nezihe (wife, married for twenty-three years) stated: "Once it starts, there is no solution, in my opinion. So, if a person gets used to it, he becomes a shameless bully! Therefore, if there are such things, I do not think he will change, impossible."

Müjgan (wife, married for forty-three years) pointed out the difficulty of solving IPV: "If a person is a psychopath and uses violence, then, I think, it is difficult to solve it!" Levent (husband, married for twenty-four years) also said: "If someone is prone to violence, then he does not have moral values; you cannot do anything for him!" Finally, Feride (wife, married for forty years) had the same opinion and offered divorce as a solution to IPV: "If there is too much violence, then it can be solved by getting divorced. Divorce can be the solution. If there is violence, you cannot stay there!"

In conclusion, spouses in this study suggested various solutions to prevent and stop IPV. Their recommendations—except divorce—include only the individual efforts of the couples rather than seeking institutional, professional, or community support. This approach is well-suited to the Turkish traditional family structure, which sees violence as a private family issue. It has not been easy for women in Turkey to report IPV until recent decades

due to the economic and cultural factors and lack of socio-psychological assistance and legal support services. Another finding is that most spouses who believed that IPV could not be solved meant physical violence.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study aimed to explore IPV in long-term marriages, how spouses perceive and experience IPV, and offer solutions to address it. The most common type of violence was psychological violence (verbal and emotional) that has reoccurred during the marriage, as also reported in the national (BAAK 1995; ASPB and HU 2015; Dildar 2021) and international context (e.g., Mezey, Post, and Maxwell 2002). As opposed to physical violence, spouses in this study have not considered psychological violence a significant threat to the continuation of the marriage, but a common and inevitable part of the marriage. It was also more acceptable by Turkish couples since it has been interpreted as part of the communication (BAAK 1995; Hortaçsu, Kalaycıoğlu, and Rittersberger-Tiliç 2003; MFSP and HU 2014; ASPB and HU 2015).

Moreover, the findings suggest that while psychological violence was inevitable, spouses' conscious attitudes and efforts to increase the quality of their relationship reduce the devastating effects of that type of violence (Balkanlioglu and Seward 2014). Otherwise, the long-term effects of psychological violence could be more devastating than other types of violence and may result in a divorce.

No physical IPV was reported in the vast majority of long-term marriages in this study. This finding suggests that the absence of physical violence could be considered one of the vital prerequisites for the longevity of marriage. Data of this study also indicated that rare occurrences of physical violence took place only in the first years of the marriage; and were caused by either the spouses' self-motivation or their immediate family members' provocative remarks in the context of socio-cultural factors, such as patriarchal family structure, culture, and gender roles (BAAK 1995; Krug et al. 2002; KSGM 2009; ASPB and HU 2015; Yılmaz 2018). The finding regarding the role of immediate family members on IPV was consistent with the results of other studies conducted in Turkey (KSGM 2009; Yılmaz 2018).

Sexual and economic violence was not reported in this study, whereas it is a fact that both types of violence were reported in the previous studies on IPV in Turkey (BAAK 1995; KSGM 2009; Akar et al. 2010; ASPB and HU 2015; Dildar 2021). First, it is probable that long-term married couples, especially those who have not reported any physical violence, did not experience any sexual violence during their marriages. Second, because financial and especially sexual issues have been considered private in Turkish society (BAAK 1995; KSGM 2009), spouses, particularly wives, may be hesitant to talk about them. Third, some couples may have normalized certain types of violence by adopting the traditional family approach, as in the case of psychological violence. Fourth, there could be other factors such as self-blame, concern for family and children, societal expectations, and religious values that reinforced the silencing of women (Pokharel et al. 2020). It was concluded that the absence of sexual, economic, and physical violence could be a crucial factor contributing to the longevity of marriage.

Considering gender, all those who committed physical violence were men (except for one case),

whereas both men and women were the committer and victims of psychological violence, as parallel to the findings of the previous studies (BAAK 1995; Hortaçsu et al. 2003; KSGM 2009; Dildar 2021).

Couples participating in this study proposed various solutions for addressing IPV, which were also reported in other studies: identifying the determinants of IPV (Arthur and Clark 2009; Guvenc et al. 2014), encouraging religious and values education (Ellison and Anderson 2001; Ellison et al. 2007; Balkanlioglu 2014; Issahaku 2016), solving financial problems (BAAK 1995; Aizer 2010), building communication and patience (Wallerstein and Blakeslee 1995; Gnilka 2007), and learning respect, responsibility, and love (Fields 1983; Gnilka 2007). Contrary to these recommendations, a few spouses thought that IPV was unsolvable and suggested divorce, as stated in the existing literature (BAAK 1995; Bowlus and Seitz 2006; MFSP 2014).

The recommendations of the couples are precious because they have been happily married for many years (mean: 30.23). None of them experienced sexual or economic violence, and the majority of them had no physical violence in their marriages. Interestingly, spouses' recommendations—except for getting divorced—included only individual efforts, but did not involve any professional, societal, or governmental actions. The reason could be that spouses still consider IPV a personal and private family issue, which should not be shared with other people and institutions and should be solved within the family by the family members. The majority of the participating "couples worked at increasing the quality of their relationship and believed that positive solutions were possible" (Balkanlioglu and Seward 2014:F13). This approach contributes to the longevity of marriage as it lowers the risk of disruption of marriage (De-Maris 2000).

The findings of this study have some implications for professionals. In addition to couples' proposed solutions to IPV, we suggest that the professionals (e.g., psychiatrists, psychologists, marriage and family therapists, counselors, and social workers) seriously consider the relationship between the duration of marriage and couples' perceptions and experiences of IPV in the context of their backgrounds, family structures, values, religions, and norms. Professionals should closely examine couples' IPV experiences, personality characteristics, decision-making and problem-solving approaches, adaptation and coping strategies, motivational factors, privacy concerns, the influence of intimate family members on family dynamics, and socio-cultural factors. Furthermore, we strongly recommend emphasizing "the importance of communication by talking out issues in a non-threatening or non-violent way" (Balkanlioglu and Seward 2014:F14) to maintain happy and healthy relationships. It is also crucial to understand the challenges and limitations of the couples who have frequent IPV issues and address their needs on improving interpersonal and communication skills.

This study has some limitations. First of all, the results cannot be generalized to all married couples due to the small sample size, including only long-term married couples. Second, couples with ongoing violence were probably less likely to volunteer to participate in the research. Thus, the results of the current study do not represent their situation. Third, reactivity might be another limitation. Some spouses might have responded differently instead of reporting their actual attitudes since the partici-

pants knew that the issue of violence would be discussed in this research study. To fully explore the relationship between long-term marriage and IPV, qualitative and quantitative longitudinal studies that include a representative sample of divorced couples and married couples with different years of marital experience are needed.

Acknowledgments

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Citation

Book Review

Konecki, Krzysztof T. 2022. *The Meaning of Contemplation for Social Qualitative Research: Applications and Examples.* New York: Routledge

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Konecki courageously opens the door for the social sciences to become fully engaged on behalf of making a better world. This book provides a clear pathway for contemplative approaches amidst the thicket of "qualitative" methods in the social sciences. Konecki's book takes a deep dive into how contemplation may be actively integrated into qualitative research by drawing upon grounded theory, phenomenology, mindful inquiry, and autoethnography. Konecki brings his experience in meditation and as an advanced yoga teacher into the research process, training his students and co-researchers in regular practice. The reader will find each chapter engaging, moving researchers toward the full use of self.

Chapter One presents the inherent similarities between phenomenology and grounded theory methodology. Bringing these traditions together reveals how engaged researchers will provide a deeper understanding of their topics. This promotes self-insight in the researchers and an enriched result for the organizations and communities.

Chapter Two engages researchers further by asking them to bring their whole self into the grounded theory process, including emotional and bodily aspects. Throughout the chapter, Konecki demonstrates how phenomenological processes, such as the *epoché* and bracketing, work towards an enhanced research outcome. An appendix to

this chapter is Konecki's journaling which exemplifies intense self-awareness.

In Chapter Three, Konecki makes a wake-up call. He reveals how our ways of being and researching tend to ignore or obscure the Deathworlds we are creating. Linking Deathworld-making to lying by omission and commission, Konecki encourages social researchers to face these dangers head-on. He illustrates how social sciences may engage in "wrong speech" by overlooking negative, life-threatening, and life-diminishing aspects of our social worlds. Konecki likens such denials to remotely controlled deadly weapons.

Chapter Four is Konecki's mindful diary of living under Covid-19. As a sociologist sensitive to the workings of Lifeworlds, he reminds us of the effects of imposed social isolation.

Chapter Five is a tour de force showing how he trained student sociologists to engage in contemplative observations of visiting a cemetery. The students use embodied awareness based on the yoga training he provided them, as well as meditation and self-reflections in their field notes. What is revealed is how a deeper reflection on a second visit resulted in greater richness and clarity.

Should yoga and meditation training become part of the required curricula for social researchers? After reading Konecki's book, my answer is an unqualified Yes! Today's researchers are engaged professionals concerned with pressing issues of social and environmental justice. It is time to end the stranglehold of cold distancing and objectification promulgated in the academies of learning so that we can halt the spread of Deathworlds before it is too late!