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Shalva Weil
Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
UNISA, University of South Africa

Failed Femicides Among Migrant Survivors

Abstract   Femicide—the killing of a female because of her gender—is becoming an increased object of sociological enquiry, rectifying years of invisibility. The article presents results from ethnographic interviews with three migrant women who survived "failed femicides." A "failed femicide" is defined as an attempted femicide where the medical examination of the victim confirmed a life-threatening event, the victim had been hospitalized in emergency, and she or the perpetrator had described the event as an attempted murder. It is argued that failed femicides should be added to the growing literature on domestic violence, on the one hand, and femicide, on the other. The article presents narratives from three survivors of failed femicide attempts among Ethiopian female migrants in Israel. They present an interesting contrast to large-scale, quantitative, ethnocentric, male-oriented studies of femicide focusing on Western women. Since few women actually survive femicide attempts, the nature of the small sample should not deter the scholar from the depth of migrant women's plights. The survivor narratives were analyzed by means of thematic analysis. The analysis produced five key categories: village society in Ethiopia; cycle of domestic violence; motive; weapon; and recourse to authorities. The themes provided understanding into these migrant women's subjective experiences and the ways they understood events. While no generalizations can be made, the article may encourage comparisons with other failed femicide survivor narratives from other migrant women originating and residing in different settings. With the increase of migrants the world over, non-Western survivor narratives may become an increasingly important tool for policy-makers and for academics to understand how femicides occur, how migrant women perceive them, and how they can be combated.

Keywords   Femicide; Intimate Partner Violence; Migrants; Murder; Thematic Analysis; Narratives

Shalva Weil is a Senior Researcher at the Research Institute for Innovation in Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel, and a Research Fellow in the Department of Biblical and Ancient Studies at UNISA, University of South Africa. Dr. Weil specializes in migration, ethnicity, ritual, gender, and violence. She is a Board member of the European Sociological Association Research Network no. 20 on Qualitative Methods; from 2005-2007 she served as its Chair. She is the Chair of COST Action IS1206 "Femicide Across Europe."

email address: shalva.weil@mail.huji.ac.il

This article presents results from ethnographic interviews with three migrant women who survived femicide attempts. The female migrants reside in Israel and originate in highland villages in North-West Ethiopia. They present an interesting contrast to large-scale, quantitative, ethnocentric, male-oriented studies of femicide focusing on Western women.

Femicide—the killing of a female because of her gender—is becoming an increased object of sociological enquiry, rectifying years of invisibility (Weil 2016). While the study of domestic violence has become commonplace in the social sciences, femicide *per se*, which represents the most extreme form of interpersonal violence, had been relegated to the margins. That situation is changing rapidly as advocacy organizations, such as ACUNS (Academic Council on the United Nations System) and COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology), are now campaigning not just against gender violence but also against the final lethal act of femicide. Similarly, academic frameworks are now beginning to provide legitimation to study and publish on femicide and its effects. In the past year alone, two major books (Dobash and Dobash 2015; Ellis, Stuckless, and Smith 2015) have forwarded our understanding of the phenomenon; and a Special Issue explaining the social challenge of femicide will be published in a sociological journal for the first time (Marcuello-Servós et al. 2016).[1] As Corradi and colleagues (2016) argue, femicide must be understood as a social phenomenon that demands an interdisciplinary approach. Prevention requires a systemic approach, grounded in coherent and consistent theoretical foundations.

The vast majority of the research that exists on femicide is quantitative (e.g., Campbell et al. 2003). Most studies ignore the cultural/ethnic background of the murdered women, which is often not recorded by the police. There are almost no records of what actually goes on when a woman is murdered, and women's voices are few and far between. This is both because few women live to tell the tale, and because, with rare exceptions, the experiences of women from minority or migrant groups who have survived a femicide attack are of little interest to the general public.

The data upon which this article reports are rare in that they highlight the experiences of Ethiopian migrant women in Israel who have survived an extreme form of gender-based violence, namely, a "failed femicide." A "failed femicide" is defined here as an attempted femicide where the medical examination of the victim confirmed a life-threatening event, the victim had been hospitalized in emergency, and she or the perpetrator had described the event as an attempted murder. The survivor narratives are analyzed here by means of thematic analysis.

Femicide: A Leading Cause of Female Death

Femicide, or the intentional murder of a woman or girl because she is female, is the seventh leading cause of premature death for women globally. The Vienna Declaration on Femicide in the United

Nations Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice proposed a wide definition of femicide, including torture and the misogynist slaying of women, "honor" killings, targeted killing of women and girls in armed conflict, dowry-related killings, murder of aboriginal and indigenous women, female infanticide, genital mutilation, witchcraft, and other phenomena (Laurent, Platzer, and Idomir 2013:4). Originally, the designation "femicide" was used by Radford and Russell (1992:3) who claimed that this was an act motivated by a patriarchal and misogynist culture. In 2001, Russell redefined the term to refer to the killing of females by males *because* they are female (Russell and Harmes 2001). In recent years, the designation has become accepted, although feminicide, uxoricide, and other terms are still current.

Scientific research shows that motives for homicide and perpetrator's profiling are very different from murder to murder. Femicide is also distinct from other forms of gender violence, which have been widely studied and reported. Rates vary across regions and cross-national variations have been reported widely (Corradi and Stöckl 2014; WHO, UNODC, and UNDP 2014). During the period 1985-2010, female homicide victimization increased in some countries in Europe (e.g., Switzerland, Slovenia, Portugal), remained relatively stable in others (e.g., France and Italy), while some countries, such as Norway, had extremely low rates of femicide. Accounting for macro-level variations in female homicide victimization requires knowledge of socio-political trends, such as post-communism, as well as an understanding of different criminological theories (Stamatel 2014).

Intimate femicide is one form of homicide perpetrated by a familiar person, usually a family member. It is the final act of intimate partner violence and is often the ultimate result of years of suffered violence. It includes intimate partner femicide and a whole area of study relating to so-called "honor killings," which occur when a woman is killed by a male family member for dishonoring family status (Gill, Strange, and Roberts 2014). 39% of all femicides (and 6% of all homicides) are intimate partner murders; in high-income countries, the percentage rises to 41% of all femicides (Stöckl et al. 2013). The number of failed femicides varies from region to region and period to period, and is generally not included in femicide research.

Femicide Survivors

Studies of survivors of failed femicides are quite scarce. Surprisingly, of the few studies that do exist, most are quantitative. McFarlane and colleagues (1999) studied 141 femicide cases and 65 attempted femicide survivors, in order to examine the phenomenon of stalking prior to an attack. The data were gathered in 10 U.S. cities from 1994-1998. The victims were identified from closed police records and contacted by mail. Once they consented to be interviewed, trained doctoral students ran a questionnaire, including an 18-item stalking survey; the interview took one hour. The results neither contain quotations from the victims, nor do they convey the quality of the lethal experience. Campbell and colleagues (2003) carried out a large survey of proxies of 220 intimate partner femicide victims identified from police or medical examiner records, along with 343 abused control women. The researchers

concluded that pre-incident risk factors included the perpetrator's access to a gun or a previous threat with a weapon, the perpetrator's stepchild residing in the home, and estrangement, especially from a controlling partner.

Qualitative data on femicide survivors are less common. One study interviewed 30 women aged 17-54 who had survived an attempted homicide by an intimate partner with in-depth interviews in 6 cities, as part of an 11-city case-control study, to determine the risk factors of actual and attempted intimate partner femicide (Nicolaides et al. 2003). Victims participated in an audiotaped semi-structured in-depth interview which enabled women to describe, in their own words, their relationship with the partner who had attempted to kill them, and their perceptions of the activities and events that had led up to the attempt (Nicolaides et al. 2003:2). In the World Human Organization report on femicide (WHO 2012), the authors were keenly aware of the untenable situation in which survivors find themselves and advocated adopting legal reforms globally to protect them. The report added: "Studies are also needed to investigate cases of near-fatal intimate partner violence, not only to understand the needs of survivors and characteristics of perpetrators but also to shed light on the factors that may prevent femicide" (WHO 2012:6).

If qualitative studies of survivors of failed femicide attempts are rare, they are even less abundant among women from non-Western countries. There is growing information on domestic abuse, which does not necessarily culminate in lethal murder, among non-Western women. An example is a study

of displaced survivors of conflict-related gender violence, which focuses upon African women's experiences as forced migrants in New York City, and their attempt to rebuild their lives in a new social setting (Akinsulure-Smith 2014). However, studies of the narratives of female migrants who have actually survived femicide attacks are lacking.

This article, then, despite the small number of interviewees it represents, brings forth the voices of the near-silenced twice over: once because they are women, and twice because they are migrants. It provides a rare glimpse into survivors of failed femicide attempts and highlights their experiences.

Ethiopian Migrants in Israel

Ethiopian diasporas are found in the United States, Canada, Italy, Great Britain, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere. After the U.S., Israel is the second-largest Ethiopian diaspora with 135,000 Ethiopian immigrants and Israeli-born Ethiopians. In some countries, the Ethiopian migrants are refugees or asylum seekers, who compulsorily fled their country at different points in history due to civil or political unrest. In Israel, the migrants opted to identify as Jews and immigrate to "Jerusalem,"[2] where Ethiopian Jews are entitled to economic benefits and housing as Jews, according to Israel's Law of Return.

The Jews of Ethiopia used to be known as "Falashas," although in the last two decades they have eschewed this appellation, with its stigmatic connotation of "stranger," implying low, outsider status. In

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[2] "Jerusalem" is viewed by the immigrants as the whole of Israel (see: Weil 2012).

Israel, they tend to be called Ethiopian Jews, while in Ethiopia they often referred to themselves—and are designated in the academic literature—as Beta Israel (Weil 2008). They lived in North-West Ethiopia, in hundreds of villages scattered throughout the Simien region, Dembeya, Begemder province, Tigray, Lasta, and Qwara. They spoke two principal languages of the regions in which they resided: Amharic and Tigrinya. The Beta Israel were monotheistic and practiced a Torah-based Judaism, without observing the Oral Law, known to other communities of Jews. Ethiopic Christians influenced their religious practices and many elements were in common to both religions, such as praying to Jerusalem, the liturgical language of Geez, and the longing for Israel and Zion.

The origins of the Ethiopian Jews are shrouded in mystery. According to some Ethiopian traditions, certain inhabitants of the Kingdom of Aksum were Jewish before the advent of Christianity in the 3rd to 4th century. A popular legend relates that the Beta Israel were descendants of Israelite henchmen, who had arrived with Menelik, the son of the union of King Solomon and Queen Sheba in the Kingdom of Israel. A theory which has gained exceptional importance in Israel is that the Beta Israel are descendants of the tribe of Dan, one of the Ten Lost Tribes, which was exiled by the Assyrians in the 8th century BCE. In 1973, in Israel, the Sefardi Chief Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, basing himself on a reference by Rabbi David ben Zimra (1479-1573), claimed that the "Falashas," as they were then called, are from the tribe of Dan, thereby paving the way for their mass *aliya* (immigration) to Israel. In 1984-1985, 7,700 Beta Israel were airlifted from the Sudan to Israel

in Operation Moses, but the operation was abruptly ceased. International pressure built up culminating in Operation Solomon, which brought an additional group of 14,310 Jews out from Ethiopia to Israel in 36 hours, during May 24-25, 1991. Since 1991, thousands of Ethiopians belonging to a group called "Feresmura," whose ancestors had converted to Christianity, have also immigrated to Israel (Seeman 2010). Their integration into Israeli society has been marked by social successes, such as Israeli Ethiopian Members of Parliament, singers, actors, doctors, and lawyers, side by side with social failures. In May 2015, Ethiopian Jews in Israel organized violent demonstrations in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv against racial discrimination and police brutality.

Femicide Among Ethiopian Jews

There are no statistics on femicide among the Beta Israel in Ethiopia; data are scarcely available on this subject in Ethiopia in general. It is known that domestic violence rates in Ethiopia are among the highest in the world. According to a statement put out in 2008 by Ethiopia's Justice Minister, Dimegn Wube, *half of Ethiopian women are victims of domestic violence*. An academic study demonstrated that 8 out of 10 Ethiopian women in their sample had suffered from domestic abuse by their partner; according to the authors, severe domestic violence is an impediment to Ethiopia's growth and development targets (Semahegn, Belachew, and Abdulahi 2013). Many cases of female abuse go unrecorded and research into domestic violence and femicide is in its infancy or non-existent. Legislation against gender abuse is not implemented and the punishment for femicide offenders is unclear or non-existent. In the case of

a homicide or femicide, the perpetrator is not put behind bars, but his family is asked to pay compensation to the victim's family (Donovan and Assefa 2003).

In Ethiopia, where the status of women was clearly defined vis-à-vis their husbands, beating one's wife was often considered de rigueur. It was considered the duty of males to discipline rebellious or defiant wives. In a study conducted among Ethiopian migrants in the U.S., participants reported that domestic violence is much more common in Ethiopia, compared to the U.S. However, men's violent behavior is not necessarily viewed as problematic and the abuser, rather than the abused, is generally supported (Sullivan et al. 2005).

In a study of male interviewees in Israel, Ethiopian males blamed their womenfolk for instigating their anger and pushing them to violent acts so that the police could arrest them, and at the same time, they blamed Israeli society, which pitted women against men as part of a democratic system of law (Geiger 2013). In a study conducted in Israel with 23 male and female immigrants, participants noted that traditional institutions, such as conflict-solving mechanisms and codes of honor, disintegrate and contribute to increased abuse (Kacen 2006). Femicide among Ethiopian immigrants has also made headlines in the Israeli media (cf. Shoham 2013), even though a percentage of the murders remain unreported (Weil 2009). In a longitudinal study on femicide in Israel covering the years 1995-2007, Sela-Shayovitz (2010a) noted that the number of femicides among Ethiopian immigrants was 21 times higher than their proportion in the total population.

In a three-year study of femicide among Ethiopian immigrants in Israel carried out between the years January 01, 2005-December 31, 2007, when the Ethiopian population in Israel numbered 120,000, police recorded 11 femicide cases in the Ethiopian community out of a total of 36 recorded cases in Israeli society (Weil 2009).[3] The number of intimate partner femicides perpetrated in Israel by Ethiopian males amounted to 28.9% of the total number of femicides carried out in the general population (including Jews and Arabs), and was totally disproportionate to their numbers in Israeli society (1.6% of the total population in the same period). There was not a single case of an Ethiopian woman in Israel murdering a man, such that all the cases of homicide were, in fact, femicides (Weil 2009).

The Study Method

The study reported upon in this article concentrates on the narratives of three women from the Ethiopian immigrant community in Israel, who survived femicide attempts during 2005-2008. The narratives were an offshoot of commissioned research on femicide among Ethiopian immigrants in Israel.[4] The research received ethical clearance at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, after it was ascertained that it was in line with the university's ethical conduct code and did not present any conflict of interest.

After obtaining consent from all the interviewees and elucidating their right to withdraw if they so wished, all the interviews were taped by this researcher in Hebrew interspersed with Amharic words, accompanied by handwritten notes. The taped interviews were later transcribed and translated into English. There was no questionnaire, although there was an interviewer checklist to ensure that major points were not missed. The focus was entirely on the failed femicide. The victims were happy to narrate freely, and readily gave permission to be recorded. The narratives constituted monologues, with mere prompting from the interviewer, excerpts of which are presented here. The survivor narratives were supplemented by interviews with social workers and perusal of case profiles, where available.

The researcher at no time tried to coerce the informant to participate in the research. On the contrary, in one case, the researcher was summoned by the survivor, a family friend, to the casualty wing of a hospital only a day after the attack requesting that her story be recorded. The second survivor was interviewed within weeks of the attempted femicide in an "absorption center," an institution for new immigrants that is designed to provide support and services until they move to permanent dwellings; and the third survivor was interviewed in her home with her complete consent. All three knew this researcher either personally or had heard of her long-time acquaintance with Ethiopians in Ethiopia and in Israel. No participant was exposed to risk or harm of any sort. Each survivor was thankful for the opportunity to tell her story, and there was neither personal nor cultural embarrassment.

The purpose of the interviews was to allow women to describe in their own words their relationship with their husbands who had attempted to murder them; their perceptions of the events that led up to the attempt to kill them; the attempted killing itself; and the motivations for the attacks. In addition, it was important to hear their attitude towards the host society's services. Although the ability of a non-Ethiopian to elicit information from victims on such a sensitive subject has been challenged, as an "anthropologist-at-home" (cf. Jackson 1987) with the Ethiopian Jewish community for over three decades, there was no problem of field access. Each interview lasted several hours, accompanied by the ritualized Ethiopian coffee (*buna*) ceremony. As Palmer (2010) has shown among Ethiopian forced migrants in the United Kingdom, the *buna* ceremony, enacted solely by women, is seen as an integral part of Ethiopians' social and cultural life in exile, and provides the appropriate setting to determine personal well-being, improve mental health, and reduce isolation in a migratory situation. In the narrations, the women re-enacted the attack, sometimes in the present tense, incorporating question-answer sessions with their spouses in a distinctively "Ethiopian-here-and-now" type of argumentation.

Survivor no. 1 was 42 years old and her husband was 58. They had 5 children. She had migrated to Israel in 1990 from a village near Gondar. She was Jewish; her husband was Christian. By Israeli law, her children are Jewish in matrilineal descent. They lived in a central coastal town in Israel. Survivor no. 2 was 35 years old and her husband 48. They had 6 children, all from the hus-

band's previous marriages, except the last. She had migrated from a village to Israel in 2005 as part of the "Feresmura" (see above) migration, but in the interview with me, she admitted that she had been Christian in Ethiopia. Her husband was also Christian, but he has some Jewish "blood." She continued to live in an absorption center after the failed femicide. Survivor no. 3, who came from a village with no Jews in Northern Ethiopia, was designated "Feresmura" by the Israeli authorities, but her husband was registered as "Christian." They came to Israel in 2004. She was 41 years old and her husband was 47, but of the 7 children, only 2 were common. They resided in a town in the center of Israel after moving out of an absorption center the previous year.

Thematic Analysis

The study of narrative provides understanding into human experience and meaning. Bruner (1990) argued that narrative is an essential aspect of human nature through which we "naturally" make sense of our experiences in the world. He presented an antithesis to the positivist-scientific bias, still prevalent in psychology. His subjective approach is applicable, in that the narrator is the one who inserts sequentiality into the narrative and makes sense of the unique sequence in which events are narrated. It is true that the narrative may be used as a tool for social negotiation, for example, to forge empathy with the listener, but it remains a subjective reality for the narrator. In the case of this study, the narrative analysis was entirely inductive, with no attempt to fit into a pre-existing model or theory. Interviewees spoke in near monologues with

prompting from this author, the interviewer; the sequences were set by the narrator and there was little or no attempt to interpret.

The data from the narratives were examined and several distinct repetitive themes emerged spontaneously (cf. Riessman 2008). The technique utilized is similar to Katz (2013) who employed thematic analysis to identify key categories within children's narratives of femicide. The emerging themes provided insight into the female migrants' subjectivities, and although only three survivor narratives were surveyed, the data revealed clear patterns. In the thematic analysis, the chronology was changed, since the narratives were neither narrated in a lineal time frame nor categorized according to themes, but the narrations remained unaltered. It is worth commenting that, despite the fact that the survivors do not know each other, the form of the survivors' rhetoric was common to all the narratives.

Five key categories were identified based on the failed femicide survivor narratives. These were: village social structure in Ethiopia; the cycle of domestic violence; the motive; the weapon; recourse to authorities.

Village Social Structure

Life in the villages in North-West Ethiopia was simple. Division of labor between males and females was clear. Men worked outside; women were to be found in the vicinity of the domestic sphere, or literally at home in huts, except when they would draw water from the nearby river.

Survivor no. 1 recalled:

> Down the road from our village, a river divides the village from the old cemetery. Here we used to draw water and bring it home. Beta Israel used to immerse themselves in water as they crossed from the pollution of the dead to the people living in the villages. The names of the dead are not recorded; there are just piles of stones near shrubs and trees. A farmer threshes the *tef* [*Eragrostis tef* or William's lovegrass] around our village, and a young boy tends to the herds. The *tef* stacks are piled high. We make *enjera* [bread like pitta] from the *tef*, as you know. It is very healthy.

It is significant that in the narrative, the survivor spontaneously recalls the dead and how they were buried in the cemetery across the river.

In the village, women looked after the children at an early age. A mother would strap the smallest baby on her back while drawing water from the stream or cooking. Women prepared the stew (*wat*), commonly made of lentils, chicken, or meat, stoking the open hearths upon which they cooked the basic bread (*enjera*), which also provided warmth. Young boys would join their fathers in the field, while girls were expected to help their mothers and take care of the younger children until they married, around the age of first menstruation. Utmost importance was attributed to purity, avoiding pollution from women's blood and pollution from the dead (Weil 2004). The Beta Israel in Ethiopia lived in a bilineal kinship unit called *zemed*; marriage was exogamous outside the *zemed*. Masculinity was an ultimate value. While marriage officially was monogamous, Beta Israel men in practice

sometimes entered into polygamous unions with a second wife or had relations with a common-law wife, a concubine, a slave (*barya*), a divorced woman, or a woman on her own (*galamota*), who was seeking "protection," in Ethiopian terms. An older man could marry a younger bride, a teenager and a virgin, thus proving his status and wealth to society at large. None of the survivors in this small sample married out of "love," which is a Western concept in their eyes.

Two survivors talked of their abductions from the village. Survivor no. 3 said:

> **Survivor:** My husband arrived in our village and I understood what would be.
> **Interviewer:** Did you want to immigrate to Israel? Why did you go with him?
> **S:** I didn't want to immigrate with him, but I wanted to come [to Israel]. Both of us come from a village in a rural region of Ethiopia. He is from the same area.
> **I:** So why did you come to Israel? [I repeat the question]
> **S:** *Rasu* [Because of him (the husband) in Amharic]. He made me come with him.

Then she continued with a long description of their journey to Israel.

Survivor no. 1 related about her forced marriage, which crossed religious lines:

> Today, I'm approximately forty-two years old. My husband should be around fifty-eight. I was young. I went to school and he saw me. He was a soldier in the army of Mengistu Haile Mariam [who over-

threw the Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974]. I didn't want him, but he took me by force. He went to my parents and said he would kidnap me. It was in the village. He wasn't Jewish. I would go every day for two hours to school. He would come to work in the village. In the end, my parents agreed. He was strong and they were afraid. We got married in the village and he said he would convert with a *kes* [Beta Israel religious priest]. The *kes* said: "If you want, I will bless him." But, my husband didn't agree to convert because he had succeeded in marrying me by force. In Addis Abeba, I became pregnant. We were on our way to Israel.

Survivor no. 2 narrated the following:

> **I:** Why did you marry him?
> **S:** It's the parents who marry us. That's the mentality. There is no choice. For him, I'm the seventh [wife], he is my second [husband].
> **I:** Where are the children from the other marriages?
> **S:** I divorced. I didn't have any children. I was a *galamota*. He has many children.

It should be pointed out that the social worker who had been assigned to this case had no idea that this was not the first marriage for the husband and had no clue as to the whereabouts of other children from previous liaisons or marriages.

Cycle of Domestic Violence

For all survivors, the attempted femicide was just a more extreme form of the domestic violence they had been suffering for years. The abuse had been continuous, and they had suffered physical injury

beforehand. In two of the three cases, the social worker had no idea of previous intimate partner violence. Survivor no. 2 reported:

> In Ethiopia, he bothered me, as well as in Israel. All the time he would ask: "Where are you going?" He would beat me. It is impossible to count how many times.

It should be pointed out here that the social worker wrote in the case file that this survivor had never complained of physical abuse, only of verbal violence.

All three survivors described the failed femicide as just one in a series of femicide attempts.

> Death—I saw death three times [said survivor no. 1]. I fled with the older children because he beat me so hard. I fled to another village [in Ethiopia], to family, but he pleaded that I would return.

Survivor no. 1 described a femicide threat in Israel after immigration:

> There were several previous attempts to strangle me. It was Purim [a carnivalesque Jewish festival]. I went out to the lawn below. He asked: "Why are you going outside?" He grabbed my hand and took my telephone away. The same day, he stayed at work all night. I prepared him breakfast. He arrived and said he didn't want to eat. He prepared a suitcase and started saying, "I'll kill you." I trembled. He said: "I'll kill you, I'll kill you."

The response to abuse was inevitably a return to the abuser. In village Ethiopia, the situation of

a divorced woman was even more difficult than in the West, where social benefits provide economic assistance, and shelters may protect the woman from further violence. The *galamota* was also open to sexual advances and virtually had to accept other men, in order to receive protection (Weil 1991). Survivor no. 3 narrated:

> I didn't want to, but I had no choice. I didn't want him to take the children or another father would raise them, so I returned. He has another daughter from a previous marriage in Israel. My father, of blessed memory, pleaded: "Don't go back to him. He will take your life and your soul." But, a *galamota* can't exist alone in Ethiopia.

Motive

Sela-Shayovitz (2010a) recorded that the dominant motives for femicide among Ethiopian immigrants were economic problems (45.8%) and depression (25%). These may have emerged from the transition from a patriarchal society in Ethiopia to a more egalitarian one, and be caused by psychological and cultural transition stresses (Edelstein 2013). A rare glimpse into the attitude of Ethiopian immigrant males to these issues, including domestic abuse and femicide, can be found in Azezehu-Admasu (2011). Undoubtedly, male motivations have to be taken into consideration. In this paper, however, the focus is upon the female survivors' own narratives and interpretations. In this study, it emerges from the women that a prominent cause of femicide is perceived jealousy or infidelity on behalf of the men. According to the women, the perception that the wife is un-

faithful plagues the husband, particularly if she goes out to work.

Survivor no. 1 recounted that her husband had told her: "It is forbidden to go out after the sun sets." The husband felt that he was not in control during the evening hours when it was dark and he suspected his wife's whereabouts.

Survivor no. 2 narrated:

> One night, he came from work. He said: "You go with boys." He threatened me. He said he'd kill me. After that, he wept. He went to sleep. His friend called and asked why I'm frightened.

Similarly, survivor no. 3, a woman looking after 7 children (of which only 2 were hers biologically), was accused of being unfaithful.

> I knew. I ordered a van and moved to another town. He called all the time on the telephone. "Come back." Each day on the phone he would say: "I want to see the children." I didn't have a good feeling. I had a high temperature. I went to the doctor and he said: "You've dehydrated. You don't drink water." I was cold. Slowly, I took pills and I felt better. Then he phoned and said: "I'm coming with a friend," but in the end, he came alone. The two girls were at home. I didn't speak to him. I couldn't sleep all the night. When he got up at five in the morning to go to work, I got up, I heard him and I sat on the bed. He sat down next to me and said: "I'm going." I said: "Then go." He said: "Tell the truth, you go with men."

A similar picture of sexual jealousy has been reported by Adinkrah (2008) for Ghana.

Weapon

Among Ethiopian migrants in Israel, in 87% of the cases, femicide occurs in the domestic sphere. The lethal act is perpetrated by two major means: gun shooting and knife stabbing. During periods of security-related national stress, like the Second Intifada in Israel, the incidence of intimate femicide rises, according to Sela-Shayovitz (2010b). In the 2005-2007 Ethiopian study, stabbing the victim with a knife was the most prevalent means of femicide, and accounted for 69% of all femicides and failed femicides during the period of study (Weil 2009), even though firearms are readily available in Israel. Gun shots constituted a mere 12% of all cases of Ethiopian migrant femicides. This could be attributed to the relatively high average age of the perpetrator, who usually did not serve in Israel's Defense Forces, and who did not have access or a license to hold firearms.

Survivor no. 1 narrated:

> He bought a knife. I hadn't seen it. He had hidden it and then he started to stab me in the stomach. I got hold of him from behind and then I saw that inside my stomach I had a knife, and I pulled it out. I fell down. Nothing. I don't see anything.

In line with the subjective experiences of narratives noted above, this survivor is virtually re-enacting the event and the last sentence is recounted in the present tense.

The description of the attempted killing is similar in the narrative of survivor no. 2:

> One day, I saw the knife and I asked him about it. He said it was nothing. I saw it under the bed and I took it to the kitchen. He was very angry and he hit me. That night, he hid the knife under the bed. He planned the whole thing. He got up in the middle of the night and grabbed me by the neck. He said: "Get out!" And then he began to stab me.

In her turn, survivor no. 3 described an almost identical scene in which her husband brought out a knife.

> He hid it from me. I saw it when he brought the knife home. One day I said to him: "What's that?" He said: "I'll show you, you'll yet see. I'll make you sorry that they spoke about you."

This survivor was only saved from death by her son, present at the attack, who wrestled with his father and prevented the murder. She had a premonition that something lethal would happen:

> I felt something, superiority from his part, something abnormal was going to happen. I said to him: "What's the matter with you?" He played, he spoke to the children. He came back from work. I thought that this is strange, that he's sitting and playing with the children. Usually, he doesn't play with them. He went into the bedroom to sleep. And I went to sleep with the two youngest children after I took a shower with the children. He went to sleep before me. And then he got up in the middle of the night. All the children were at home. Two children who were asleep didn't hear. My son saved me. He prevented him [the husband] from stabbing me with the knife.

Recourse to Authorities

In Ethiopia, the battered woman would return to her natal family, but in Israel, two of the women had no parents because their kin was not Jewish and therefore remained in Ethiopia: only people of Jewish descent are allowed to receive rights as immigrants according to Israel's Law of Return. In the case of survivor no. 1, her natal extended family lived in another city. It was her who made a complaint with the police after a violent attack on her.

A social worker visited survivor no. 2 at the absorption center several times a week, but the survivor did not confide in her.

I: Did you ever complain?

S: No. I never told the social worker. Nobody knew. My sisters were not with me in the absorption center.

Indeed, this particular femicide attempt, which took place only a few yards away from the main office of the absorption center and the office of the social worker, had taken the center's employees by total surprise. I was allowed access to the social worker's files. It was recorded that the Ethiopian woman had suffered from occasional verbal violence, but no physical violence. I interviewed the social worker. She said:

SW: From the file that I received, the survivor refused to speak with the previous social worker and with anyone at the beginning. I consulted with a local psychiatrist who specializes in the Ethiopian community, and the woman was referred to a post-trauma unit. She came only a few times, providing excuses other times, but basically I think it might have been helpful and had an effect.

I: Do you know of any incidents of physical assault prior to the murder attempt?

SW: There were no unusual relations between husband and wife. There may have been some verbal violence.

There is little question that a trigger in bringing on some femicides is recourse to authorities on the part of the woman. Campbell and colleagues (2003) pointed out, with reference to severe domestic violence, that one of the highest risk factors is complaining to the police or other authorities. In the case of survivor no. 1, she had issued a complaint with the police, after her husband had threatened her in a violent incident, and the husband was taken to prison. From that day on, the writing was written on the wall. She narrated:

Until 5 a.m., or 6 a.m. he kept saying: "I'll kill you." I said to my daughter: "Don't go to school." At 6.30 a.m. he went to work. I went to the police. They took him to prison. One day, on a holiday from prison, he tried to kill me.

Conclusions

This paper has introduced a new phenomenon that is worthy of research—"failed femicides"—which should be added to the growing literature on domestic violence, on the one hand, and femicide, on the other. This article reported upon three survivors of failed femicide attempts among Ethiopian female migrants in Israel. It is unusual in that in the scientific literature, if domestic violence is reported among migrants, it is usually confined to gender conflict and not extended to failed femicides. Here, the study focused on the survivors of femicide attacks, who have suffered the most extreme form of interpersonal violence. Earlier research among Ethiopians in Israel had revealed that a disproportionate number of femicides were perpetuated in their community compared to their size in the general population. While three case studies do not in any way constitute a representative sample, the narratives elicited provide insight into the plight of migrant women who have survived a lethal attack.

Studies of femicide tend to be quantitative, often under the guise of neutrality or objectivity. Through thematic analysis, there is an attempt to go beyond impartiality to reach an intersubjective understanding of the viewpoint of marginal, migrant women. While most studies of femicide have ignored the ethnic or cultural background of the murdered women, in this study, a window is opened into the worlds of migrant women and their suffering. Since few women actually survive femicide attempts, the nature of the small sample should not deter the scholar from the depth of migrant women's plights.

The thematic analysis of the survivors' narratives produced five key categories: village social structure; the cycle of domestic violence; the motive; the weapon; and recourse to authorities. The survivors narrated similar stories, born, as they were, in small Ethiopian rural villages. The women were forced to marry their husbands or were abducted by them, and suffered severe domestic violence, both in Ethiopia and after their emigration, of which social workers and kin appeared to be unaware. In all cases, the husband suspected that his wife was unfaithful to him. All three women were stabbed with a kitchen knife in a country, Israel, where the use of firearms is rampant. They were all nearly killed in the domestic arena, in the apartment in which their children were present. In two of the three cases, the social workers who constantly visited had no idea of the violence; in one case, the survivor had issued a complaint with the police and knew that "the writing was on the wall."

The narratives represent rare testimonies of what actually happened on the night of the failed femicide. The study of narrative provides understanding into women's subjective experiences, the ways they understand events, and the episodes they are trying to organize in their heads. Interestingly, the distinction made by Squire (2008) between event-centered and experience-centered narratives appears to be less pertinent among Ethiopian migrants than among Westerners: in the narratives recounted in this paper, the event *is* the experience. While no generalizations can be made, the article may encourage comparisons with other failed femicide survivor narratives from other migrant women originating and residing in different settings. Until now, the voices of femicide survivors have not been sufficiently heard and the experiences of migrant women in a lethal male attack are unknown. With the increase of migrants to Europe and other parts of the world in recent times, non-Western survivor narratives may become an increasingly important tool for policy-makers and for academics to understand how femicides occur, how migrant women perceive them, and how they can be combated.

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Ashley Chen
University of Ottawa, Canada

Sarah Fiander
Carleton University, Canada

Justin Piché
University of Ottawa, Canada

Kevin Walby
University of Winnipeg, Canada

Captive and Captor Representations at Canadian Penal History Museums

Abstract   This article examines representations of prisoners and prison staff from 45 penal tourism sites across Canada. Drawing from literature on representations of criminal justice, we demonstrate that the objects, signs, and symbolism in these heritage sites are curated in ways that can create separation between penal spectators and prisoners. Positive representations of prison staff stand in contrast to depictions of prisoners who are often demonized in museum displays through emphasis placed on narratives, relics, and images of danger and violence. Arguing that these depictions generate conditions for the support and justification of punitive practices including incarceration, we conclude by reflecting on what our findings add to social science literature on representations of captives and captors.

Keywords   Penal History Museums; Prisoners; Prison Staff; Prisons; Objects; Representations; Canada

Ashley Chen is an MA student in Criminology at the University of Ottawa. Her research interests include transnational corporate harms, and discursive constructions of crime and punishment. Ashley's work on cultural representations of the penal system, as part of Justin Piché and Kevin Walby's Carceral Cultures Research Initiative, has been published in a number of academic journals. Ashley has also served as an Editorial Assistant for the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*.

email address: achen092@uottawa.ca

Sarah Fiander is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at Carleton University conducting research on the experiences of criminalized and incarcerated mothers. Sarah's work on cultural representations of the penal system, as part of Justin Piché and Kevin Walby's Carceral Cultures Research Initiative, has been published in a number of academic journals. Sarah has also served as an Editorial Assistant for the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*.

email address: sfian079@gmail.com

Justin Piché, PhD, is an Associate Professor in the Department of Criminology at the University of Ottawa and Co-Managing Editor of the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* (www.jpp.org). His research examines the reproduction of and resistance to imprisonment as a dominant idea and material practice in Canada.

email address: Justin.Piche@uottawa.ca

Kevin Walby is an Associate Professor and Chancellor's Research Chair, Department of Criminal Justice, University of Winnipeg. He is co-author with R. Lippert of *Municipal Corporate Security in International Context* (Routledge, 2015). He is Co-Editor of the *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons* and Book Review Editor for *Surveillance & Society*.

email address: k.walby@uwinnipeg.ca

The prison operates within a "secret world" (Surette 2011) about which the general public knows little. Yet the prison and other carceral spaces remain highly visible in the popular imagination and are a seemingly permanent fixture in Anglo-Saxon countries (Brown 2009). Though it is becoming more common for people to have direct experience as a captive, a captor, or as a loved one of either (Walmsley 2013), most of what is publicly known about imprisonment is informed by news and entertainment media (O'Sullivan 2005; Wilson and O'Sullivan 2005; Bennett 2006; Mason 2006a; 2006b), as well as other cultural productions (Carrabine 2011), including penal history museums.

Recent studies highlight how penal tourism sites in Australia (e.g., Wilson 2008a), Canada (e.g., Walby and Piché 2015), South Africa (e.g., Shearing and Kempa 2004), the United Kingdom (e.g., Barton and Brown 2015), the United States (e.g., Bruggeman 2012), and elsewhere in the world (e.g., Ross 2012; Welch 2015) are becoming a popular forum where images and narratives of penality can be consumed, often within the confines of decommissioned carceral spaces. While Brown (2009) argues representations of prisoners in wider popular culture tend to demonize prisoners, creating social distance between the public and the incarcerated, little research has examined how the incarcerated are depicted within penal heritage sites. Moreover, representations of prison staff and of how their role in penality is framed in these historical settings has not been a major focus in penal tourism literature.

We address these gaps by examining representations of captives and captors in both larger and smaller Canadian penal history museums. Drawing on data compiled at 45 of these sites across Canada, we show how the signs and symbols found in most of these museums foster distance between penal spectators (i.e., the tourists) and prisoners. The latter are often demonized through a fixation on violent incidents and stories of danger relating to imprisonment. We have also found that the perspectives of prisoners concerning incarceration and punishment are excluded from most of these representations. In contrast, prison staff are humanized and celebrated through positive

penal history museum portrayals of their work (also see: Wilson 2008a). While we are not disputing the complicated work carried out by prison administrators and front-line staff (see: Liebling, Price, and Shefer 2011), we draw attention to the clear differences that exist between depictions of captors and captives in penal tourism sites where exceptional incidents are often highlighted. Our analysis below draws on criminal justice literature, which examines how representations comprised of signs, symbols, and objects communicate messages about criminalized harms, law, and (in)justice (e.g., Maneri and Ter Wal 2005; Ulasewicz 2007; Brown 2009; Khachan 2012).

This article begins by reviewing research on representations of prisoners and prison staff found in entertainment and news media, as well as penal tourism literature, which inform our work on depictions of penal actors found in Canadian museums. Following an overview of the fieldwork we conducted at prison tourism sites, we present our findings and demonstrate how most Canadian penal history museums are organized in ways that lend support to the intensification of penality. Specifically, we show that these representations can foster connections between prison staff and penal spectators, and justify punitive ideologies that inform carceral practices. In the discussion, we assess the ways in which such representations of prisoners and prison staff may foster punitive views of prisoners. We conclude by reflecting on the implications of our findings for social science literature on representations of prisoners and prison staff, as well as prisons and penal tourism more broadly.

Representations of Prisoners and Prison Staff

This study focuses on the representations of prisoners and prison staff in penal history museums. As Stuart Hall (1997:15) argued, "[r]epresentation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture." While meaning is produced in part through written language, images and sounds may also be used to further extend or enhance intended meanings. Films or other symbolic productions use representation to project specific images, characters, and plots, all of which are framed and then interpreted in different ways (see: Watney 1989; Lidchi 1997; Eide and Knight 1999). Representations also legitimize some knowledge systems and not others (Howarth 2006). In our case, representations of penality may endorse or promote certain constructions of prisoners, their captors, and carceral spaces. As Mason (2006a:251) notes, media representations of prisons have at times promoted "populist and highly punitive penal policy." Museums do much the same by presenting select narratives and constructing specific frames through which issues and conflicts become interpreted (Barton and Brown 2015; Lin 2015). Representation is also a means by which some subjects are framed as "others" and therefore untrustworthy, or depicted as similar to the self and therefore acceptable (Drake 2011). In museums, representations of prisoners and prison staff may foster stereotypes about one set of penal actors or both.

Over the past three decades, a great deal of research has been conducted on the way in which prisons and prisoners are represented in popular culture. For instance, research has shown that news media outlets play an important role in defining public knowledge of the penal system (Mathiesen 2001; Sela-Shayovitz 2007; Kohm 2009; Marsh 2009). In a study of news media reports, Altheide and Coyle (2006) found that prisoners and individuals in conflict with the law are merged into one homogeneous "othered" group considered to be inferior and thus deserving of punishment. Similarly, Drake (2011:368) writes, the criminalized are constructed as public enemies in media discourses that dwell on graphically violent depictions, which also call for greater state interventions and harsher punitive measures. News readers and viewers are able to detach themselves from their own responsibility in the treatment of the incarcerated when they view material constructing all prisoners as one universal "enemy" group consisting of unpredictable and dangerous people (Drake 2011:380). Televised news coverage on incarceration highlights extraordinary events occurring within penal institutions, while mundane aspects of daily prison life and management are rarely communicated to members of the public (Surette 2011). In an analysis of stories about prisons in national newspapers published in the United Kingdom, Mason (2006a:253-254) found that news media representations rely primarily on discourses of fear and dangerousness to construct a body of rhetoric that positions incarceration as a necessary strategy for public safety. By focusing on the violent extremes of prison life and featuring stories of escape, security breaches, and early release, news media representations often ignore significant facets of life in prison—the daily monotony of rigid routines and schedules to which prisoners

are subject, the erosion of prisoners' rights, and unprecedented increases in the prisoner population as a result of increasingly punitive penal policies (Mason 2006a:261-262). Because most citizens rely heavily on the news media for information about prisons, extreme narratives that disproportionately draw on rhetoric of violence and risk dominate the ways in which public knowledge of prisoners and prison life is shaped (Marsh 2009).

Literature on representations of prisoners in entertainment media yields similar findings. In a study of a "reality" television program about women in prison, Cecil (2007) found that the imprisoned are often constructed using archetypical clichés consisting of deviant traits such as violent tendencies and "bad" parenting, which may then affirm existing beliefs held by audiences concerning the need for harsh(er) penal policies and practices (also see: Cecil and Leitner 2009). O'Sullivan's (2001:330) analysis of four prison films indicates that the imagery communicated within fictional portrayals of incarceration accepts imprisonment as a necessary component of the social order. Focusing on violent prisoners, prison films typically provide a skewed representation of the general prisoner population. O'Sullivan (2001:318) argues, "the public have a poor understanding of the characteristics of the offending population and their offences" since the "worst of the worst" appear to be the norm in these films. Eigenberg and Baro (2003) found that prison movies might play a part in presenting the social construct of male rape in prison as a norm, thus creating the expectation that sexual harm is pervasive in prison. Mason's (2006b) research on cinematic depictions of prisoners notes that the

graphic exploitation of violence and sexual assault in prison films is depicted voyeuristically, and fosters even greater dissociation between the public and prisoners.

Penal history museums are likewise venues where representations of prisoners (and prison staff) shape how the public understands criminalization and punishment. As contributors to museums studies and memorialization have argued, such historical sites paradoxically both preserve and distort the past (e.g., Kelley 2011; Bruggeman 2012; Otele 2012; Morin 2013). For example, while attempting to appear as more authentic and legitimate sources of information about the history of imprisonment, many prison museums focus on (in)famous prisoners and incidents. Indeed, in their study on the Robben Island Museum in South Africa, Phaswana-Mafuya and Haydam (2005) found that tourists expected to learn about the prison's most famous prisoner, Nelson Mandela, and be given the opportunity to tour his cell and browse his personal belongings.

While scholars such as Shearing and Kempa (2004) have noted that Mandela is celebrated as a symbol of hope in this forum, more often these sites tend to focus on prisoners who symbolize less savory aspects of the human condition. For instance, Wilson (2004) found that ex-prisoner "Chopper" Read was a focal point of the tour at the Pentridge Prison Museum in Australia, which featured anecdotes and relics relating to the notorious prisoner. Read became known for his brutal reputation, along with his autobiographical book about his life in prison that was later adapted into the movie, *Chopper*, in 2000. Wilson (2004) cautions that focusing on violent depic-

tions about "elite prisoners" overwhelms the voices of the majority of captives. By emphasizing the most violent stories related to imprisonment, penal tourism sites often stigmatize the incarcerated as wicked and dangerous in a totalizing fashion, informing and giving credence to exclusionary ideas. In her research on prison imagery, Brown (2009) contends that tours of decommissioned prisons often direct visitors' attention to riots, escape attempts, murders, and executions. Brown argues that while this process is meant to make the experience appear more authentic and entertaining for visitors, focusing on violence reinforces the "othering" of and misconceptions about the incarcerated.

Fewer publications and much less research have focused on representations of captors (e.g., Wilson and O'Sullivan 2004; Gonthier 2006). In an analysis of newsprint media in the United States, Vickovic, Griffin, and Fradella (2013) found that prison staff are often portrayed as corrupt, morally ambiguous, violent towards prisoners, and engaged in various forms of harassment and discrimination. These portrayals in news media suggest a "contagion effect" in which the morality of prison officers is tainted due to their association with criminalized and incarcerated people encountered in their line of work. To add to this literature, we examine representations of prison staff in addition to depictions of prisoners found within penal tourism sites across Canada.

Research Design and Analysis

We have made detailed observations at 45 Canadian penal history museums where we have also con-

ducted interviews where possible (n-52). These sites range from small county gaols and local lock-ups to larger decommissioned jails, prisons, and penitentiaries (Walby and Piché 2015). The rationale for this design was to compare different dimensions of penal tourism museums in one country, and to include smaller sites that are often overlooked due to their rural location or lack of notoriety outside of the regions where they are located. The data examined here are representative of the majority of cases in our sample. In other words, these data are explanatory (Stake 1995) since they help us point to general tendencies with most cases.

As research team members participated in site tours or observation sessions, their focus was directed towards four types of arrangements—spatial, visual, narrative, and performative. The spatial refers to the manner in which museum space is organized and how visitors are directed through the site. The visual pertains to museum aesthetics. The narrative relates to the content tourists encounter through interactions with guides and texts found throughout a site. The performative emphasizes museum staff and volunteer roles, and how these were executed. Site histories, marketing practices, the visitor experience, and museum staff views of prisoners, prison staff, incarceration, punishment, and the role of museums were also addressed in addition to the four themes noted above in interviews. A field note guide sheet also prompted research team members to document their overall impressions of museums and any significant observations, as well as methodological and theoretical insights. Hundreds of photographs were taken at each research site, with these visuals serving as

an aide-memoire and analytical guide during the writing process (Walby and Piché 2016). Additional data were retrieved from website content and other marketing materials where available, which are the focus of another paper (see: Luscombe, Walby, and Piché 2015).

Data analysis was a team-based process. Although analysis of representations based on pre-existing codes can be quite informative (e.g., Sarpavaara 2007), our codes were assembled inductively. To begin the data analysis process, we engaged in an initial round of open-coding of all 45 sets of data to identify various key tendencies emerging from our fieldwork. For the purposes of this paper, data were sorted into two broad categories: (1) representations of prisoners and (2) representations of prison staff or officials. We then compiled our individual findings and engaged in a round of collaborative coding wherein we organized our data into several sub-categories within each larger category. Ultimately, vignettes that were most representative of each sub-category were selected.

Representations of Prisoners and Staff at Canadian Penal Tourism Sites

Our analysis reveals several recurring constructions of prisoners and prison staff in Canadian penal history museums. Prisoners are most often depicted as dangerous and demonized through repetitive stories of violence, escape attempts, or other notable occurrences. The focus on (in)famous or exceptional prisoners and incidents renders the everyday experiences and lived realities of the general prisoner population invisible and unimportant.

Exhibits displaying devices used to subdue prisoners, such as whips and chains, imply extra security measures and devices were, at least at one time, needed to control them. Stories of the ghosts of former prisoners and rumors of hauntings at prison museums further dehumanize those that were incarcerated and/or executed at these sites. Finally, displays emphasizing the barbarity of conditions of confinement "back then" by staging old cells as crudely as possible suggest a significant evolution of the Canadian penal system, whereby prisoners today have it "easy" by comparison, or that pains of imprisonment have since diminished.

In contrast, prison staff and other penal actors are constructed as altruistic human beings that deign to work with such a difficult and undeserving population. Depictions detailing acts of bravery and kindness further elevate prison staff in status. The symbolism of artifacts associated with Canada and the monarchy also conveys captor patriotism and a sense of duty to their country and the Crown. Staff members at many sites are humanized through the clear identification of their full names and titles next to their photos, as well as through stories of their achievements, both within the prison and in the greater community. Smaller, local museum sites further humanize prison staff by displaying pictures and narratives of their homes, especially at locations where jailers and their families lived on-site. This was one key difference between large and small museum representations. We explain and expand on these findings below.

Depictions of Violent and Menacing Prisoners

The depictions presented in Canadian penal history museums focused mostly on spectacular stories of exceptionally dangerous prisoners. At many sites, scripts or discussion points provided by tour guides included exciting stories of the most notorious prisoners held captive at the facility. At the Albert County Museum in Hopewell, New Brunswick, the most prominent portrayal focused on Tom Collins, also known as the "Axe Murderer." According to signs posted in the museum, Collins, the only person to be executed at the Albert County Gaol, was sentenced to hang for murdering a woman by cracking her skull with an axe. Collins' exceptional case overshadows the experience of the majority of prisoners held at the gaol. A less prominent poster at the same museum indicates that most of the people imprisoned there were detained for minor, non-violent incidents, including public intoxication, failure to pay debts or taxes, and hunting during prohibited seasons. Staff and

Image 1. Photo by Alex Luscombe of wanted posters adorning a prison cell wall at the Jailhouse Museum in Tweed.

volunteers working at many of the museums examined in our larger study, such as the Old Stone Jail in Beaverton, Ontario, admitted that the sites had served as multi-purpose facilities, incarcerating mostly local "drunks," "lunatics," and "vagrants"—not the violent prisoners that dominated the focus of displays at these sites.

Another example of a depiction that focused on violent prisoners was presented at the Jailhouse Museum in Tweed, Ontario. A newspaper clipping hanging on a wall declares that Gideon Budds, a man suspected of murdering his wife, was held at the small jail for one night before being transferred to a larger prison. Although this one-room jail served mostly as a container for rowdy and intoxicated locals, the story of Budds' overnight stay is singled out and featured over all other possible narratives and occurrences at this site. Posters proclaiming, "WANTED: DEAD OR ALIVE," featuring famous "outlaws" who were not associated with the site in any way, including the American

Image 2. Photo by Alex Luscombe of a *London Evening Free Press* article on a prison escape at the former Middlesex County Gaol.

bandits Bonnie and Clyde, were also plastered across the walls of the small jail. This communicates to penal spectators imageries of violent and notorious prisoners rather than the mundane reality of the jailhouse.

Attempted prison escapes were also a focus at many jail sites, including the Middlesex County Administration Building in London, Ontario. The tour incorporated the stories of one prisoner who tried to climb out of his cell using bed sheets tied together and another prisoner who smuggled a hacksaw into the jail. At the Huron Historical Gaol in Goderich, Ontario, stories of prisoner escapes included the methods employed by prison staff to combat these attempts. For instance, one display discussed the gaol walls that were smoothed down with loose stones strategically placed so as to prevent prisoners from scaling them. These stories of near and successful escapes construct prisoners as potential dangers to the surrounding area, emphasizing their cunningness and desperation to flee from the prison. Many sites also reported that the majority of runaway prisoners were later recaptured by the authorities and returned to their "rightful place" behind bars.

Focusing on exceptional depictions constructs prisoners as menaces in need of greater security measures to control them. The emphasis placed on representations of violent individuals does not acknowledge the violence prisoners themselves have experienced at the hands of prison staff, as well as through the everyday pains of confinement (Sykes 1958; also see: Crewe 2011). The vast majority of prisoners remain nameless and faceless, especially at

penal tourism sites with little to no mention of prisoners, such as the Morrin Centre in Quebec City, Quebec. Similar to Drake's (2011:380) findings of dehumanizing portrayals of the criminalized in news media sources, the representation of prisoners by Canadian penal history museums can allow penal spectators to detach themselves from the lived realities of the incarcerated, and further implies that the most "natural" answer is to lock up these "dangerous others" rather than address the myriad social conditions that are often at the root of criminalized conflicts (Brown 2009).

Artifacts of Danger and Cunningness

In addition to depictions that focus on violence, numerous relics and artifacts displayed in the penal tourism sites visited contribute to the prominent representation of prisoners as a continuous threat to society. At the Old Jail Museum in L'Orignal, Ontario, whips, handcuffs, and a pillory are on display for visitors to examine. Posters throughout the jail indicate that forks, knives, uniform ties, and belts were prohibited on-site as a safety precaution to prevent prisoners from using them as weapons. Precautionary security measures are also emphasized at The Old Prison Museum in Trois-Rivières, Quebec, where visitors are invited to participate in a straightjacket demonstration. A tour guide at the site explained

that female prisoners often had to be physically restrained after spending prolonged isolated periods in their cells. An explanation of the special meal and recess schedule developed to ensure specific groups of prisoners did not cross paths and come into conflict with one another emphasized the inherent dangerousness of the people incarcerated at the facility. One display in the "Contraband" exhibit at the Federal Penitentiary Museum in Kingston, Ontario, features a stack of cafeteria food trays fused together and hollowed-out by a prisoner in order to facilitate his escape, which was unsuccessful and made the local news. This exhibit also includes lock-picking kits smuggled in or assembled by prisoners. Such displays imply prisoners are unpredictable and untrustworthy, and stress the need for additional security measures and safety precautions to be taken when working with this population.

Image 3. Photo by Justin Piché of a display featuring a prisoner-made weapon at the Federal Penitentiary Museum.

Display cases containing prisoners' contraband weapons are also featured at several museum

sites. At the Keillor House Museum in Dorchester, New Brunswick, shanks and other weapons made by prisoners are on display in the "Penitentiary" exhibit. At the Rotary Museum of Police and Corrections in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, various weapons confiscated from prisoners, including a knife made of bone and handmade pistol replicas, are prominently displayed. Wilson (2008b:12) writes that violent stories and images of prisoner-made weapons communicated during penal tours contribute to the construction of prisoners as wicked and cunning, and further legitimize the need for imprisonment. According to Brown (2009), these processes of vilification also expand social distance between penal spectators and prisoners (also see: Wilson 2008b).

Demonized in Death

Even after death, prisoners are constructed as malicious beings through ghost stories told at some Canadian penal history museums. Most of these rumored "hauntings" involve a prisoner being executed for some violent act. For instance, at the Charlotte County Old Gaol in New Brunswick, museum staff allege the site is haunted by the ghost of a former prisoner who was executed for murder and by a man who committed suicide while imprisoned. Similarly, a staff member at the Fort Saskatchewan Penitentiary Museum in Alberta told the story of an incarcerated woman, who claimed to be innocent, that was hung at the site for murder

and whose ghost was reportedly seen by visitors amidst the fog captured in a picture. On the website of the King George Inn, located in an old historical jail in Cobourg, Ontario, visitors are invited to make their visit even more "exciting" by hosting events at this "haunted" jail grounds. Stories of haunted prisons and of prisoners returning as demonic beings further dehumanize captives, implying their vengeful spirits linger on after death.

Image 4. Photo by Jonathan Côté of a note posted on a door by Charlotte County Archives staff notifying visitors of the ghostly presence of Thomas Dowd, who was executed at the site in 1879.

Gordon (2008:xix) explains ghost stories are "haunting reminders of lingering trouble." Through ghost stories and promotions of haunted jail sites, prisoners' struggles are often transformed from narratives of pain into exciting anecdotes for the thrilling entertainment of visitors. As previously mentioned, the construction and viewing of prisoners' lives as forms of entertainment create social distance between penal spectators and the subjects of their observation (i.e., prisoners) (Brown 2009). A guide at the Middlesex County Administration Building in

London, Ontario, mentioned to visitors that many executed prisoners were still buried in the courtyard around the site, and described the old cellblock as "creepy" and "spooky," constructing prisoners as an eternal force that continues to threaten society even in death. Such narratives also prolong the spectacle of punishment, and prevent deceased prisoners from enjoying the respectful commemoration and dignity afforded to prison staff.

"Past" Versus "Present" Discourse

The final sub-category identified addresses discourses of "past and present" or "then and now." In the "Suicide cell block" at the Old Lindsay Jail in Peterborough, Ontario, a particular informational display sets out to visitors what it was like for captives "living in an 1863 jail cell," describing cells as "no bigger than a closet" and claiming "prison life was a wake-up call and something [prisoners] did not want to return to." This description conjures images of a time before running water, electricity, and other contemporary comforts visitors take for granted, while suggesting these conditions were nothing short of justice served for "law-breakers" at the time. The Federal Penitentiary Museum in Kingston, Ontario, takes a similar exhibit one step further by recreating a side-by-side comparison of a typical tiny cell from 1835-1906 with a comparatively larger one from 1998-present (see: Walby and Piché 2011). These representations of conditions of confinement for prisoners "then" and their present-day counterparts foster social distance between museum visitors and prisoners by allowing penal spectators to feel relieved at the "progress" made, or possibly to view prisoners today as "having it easy."
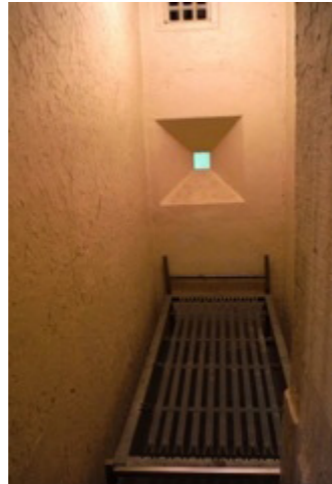

Image 5. Photo by Alex Luscombe of a prison cell at the former Middlesex County Gaol.

Other penal tourism sites depicted more explicit connections between "past and present" through entertainment-driven tour guide scripts. While guiding visitors through a tour of the jail's cellblock, an employee at the Middlesex Country Administration Office that is housed in the former jail in London, Ontario, exclaimed, "We think jails are bad now! Wait until you see this one!," and proceeded to draw the group's attention to "just how crude and rustic [the cells] were." Similarly, on the first page of the "Gaol Tourmate Script" for the Huron Historic Gaol in Goderich, Ontario, guides are instructed to welcome visitors "who wish to gain insight into the society of our past." This framing implies an especially depraved past environment of confinement and suggests that prisoners no longer experience these conditions in the present-day carceral state. In addition, the comments made by a tour guide at the decommissioned Middlesex County Jail in Ontario suggest modern penal institutions are even more comfortable than the public perceives them to be, which can legitimate "tough-on-crime" legislation and increasingly austere prison conditions.

Commemoration of Prison Staff

Compared to prisoners, who tend to be demonized in portrayals at prison museums, prison guards and other officers are commemorated for the sacrifices

made in serving and protecting the public, including being injured or killed in the line of duty. For example, at the Keillor House Museum in Dorchester, New Brunswick, details about a guard who was stabbed and killed during a prison riot are displayed next to a photo taken at his funeral. The accompanying newspaper clippings describe the guard, Officer Masterton, as a quiet-mannered man, who was survived by his wife and children. The display evokes strong feelings of pride in Officer Masterton and sympathy for his widowed family.

Image 6. Photo by Alex Luscombe of the Kearwood "Kip" White display at the Huron Historical Gaol Museum.

Similarly, at the Huron Historical Gaol Museum in Goderich, Ontario, a display about a turnkey named Kearwood "Kip" White, who was killed by a prisoner during an escape attempt, is placed next to a larger exhibit entitled, "The Canadian Peace and Police Officers Memorial." The display describes the national

annual service as "a lasting tribute to the brave men and women killed while performing their duties as police and peace officers," and vows to never forget their sacrifices. In particular, prison officers killed by prisoners are immortalized as heroes within their local communities, as well as at the national level during the Memorial Service held annually in Ottawa, the nation's capital. Accounts of deaths and injuries suffered by prison staff and officers are constructed as especially tragic when compared to accounts of prisoners' deaths, who, although also immortalized, are often relegated to a dangerous, demonic, and ghostly "othered" status. These findings are contrasted against the immortalization of prison staff through formal remembrance services centered on honor and duty. Not addressed in these depictions where the source of violence identified tends to be the individual criminalized assailants are the long observed power imbalances between prisoners and prison staff that foster resentment amongst these actors that can erupt into conflict and the loss of life (Sykes 1958).

Artifacts of Duty and Valor

At many of the penal tourism sites in our sample, the belongings of guards and other prison staff were carefully and respectfully displayed for visitors to examine. For instance, at the Fort Saskatchewan Museum in Alberta, several display cases contained former guards' uniforms and badges issued at the prison. Common design elements present in most prison staff uniforms employ symbolism relating to duty, honor, and nationalism. In addition to

guard uniforms, a collection of badges and buttons is on display at the Federal Penitentiary Museum in Kingston, Ontario, most of which are emblazoned with red and gold maple leafs and the crown of the British monarchy. Featured awards are also displayed, including those for bravery, honor, peacekeeping, and commemoration. The symbols on these insignias demonstrate the level of reverence shown for penal system actors and their line of work for having to deal with prisoners on a daily basis.

Image 7. Photo by Justin Piché of staff badges displayed at the Federal Penitentiary Museum.

Portrayals of prison guards as heroic allow these individuals to be viewed as more admirable and respectable by penal spectators. Rather than discuss serious systemic issues occurring in prisons since their inception, such as staff brutality and corruption (see: Beattie 1977), the Canadian penal tourism sites in our study generally depict prison staff as the epitome of honor and duty, voluntarily taking on the task of protecting society against prisoners. Such

an arrangement increases the potential of fostering solidarity between penal spectators and enforcers of the law, while simultaneously expanding the social distance between tourists and the "othered" group of prisoners.

Depictions of Altruism

Within the confines of penal history museums in Canada, prison staff and other state actors are often portrayed as generous and self-sacrificing human beings. An account of altruism displayed by prison staff was found on an interpretive sign at the Old Lindsay Jail in Ontario, which claimed, "the Warden or a staff member would then go to the store and get the prescription for the sick person" after a visit from the prison's resident doctor. This account of a warden's care and level of involvement in the daily lives of the prisoners in his custody contributes to the construction of prison operators as compassionate and attentive to the needs of captives.

Image 8. Photo by Alex Luscombe of a placard describing "The Laundry Room" at the Huron Historical Gaol Museum.
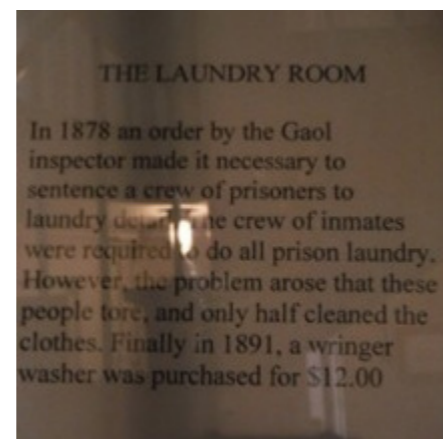
At the Huron County Museum and Historic Gaol in Goderich, Ontario, tour guides making use of page two of the "Gaol Tourmate Script" inform visitors that arduous prison labor programs "provided a welcome change from the monotony of [the prisoners'] cellblock." Such language portrays prison officials positively as they sought to implement rehabilitative rather than overtly punitive programs. Another placard at the site explains that, at one time, prisoners were assigned to laundry duty until staff reported the prisoners merely "tore, and only half cleaned the clothes." In this anecdote, the program proved to be ineffective, suggesting prisoners at the facility were unappreciative of the opportunity and simply beyond help despite the best efforts of prison staff. At the same museum, the site's gaoler, Joseph Griffin, is heralded in page five of the "Gaol Tourmate Script" for bringing forth "needed reform in penology" by setting up a woodworking shop and planting a garden with fruit trees. While these efforts may have benefitted prisoners of the gaol, the overall construction of prison staff at the facility as having worked tirelessly to rehabilitate and reward well-behaved prisoners may legitimate punitive sanctions against prisoners who fail to see their treatment by their captors in this light (Sykes 1958). The focus on altruistic actions undertaken by prison staff suggests prisoners are given beneficial amenities that even people on the outside cannot access. This portrayal of the prison as an exceptional space is presented alongside the dominant narratives of rampant dangerousness. Marsh (2009) suggests that this juxtaposition further implies that prisoners are undeserving of compassionate treatment, not

only because of their potential dangerousness, but also because of their ungrateful attitudes towards the acts of altruism they benefit from while inside.

Humanization of Prison Staff

As noted above, penal actors are humanized through depictions of their altruistic rehabilitative efforts made towards mostly unappreciative prisoners. Moreover, prison staff are commemorated when they are killed while on duty, and even more so when this death is a result of interactions with the incarcerated. Many prison guards and wardens are also honored at prison sites even when this is not the case. At the Huron Historical Gaol Museum in Goderich, Ontario, an obituary of former turnkey, Edward Campaigne, on display reads, "In his official capacity he manifested a love of discipline, which, coupled with his warm-heartedness and remarkable strength, maintained excellent order in the jail as well as in its general appointments as in the conduct of the prisoners." Many local prison museums also provide information about former prison staff who may have served at the site or in the surrounding community. At the Gaol Museum in Saint Claude, Manitoba, the small lockup site is decorated with achievements of former prison officers, including photographs of one constable's fiftieth wedding anniversary, and a tribute to one constable's successful butcher shop. These displays stand in contrast to the milestones that are emphasized when discussing former prisoners, which focus on their criminal record or other disreputable details about their lives.

Image 9. Photo by Alex Luscombe of a display commemorating the 50th wedding anniversary of former Saint Claude Constable Napoléon Dion and his wife at the Gaol Museum.

Exhibits about the gaoler or warden's adjoining residences were also found at many of the museum sites visited. These sites often included information about how a jail keeper and his family lived, their daily duties and tasks, and displays or replicas of their belongings. For instance, visitors at the Huron Historical Gaol Museum in Goderich, Ontario, are invited to tour the Governor's House. The residence is attached to the gaol and contains rich furnishings from the 20th century, as well as portraits and photos of former wardens and their families. Allowing visitors to "experience" a day in the life of a jail keeper by touring their residence and viewing their personal belongings and photographs enhances the likelihood that solidarity will be fostered with penal spectators by communicating the idea that these men and women are doing admirable work for the community. Whereas staff are depicted as having lives worth living, prisoners are most often reduced to and defined by their most deplored acts, with no consideration

of their families or the social and political conditions that may have lead them into conflict with the law.

Our findings suggest that prison staff are portrayed positively in Canadian penal history museums through narratives and artifacts emphasizing notions of honor, duty, and sacrifice, which can be juxtaposed against findings from Vickovic, Griffin, and Fradella (2013) on depictions of correctional staff in print news media across the United States. In their study, the authors found that guards were constructed as doing "dirty work," and through the sensationalization of violent prisoners in news stories, prison staff were represented as being associated with the immorality of prisoners. Our findings suggest the opposite in penal history museums—while the line between the punished and their punishers is blurred in newsprint media, prison staff in Canadian penal history museums are consistently depicted as venerated upholders of the law against the dangerous prisoner population. In Canadian penal history museums, the division between "us" and "them" is defined through narratives of duty and sacrifice contrasted against stories of dangerousness and violence.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our study focused on representations of prisoners and prison staff at Canadian penal history museums, which possess the "symbolic power" (Ulasewicz 2007:152) or "cultural power" (Welch 2015) to shape public views of criminalized harms, law, and

(in)justice. As Howarth (2006:79) notes, representations are important to study because "in supporting a particular version of the social order, they protect particular interests over others." Our analysis of objects, signs, and symbolism presented at the 45 sites our research team has studied indicates that prisoners in Canada are most often constructed as "dangerous criminals" requiring tight security measures and constant supervision to prevent the smuggling or fabrication of contraband items, escape attempts, and violent attacks on other prisoners or guards. In advancing dehumanizing portrayals of prisoners, the relationship between viewers and the subjects of punishment is severed in such a way that invites the former to gaze upon the suffering of the latter as an entertaining activity (Brown 2009:97-98).

Our analysis of the representations of captives and their captors in Canadian penal history museums raises important questions about the marketability of dark tourism, which capitalizes on visitors' interest by relying on narratives of violence, death, and morbidity (Stone and Sharpley 2008). According to Brown, McDonagh, and Schultz (2012:198), museum curators and managers must ensure dark tourism sites are "packaged, promoted, priced, and positioned, just like any other product or service" to attract visitors. In another article produced within the larger research project on Canadian penal history museums, Luscombe and colleagues (2015) explore specific marketing strategies employed by prison tourism site curators and promoters, namely, their claims of authenticity, historical specificity, and exclusiveness. These sites promise to exceed visitors' desires and expectations for entertainment, while also seeking to strike a balance between commemo-

rating and commodifying the painful lived realities of prisoners incarcerated at these sites. Such practices raise the concern that stories of violence and death in prison presented at penal history museums may be sensationalized and/or sanitized for wider public consumption to satisfy visitors' desires to be entertained with the shocking and macabre (Huey 2011), to the detriment of those who have experienced such pains in actual carceral settings.

The penal tourism sites examined in this study often claim to portray an "authentic" perspective of imprisonment, though the depictions offered present prisoners in a stereotypical and, at times, belittling manner. Similar to findings in literature on prison discourse in the mainstream media, prisoners continue to be homogenized by portrayals at penal tourism sites and are often constructed as part of a demonized "other" group deserving of punishment. Though some representations may make room for revelation, humanization, and empathy (see: Fiander et al. 2016), our findings indicate that depictions of prisoners at most penal tourism sites across Canada often mimic views disseminated through news and entertainment media, which offer a dichotomous construction of captors and captives. This contrast is especially pronounced in smaller museums where the personal lives of captors are discussed in a positive light, alongside professional accomplishments that tend to be the focus of staff representations at penal history museums. Set against positive portrayals of prison staff members, we argue that the representations of prisoners as hazardous in penal heritage sites, big and small, legitimate discourse on prisons as the natural and necessary response to criminalized acts.

While the prisoners of decommissioned carceral facilities largely remain nameless and faceless (with the exception of celebrity prisoners), the names and photographs of guards, wardens, and other staff were often displayed in a respectful manner, at times accompanied by photographs of themselves and their families. Museum exhibits encourage penal spectators to empathize with the arduous duties of prison staff, as well as admire their acts of bravery and altruism. Our findings suggest that representations at penal tourism sites are political in the sense that these depictions foster views of prisoners that can support *status quo* power relations (also see: Wilson 2008a; Mendel and Steinberg 2011; McAlister 2013). As such, the Canadian penal history museums discussed here are likely to create social distance between prisoners and penal spectators by fostering social solidarity with captors. Although more research is needed on visitor reactions to these penal spectacles, our additional analysis of TripAdvisor user comments concerning visits to these sites demonstrates the ways in which brief encounters with penality tended to foster punitive sentiments towards prisoners. This is best captured by online visitor calls for the return of "treatment…in accordance with the crime committed" and "corporal punishment devices that was [sic] at one time used, back before bleeding hearts stopped the government from punishing people who kill and rape" (Ferguson, Piché, and Walby 2015:367). Mason (2006a:251) likewise demonstrates how media accounts of prisoners endorsed "populist and highly punitive penal policy" in ways that legitimate more controlling penal practices.

Canada was once celebrated for "missing the punitive turn" (Meyer and O'Malley 2005) for reasons re-

lated to its stable incarceration rate, abolition of capital punishment, and lack of punitive rhetoric in official discourse. Doob and Webster (2006) argue that while Canada is susceptible to punitive rhetoric and increased reliance on imprisonment when "law and order" approaches garner public support or are endorsed by political will, Canada has not yet adapted punitive public policies to the same extent as many jurisdictions in the United States and other countries. However, much changed when the Conservative Party of Canada held office from 2006 to 2015, touting policies with the stated aim of sending more people to prison, for longer periods of time, and with fewer chances of release (Webster and Doob 2015). Keeping in mind Hutton's (2005) cautions concerning the idea of punitiveness, future research should explore how dark tourism sites such as carceral museums may foster support of punishment agendas and dovetail with the ideological positions of governments. Studies of penal system signs, symbols, and iconography are needed to empirically describe how cultural productions contribute to public support of actual ongoing penal practices. More research about tourists is also required to gauge how these representations become translated into political support for punitive public policies in Canada and elsewhere.

Another area of potential interest moving forward with research on penal tourism would be to examine representations of incarcerated women in comparison with their male counterparts (also see: McAlister 2013). Several of the penal history museums visited, such as the Federal Penitentiary Museum in Kingston, the Lindsay Jail in Peterborough, and the Huron County Gaol in Goderich, either mentioned or dedicated entire exhibits to women in the penal

system, both prisoners and prison staff. With this said, it appears that women's confinement, suffering, and/or work behind bars are largely ignored in representations of prisoners and prison staff found in many penal tourism sites across Canada. There has been an overwhelming "collective amnesia" about criminalized and incarcerated women (Hannah-Moffat and Shaw 2000). Though some scholars focus specifically on gender and imprisoned women (see: McAlister 2013), this oversight in the vast majority of research on penal tourism suggests women continue to be viewed as "too few to count" (Adelberg and Currie 1987) in cultural sociologies and criminologies of imprisonment and punishment.

Acknowledgements

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Helena Serra

New University of Lisbon, Portugal

Gamble on the Uncertain. Negotiating Medical Decision-Making

Abstract   The aim of this paper is to analyze the medical decision-making process in the admission of patients into a Liver Transplant Program in a hospital in Lisbon, Portugal. The relationships and main strategies established among the medical specializations involved in this process will be investigated. The theoretical basis was drawn from medical sociology, in particular, from the social constructivist approaches, which highlight the relation between medical power and knowledge in the construction of medical decision-making. I attempt to elucidate the processes of negotiation through which a medical decision is constructed. The research methodology included non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews with participants from the two medical specializations of interest: liver surgeons and hepatologists. The management of risk and uncertainty in relation to patients' access to liver transplantation is discussed and the strategic alliances that are formed during medical decision-making in search of consensus are investigated. The research findings show that medical practices and knowledge do not converge linearly to produce a coherent network of actions with a view to decision-making. Instead, medical decision-making is constructed through complex processes of negotiation. The different natures and levels of uncertainty and indetermination that are inherent in the social world of medicine have a fundamental influence on medical decision-making.

Keywords   Medical Decision-Making Process; Risk and Uncertainty; Negotiation; Qualitative Study; Portugal

Helena Serra is an Associated Professor of Sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon. She has published on healthcare research and organizations and given several keynote presentations at international conferences. She is a member of the current ESA Executive Committee and President of the ISA RC52 "Sociology of Professional Groups."

email address: helena.serra@fcsh.unl.pt

Research that focuses on the controversies that arise during decision-making processes within medical practices is particularly important, since medical decision-making constitutes the most complete exercise of medical power. Medical decisions are reconstructed continually through complex processes of negotiation, and the various discourses through which these negotiations take place reflect the differing knowledge and strategies of the negotiators. During such negotiations, multiple power relationships shift continually and no party tends to dominate for long. These shifts in power are not simply the result of one party resisting the line taken by the party that currently is dominant, but are the inevitable consequence of the parties having a multiplicity of points of view. Although these perspectives are often contradictory, they must all be taken into account in order for a decision to be made.

The aim is to analyze the relationship and main strategies employed by different medical specializations, and to examine the particular forms of medical power exercised at different moments during the medical decision-making process in a liver transplantation program (LTP) in a hospital in Lisbon, Portugal. I focus on one of the most important moments of the LTP: the patient admission. This moment involves constant negotiation among the various medical specializations involved until the decision is made as to whether or not admit a patient into the program. By doing this, I will elucidate the processes of negotiation through which medical decisions are constructed, and will highlight the various discourses that reflect the different types of knowledge and power strategies involved.

Theoretical Framework

According to post-positivist approaches to the sociology of medicine, the production of knowledge and the nature of medical discourse have their basis in the construction of power strategies. For Foucault (1963), for example, the concept of power is linked directly to the concept of knowledge, which he uses as a sample case to analyze how modern approaches to the exercise of power result in certain outcomes. For Foucault, it is of interest to understand the relationship between medical discourse (a discourse that pertains to scientific knowledge) and the exercise of medical power. Foucault perceives power and knowledge to be related to such an extent that he often uses the expression *power/knowledge* to stress the closeness of the relation.

From a different perspective, Barber (1990) assigns two dimensions to power: knowledge and decision-making. According to him, the making of medical decision results from the interaction between knowledge and medical discourses. The various medical discourses are used to demarcate and structure medical practices and, at the same time, to highlight certain aspects of the body and the illness, and to draw distinctions between various types of patients and illnesses.

Given the importance of medical discourse in the medical decision-making process, it is pertinent to review the most significant models that are used to analyze medical discourse, namely, constructivist models. Atkinson's (1995) model was developed on the basis of his analysis of the discourse that medical specialists use in their daily practices. This model is particularly useful for analyzing the discourses of the various specializations involved in liver transplants and it enables the particular forms of medical power that are exercised at different stages of the decision-making process to be identified. He found that decisions are not made exclusively in the formal meetings at which cases are discussed; they are also made on a variety of other occasions when,

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through discourse and medical practices, the actors implement their strategies. The decisions that are made outside the formal setting of case meetings often have a decisive influence on the progress of the patient and the course that the illness takes. It is evident from the foregoing that medical knowledge, discourse, decision-making, and practice are connected intimately. Observation of various discourses and medical practices should enable us to gain insights into the medical decision-making process.

In a similar vein to Atkinson, Bloor (1976) studied variations in the assessment of patients. He argues that the nature of medical knowledge results in differences in medical routines and rules for making decisions that vary according to the content and degree of specialization, from specialist to specialist, according to the patient, and from setting to setting. Bloor argues that this variance might account for differences among the assessments made by specialists.

In addition to the above-mentioned interrelated variables, research also shows that other elements influence the work of health professionals, as well as their perceptions about their own and their colleagues' practices. Following Bloor's line of reasoning, in his observation of surgery work, Zetka (2003) argues that doctors manage to maintain professional control by delivering outputs that cannot be achieved within other types of work organization. Zetka explored medical intra-professional dynamics by comparing traditional techniques that are used in intra-abdominal surgery with a non-invasive form of surgical technology, the video laparoscope. Zetka (2003) demonstrates the effects that

this new technology has on the professional lives of surgeons, namely, it challenges them to rethink their approaches to surgery and how they organize their work.

In contrast to the foregoing, most sociological and anthropological studies explain different perceptions of medical work in terms of gender relations. Cassell's (2000) study emphasized the masculine ethos of surgery and investigates the work of women in surgery, a medical specialization that is traditionally to be dominated by men. Cassell shows how, in "a man's world," gender affects the perceptions that peers, patients, and other health professionals have of a female surgeon, and also affects medical decision-making.

According to Atkinson (1995), the processes that are observed in the making of clinical decisions seem to contrast with those posited in the traditional analysis of decision-making. In a review of the literature on medical decision-making, Atkinson points to a number of shortcomings in the approaches used in influential articles. All of the studies reported in these articles used statistical models or computer-assisted simulations. Atkinson (1995:51) states that the "specific limitations of those approaches help one identify the distinctively sociological concerns that require elaboration." He proposes "to use those models and simulations as if they were ideal types, against which one's own observations and reflections can be set for heuristic purposes" (Atkinson 1995:51).

Following Atkinson's lead, the past 10 years have seen the publication of a number of sociological

studies on surgery. Bosk's (2003) study of how surgeons recognize and punish themselves for their own mistakes and how they think about the problem of error reveals the complexity of medical decision-making. This work has become a classic and has set the standard for the study of medical error. Katz (1999) deconstructs the stereotypical image of the surgeon as a God-like hero and presents an alternative view that emphasizes the role of uncertainty in medical decision-making. Through her observation of the operating theatre and its practices, Katz (1999) shows how surgical practice (which is based on the biomedical model) is ritualized heavily. These rituals strengthen the attempts of biomedical practitioners to reinforce and maintain the discourse they create. In another study, Griffiths, Green, and Bendelow (2006) focus on women patients at midlife and distinguish different aspects of medical uncertainty. The authors describe the complex interaction of many factors at the macro and micro levels that affect medical decision-making. They suggest that, in contrast to the reality of the situation, the biomedical model is dominated by a concept of health risk that is context-free, in that it does not take into account the interaction of the many external factors.

In the context of medical decision-making, both risk and uncertainty play an important role; it is important to distinguish between them: risk can be assessed on the basis of the available information, whereas in the case of uncertainty, no assessment can be made because insufficient information is available. As a consequence, when the outcome of various courses of action cannot be estimated in terms of probabilities, and thus risk cannot be defined, medical decision can be viewed as being tak-

en, for example, under conditions of "severe" uncertainty.

Building upon this basic distinction between risk and uncertainty, Beck's *Risk Society* thesis explores the concept of uncertainty further by appealing to the related concepts of contingency, indeterminism, and ignorance (Beck, Giddens, and Lash 1994). Contingency, or the simple fact that an event might occur or it might not, is a necessary condition for uncertainty. In this case, it is impossible to predict an outcome with any degree of certainty whatsoever; these events are indeterminate. In other cases, it is simply not known whether or not an outcome can be predicted, and if it can, whether or not it can be predicted with any degree of certainty. In these cases, it is necessary to act in a state of ignorance. Finally, some uncertainties derive from contingent social behaviors rather than the contingency of events. In these cases, it is recognized that scientific evaluations of the probability that a particular outcome will occur, given a certain course of action, are the result of a particular definition of the problem that is influenced by social choices.

Following Beck's line and referring to studies of risk with respect to the sociology of health, Zinn (2009) argues that the concept of risk should be refined and developed. Zinn holds that the notion of uncertainty seems to be more appropriate when we face situations that are full of uncertainties, insofar as that admitting the limitation of knowledge constitutes a fundamental factor in decision-making. Taken together, the views of Beck and Zinn present a clear distinction between the concepts of risk and uncertainty, and emphasize the ontological nature of

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the uncertainty that is inherent in the social world, through the notions of *ignorance, indetermination, catastrophes*, or *accidents* (Zinn 2009).

Although the Portuguese medical sociology literature on medical power and knowledge has gained visibility, there is still a lack of studies on the Portuguese context. Portuguese medical sociology focuses on specific aspects that explain what has brought about the increase in medical professionalism (Carapinheiro 1993; Serra 2008; Correia 2012), the centrality of the hospital in the architecture of the healthcare system—hospital-centric character (Carapinheiro 1993; Serra 2008), the colonization of management by the medical profession (Correia 2012), and medical control of technologies in healthcare (Serra 2008; 2010; 2013).

In the study reported here, I will examine the medical activity of actors in social contexts and attempt to find relationships between the social and technical factors that influence the decision as to whether or not admit a patient into the LTP. Such decision is affected from the outset by essential factors: in general, any social activity is interpreted by each actor who is involved and the interpretation is based on the meaning that the actor assigns to the activity—this applies equally to medical activities that take place in a social context and the technical issues involved.

When examining the activity of key medical practitioners, it is important to understand how each of the medical specializations constructs and consolidates its authority as power (Serra 2008). The particular authority and power that are exercised by practitioners of a particular medical specialization not be viewed as unchanging; their authority and power change continually as a result of ongoing negotiation through social strategies in daily interactions (Serra 2010). The issue of how authority is established should be regarded as a multifaceted process. The outcome of this process is determined by the access that each of the actors has to the available medical knowledge in a given social context and the power struggle that ensues between the actors on the basis of the knowledge that each possesses. On the basis of their professional authority, which is conferred by knowledge and the mastery of specific medical technologies, doctors are able to assign meaning to medical activity and determine the form that it takes, particularly in the key moments of medical decision-making.

Methods

Insofar as this study is an investigation into medical decision-making, it deals exclusively with medical work, and therefore doctors are the principal subjects of the observation and analysis. The study uses data collected from medical doctors working in a Liver Transplant Unit (LTU) in Lisbon, Portugal. The research strategy was based on non-participant observation in the LTU, carried out over a period of 18 months. This was followed subsequently by semi-structured in-depth interviews with 10 liver surgeons (all men) and 4 hepatologists (two men and two women) working in the LTU under observation. The experiences and observations made have been recorded in detailed field notes wrote outside the field. This type of methodology is suited to the nature of the problematic being studied

because it makes it possible to follow the theoretical framework as the data are analyzed (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

The interviews constituted the main source of data. The semi-structured nature of the interviews made it possible to steer the conversation along the lines of a predesigned script. The questions asked corresponded to previously constructed themes: professional trajectory; technological expertise; work organization; scientific knowledge; and intra and inter-professional dynamics. The choice of this type of interview can be justified by the flexibility that this approach provides when engaging in an in-depth exploration of issues deemed important to the analysis of medical decision-making. The answers were open-ended, insofar as they allowed any information that was relevant to the investigation to be provided and certain pre-existing data to be confirmed, as well as the production of new data for analysis (Silverman 1985). These interviews yielded a wide range of different data, which demonstrated clearly the complexity of the different points of view held by different professionals and provided a wealth of material for analysis. To ensure the accuracy of both the data and subsequent qualitative content analysis, all interviews were recorded and transcribed, which led to an enormous quantity of data in the form of written text, while guaranteeing the anonymity of those interviewed. The interviews were recorded in Portuguese (participants' words were said in Portuguese) and translated into English.

From the transcribed conversations, experiences were categorized. Then, all the data that were related to these patterns were identified and related

patterns were combined and catalogued into sub-themes. According to Creswell (1998:25), "category formation represents the heart of qualitative data analysis." The content of the data is described in detail in the next section. Themes and dimensions are developed from the analysis of the data and presented in conjunction with my own views and those from the literature.

Intra-professional conversations that were part of the medical decision-making process regarding the admission of patients into the LTP formed the material for the analysis of certain strategies that were implemented during the processes of negotiation (Fox 1992; Lupton 2000). To gain as full a picture as possible, it was necessary to have access to the different settings, both formal and informal, in which medical decision-making occurred. Locations were selected that enabled observation of the work being carried out in the above-mentioned medical specializations. As a consequence, I was present systematically in the diagnosis rooms where these specializations were being practiced, at medical meetings, and in the wards, workrooms, and corridors. The purpose of this presence was to observe how the medical doctors/participants talked and thought about the cases dealt with in medical practice, and in particular, how the different medical specializations reached a decision about the admission of a patient to the LTP.

Patient Access to Liver Transplantation: Risk and Uncertainty Revisited

The decision as to whether a particular patient joins the waiting list for liver transplantation is based on

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the rigorous analysis of specific medical-scientific parameters and information concerning the patient and the underlying illness that gave rise to the patient's condition. The decision-making process as a whole comprises a series of individual decision-making moments in which the various medical specializations intervene with greater or lesser weight. At these key decision-making moments, the specializations of liver surgery and hepatology in particular assume a fundamental importance. The struggle for authority over the decision occurs between these two specializations, and I will focus the analysis at hand on this relation.

The weekly meeting among the medical specialists involved in liver transplantation is one of the most important moments in the decision-making process under analysis. Once a week, the director of the unit, four hepatologists (HP), and 10 liver surgeons (SG) meet in camera to discuss the new cases that have attended pre-transplantation consultation during the week. The cases are presented by the hepatologists, who introduce their new patients individually, as one of the hepatologists discloses:

> As a rule, we have a first consultation. Then, the patients do the exams and they are seen afterwards. And their admission to the active list is discussed. [The patient's admission] is proposed by one of us and then it is discussed whether to admit them or not. The simple cases are presented and nobody objects. There are cases that are controversial tumors, or in other cases, the indication may be more tenuous, or the indication may already be overrun, it may already be a terminal case, or through age. [HP 12]

The above extract shows that the cases that do not raise any doubts are included automatically on the waiting list, allowing no opportunity for discussion.

> These are cases whose characteristics fit into the medical-scientific parameters one finds in the liver transplantation protocol, and are therefore automatically eligible as candidates. [field note]

There is a set of possible situations that can be referred to as "controversial" and that trigger a confrontation between different types of knowledge, various discourses, and diverse scientific perspectives, not only among specializations, but also among the elements of the same specialization. As illustrated by the following extract, the final solutions are far from peaceable and, in fact, conceal truly perturbing situations where spirits are often aroused in attempts to impose different individual and/or joint strategies. Ultimately, the joint decision is accepted by all of the participants. In the following extract, we can see how one of the hepatologists portrays these moments of decision-making, revealing the different postures adapted by different professionals when faced with the same reality. The liver surgeons are described in terms of a common form of behavior that characterizes them and presents the surgical act as a privileged technique, a type of major solution that will almost always resolve the problem. According to the hepatologists, the imposition of the surgical technique as primary consideration is one of the most significant points of contention between these two specializations:

> We see the problem and then talk it over with them. And normally the surgeons accept what we say.

It's just that there are clashes at times and the surgeons feel that surgery solves everything. When, for instance, there are cases in which it is more likely that the patient has everything to lose if we perform a transplant, you know. And we've already had serious problems as regards this. We're faced with a huge controversy in relation to tumors. For instance, they sent us a patient. She turned up with a tumor and counter-indications. "Oh…don't say anything. I'll bring her here, you'll go and see her, I'm sure you will, you've got a kind heart." I said, "It's not like that. We have to be serious, correct, that is, we can't be doing things that will make things worse." I did see the girl and looked at her face, she was twenty or so and I thought, she's going to die if the tumor is not removed, isn't she? If she dies after the transplant, well, that's life. Medically incorrect!…There she is, she's well, the tumor markers are okay, she's happy, she's seeing her son growing…But, I try to assert myself! But, listen, to get all this into your head! It's very complicated. [HP 11]

Another important feature revealed in this extract concerns the types of discourse that are employed in the process whereby the specific cases are discussed. The persuasive mechanisms used by the participants are worthy of note; they invoke a series of arguments that go beyond the merely scientific issues. In the arguments used by both parties, we can see the weight that uncertainty assumes with respect to medical decision-making. Both hepatologists and surgeons, particularly the latter, are sensitive to those rare instances when the result of the transplantation proves to be positive despite a negative prognosis, which undermines all that is reported in the medical literature.

As for the uncertainty that overshadows the discussion of the most controversial cases, Bosk (2003) argues that the application of a powerful battery of scientific and technical knowledge to an illness does not remove the uncertainty attached to the medical approach adapted. This is because science can be seen as an organized form of raising issues and systematic doubts about assumed concepts and facts, established methods, knowledge, and skills; it is an "open mode" of thought and research. Although medical-scientific advances resolve certain problems, they also help to produce and maintain two types of uncertainty. The first type stems from the lacunae, limitations, and errors that characterize medical knowledge at any given time. The second type of uncertainty results from the paradoxical fact that, notwithstanding its inadequacies, medical science is so vast and highly developed that no one individual can keep up with it entirely or master it perfectly.

Medical-scientific innovations in the area of liver transplantation give rise to new uncertainties, namely, with respect to the secondary effects of the new techniques, which are often unforeseeable. For instance,

> The carcinogenic effects of immunosuppressors prove to be an argument used widely by the hepatologists against surgeons in the more polemic discussions. By weakening the capacity of the body to reject the liver, immunosuppressors also inhibit the defense mechanism against the development of cancerous cells. [field note]

There are other factors that also have a bearing on the decision-making process with respect to admission to

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the LTP. These factors include the age of the recipient, the existence of a dependent family, and whether the patient is thought to be "socially recuperable" (field note). In this sense, I find that other criteria, over and above medical criteria, are taken into consideration, even though this is done in a somewhat ill-defined manner. The rigorous decision criteria, which are focused exclusively on the patient's welfare, and not the effects on society, cannot always be applied rigidly with regard to the choice of transplantation recipients. In such situations, the question is not the choice of treatment for an individual patient, but the social choice as to whether a particular patient should receive a scarce resource that is not available to all.

From the outset, the opposing postures of hepatologists and surgeons are obvious. These two groups accumulate knowledge and specific experiences that emphasize the classic scission between the vision of the doctor and that of the surgeon. The more interventionist posture regarding surgery that, in general terms, characterizes the surgeons seems to be emphasized in the interaction between the two classes of specialists, as in the words of this hepatologist (HP 11):

Surgeons are always more interventionist. And so, as they've got a good technique and so on, they do, in fact, get good results. And so, well, they've got this attitude, it's more…There's something of this divergence. [field note]

The attitude that is displayed by the surgeons signifies a lesser aversion to risk, when compared to the attitude of the hepatologists. This would be expected because the act of surgery is characterized by constant risk and uncertainty, in a far more obvious manner than occurs in other medical special-

izations, as one of the surgeons (SG 4) confirms:

Sometimes one has to risk it. In our profession, one has to take the risk. There are some cases where one has to run the risk. One has to give oneself the benefit of the doubt. [field note]

From the surgeons' interviews and observations, I find that, almost always, their attitude is to take the risk, even if this involves going against the scientific canons.

Faced with a lack of accepted criteria to apply in relation to the most controversial cases, the tendency of surgeons is to go ahead with the transplantation, beneath the watchful eye of the hepatologists who, in the majority of cases, assume the opposite posture. [field note]

For the surgeons, the surgical solution is the only option in a context where "medicine is no longer able to do anything else for the patient" (field note).

In contrast, the hepatologists argue the contrary, invoking scientific parameters and highlighting the counter-indications for transplantation with respect to specific cases and the shortage of organs. In regard to the latter issue, the hepatological discourse draws attention to the fact that one is "wasting organs on patients who cannot benefit from them, whereas others who have greater probabilities of success cannot avail themselves of this technique" (field note). With respect to this discourse, one of the surgeons says:

Really, there aren't enough livers to go round. If there were livers for everybody, I think that every patient

would be put on a list. The argument would eventually be the financial one. We've got the notion that sometimes there are patients that join the list and we think this is going to be a hell of a job. That everything will go wrong and a fortnight later the patient is dead having suffered terribly. And we've got patients with a tumor that we transplant, God knows how, and a year later the patient dies, but he has had a great year. And if we were to ask this patient if that year was worthwhile…we saw the patient, and we saw the patient go to his grandson's christening...he thinks it was extraordinarily worthwhile. [SG 9]

The weight of uncertainty in medical practice is clearly reaffirmed here. As described by Katz (1999), the stereotypical image of the surgeon as a God-like hero is deconstructed and the role of uncertainty in medical decision-making is emphasized. In terms of decision-making with respect to admission to the LTP, this weight of uncertainty is evident in a dramatic manner: it is a question of assisting, or conversely, preventing patients' access to the last resort that might, or might not, prolong their lives. If this treatment is offered to the most controversial cases, other patients can be denied access to transplantation technology.

This anguish of uncertainty pervades the weekly meetings where the cases are discussed formally. In this regard, it is important to relate one of the many situations observed that illustrates the characteristic context of these precise moments of decision-making. In one of these weekly meetings, one of the hepatologists presented a case in which a confirmed malignant tumor had been diagnosed. At the consultation that preceded the meeting, the

hepatologist seemed determined to make an exception, even though it was a case that ordinarily would have no indication for transplantation. The fact that it was a young patient contributed to the doctor's attitude, and the doctor took advantage of the presence of a group of surgeons to discuss the case during the consultation. It is worth drawing attention to the way in which the hepatologist stresses the importance of constructing a solid argument that will convince the surgeons to agree with the hepatologist's decision: "I've got to sell it well to the surgeons" (field note); a statement that was repeated several times during the consultation.

After referring to the tests that had been performed already and exchanging some impressions, the surgeons agreed with the hepatologist to proceed with the transplantation. But, the case still had to be presented to other members of the team, namely, the other hepatologists, at the meeting that took place immediately afterwards. At this meeting, the hepatologist in question put forward this case, the only controversial one of the week. His arguments were parried immediately by the remaining members of the team, who used rigorous medical terms and invoked scientific aspects that had been proven in the literature of the field. The hepatologist put forward counterarguments, acting as the patient's advocate. His discourse was not a medical, scientific discourse, but rather assumed the pattern of speech of a layman; he "appealed to the hearts" of other participants by using phrases such as "he's still very young," "he's got an athletic build," "and he seems to be in a fine general condition" (field note). In the end, the decision made was contrary to the hepatologist's proposal and the patient was not admitted to

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the program. Outside, once the meeting was over, the hepatologist added that, "he had been carried away by emotions and fortunately his colleagues had made him see reason." He also said, "That's why these decisions have to be discussed and assumed all together" (field note). One of the surgeons to whom this case was presented at the consultation referred to this situation later during an interview:

> This patient was a terrible candidate. Now, as we've got nothing else to offer, the doctor is the patient's advocate, and the patient needs someone to plead on his behalf. Who knows, if we'd transplanted him, would it have done him harm? Another patient who was there in a worse state to be transplanted had a tumor, and was transplanted. Now he is in great form! Every patient is a patient; we don't know if this patient we're going to say "No" to is a patient to whom we should say "Yes." [SG 3]

With no doubt whatsoever, uncertainty undermines the discretion of doctors, but it does not eliminate it. In the face of uncertainty, doctors struggle to remain as objective as possible in the exercise of their discretion. They do this partly through conceptualization, either of the trajectories of the illness or of the types of treatment possible, in order to provide a considerable range of options. This strategy becomes apparent in the way in which the doctors conceptualize the cases that are prescribed for transplantation, as well as in the determination of the right timing to proceed with this treatment. Zussman (1992) refers to medical decision-making as a negotiation, insofar as the frontiers between technique and ethics are, at least in part, social constructions. As for the technical decisions, these are inherently probabilistic,

all the more so because they are contested and their acceptance in practice (and even their logical or analytical validity) depends partly on the skills, dogmatism, and social position of those who defend them.

Strategic Alliances Around Consensus

According to Zussman (1992), other uncertainties that arise from the social organization of medicine emerge in a far more direct form. One of the most important reasons for this direct emergence is the fact that uncertainty is heightened by a long and complex system of decision-making that emphasizes the individual responsibility of each doctor. The making of a decision does not necessarily mean that unanimity has been reached; however, within a social system, certainty requires consensus. The presence of an insistent dissident in a group of doctors who prevents the group reaching consensus is sufficient to establish doubt and introduce uncertainty.

Since the LTU consists of a multidisciplinary group of fellow professionals, it is not unreasonable to assume that decisions are and need to be made collectively. Even in this context, medicine as a profession lacks the means to impose a collective will in the face of dissent. Although decisions taken in medical work can include the decision "not to act," the doctor often still feels impelled to act, if only to respond to a patient who requests action in combating their illness: there are "countless desperate patients who insist on being transplanted by the transplantation team, after being refused admission to the program" (field note). These exceptions to the rule serve to illustrate the extent to which working conditions often have a much stronger influence than

the accepted guidelines and scientific rules on the decision-making process.

The existence of diverging opinions in medicine means that differences in the definition of an illness and in the choice of the respective treatment made by individuals can compromise the stability and objectivity of the medical science body. The diagnosis process of the illness is common to all doctors; what separates them is the diagnosed illness that encompasses in itself different forms of approach. So, leaving aside a whole set of situations around which unanimity of diagnosis and therapy occurs, on the strength of a consensus based on scientific criteria, there remains the problem inherent in the cases that offer the opportunity for polemic discussion, in the sense that certain medical decisions are not unanimous among the various professionals involved.

Various strategic alliances among members within different specializations become constructed around concrete medical cases. In some situations, joint arguments are constructed that incorporate complementary knowledge in order to strengthen the argumentation of a group of doctors from the same specialization. Hepatologists and surgeons form two distinct medical corps, which present arguments to each other and engage in discourses that are at times inflamed. It can be concluded from the observations and interviews that:

> each group is strategically built from internal alliances, trying to gain ground from the other camp, at times striving to win over to its cause members of the other group, or recruiting members of other specializations

for the meeting, who help, with their specific skills, to put together the argumentation strategy. [field note]

The following extract from an interview with one of the surgeons demonstrates the use of strategy, in this case, that of strength in numbers:

> The patient is seen by the hepatologists and then their case is discussed at a meeting. Now, to have more people to bring grist to the mill of surgery, one's mill, we realize that it's a good thing for the surgeon who's there on duty to always be present at the meetings. Therefore, today we were in the majority in relation to hepatology. [SG 4]

In reaching a decision on each case, the various discourses confront each other and often intermingle; there is constant conflict and movement between science and clinical experience, between reason and sentiment, between a greater and a lesser aversion to risk:

> Uncertainty is always present and is a fundamental feature of the entire discussion. In fact, both sides use the question of uncertainty before a prognosis (which, from the outset, seems negative) as an open door to a possible exceptional case (which may not confirm the rule). The hepatologists, as usual, with their less interventionist posture, prefer not to gamble on the uncertain. [field note]

One of the hepatologists' arguments for not admitting the most controversial cases into the LTP is that the patients in this category have little time to live whether or not a transplant is performed, and, in some cases, the transplant can even hasten death. This results in high-conflict scenario regarding whether or not "to use a scarce resource" (field note).

Therefore, the question about the success of the transplant is relative, in the sense that the duration of the graft, the survival of the patient, the quality of life, the length and conditions of rehabilitation, along with other factors, influence each doctor's perception of the probability of success. In this respect, at the moments of decision-making, the length of postoperative survival that is taken to indicate success varies considerably, depending on the specialization and the doctors concerned.

In general, I have heard the argument, especially from surgeons, that even if the patient lives just one more year with an improved quality of life, then transplantation is worthwhile, as demonstrated by surgeons talk during observation:

> We really have to know how to always weigh things up and always have an objective mind along the lines of are we, in fact, going to bring benefits…In any case, if we see there's a huge opposition by hepatology to transplanting a certain patient…Here we have a scientific thing. So, it means there are arguments that…the [director] is normally silent, listening. Often, he gives his opinion, the hepatologists say "Yes" to him over and over again, and the surgeon says "No" and "No" again. But, afterwards, he has to say why it's so and why it's not. And normally a consensual decision is eventually taken. [field note]

During the discussions, "the LTU director proceeds to piece together consensus, trying to ensure that all the perspectives are considered, forcing a joint solution, trying not to interfere too much in favor of any of the groups, remaining as impartial as possible" (field note). Sometimes the director is obliged to inter-

vene in a more direct manner, supporting one of the solutions clearly, but without overlooking the need to justify his position to all of the groups. This is how the director of the LTU considers his role as coordinator in such situations:

> Interests converge: there's convergence from the start, there's an objective convergence—the program. That is fundamental, all the rest are accidents. And they aren't many. Everyone has his specific vision. But, they all converge there. And that's what characterizes the program, and that's the mission of the person who has to direct it. This isn't the last word. No, it certainly isn't! It's to inflect, so that a thing that is not being considered turns out to be. [field note]

As Childress (1991) mentions, despite the fact that the scientific criteria that underlie the decision-making process are laid down rigorously, individual assessment and individual medical decision-making remain significant factors. In this sense, decisions are affected by the subjectivity of some doctors. Such is the case regarding the admission to the LTP of certain patients, who from the start have no indication for transplantation on the basis of the scientific criteria. In this respect, it should be stressed that importance is placed on the idea that the doctor is able to practice the "art of medicine" on the basis of the doctor's knowledge of the individual aspects of the particular case. This idea was often referred to by the various doctors observed and interviewed during this study. In other words, the doctor makes the decision on the grounds of the effectiveness of the treatment for specific patients, even if this goes against the general guidelines present in the scientific criteria.

Excluding exceptional cases, the criteria employed in the different decision-making contexts in the LTU are medical, insofar as they are based on the technical methods applied by doctors and are influenced by the likely success or failure of transplantation. Even so, although these criteria are essentially medical, they are not neutral. The debate over the weight and flexibility of the criteria used only partly takes account of the technical and scientific aspects, since other values also carry great weight, especially in controversial cases, as demonstrated by the data from the observations and interviews captured in this study.

Conclusions

In light of the findings presented here, I can state two main conclusions:

1. Medical decision-making process represents the culmination and, at the same time, the genesis of multiple powers/knowledge that are expressed in the medical practice. In the set of relations that have been established among the different medical specializations, there are opportunities and constraints that are exploited in the construction of reciprocal strategies, and the main strategies use uncertainty as a fundamental datum in systems for concrete action.

2. The particular forms of medical power that are exercised at different moments of decision-making demonstrate the way in which, through discourse and medical practices, the actors put their strategies into practice, influencing the trajectory of the patient and the illness, often in a decisive manner.

Findings also reveal:

- Medical decision-making can involve conflicts between different specialists regarding points of view, techniques, and priorities, as well as disputes regarding leadership and control in relation to the patient. These findings are similar to those described for situations related to what Katz and Capron (1975:29) call "catastrophic illnesses," which require specialist teams of professionals from different disciplines. The sharing of authority in decision-making (e.g., between surgeons and hepatologists) reduces the discretionary nature of decision-making.

- With respect to the decisions that are made regarding the treatment paths of patients, there is a series of both formal and informal decisions that are made, in which the doctors have a certain degree of freedom of choice. One of the most important factors that influence these decisions is uncertainty as to the results. This uncertainty was regarded as the main problem in medical activity by authors such as Fox (1988), who states that uncertainties result from the limitations of medical knowledge and other shortcomings in terms of the doctor's actual skills. The results of decisions based in part on uncertainty can often result in greater knowledge and understanding, and consequently the knowledge and experience gained can reduce uncertainty. Uncertainty can also impede this motivation to act because it generates anxiety about the effect of the medical procedures concerned. Due to this type of uncertainty, transplantation continues to be offered only to patients with a prognosis of terminal liver failure, when

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all other treatments are no longer effective; liver transplantation is seen as the last resort.

- Some of the moments of decision-making appear to provide opportunities to question and challenge the authority of different medical discourses by using a peculiar technical language, which enables each of the discourses to be individualized. Throughout the liver transplantation process, decision-making is rarely a simple and discreet act. On the contrary, the process is shared by the various participants of the medical and surgical teams, and an exchange of knowledge among the various specializations is evident.

- The exercise of decision-making is one of the most important moments of interaction among the various professionals in the liver transplantation process, who contribute to the discussion and eventual decisions on the basis of their different interests, points of view, knowledge, and experiences. In this case, decision-making is neither an isolated, individual process that operates in a social vacu-

um nor a disinterested process, but rather one that is liable to be molded by social influences.

In conclusion, the study presented here demonstrates that there is a contrast between the findings of studies on clinical decision-making out of context and those that adapt the sociological approach. The latter emphasize the way in which social contexts influence decision-making and recognize that many factors interact in a complex manner at both the macro and micro level to affect medical decision-making. The findings presented here show that medical practices and knowledge do not converge linearly to produce a coherent network of actions with a view to decision-making. Instead, medical decision-making is constructed through complex processes of negotiation during which the various discourses reflect the different types of knowledge and different power strategies that are involved. In this context, the different natures and levels of *uncertainty* and *indetermination* that are inherent in the social world of medicine have a fundamental influence on medical decision-making and the construction of dominant strategies.

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Olivier Meunier

Artois University, France

Assessment of Intercultural Bilingual Education in the Brazilian State of Amazonas

Abstract   In Brazil, and more generally, in Latin America, the struggle of the indigenous movements for the demarcation of their ancestral land and the development of an intercultural education contributed to the constitutional changes of the 1980s, which led these states to regard themselves as a multicultural nation and to recognize specific collective rights to native people and tribes living on their territory. This dynamic deals with the scope of a democratic transition and a decentralization process which characterizes a new form of governance of almost all Latin America countries where the indigenous territories and the resources at their disposal can be preserved. By giving the possibility to formulate another vision of the school education based on a dialectic between indigenous knowledge and school knowledge in a sustainable developmental perspective of the indigenous territories, new experiments started to be expanded from the 1990s.

This article advances the discussion between globalized and localized educational practices. It enlightens the debate between the homogenization of school systems and other alternatives such as the use of traditional knowledge. It focuses on socio-cultural knowledge and its intersection between formal and informal education.

The first section of this paper presents the theoretical framework of my research and its methodology. The second section discusses, in a historical background, how the Brazilian indigenous public policies were implemented. In the third section, I use my fieldwork data to examine and analyze the advent and the development of intercultural bilingual education (IBE) in two regions of Amazonas state (Alto Solimões and Alto Rio Negro) among the Ticuna, Baniwa, and Tukano people during the 1990s and 2000s.

Keywords   Intercultural Bilingual Education; Socio-Cultural Knowledge; Formal and Informal Education; Cultural Anthropology; Brazilian State of Amazonas

Olivier Meunier is a University Professor in Sociology at the Artois University (France). He is a researcher at the laboratory RECIFES (Research into Education Skills Interactions Training Ethics Knowledge). He has conducted much research on formal and informal education in Latin America, Africa, and Europe. He has extensively published in the peer-reviewed scientific literature: 10 books and over 30 articles in international journals, and has lectured over 45 international conferences and symposia in many countries.

email address: olivier.meunier@univ-artois.fr

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

My theoretical posture deals with cultural anthropology (Geertz 1973; Clifford and Marcus 1986) and qualitative sociology, in an *interactionist* perspective (Mead 1934; Becker 1963; Glaser and Strauss 1967). I regard *culture* as a dynamic organization of internal differences. Compared with this approach, *intercultural education* is thought of as a transmission of a plural and critical knowledge, resulting from interaction, reciprocity, or more globally, *intersubjectivity*. It addresses all students, to see beyond their differences. *Pluralism* is promoted as a value and an educational prospect, a keystone between the human universal and the uniqueness expressed by differences.

Intercultural psychology (Segall, Campbell, and Herskovits 1966; Retschitzky, Bossel-Lagos, and Dasen 1989; Amin 2012) explores interactions between individuals and various cultural groups through stereotypes, values, and attitudes which emerge during exchanges. This involves utilizing the individual in his cultural context and determining the cultural influence on his behavior in multicultural situations. The *interaction* is defined as interdependence between dominant and minority cultures, and as a coherent plurality. Then the intercultural educational goal is to facilitate decentering and reframing processes resulting from otherness to build new thought patterns, non-reducible to the cultures in interaction.

By using these contributions of anthropology, sociology, and psychology, *interculturality* can be considered as a major educational aim in terms of knowledge, skills, and attitudes, within a *comprehensive approach* to handling plurality.

Educational research from "Western" culture cannot be universally valid. Education is a cultural transmission which more largely depends on socialization in informal and formal learning contexts. *Culture* is linked to meanings, customs, and rules coming from predominant groups, which is translated into education policies or into a normative traditional transmission of learning. According to cultural contexts, *formal education* or *informal education* can be more or less useful in delivering knowledge and skills.

Following the "Western model," *formal education* is directed by systematic instruction dealing with "universal" knowledge, in limited time and space by specialists. Traditional education can also remain formal during ritual ceremonies or in different forms of religious learning (Koranic school), even if there are differences in the institutionalization of education. Lifelong learning (education not limiting itself to the school period, but lifetime lasting: it does not correspond to the liberal significance related to this concept) deals with *informal education*: family or peers transmit specific cultural values and norms in everyday situations (Segall et al. 1999:78-88). It is provided constantly and everywhere by relatives and elders, and adapted to the local culture, to productive work, and to the society's cosmology. According to Bruner (1996:iv), "schooling is only one small part of how a culture inducts the young into its canonical ways." The transmission of know-how (apprenticeship, observation, guided participation) is a characteristic of *informal education*, just as writing

is a characteristic of *formal education*. School knowledge is rather general, abstract, and partitioned into categories, while traditional knowledge is specific and principally developed from the local people's experiences, thinking, beliefs, and memory (Semali and Kincheloe 1999:3; Battiste 2008:499).

Intercultural bilingual education (IBE) results from a combination and rethinking of both education systems (including specific curriculum), a process of translation of the "Western" formal school into other socio-cultural environments, a textual development of the knowledge from oral tradition in the native tongue, as well as the national language (Hornberger 2000). Nonetheless, the "domestication" of oral tradition through writing involved a deformation of the ways of thinking of societies without writing (Goody 1986). The fixture of words on paper can simplify narrative discourses whereas before they took various significances according to the place and context in which they were pronounced. Indigenous students can access the universality of science, but from their natural environment, with their socio-cultural techniques, and generally, initially, from their native language. Regional history and geography are being reworked in IBE through oral transmission to develop a *critical thought* relating to the school and traditional knowledge and their contextualized development. Arts and productive activities depend on more traditional know-how, but dialectics are sometimes developed with the aim of improving or transforming traditional techniques. However, pedagogic and didactic approaches are perceptibly different since relatives and elders contribute to this training, often outside the school, which

is also open to them. Knowledge is not only the privilege of teachers, but that of traditional society, mainly depositaries (elders) of each skill or area of workmanship. Curriculum can increasingly be fortified by new disciplines which make sense in local context, such as: rights of the indigenous people, indigenous myth and history, applied linguistics, ecology and sustainable development, health education, and use of medicinal plants, et cetera.

With the *Great Confinement* analyzed by Foucault (1975), aimed at arranging the world starting from the *classical theory* by separating school from ordinary life, the *school form* (Vincent 2004) emerged in the 16th and 17th centuries in European societies (Ariès 1962). This global model of schooling is characterized by a relationship between a teacher and his pupils not directly linked to other social relations, impersonal rules which both must be respectful to, similar temporal and spatial arrangements for learning, a definition of a certain knowledge considered as "universal." This shift towards a regulation and a discipline of rhetoric art was intended to break up the spontaneity and the resistance of traditional training patterns. People did not employ their traditional knowledge any more in particular situations and socio-cultural contexts, while the institutionalization of their relationship to writing immobilized them, giving an impersonal significance to them.

The traditional transmission of knowledge in oral societies (Goody 1977) and the "Western" model of the *school form* can appear *a priori* dichotomous, which often contributes to their juxtaposed development and to a process of domination by the "Western" of

the "indigenous." In fact, the generalization of an IBE in the indigenous territories allows dialectic between the "Western" *school form* and indigenous socio-cultural knowledge (Aikman 1997). We attend to the institutional invention of an indigenous school in the context of questioning the hegemony of "one-way thinking" resulting from the colonization and the building of the Brazilian state-nation. This dynamic of autonomous processes of decolonization of knowledge offers a significant alternative to reconceptualizing the relationship of indigenous peoples to schooling. It opens up a new dialogue (Freire 1970) with all human sciences (Overing and Passes 2000) and promotes student empowerment (McLaren 2007:195).

This article presents three IBE cases (schools) that can be compared and contrasted regarding the use of the public educational policy in order to benefit the population. The comparative elements of my anthropological research (qualitative methodology) are Ticuna, Tukano, and Baniwa IBE cases with several facets (degrees of political/religious domination/submission and indigenous awareness, teaching training, IBE developments), IBE before and after 2008 (IBE in secondary education—as "integrated education"—was only legally recognized in 2008).

The comparative study I conducted (6 field research missions, primarily for Brazilian Universities [UFAM, UEA] as associate researcher, between 2006 and 2010) in 24 Ticuna, Baniwa, and Tukano communities allowed me to grasp the variations introduced in practices, representations, and speeches relating to IBE, in terms of the indigenous

group, as well as pupils, parents, teachers, communities, and schools. Overall, I spent several months in each community, sometimes with Brazilian colleagues or postgraduate students. I was introduced by political indigenous leaders and helped by indigenous teachers for translation between Portuguese and indigenous languages. I conducted interviews (364) and observations (248), not only in schools and classrooms, with directors, teachers, and pupils, but also in families and with various traditional knowledge carriers (shamans, leaders, elders, craftsmen, etc.). I identified part of the traditional knowledge and know-how of each community, questioned the implication for social or economic relations, observed their practices in local contexts and questioned informants on their practical and symbolic meanings. I followed the teachers' activities inside and outside the school, IBE generally implying training with various members of the community outside the classroom. According to the level and the type of school, I analyzed the variations of IBE in its practices and representations, but also its relations to each community expectations, with regard to local and sustainable development.

Likewise, the various training centers (with indigenous and non-indigenous trainees) for indigenous teachers (initial and further training with Teaching Diploma [*Magistério Indígena*] for the first series in basic education, training at superior level with Bachelor series [*Licenciaturas Interculturais*] to extend availability of the second series of basic education and implementing secondary education in indigenous territories, and University courses in IBE which I have participated in) were exciting places

to carry out interviews and observations (DeWalt, DeWalt, and Wayland 1998)—including during practical training—in order to analyze student-teachers' practices and thought processes (initial training), as well as those of the teachers (continuing education) and to compare them.

Brazilian Indigenous Public Policies in Education

At the beginning of the 16th century, when Europeans arrived in the territory currently occupied by Brazil, there were nearly 10 million natives and more than 1200 different languages. These populations developed their own forms of production and transmission of knowledge by the means of oral tradition and iconographic constructions supporting their memorizing (Severi 2007). Firstly, the colonizers were unaware of traditional forms of indigenous education; in the second half of the 16th century, the Jesuit missionaries tried to destroy the social organization, cultural, political, and economic systems of these people through schooling, to better enforce the Catholic religion and use the indigenous labor for economic purposes (Oliveira 1983).

In order to achieve a domination-subordination relationship in their favor, the missionaries challenged the indigenous people's vision of the world, and persecuted the traditional carriers (*pajé*, i.e., shaman) of the indigenous knowledge (Barreto 2007). The process of importing the Portuguese language was largely imposed by the Portuguese colonial state, as well as the consequent Brazilian state. In less than 5 centuries, nearly 1000 indigenous languages and

knowledge systems were erased, notably through the monolingual and monocultural *school form* allied to an extremely predatory colonial system (Ribeiro 1970).

In Brazil, the Portuguese and their descendants considered the "Western" *school form* as "universal" and to be imposed on societies suspected of being without any form of knowledge transmission. This ethnocentrism supports the idea of the subservient dependence of indigenous people on the missionaries and the official welfare organizations during the Republican period. From 1914, Catholic missionaries (as Salesians in Alto Rio Negro)—followed since the 1950s by different preachers from the Protestant Churches—remained permanently in the Amazonas state and pursued an enrolment process of the indigenous children by building large boarding schools—like in other countries with Indigenous (Adams 1995)—for catechism and education, applying the integrationist Brazilian state policy (Oliveira 1988). To Salesians, the basic education strategy concerns the *school form*, and more precisely—the S. J. Bosco Pedagogy, known under the name of "preventive system," initiated in Turin in the middle of the 19th century to educate young prisoners. This terminology is still found in the school rules of the São Gabriel da Cachoeira Diocese. This approach to education, aimed at generating "good Christians" and "honest citizens," was transposed into Amazonia by the assimilation of the Amerindian people to "European and Christian civilization" with the idea of "saving" these populations in this life and in the hereafter. By their religious proselytism, evangelical pastors coming from the United States strengthened this

deculturation and brought divisions between the indigenous groups from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. Until the end of the 1980s, in Amazonia and more widely in Brazil, the school can be regarded as an instrument of acculturation (even if it did not always succeed) to the "Western" world and concealment of the cultural difference (Cardoso de Oliveira 1988).

From the end of the 1970s, these dynamics of educational, cultural, and religious deculturation/acculturation were reinforced by a national policy of indigenous land demarcation, determining the integration level of native-born people in the Brazilian nation, from the categories: "isolated," "with intermittent contacts," "permanent contacts," and "integrated." Once "integrated," the indigenous people definitively lost their specific rights and saw their territories "released" for economic exploitation in favor of mining and forest companies, great landowners, and small colonists (Albert 1997).

In the 1980s, numerous conferences and indigenous assemblies followed in several Brazilian regions, which resulted in open discussions on a specific indigenous and differentiated school education. The indigenous policy—initiated by the Indian Protection Service (SPI) in 1910 and prolonged through the FUNAI (National Indian Foundation)—which aimed at integrating the indigenous people into the national community, was denounced by the indigenous organizations which claimed the recognition of their difference in the Nation and the establishment of a differentiated education to consolidate it. That was why the 1988 Constitution considered the Indigenous not as a "disappearing

transitory category," but as *citizens who have a cultural autonomy to decide freely, consciously, and with understanding which future they desire, which elements of other cultures they want to incorporate or reject in their own, in accordance with their own needs*. Since this new Constitution, the State has assumed the pluricultural composition of Brazilian society and the fact that Indigenous can have a specific, differentiated, intercultural, and bilingual education (Ministério da Educação 1988).

The legal bases of indigenous school education are instituted by 9,394 permanent arrangements of the 1996 Law—Guidelines and Bases of the National Education (LDBE)—in Statement 14/99 of September 14, 1999 issued by CNE/CEB (National Council of Education), and in Resolution 3 of November 10, 1999 issued by CNE/CEB. Thereafter, the National Plan of Education gives rise to Law 10,172 of January 09, 2001 (which specifies what must be an indigenous school education), and the 5,051 Presidential Decree of April 19, 2003 promulgates the ILO Convention 169. The LDBE affirms teachers and indigenous schooling autonomy for the politico-teaching project formulation (indigenous people are entitled to design the IBE framework with local realities) registered in accordance with the communities' needs and expectations, the use of indigenous language, and their own learning processes in basic education. It establishes intercultural education to guarantee indigenous cultural rights and traditions, as well as the access to the technical and scientific knowledge of the national society. Integrated education (as a technical and local IBE extension) was formalized (Ministério da Educação 2007) by the 5840 Decree of July 13, 2006

which offers "integral training," preparing activities for the indigenous communities by taking into account the local potentialities and difficulties.

However, indigenous people living in urban areas do not have access to IBE which concerns only indigenous territories. We must be aware that this article is less representative of all Brazilian states—where IBE has not been implemented and/or where the dynamic of appropriation by the indigenous people has been less or different (Rockwell and Gomes 2009; Tassinari and Cohn 2009)—than the Amazonas state and, more precisely, its indigenous territories.

Advent and Development of IBE in Alto Solimões (Ticuna Case) and Alto Rio Negro (Tukano and Baniwa Cases)

According to available sources (FOIRN/ISA 2006), 215 to 225 indigenous people currently live in Brazil; they speak more than 180 different languages, as well as Portuguese and Castilian (in the border zones). Some groups remain monolingual, but the majority also speak Portuguese, *Nheengatu* (a common language created by the Jesuits as a general indigenous language which was adapted by the indigenous groups having lost their native tongue, as the Mura or the Tariano did), quite often between 1 to 5 other indigenous languages, according to the speakers, and sometimes Castilian, as Ticuna (which one also finds in Colombia), or Baniwa (towards the Venezuelan border).

Amazonas state has the highest indigenous density (168,680 or 20.6% of the total [817,963 Indigenous or 0.4% of the Brazilian population—190 million], not

including "isolated Indigenous") (IBGE 2012). The indigenous populations of Amazonas state (which has 62 municipalities) live mainly in São Gabriel da Cachoeira (29,017) and Tabatinga (14,855) municipalities. In São Gabriel da Cachoeira municipality, where the two indigenous groups (Tukano and Baniwa) from my research live, there is a high concentration of indigenous residents (76.6%), with 57.8% in São Gabriel da Cachoeira town and 95.5% in the rural areas. In Alto Rio Negro region (São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Santa Isabel, and Barcelos municipalities), there are 23 indigenous groups speaking the languages resulting from four linguistic families: eastern *Tukano*, *Aruák*, *Makù*, and *Yanomami*. In São Gabriel da Cachoeira municipality, 750 indigenous communities are located mainly in the five larger indigenous territories which were officially recognized and approved in 1998, forming a continuous zone of 106,000 square kilometers. After Alto Rio Negro, Alto Solimões is characterized by the greatest concentration of indigenous people, where the most important group is Ticuna with more than 30,000 speakers (more than 47,000 Ticuna are distributed in Brazil, Colombia, and Peru). Alto Solimões (in particular Tabatinga and Benjamin Constant municipalities) and Alto Rio Negro (especially São Gabriel da Cachoeira municipality) were the first two regions to develop IBE in the Amazonas state, and that through the initiative of indigenous professors, traditional and political representatives.

I present my fieldwork research results in Alto Rio Negro and Alto Solimões by comparing IBE development (after 20 years of IBE experimentation) before and after 2008 to more accurately reflect steps concerning IBE in basic education (officially recognized

since 1996, but initiated with pilot experiments since 1991) and IBE in secondary education (officially recognized since 2008, but initiated with pilot experiments since 2004). IBE policy concerns only schools in indigenous territories where only indigenous teachers can teach, stay, and speak the students' mother tongue. One perverse effect of this IBE policy has been the indecisiveness to generalize IBE in Métis towns (outside indigenous territories) where a lot of indigenous children live alongside *Caboclos*.

As for Ticuna people from Alto Solimões, Indigenous from Alto Rio Negro—like Tukano or Baniwa—organized themselves to establish and develop an IBE in their territories, but the difference between them is the Tukano and Baniwa ability to break free from the grip of religious influence in indigenous education, to take creative initiatives, and to explore solutions using a *critical thought*. Also, the Tukano and Baniwa territories are located far from Métis towns, unlike Ticuna. However, São Gabriel municipality (Alto Rio Negro area) is mostly indigenous compared to others. Likewise, Indigenous are more likely to have retained their cultures, languages, customs, and organizational traditions. Nonetheless, there are some differences between Tukano and Baniwa according to their ability to organize themselves or cooperate with partners that can support them, and educational strategies envisaged.

Degrees of Political/Religious Domination/Submission and Indigenous Awareness

Ticuna have been living for centuries in a territory common to three neighboring countries: Brazil,

Colombia, and Peru. After having experienced war and slavery, they remained semi-nomadic until the beginning of the 20th century, while seeking to escape conflicts and colonized areas. The evangelist sects, which a lot of them joined during the 20th century, contributed to their relocation by gathering them in villages with the support of official organizations, which provided them with basic material assistance (schools, dispensaries, etc.) under an incentive policy. However, the rule of uxorilocality (the husband residing with his father-in-law) contributes to promoting this mobility, and cross-border visits between relatives are still common. In Brazil, Ticuna are concentrated mainly in Alto Solimões area. The larger villages are nearer to the Métis urban areas due to their expansion, like Umariaçu, located beside the town of Tabatinga.

During the 1970s and 1980s, many Ticuna communities were the target of the evangelist sects' proselytism (God's Assembly, God's Cross, etc.) which gradually prohibited the majority of the Ticuna's cultural practices (initiation rites, etc.), which contributed to a deep acculturation/deculturation of these populations, with the exception of their native language (used as an instrument of religious communication). For example, Umariaçu village was divided into two administrative entities because of competition between two evangelist sects. However, some indigenous teachers tried to work again with traditional knowledge (without superficial folklorism) with the elders and shamans, but they were not very highly regarded by religious, political, and economic leaders close to the evangelist sects.

When the religious sects are proselyte, as I perceive in Umariaçu villages, the shamanic knowledge is not promoted and its links with health or natural sciences cannot be discussed or confronted. Indeed, in the face of undue appropriation and use of the traditional indigenous knowledge, promotion and defense of the bio-cultural collective heritage fit into IBE curricula, but in Ticuna case, cannot be sufficiently worked in the links between academic and traditional knowledge.

IBE is more particularly developed in Alto Rio Negro area (located in São Gabriel da Cachoeira municipality), where more than 90% of the population is indigenous. São Gabriel da Cachoeira is the only municipality where Indigenous obtained a Law (Decree 145 of December 11, 2002) formalizing in addition to Portuguese three other languages (*Nheengatu*, *Tukano*, and *Baniwa*), and where the mayor and the deputy-mayor since 2008 have been Indigenous (respectively Tukano and Baniwa).

The Federation of the Rio Negro Indigenous Organizations (FOIRN), based in São Gabriel town, remains however at the heart of decisions concerning indigenous people. It is organized in five regional bodies which represent more than 40 indigenous associations distributed throughout territories of the Rio Negro tributaries. The FOIRN thus plays a major role in IBE development and establishment.

In 2004, the FOIRN organized the first seminar relating to implementing an indigenous secondary education (COPIARN 2004). It questioned the role of religious bodies in indigenous schools, presented an assessment of IBE in basic education, and proposed implementing pilot experiments in secondary education. The representatives of the indigenous professors requested that the school regulation of São Gabriel Diocese be replaced by a politico-pedagogical project (PPP), specific to each basic education school. It decided that PPP establishment should, on the one hand, result from a discussion between indigenous professors, parents, students, representatives, and, more generally, each community concerned and, on the other hand, respect indigenous cultural differences, their languages, and their historical heritage. Each school is led to work critically by applying traditional knowledge in a dialogical relation to other cultures from the intercultural point of view, by avoiding any prioritization. In order to support this initiative, the indigenous organizations require the Brazilian universities (UFAM, UEA) to organize intercultural higher training (to which I have contributed) in order to help indigenous professors to elaborate new local curricula in a dialectical thinking between traditional (oral and practical transmission with contextualized meaning) and academic (theoretical and universal with written transmission) knowledge.

In March 2008, the first seminar on "indigenous integrated secondary education" (FOIRN 2008) was an opportunity to present the indigenous pilot experiments in secondary education, so that they could be recognized by the Amazonas state, and to clarify indigenous expectations in terms of collaboration in implementing integrated secondary education. The conclusions specified that this teaching uses new knowledge, technical developments combining theory and practice, and requires the establishment of a reference center for research with specific activities. The aim is to develop technical, scientific, and technological traditional knowledge, to improve anthropological and artistic knowledge over the first eight years of schooling, to create conditions allowing young people to be able to become teachers in communities, or researchers, technicians, craftsmen, as well as consolidating traditional knowledge with the elders, relating, for example, to traditional plants and remedies which result from this. Indigenous secondary education can be differentiated, only if this does not constitute an inequality in terms of access to "the tangible and cultural properties" and if it is able not only to allow students to continue onto higher education, but also to have appropriate knowledge and skills to manage their territory and to provide alternatives concerned with sustainable development at the end of secondary education. This teaching should be carried out in schools located in indigenous communities for four years, regarding indigenous school education (school organization, own assessment and training, schedule and didactic teaching material for differentiated education, traditional meals, etc.).

Baniwa are dispersed in 96 communities along the Içana river (Alto Rio Negro tributary) in the North-West of the Amazonas state and in the Venezuelan and Colombian borders (Inírida and Guainía rivers). The majority of Baniwa speaks the Baniwa language, part of the *Arawak* linguistic family. Its speakers are located in the middle and upper Içana river, Aiari river, and their tributaries. A minority lives in lower Içana, speaks only *Nheengatu*, and is influenced by Salesians who have stayed in Assunção village for several years and built a secondary school in 2000. On the Brazilian side, these populations represent more than 5500 people (9000 in the three countries).

Missionaries have been present in Alto Rio Negro since the 18th century, but Baniwa Christianization intensified in the second half of the 19th century with the advent of Millenarian movements. The "Cristos" Venâncio Kamilo and Aniceto established a religious doctrine incorporating elements of Baniwa mythology and rituals, with beliefs and symbolic practices from popular Catholicism in the Içana area. Wright and Hill (1985:42) reported syncretic practices based on the relation between the collective ritual representations and knowledge about nature, like fasting and reclusion to increase psychological control of followers, the belief that diseases cure and spiritual ills should be compensated by material offerings (which can also be found in the Baniwa cosmological conception). However, the "Cristos" were fought and persecuted by the Brazilian state, not only because they opposed the interests of its faithful ally, the Catholic Church, but also for preaching in favor of the Indigenous liberation from "White" oppression.

Interviews with elders informed us that, at the beginning of the 20th century, Salesian missionaries settled permanently in the area and initiated a process of schooling of indigenous children by building boarding schools on the banks of the rivers:

> Father Jose Schneider and Sister Therese began to catechize the Baniwa along the Içana river and built a center and a boarding school in Assunção village [lower Içana], and then small schools in the neighboring

communities of middle Içana and Aiari river. They were joined by Protestant missionaries [New Tribes Mission] from 1950 to 1970. [André]

Then, Protestants and Catholics sought the allegiance of the various Baniwa lineages and thus contributed to their division. Since the end of the 1990s, two thirds of Baniwa were considered Protestant, more than 80% living in the area of the Içana river; but more than 70% are still Catholic along the Aiari river. This religious proselytism has also resulted in the quick removal of most traditional rituals and holy artifacts. Flutes, horns, and maracas were thrown into the rivers by missionaries. Traditional carriers of knowledge (*pajés*, song masters, ritual officiates, and healers) were stigmatized. Missionaries actively contributed to the destruction of various forms of traditional knowledge transmission and to the reduction of numerous *pajés* by demonizing them. By combining catechization with healthcare through a nursing sister, the link with the sacred in the *pajés'* traditional remedies was partly eroded.

Until the 1990s, like other indigenous people, some of the Baniwa children attended conventional school with teaching only in Portuguese, without relation to indigenous realities, and limited to the first 4 years of basic education, except for the Salesian boarding schools offering continuity over 8 years. To carry on their studies, pupils had to travel to the chief town (São Gabriel) even Manaus.

The Baniwa organized themselves politically by creating the Indigenous Basin Içana Organization (OIBI) in 1992 to enforce their rights and to set up indigenous teaching.

From 1995, representatives progressively developed an alternative school project which corresponded to the realities and the needs of Baniwa communities. Various meetings followed…That of 1997 defined objectives, methodology, school organization, and function…The principal founders of the Pamáali school [network] were Valentino and his son Roberto who came from the Juvitera village and Antonio from Ambauba. [Juvêncio]

They received support from André Fernando, a young Baniwa political leader who was elected deputy-mayor of São Gabriel municipality in 2008. It appears that these founders came from families which regularly opposed various forms of colonial and postcolonial domination, in particular religious proselytism:

> Some elders, being both chief and *pajé*, are respected far beyond their village for their world-view. The oldest, like us, who refused to be educated by the priests, had to flee sometimes inside the forest, but we always keep in mind the past and the Baniwa traditional lifestyle. This is why we have transmitted this cultural heritage throughout the indigenous school we created. [Valentino]

During the school establishment process, priests were not invited to the assemblies, which symbolically aimed to dispossess them of this institution and to make it fully indigenous, going beyond socio-religious conflicts between lineages. Moreover, Christianity was removed from the curriculum.

There is no Christian influence in the Tukano *Ye'pá Mahsã* network, as Baniwa, but shamans, were not associated with this project. Teachers and political leaders (some of them living in the town of São Gabriel with administrative functions) formed a politico-pedagogical project based on universal knowledge associated with respect of indigenous culture, language, and historical heritage.

Teaching Training Before and After 2007-2008

Before 2007-2008

Before the 1990s, the school curriculum in Ticuna communities did not reflect their cultural and linguistic reality because teachers were mainly "White" and offered instruction in Portuguese without reference to indigenous cultures, which involved a progressive deculturation of indigenous pupils. In order to overcome these pervasive effects, the Bilingual Ticuna Teacher Organization (OGPTB) was created in 1986 to provide a differentiated indigenous education in the communities. OGPTB participated in implementing a teacher training project in 1993 with the Ticuna teachers of 93 schools in Ticuna territories of the Tabatinga, Benjamin Constant, São Paulo de Olivença, Amaturá, and Santo Antônio do Içá municipalities. The main objective was the training of the resident Ticuna teachers to Teaching Diploma level, in order to upgrade all the teachers independent of their educational level (between the 2nd series of basic education and secondary education). The first stage of the project (1993 to 1997) concerned 212 teachers from the 1st series of basic education. The second stage related to the training of the 2nd series with courses during holidays in the Ticuna teachers training center, which is located in

Filadélfia village with 230 teachers (95% of practicing Ticuna teachers). The use of Ticuna language and a lack of recognition of indigenous schools, by public authorities, as well as by some non-indigenous teachers, were initially the main difficulties, until the State Council of Education approved Resolution 11, 2001, which defines standards for the creation and the functioning of an indigenous school, authorizing and recognizing this teaching on the level of basic education.

In Baniwa area, as with Ticuna and Tukano, IBE has been implemented since the 1990s. From 1998 to 2000, the elders have been used in order to homogenize and to enrich the Baniwa scripts already employed in basic education. It is also used for adult literacy in various communities. In 2000, an assembly, joining the vast majority of the villages' household heads, decided to build a school on a sacred territory (Pamáali), unspoiled by man, to provide lessons for the 2nd series of basic education, which had until then been reduced to 1st series in the area's schools. As the Baniwa's political awareness was reinforced, the school became a place where *critical thought* could be openly applied, together with the support of shamans as regards Baniwa cosmogony. During the early years, even if classrooms were erected, the lack of infrastructure, food, transport, or means to buy fuel limited the school development. Then, partnerships were set up with the FOIRN and the ISA (Social Environment Institute), which brought the financial support of the Rainforest Alliance NGO which agreed to finance the project for six years (2002-2008), including technological training (as computer and fish farming courses).

After 2007-2008

Since 2008, the Amazonas State University (UEA), starting from its branch in Tabatinga (until then in charge of the conventional training for indigenous and non-indigenous teachers), has come to support OGPTB by jointly giving intercultural higher training for all Ticuna teachers working in middle school (2nd series) and secondary education. This advanced vocational training, in which I assisted, allowed teachers to gain tangible and theoretical subjects (mainly anthropological and linguistic) both general and specific to their cultural group, from which they have elaborated pedagogical projects that they explained at the evaluation sessions. The presence of anthropologists also supported in giving them methodological tools to carry out research on their culture, or, more exactly, that of the community (village) where they are assigned. Nevertheless, these two weeks of training could be supplemented by more specific courses on indigenous knowledge—with the participation of the traditional carriers of knowledge and cosmogony (shamans, elders, etc.)—and their use during secondary education (building links between cultural and academic knowledge).

In August 2007 in Baniwa area, integrated secondary education was established in Pamáali. Parents and representatives (associations, chiefs, shamans) took an active part in the school, as everybody has the capacity to help students improve knowledge and action research. The environmental management plan promoted by the school aimed to facilitate the use of territory wealth, as well as safeguard it. The political decision-making of the school is based on a General Assembly which consists of parent representatives, elders, chiefs, shamans, health workers, students and teachers, the school council association, the economic council, and the school board. According to the school principal:

> Pamáali is regarded as an ever-changing system open to its environment, which is being taken forward actively day-by-day, coordinated through a democratic process based on the Baniwa model of social organization. Thus, students, as well as teachers are responsible for school performance and are accountable to parents and elders…The self-management of the school is based on weekly meetings, where all students and staff assess and provide daily operations which foster emergence of new initiatives in a constant construction process. [Juvêncio]

My observations reveal that traditional representatives define the general political and organizational framework, such as school rules, while teachers, elders, shamans, and students (who have special skills in traditional knowledge) try to improve IBE curriculum. Everybody seems to be concerned with the continual school improvement.

IBE Developments Before and After 2008

IBE Before 2008

Before 2008, my fieldwork in Ticuna area shows some limitations of IBE, which is predominantly oriented to bilingual education in addition to a few cultural traits. Nevertheless, the work of the OGPTB allowed the creation of a Ticuna words register with the support of elders (but no shamans).

As I have seen, they were able to take part in courses to tell legends, myths, and the major historical facts of Ticuna people. These stories provided young people with an access to Ticuna world concepts, words, and expressions, which, sometimes, had almost disappeared, and constitute a linguistic *corpus* for teachers.

My classroom observations (basic education, 1st series) and my comparisons with these without IBE in mestizo boroughs proved that when students are using native language, both oral and written, during the first few years, those supports not only the linguistic comprehension of Portuguese but also the subjects being taught.

Proficiency in mother tongue facilitates a second language learning. However, the ability to communicate is not limited to the ownership of a linguistic capital because it also depends on a communication capital whose foundation is the culture which gives the direction and how to use it. Indeed, culture is expressed through a language, each language contributing at the same time cultural content and membership. Communication fits into a social and cultural dynamic, the evidence of which is cultural membership, whether at the linguistic or non-verbal level.

Thus, even in mathematics, I can see that figures are correlated with fruits or seeds' names which are traditionally used to count, which leads pupils to develop competences in mathematics in the two cultural worlds. The traditional tales, songs, and arts are also used to facilitate this schooling with pupils gradually gaining assurance in the two linguistic registers according to their level. Teachers used booklets, and created posters and other didactic materials in Ticuna to support courses on surrounding landscape, health, and indigenous social organization. However, until 2008, I witnessed, even in the villages closest to the chief municipal towns (like Filadélfia near Benjamin Constant or Umariaçu close to Tabatinga), that IBE relates to only the 1st series of basic education: afterwards, the Ticuna language is only added to the conventional curricula and sometimes used to explain some words or expressions. The transition from a national curricula to an IBE curricula in the same schools seems not to be as easy as in new schools where indigenous teachers started their job directly with an IBE program.

Indeed, before 2008, secondary schools were not using an IBE program. For example, in Filadélfia, there are still non-indigenous teachers who came to teach; most of them are not looking to adapt the curricula and bring it closer to indigenous realities and there is little incentive (starting with non-compliance with their work schedule, higher absenteeism, etc.). The secondary school is located in the basic school directed by an indigenous director who could manage this non-indigenous personnel more effectively, but he does not have the administrative authority over secondary education which depends on the Amazonas state and thus on the Secretariat of Education located at the distant Manaus.

In Umariaçu villages, teachers are indigenous, including in secondary education; however, a large proportion of them do not know (lack of training) how to adapt disciplinary teaching, such as it is

presented in the conventional books, to the socio-cultural contexts of communities by the means of intercultural teaching approaches.

Despite all these difficulties, Ticuna leaders that I interviewed consider that:

> The IBE [dynamic] has supported the recognition of teachers and indigenous schools, on the level of municipalities, as well as that of indigenous villages, and in particular promotes recognition of indigenous rights. [Nino]

> On the economic front, seventy percent of teachers who have completed the training were contracted, the majority by local municipalities [which coordinate basic education] and others by FUNAI…At the educational level, this project made it possible to develop a new model of IBE in the Alto Solimões Ticuna schools. [Constantino]

My analysis shows that the success of IBE (learning outcomes, social recognition, effectiveness) depends on who the teachers are, their standing in the community, and their language abilities. First attempts with non-indigenous teachers living in towns (and not in indigenous communities) and speaking only Portuguese were a failure.

The Association of the Indigenous Tukano School *Ye'pá Mahsã* (AEITYM), founded in 2004 in the Cunuri village (located in Taracuá district along Uaupés river, a Rio Negro tributary), took part in the establishment of another IBE model inside São Gabriel da Cachoeira municipality. Pupils learn Portuguese and their native tongue (Tukano) si-

multaneously, based on cultural contents, like the significance of ritual, mythological origins, dances, hunting weapons, and everyday objects. This IBE was already being used in other communities of the district: Ipanoré, Monte Alegre, Santa Terezinha, Açaí, Uriri, Trovão, and Monte Cristo.

Before 2008, in *Ye'pá Mahsã* basic education, teaching was bilingual and intercultural (esteeming of the indigenous culture and knowledge in a dialogical relationship with those of the "Western" world) as nowadays. In order to develop an "integrated" orientation, a collaboration with the Agro-Technical School (EAT) of São Gabriel was established to train students as technicians in ethno-development, but in 2007 and 2008, there were only two or three scholarship students who were annually involved, and only boys.

Before 2008 in the 2nd series of basic education, as well as that of secondary education, it remained difficult for indigenous teachers to leave the framework reference of *school form*, the majority of them having followed a conventional schooling and training:

> Teachers are responsible for students' success…We need IBE training in the second series. We only have books to learn Tukano. Students are followed closely and help each other. We take time to have exchanges between teachers: it is the outcome of collective work, as well as traditional field work, but sometimes we do not have solutions to make an intercultural education. [Cleidiana]

> I am a mathematics teacher and I would deepen my knowledge in indigenous ethno-sciences. My books

are only related to mathematical theories. Naturally, with pupils, we make comments about local flora and fauna and productive work, but we are not always able to connect those comments with sciences. [Geraldo]

The lack of relation between secondary education and development projects of indigenous communities removes its "integrated" orientation and limits its scope to simple "cultural" or "differentiated" additions, which is reinforced by disciplinary breakdown.

IBE After 2008

In 2009, my observations in Ticuna area showed that only a few teaching modules (offered by UEA) really worked with IBE approach in secondary education. They prefer to use a disciplinary program from formal teachers' textbooks. At an advanced level, science and mathematics, as theoretical knowledge, cannot really be interpreted with traditional knowledge which deals more with its historic construction and furthermore its cultural practice.

However, the IBE implementation is more systematic in Ticuna basic education (than in secondary education) which is interdisciplinary, deals less with theoretical knowledge, and is more open to experimentation on and in the environment. This difficulty can be overcome over time, as I have seen with IBE in basic education. Another less easy to overcome problem is the influence of the evangelist sects, which continue to conceal and overshadow large areas of their traditional values, cosmogony, and culture that cannot be used in IBE teaching:

> It is not always easy to talk about our ancestral knowledge at school, in particular everything concerning our religious beliefs. However, language training without a part of our cultural heritage is limited. Some parents [Christian leaders] supervise what their children learned at school…Sometimes, they told us we cannot use some words or cultural explanation, as links between men and nature or spirits…Our mythology and our history is depleted and we are losing knowledge and spiritual preciousness. Our [world] sensibility disappears when we try to ignore the world where we live. [anonymous teacher]

Indigenous secondary education was only established in 2008 in Cunuri village (Tukano area), but during the first years it was not really coordinated with development projects aimed at answering the needs of the 8 indigenous communities concerned. Moreover, teachers were few; those who were involved in secondary education did this as well in the 2nd series of basic education, and also had to take time during the first years to train to teach "administratively" legally in secondary education. In 2008, 84 students were registered in secondary education and 72 in basic education: this important number in secondary education is due to the fact that many students did not have opportunity to complete their schooling in the town of São Gabriel da Cachoeira and/or have chosen to stay in their indigenous territory.

Teaching in the basic schools of the *Ye'pá Mahsã* network remains open to the community world and its knowledge, with teachers having time to develop and experiment with various IBE approaches. My

observations showed that teachers in basic education were upgraded to secondary education and were replaced by new ones after 2008, who, unlike the first, benefited from entire IBE training. It is easier for them to teach, even in the 2nd series of basic education, with interdisciplinary and intercultural thinking.

However, in Tukano schools, training and knowledge are not only prospect offered by teachers. Thus, one day a week, a representative from the community comes into the classroom (basic education) to tell a story, a myth, or a legend from which pupils will work (younger children make a drawing, older children write a text in Tukano). On another day, pupils leave the classroom with the professor to study a social or productive activity near or with the members of the community, or to observe nature.

When there is more academic disciplinary teaching (like mathematics) carried out in the classroom, the traditional method is presented first. For example, the traditional method to count or measure refers to the parts of the body (fingers, hands, feet, arms, etc.) or to plants (seeds, parts of a tree, etc.) coming from natural environment. Then, its relationship or its equivalence to the "Western" mainstream is formulated, while showing the advantages of each according to context or situation. The physical or chemical principles are clarified from concrete observations of the immediate environment (cooking food, drinks fermentation, etc.) or, when they are difficult to carry out (such as fish traps), from scale models as didactical material. Mathematics, science, and technology are already present in the ma-

terial productions of Tukano people and vary from the selection of cassava varieties (women continue to select more than 60 to cultivate) to the weaving rules of baskets used to transport dried fish, while incorporating solid geometry used to design roofs (that of a *maloca* being particularly complex). Some traditional knowledge such as astronomy, like the names of stars and constellations, and the relation between their positioning and the calendar of domestic activities (particularly agrarian), is introduced, but first in Tukano to help understand their daily socio-cultural meaning, and then in Portuguese. Constellations are not always the same (they represent mythical animals or beings which are familiar to indigenous people) as those of the "Western" world and use other names for stars or planets: both types of representation are compared to their respective mythology and use. In addition, the indigenous school calendar follows that of the domestic activities, which allows pupils to fully participate in certain collective activities.

However, since 2008, in secondary education, I have noticed that certain teachers are fairly good at using the intercultural approach to question "Western" and "Amerindian" cosmogonies. For example, in the philosophy course, the representations of the world among ancient Greek thinkers and those of Tukano are presented, analyzed, and compared by the teacher and his students. The relation between history and myth is questioned (Gow 2001), in particular according to the formulation (who writes or who speaks?) and reception (for whom and why?) contexts. They examine written sources and myths and compare them reciprocally. For example, the history of the colonization of the

indigenous territory and the relation between colonists and indigenous people is revisited, the idea being to move towards resolving the contradiction or the apparent texts or myths' neutrality, and thus to develop *critical thought* on the history while confronting and reworking the various sources.

> We learn a lot with elders from Tukano communities. This coming back to sources gives us the opportunity to recover our collective memory. It is enriched with courses in anthropology and research methods at the university training [intercultural higher education]. The latter has helped me to understand how to work with elders as you did, to get them to talk in specific spaces where they can find meaning. [Cleidiana]

IBE in the Tukano case is much more sophisticated than for the Ticuna—for the reasons I have already mentioned—even if "integrated" secondary education is still not really operational. Nonetheless, interviews and observations that I have accomplished indicate that is a concern for communities.

> Now, I am able to work with ethno-sciences, that is to say, theorize traditional practices, show pupils they can perceive implied mathematics in their community, that is, identify math operation, chemical processes, physical operation in everyday life. The ancestors knew so many things…All of this knowledge was within our grasp, but the elders considered it was no longer important in comparison to academic knowledge. Now, we know it is possible to enrich one another and we are beginning to think, to use, and to promote solutions for local and regional development, too. [Geraldo]

EIBI network (Baniwa area) consisted of 9 indigenous schools (1st series of basic education) located in some of the 35 communities and the Pamáali school (2nd series). In the 2nd series of basic education, there are few differences before and after 2008, except the enhancement of didactical material and IBE pedagogical methods. The school philosophy still consists of encouraging indigenous citizens to enjoy their community, to hold responsibilities, and to set up new projects in a framework of sustainable development, by respecting the traditional values of intercultural dialogic thinking. Thus, Pamáali school is very different from conventional schools, with its own curricular proposals, procedures, and schedules. Students do research in various fields, while trying to connect traditional knowledge to "Western" technical-scientific knowledge: in particular, organizing a house of science ("living museum") from which they perform regular observations of animals and experiments on the surrounding plants, for example, orchid grafts on various trees. Other activities have been implemented in the fields of craft (Baniwa arts) and agriculture (plantation of various pepper species).

The evaluation is based on a continuous and regular teaching assessment (no scores). It also focuses on the annual research tasks, where each student, supervised by a teacher, carries out a field investigation into a topic of his choice with an intercultural approach. For this purpose, each year, he has two months to undertake his research, generally with those who have developed competences in the field concerned. This research work leads to the drafting of a report which allows improvement in traditional knowledge and oral transmission. Thus, historical

questions are worked on with the elders who use petroglyphs, for example, as helpful reminders. The symbols of the past are often hidden under the river waters, but when they recede, petroglyphs reappear, and storytellers, in particular *pajés* who know how to interpret them, can connect past to present again. Details abound and the complexity is revealed when they come to collect this tradition, both oral and *scriptural*, in order to write research papers or indigenous school textbooks.

Pamáali was founded and encouraged by elders. The rules they have decided for the boarding school are stringent and monitored collectively. Now [2010], we usually receive nearly one hundred students [2nd series and high school] regardless of age or sex. Two months a year, students return to their communities to deepen and extend research already carried out, which makes it possible for them to share knowledge acquired over this period with students and teachers. In this way, courses are continuously improved with knowledge transmitted by the elders on cultural and environmental heritage, agriculture, nature, or ritual knowledge, but also songs, stories, and the skills of hunting or surviving on the land, the secrets of plants and their medicinal value…Every day, slots in school are reserved for traditional activities: men go fishing, clear land for agricultural purposes, gather in the forest and make wickerwork; women are going to plant, care, and harvest cassava, peppers, and transform cassava into flour. Furthermore, every week, a student is appointed to be responsible for a dormitory or the library, in order to participate in school administration. Knowledge, skills, theoretical knowledge, and practices are practiced in an intercultural and collective perspective. [Dzoodzo]

The 2nd series of basic education can be examined as a knowledge base into the perspective between the indigenous and the "Western" knowledge, according to their formulation and realization contexts, while integrated secondary education is more a dialectic between them with a view to improving the indigenous living conditions, while specializing in different knowledge areas: indigenous policies, rights and movements, ethics, health education and traditional knowledge, sustainable development, et cetera.

We are teaching citizens to be able to assume responsibilities in their community, as development activities, in accordance with sustainable development principles and socio-cultural values. Our research and lessons are participatory. The goal of the school is to raise the consciousness of Baniwa students and empower them to assume an active role in the development of their communities, the defense of their rights, and the revalorization of their culture. We believe that a sustainable future is possible, we can take advantage of material and immaterial goods, in an ecological, economic, and social way, while avoiding predatory use of all the bounty of our territory. [João]

To endorse these training orientations, the school is supported by various projects integrated into the Regional Program of Indigenous Sustainable Development of Alto Rio Negro. In the light of this, it benefits teaching, technical, and material support by specialized trainers, Indigenous or not. The program objective is to support self-sustainment in the region, not only by developing research projects to increase and diversify food, but also by

improving traditional knowledge (stories, myths, legends, respect of the sacred places, etc.), and by using them as a framework to improve the way of life and territorial management. Responding to Baniwa requests, various research projects were developed in Pamáali: fish farming, poultry farming, environmental management, improvement of traditional food production, beekeeping, fish resource management, and traditional storytelling (Meunier 2011).

Pamáali school seems to be the most successful IBE achievement of all indigenous experiments. It allowed a *recovery initiative* (Balandier 1970) by turning *school form* into an "open school" with an *intercultural dialectic* (Meunier 2009) between traditional and "Western" knowledge, but also a teaching oriented towards the future needs of indigenous people. Even if NGO policies are not exactly the same as those of the Baniwa, Indigenous were able to provide guidance to the projects according to their own expectations of environmental possibilities (some projects were subsequently abandoned). They have considered both education and vocational training in the Amazonian context.

In the Tukano and Baniwa cases, the teachers' linguistic ability and their vocational training are more or less the same as in the Ticuna case. Indeed, with Tukano and Baniwa IBE models, the influence of Christian proselytism is smaller and often nonexistent at school, what increases the Indigenous' theoretical thinking to innovate and to develop IBE curricula with a large part of autonomy (with shamans in the Baniwa case). These local innovations in IBE contribute to preserve and revitalize local

languages and cultural practices specific to certain localities and help to enhance cultural diversity. Indigenous peoples themselves can adequately safeguard, maintain, manage, develop, and recreate their cultural heritage with IBE for the next indigenous generations. They also enrich cultural diversity and human creativity, as in the Baniwa school of Pamáali which improves the epistemological diversity of IBE by new ways of thinking.

Closing Thoughts

Nowadays, the globalization of education standards does not have the same signification according to local contexts (Anderson-Levitt 2003) and can be changed with *collective subjectivities*. In contrast to the rhetoric international organizations (Van Zanten and Ball 1997) preaching for standardization and homogenization of the school systems, other alternatives remain possible, mostly in certain Southern or boundary countries where education can be opened to the socio-cultural context by successive dialectics between school education and traditional knowledge. In this perspective, the *intercultural dialectic* concept can be used to think of a new *school form* which considers the governance of diversity from an intercultural educational perspective. In Latin America, indigenous people rightly have the choice to invent a new form of school education using their native languages and their own learning processes, that is, cultural transmission and acquisition of knowledge through educational practices which are not involved in the "universal" *school form*. The possibility of implementing a curriculum incorporating knowledge from the students' cultural background

can prevent a hierarchical biculturalism, that is, an artificial juxtaposition between indigenous knowledge as "singularity" and "Western" knowledge as "universality," with educational ideologies, didactic, and pedagogic practices (McConaghy 2000). In fact, indigenous knowledge is also able to inform education theories and teaching methodologies (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005). On the one hand, the Republican education rhetoric, founded on the notion that a uniform national culture is a prerequisite of equal citizenship for all, is over. On the other hand, after having experience of various models of schooling in indigenous territories with historical and cultural variations: the weight of NGOs' programs financed through international aid, the Catholic and Protestant missionary activities, national and provincial government policies, the support of universities and research organizations, indigenous people know their world is definitively changing, even if curricula incorporates, in its formulation and implementation, a respect for indigenous identities, cultures, knowledge, and learning. Certainly, indigenous students need to utilize the *otherness* to negotiate between various ways of learning and thinking, striving to reach a broader identity by this *intercultural dialectic* to become entirely citizens of the world without forgetting where they come from. However, to be really intercultural, IBE should also concern indigenous people who live in cities, such as non-indigenous Brazilian students, in order to foster a vision of an egalitarian relationship between indigenous and "Western" cultures, which the mainstream community does not wish for, at the "moment."

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Shane Scott, D. Mark Austin
University of Louisville, U.S.A.

Edgework, Fun, and Identification in a Recreational Subculture: Street BMX Riders

Abstract   The sociological study of risk-taking behavior is a relatively recent development. Lyng (1990) and others have developed the field of edgework, or the "sociology of risk-taking." In this study, we examine a group of edgeworkers to understand the role of fun and identity in a group of BMX "freestyle" bicycle riders and conclude that these riders reject rational reasons, in the sense of the term envisioned by Weber, for riding in favor of choosing an activity that they report as fun, which leads to feelings such as self-actualization and fulfillment. Additionally, they are not concerned that others, outside of the subculture, recognize their status as participants, further suggesting that rationality played little into the calculation used to define success by this group.

Keywords   Sociology of Risk-Taking; Edgework; Identity; Fun; Recreational Subculture; Street BMX Riders

Shane Scott is a former graduate and undergraduate student at the University of Louisville studying history as an undergraduate and sociology in graduate school. He is a passionate BMX rider. After graduation, he took a 2 year hiatus from mainstream society and academics to farm, hunt, understand the tree care industry, and practice organic farming. More recently, he has returned to an urban environment.

email address: stscot02@gmail.com

D. Mark Austin is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Louisville.

He also serves on the program faculty of the Urban and Public Affairs Ph.D. program. A good deal of his research has focused on issues related to community and urban sociology. Some of of his recent work has focused on issues related to edgework and/or commodification, focusing on motorcyclists and BMX riders. Recent publications include "Commodification and Resistance: Theoretical Implications Drawn from a Mobile Recreational Community," with Patricia Gagné, and "Fear of Criminal Victimization on a College Campus: A Visual and Survey Analysis of Location and Demographic Factors," with Nancy Steinmetz.

email address: austin@louisville.edu

In a modern rational world, it is understood that many of the actions taken in society, as individuals and in collective groups, are for gains of status, efficiency, or income (Ritzer 1999). These ideas can be traced to Weber (1958) and the "iron cage" that creates discontent as individuals may try to find alternatives to the day-to-day existence rationality creates. For some, this results in turning to the pursuit of leisure and/or sports pursuits. With this in mind, what motivates individuals to become involved in activities that engage the risk of physical harm and the need to acquire special skills to manage these risks? Additionally, what benefits accrue to those involved in risky pastimes?

To deal with these and related questions, Lyng (1990) developed the concept of edgework, the sociology of risk-taking. To better understand motivation and risk-taking, this project examines a group of "freestyle" BMX riders and looks at motivation and identity. That is, what motivates these participants and how important is their public identity, which can be a vehicle for status attainment, as BMX riders.

Literature Review

Until relatively recently, risky behavior and risk-taking, in general, have been concepts that were considered more in the domain of psychology (Lyng and Snow 1986). It was thought that risk-taking was a highly individualistic act (Jung 1964). Thus, little structural or sociological research was conducted on the topic. In 1990, Stephen Lyng took a structural approach to voluntary risk-taking as he looked to society to understand why individuals partake in risk-taking activities. Edgework was the term that Lyng (1990) used to refer to the sociology of risk-taking. In doing so, he was able to identify societal forces that influenced risk-taking behavior and the benefits that accrue as a result of this behavior.

Edgework occurs when the individual voluntarily places her/himself in a high-risk situation, or partakes in a high-risk activity, in which the individual could experience serious, or even life-threatening, physical or mental harm if the situation or activity in which the individual participates is not navigated with a high level of skill (Lyng 1990). All activities that are considered edgework involve an obvious threat to one's mental or physical well-being, or "one's sense of ordered existence" (Lyng 1990:857).

Edgework can, at least in part, be a reaction to modern societal conditions such as rationalization, which refers to the notion of using science, empirical evidence, calculability, efficiency, and reason to understand and explain aspects of modern life (Weber 1958; Ritzer 2004). As Weber predicted, the increasing rationalization of the world leads to a mundane existence where each aspect of life can be explained, predicted, and readjusted for the sake of reason and profit. The disenchantment (Weber 1958) of life is many times referred to as the "iron cage" of rationality (Edles and Appelrouth 2010; Allan 2011). Edgework can be a reaction to these social constraints of modern society.

Edgeworkers attempt to escape the constraints of society by voluntarily partaking in risky activities (Laurendeau 2006). Edgework posits that, by participating in an intentionally risky activity, the

participant has the opportunity to solely determine the well-being of her/his life (Lyng 1990), a phenomenon that is increasingly rare in the progressively rationalized world (Ritzer 2004). This opportunity allows the individual to exceed the limits of society as the edgeworker is only concerned about her/his well-being, not what society tells her/him to do, and not what an occupation makes the individual create—a situation that is highly prized by the edgeworker (Ferrell, Milovanovic, and Lyng 2001). However, edgeworkers are not interested in the types of activities that involve risk associated with a pure gamble as they are interested in utilizing their specialized skill(s) to navigate the edge (Lyng 1990). A complete gamble would not allow them to develop, perfect, and perform their skills.

The edge is the line between chaos and control. It is the goal of the edgeworker to approach that line or "edge" as closely as possible without crossing the line or falling off the edge (Mahaffy 2007). "In abstract terms, edgework is best understood as an approach to the boundary between order and disorder, form and formless" (Lyng 1990:858). During edgework activities, the participants put their body and/or mind at risk (Lyng 2005a). Such activities that put the individuals' bodily well-being at risk include skydiving (Laurendeau 2006), BASE (Buildings, Antennas, Spans [bridges], and Earth [cliffs]) jumping (Ferrell, Milovanovic, and Lyng 2001), and, presumably, freestyle BMX. Some forms of edgework may focus on mental (McGovern and McGovern 2011) or financial risk (Smith 2005). The concept of edgework has been expanded to even include "virtual edgework" in the world of online gaming (Shay 2015). Some other examples of edgework involve spiritual/

religious activities (Bromley 2007) in the form of rituals (e.g., serpent handling and fire walking), academic work of some types (Sjoberg 2005), and illegal drug use (Reith 2005). The latter example reminds us that some forms can put the actor at risk of both mental and physical harm.

Edgework is a multi-faceted theory that contains many dimensions. Though not touched on in every piece of research in this area, these dimensions include serious leisure, identity, performance limits, skills, sensations, and escaping the mundane. For many people who participate in an edgework activity, it is far more than just leisure, it is "serious leisure" (Stebbins 2001; 2007). Serious leisure, as distinguished from casual leisure, requires a much higher level of devotion, development of skills and knowledge, as well as a systematic approach to the activity (Stebbins 2001; 2007). The rewards may be greater and more long-lasting.

The "edge" or boundary line is not static in two distinct ways: 1) what constitutes the "edge" for a given activity differs from person to person and 2) what constitutes the "edge" changes over time. Laurendeau (2006:584) explicitly notes that edgeworkers "explore the boundary where order ends and chaos begins, [but] they do so in different ways and to different degrees." Some edgeworkers explore the limits of their equipment or tools (Lyng 1990), which is the case with skydivers, as the type of canopy chosen can impact the degree of danger (Laurendeau 2006).

Activities that are out of the risk-takers' control are of no interest to the edgeworker (Lyng 1990)

as edgeworkers claim the experience produces a sense of self-realization, self-actualization, or self-determination (Lyng 1990; Kidder 2006a). The performance of the edgeworkers leaves them feeling more alive (Ferrell, Milovanovic, and Lyng 2001), even though fear may be part of the experience (Milovanovic 2005). In this state of mind, the edgeworker's perception of time becomes distorted (Laurendeau 2006). Time may pass much slower or much faster than usual. For example, skydivers report that the 30 seconds of freefall feels like an eternity (Lyng and Snow 1986), while rock climbers say that hours pass like minutes (Robinson 2004). Time can be a subjective experience with similar activities generating varied experiences in relation to the perceptions of time passage (Flaherty 2000). "Greatly elevated levels of concentration" can generate distortions of time in both elongated and shortened perceptions of passed time (Flaherty 2000:71). Edgework generates these levels of intense concentration as required for success. However, non-edgework activities can also generate distortions of time (Fine 2012).

These sensations associated with edgework and intensity can lead to a type of "hyperreality" with reports of the experience as more real than everyday situations (Ferrell, Milovanovic, and Lyng 2001) and perhaps ineffable (Buckley 2012). Edgework can produce in its participants an array of feelings that include a heightened sense of self, a sense of self-actualization, as well as a feeling of omnipotence (Lyng 1990).

Csikszentmihalyi (1990) developed the concept of "flow" to explain the type of feeling that one might

experience when totally absorbed in an activity that fully encompasses an individual's mental and physical capacity. This feeling may border on euphoria as the skills of an individual are matched with successful completion of an important seemingly all encompassing task. Participants in serious leisure edgework who experience flow can find that success leads to feelings of empowerment and increased self-esteem (Gagné and Austin 2010).

A large proportion of actions in the U.S. become, or can become, about making money, whether it be the most obvious of actions like getting a job, or less likely actions such as riding a freestyle BMX bike. When actions become about making money, it distorts and destroys the initial action (Simmel 1978). Simmel argued that money is used to put an objective value on a subjective experience by measuring it in terms of money. In the U.S., rationality is an objective value (Ritzer 2004). Therefore, when a subjective experience is carried out with the intent to make it objectively meaningful, the action is thus transformed into something that has the intent to make money or advance one's position. It is no longer merely the subjective experiences that may include fun, joy, and love, which was what the initial action was performed for in the first place.

Boredom itself can play a role in explaining behaviors that violate the norms of society (Ferrell 2004). The iron cage of rationality (Weber 1958) can result in limits placed on subjective feelings, such as fun, that may not fit the strict definition of rationality. Edgework provides an avenue of escape, if temporary, for some.

Members of subcultures that are based on recreation may use equipment, unique language, and rituals to identify members (Kidder 2006b; Austin 2009), which can become, in a sense, totems for the subculture (Kidder 2006b). Messenger bicyclists have a type of respect and honor for their bicycles, which symbolizes their unique encompassing lifestyle (Kidder 2006a). Individual identity can, in part, be established by possessions (Belk 1988; Tharp 2007). Consumption of products and accompanying activity can also be a form of self-expression (Dant 1996; Austin 2009) as can participation in a "lifestyle" sport such as BMX riding (Corte 2013). Displaying identity may be utilized in status attainment, which can fit into a rational model of behavior.

Members of a serious leisure (Stebbins 2007) subculture involved in edgework (Lyng 1990) can develop strong collective and individual identities. Combining the communal aspects of these types of subcultures with identities based on material possessions (Austin 2009) suggests that identity and community can be multi-layered. Members of these types of groups not only develop a personal identity, but markers of the subculture can help them identify each other, as well as project an identity to other members (Kidder 2005). Participation in edgework can compound the sense of identity that is found in other types of subcultures.

Methods

For this project, one of the researchers took advantage of his position within the local "freestyle" BMX community as a long time rider. He took on the role of "opportunistic complete participant" (Adler and Adler 1987). This role allowed the researcher to draw on his own experiences within the subculture, as well as to capitalize on his acceptance within the group.

This study was conducted within the local BMX community in Louisville, Kentucky. In the early 2000s, a large skatepark was opened near the downtown area. This provided a congregating area for local BMX riders and skateboarders. Resources, such as a local skatepark, can help to form and unite a group of BMX riders (Corte 2013). During that era, Louisville was somewhat of a hub for BMX activities with some high profile riders relocating to the area. The local BMX profile diminished somewhat, but still remained fairly active during this study.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the local BMX community, which facilitated participants in expressing themselves using their own words, and helped the researcher to understand their environment, as well as permitted flexibility (Brenner, Brown, and Canter 1985; Maxwell 2012). Only long-term experienced riders were selected for interviews. This allowed for an understanding of riders who were considered "hardcore" riders and "serious leisure" participants (Stebbins 2001). However, there were no professional riders included in this project. That is, none received compensation for their riding skills. Interviews were conducted with 15 participants, until the point of saturation, and the interviews were transcribed to identify themes (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1994).

All of the respondents were male. It is not surprising that this BMX community is all male as participation in risk sports is, in many cases, a gendered experience (Laurendeau 2008). BMX is sometimes referred to as a "sport," with a realization that there are a variety of definitions of the term, some of which might not include riders who are not engaged in a competitive endeavor (Karen and Washington 2015). The sample members were experienced riders reporting an average of 10.8 years of experience, with a range of 3.5 to 15. As one might expect with this level of experience, the participants were adults with an average age of 24.8 years and a range of 19 to 31. All but one of the respondents had at least a high school diploma and eleven identified their race as white. The remaining four were non-white or mixed race.

Results

Riding BMX for Fun, Fulfillment, and Escape

Those who participate in voluntary risk-taking edgework are breaking the constraints of an increasingly rationalized world (Lyng 2005b). Respondents in this study were asked why they ride BMX, or what does BMX mean to them. Nearly all of them had a similar response: BMX is fun. In their view, fun and sharing time with friends is of utmost importance. Fine (2012) points out that time is a resource, termed "temporal capital," and spending time with fellow BMX riders suggests that riders are more than willing to expend this type of capital on time with their friends and their passion. For example, Bill (pseudonyms are used) said, "I just think it's all about having fun…It's nothing more than that."

Similarly, Todd responded:

Well, I've always loved to do it. I've always done it and it's fun, really. I mean, it's fun to get out, and, you know, the weather's nice—go out and meet up with your friends. Its riding, it feels good, I mean. If you don't ride BMX, it's kind of hard to explain…Why we do…cuz people see us wreck…"Why do you do that to yourself?!" It's just fun. Like it's just…it's hard to explain. It's like doing a sport, you know. Why do you do it?—It's fun!

As Ralph said:

It's so fun to…It's really just so fun to go ride like… riding like new spots…I feel like it makes riding so much more fun to go to new cities and ride handrails and, I don't know. Just riding with friends, as friends progress, it makes riding a lot more fun, too.

While other riders may have not used the word "fun," their responses elicit the idea of fun. Luke noted, "There's nothing else that makes me happy," in reference to why he rides BMX. This confirms the explanation that many edgeworkers participate because, as they explain if prodded, it is done for fun (Lyng 2008).

While most of the sample agreed the reason why they ride BMX was for fun, several of the respondents seemed to imply that riding BMX for fun was in fact the "right" reason to ride BMX. As this quote from Matt demonstrated:

As long as you're having fun and pushing yourself, you're doing everything right. It doesn't matter how

good you are, I could see someone trying to learn a feeble and I'll be trying to learn something harder, but I get just as stoked seeing them trying that as I do for myself trying whatever I'm doing.

Matt is making the case that one should only ride BMX for fun, but one should also be pushing oneself. What also makes this statement interesting is how Matt does not take into consideration the skill level of someone who is having fun. The trick he mentioned, "feeble"—short for feeble grind—is one of the most basic tricks in BMX in which a rider may "grind" or slide a part (such as a peg) of the bicycle on an obstacle (such as a concrete wall). However, other respondents do take into consideration the skill of a rider when it comes to fun.

Where Matt finds the least skilled riders of BMX doing it for the "right" reason, others find, arguably the most skilled form of riding, contest/competitive riding, to be done for the "wrong" reason. Contest riding is a commodified form of BMX riding with corporate sponsorship and riders who are capable of making a living competing. Past research, by Edwards and Corte (2009), suggests that as BMX riders become professional, the pressure to perform increases and the competitive nature that develops may actually deter friendships within the community of participants. Many riders refer to professional and/or commodified riding as "mainstream" riding. John explains his views:

> From what I grew up learning about…it just…all that stuff [competitive/contest riding] kind of takes away from what it originally was. Which I feel it should still be—go have fun. If you can do those tricks…and are

having fun, I mean, awesome for you. But, I just feel like they dedicate their life to trying to be like that [a contest rider], instead of more or less going out with friends and everything and having a good time.

Here, Todd speaks about mainstream BMX and fun:

> I think it's getting a lot more serious, I would think. It's getting more competitive versus just going out and having fun. Well, at least in the mainstream. I think it's the competition, and the riding is just getting so crazy these days…I don't even try to keep up with them, I just do my own thing…the competition is pretty high versus kind of just having fun with it.

Bob voiced similar sentiment:

> That's where, you know, when I started riding, it was, you know, just something you do with your buddies to have fun and, you know, there wasn't really any real goals of getting, you know, blowing up and getting sponsored by Nike and, you know, Starburst, whatever…I don't know...the culture…it seems like it's getting more mainstream.

From these quotes it is clear that the participants have a very distinct idea of fun, as far as riding BMX is concerned. They are not riding for rational (Weber 1958) reasons and not with the intent of winning a contest, or with the intent to be the best. They ride with only the intent to please oneself or the subculture in which one identifies, for no other reason than to have fun, as they define the term. As one rider stated, "If you don't have fun with it, then, you know, it's not worth doing really." This notion of fun does not simply mean

it is light-hearted feel-good fun. These riders push themselves (serious leisure) and sometimes take risks (edgework) all in the name of fun. Yet, when these riders push themselves, they do so for reasons that fall within their subcultural ideology of fun, which means they do it not for money or status outside the group, but because it feels good.

While some contest riders probably consider it fun, this sample seems to have trouble believing that would be the case if they were engaged in contest riding. The participants in our study consider contest riders as doing it for the wrong reason, as money can distort the reasons why people do things. That is, rationality, making money, for these participants, is not only shunned, but viewed as the "wrong" reason for participating.

Mainstream BMX riding in the form of contest and competition has made freestyle BMX rational: it has made it about training (calculability), winning (status), being the best (efficiency), and making money (rationality). The sample in this study is hesitant to embrace this mainstream form of BMX riding because money then becomes seen as the standard by which BMX can be measured, not the subjective experiences of fun and love.

Commensuration, as envisioned by Espeland and Stevens (1998), allows for a common comparison metric across differing qualities. In many cases, financial gain or consideration is recognized to be a common metric for the measurement and allocation of resources such as time, energy, and commitment. These riders have consciously chosen to express opposition to commodification of BMX. In

this view, money does not destroy things so much as serve as a symbol of things a culture wishes to place no subjective value on, only monetary value, which can be less meaningful in subjective experiences or activities.

The growth of professionalism and commodification in BMX riding has allowed a few riders to make a living in riding, but even professionals may acknowledge that this takes it to a new level as they "are no longer only professional athletes, but also entertainers" (Edwards and Corte 2009:124), suggesting that they suffer some degradation in the joy of the activity. However, the riders in their study also tended to point out that they began riding when making a living as a BMX competitor was not possible, suggesting that they were originally attracted to the activity for other reasons than sponsorship and income.

Resistance to commodification among BMX riders is a complex issue as some may resist it, while others may view it as an opportunity to advance their riding (Edwards and Corte 2010). However, this sample of BMX riders, which does not include any professional riders, still highly values BMX, and to use money to measure it degrades the activity that is about more than money. This quote from Tony explicitly demonstrates this point:

> …just the entire nature of the BMX world and the BMX market itself is too similar to any other job or any other market. It's all about money…[more] than it ever has been in recent years…and I think that it degrades BMX to the core as what it even means to be a BMX rider. To people who can remember the

"golden era" when BMX was less popular…You only really rode because you loved it; you had a passion for it. I think the way the entire industry is ran now degrades it to the core.

Sport can serve as respite from routine life (Segrave 2000), and BMX is no exception as a rather common theme that emerged in relation to why they ride BMX was that it more or less helped them escape the troubles or stresses of everyday life. This is consistent with the ideas of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1990) and self-fulfillment found in edgework (Lyng 1990). For example, Jeb said: "BMX…gives me something to do to get away from school or work. It's an outlet for me. Anything that's hectic that's going on I can ride and kind of forget about it for a little bit…" The term "outlet" and/or "stress-reliever" were the two most frequently used terms when describing how they would escape unpleasant times of their life through riding their BMX bike. When you step onto your bike, everything else disappears, it is only you (and possibly your BMX riding friends), your bike, and whatever you decide to ride. It is almost like therapy, as this quote points out, "If you don't ride for long time, you can feel it, emotionally, it sucks" (Tyrone).

BMX Identity

Status attainment can be part of a "rational" approach to decision-making and activity selection (Weber 1958). Identity can be part of this status attainment. Consumer culture, as it has developed in the U.S., ties a great deal of identity with consumption rather than production of products (Featherstone 1991).

Individual social construction of self can be deeply wedded with brand loyalty (Adorno 1991; Featherstone 1991). Communities of collective identity develop based on brand loyalty and consumption of particular products (Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Maffesoli 1996). Past research has demonstrated that recreational groups have equipment, clothing, and other markers to confer and distinguish membership and identity for members of the group (Kidder 2006b; Austin 2009). However, riders in this study seem to be unconcerned with their identity as BMX riders in terms of the general public. That is, their concern with identity seems to be focused only on members of the subculture.

Perhaps silencing of identity may be a form of resistance and/or a method of dealing with commodification of their sport. With the exception of one participant, letting it be known to the non-riding public that they ride BMX was unimportant. However, nearly the entire sample had BMX paraphernalia in the form of t-shirts, shoes, and other articles of clothing that would clearly identify them as BMX riders, but only to other BMX riders.

Here is a typical response to the question, "Is there anything you do to communicate to others, even those you don't know, that you ride? [For example,] wear t-shirts; pictures on social media sites, etc." As Clarence explains:

Still wearing plenty of clothing, still wear…BMX shoes and shirts, even when I'm not riding, I've got some on now [referring to his shoes]…social media, I still try to have pictures up and like…I like post up pictures or whatever or videos that I saw that I liked

or "like" somebody else's video or…anything else like that.

When asked, if it was important for others to know that they ride BMX, most responses were fairly similar to this: "I wouldn't say it's important, you know. It's not going to affect them—I don't see like knowing whether I do or not…" (Jeb). It should be noted that while the riders say it is not important, the question—not important to whom—should be asked. Responses suggest that letting it be known they ride BMX to the general public is unimportant, but taking a closer look at several answers, reveals something more. Consider this quote from Ralph:

Yeah, I definitely wear like BMX shirts. I actually don't have like very many BMX shirts. I may have like…think I have like an Act Like You Know [a BMX crew from another state] shirt, a couple Skavenger [BMX company] shirts. I wear like a lot of Word [the local BMX group] stuff, too…feel like if anybody sees that does ride and they know about Word, "Well, he probably rides or something like that."

Likewise, Bob comments:

I mean, yeah, I wear, you know…like BMX company, you know, clothes and stuff like t-shirts…somebody could notice, I guess, if they were into BMX, that you were running like some Etnies [BMX shoe company]…Aaron Ross shoes or something. But, most people don't know that.

In both responses, the participants acknowledge that other BMX riders would recognize the sym-

bols as something that represents BMX. In fact, 7 out of the 15 riders stated that they wore a brand that is associated with BMX. Meaning that if other BMX riders saw the brand or symbol, they would most likely think that they rode BMX, too. The participants are unconcerned if non-riders know that they ride, but the riders in the sample are making it known to other riders that they are BMX riders, too. As this quote from John shows, "I wear Shitluck t-shirts, I think that's the only BMX ones I have…if they were a fellow rider, then they would know that I'm a rider."

These riders seem to be exhibiting a form of in-group and out-group boundary distinction (Tajfel 1982), but with the realization that only other members of their group will realize the boundary distinction. This reaffirms previous research concerning the importance of equipment and clothing as identifying markers in other subcultures such as motorcyclists (Austin 2009) and bicycle messengers (Kidder 2005).

In addition to clothing and other material markers of the subculture, it is common for participants in serious leisure to develop norms, practices, performance standards, and moral principles distinctive to the group (Stebbins 2001), which also delineates in-group and out-group boundaries. Edwards and Corte (2010), in their work on BMX riders, refer to "movement commercialization" as a focus on creating equipment and, oftentimes, products that are used by participants in these type of lifestyle sports, which adds another dimension to both identity, commodification, and boundary establishment.

Discussion and Conclusion

The participants of this study unanimously said that they rode freestyle BMX for fun, either directly or indirectly referencing the notion of fun. No one in the study explicitly defined fun; by analyzing the responses a rough definition can be created for fun. To BMX riders in this sample, to have fun riding one's bike means to do it because you love it and because it makes you happy, and for no other reason. They do not ride to get sponsored or to win a contest. To put it in terms of Weber (1958), they ride BMX because it is irrational.

Rationalization and Fun

Objective meaningful actions are actions that are done for the specific purpose of making money and/or increasing one's advantage in a situation (Weber 1958). Therefore, the subjective experiences or actions that lead to sensation are deemed unnecessary and irrational because those actions do not lead to making money or increasing one's advantageous position (Marcuse 1964).

All of the participants in this study stated in some manner, whether it be why they ride or what riding means to them, that BMX is fun or about having fun. They aim to have no ultimate rational goal, only to have fun when they ride their BMX bike. Fun and having fun is a highly subjective experience, and in most cases having fun is not rational in the Weberian sense; meaning that having fun will not lead to making money or advancing one's position. Therefore, the participants of this study ride BMX for reasons other than it being objective-

ly meaningful. They ride BMX because it produces subjective sensations of fun, love, and joy. Importantly, this implies that this sample values the subjective experiences riding BMX produces more than it values objective value in the form of money and rationality when it comes to their passion.

It should be noted that this form of fun does not imply that these riders are not committed to improving their skills and pushing themselves to improve (Stebbins 2001). The stated goal is to have fun in whatever form that may present itself. It is not a hidden fact that the culture industry supplies amusement, but it can remove the fun as the activity is commodified (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002). The riders in this study seem to have a method of accommodation to keep fun in their sport. It is not clear if riders who are a larger part of the culture industry, professional riders, would report the same central emphasis on unmitigated fun as their reason to ride. As a contrast, Edwards and Corte (2010) found that a portion of BMX riders embrace commodification or commercialization in their study, which included some professional riders.

The role of fun in edgework has been documented in both legal (Kidder 2006a) and illegal activities (Ferrell, Milovanovic, and Lyng 2001). This research emphasizes the important aspect of this very subjective and somewhat nebulous concept with almost universal support in a group that is mixed in its reaction to commodification. At the least, these BMX riders have serious reservations about the impact of commodification on their sport. Commodification, or mainstreaming as

the BMX riders refer to it, increasingly dominates our sport and recreational pursuits (Sewart 1987; Austin, Gagné, and Orend 2010; Krier and Swart 2014). The argument has been made that Western capitalist society has shifted to consumption as an organizing principle, rather than production (Featherstone 1991), and consumption is a complex idea involving not only tangible products, but also ideas (Baudrillard 1994; 1998). It is a process tied to a number of individual and collective issues including class (Pugh 2009), identity (Wheaton 2000), ideology (Micheletti 2003), and brand identification (Schouten and McAlexander 1995). The importance of consumption, recreation, and sport in culture points to the importance of understanding the process of accommodation and resistance in important social groups (Austin, Gagné, and Orend 2010) and how it may impact fun, fulfillment, or enjoyment in a recreational pursuit (Rosenbaum 2013).

Considering the ideas presented concerning escape, a clear connection can be made to the concept of edgework. One reason edgeworkers partake in risky behavior is because it allows them to escape the constraints of society (Lyng 2012) and experience the benefits of mastering a task and entering a state of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). Using the concepts of edgework, serious leisure, and flow, an explanation of why BMX riders ride their bikes becomes clear: as their sport becomes increasingly rationalized in the form of contests, corporate sponsors, and becomes part of mainstream or popular culture, they turn to riding their BMX bikes with no expressed interest in contest riding. A BMX rider turns to a risk-taking

activity in which he can escape the troubles of life, which have been intensified by the increasing rationalization of society.

The BMX rider attempts to reject rationality not only in a tangible form (i.e., street riding), but they reject rationalization ideologically by making how and why they ride BMX all about fun. They aim to have no ultimate rational goal—only to have fun. Additionally, this very notion is, in fact, a rejection of the rationality they see in other forms of BMX riding, and society as a whole. This also explains why many of the riders said people did not understand their form of riding.

Inconsistencies in the Desire to Communicate a BMX Identity

As noted in the results section, the vast majority of each of the riders in this study said that it was unimportant if non-riders knew that he was a BMX rider. However, a number of respondents said that other BMX riders would recognize the brands or symbols as associated with BMX; meaning that it is important to let others within their subculture know that they ride BMX. This is an interesting result for several reasons.

An interesting dynamic arises: the riders are rejecting rationalization through street riding and making riding about fun. However, they appear to be unconcerned about making their rejection explicit by letting everyone know they ride BMX, which on the surface appears to reject the commodified image of the sport. What could cause the need for a quiet rejection—a rejection that only you and

your subculture are aware of—rather than a more public type of rejection?

A possible explanation is the average age of the riders and tenure of riding. This being the case, it is most likely that this group of adult riders have been through a lot of experiences with and without their BMX bike and due to their BMX bike. They are older now and may feel no need to make it known to the world that they ride or are rebellious.

People in the sample do many other things than just ride BMX; they play basketball, have respectable careers, and go to school. To solely identify as a BMX rider would be incomplete, as even dedicated sport participants can have multiple identities (Mekolichick 2002). They know what they love, and they see what is happening to the activity they love: it is being taken over by the mainstream and turned into a commodity. Now, it is difficult to distinguish between an "authentic" rider and the individual who does it for the image, because so many of the signals of authenticity have been made available to less-dedicated riders through the commodification process. Yet, the true test comes during interaction. They see what the mainstream does when individuals are loud about rebellion as capitalism turns it into a commodity (Goodman 2001), damages it by attempting to measure it in terms of money (Zelizer 1994), and sells it to the masses in a commodified form (Austin, Gagné, and Orend 2010). So what do they do? They keep quiet. They do not make it known that they ride BMX because the average non-riding person may turn around and try to act like him, or worse yet, try to sell his image. In an attempt to save their sport,

and keep it how they want it, they remain inexplicit about their rejection except amongst themselves. It is a quiet rejection, and quite possibly a type of rejection that is difficult to turn into another product (Goodman 2001) because others are not privy to it. Therefore, it is more difficult to commodify and, ultimately, ruin it. This quiet rejection may help to preserve BMX, as these participants view it.

The ambivalence towards mainstream (commodified) riding and hiding their identity from members of their out-group may be to preserve the authenticity of the sport; however, it could be confounded by other forces. For example, these riders may realize the slim chances of becoming a professional rider and utilize cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1962) to deal with their personal and collective situation. In their study of BMX riders, which included some professional riders, Edwards and Corte (2009) found riders to be much more mixed in their reaction to the commodification or commercialization of the sport. This suggests that professionalization may impact upon how individuals and/or communities of riders interpret the changes in their sport.

Additionally, hiding their identity from the non-riding general public could be a status preservation act within their particular subculture. Status, as someone rejecting the concept of mainstream riding, might suffer if their fellow riders view them as riding for the "wrong" reason, status outside the group. Future research examining the interplay of commodification and resistance in serious leisure and/or edgework is warranted to assist in understanding these issues in dedicated sport or recreational communities.

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Barbara A. Misztal

University of Leicester, UK

The Ambiguity of Everyday Experience: Between Normality and Boredom

Abstract   This paper asserts that the growing expansion of the micro realm of social activity calls for the exploration of everyday experience, seen as ranging from the most extraordinary to the most ordinary. The paper focuses on two constitutive features of the ordinary type of experience, namely, normality and boredom. It conceptualizes normality as an outcome of people's potential to construct meaning of their ordinary experiences and boredom as a state signaling our inability to realize this desire. Both types of ordinary experience are in the core of everyday life and thus their consequences can be detrimental to the quality of social life. This paper's discussion of normality and boredom includes both sociological and literary works where these two phenomena find their rich expression.

Keywords   Boredom; Experience; Normality; Role; Sense-Making

Everyday Experience as the Main Ground of the Sense-Making Practices

Analyzing people's experience, including everyday experience, has always been seen as the essential step in the realization of sociology's aspiration to provide account of the formation of human subjects and to offer a better explanation

Barbara A. Misztal is a Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Leicester, UK. She is interested in sociological theory, with the main focus being on problems of trust, social cooperation, dignity, forgiveness, and collective memory. Her current research project focuses on immigrants' perception and experience of the UK citizenship process.

email address: bm50@leicester.ac.uk

for people's behavior. Yet, despite this realization and the recognition of the everyday experience's pervasiveness in our lives, this notion is still under-theorized. The main sociological approaches treat the micro-level experience "as an after-thought, an epiphenomenon, a derivative of social structure" (Davies 1997:386). The idea of immediate experience "remains one of the most trivialized and misunderstood aspects of social existence" as it is not well defined and refers to "lived" experience or "here and now" or is simply identified with the single experience (Gardiner 2012:39). Furthermore, effort to capture details of people's experiences often relies on curricular assertions as such attempts, after asserting that social reality is an experienced reality, claim that "experience" is about the experience of having experience and being "constituted" by it.

Although it is not surprising that in the dominant sociological theories there is still "no way adequately to communicate the strange complexity and variable texture of immediate experience" (Ferguson 2009:7), there are many reasons why we should investigate human experience in the everyday context. Firstly, the sociological investigation of the "small stuff of social life" is important because "seemingly trivial interactions perform what is necessary to hold society together" (Davies 1997:376). Secondly, the growing expansion of the micro realm of social activity and the realization of potential costs of overlooking problems connected with this aspect of social existence call for the exploration of this experience (Chaney 2002). Thirdly, in the context of the growing inequalities, studying everyday experience becomes timely as this notion can shed light on consequences of such divisions. Finally, we should be interested in the micro-level experiences as "our work as social scientists depends on how human experiences can be understood, shared, and then communicated to others" (Chernilo 2014:347). Hence, the aim of this paper is to conceptualize the essence and complexity of everyday experience.

A task of bringing substantive concreteness to this notion—which is "something of an 'anti-concept': it is an 'ill-defined region' of raw, fragmentary, and essentially unmediated experience 'into which all concepts dissolve'" (Ferguson 2009:39)—is full of difficulties. To overcome problems connected with the "conceptual unruliness" of the idea of everyday experience, several approaches define this concept's ambiguity as expressing itself in the fact that this experience is at the same time triv-

ial and the main foundation upon which society is formed (Lefebvre 1984; Ferguson 2009; Gardiner 2012). In this view, everyday experience is more than its apparent banality as it is also the crucial source of all creativity and as it upholds "a depth beyond its triviality, something *extraordinary in its very ordinariness*" (Lefebvre 1984:37 [italics in the original]). It is inexplicable and yet vital, simultaneously "humble and sordid" or self-evident and rich in potential; it is both the mundane type of experience and the "space-time of voluntary programmed self-regulation" which offers the "utopian possibility" (Lefebvre 1971 as cited in Gardiner 2012:51). However, to comprehend the complexity of everyday experience stipulates more than only the knowledge of how the ambivalence of everyday experience expresses itself. To fully grasp the dual and ambiguous quality of everydayness, characterized by its both "banality, triviality, repetitiveness," as well as its profoundness (Lefebvre 2002:7), calls for the expansion of understanding how everyday experience remains "the alpha and omega of what it means to be human" (Gardiner 2012:51). Such a perspective, together with the argument that human life "simply is not possible without the quality of meaningfulness" (Barbalet 1999:631), constitutes everyday experience as the main ground of the sense-making practices. By stressing that people construct the meanings out of their ordinary experience, it focuses our attention on everyday practices as the main context and purpose to negotiations of the distinctiveness of their lives.

To highlight how meaning arises in everyday life and how its construction resonates with cultural

schemas already in place, the everyday's meaning-making practices are best viewed as a continuum of experiences; from experiences standing outside of ordinary, leaning into the unknown and disregarding the ordinary routines, through a core of sense-making activities, to experiences of meaninglessness. Such a scale of everyday experience comes close to Dewey's (1934:35) continuum of experiences which ranges from the most "unusual" or "completed" experience, like artistic or scientific innovation, to the most ordinary experience, like routine conversations. While arguing that all experiences have some transformative effect upon individuals, Dewey (1934) asserts that creative experiences (located at the one end of the spectrum) can offer potential capacities for change, the ordinary type of experience (located in the middle of the spectrum) can offer control and stability, and warns that experiences at the other end of the spectrum are without much capacities to generate meanings. In similar vein, Simmel's (1971:193) conceptualization of adventure as "a social form and experience that maximizes uncertainty while anticipating resolution" can be seen as the antidote to boredom. For Simmel, the adventure, like artists experience, but unlike ordinary life which is marked by sameness, continuity, and repetitions, is defined by change, activity, and its distance from the everyday of the flow of routine. Also Csikszentmihalyi (2000), who sees experience of adventure, creativity, or invention as "flow experience," seems to suggest that the experience of normality involves an appreciation of control and stability, while experience of boredom emerges with a lack of flow in life.

In other words, if we overlook for our purpose, what Dewey (1934) called "unusual" or creative experience, Simmel (1971) adventure, and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) flow, and hence limit our focus to the part of spectrum of experience where the ordinary daily experience is located, our interest will be restricted to the experience of normality and the experience of boredom. The focus on the ordinary everyday experience leads to viewing normality and boredom as the two constitutive features in the daily process of sense-making, with normality being conceptualized as a state of successful search of meaningfulness and boredom as a state signaling our inability to realize this desire. Such an approach can facilitate sociological accounts of the mechanisms by which the social sources of meaning come into play, as well as explanations of the dynamics of meaning creation.

By conceptualizing the idea of normality as an outcome of people's potential to construct meaning of their ordinary experiences and by looking at boredom as the state of meaninglessness, we can also gain an essential insight to collective life, as these phenomena are symptomatic of deeper social processes which consequences are detrimental to the quality of social life. The increase in our understanding of how people escape the unsatisfying experience of boredom and how they construct the meanings out of their daily experience can provide an essential perspective for phenomenology of collective life. For instance, it is important to comprehend how boredom establishes itself as people's dominant or even sole experience because such a situation, as frequent warnings about a new epidemic of nothingness remind us, can lead to

disturbing social consequences (Jervis, Spicer, and Manson 2003; Musharbash 2007; Schielke 2008; O'Neill 2014). Although boredom is a feeling experienced by an individual when "the overall meaning has disappeared" (Svendsen 2013:22), it can have negative impacts not only on individuals' well-being but also on the nature of social bonds, the type of social engagement, and the quality of social life. As some social and cultural conditions facilitate the transformation of boredom into apathy, alienation, despair, and social problems (Brissett and Snow 1993), the increase in boredom reflects "a serious fault in society or culture as a conveyor of meaning" (Svendsen 2013:22).

While arguing for the importance of studying experience of everyday's role in people's sense-making practices by investigating how people negotiate between boredom and normality, the paper aims to develop an understanding of these two phenomena and their relations to broader social and cultural issues. Because there is not many sociological works on these topics, in our discussion of normality and boredom, I shall also look up to a range of literary studies and works of fiction where these two phenomena find their rich expression.

Making Sense of Everyday Experience: Normality

Apart from a few accounts of people's quest for normality, which can be found in sociological works concerned with the constitution of everyday life (Ferguson 2009), the notion of normality has not been directly addressed within modern sociology. Yet, in the classical sociology, the idea of

normal profited from the high status and visibility to such a degree that the history of sociology can be seen as a slow process of rejection of this legacy (Canguilhem 1989; Hacking 1990; Porter 1999). The 19th century social physics' usage of this term made the idea of normal to one of the most popular ideas of that period: "Between 1759, when the word 'normal' appeared, and 1834 when the word 'normalized' appeared, a normative class had won the power to identify—a beautiful example of ideological illusion—the function of social norms, whose content it determined, with the use that that class made of them" (Canguilhem 1989:246). Following the first wave of positivism and Comte's borrowing of the word "normal" from pathology and identifying of the normal with an aspiration, harmony, and perfection, the idea of normal became "a popular doctrine in the nineteenth century" (Pickering 1994:411). Without going into details of the history of this notion, it can be said that the 19th century's concept of normal was seen as either referring to the average state or to the desirable state. With the rejection of Comte and Durkheim's notion of pathology, seen as an abnormal form in social life, the understanding of the inadequacy of the old definitions grew. Today the value of the notion defined in the two traditional ways is thought to be minimal or questionable. The concept of normal as referring to average is contested as amounting to nothing more than the statistical term, while the normative idea of normal is rejected as imposing order on variations and introducing a demarcation line between the socially acceptable and the unacceptable (Hacking 1990). Yet, despite the fact that the idea of normality has been reevaluated, the legacy of the previous usage can sometimes be

found in sociological texts. Moreover, sociological usages of the notion of normality still sometimes reflect commonsense treatment of this idea which associates the normal and natural in a value-laden generalization, as in such expressions as: "In the normal (Western) family, a man and a woman…" or "Normal people need oases of direct love from time to time" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2014: 60, 48).

On the other hand, since the mid 20th century references to the notion of normality can be found in discussions of such sociological concepts as equilibrium and conformity (Parsons) or safety and predictability (Goffman). It was the functionalist sociology that replaced the old notion of pathology with studies of deviance and focused on the links between equilibrium, conformity, and normality. Claiming that social equilibrium "always implies integration of action with the system of normative patterns which are more or less institutionalized," Parsons (1951:250) framed debates of the system's normal functioning in terms of conformity, seen as the individual's adequate and normal response to the equilibrium between the cultural system and the social system. The functionalists' underlying assumption that conformity is a universal feature of the human condition, and therefore cannot be questioned, was linked to the observation that a rejection of conformity has dangerous social consequences. Merton (1976), who, like Parsons, viewed conformity to the established order of things as an individual normal mood of adaption, argued that when non-conforming behavior becomes normal, society then goes unstable. By showing how the culturally induced pressure to be successful "generates rule-breaking

behaviour as a normal response" (Orrù 1990:233), Merton (1976) asserts that when people's non-conformity becomes normal, there are unwanted consequences.

Today there is no such threat from unwanted consequences of non-conformity as non-conformity is not perceived as deviance or problem. Already almost five decades ago, Auden (1970) observed that the concept of normal is "dated" as it ceased to have any meaning with fashion replacing tradition. This observation, that with the decline of tradition and speed of change this notion does not describe the reality, has been behind the social sciences' rejection of the functionalists' viewing of conformity as synonymous with normality. The discipline's realization of the impact of the accelerated social change and cultural transformation on the nature of everyday experience has led to the recognition of a need to reevaluate the idea of normality so it could reflect the changing context. The understanding that normality cannot be viewed as being the same as conformity and the acknowledgment of the historicity of this notion have been implicitly incorporated into a couple of sociological perspectives, each trying to grasp the historical specificity of the experience of normality and integrate it with a more sociological understanding of people's experience.

Both Elias (1994) and Foucault (1980), while synthesizing the historical specificity of the experience with its more universal understanding, indirectly addressed the dilemma of people's experience of normality. They independently offer not only the justification of the historical conceptualization of

normality, but also allow us to address the issue of strategies and practices through which normality is ensured and seen as self-evident and meaningful. They illustrate a shift from the ahistorical perspective to the conceptualization of normality as "'everydayness' in a historically all-encompassing sense which affects ages and cultures" (Link 2004:36). Elias (1994) in his social history of the process of civilization, demonstrates how modern "civilized" individuals construct their sense of normality with a help of manners and self-control, while Foucault (1980), by drawing a connection between and the creation of modern forms of self-understanding, shows how people were subjected to a program of normalization. The intensiveness of the self-control at a particular given time in a given society, together with the norm of regularization, thus can be seen as an indicator of this specific society's idea of normality and, by the same token, the "docile body" that has become "civilized" can be seen as an indicator of normal behavior patterns. However, the mere demonstration that a form of experience is historically specific does not constitute an interpretation of that experience. Moreover, the phenomenon of normality is not only a product of normalizing and civilizing processes, but also a result of the modern subject's search for a meaningful grounding for action in the new context. Hence, a full account of the modern subject's experience of normality requires a critical and reflective perspective on the dilemmas of modern subjectivity.

This task is undertaken by Goffman (1983) who identifies normality as a timeless aspect of the human condition, while at the same stressing the specific historicity of normality. He combines ac-

counts premised on a conception of the universal human condition with those that insist on explaining the subjective experience in its social-historical setting. Goffman's perspective initially takes the form of a sociological generalization: normality is "constituted out of interactional materials" used by various social circles to reach "a working understanding" (Goffman 1983:9, 11). His attempts to clarify the rules governing patterns and habits of everyday life focus on how to find balance between social interactions and regulations which are predicated "on a large base of shared cognitive presuppositions, if not normative ones, and self-sustained restraints" (Goffman 1983:5). Yet, Goffman (1963:6) is aware of the dilemma of treating each situation as unique and at the same time as typical. Recognizing the distinctiveness of the context, he claims that in a given time and specific circumstances, the "normals" are "those who do not depart negatively from the particular expectations at issue" (Goffman 1963:5). It is the popular magazines' identification of "normalcy" with the idea that having "a spouse and children" and living an ordinary life, attested by "spending Christmas and Thanksgiving with the family" establishes the fame for the measuring of normality (Goffman 1963:7). In order to communicate with others, people need to be capable of adjusting frames in such a way that the definition of the event becomes acceptable and does not threaten the future of their relationship.

Goffman's viewing normality as a frame which individuals use to make sense of their circumstances is also supported by Garfinkel's assumption that people, in constant attempt at putting meaning to the world, use self-replicating accounting

frameworks to "normalize" their view of everyday events. Garfinkel (1967:236), like Goffman, asserted that people—when confronted with potentially disruptive experiences—normalize discrepant activities by embedding them within new accounting frameworks. As a result of the new normalizing coda of ordering, what was seen as "not-normal" in the light of the old framework, will be viewed under its new alternative "as appropriate, normal or natural" (Heritage 1984:231). Similarly, Goffman suggests that the appearances of normality count for more than the actual occurrences because they provide us with a sense of safety and predictability. With normal appearances assuring people that nothing around them is out of the ordinary and life is predictable, everyday life takes on the appearance of normality. The frame of normality, adapted as a result of routinized practices which preserve the stability and predictability of the order, offers comfort by suspending the arbitrary character of reality. Like Garfinkel, Goffman assumed that the best way to reveal the scope of tensions between people's desire for normality and their fear of its comforting power's ability to induce passivity is by analyzing situations where people's competencies to obey the rules come under pressure. When "normal" expectations are not met, common reactions are anomic and people demonstrate confusion (Garfinkel 1967:236). In dangerous conditions, when there is a high level of risk, people employ various creative accounts to render abnormalities as unalarming, concealing suspicions by acting "normally" (Goffman 1971:330).

Goffman and Garfinkel's input has challenged the previously dominant use of notion of normality as

they proposed to view normality as a social construct which is negotiated out of social conventions and rules in the local context. While both Goffman and Garfinkel's studies have developed our understanding of the importance of the predictability and the rules of the interaction order, today's sociological theories bring to our attention the diversity of options, risks, uncertainties, and the growing level of reflexivity and individualization. Whereas Goffman (1974:49) and Garfinkel (1967) demonstrate that people's unreflective attachment to rules leads to "constancy and patterning of behavior" as rules are the central analytic devices for reducing the contingency and arbitrariness of interaction, presently sociology is more concerned with the explanation of the transformation of subjective experience in modernity and accounts of people's reflexive, goal-oriented use of the world. Sociological debates focus on new resources for the creation of meaning and upholding normality, with theories of the second modernity (Beck 1999), reflexive modernity (Giddens 1990), and liquid modernity (Bauman 2002)—all stressing the diversity, plurality, fluidity, and multiplicity of choices experienced by people in their daily lives. Recent sociological theories demonstrate how in the late modernity both traditional and collectivist certainties declined or disappeared and point out that the process of de-traditionalization, pluralization of the lifeworlds, and the emergence of contingent knowledge create a situation where routines lose their unquestioned moral authority. These various theories of post or radical modernity, while not directly referring to or conceptualizing "normality," bring to our attention that one of the main feature of our times is the prevalence of multiples of normalities.

Nonetheless, sociology still lags behind changes in the status and role of the idea of normality in the contemporary societies. These new developments, however, are already well illustrated in recent works of fiction. For example, they are reflected in Smith's (2000) novel, *White Teeth*, which offers a very complex portrait of the growing spectrum of normality, the hybridization of standards of normality, and the persistence of the desire for normality. The novel portrays the expansion of options available to contemporary Londoners to deal with the mutability, flexibility, and uncertainty. It shows how this new situation of multiple normalities results in the very conscious cultivation of hybridized standards of identity (Smith 2000:131). While illustrating the new status of the expanded normality, *White Teeth* portrays people as becoming increasingly conscious of their own reflexivity and the complexity of their contexts and cultures. It also, by showing migrants engagement "in the 'battle' between who they are and who they should be, what they were and what they will be" (Smith 2000:516), presents how the ambivalence, shifting boundaries, and fluidity of diverse cultures recreate a desire for a normality. The London immigrants actively aim to discover and sustain the constancy and continuity of their daily lives in the context of the multiplicity of normality. Designing their "normality after all" in the unpredictable conditions, they try to overcome their worries and confusions as they swing between religion and secularism, between desire to belong and a fear of being "diluted" (Smith 2000:327). *White Teeth* shows how the complexities, possibilities, and difficulties brought by modern conditions lead to the growing negotiability and leniency in the ways people construct and manage normality.

Contemporary societies witness not only the expansion of the spectrum of normality but also the increase in both a very conscious way of raising the status of this idea and in new ways of employing it. These new developments, as reflected in the frequent references to "the new normal" and "normcore," mirror the growing interest in making sense of new and confusing experiences. The term "the new normal" has recently entered various areas of public life and debates and is used widely in science, medicine, technological fields, literature, and media. Labeling the world as "the new normal" aims to grasp and discover the constancy behind new trends, from the climate change, through changes in the nature of contemporary labor market, to changes in the social life. The concept refers to situations where new norms, diversity, new notions of risk, and opportunities call for a new marker. For example, the popularity of series *The New Normal*, an American sitcom about a new type of family, or calling the Internet dating as "the new normal" both reflect on societal attempts to make sense of the new forms of interaction and new types of relationships. Similarly, the phrase "normcore" (normal and hardcore), which has been recently adapted as the main feature of a fashion style, shows people's attempt to raise the status of normality. It promotes normal, ordinary-looking clothing as a way to find "liberation in being nothing special" because in our global world, with its expanding access to an enormous amount of information, any attempt to differentiate yourself from others is illusionary. This style of "dressing in normal clothes" intends to create a sense of "normality" which does not aim to undermine "authenticity" but only to enhance a group belonging

(Duncann 2014). In other words, this new self-aware, stylized "normality" is not about embracing sameness in order to cover for "difference" (Sladen 2014). It is the fashion of those who, while accepting that they are "one in 7 billion," do not worry that their "identity has dissolved" and that they are perceived as non-descriptive or anonymous (Duncann 2014).

The above examples of the employment of "the new normal" and the "normcore" not only reflect how these ideas help people to understand and adjust to contemporary changes, they illustrate the transfiguration of normality. In other words, they demonstrate that the status of the idea of normality is raised to the level of art form. Paraphrasing Danto's (1981:v) statement about the transfiguration of the commonplace into a work of art by "a certain theory of art," it can be said that today's status of normality is possible because the representation of normality in modern society has been transfigured by "a certain theory of society." In other words, the new status and scope of normality are connected with its role in representing the diverse, individualized, open, fluid, and changing society. The new status and wider spectrum of normality can reduce levels of frustration connected with feelings caused by the inability to manage normality and the high risk associated with breaking the existing conventions in order to gain some control and autonomy. Moreover, the transfiguration of normality, while lowering of the contradictions and tensions between people's desire for normality and their fear of being trapped by its banality, also expands people's effort to find ways to express their creativity and potential.

To sum up, the idea of normality, although not frequently addressed in sociology, plays an important part in our understanding of the social world as it allows us to grasp people's construction of meaning of everyday experience. Moreover, today, after decades of the suspicion of the phenomenon of normality, we witness the increase in the status and the expansion of the scope of normality. These two trends are a result of the fact that people not only strive for the predictability and safety in the global, risky, and unforeseeable world but they also explore uncharted territories through making unusual practices into the flexible and not-restrictive set of social conventions which account for meaningfulness of everyday experience. Seeing normality as a collective achievement to which we all contribute by following the rules of interaction (Goffman 1983), grants this notion the essential role in helping us to make sense of the world around us and allowing us to trust others. The potential of the idea of normality is connected with the fact that in order to communicate with others, people need to be capable of adjusting frames in such a way that the definition of the event becomes acceptable and does not threaten the future of their relationship. In short, we can say that the normality frame, or the lens by which people interpret their circumstances and relate to others, helps people to make sense of the world by the reduction of its perceived complexity and unpredictability.

However, the framework of normality is not the only medium that has a relevance for grasping immediate experience. While normality is connected with a successful making sense of daily life, boredom, which is located on the end of the spectrum of ordinary life, can be seen as a failure of sense-mak-

ing practices. Yet, normality and boredom are not contradictory as they are, as two aspects of the same reality, the constitutive features of everyday experience. However, even though they are connected through the routines of social relations and practices, as well as through people's desire for meaning, they differ in that normality speaks to people's potential to construct meaning, while boredom is connected with limitations in our ability to realize this desire. Then again, their relationships are further complicated when high levels of the unsatisfying experience of boredom are normalized. Since the "normalcy" of such situations (Musharbash 2007:307) is behind many social problems, an examination of the root of boredom is of enormous social importance.

Meaninglessness of Everyday Experience: Boredom

Boredom, like normality, is a taken-for-granted part of everyday life. Being a rudimentary experience of human life, it is a very ambiguous and socially significant phenomenon. As the one of core conditions of ordinary life, boredom cannot be easily escaped even with the digital age's promises. Despite "Google being so boredom-averse that it seems to change its logo every day," Facebook's offering of a "more connected world," and Apple's guarantees that its latest gadget could do everything "twice as fast" (Morozov 2013), the boredom's presence and its implications for both individual and collective well-being cannot be overlooked.

The ambiguity of the concept of boredom is reflected in the convoluted evolution of the notion's mean-

ings and the varieties of its definitions. The long history of this phenomenon can be traced back to the antiquity's notion of *acedia*, conceived by Evagrius Ponticus (c. 345-399) as "being demonic" (Svendsen 2013:50), linked to the spiritual disintegration and viewed as having moral implications (Toohey 1990). The concept of *acedia* was later used to describe the mood of idleness and burn-out among medieval monks (Harré 1986:13). In the Renaissance, it was replaced by the term of melancholy, which was transformed by Ficino, a neo-Platonist, from the medieval idea of melancholy, understood as suffering, sin, and sadness, into the mark of genius (Perlow 1995). It found its most famous expression in Robert Burton's 17th-century book *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. The evolution of the notion of boredom continued through the 18th century, where boredom was popularized under the French name of *ennui*, to the 19th century's historical account which paid attention to the connection between boredom and its broader cultural and social context (Dalle Pezze and Salzani 2009). By the early 20th century in humanities and social science the experience of boredom had become to be seen as an outcome of modernity's crisis of meaning.

The ambiguity of the idea of boredom is also reflected by the diversity of conceptualizations of this notion. The definitions of boredom range from philosophical to behavioral, with the first type best illustrated by Heidegger's phenomenological viewing of profound boredom as a mood of experience which reveals everyday's nothingness and emptiness and raises the questions of being and authenticity (Goodstein 2005:289-297), and the second type of definitions exemplified by Otto Fenichel's (1953:292)

conceptualization of boredom as "an unpleasurable experience of a lack of impulse" which is derived from inadequacy of "the external world" (Fenichel 1953:301). The majority of approaches, while suggesting complexity of the experience of boredom, assume "its inevitability" (Spacks 1995:5). Boredom, like normality, is viewed as a taken-for-granted condition which is "integral to the process of taking one's time" (Phillips 1993:69). Moreover, it is commonly accepted that boredom has external sources and that many features of modern society, including the processes of individualization, technological development, consumerism, the spread of leisure time, are blamed for this unsatisfactory experience (Klapp 1986; Spacks 1995; Conrad 1997; Jervis, Spicer, and Manson 2003). Since boredom could be a result of either overload or under-stimulation, this ubiquitous of boredom experience seems to suggest "no need for explanation as it simply exists" (Spacks 1995:272).

The phenomenon of boredom has never been a popular topic in sociological literature because of sociology classics' faith in the optimistic trajectory of progress. Moreover, boredom still tends to be identified as subjective malaise and therefore it is viewed as a topic more relevant for psychology, medicine, psychiatry, and education. However, several classical sociological concepts, such as alienation (Marx), anomie (Durkheim), and disenchantment (Weber), can be seen as indirectly pointing out to boredom as a cultural and historical phenomenon reflecting the problem of the modern subject unable to find a meaningful grounding for action in the rationalized, bureaucratized, and modernized capitalist world. Also sociologists who iden-

tified the transformation of subjective experience in modernity as being symptomatic of the loss of meaning come very close to the topic of boredom. For example, although boredom is not at the center of Simmel's (2002) attention, he nonetheless touches on this phenomenon when referring to a blasé attitude and reflecting on meaninglessness of the world. Simmel's notion of blasé attitude can be seen as "an insincere boredom used to shield of fantasy of stable individuality from the destabilizing effect of too much stimuli and possibilities" (Game and Metcalfe 1996:28) and as such a part of a broader approach to boredom as an outcome of modernity's crisis of meaning. Hence, the sociologists who contributed to a debate on the nature of modernity have at the same time, although indirectly, enhanced the recognition of the idea of boredom as one of the aspects of modern human condition, the view already popular in the literary circles (Spacks 1995). However, within this dominant in social and literary studies' conceptualization of the link between boredom and the main feature of modernity, there are two distinctive stands.

The first approach, which sees the experience of boredom as the burden of the modern man, follows Max Weber's "disenchantment of the world" idea and was later taken up by the Frankfurt School. This way of interpreting the boredom's emergence in modern societies is best expressed by Benjamin's (1968:159) view of boredom, or "the increasing atrophy of experience," as the cost we pay for our addiction to the endless streams of information and the instant experienced. The "epidemic of boredom" reflects a distinctiveness of modern societies in which "the older narration is replaced by information and

information by sensation" (Benjamin 1999:33). With this trend's continuous acceleration, with increases in endless and empty repetitions, boredom erodes the modernist idea of meaningful, creative, and engaged participation in the construction of everyday life. For the perspective which sees boredom as a malaise of modernity, boredom has become an "all-purpose index of dissatisfaction" (Spacks 1995:249). In other words, under the standardizing conditions of modernity, boredom has come to be seen as the "greatest source of unhappiness" (Nisbet 1982:28). The conceptualization of boredom as the modern subject's burden underlies many of the Frankfurt School's observations about how this negative feature of the human condition grew with modern life and their critique of the emptiness of consumption, alienation at work, and the emptiness and sameness of free time (Adorno 1991). Also Merton's (1968:188) idea of retreatism as "a state of psychic passivity in response to some discernible extent of anomie" seems to be an approximation of what could be perceived as one of boredom's negative consequences.

The second approach, in contrast to the first one, proclaims boredom to be the "privilege" of modern man (Svendsen 2013:21). While claiming that with the expansion of leisure time and democratization of boredom the amount of boredom has increased dramatically in modernity, this stand insists that boredom is a source of new opportunities. It is seen not only as the experience caused by the breakdown of older ways of being in the world but also a source of change and creativity. For example, Lepenies (1992), who sees democratized, modern boredom as being born out of reflection about

meaningfulness of the world, asserts that boredom is behind projects of change as people's desire to dispel boredom leads to reflections on imperfections of the world and consequently to creative ways of thinking and acting. When Lepenies (1992) proposes that boredom is a normal response to situations of powerlessness and the failure of purposeful meaning, he also hopes that it motivates agents to act against social orders that inhibit them from acting meaningfully. This line of argument that stresses that attempts to escape from boredom can enhance creativity and imagination can also be found in Lefebvre's (1984) assertion that intrinsic to our experience of modernity is the realization that boredom, alongside its negative potentials, is also the experience full of possibilities.

These two accounts of boredom share the conceptualization of boredom as a big problem associated with the crisis of meaning which is "deeply *assumed* in our culture" (Spacks 1995:272 [italics in the original]). Another similarity between the two discussed perspectives is that both approaches—by placing boredom within everyday experience and by viewing it in the context of the process of meaning construction—assert that boredom can be conquered "via constructing meaning of daily life" (Svendsen 2013:57). These perspectives also agree that boredom, with all its ambiguity, stands in a complex relation to social order because it is social forces that both produce and alleviate boredom. The main difference between the perspectives refers to the boredom's impact, as according to the first stand, boredom's function is to abandon us to "experience without quality" (Goodstein 2005), while according to the second one, boredom can

inspire creative action and promote social change and meaning construction (Lepenies 1992).

The identification of boredom as a problem of meaningfulness is only one of the approaches behind sociologists' interest in studying this notion. Particularly the emergence of empirical sociological research on boredom can be attributed to the interactionist interpretation of boredom as role quitting and communicational phenomenon. This type of study has also contributed to the expansion of debates of boredom's consequences and discussions whether we should frame boredom as deprivation or saturation. Following Mead's idea on how an individual's experience takes on meaning, Brissett and Snow (1993:237) conceptualized boredom as "an interactional phenomenon that is inextricably connected to social rhythm," while Darden and Marks (1985) defined boredom as the emotional experience of role distance or detachment of the actor from the role. While viewing boredom as connected with a lack of the sense of anticipation and the dominance of feelings that time is stretched endlessly, Brissett and Snow (1993:242) focused on the functions of communication about boredom, seen as being useful in establishing and maintaining a sense of self in interaction with others, establishing the superiority or presenting one's role distance, and in allowing "the individual to engage in potentially self-discrediting activities while at the same time saving face." Their empirical study shows that boredom is able to motivate not only troubling but also constructive actions as it "may enable a stalled self to get moving, to once again experience the flow and momentum of life. In this paradoxical sense, then boredom can be energiz-

ing; it can prod the individual into setting up lines of activity that establish some sort of future" (Brissett and Snow 1993:243).

Also Darden and Marks's (1999) study illustrates the boredom's ability to stimulate both positive and negative change. Their empirical results prompted them to view boredom as performing various functions and tied to the situation in which there is a lack of excitement, or no anticipation of future or nothing to do. While further developing their original symbolic interactionist definition of boredom by incorporating Goffman's (1967) dramaturgical analogy, Darden and Marks (1999:26) proposed a dramaturgical conceptualization of boredom as "the socially disvalued emotion we experience in a setting where the drama fails for some reasons." Their research produced a long list of reasons and situations which elicit boredom, such as too familiar scripts, undesirable roles, the quality of the role available, a lack of the possibility of negotiation roles and distance from roles, and "a lack of a role, any role at all" (Darden and Marks 1999:26). Many of their respondents, while relating boredom to "the conditions under which action and coherence may be lacking," expressed desires for more constructive actions by saying they "wanted to do something," although their situation did not always allow to do it (Darden and Marks 1999:20). However the other participants, while connecting boredom to the situation that does not have a future, emphasize that boredom is the feeling of "having no intention or purpose" (Darden and Marks 1999:26). The interactionist conceptualization of boredom emphasizes the actors' perception of the meaninglessness of activities or situations,

while suggesting that boredom could stimulate various types of action.

This recognition of the contradictory potentials of boredom and linking boredom to individual interpretations of one's situations are common features of many other empirical studies on boredom. The conceptualization of boredom as related to people's expectations, seen as influenced by culture, and the emphases on the fact that opportunities to escape boredom are shaped not only by personal dispositions but also by the quality of social roles, situations, and resources resulted in many sociological investigations of boredom's links with social forces. In such studies, boredom is seen as "a fundamentally negative subjective state where the individual experiences little interest in what is currently happening they see" (Conrad 1997:467) and which is produced by the nature of social contexts. This type of research also shows that boredom can lead to social problems and therefore it is the necessity to be tackled. For example, Jervis, Spicer, and Manson's (2003) study of boredom in the American Indian reservation led them to warn against negative consequences of boredom, viewed as a state of alienation for both individual and group life. While accepting that boredom ultimately is a problem of meaning, Jervis, Spicer, and Manson (2003) illustrated the relationship between boredom and "troubles" (e.g., alcohol and drug abuse, violence, and illegal activities). Their participants' linked boredom to the perception that "there was nothing to do on the reservation due to unemployment, scarce recreational options, and lack of transportation" (Jervis, Spicer, and Manson 2003:52). The study's comparison of the accounts

of bored participants and participations who were meaningfully engaged with positive aspects of life allowed the authors to frame boredom as deprivation and stressed "the inability of trouble to serve as viable long-term antidote to boredom" as the negative impact of boredom, drinking, or other troubles only temporarily "distract people from the suffering of nothingness" (Jervis, Spicer, and Manson 2003:53).

Indeed, several empirical investigations, while connecting the increase in boredom's dehumanizing and alienating powers with a lack of resources, also proposed that boredom's caused troubles themselves are roots of further intensification of feelings of hopelessness and inactivity. Such a state of alienation and discontent, produced by misaligned expectations, emphasizes again a question of negative consequences of the experience which "springs from a lack of meaning" (Svendsen 2013:154). For instance, observing boredom's connection to unfulfilled aspirations for a better and more exciting life in a context when time is the only thing that is available in excess, Schielke (2008:67), in his study on boredom and the experience of time among young men in contemporary rural Egypt, suggests that "the solution to boredom is doing something meaningful." Although boredom is a key experience in the village where life is intrinsically monotonic, the young men do not attribute it to monotony, as being bored requires the capacity to aim for more and to become aware that there is an alternative to the monotony (Schielke 2008:257). Their accounts of boredom "highlight repetition and frustration as the key causes of boredom, and a perpetual sense of pointlessness and despair as its manifestation" (Schielke

2008:256). However, even their aim or dream of escape, which leads them to "subordinate all activities to merely waiting to get out, itself becomes a factor of boredom" (Schielke 2008:260).

Also the exploration of boredom and the practice of drug use among young Scottish men shows how the context and its resources influence the nature and availability of activities for alleviating boredom (Pavis and Cunningham-Burley 1999). Similar observation can be found in Wegner's (2011) empirical study of young school dropouts' experience of boredom, which they identified as the lack of meaning, monotony, and repetitiveness of everyday experience. This investigation shows that leisure boredom adds to risk factors influencing adolescents' well-being, engagement, and positive performance in all spheres of life. Pointing to the links between experience of boredom and the social deprivation, the research demonstrates that these boys "were bored in their free time because they had nothing to do" and that they "felt that boredom was part of life, although some perceived it to be 'dangerous' because it often led to risk behaviour" (Wegner 2011). While noticing that these youngsters' needs were not met by their environment, Wegner (2011) also notes that some of the participants wished "for constructive meaningful free time activities" as "boredom provokes the desire to engage, and find meaning, in a constructive way."

However, the realization of such desires, as many studies demonstrate, does not become easier in contemporary societies. In the light of the scale of problem of social inequality, with "have-nots" in-

creasingly separated from "haves" in terms of various activities, from cultural participations to sports and after school activities (Putnam 2015), the modern crisis of meaning indicates also disengagement from the mainstream of society. The emphases on boredom's ties to the experience of exclusion from practices of consumption and on traumatizing consequences of the feeling of deprivation in a moment of heightened consumerism can be found in O'Neill's (2014) ethnographic study of Bucharest's homeless. O'Neill (2014) points out that boredom, seen as a persistent form of social suffering, is structured by the politics of consumption in post-communist countries and deepened by the crisis in the global economy. Chronic under-consumption and downward mobility left the homeless defenseless against boredom, viewed "as an effective state that registers within the modality of time the newly homeless" (O'Neill 2014:9). Boredom "is something to fear" as it increases people's sense of alienation from work and home, as well as their feelings of being cast aside (O'Neill 2014:11).

Without equal opportunities to escape boredom, from motivational, through educational, to financial, those at the bottom in unequal societies are marginalized and excluded. Being in such "traumatizing social relationship born out of having been cast aside" (O'Neill 2014:24) could have a lasting and painful social consequences. Such warnings against the detrimental consequences of boredom are also well-illustrated by literary works which always play a crucial role in representing boredom. For instance, Louatah's (2012-2014) novel, *Les Sauvages*, which focuses on the young Maghrebi immigrants' experience of daily life in contem-

porary French council estates, grasps the nature of conditions behind boredom. The novel's main narrative, including terrorist and criminal acts and police hunt for suspects, shows the impact of boredom and a lack of means and opportunities to escape it on the alienated young adults. Similarly, Welsh's (1996:89) novel, *Trainspotting*, describes the group of friends who "out of boredom" turned first to drugs and later to criminal activities to support their addiction. Another work of fiction, from Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, through Moravia's novel *Boredom*, to Essbaum's *Hausfrau*, point out that to escape boredom, one needs not only resources but also imagination and determination to reach out beyond a sense of the insufficiency and ordinariness of reality. For example, Anna, a protagonist of Essbaum's (2015) novel, is persistently estranged from the world around her, which seems distant and irrelevant. Despite resources available to her and despite her psychotherapist's insistence that "boredom is danger" and that "a modern woman needn't live a life so circumstanced" (Essbaum 2015:47), Anna is "ill with inaction," locked in her boredom, and unable to negotiate between her passivity and desire to disengage from everyday life (Essbaum 2015:17).

When the net result of such negotiations is the experience of boredom, too often "those caught under the crush of modern boredom can find little relief in work or in consumption" (Ferrell 2011:295). Moreover, despite the accessibility of new technologies, today's boredom is apparently much greater than in the past, which prompts many institutions, from schools to hobby clubs, to engage in the fight against this problem, for example, *The Guardian* now pub-

lishes a special monthly magazine, *Do Something*, advising people how to escape boredom. What is more, today's new type of boredom, mediated boredom, is harder to notice because of its "rhetoric of nowness and newness" (Morozov 2013). In spite of promises of information, adventure, and entertainment, new technologies do not automatically reinstate the possibility of wonder and creativity, they even contribute to more boredom, for example, slow Wi-Fi has been recently ranked on the seventh position among the 50 most boring things in the world (Ridley 2015). Even more importantly, new technologies make it more difficult for us to realize that we are moving in the vicious circle of the reproduction of meaninglessness.

What began as being seen as "an epidemic" in modernity, now is viewed as a universal feature of human existence, which contributes to the modern subject's crisis of meaning (Goodstein 2005). Thus, boredom is not only a metaphor for modernity but also a useful lens for understanding everyday experience in today's society.

Conclusion: How to Be Normal and Not to Be Bored?

Many contemporary processes have been adding to the importance of exploring everyday experience, the concept that is so central to our understanding of social life that it is too often taken for granted and seen to be not in any need for explanation. Moreover, with the expansion of the micro realm of social life to larger parts of society, there is the increase in demands for strategies for addressing its problems and dilemmas. In order to bring some

concreteness to the notion of the ordinary experience, we focus on the everyday life's continuous efforts of sense-making, and this allows us to define the ambivalence of everyday experience as constituted by two seemingly insignificant and trivial forms of ordinary experience, normality, and boredom. Yet, as our discussion shows, these concepts are also not without their own problems and ambiguities. Both of the phenomena are either seen as timeless aspects of human condition or as products of specific conditions, while their consequences are viewed either positively or negatively. To investigate these relatively unexplored, under-theorized, and often misinterpreted rudimentary experiences of human life, it seems to be useful to expand sociological imagination with a help of literary studies.

Today's transfiguration of normality and the new form and scope of boredom, brought about by the diversity of values, choices, opportunities, and new technologies, do not make a task of researching these two phenomena easier. Yet, such an exploration is central to grasping new dilemmas and questions posed by these contemporary developments. To paraphrase a title of Jeanette Winterson's (2011) autobiographical book, *Why Be Happy When You Could Be Normal?* (which refers to her mother's inability to accept her decision to seek happiness with a lesbian lover), now we are more likely than in the past to ask: *How to be normal and not to be bored?* This ambitious question does not express the acceptance of compromised standards of normality or the naturalization of boredom; it rather refers to a search for imaginative and individualized ways of combining normality with not being bored. It is more than a call for conformity because it is rooted in the endorsement of people's freedom to choose their own criteria of normality, as well as in the appreciation of people's creative ways of dealing with the experience of boredom.

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Michelle Ye, Nadia Ollington, Kristy de Salas
University of Tasmania, Australia

A Methodological Review of Exploring Turner's Three-Process Theory of Power and the Social Identity Approach

Abstract   Turner's Three-Process Theory of Power together with Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) have been influential in social psychology to examine power-related behaviors. While positivist experimental and survey methods are common in social psychological studies, these approaches may not adequately consider Turner's constructs due to a comparative lack of ecological validity. Drawing on a methodology-focused review of the existing research of applying aspects of Turner's theory of power and SIT/SCT, the interpretivist case study approach by using interviews and other data collections is highlighted as an alternative and useful method to the application of Turner's framework. The applicability of the interpretive case study approach is further emphasized in comparison with the positivist experiments and surveys. This paper also discusses how this new way of exploration may allow us to understand Turner's work better.

Keywords   Interpretivist; Positivist; Social Identity; Power; Ecological Validity; Experiment; Survey; Case Study

Dr Michelle Ye is a recent PhD graduate from the School of Engineering and ICT, University of Tasmania in Australia. Her research interests include power and political behavior in information system implementations, social influence, resistance to change, group behaviors, business process management, and organizational decision making and problem solving.
email address: Yaqian.Ye@utas.edu.au

Dr Nadia Ollington is a researcher in the School of Education at the University of Tasmania, Australia. With a background in Psychology, her research interests are focused upon human behavior and social interaction. Her main research includes the areas of disability, health and education, and organizational behavior.
email address: Nadia.Ollington@utas.edu.au

Dr Kristy de Salas is a business and ICT systems analyst and project manager who has consulted on and managed ICT design and development projects for over 100 organizations, ranging from small-scale non-profits to large-scale municipal councils. Dr de Salas was awarded her PhD in 2003 from the University of Tasmania, and is currently Senior Lecturer in the School of Engineering and ICT at the University of Tasmania, and undertakes research in the fields of Games Development, Business Process and Project Management, and ICT Curriculum Development.
email address: Kristy.deSalas@utas.edu.au

Background

Positivist experimental and survey methods are common in studies applying social psychological theories (e.g., Fritsche et al. 2013; Lee, Bock, and Suh 2014) and much can be gained from these approaches. For example, they have been shown to be particularly useful in searching for cause and effect relationships as the basis of theory development and testing (Dube and Pare 2003). Interpretive methods, on the other hand, have been sparse in social psychological studies. This paper applies a methodological focus outlining the applicability of interpretive approaches in applying social psychological theories, in particular, Turner's Three Theory of Power based on Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT). In this paper, we focus on only experiments and surveys for the positivist approach and only case study methods for the interpretivist approach with a focus on interviews, observations, or documentation study, given the fact that these are the most often employed tools within each philosophy.

Though the interpretivist approach appears to be limited to studies drawing on the accounts of a small number of people, it would seem that particular aspects of this approach may have some merit in studies where a close examination of the experiences and meaning-making activities is needed (Lin 1998; Reid, Flowers, and Larkin 2005). While the positivist paradigm uses lab experiments, questionnaires, and surveys to reduce phenomena to the simplest of elements, the interpretivist paradigm, with its emphasis on meaning, shows the depth and richness of reality (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Lowe 1991). Easterby-Smith and colleagues (1991) have highlighted differences in key features of positivist and interpretivist paradigms (see: Table 1). This example highlights the different ways that positivists and interpretivists understand social phenomena dependent of the social actors who construct and make sense of the phenomena (Walsham 1993; Doolin 1996).

Table 1. Comparison of positivist and interpretivist paradigms.

POSITIVIST PARADIGM	INTERPRETIVIST PARADIGM
The world is external and objective	The world is socially constructed and subjective
Science is value free	Science is driven by human interests
The focus is on facts	The focus is on meanings
Search for causality and fundamental laws	To understand what is happening
Reduce phenomena to simplest elements	Look at totality of each situation
Formulate and test hypotheses by structured instrumentation (e.g., lab experiments, questionnaire surveys)	Use multiple methods to establish different views of the phenomena (e.g., interviews, observations)
Large samples	Small samples looked at in-depth or over-time

Source: Adapted from Easterby-Smith et al. 1991.

Depending on this context, and the question being asked, there are a number of advantages and disadvantages to both the positivist and interpretivist approaches.

One advantage of the positivist approach in this context is that it uses deductive strategies to discover casual relationships that can be used to predict patterns of behavior across situations (Orlikowski and Baroudi 1991). These patterns can then provide the basis of generalized knowledge for theory application and development, in particular, for generating qualitative insights (Levitt and List 2007). Indeed, the findings in many social psychological theories are produced by laboratory experiments involving created scenarios and artificial grouping contexts (e.g., Turner 1978). When considering the exploration of social psychological theories however, an important weakness of the positivist experimental approach is its lack of ecological validity (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

Ecological validity, that is, the ability to capture authentic daily life conditions, opinions, values, attitudes, and knowledge base expressed in the natural environment (Bem and Lord 1979; Cicourel 1982), is an important concern in studies involving experiences and meaning-making activities. Exploration involving real-life contexts is important to the application of social psychological frameworks where complex human relations occur. Indeed, the artificially constructed and simplified environments employed in many experimental studies are less able to reflect what takes place in real daily life settings (Cicourel 1982). The direct approach of an interpretivist case study, however, is able to enhance ecolog-

ical validity as it focuses on real-life issues (Darke, Shanks, and Broadbent 1998).

Though the appeal of the positivist survey approach is that it reflects the "real-world," this often lacks the depth of exploration that the interpretivist approach offers. One example is the use of rating scales to measure participant's perceptions of events. While responses to these scales are able to reflect a general situation, they are insufficient to understand deeply how and why each perception is rated in a particular way. Moreover, surveys are less effective in considering the instability and discontinuity of personal factors or situational factors due to their assessment of complex phenomena with single items only (Tregaskis, Heraty, and Morley 2001; Larsson and Hyllengren 2013). Turner and Reynolds (2010) note that the frames of reference within which people define themselves are always changing, and thus self-categories are infinitely variable, contextual, and relative. Therefore, it is important to consider the variability of self-categories as an indication of their truthfulness and orientation to reality.

It is also worth noting that the simplified and closed questions in surveys and the technical aspects of this instrument make it difficult to clarify theoretical concepts to participants and make sure the definition of terms understood by participants is how the terms are defined in the theoretical framework applied. Once questions are sent out to the participants, it is difficult for the participant to obtain informal clarification about questions or terms from the researcher (Cicourel 1982). For example, the terms used in Turner's (2005) social psychological theory, such as "psychological group," "out-group discrimi-

nation," and "coercion," need explanation and clarification to the participant as it is likely that different people have different understandings of the terms. These terms and concepts provide the theoretical basis for creating and implementing questions, and then, analyzing responses. Thus, survey seems to be an esoteric and indirect instrument that may lead to invalid data if the participant's understanding of the questions or theoretical concepts was wrong in the first place.

Another important advantage of the interpretivist paradigm in the current context is that it allows the understanding of the deeper structure of phenomena (Orlikowski and Baroudi 1991), as well as a focus on natural social structure (Levitt and List 2007), culture, and historical context (Darke et al. 1998). This is important because an individual's perception of themselves and others, which is produced and reproduced through ongoing social interaction, can only be interpreted, and cannot be understood, without reference to the individual's cultural and historical context (Doolin 1996). The interpretivist approach is able to reflect this notion using interviews to tease out how members of a social group enact their particular realities with meaning, how these meanings, beliefs, and intentions of the members help constitute their social action, and why they act the way they do (Orlikowski and Baroudi 1991).

Though the interpretivist approach appears to be stronger than the positivist approach in terms of ecological validity, there are aspects where the positivist approach has an advantage. For example, in contrast with a positivist approach, which often involves data collection over self-completed

questionnaire and data analysis using statistical software (Giannopoulos et al. 2013), interpretivist data collection and analysis is usually much more time-consuming as it includes conducting one-to-one interviews, recording and transcribing each interview, reading through each line in transcripts, as well as the generation of themes and data-theory links (Walsham 2006). When interviews are recorded, a further disadvantage of the interpretivist paradigm is that recording may make the interviewee less open or less truthful, despite confidentiality. The survey approach in the positivist paradigm, on the other hand, may produce honesty by the comparatively concealed nature of responses. Nevertheless, the positivist survey approach is prone to involve missing data with participants leaving out particular questions, subsections, or not completing the questionnaire at all.

Another significant difference between positivist and interpretivist approaches is that the positivist approach often follows data collection procedures with high levels of constraint that allow findings to be generalized to a larger population, whereas interpretivist work draws upon the accuracy of description and creation of taxonomies, not upon the evaluation of how often the variables are repeated (Lin 1998). Instead of being "generalizable," "transferable," and "consultable," findings are expected in interpretivist studies in such a way that similar patterns of behaviors can be learnt (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

When placing the positive and negative aspects of positivist and interpretivist approaches together, it would seem that in the current context the interpre-

tivist approach has merit. That is because a survey approach would make it difficult to investigate the complex and changing social relations, and accordingly, human and power relations that flow from the social categorization process (Bamberger 2000). This is important in terms of our exploration of social psychological theories because many social psychological theories involve situation-specific grouping processes (e.g., Turner 1987; Turner and Reynolds 2010). As these grouping processes may change quickly in different situations, the interpretivist perspective allows us to dig into each specific situation, whereas the positivist perspective tends to concern only generic circumstances.

A case study research method would allow for the description of a set of power-related circumstances from which an understanding of issues can be used to inform other organizations. It would also allow for the illustration of particular aspects of social psychological theories by reference to specific episodes in the case. Moreover, as a case study approach is appropriate for answering the "how" and "why" of power relations (Orlikowski and Baroudi 1991), it would help researchers to understand the nature and complexity of the processes taking place.

Turner's Theory of Power and a Methodology-Focused Review

The SIT (Tajfel and Turner 1979) and SCT (Turner et al. 1987), and later Turner's (2005) Three-Process Theory of Power based on these, have been influential in social psychology in studies of group and power related behaviors. In order to provide a context for the review with a methodological focus,

we will first provide an overview of the theoretical framework combining Turner's (2005) Three-Process Theory of Power with SIT and SCT. The aspects of Turner's theory summarized below serve as the theoretical context in which the positivist and interpretivist approaches will be discussed.

The social identity approach, comprised of SIT (Tajfel and Turner 1979) and SCT (Turner et al. 1987), is the basis of Turner's (2005) Three Process Theory of Power. SIT was formulated by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the 1970s and the 1980s to introduce the concept of social identity as a way of explaining intergroup behaviors, particularly the discrimination of in-group members ("us") against out-group members ("them") (Tajfel et al. 1971; Tajfel and Turner 1979). In the 1980s, Turner and his colleagues developed SCT to argue that individuals tend to categorize themselves into certain psychological groups in a given context in which a series of values and interpretations are shared (Turner et al. 1987). For example, while a female nurse can be seen as a member of practitioners in a hospital, her identity as a mother may be more relevant and important in the context of her child's school. Hence, this may lead to an individual accepting and behaving in accordance with certain values that are regarded as typical of the category or group. In terms of social influence and power, psychological group members are open to persuasion and influence from other members, particularly highly prototypical members, as they wish to retain their psychological group membership, hence the link to power.

In the mid-2000s, Turner (2005) turned the social identity approach to the concept of power in his

Three-Process Theory of Power. In formulating the theory, Turner rejected the notion common in other social psychological and sociological theories of power that power springs from the control of resources that are valued, desired, and needed by others (Festinger 1950; Deutsch and Gerard 1955; Kelman 1958). For Turner, power springs from psychological group membership, as indicated in SIT and SCT, not relying on the control of resources (see: Figure 1).

Figure 1. The Three-Process Theory of Power.
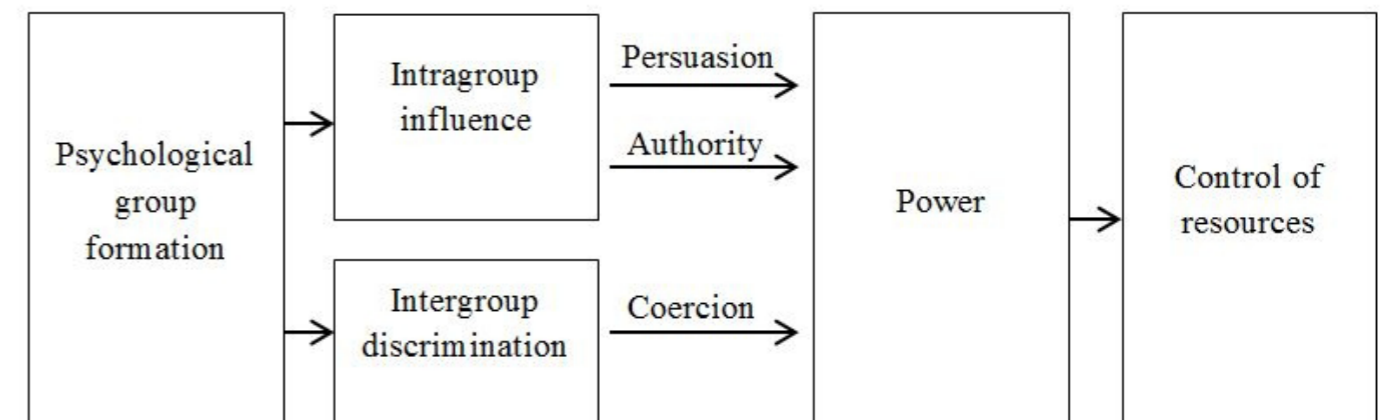
Source: Adapted from Turner 2005.

The assumptions of the Three-Process Theory regard power to be exercised through three processes, namely, persuasion, authority, and coercion. Turner (2005) argues persuasive power exercised through a psychological group is a function of the group identity and consensus. People are more likely to be persuaded by intragroup members as they are sharing the same attitudes and beliefs. Authority is power that is legitimated by intragroup norms that have a shared social identity as their basis, conferred by formal agreement or custom inherent in group activities. Coercion is the form of power employed when one does not possess or is not willing to exert persuasion or legitimate authority. Despite being useful in understanding power-related behaviors in

experimental situations with its firm theoretical and empirical basis in SIT and SCT, there as yet is no extant qualitative and interpretive case study using Turner's Three-Process Theory of Power.

A systematic search of journal publications was conducted to locate relevant research applying particular aspects of Turner's Theory of Power and SIT/SCT (Persuasion, Authority, and Coercion) using positivist and interpretivist methodologies. Electronic searches of library databases included: Google Scholar, ProQuest, Sage Journals, and Wiley Online Library. The search algorithm was limited to full-text and references, and composed of the following related terms ("Turner" AND "Social Identity Theory"

OR "Self-Categorization Theory") and combinations of persuasion-related terms ("power" AND "persuasion" AND "influence" AND "shared" AND "in-group"), authority-related terms ("power" AND "authority" AND "leadership" AND "legitimate" AND "prototypical"), and coercion-related terms ("power" AND "coercion" OR "bullying" AND "resistance" AND "out-group"). Terms were simplified where necessary to adapt to particular search engines.

Articles were limited to those that: (a) were peer-reviewed journals; (b) were empirical research articles; (c) were published in social psychology, management and organization, political psychology, and information systems; (d) were published between 2004 and 2014; (e) were in English language; (f) had applied aspects of Turner's Three-Process Theory of Power based on SIT/SCT as the major part of their theoretical framework; and (g) utilized experimental (survey) and case study (interview) research approaches.

Table 2 presents a summary of the results of the review. The original search produced a total of 380 articles. Out of these 380 articles, 19 articles were identified that met the inclusion criteria. These included articles related to: Persuasion (6), Authority (7), and Coercion (6). Out of these studies, most studies (13) utilized experimental, survey, and questionnaire approaches, 5 articles report qualitative case studies (see: Table 2 in bold), and only one article reports a mixed methods approach (see: Table 2 in italics).

Table 2 highlights a number of positivistic approaches that have made important contributions to theory building and theory testing by discovering causal relationships and predicting patterns of behavior across situations (Amaratunga al. 2002), and that have produced qualitative insights that helped to form the basis for Turner's (2005) Three-Process Theory of Power (experiments fully reported in Turner 1978). While these social psychological laboratory experiments have played an important part in the construction of Turner's theory, they may not be ideal for examining this theory in real-life contexts.

An important limitation of these social psychological experiments, as discussed previously, is the artificiality of the lab (Webster and Kervin 1971). In order to test SIT and SCT hypotheses regarding intergroup discrimination and in-group favoritism, for example, Turner (1978) grouped schoolboys in artificial situations based on extremely simple elements. In both experiments, schoolboys were shown paintings of two artists with grouping based on picture preferences. Relationships between self-other categorization, personal gain, and in-group favoritism were tested based on choices surrounding the distributing of money between self and others. While these experiments were able to discover cause and effect relationships, as well as benefit building, the artificiality of the ready-made groups and set situations, as well as the lack of real social and group context appear to limit the understanding of social behaviors, as students' judgment in the laboratory context does not lead to real-life consequences involving real-life participants. Cicourel (1982) addresses the lack of ecological validity of participants' responses in the situation where the categories are decided by the researcher. That is because it is dif-

ficult to interpret the meaning of the participants' judgments vis-à-vis the experiences and knowledge base of a presumed group.

Unlike experiments such as those described above, in which the variation between the attributes of "cases" is caused by the researcher, surveys seek for "naturally occurring" variation between cases (De Vaus 2014). Hence, a positivist survey approach is more likely to involve real social contexts and natural social structures than experiments. However, the survey approach is not without its limitations and problems in terms of exploring Turner's framework.

Thus, it can be seen that although the positivist approach is commonly used in the development of the social psychological theories such as Turner's Theory of Power, SIT, and SCT, there are concerns that can be drawn on its value in understanding the real-life human nature and complexity. We will now discuss the extent of positivist and interpretivist approaches within the context of each aspect of Turner's theoretical framework.

In-Group Collective Action, Influence, and Persuasion

The first process of power (Persuasion), according to Turner (2005), is based on intragroup influence and is a product of shared social identity (Reicher et al. 2012). When an individual accepts and internalizes (or is persuaded to accept) an identity as applying to them, they act as a member of a psychological group. Psychological group membership offers members the potential positive effects of making

sense of the world, and hence reducing uncertainty, as well as support for one's self interest, and potentially (for high status groups at least) self enhancement (Abrams and Hogg 2001). In terms of social influence and power, psychological group members are more likely to be persuaded and positively influenced by in-group members whom they recognize a shared identity with (Haslam, McGarty, and Turner 1996). This forms a basis for in-group collective action and influence, and promotes the exercise of power through persuasion.

While causal relationships can be generated from the simplified elements of experimental design, the lack of relevancy to participants' real-life identities and the lack of group social history could overlook other factors which are likely to affect group identity salience and in-group conformity behaviors. For example, Hornsey and colleagues' (2005) experimental study concerns the relevant real-life identity of participants, however not without bias. In this study, university students were asked to read a letter about one kind of attitude towards government funding for universities, which was written from a university student's perspective, and then rate their agreement and acceptance of the letter author's claim. The findings of collective action and identity-persuasion causality make sense from a social identity perspective. However, as the authors of this experiment note, certain biases (i.e., knowledge bias and reporting bias) undermined their confidence in the veracity of the participants' responses, since the participants' judgments of the effectiveness of the advocate's influence relied on their reading of single letter.

Table 2. Summary of methods utilized in applying the aspects of Turner's theory and SIT/SCT.

ASPECT COVERED	JOURNAL ARTICLE	FOCUS OF TOPIC	RESEARCH AREA	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	PARTICIPANT SELECTION
In-Group Collective Action, Influence, and Persuasion	Hornsey, Blackwood, and O'Brien 2005	Collective language and group identification	Social psychology	Experiment	187 university students participated for course credit
	Schwarz and Watson 2005	Influence of identities in IT-based organizational change	Management and organization	**Qualitative case study**	10 participants (department staff) involved in a case study
	Robertson 2006	The effect of identity salience in in-group conformity	Social psychology	Experiment	64 university students participated in exchange for monetary payment
	Ullrich et al. 2007	Influence of organizational identification in the franchising industry	Management and organization	Questionnaires	382 respondents from 270 German travel agencies returned their questionnaires
	Wenzel 2007	The effect of self-categorizations in tax commitment	Political psychology	Survey and questionnaire	965 respondents through random sample selection
	Currie, Finn, and Martin 2010	Influence of professional identity and role transition in healthcare	Management and organization	**Qualitative longitudinal case studies**	48 participants involved in case study interviews
In-Group Leadership, Prototypicality, and Authority	Hogg et al. 2005	Leadership in salient groups	Social psychology	Questionnaire surveys	439 employees of industries completed the first mail-out questionnaire; 128 employees in work groups completed the second questionnaire
	van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg 2005	Leader prototypicality and leadership effectiveness	Social psychology	Lab experiment and questionnaires	846 university students participated in the first three studies (experiments) and 161 primary school staff completed the questionnaires
	Platow et al. 2006	In-group leader charisma	Social psychology	Questionnaire used in experiments	203 and 220 university students participated in the two experiments
	Wenzel and Jobling 2006	Identity-based authority, power, and perceived legitimacy	Social psychology	Experiment and survey	106 university students participated in the experiment and a sample of 4000 survey respondents was drawn from the Australian electoral roll
	Ullrich, Christ, and van Dick 2009	Prototypical leadership, effectiveness, and procedural fairness	Social psychology	Experiment and survey	99 university students participated in the experiment for course credits and 433 employees from different occupations volunteered in the survey
	Willis, Guinote, and Rodríguez-Bailón 2010	Power legitimacy on self-regulation during goal pursuit	Social psychology	Experiments	46 and 60 university students participated in the two experiments for course credits
	Burns and Stevenson 2013	National leadership and national identity in the electoral success or failure of politicians	Social psychology	**Qualitative case study**	8 participants were approached and recruited through local political organizations
Out-Group Discrimination, Coercion, and Resistance	Melgoza and Cox 2009	Intergroup bias and subtle sexism in a police organization	Management and organization	Survey	159 male police officers from the police force responded in the survey
	Obrien and McGarty 2009	Intergroup political disagreement	Social psychology	Questionnaires	251 and 155 university students participated in two studies: some as part of their course, some for course credits, and others from different disciplines
	van Dijk and van Dick 2009	Employee resistance and work-based identities in organizational change (i.e., organization mergers)	Management and organization	*Quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (interview) case study*	13 and 10 employees from the two pre-merger organizations
	Miller and Rayner 2012	Self-categorization and workplace bullying in a police service	Management and organization	**Interviews**	12 participants were recruited from one police force and 7 participants were recruited from a training organization that had links to the police officers
	Tansley, Huang, and Foster 2013	Intergroup dissonance	Information systems	**Interpretive case study**	25 interviews were conducted with 25 project stakeholders in total
	Fritsche et al. 2013	Group-based control	Social psychology	Questionnaires, survey, and experiment	A random sample of 23 Germans participated in Study 1 (questionnaire); random 82 Germans participated in Study 2 (survey); 105 Austrians, 49 Croatians, and 104 Germans participated in Study 3 (questionnaire); 192 and 112 participants were involved in Study 4 (experiment) and Study 5 (questionnaire)

Source: Self-elaboration.

According to Easterby-Smith and colleagues (1991) and Lin (1998), measurements which concern only general situations in large samples tend to lack in reference to specific contexts and consideration of personal or situational change. For example, Ullrich and colleagues (2007) and Wenzel (2007) used rating scales in their studies examining people's willingness of identifying with their group. Ullrich measured customer orientation among 281 employees using a questionnaire based on four scale items ("I consider myself to be very customer-oriented," "Customer orientation is one of my personal goals," "I enjoy interacting with customers," and "Customer orientation is very important within my job"). Wenzel also administered a questionnaire to 965 participants, asking them to indicate what was important to them in the broad context of tax system. Participants selected from: (a) their individuality, (b) their occupational group, (c) the Australian community, or (d) their income group. This approach could lead to difficulties in understanding which identity positively influences a particular collective action or persuasive behavior as individuals often have multiple identities and self-categories (Turner 1987), and moreover, that influence changes in different situations as the salience of their self-category regarding tax commitment may change over time or depending upon the situation.

The qualitative case study and interview approaches would benefit the understanding of persuasion and identities by focusing on small samples in-depth and over-time to discover the reasons and meanings behind events (Easterby-Smith et al. 1991). Indeed, Schwarz and Watson (2005) and Cur-

rie and colleagues (2010) have demonstrated the usefulness of the qualitative case study approach for examining how group members' identity affected changes in organizational contexts. Through interviews with 10 departmental respondents and observation over 20 months, Schwarz and Watson (2005) reviewed the changes in two groups of employees (management and IT implementation team) in an organization introducing a new information system. Currie and colleagues (2010) interviewed and tracked the experiences of 14 genetics nurses (and 34 other stakeholders) through their role transition over two years to examine influences within and between groups based on their professional identity. While these studies only apply the Social Identity Framework to the understanding of one part of Turner's (2005) framework, they highlight the applicability of the in-depth case study approach in understanding persuasive behaviors through social group identity concerning situational changes.

In-Group Leadership, Prototypicality, and Authority

The second process of power (Authority) refers to leadership legitimated by group norms, values, and structure (Turner 2005). Turner and his colleagues conceptualize leadership as relative influence and power within a group, where leaders are perceived as relatively more prototypical than other members, and hence more influential within the group (Turner 1991; Turner and Haslam 2001; Reicher, Haslam, and Hopkins 2005). In contrast to persuasion, where in-group members agree with each other based on their shared identity, authority

acts when two in-group members disagree but the disagreement is about group-level matters and the authority hierarchy of the group becomes salient so that the one lower in status tends to go along with the higher-level member in the group (Ye et al. 2014). The difference between persuasion and authority thus lies in whether people are persuaded: *it is a good idea to do so* or *it is not a good idea, but the right thing is to obey* (Turner 2005).

While a survey or interview approach may utilize participant choice to determine the perception of in-group leadership and authority, a deeper understanding can be gained when this question is event-specific, or the premise is a particular decision made by a highly prototypical member (Turner, Reynolds, and Subasic 2008). This lack of detail is highlighted in 6 of the 7 articles found examining authority-related aspects. For example, Hogg and colleagues (2005) report two survey studies for testing hypotheses derived from the social identity model of leadership. Leadership effectiveness was measured by asking participants to rate how frequently the leader was effective in meeting organization requirements, or how frequently the leader led a group that was effective. However, this understanding of the manager's leadership effectiveness is lacking, for example, if personal or situational factors change, self-conceptions may also change, and then how people perceive, manage, and react to leadership or power (Hogg 2001; Turner and Reynolds 2010).

In the context of exploring Turner's framework, an approach that assumes relatively stable human relationships such as this would limit our

understanding of power relations, particularly in considering of the instability and discontinuity of personal factors or situational factors. More specific decisions and events need to be drawn upon to understand how each self-categorization process affects the acceptance of in-group leadership and authority, and how such an acceptance impacts the success or otherwise of implementing decisions.

Out of the 7 articles highlighted in this section, only one (Burns and Stevenson 2013) outlines a qualitative case study that has addressed this weakness. While Haslam and colleagues' (2011) generic model of leadership outlines an ideal process of leadership effectiveness, the case study approach of interviewing eight leading Irish politicians in Burns and Stevenson (2013) enables an in-depth focus on what politicians actually do in their talk, and how and when politicians construct versions of national identity in order to mobilize the electorate. Given the discursive complexity of national leaders' accounts of political events, Burns and Stevenson's (2013) case study approach was effective and necessary for a more detailed and clearer focus on the role of leadership.

Out-Group Discrimination, Coercion, and Resistance

Turner (2005) perceives coercion as the third form of power employed when one cannot, or is not willing to persuade, and further does not possess legitimate authority (Simon and Oakes 2006). When the psychological reality based on self-categorization and social identity processes changes, the dynamic transformation from in-group influence to

intergroup coercion can happen (Turner et al. 2008; Turner and Reynolds 2010). The disadvantage of coercion is that it tends to generate mistrust in the targets, and weakens the power of the source itself, by the targets' resistance and reactance to the loss of freedom (Kramer 1999; Turner 2005). Further, it undermines the possibilities for future influence. Therefore, resistance does not exist where influence is effective but only emerge when coercion is perceived to an extent.

Out of the 6 articles included on this aspect, 3 articles report positivistic experimental and survey studies, 2 articles report findings from interviews (interpretivistic), and one article reports a mixed method case study approach (questionnaires and interviews). As our investigation of coercion and resistance involves different views of the phenomena, transformation of attitudes and perceptions, and changes of psychological grouping, the value-free positivist paradigm may have particular limitations in this context (Easterby-Smith et al. 1991).

An example is Fritsche and colleagues' article (2013), which unites the ideas of the social identity approach and Turner's (2005) Theory of Power into a model of group-based control and tests hypotheses derived from the model in five studies using surveys and experiments. The most salient example can be seen in Fritsche and colleagues' (2013) fourth study, in which artificial groups were introduced and participants were asked to write down their thoughts and emotions with regard to a specific "possible" event (e.g., imagine they committed suicide due to an infectious disease). While this experimental approach may have ensured distance between the subjective

bias of the researcher and the objective reality being studied, the lack of real social contexts in the laboratory setting could lead to a gap between participants' "imagined" perceptions and their real perceptions, which may in turn limit the application of a theory. For example, responses might be distorted by the lack of real consequences of decision-making that would otherwise occur in real situations (Ye et al. 2014). Indeed, Turner (1981) himself suggests that the point of their experimental research is more about whether the models they build for explaining behavior can help understand what happens outside the experiments than why people behave as they do in given experiment (Reicher et al. 2012).

Survey questionnaires were administered in Fritsche and colleagues' (2013) other studies: the first two studies involved artificial contexts, and the third and fifth were relating more closely to real-life situations. In the first two studies, participants were asked to read a case report from a newspaper (e.g., a female academic suffered from long-term unemployment) and "imagine" the perspective of the protagonist in the case report to answer some recognition questions (e.g., to what extent are external circumstances, or the female academic herself, responsible for her current situation). In the third and fifth study, participants were asked to record aspects of their life regarding their attitudes and perceptions (e.g., aspects of their life that make them feel most powerful). The controlled nature of these studies includes a focus on a broad level of context as a reference (i.e., their life) and lacks a detailed understanding of other personal and situational factors that form participant responses.

A number of researchers have indicated the value of interviews in explaining resistance and coercive behaviors (van Dijk and van Dick 2009; Miller and Rayner 2012; Tansley et al. 2013). Miller and Rayner (2012) highlight the importance of their interview approach that allowed the interpretation to be attuned to the particular occupational culture so as to discover the hidden (e.g., hurtful jokes) or tolerated "bullying" behaviors, in contrast to the standardized instruments that hold generic lists of behaviors. In Tansley and colleagues' (2013) study, an interpretive case study research design was adapted for examining how the role of work-based identity in an information systems project team enacted the day-to-day relationships with their internal clients. The authors emphasize that the case study method with the interpretative orientation is particularly suitable for inquiries on research phenomena that are dynamic in their creation and fluid in their sense-marking (Walsham 1995). van Dijk and van Dick (2009) also consider interviews to be the most appropriate method whereby organizational members could openly share their views and opinions. However, they took a positivist case study approach. Questionnaires were constructed based on theoretical hypotheses from the theory (i.e., the social identity approach) and pilot research results. As the positivist perspective is premised on the existence of *a priori* fixed relationships within phenomena ready for being tested via hypothetico-deductive logic and analysis (Dube and Pare 2003), a weakness is that it tends to be geared towards "prediction" more than explanation, losing the very dynamics of human relationships and possibly other important factors making sense of the phenomena (Williams 2003). In van Dijk and van Dick's (2009) study, employees identified themselves with their pre-merger organization

and it seemed this level of identity was salient and stable throughout the data collection. This made the positivistic investigation possible and effective with little need to consider other levels of the employees' self-categories. However, in other situations where a finer gradation of self-categorization required consideration, the positivist paradigm can be difficult and interpretation of specific events will be necessary (Tansley et al. 2013).

The focused review outlined above demonstrates a number of potential weaknesses in relation to positivist experimental and survey approaches, that is, when situation-specific grouping processes and power changes need attention. This is particularly noteworthy in studies involving particular political events, and involving complex human relations and unstable power structures where people may feel powerful at one stage, and perhaps less powerful at a different stage. As discussed earlier, an investigation into the reasons behind such a change may be insightful. Thus, we acknowledge the potential for such insight by utilizing an interpretivist case study approach to the exploration of Turner's theory. It is anticipated that this in-depth phenomenological paradigm that focuses on meanings and views of the phenomena can be considered as a helpful alternative way of describing Turner's (2005) Three-Process Theory of Power in real life.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed and discussed the methodologies adapted in recent research applying aspects of Turner's (2005) Three-Process Theory of Power and its underpinning social identity framework. The

paper has addressed some important weaknesses of the positivist approach in the context of exploring Turner's framework by comparing and contrasting the positivist approach with the interpretivist approach deployed in these research studies. With the focus on experiments and surveys for the positivist approach and case study methods for the interpretivist approach, it was found out that the positivist approach is flawed in the way that experiments and surveys inevitably have to tailor information to the particular conditions of the experiment or survey question, and thus lack ecological validity (Cicourel 1982). It is of good value to examine the theoretical concepts and mechanisms, for which the positivist instrument provides the basis, by using the interpretivist approach to learn about the everyday activities and beliefs of the members of a group. Outside an artificially constructed experimental environment and the forced-choice nature of the survey, the choice of a case study approach, for example, adds to Turner's theoretical framework by moving the theory into relevant work settings. Further, the interpretivist orientation can contribute to Turner's framework by allowing the reflection and interpretation of the major theoretical aspects within

particular power-related events (Schwarz and Watson 2005; van Dijk and van Dick 2009; Tansley et al. 2013).

The main limitation of this paper was the lack of direct comparison between the two approaches. That is, comparing studies that have used the same theoretical framework and similar data sets where only the methodological approaches were different. Future work should therefore provide a direct comparison between the interpretivist approach and the positivist approach within a similar context and dataset. Nevertheless, the interpretivist case study approach has been highlighted as a necessary and potentially better way of exploring the value of Turner's theoretical framework, specifically the three major aspects: *In-Group Collective Action, Influence, and Persuasion*; *In-Group Leadership, Prototypicality, and Authority*; and *Out-Group Discrimination, Coercion, and Resistance*. Future research of looking into these concepts may also find that a full understanding only comes when a combined method is used to enable both the quantitative understanding of participants' work-related self-categories and qualitative support through in-depth understanding of power interplays in a particular political event.

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Stanisław Stasiewicz
Department of Sociology of Culture
Faculty of Economics and Sociology
University of Lodz, Poland

Book Review

Ferenc, Tomasz. 2014. *Dennis. Biographical Story of an American*. Lodz: Łódź Art Center

Biographical methods are well-known in social sciences and, with further developments of qualitative research techniques, they are gaining importance. Thus, a statement that they constitute the core of some more anthropologically-oriented approaches should not be seen as an exaggeration. Tomasz Ferenc's book, *Dennis. Biographical Story of an American*, is a prime example of such an approach. This is not sociology in its typical meaning; it is rather a cultural anthropology approach using narrative interview to achieve its goals. The book itself is, in a way, a byproduct of Ferenc's earlier work—*The Artist as an Alien. A Sociological Study of Polish Émigré Artist*. It was a story about Polish emigrants, living, among many other places, in New York and creating their art therein. Apparently, the book at hand was the beginning of something more, since, in the words of Tomasz Ferenc himself, "soon enough I started to yearn for a native's perspective, I wanted to feel the way Bronisław Malinowski was feeling in the Trobriand Islands, I wanted to take a closer look at this strange tribe—the New Yorkers" (p. 10).

This quotation is a fair proof of a solid anthropological background, which helps to embed the work at hand within the right perspective. The desire to study and get to know a native's perspective has led to the subject of this review—a story of a story. Such description cannot, and should not, be underestimated, since it accurately depicts the book composition, which was the main reason behind the two-part structure of this review. It is necessary because, essentially, there are two stories being told here—the main one, the Dennis Lynch's story arc, is composed of his various tales, memoirs, and remarks. The second one is a brief description of the circumstances behind a meeting that has culminated in this book.

The inner structure of the first part of the narrative is very coherent and logical, although a credit for this should also be given to Ferenc, who organized it this way. He would cut some of the more offshoot topics from the material, since Dennis is prone to short, yet frequent digressions.

The story itself is presented in a chronological manner, although it should be noted that the further it goes, the more episodic it becomes. The reader is able to follow the timeline, but it is only so because of the way the material is organized. When Lynch speaks about specific events, these usually sprout several branches, sometimes only loosely related to the main topic. This, however, should not be held against him because his storytelling prowess is undeniable, and the offshoots at hand often serve to add some depth to the main story and explain the context more thoroughly.

The episodic nature of Dennis' tales is enhanced by their completeness—he usually closes a specific part of the story before moving elsewhere. This also has an interesting characteristic—Dennis is almost exclusively very positive about his life, and even if he recalls any hardships and failures he had to endure, he speaks of these only in the context of overcoming them. Many of his tales are intertwined, and in order to simplify the description and help understand Dennis better, they are divided into separate categories.

The first, and probably the most conspicuous category that emerges from his narrative, is success. Dennis is trying to present himself as a man who succeeds (and, which seems to be more important, excels) in all of his endeavors. There are several dimensions of this success, as Lynch engaged in many different activities throughout his life. Some of them were intended only to make profit, others (and those seem to be of utmost importance to him) were meant to be a way of fulfilling his hobbies (which form a separate category, and as such, they will be discussed further in this review). Finally, some of his activities were performed out of necessity, for example, hunting. Dennis' family was poor and they could not afford to buy food every day.

Therefore, Lynch and his brothers were responsible for bringing wild meat for dinner, which they got by hunting. It is interesting to notice that although it was his devoir, he seems to find joy in it, and even brags about it on several occasions: "I was a good shot, because I was raised shooting" (p. 43); "I beat thousands of pheasants in every different way" (p. 43); "We were never allowed to shoot a sitting duck. Never allowed, it isn't sporting. Only flying birds" (p. 43).

It is apparent that he takes special pride in his hunting prowess, which was, and still is, common even in the modern U.S., but Dennis elaborates on the story by adding a short narrative about his hunting cat:

> He followed me home, he would not let anybody else pet him, he slept with me at night and he licked my hair to wash me every night, and then he would wait for me after school like a dog and then we would go hunting. He would often get the pheasant before I could even shoot him…he was like my hunting dog. A lot of people have a hunting dog. I had a hunting cat. [p. 44]

The last sentence shows that apart from the urge of being competent at an activity so well-grounded in the American culture, at the same time, Dennis wanted to be unique in some way. This trait, the desire to be somehow different and stand out from the crowd, appears in several other utterances of his story, such as his brief commentary on his antique business: "And one of my first customers was Mia Farrow, Frank Sinatra's wife. She came in and she said, 'I want these two things, can you deliver

Stanisław Stasiewicz

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them tonight?'" (p. 79). The uniqueness of the situation (and, subsequently, of the whole story) is enhanced by the person of Mia Farrow and her status as a celebrity, which was supposed to also affect Dennis.

The second category that emerges from Dennis' story are his passions and various hobbies. Interestingly, this one overlaps with the first one, since, as it was stated before, Lynch tried to achieve equal greatness in whatever activity he was actually performing. His own words are, once again, the best proof of this, as he is speaking about his ballet dancing career:

It was one of the highlights of my career, I think I was maybe 15 then, and I got to see how good I was, because I jumped so far and so high the audience used to gasp together and my teacher came back after it was over and said, "I have never been in the ballet that the audience gasped together." He would give you one compliment a year and that was this compliment. [p. 57]

This fragment indicates Lynch's tendency to attribute his success to his own natural talents and skills more than to concentrated effort. This is peculiar, however, since he mentioned on several other occasions that he values hard work, and some of his most difficult achievements were the result of a struggle, either with himself or against external odds. This can be seen in statements like this: "We were building barns, and split level houses, and moving houses, and lifting houses, and, you know, it was work. Hard work…We did, we did hard labor" (p. 51). Further elaboration concerning

his ballet dancing career appears to prove that he is a gifted artist, and it also shows another interesting trait of Dennis—the lack of modesty:

I took three classes twice a week. Six months later my ballet teacher said to me, "You are better than I am." She studied 10 years to do two pirouettes, and in 6 months I was doing five or six pirouettes. She says, "I cannot teach you anymore. I have to take you to my teacher," which was 25 miles away. [p. 56]

Apart from many other hobbies, there is one that seems to be quite prevalent and interesting. It consists of several other "sub-hobbies," but they all can be generalized as collecting. Dennis likes to collect various objects, mainly antiques and artistic handcraft such as stained glass or brass beds. The latter became a way to turn his hobby into a profit, which brings this part of the story to the third category that seems important to Lynch's narrative—the business. As with almost any of his endeavours, Dennis takes pride in his business efficiency and in his prowess in money making. He engaged in a lot of different enterprises—from selling antiques: "We ended up having five antique stores together. I was a partner. Because I would run the stores, I would run the business, I would go out and buy" (p. 81); "We had five stores in Manhattan and Brooklyn" (p. 81) to sell the aforementioned brass beds: "I went straight into the brass beds, and opened the store in a garage on Hudson Street in the West Village. And I pulled up the garage door and I just sort of poured out the brass beds, and I made twenty-nine thousand dollars in the first twenty-nine days" (p. 83). He also worked at some point as a handyman, in the breaks between danc-

ing, which is yet another proof of his industrious nature and aversion to wasting time.

There are many other categories that emerge from Dennis' story, but there is one that is especially interesting and which may be called cleverness. Lynch proved at various points in his story that he is, indeed, a very cunning man. He displayed this trait on several occasions. Some of them were only innocent tricks, like winning a pillow fight as a child: "And when he made the big last move, whammed on me, I shot straight back against the pole and he misses me, and I just hit him and he went off" (p. 41); "And the guy didn't like me after that. Cause I tricked him, I know I did. But, I won" (p. 41). Others were more serious, to the point of misdemeanor or felony, like stealing gas from closed gas stations on his hitchhiking trip to Alaska: "So what we would do is the Road Departments had big gas tanks beside the roads for the trucks, so we were pulling there at night when they were closed and we would steal the gas" (p. 64).

Lynch's wits, however, manifest themselves not only in tricks he played on other people but also in his ability to bargain and find business opportunities, proofs of which can be seen in other already described stories.

To conclude the first part of this review, it should be noted that all of these categories are only a mere fraction of what could be said about Dennis. There is much more to his tales, but the selected few stories should tell the reader more about Lynch as the man he really is. He is, however, not only a protagonist of this book. No story can exist in the void,

it is always set in some historical and social context, and, of course, Dennis' narrative is not an exception. What is unique about it is the attention to detail and the amount of information about America that can be derived from his words. Dennis describes not only his experiences but also the context of that time. He also explains many intricacies of the American culture, which could otherwise be difficult to understand for an outsider.

Tomasz Ferenc's book is aptly titled *Dennis. A Biographical Story of an American*, but, in fact, adding the adjective "true" would make for a far more fitting title. Lynch appears to be an embodiment of American spirit itself. He is strongly motivated, hard-working, and shaped by the set of three "selves": sufficiency, reliance, and confidence. This set serves as an agent empowering the reader's impression about Dennis—that he is an industrious and resourceful self-made man. The tales of his success are almost iconic—whatever he did, he had to do it right and excel at it. They are also very dramatic in their structure, whether they are about heroic deeds he performed or grievous situations in which he almost lost his life. All of these allows us to create an image of a strong and fearless man, who can overcome every obstacle only with the power of his will. Both of these properties—the winner myth and the dramatic storytelling—can be attributed to the influence of the American culture.

However, there is just one flaw in this image. It is discernible when Dennis speaks about his Vietnam War experience. In this particular case, the most important things are not the ones said directly, but the understatements, or even the things that Lynch

refused to speak about. The reason for which he enlisted also does not seem to fit in with the American patriotism because, in fact, it was conscription, and, as Dennis said: "It really had nothing to do with patriotism or anything. It was basically to get it out of the way. Get the obligation out of the way" (p. 59).

The second story, which is loosely intertwined into the first one, is about a meeting and, in the words of Professor Kazimierz Kowalewicz who wrote the initial scientific review, about *the tale of a gift*. This gift is presented here in compliance with its anthropological meaning. Indeed, the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee fits the realm of gift exchange. Lynch provided the story and, what is possibly most important, the willingness to share it. Ferenc, in return, offered to hear the tale very thoroughly and allowed it to unfold naturally.

The meeting at hand took place in New York in 2011, and it culminated in a conception of the idea behind this book. Ferenc briefly describes his arrival to the city and explains also how he met Dennis. Their meeting resulted in his revisit in New York in 2013. The second journey has yielded over a dozen recorded sessions and a 12-minute movie. Details of this acquaintanceship form the basis of the first part of the book.

The second part (including the closing remarks) contains also the methodological notes, which, albeit scarce, describe the methods and techniques accurately. Moderation in terms of methodology, however, can be explained by the very nature of the tool used. Narrative interview requires as little intervention from a researcher as possible, and Tomasz Ferenc was quite successful at achieving this goal.

Many books have been written about Americans and their stories. *Dennis. Biographical Story of an American*, as short as it may seem, is a very condensed part of this narrative, but from a standpoint of one man. In his work, Ferenc managed to depict a vast wealth of American culture and its changes throughout the 20th century. Of course, he would not be able to do this without the help of a very skilled storyteller, who also happened to have a very good observation sense. Dennis not only told his fascinating personal story but he additionally offered a lot of crucial information about America and the society of his times, which makes his tale very valuable sociological material. His narrative, both in terms of its content and structure, is an embodiment of the American spirit. This is a story about a man who overcame countless obstacles and hardships, and won.

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