

# Sociological Focus

Volume 43  
Number 1  
February 2010

Official Journal of the North Central Sociological Association



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The Orange Order: Parades, Other Rituals,  
and Their Outcomes

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**SOCIOLOGICAL FOCUS**  
Quarterly Journal of the  
North Central Sociological Association

Edited and published at the Department of Sociology  
& Anthropology, University of Haifa, in association with  
Paradigm Publishers, Boulder, Colorado

Volume 43

Number 1

Editor: *Gustavo S. Mesch*

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ISSN 0038-0237

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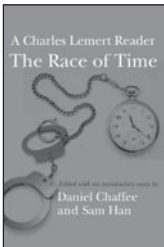
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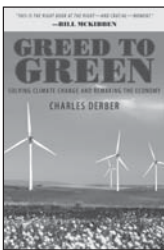
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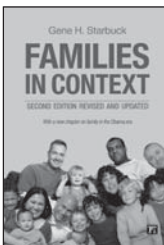
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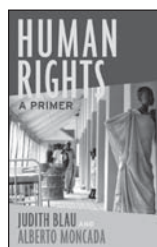
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# The Orange Order: Parades, Other Rituals, and Their Outcomes

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*This study investigates the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland and how participating in such activities affects group members and that society; for example, how rituals such as parading contribute to the beliefs and ultimately the power of the Orange Order. This study contributes to a growing body of work dealing with the relationship between ritual, symbolism, and power in modern society, in this case Northern Ireland. We employ structural ritualization theory to analyze the overall rank or strength of ritualized activities engaged in by members of the Orange Order. Based upon observational data, interviews, and the analysis of documents, we conclude that the rituals engaged in by members of the Orange Order are highly ranked, ritualized, symbolic practices. We further suggest that these practices express several themes; preliminary evidence suggests that these themes lead to outcomes that affect the Orange Order and Northern Irish society generally.*

This study investigates the ritualized practices that contribute to the dominance of Protestantism and the Orange Order in Northern Ireland. More specifically, we examine the nature of ritual activities, such as parading, and how it affects group members and Northern Irish society, contributing to the beliefs and, ultimately, the power of the Orange Order.

This is an important topic because an unstable power balance exists in Northern Ireland, which is reflected in the Orange Order Parades. Loyalist ideology has survived political and social change and continues to be an important force in Northern Irish society (Todd 1994). This belief system is reproduced through parades, banners, and murals, born of irreconcilable conflict between Protestants and Catholics (Todd 1994). Although the primary nature of the conflict is between Unionism and Nationalism, the members of the Orange Order identify themselves as Protestant first. We, therefore, refer to the Orange Institution as a Protestant and Unionist group. Hence, the Orange Order may be considered both a religious and an ethnic

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category. According to Bryan (2000), the Orange Order represents three discourses: religion, politics, and cultural identity. These categories are not mutually exclusive; rather, they overlap with one another (Bryan 2000).

Although the Orange Order remains an important institution in Northern Ireland, local aspects of social life in Northern Ireland have received limited attention by sociologists; that is, social scientists have paid little attention to the rituals of the Orange Institution and the roles members play at the local level in Northern Irish society (Kenney 1991). Although social scientists have examined the political contexts of conflict in Northern Ireland and given some attention to activities, such as Orange Parades, there is a need for further research on the relationship between ritual, symbolism, and power in this setting. This study contributes to our understanding of these issues.

To better understand the social dynamics occurring in Northern Ireland, we use a theoretical perspective examining the use of ritualized practices by actors in society—structural ritualization theory. We pay particular attention to how social rituals play a key role in the social life of the Orange Order and Protestants. For this reason this study is directly relevant to a growing body of work concerned with the Orange Order and Orange Parades.

## RITUAL, POWER, AND THE ORANGE ORDER

### *Ritual and Power*

Rituals play a vital role in society (for works documenting and emphasizing this point see Douglas 1970; Durkheim [1915] 1965; Goffman 1967; Shils and Young 1953; Turner 1967; Warner 1959, 1962). For instance, ritualized behaviors may be engaged in for recreational purposes (e.g., ritualized sporting events, such as the Olympics or championship games) or people may participate in rituals as a means of bringing about social change (e.g., ritual events such as festivals during the French revolution). In addition, they may engage in ritualized activities in order to maintain the current social or political structure (e.g., ritualized collective events such as rallies and other celebrations in authoritarian societies such as Nazi Germany). Hence, while scholars (Durkheim [1915] 1965, among others) may have applied the concept of ritual to sacred, ceremonial, or religious behaviors, ritualization may be used in a broader sense to refer to activities such as routinized interaction sequences and social behaviors that occur in all kinds of contexts including secular settings. This approach to ritualization is consistent with Kertzer's (1988) definition of ritual as socially standardized and repetitive symbolic activity and the perspective to be used in this study (to be later discussed).

Although many types of ritualized activities exist, the practice of parading represents a particularly striking behavior. Indeed, Kenney (1991) suggests that parades may be described as social dramas, involving symbols and culture, as well as power (see also Cecil 1993; Cohen 1969, 1979). Rituals are an important ingredient of cul-

ture, but they can also provide a meaningful mechanism to cope with threats to the political order (Kertzer 1988). Stated somewhat differently, a sense of personal and social security is often based on the symbolic construction of social reality promoted by dominant groups. When an opposing group threatens these symbolic constructions, a crisis may arise and, as a result, the dominant groups may utilize mechanisms involving ritualized activities to restore or strengthen the social order (Kertzer 1988).

Groups such as the Orange Order use the ritualized practice of parading as a way of maintaining Protestant power in Northern Ireland. In perhaps no other arena is the relationship between ritual and power in Northern Ireland more visible than in the Orange Parades. Kenney (1991) suggests that the Orange Order marches through Catholic neighborhoods in an effort to intimidate residents and deter Catholic rebellion. Others, such as Bryan (2000), suggest that the Orange Order gained a high position of power when they gained control of the ritualized practice of the Twelfth of July Parades, resulting in the ability to influence politics and the social structure of Northern Ireland. Moreover, Jarman (1997) argues that Orange Parades are the crucial element in maintaining Protestant power in Northern Ireland, and parading remains the most significant means of asserting political dominance and collective identity in Ulster (see also Edwards and Knottnerus 2007; Jarman and Bryan 1998; Messenger 1979). Although various social and political changes have taken place in Northern Ireland, we contend that the Orange Parades continue to play an important role in promoting Protestantism and Unionism in this region. Thus, while the solidarity between social classes within the Orange Order has broken down somewhat, research suggests that, in regard to the Orange Order, the changes at the level of religious denomination are significant; at the level of social class, they are fundamental (Bryan 2000). Further, Bryan (2000) suggests that the Orange Institution has not become powerless as a result of these changes, but rather, the organization exists in a new environment.

### *The Orange Order and Orange Parades*

The Orange Order, founded in 1795 after the Protestant victory at the Battle of the Diamond, was developed to celebrate the Protestant faith and proclaim loyalty to Britain. When members of the Orange Order engage in activities such as parading, from their perspective, they express a longstanding commitment to Protestantism and religious freedom (see Bryan 2000; Haddick-Flynn 1999; Jarman 2001; McAllister 2000). At the same time, research suggests that while the main reason people give for joining the Orange Order is religious, the political aspect of the institution must also be considered when analyzing the structure of the organization (Bryan 2000).

In regard to its internal organization the Orange Order exhibits a semidecentralized structure; that is, while the group possesses a hierarchical form of authority (Grand Lodge, county lodges, district lodges, and local lodges), there is a certain degree of autonomy provided to local lodges (Edwards and Knottnerus 2007). This is important because such a structure facilitates this group's ability to promote and sponsor ritual events such as parades at both the local/community level and nationally.

For members of the Orange Order, parading represents a time when Protestant culture and traditions are celebrated. Indeed, the parades provide an avenue for Orangemen and women to commemorate the victory of Prince William at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, a victory that helped create Protestant domination in Northern Ireland. Thus, for members of the Orange Order, parading is a right and highly valued practice (Darby 1997).

The Orange Parades are complex events, characterized by pride, loyalty to Britain, and religious faith (for typologies of parades see Bryan 2000; Jarman and Bryan 1996). More specifically, the Orange Parades represent an event of empowerment through which Protestant identity is strengthened, relationships between members enhanced, and British authority displayed (Bryan 2000; see also Jarman 2001; Keating 1996).

Of course, the form of the parades for the Orange Order varies depending on the situation and political climate of the time. For instance, over the past several decades, certain changes have been implemented in the Twelfth of July Parades; that is, new symbols, reflecting the changing political climate, have been incorporated into these events (Bryan 2000). One such change has been the inclusion of different types of bands in the parades. However, as Bryan (2000) explains, these changes have not disrupted the basic rituals engaged in by the Orange Order or disrupted the Orange tradition.

Notwithstanding the valuable contributions of scholars to date, much remains to be done in regard to research and analysis of the social dynamics of this group. Although social scientists (as previously noted) have examined the political contexts of conflict in Northern Ireland and, to a certain extent, practices such as the Orange Parades, the relationships between the strategic use of ritualized practices and the maintenance of power have not been studied in depth. Thus, there is a need for further research on the relationship between ritual, symbolism, and power with particular attention given to the social processes by which such ritual events operate (for research and analyses examining these issues in other social settings see Davis 1986; Kertzer 1988; Lane 1981; Lukes 1975; Mach 1992; Petrone 2000). Furthermore, previous research has not utilized sociological theory—in particular, formal sociological theory focused on social psychological and cultural factors—to examine the social and ritual dynamics of the Orange Order. In the next section, we discuss the analytical framework guiding this investigation.

## STRUCTURAL RITUALIZATION THEORY

### *Ritualized Symbolic Practices*

To better analyze and understand the social dynamics involved with the tradition of the Orange Parades, we employ structural ritualization theory (Knottnerus 1997). Structural ritualization theory focuses on the role rituals play in social life, especially in the formation, reproduction, and alteration of social structures. Certain aspects of the theory are especially relevant to the current study.<sup>1</sup> Central to the theory is the

concept of ritualized symbolic practices (RSPs). RSPs refer to action repertoires that are schema-driven. They involve common forms of social behavior in which people engage in standardized and repetitious actions when interacting with others. RSPs are based on cognitive frameworks and involve being regularly engaged in actions that possess meaning and express symbolic themes. They may occur in either sacred or secular contexts. The theory formally identifies four components that determine the rank, or strength, of a ritualized symbolic practice. They include salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources.

*Salience.* Salience is the “degree to which a ritualized symbolic practice within a domain of interaction is prominent, conspicuous, or noticeable” (Knottnerus 1997:262). It refers to the prominence of certain actions—the degree to which an action is noticeable. For instance, certain actions may have a low degree of salience, thus the action is neither conspicuous nor at the center of the interaction. However, some actions possess a high degree of salience such as formal ritualized practices that are prominent in all situations.

*Repetitiveness.* Repetitiveness is the “relative frequency with which an RSP is performed” (Knottnerus 1997:262). The extent to which ritualized practices are repeated in any social setting can vary. For instance, a ritualized activity may rarely occur or it may occur quite often.

*Homologousness.* Homologousness refers to the “degree of perceived similarities among different RSPs in meaning and in form” (Knottnerus 1997:263). Different ritualized practices may exist in a domain or several domains of interaction, and these practices may differ in the degree to which they correspond to one another. The greater the correspondence, the greater the outcome or effect on actors (see also Leach 1970).

*Resources.* Finally, resources refer to “materials needed to engage in RSPs which are available to actors” (Knottnerus 1997:264). The more resources are available, the more likely ritualized practices will be engaged in by actors. Although cognitive representations remain a key factor in the development and execution of RSPs, resources are essential in order to accomplish these practices.

These four factors determine the overall importance or “rank” of the ritualized symbolic practice in a social milieu. The greater the rank of ritualized activities, the greater their impact on people. In other words, the higher the rank of ritualized practices, the greater their impact on actors’ cognitions, behaviors, and social relations. We employ this analytical framework to investigate the degree to which these four factors determine the rank or dominance of Orange Parades and other ritualized activities engaged in by members of the Orange Order.

Specifically, we include five major types of Orange Parades in the theoretical analysis of ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. They are mini-Twelfth of July Parades, commemorative parades, arch-opening parades, church

parades, and the Twelfth of July Parades. Each parade is analyzed using the four factors that determine the overall rank or strength of a ritualized practice. Thus, we utilize structural ritualization theory, in part, to determine the overall importance of the Orange Parades and other rituals but also to identify those rituals that contribute more or less to the various themes present in the various rituals, Protestant communities, and the society as a whole.

## METHODS

To investigate the overall rank or strength of the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order and the degree to which they impact actors in the social milieu of Northern Ireland, we observed a Twelfth of July Parade as well as several additional types of parades including arch-opening ceremonies/parades, church parades, commemorative parades, and mini-Twelfth of July Parades. Observations took place from mid-June to July 14, 2001. In addition to parades, we observed other ritualized activities such as rallies, speeches, formal teas, and other gatherings of members of the Orange Order. Collecting observational data enabled us to generate relevant data without manipulating the setting. Thus, observations in the field allowed us to focus on the RSPs naturally engaged in by members of the Orange Order.

For this study, we also used semistructured, open-ended, in-depth interviews, selecting the snowball method as our means of obtaining interviews. Twenty interviews were conducted with male members of the Orange Order (the Orange Order is essentially an all-male organization with the women's Orange Order being a separate loyal order). With our questions we sought to elicit evidence regarding the four major components of ritualized practices discussed by structural ritualization theory.

Finally, we examined written material, especially documents from the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and materials provided by the Orange Order. The use of documents allowed us to obtain detailed evidence that we would have been unable to collect through observations and interviews alone. The analysis of these documents allowed us to collect and study written materials and archival records to supplement the data collected through the other research strategies.

### *Analysis of Data*

The data were analyzed through the development of categories of symbolic themes expressed through the rituals engaged in by members of the Orange Order. These themes emerged from the use of the literary ethnography method (see Knottnerus and Van de Poel-Knottnerus 1999; Van de Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 2002). This method involves a series of steps that are utilized to discover thematic patterns or motifs in various kinds of literary works. Briefly, six steps are involved: (1) defining the scope of literary texts or sources to be investigated, (2) reading and interpreting documents, (3) identifying textual themes, (4) classifying identified thematic elements, (5) developing analytical constructs concerning the qualities of the subject matter (i.e., the thematic elements), and (6) making a contextual confirmation involving a reexamina-

tion of texts and sources to determine if the evidence (e.g., narratives) corresponds with the classification scheme and analytical generalizations.

Although our research involves observations, interviews, and analysis of documents/archival materials, the literary ethnography method provides a useful and systematic means of accurately and clearly identifying salient themes in the data dealing with important features of the social group under study. For this study, thematic patterns were discovered through reading and rereading interview responses and written documents, as well as from the repeated examination of observational data, especially field notes and photographs. Our focus in this study is on the symbolic themes expressed through the social rituals engaged in by members of the Orange Order.

### *Limitations*

Methodological limitations for this study were minimal. We had access to members of the Orange Order, provided by the executive officer. However, many interviews were arranged by one member. During several occasions, this Orangeman presented us with individuals to be interviewed. In addition, we encountered some limitations in regard to our analysis of documents. More precisely, we were limited to material held by the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and to documents produced by the Orange Order. Moreover, we were limited in the time we had to devote to data collection; we spent one month in Northern Ireland. This limited us in regard to the number of parades that we could observe. Finally, we limited our interviews to Orangemen. Although we acknowledge that there are numerous others who participate and play vital roles in creating and carrying out parades (i.e., band members, other Protestants, etc.), our primary goal was to obtain data regarding the role of the Orange Order in perpetuating Protestantism as well as the institution's role in maintaining Unionist power in Northern Ireland.

In addition to methodological limitations, we experienced potential problems regarding the changing social climate of Northern Ireland. Data were collected in 2001, and during that time, cultural change was taking place. For instance, social and political change has taken place in Northern Ireland prior to and following the collection of data (the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, the peace process, the Belfast Agreement of 1997, to name a few). Be that as it may, the Orange Order has continued to remain active in Northern Irish politics, playing an important role in promoting Unionism ([www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/parade/organis.htm](http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/parade/organis.htm)). More specifically, these changes do not appear to have had an impact on the rituals engaged in by members of the Orange Order nor on the ways these rituals impact the Orange Order and Protestants in general in Northern Ireland.

Another change regarding the social climate of Northern Ireland relates to Orange Order membership. The Orange Order has experienced a decline in membership. This may be attributed, however, to the general decline in fraternal organization membership in the Western world (Kaufmann and Emery 2002). Specifically, Kaufmann (2007) utilizes statistical analysis of Orange Order internal documents to investigate the declining membership. Kaufmann (2007) concludes that a more militant Orangeism of Antrim and Belfast is replacing the traditional Orangeism of the West

of Ulster. He further states that although the Orange Order is experiencing a decline in numbers, membership remains strong in Nationalist areas. Additionally, the Orange Order will play an important role in the new Northern Ireland and will continue to help perpetuate Protestant collective memory (Kaufmann 2007). Moreover, Bryan (2002) suggests that the drop in Orange Order membership may be explained by a rise in membership in the Independent Orange Order and various paramilitary groups.

## FINDINGS

The findings from the study involve observations of parades and other activities, interviews with members of the Orange Order, and the examination of documents and materials obtained from the Orange Order.

### *Observations*

We obtained observational data by viewing several types of parades, including mini-Twelfth of July Parades, commemorative parades, arch-opening parades, church parades, and a Twelfth of July Parade. In addition, we observed other types of ritualized practices involving speeches and rallies.

In regard to parades, we paid particular attention to the four key theoretical components influencing the rank of RSPs, that is, salience, homologousness, repetitive-ness, and resources. First, parades exhibit a high degree of salience. This is the case for all parades such as mini-Twelfth of July Parades, commemorative parades, church parades, and arch-opening parades. The size and composition of the crowds and participants clearly enhanced the salience of the events as the typically large crowds enhanced the visibility and prominence of parades. Adorned with British hats and waiving British flags, crowds—normally consisting of a wide variety of social actors from young children to the elderly—lined the streets. Participants were primarily males dressed in suits and bowler hats. Some participants also carried banners.

In addition to the crowds and participants, the arch contributed to the high degree of salience evident in a number of parades. During one parade, participants marched through the town, ending in front of one of the largest arches in Northern Ireland. The top of the arch consisted of symbols such as a picture of the Red Hand of Ulster, a picture of William of Orange, and a list of all the Loyal Orange lodges in that district, thus demonstrating the prominence and visibility of Orangeism.

Church parades also possessed a high degree of salience. Members of the Orange Order march from an Orange hall to church to attend the service. This practice is visible, prominent, and a central activity in many communities throughout Northern Ireland. They are quite conspicuous as Orangemen march in public to the church. Contributing to their salience is the fact that members of the Orange Order wear their sashes and suits during the church service and sit together at the front of the church. Although the church parades are often poorly attended, we suggest that they still possess a high degree of salience (even if they are somewhat different than other

types of parades), since they are considered important (based on data collected) to the religious meaning of the Orange Order.

Although all Orange Parades possess a high degree of salience, the most prominent and central ritualized symbolic practice engaged in by members of the Orange Order is the Twelfth of July Parade. As a result, this parade possesses the highest degree of salience. For instance, the Twelfth of July is an official holiday in Northern Ireland, which contributes to its public and formal visibility.

In regard to homologousness, the traditional parades (i.e., mini-Twelfth of July Parades) express symbolic meanings celebrating Protestantism, the Orange Order, and British identity similar to those expressed by the Twelfth of July Parade. Furthermore, traditional parades contain the same elements as the Twelfth of July Parade, such as similar bands, music, marching formations, and banners.

Church parades are also important ritualized activities for members of the Orange Order. Containing a religious element, the Orange Order participates in church parades as a demonstration of Protestant faith. In regard to homologousness, church parades generally communicate the same meaning as the other ritualized parading practices. They contain many of the same elements of other parades, such as bands and the clothing worn by participants. However, during church parades, participants do not carry banners and only hymn music is played. Further, in some church parades, in order to produce a more reverent event, drums are not permitted to be played. Thus, church parades possess a moderate degree of homologousness.

In regard to repetitiveness, mini-Twelfth of July Parades occur during the month prior to the Twelfth of July Parades, and commemorative parades occur throughout the parading season, therefore exhibiting a greater degree of repetitiveness than the Twelfth of July Parade. Additionally, church parades occur throughout the parading season in most communities in Northern Ireland. Indeed, different types of parades are conducted several thousand times each year in Northern Ireland.

In addition to repetitiveness, traditional (i.e., mini-Twelfth of July Parades and so forth) and the Twelfth of July Parades require certain resources such as clothing, banners, and bands. During parades, members wear a suit, tie, and sash indicating the lodge to which they belong. Moreover, each parade contains a band that is generally hired by the Orange Order. In all observed parades, ample resources were available to members, which allowed them effectively to produce the ritual events. These resources included both human resources, such as musical abilities, and nonhuman resources, such as parading equipment and materials (e.g., banners, paintings, etc.), to present imagery associated with the Orange Order and Protestants. Yet another resource is the ability to march when and where the Orange Order desires. This ability has been affected by changes that have taken place since the 1970s, so the Orange Order does not possess this resource to the extent it once enjoyed. However, we contend that the Orange Order has and continues to seek new ways of perpetuating the Protestant and Unionist messages throughout Northern Ireland (e.g., the Drumcree protests and, more recently, the creation of Orangefest). As a result, the Orange Order has created new resources (see Edwards and Knottnerus 2007).

Although certain ritualized practices possess a moderate to relatively high degree of homologousness and the Twelfth of July Parade occurs once a year (while being extremely salient), the rank of these ritualized symbolic activities taken as a whole is high. That is, when evaluating each parading practice in comparison with the Twelfth of July Parade, some differences exist in meaning and number of occurrences. However, each ritual event has the same general purpose, which is to celebrate Protestantism and British identity. When measured in terms of their overall salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources, parades are quite dominant ritualized symbolic practices expressing core beliefs of the Orange Order.

### *Interviews*

For this study, twenty members of the Orange Order were interviewed. Each participant was asked nine open-ended questions dealing with ritual dynamics. They are: (1) what does it mean to parade; (2) how important is it to you to parade; (3) where do parades take place; (4) what do the banners represent; (5) is the Protestant community involved in the Twelfth of July Parade; (6) are there other parades (apart from the Twelfth of July Parade); (7) does the Orange Order participate in other Protestant activities such as celebrations, church services, and local political events; (8) what supplies are needed to run the Twelfth of July Parade; and (9) how is the Twelfth of July Parade funded?

The first five questions pertain to salience, a key component in determining the overall strength of a ritualized practice. The responses indicate that the meaning of the parades primarily revolves around expressions of tradition and culture. Moreover, respondents indicated that parades represent a very important aspect of Orangeism. For instance, one participant stated:

It's a part of our culture in the Orange Institution. It's the focal point within the Protestant faith. And, it shows our patriotic side with the banners and the parades ranging from remembrance of the fallen at the Somme to the opening of arches, to reveal new banners, to traditional services which have a divine purpose.

Yet another reported:

It's very important. I say it's a mark of identity of our community—how we express ourselves. People express themselves in different ways, whether it be through sport or dance or music. We do all that within my community. But, we also parade. There's the sense of continuity. You're in it because that's what father and forefathers and mothers did.

In addition to the meaning of parades and their importance, the data indicate that the location of parades, the involvement of the Protestant community in the parades, and the presence of banners all contribute to the high degree of salience of this activity. Parades take place in numerous communities throughout Northern Ireland, resulting in highly prominent RSPs. One participant stated:

We're all over the country. The Orange Order is very firmly established in Northern Ireland—not just in Northern Ireland, but all over the world. There

are something like 1,300 lodges. So, every little town, village, rural area has them and you create your own local area essentially. Then, on bigger occasions like the Twelfth of July we join together in larger parades.

When asked if the Protestant community is involved in the Twelfth of July Parade (as well as other parades), almost all respondents stated that the Protestant community is primarily involved as observers. This type of participation contributes to their visibility, thus demonstrating the high level of salience of the parades. As one participant reported:

We get a lot of support from our local communities. As we saw today, a big crowd came out to support and watch the parades—not just families in the parades, but members of the local communities. Also, in the bands, a lot of people, especially young people, aren't old enough to join the lodge but they play in the bands, so it's important as well.

Finally, when asked what the banners represent, respondents indicated that they express religious themes. Still others suggested that the banners symbolize culture, tradition, and history. Moreover, several members of the Orange Order stated that banners may also serve as a memorial to fallen members of the institution. As one individual stated:

The banners in one sense express our culture and our history. Most banners will depict either historical scenes, important characters, buildings, a sense of belonging—a sense of time and place. Regrettably, a number of banners will also portray some members who have been murdered by the IRA and things like that. There are symbols of remembrance as well as an expression of your culture.

In regard to homologousness, the data reveal that there is a moderate to high degree evident in the Twelfth of July Parade, as well as in other ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. The first question presented to respondents dealt with the occurrence of parades apart from the Twelfth. The majority of respondents indicated that there are other parades apart from the Twelfth of July Parade. One respondent reported:

Oh, yes, you have the Twelfth of July as the climax of the parades for Orangeism, but there are Sunday services with parades throughout the year, specifically in June and on the first Sunday in July for the Somme—for the remembrance of those who fell at the Somme and also the last Sunday in October, quite a lot of the districts would have church parades for Reformation Sunday.

In response to the second question, again the majority of respondents indicated that members of the Orange Order participate in other Protestant activities, yet the activities primarily revolve around church or politics. One Orangeman stated:

Yes, there's quite a lot of church services held, particularly prior to the Twelfth. The anniversary of the Battle of the Somme around the fourth of July is a lot of services and at other times during the year. The relief of Derry which is usually in August is a parade and church service too.

There are quite a lot of Orangemen who would hold political office as members of Parliament and members of the assembly and we always try to get involved in our local communities. A lot of lodges would have events like sponsored walks, you know, to try and involve the community more. A lot of lodges would have gospel missions to try and present the gospel to the local community. So really, it can be anything and everything. Some lodges have groups for mothers and toddlers as well. The halls are more or less community centers.

Regarding the meaning of these events, respondents stated that the ritualized practices relate to religion and heritage, and are similar in meaning to the parades. These responses reveal generally similar meanings to those expressed by the Twelfth of July Parade. However, the meaning of other ritualized practices vary somewhat because the primary purpose of the Twelfth of July Parade is to celebrate the victory at the Battle of the Boyne. Other ritual events do not necessarily emphasize this historic battle. Therefore, evidence indicates that there is a moderate to high degree of homologousness in relation to the Twelfth of July Parade and other ritualized practices. Still, it should be recognized that while the meanings of the Twelfth of July Parade and other ritualized practices may vary; certain basic themes are affirmed by all these ritualized practices. For instance, all of the ritualized activities engaged in by actors demonstrate support for the Orange Order, Britain, and commitment to Protestantism.

Although the data demonstrate a high degree of salience and a moderate to high degree of homologousness, the Twelfth of July Parade occurs once a year and therefore, exhibits a low degree of repetitiveness. However, in regard to other RSPs engaged in by members of the Orange Order, there is a higher degree of repetitiveness as these activities occur throughout the year to a much greater extent. There are approximately 3,000 Orange Parades (as well as parades engaged in by other groups such as bands, Apprentice Boys, and the Independent Orange Order) each year that take place in nearly every community throughout Northern Ireland. In total, parades (and other related ritualized events) exhibit a high degree of repetitiveness.

The final questions relate to the resources needed to engage in RSPs. Respondents were asked to discuss the supplies needed to conduct the Twelfth of July Parade and how the parades are funded. Results indicate that there is a high degree of resources in the form of economic support and materials used in parades. The data clearly indicate that resources are readily available to the Orange Order. The majority of respondents reported that the members of the Orange Order provide the resources themselves through dues and volunteers. In sum, interviewees provide further evidence concerning the high rank of RSPs.

### *Content Analysis*

Data regarding ritualized practices were also obtained from Orange Order publications. Documents provided less evidence about parades than observational data and information obtained from interviews did.

The primary information was obtained from a booklet that highlighted a Twelfth of July Parade. For instance, in one section, an Orangeman stated:

Most importantly of all, Britain is a great country that has given a lot to the world, making it only right and proper that the 200th anniversary of the United Kingdom as we know it today be commemorated by its citizens, if not the government (Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland 2001:20).

Such narratives indicate the salience or prominence of parades such as the Twelfth of July events and certain beliefs involving commitment to Britain, the Orange Order, and Protestantism (see [www.grandorangelodge.co.uk](http://www.grandorangelodge.co.uk) “Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland”).

In sum, the evidence gathered through observations, interviews, and documents (especially the first two) reveals that each type of Orange Parade is generally focused on tradition, culture, religion, and British identity. Further, the parades and other ritualized practices are highly dominant activities in this society.

### *Themes*

More precisely, the findings reveal several specific themes expressed in the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. Each theme is identified in observations, interviews, and documents produced by the group. These symbolic themes are evident in all ritualized practices but especially so in parades. The themes were discovered and analyzed through literary ethnography. Four major themes emerged from the data: dominance, British loyalty, opposition to the Nationalist community, and moral superiority.

*Dominance.* First, each type of Orange Parade expresses the idea of dominance as they demonstrate unity with Britain. Further, and perhaps most apparent, the Orange Order is a very visible and active organization within Northern Ireland; its dominance is reflected in its ability to sponsor numerous ritualized activities. For instance, the Orange Parades occur in nearly every community throughout Northern Ireland during the main parading season.

*British loyalty.* In addition to dominance, the theme of British loyalty is communicated in the ritualized activities of the Orange community. For instance, the British national anthem is sung at many events and at the majority of parades observers wave British flags and wear memorabilia adorned with British symbols. Moreover, during the parades, patriotic music is played and can be heard one to two miles away. And, in many Protestant communities, the street curbs are painted with British colors. It should be noted that we use the terminology “British loyalty” or “British identity” in a broad sense. Hence, we recognize that many participants identify themselves as Ulster (or Northern Irish), Ulster Scots, and so on. Yet, the participants in the present study specifically identified themselves as British. As a result, we employ the terms “British identity” and “British loyalty” to reflect their responses.

*Opposition.* Although the theme of opposition to the Nationalist community is not as visible as dominance or British loyalty, instances of opposition were apparent in our observations. For example, during one parade, an Orangewoman yelled at members of the Nationalist community, stating that they are going to burn in hell.

Further, members of the Orange Order protested the banned parade in Portadown when members of a Nationalist group opposed the Garvaghy Road parade, sparking one of the most controversial issues during the parading season for several years in a row. The Nationalist group claimed that members of the Orange Order march down Garvaghy Road (situated in the middle of a Nationalist neighborhood) in a display of dominance and opposition to Catholicism. As a result, the Parades Commission banned the parade for several consecutive years. This resulted in an annual ritualized event produced by the Orange Order in which they gathered together each year in Portadown to protest the ban on the parade and the arguments made by the Nationalist group (for additional information, see [www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/parade/develop.htm](http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/parade/develop.htm)).

In addition to the Garvaghy Road protest, members of the Orange Order and other Protestant sympathizers gather the night before the Twelfth of July Parade to celebrate “the eleventh night.” During this celebration, pictures of various members of the Nationalist community, such as members of Sinn Fein, are placed on wooden planks to be used in bonfires. In some instances, pictures of the Pope are included. These actions also represent symbols of opposition to the Nationalist community. However, it must be noted that not all members of the Protestant community (representing several denominations and beliefs) condone or engage in this behavior (at least not to the extent that actors support or participate in parades and other ritual events).

*Moral superiority.* Moral superiority refers to the affirmation of Protestants’ beliefs about their moral value. This theme is manifested in various ways. For instance, in a speech delivered by a member of Parliament (not a member of the Orange Order, yet involved in Orange activities and strongly supporting the Orange Order), the speaker stated that God is on the side of Protestants and that ultimately, the Catholics would be crushed by God. In addition, several members of the Orange Order indicated that they believe they need to share their faith with others and this can in part be achieved through parades. Further, the Orange Order and the parades themselves demonstrate moral superiority, because religion forms the foundation of the Orange Institution and the parades. In other words, the Protestant faith and belief that Protestants are supported by God affirms their belief in their own moral value. Still another indication of moral superiority is represented in the banners carried by Orangemen during parades. These banners contain religious images that express members’ beliefs about their own moral worth.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study builds upon previous research that examined the relationship between the internal organizational structure of the Orange Order, strategic ritualization, and the factors that influence the ritualized practices engaged in by the Orange Order. This investigation focused on processes of strategic ritualization or the ways activities are carried out in a calculating and deliberate manner, that is, how the Orange Order

manipulates ritualized practices to achieve certain outcomes. Research shows that the Orange Order acts as a ritual legitimator (a group who authorizes or validates RSPs), a ritual sponsor (a group who develops and promotes RSPs), and a ritual enforcer (a group who uses its power to determine or impose ritualized practices on other groups) (Edwards and Knottnerus 2007; see also Knottnerus and LoConto 2003). Stated somewhat differently, research indicates that the “semi-decentralized organizational structure” of the Orange Order allows the group strategically to produce RSPs such as parades throughout Northern Ireland from the local to the national level. This organizational capacity has important consequences for not only the kinds of rituals the group can promote but their strength, that is, the four factors examined in this study that determine the overall rank of a ritualized symbolic activity. We reiterate that rank refers to the dominance of a ritual, that is, the differential impact it has on actors’ cognitions, behavior, and social relations. Of course, different rituals can exhibit different degrees of rank, which means that it should be possible to compare them in terms of their importance. To do so, however, requires empirical evidence and analysis of those particular rituals. The present study analyzes only evidence dealing with one set of ritual practices currently engaged in by the Orange Order, parading in particular. For that reason we formally assess and compare the strength of these rituals to other types of ritual practices.

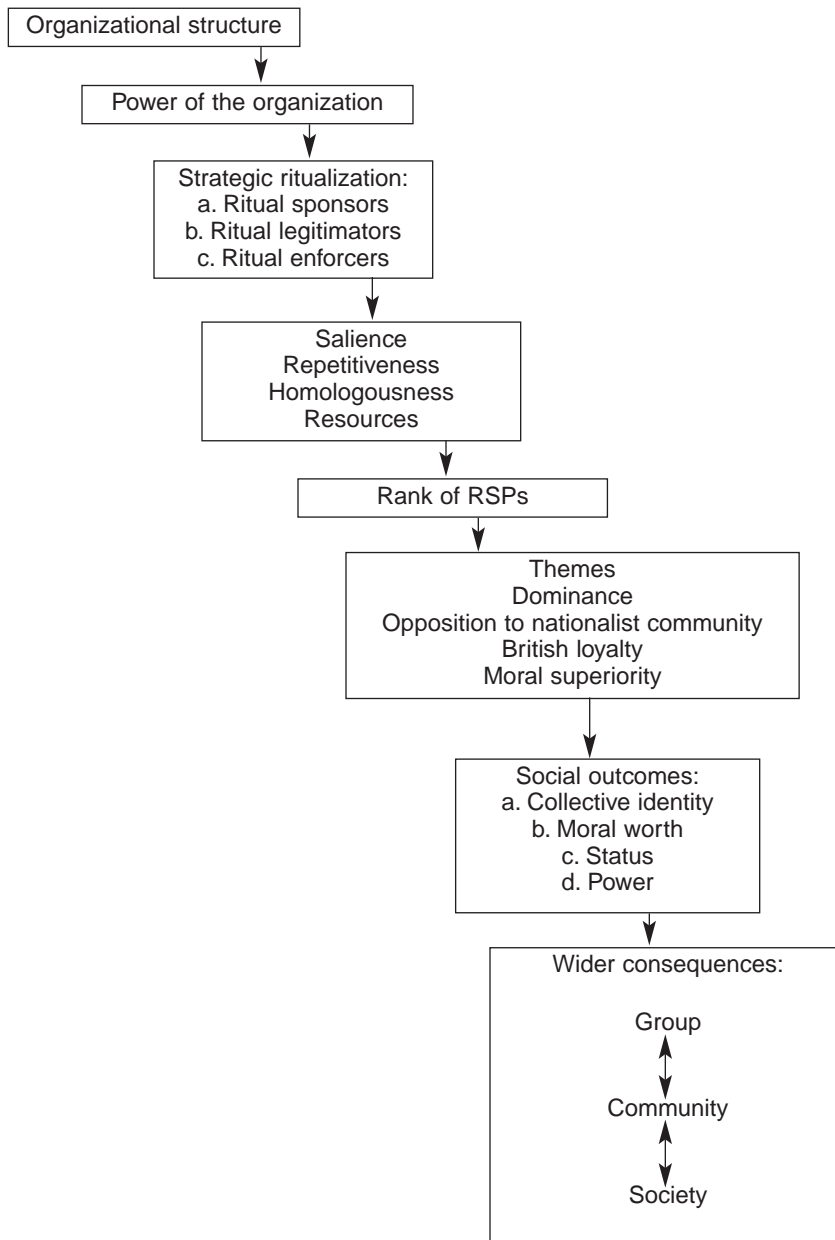
In the current study, attention is directed to the ritualized practices themselves (parading especially) and their possible outcomes. Based on responses from Orange Order participants as well as observations of ritualized events and written material obtained from the Orange Order and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, we find that the Orange Parades are highly ranked ritualized practices. They are RSPs that are influenced by all four theoretical components: salience, homologousness, repetitiveness, and resources.

More precisely, we find that some variance exists in the degree to which these components are present. There is a high degree of salience as the parades are seen as prominent or central practices in the lives of members of the Orange Order. Further, it is evident that there is a high degree of resources involved in conducting these rituals. Although repetitiveness remains low for the Twelfth of July Parade (which is extremely salient), there is still a high degree of repetitiveness overall as there are several thousand parades annually throughout Northern Ireland. Finally, there is a moderate to high degree of homologousness. Parades (including the Twelfth of July Parade) generally express similar meanings, but some variation exists in the themes emphasized by particular parading events.

Although there are some differences in the degree of repetitiveness and homologousness between the Twelfth of July Parade and other ritualized practices, these practices, when examined as a whole, exhibit a high rank. Thus, the various Orange Parades clearly and forcefully express the same basic underlying ideas and meanings as the Twelfth of July Parade.

The evidence indicates that the Orange Order creates and engages in social rituals to achieve its goals and help maintain Protestant and Unionist power. As a result of these practices, several specific themes have emerged, with each affecting the Orange

Figure 1



Order as a group, the various communities in Northern Ireland, and the greater Northern Irish society. Four major themes, articulated by the ritualized practices of the Orange Order, emerged in the data: dominance, British loyalty, opposition to the Nationalist community, and moral superiority. These arguments are summarized in

the model in Figure 1. As the model also indicates, there is preliminary evidence to suggest that these rituals and the themes expressed by them then lead to several distinct outcomes. They are: the strengthening of collective identity, a heightened sense of moral worth, an elevated status of the group, and increased power.

The current study demonstrates that the Orange Order shares a collective identity because members possess similar ideas, beliefs, and behaviors and all of these are evident in the parades (e.g., people wearing British memorabilia such as hats and shirts, expressing similar beliefs concerning their religious heritage, etc.). Furthermore, preliminary evidence suggests that participation in these shared ritualized practices serves to demonstrate and reinforce actors' collective awareness and understanding of who they believe themselves to be, thereby strengthening the already present collective identity. Such ritual practices play a vital role in dramatizing and accentuating the various symbolic elements that comprise actors' collective self-representations. Further research is necessary to determine, however, the extent to which each ritualized practice contributes to the strengthening of collective identity. That is, we must determine the importance of each type of ritual activity and the precise impact each has on strengthening collective identity.

Although we contend that the Orange Order possesses a shared collective identity, we recognize that there have been divisions within the organization. One such division involves social class. For instance, research suggests that many middle-class members are leaving the organization, yet that cannot completely explain the decline in membership (Bryan 2000). Further, evidence suggests that some members of the working-class have shifted their expressions of loyalism to other outlets, such as the independent Orange Order and marching bands (Bryan 2000). However, as Bryan (2000:107) states:

The Orange Institution is seen as important for providing a political unity for diverse Protestant denominations. At times, there is almost an obsession with the call for unity within Orangeism. Given the fragmentation of political parties supporting the Union, the Orange Institution is still viewed by many as the uniting force for "the Protestant people."

Furthermore, we suggest that the Orange Order may achieve a heightened sense of moral worth through the parades and other ritualized practices. That is, there is evidence to suggest that Protestantism and British loyalty produce an increased sense of value for the group. For instance, in a speech delivered at an Orange Order rally, the speaker stated that God is on the side of Protestants. Further, images of the Pope are placed on the wood to be burned during the celebratory eleventh night bonfires. Thus, the Orange Order views Protestantism and Orangeism as possessing a moral worth and superiority in comparison to other groups, such as the Nationalist community. Again, further research is necessary to determine how the strength or rank of a ritualized practice impacts group members' heightened sense of moral worth.

In addition to a strengthening of collective identity and a heightened sense of moral worth, we suggest that the Orange Order's participation in rituals such as parading may help to reinforce and enhance their social power. The Orange

Institution has the ability (in many instances) to exercise its will regardless of resistance from other actors or groups. Although the Residents' groups have had some success in having certain parades banned by the Parades Commission, the Orange Order still possesses the ability to normally achieve its goals despite opposition from such groups. For instance, when the Garvaghy Road parade was banned for four consecutive years, members of the Orange Order developed and carried out a new ritualized practice near the site of the parade. They gathered in united protest demonstrating Protestant power. Although the Garvaghy Road parade may appear to have weakened the power of the Orange Order, we suggest that it has provided an opportunity for the Orange Order to engage in strategic ritualization processes in that the group has created new rituals (i.e., the protests and today, Orangefest) (Edwards and Knottnerus 2007). And, of course, the fact that thousands of parades continue to occur each year is testimony to the Orange Order's capacity to exercise their power. In other words, evidence suggests that participation in ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order may not only increase the visibility of this group but also their power. Again, further research is necessary to investigate in greater detail the extent to which this happens.

Finally, while the media portrays the group in a negative light, some evidence suggests that the Orange Order has achieved elevated status within Northern Ireland as reflected in the support it receives from many in the Protestant community. There are large numbers of participants and observers of parades that demonstrate the positive image and high esteem in which many Protestants hold the group. Thus, based on our observations, there were thousands of supporters at each parade observed. In addition, many members of the Orange Order are active in politics, which allows these members to communicate the message that the Orange Institution is a potent, respected, and prestigious organization.

In essence, preliminary evidence suggests that the highly ranked ritualized practices conducted by the Orange Order have a great impact on actors, affecting their cognitions and behaviors. This is especially so in regard to actors' identity or self-representations, definitions of moral worth, sense (and use) of power, and perceptions of status or social rank.

Consistent with these possible outcomes, we find that the Orange Parades and other ritualized practices have a powerful impact on the personal lives of members of the Orange Order. For instance, one member indicated that he lives for the Twelfth of July. In addition, others remarked that their entire year is devoted to preparing for the parades, and still others stated that they plan their vacations around the parading season and they would never leave during that time, as it is a major part of their lives.

In sum, the data (from this and other research) indicate that the Orange Order employs RSPs, mainly parades, in part to maintain Protestant and Unionist solidarity. By Protestant solidarity, we mean ethnic Protestantism as well as religious Protestantism. We contend that the two categories overlap. Based on our research, the Orange Order seeks to promote Protestantism as both a religion and culture. In addition, the organization seeks to uphold Unionism. Although the degree of effectiveness on the part of the Orange Order to maintain group solidarity has been questioned,

our findings suggest that collective identity and solidarity represent only one purpose related to the ritualized practices engaged in by members of the Orange Order. Hence, we argue in addition to solidarity and group identity, the rituals demonstrate several themes such as dominance, British loyalty, opposition to the Nationalist community, and moral superiority.

The organizational structure of the Orange Order affects the ability or capacity of the group to act as a ritual sponsor, ritual legitimator, and ritual enforcer. For years the Orange Order has acted in such a manner, effectively creating and reproducing highly ranked RSPs as measured by salience, repetitiveness, homologousness, and resources. Through these practices several symbolic themes involving the dominance of the group and its loyalty to Britain are vividly expressed. Although moral superiority of the group and opposition to the Nationalist community are somewhat less visible, they are also important aspects of the Orange Order and Parades as they affirm the value of the group and its practices. Finally, preliminary evidence suggests that there are several possible outcomes as a result of the practices engaged in by the Orange Order. These practices affect the cognitive processes and behaviors of the group, contributing to the development and strengthening of collective identity, a heightened sense of moral worth, a sense of potency or group power, and perceptions of their prestige.

Clearly the interconnections between ritual and power remain strong in Northern Ireland. These linkages are quite evident in the way the Orange Order continues to use and modify parades and other rituals to maintain Protestant dominance in a society marked by social tensions and conflict.

Future research focusing on group rituals in other social contexts would further our understanding of the effects of ritualized enactments on actors, communities, and societies as a whole. The Orange Order provides a vivid example of how such social dynamics have impacted people and contributed to the viability of this group through the years. Research examining other collectivities and movements employing rituals would expand our knowledge of how such social processes can facilitate or impede other groups' efforts to achieve their goals.

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(with Frederique Van de Poel-Knottnerus). His book *Ritual as a Missing Link within Sociology: Structural Ritualization Theory and Research* is forthcoming from Paradigm Publishers.

## NOTES

1. For research supporting and providing elaborations of the theory, see Edwards and Knottnerus 2007; Guan and Knottnerus 1999, 2006; Knottnerus 1999, 2002, 2005, forthcoming; Knottnerus and Berry 2002; Knottnerus and LoConto 2003; Knottnerus, Monk, and Jones 1999; Knottnerus, Ulsperger, Cummins, and Osteen 2006; Knottnerus and Van de Poel-Knottnerus 1999; Mitra and Knottnerus 2004, forthcoming; Sell, Knottnerus, Ellison, and Mundt 2000; Thornburg, Knottnerus, and Webb 2007, forthcoming; Ulsperger and Knottnerus 2006, 2007, 2008; Van de Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 2002; Varner and Knottnerus 2002; Wu and Knottnerus 2005, 2007.

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# Restructuring Religion in Our Nation's Capital? The Political Priorities of Washington Offices

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*Prior to World War II, religion in America was characterized by a tripartite system of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups. More recently, Robert Wuthnow (1988), James Davison Hunter (1991), and others have argued that religion in America has been "restructured" into a two-party system, consisting of liberals within these religions on one side and conservatives on the other. Most empirical research examining the restructuring of religion in America focuses on the two-party division within Protestant religious advocacy groups, noting how some Protestant groups are politically more similar to Catholics than to other Protestants. Little work has examined the extent to which this phenomenon applies to Washington offices, which are formally tied to parent religious bodies, particularly Jewish groups. By conducting interviews with Washington office leaders and examining office materials and websites during the 108th Congress, this study seeks to answer the question: How does the thesis of the restructuring of religion in America apply to 15 Washington offices? Results suggest the thesis applies to both Protestant and Jewish Washington offices. The priorities of liberal offices, such as social welfare and economic justice issues, differ from those of conservative offices that focus on life and morality concerns.*

Some scholars suggest that prior to World War II, religion in America was characterized by a tripartite system of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups (Blanshard 1960; Herberg 1955; Wuthnow 1988). Group membership offered adherents an identity, and they participated in religious activities with others in their group (Herberg 1955). For example, a unifying "Protestant ideology" (Higham

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1974:13–15) or “common Protestantism” (Hunter 1991:68) helped to form some of the strongest bonds among American Protestants during the nineteenth century. Specifically, this ideology preached that religious commitment is a voluntary act and a personal choice. Secular institutions could neither force nor weaken that commitment (Higham 1974). This ideology also emphasized the redemption of humankind and the belief that God assigned America to play a leading role in this effort (Higham 1974; Hunter 1991). Finally, this group preached the evils of Catholicism, which influenced the enforcement of blasphemy law, laid the foundation for education, and informed a social reform agenda (Hunter 1991).

Because anti-Catholic sentiments, along with anti-Semitism, greatly influenced public policy, it should come as no surprise that political conflict usually occurred between two or more of these religious groups (Herberg 1955). For instance, religious advocacy was characterized by people within one of these three faiths actively opposing members of another on various issues. From 1865 to 1920, there was a relatively cohesive “Christian lobby,” consisting of various Protestant groups that emphasized “moral,” rather than material, concerns (Blanshard 1960; Foster 2002). They spearheaded the temperance movement and worked together against what they defined as obscenity and pornography, alcohol, and gambling. Their political activities led them to clash with Catholics on aid to religious schools and birth control and with Jews on interstate liquor bans and immigration laws (Blanshard 1960; Wuthnow 1988).

Since World War II, some scholars suggest this “tripartite” system no longer reflects religious factions in America, because the boundaries between religious groups and the pattern by which they express themselves has changed. Religion in America has been “restructured” into a two-party system, consisting of *liberals* within Catholicism, Judaism, and Protestantism on one side and *conservatives* within these religions on the other (Guth, Green, Kellstedt, and Smidt 1996; Hoge, Johnson, and Luidens 1994; Hunter 1991, 1996; Wuthnow 1988). Conservatives believe society should operate according to biblical principles. They accept universal, unchanging standards of morality and truth that they believe should apply to everyone. Liberals believe morality is grounded in human experience and varies by personal circumstances. As a result of these differences, liberals advocate one vision for America, while conservatives support another (Hoge, Johnson, and Luidens 1994; Hunter 1991, 1996; Wuthnow 1988). This divide leads to political similarities between evangelical Protestants in one camp and alliances between mainline Protestants and Catholics in the other. For example, Presbyterians (mainline Protestants) may have more in common politically with Catholics than with evangelical Protestants.

Most empirical research examining the restructuring of religion focuses on the two-party division within Protestant religious advocacy groups, noting how some Protestant groups are politically more similar to Catholics than to other Protestants. Little work has examined this phenomenon as it may or may not apply to Washington offices that are formally tied to parent religious bodies or to Jewish advocacy groups. Addressing this gap, this study asks: How does the restructuring of religion in America apply to Washington offices, including Jewish offices? Do the agendas of Washington offices fall along this liberal and conservative divide or do their priorities

cluster within faith families? For example, are the priorities of the Reform Jewish Washington office more similar to those of liberal non-Jewish offices or to those of other Jewish, but more conservative, offices?

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Hertzke (1988), Hofrenning (2001), and others have generated much evidence for the restructuring thesis as it applies to Protestant religious advocacy groups. Religious advocacy groups are religious organizations working to impact politics through mobilizing constituents, meeting with and providing information to policy-makers, and drafting and/or refining bills. Religious advocacy groups include coalitions of groups, such as the National Association of Evangelicals or the National Council of Churches; membership organizations to which various individuals belong, such as Concerned Women for America; and Washington offices.

Wanting to have an official presence to influence politics, many religious families set up offices in our nation's capital, known as "Washington offices." Unlike other religious advocacy groups, these offices are formally tied to central religious bodies. Instead of depending on grassroots membership, they receive funding and direction from their parent religious bodies. Consequently, when establishing their political agendas, Washington offices are guided more by the preferences of their parent bodies than by the wishes of their laity (Djupe, Olson, and Gilbert 2005; Kraus 2007; Olson 2002; Yamane 2005). In other words, these offices represent the positions of religious leaders—not the rank-and-file members. Due to their different structures and operations, it is possible that Washington offices and other types of advocacy organizations behave differently (Wuthnow 1994; Zwier 1994). Therefore, they need to be examined independently. With two important exceptions (Djupe et al. 2005; Olson 2002), Washington offices have not been examined separately from other religious advocacy groups.

There is general agreement that religious liberal and conservative Protestant groups focus on different issues. Liberals emphasize economic and social justice issues, while conservatives focus on morality issues and protecting the "traditional family." Thus, mainline Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic groups focus on welfare, civil rights, and the economy. Conservatives, such as evangelical Protestants, support prayer in school, tax credits for school tuition, and religious freedom. They also oppose gay rights and pornography. Like conservatives, the Catholic Bishops pursue a prolife and parochial school funding agenda, while opposing gay rights (Gelm 1994; Hertzke 1988; Hofrenning 1995, 2001; Moen 1999; Olson 2002; Reichley 1985; Yamane 2005). Thus, Catholics share policy concerns with both liberals and conservatives. They have one set of allies on economic justice issues and other allies on moral issues (Kniss 2003).

However, there are other discussions in the literature that are less clear. First, there is some debate as to whether or not the liberal and conservative divide occurs along foreign and domestic issues. Hertzke (1988) argues that conservatives focus on

domestic social policy, while liberals concentrate on foreign matters. However, Hofrenning (1995) shows that liberals, particularly mainline Protestants, opposed contra aid and supported South Africa sanctions during the late 1980s. Second, little attention has been paid to how the restructuring thesis may apply to Judaism. There is sufficient variation between Reform and Orthodox Jews to warrant analyzing these groups separately (Kniss 2003), and there is a growing split between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews (Liebman and Cohen 1990). Research shows Jews are liberal, vote Democratic, are generally left of center, exhibit strong support for social welfare and civil liberties, and advocate for Israel (Cohen and Liebman 1997; Liebman and Cohen 1990). However, compared to other Jews, Orthodox Jews do not consider liberalism a characteristic of being a good and caring Jew (Liebman and Cohen 1990). Interestingly, this division between Orthodox and other Jews has not always characterized Judaism in America.

During a large wave of Jewish immigration between 1870 and 1924, many Orthodox Jews gave up their religion, affiliated with Reform (liberal) Judaism, and/or assimilated into American culture to avoid anti-Semitism. More recently, Jews have achieved some level of affluence, education, and acceptance in America. At the same time, there is concern among Orthodox Jews, similar to that of evangelical Protestants, about increasing modernity and secularization. As a result, Orthodox Judaism is returning to its rituals and traditions and separating from other branches of Judaism (Liebman 1988). This growing split between Orthodox and other Jews may translate into the same two-party division observed within Protestant advocacy groups (Liebman 1974). However, this possibility has not been empirically examined.

Beyond analyzing how the restructuring thesis may apply to Washington offices, this article also contributes to analyses of “propheticness” (Hofrenning 1995) and polarization (Dillon 1996; McConkey 2001; Moulton, Hill, and Burdette 2006; Mouw and Sobel 2001). First, Hofrenning (1995) urges scholars to examine whether religious advocacy groups advance issues that are part of the political agenda and on the public’s radar screen or support a unique and new set of principles. Determining a group’s priorities is a necessary step in deciphering if the group is acting prophetically or following a preset political agenda. Second, polarization refers to groups on either side of an issue moving farther away from a centrist position and toward both extremes. Lindaman and Haider-Markel (2002) suggest that *polarization on an issue may not occur unless the issue is important to both groups*. Therefore, in order fully to examine propheticness and polarization, researchers must identify the issues that are most important to groups.

Although this study may contribute to discussions of “propheticness” and polarization, the main question it addresses is: How does the restructuring of religion in America into liberals and conservatives apply to Washington offices? To answer this question, I examine the political agendas of 15 Washington offices during the 108th Congress (2003–2004). Do liberal offices have the same political priorities as other liberal offices outside their faith family? Alternatively, do liberal offices share priorities with conservative offices within their faith family?

## METHODOLOGY

### *The Offices*

The 15 Washington offices in this study were deliberately selected to maximize diversity within and across Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. According to the 2002 *General Social Survey*, at least 80 percent of Americans claim affiliation with one of these three traditions. All offices have formal ties to parent religious bodies except NETWORK: A Catholic Social Justice Lobby, which is included to capture the diversity of Catholic representation in Washington (for additional information, please contact the author or visit the organization's website at [www.networklobby.org](http://www.networklobby.org)).

Before their priorities were determined, I divided the offices into liberal, moderate, and conservative based on the theological orientation of the religion to which they are tied. The Protestant offices are categorized based on how a majority of four sociological sources (Hoge 1979; Iannaccone 1998; Roof and McKinney 1987; Roozen and Hadaway 1993) classify the offices' parent religious groups. For example, most of these sources classify Episcopalians as liberals. Therefore, the Episcopalian office is classified as liberal in this study. To clarify, these classifications are based on the offices' theological characteristics, not their political leanings.

Liberal Protestants exhibit a strong social conscience and focus on concerns of "this world," emphasizing the care of others more than personal salvation. To this end, they work with a diverse range of religious groups. They also tolerate scientific inquiry, secular change, and modernity (Roof and McKinney 1987; Smith 1990). Finally, they view the Bible as "metaphorical," rather than literal (Smith 1990:226). The Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and the United Church of Christ are classified as liberal Protestants. The Unitarian Universalists are also included in the liberal category (Iannaccone 1998; Roof and McKinney 1987).

Moderate Protestants share liberals' acceptance of scientific progress and concern for social justice. They also reject the belief that every word in the Bible is literally true. However, they share beliefs regarding personal morality with conservatives (Roof and McKinney 1987; Smith 1990). The moderate Protestant offices in this study are the Evangelical Lutherans, United Methodists, and American Baptists. The Friends and Brethren, collectively known as "Peace" Protestants, are also included in this group (Iannaccone 1998; Roozen and Hadaway 1993).

Conservative Protestants believe the Bible should be interpreted literally. They accept most traditional Christian beliefs, such as the Trinity and Virgin Birth. Along with adhering to biblical authority, conservatives also emphasize strict personal morals, often including prohibitions of drinking, dancing, and premarital sex. As opposed to social action and "this-worldly" concerns, conservative Protestants focus on personal faith, salvation, and other-worldly matters (Iannaccone 1998; Roof and McKinney 1987; Smith 1990). The conservative Protestant offices in this study are the Southern Baptist Convention and the Seventh Day Adventists.

Other resources were necessary to classify the Catholic and Jewish offices. Catholics, adhering to a communitarian social theology, and mainline Protestants

who accept the social gospel, do not believe evil lies within the individual. They argue societal problems are rooted within the social structure and need to be addressed accordingly. However, conservatives believe evil stems from problems within the individual and focus on changing one's morals to address such problems (Guth et al. 1996). Because they share a theology more similar to mainline Protestants than to conservatives, it is inappropriate to classify Catholics as conservatives.

Furthermore, Catholic Church theology is liberal on social justice matters and conservative on sexual and reproductive issues, as evident by the teaching that sexual encounters outside of marriage, homosexuality, and abortion are sinful (Gillis 1999). Official Church theology on these topics is expressed partly through Catholic Social Teaching, a collection of teachings regarding social, economic, political, and cultural matters developed by the Catholic Church (DeBerri and Hug 2003). It includes a broad range of themes from the belief that God has a special concern for people in need, to the dignity of humans, including a right to human development (Doyle 1992). Both Catholic offices in this study emphasize Catholic Social Teaching. NETWORK emphasizes the social and economic justice aspects of these teachings. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) accepts these teachings, but also adheres to the Church's conservative theology regarding sexual and reproductive issues (Davidson et al. 1997; Roof and McKinney 1987). Therefore, similar to moderate Protestants, the USCCB emphasizes *both social justice and personal morality* (Gillis 1999). On the other hand, similar to liberal Protestants, NETWORK *focuses primarily on social justice*. Thus, NETWORK is classified as liberal and the USCCB as moderate. Placing the USCCB in the moderate category is the best way to capture the complexity of their theological teachings. Sociological experts on Catholicism concur with this division of Catholics (Davidson 2004).

Orthodox Jews are stricter, more traditional, and display higher levels of observance than Reform Jews. Adherence to Jewish traditions, such as keeping kosher and the Sabbath, the separation of men and women, and modest dress codes is stressed by Orthodox Jews. Reform Judaism, on the other hand, is more accommodating to and integrated within America (Amyot and Sigelman 1996; Iannaccone 1998; Lazerwitz and Tabory 2002; Roof and McKinney 1987; Winter 2002). Thus, the Washington office of Reform Judaism is classified as liberal and the Orthodox Jewish office as conservative. In sum, classification of the Washington offices is based on theological and religious characteristics, such as views of the Bible, social engagement, conversion, scientific inquiry, personal morality, church teachings, strictness, religious ritual observance, and integration into the larger American culture. After the offices were classified into liberal and conservative categories, their political priorities were determined.

### *Data*

Multiple sources were used to gather data about each of the 15 Washington offices, and comparable sources were examined across offices. Each source provides different data, thus yielding different perspectives on the subject under investigation (Berg 2007). Data obtained from one source are checked against similar data from another, which helps to confirm the accuracy of the data, enhancing the consistency, validity,

and the credibility of findings (Adler and Adler 1998; Denzin 1989; Patton 1990; Stake 2000). As a result, one gets a fuller, richer, and more complete understanding of the phenomenon under study (Berg 2007; Flick 1998).

First, I conducted semistructured, face-to-face interviews between May and June of 2003 with the person most responsible for and knowledgeable about the advocacy activities of the office. Reports from a group official are a desirable and reliable method of obtaining information because they can yield more accurate results than speaking to ordinary members within the organization (McPherson and Rotolo 1995). At 14 of the 15 offices, the individuals interviewed were high-ranking group officials. At one office, due to availability, another politically involved member of the organization was assigned to be interviewed.

In most cases, one person from each office was interviewed. At two offices, two people were involved in the discussion (a total of 17 officials). Respondents were asked to discuss the office's political priorities for the 108th Congress. Follow-up and clarification questions were asked when appropriate. Notes were taken at all interviews, and all, except one (at the subject's request), were tape-recorded. All interviews were transcribed verbatim.

In addition, organizational materials were gathered at the time of the interview and obtained from the offices' websites. These materials range in length from two to three page leaflets to a 250-page book discussing the organization's years of existence and service. Additional materials examined include newsletters, legislative reports, advocacy guidelines, newspaper articles, action alerts sent to their constituency, speeches, sample letters for their laity to send to elected officials, testimonies, press releases, and letters these offices sent to the president, members of congress, and other officials. These materials serve as a supplement to interview discussions of priorities and provide empirical evidence that offices addressed a particular issue.

### *Coding*

To determine the priorities of Washington offices during the 108th Congress, documents were dated or were available on their websites between January 1, 2003, and February 15, 2004. The interviews were also conducted during this time. Relevant data from interview transcripts, notes, quotes, and summaries from organizational materials and websites were collated. Relevant data include evidence of political priorities, such as an issue being designated on an office's website as a priority, solo and sign-on letters, action alerts, congressional testimony, press releases, and interview discussions of priorities.

The constant comparative method was used to code and organize the data (Boeije 2002; Charmaz 2002; Glaser 1978; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Codes were first applied to data using phrases explicitly mentioned in those data. Similar codes were then combined to form broader themes. Similar issues that address the same topic were combined into an issue category. For example, "health care" includes such issues as Medicare, Medicaid, children's health, and Mental Health Parity legislation.<sup>1</sup> Although codes were combined, the data assigned those codes were constantly com-

pared to ensure that they “fit” together and accurately reflect the theme used to describe them. This process continued until the author was satisfied that all specific issues were placed in categories best reflecting them.

Next, each office’s priorities were determined. The first criterion for establishing a priority is that an issue can be triangulated, that is, that the interviewee says it is a priority and/or there are multiple pieces of evidence of activity. For example, if a respondent says health care is a priority and there are examples of activity in the other data sources (e.g., a letter was sent or an action alert was issued), health care may be considered a priority. But, if an office never engaged in any activity, health care cannot be a priority. With the exception of the American Baptist office’s activity on civil rights, all of the priorities could be triangulated.<sup>2</sup> Because the amount of activity on some issues was quite similar, the number of times each office pursued an issue was counted. The issues were then ranked for each group based on the amount of activity.

The offices work on many issues that are not discussed here. Because this project focuses on Washington offices’ priorities, only the top five issues on which a group worked are reported.<sup>3</sup> Focusing on five issues ensures that important variations are uncovered and comparisons are limited to meaningful differences. Determining the top five issues for each group yields a total of 18 broad issues.<sup>4</sup> These 18 issues are presented as the findings from which general conclusions are drawn.

## RESULTS

Table 1 lists the 18 broad issues that are the priorities of the 15 Washington offices. The restructuring of religion in America thesis suggests that conservatives are separate from all other groups (Hunter 1996; Wuthnow 1988). The data from this project also indicate that not only do conservatives stand alone, but the liberals and moderates stand together. Liberals and moderates are referred to as liberals, and compared to conservatives, when discussing the results.

The issues are listed in the table from top to bottom in three groups. The first group consists of issues that are priorities for only liberal offices. The second group contains issues that are priorities for only conservative offices. The final group of issues identifies priorities for both liberal *and* conservative offices. Within each of these three groups, the issues listed first are priorities for the most number of offices. For example, Temporary Aid to Needy Families, the national welfare program, is listed as the top issue in the first group because more liberal offices share TANF as a priority than any other issue.

The issues of highest import to liberals and conservatives are different and few issues are priorities for both camps (only four issues are in the third group of the table). Thus, the restructuring of religion in America thesis is supported. Instead of sharing priorities with other groups in their faith family, there are clear splits within Protestant and Jewish offices. Reform Jews and mainline Protestants share more priorities, while conservative Protestants and Orthodox Jews share more priorities than

Table 1. Washington Offices' Priorities during the 108th Congress

| Issue                           | Number That View Issue as a Priority |                       |                           |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
|                                 | Liberal <sup>a</sup>                 | Moderate <sup>b</sup> | Conservative <sup>c</sup> |
| Temporary Aid to Needy Families | 6                                    | 6                     | 0                         |
| Environment                     | 3                                    | 3                     | 0                         |
| AIDS                            | 3                                    | 3                     | 0                         |
| Economy                         | 3                                    | 3                     | 0                         |
| Health care                     | 4                                    | 1                     | 0                         |
| Civil rights                    | 3                                    | 2                     | 0                         |
| Education                       | 2                                    | 0                     | 0                         |
| Nuclear weapons                 | 0                                    | 2                     | 0                         |
| Immigration                     | 1                                    | 1                     | 0                         |
| Religious freedom               | 0                                    | 0                     | 3                         |
| Judges                          | 0                                    | 0                     | 1                         |
| Same-sex marriage               | 0                                    | 0                     | 1                         |
| Faith based                     | 0                                    | 0                     | 1                         |
| International religious freedom | 0                                    | 0                     | 1                         |
| Iraq                            | 1                                    | 3                     | 1                         |
| Middle East                     | 2                                    | 1                     | 1                         |
| Vouchers                        | 2                                    | 0                     | 1                         |
| Life                            | 1                                    | 1                     | 1                         |

<sup>a</sup> Liberal = The Episcopal Church Office of Government Relations; Presbyterian Church USA, The Washington Office; United Church of Christ, Public Life and Social Policy Ministry Team; Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, Washington Office for Advocacy; NETWORK: A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby; Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism

<sup>b</sup> Moderate = General Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church; Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Lutheran Office of Government Affairs; Office of Governmental Relations, American Baptist Churches USA; Friends Committee on National Legislation; Church of the Brethren Washington Office; United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Office of Government Liaison

<sup>c</sup> Conservative = Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention; Seventh Day Adventist Church, Office of Legislative Affairs; Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Institute for Public Affairs

all Protestants or all Jews share with each other. Therefore, not only does the restructuring thesis apply to Protestant Washington offices, but *it also applies to Jewish Washington offices*. However, in contrast to previous research suggesting that liberal and conservatives divide on foreign vs. domestic issues (Hertzke 1988), both liberals and conservatives address more domestic issues (12) than foreign policy concerns (6).

### *Liberal (and Moderate) Priorities*

As stated earlier, liberals (along with moderates) and conservatives have different agendas. Both groups emphasize domestic over foreign issues, but they focus on dif-

ferent domestic issues. For example, TANF is a priority for all the liberal offices, and only the liberal offices, in this study. This category includes legislation dealing with Section 8 housing vouchers, child care, child nutrition and hunger, and the Child Care and Development Block Grant. Demonstrating activity on TANF, the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism issued an action alert titled, "Urge the Senate to Support Welfare Reauthorization that Moves People out of Poverty." The alert says:

Senate Finance Committee approved its version of the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) reauthorization bill. . . . In e-mails, phone calls, letters and faxes, please urge your Senators to oppose provisions, like increased work participation requirements and inadequate childcare funding, that would make the transition from welfare to work more difficult for low-income families and instead support reauthorization that would move recipients out of poverty. (Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism N.d.:1)

The environment is another issue that is a priority only for liberal offices. Legislation about the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), energy policy, water, and clean air are included in this category. Demonstrating their concern on environmental matters, many liberal offices signed a letter to President Bush that says, "our spending patterns . . . have reflected a short-term vision of perceived prosperity rather than a long-term vision of our responsibilities as caretakers of this Earth. . . . We urge full funding for programs that protect forests, estuaries, and beaches as well as those safeguarding endangered species and their critical habitat" (Washington Office of the Presbyterian Church USA 2003:1).

In addition to welfare reform and the environment, liberal, but none of the conservative, offices pursue health care issues. Health care issues include bills pertaining to children's health care, mental health, and various government health care programs. Discussing the office's interest in health care, a United Methodist official explains, "Health care is a big issue for us. We supported ways to defend Medicare and Medicaid from assaults. . . . Our larger concern is to see adequate health care access provided for everyone in society."

Even though domestic issues dominate the priorities of liberal offices, they are also concerned with a few foreign policy issues, such as immigration and nuclear weapons. The foreign policy issue of concern to more Washington offices than any other foreign issue is AIDS. This category includes the Millennium Account Challenge and foreign debt relief. These issues are combined into a larger category because the offices talk about debt relief and AIDS together. This is considered a foreign policy issue because all of the offices that discuss AIDS do so referring to AIDS in Africa. Demonstrating activity on issues surrounding AIDS, many of the offices in this study signed a letter to members of Congress regarding foreign spending priorities for the fiscal year 2004 appropriations cycle: "Congress should act now to provide \$3.5 billion to stop global AIDS. \$3 billion should be appropriated for FY 2004, of which \$1.2 billion should go to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB & Malaria" (Episcopal Church Office of Government Relations 2003:1).

Clearly, the most important issues to liberal Washington offices are social welfare and economic justice, both at home and abroad. Most offices are not active on personal morality and religious issues. However, these issues are priorities for the conservative Washington offices.

### *Conservative Priorities*

The priorities of conservative offices differ from those of liberal and moderate offices and include issues about life, homosexuality, judicial nominations, and religious freedom. Domestic religious freedom is a priority for all three conservative offices in this study, but it is not a priority for any of the liberal offices. This area consists of legislation allowing houses of worship to be more actively involved in political campaigns without losing their tax exempt status, prayer in school, displaying the Ten Commandments on public property, and the appropriateness of the phrase “under God” in our pledge of allegiance. At the forefront of the religious community’s involvement in these issues is the Seventh Day Adventist office. Illustrating the office’s involvement in this issue, the Seventh Day Adventist Office of Legislative Affairs website says:

James Standish (Director of Legislative Affairs) recently appeared on Marketplace. . . . Host David Brown interviewed Standish about the Workplace Religious Freedom Act (WRFA). WRFA is a bill designed to ensure that people of faith are not arbitrarily fired when they need religious accommodation in the workplace. . . . Standish was also recently featured on C-SPAN’s “American Journal” talking about the Workplace Religious Freedom Act. (Seventh Day Adventist Office of Legislative Affairs. N.d.:1)

In addition to religious freedom, it is perhaps not surprising that homosexuality is also a priority for only conservative Protestants, but not liberals. One highly publicized issue of the 108th Congress was the Federal Marriage Amendment. In general, this resolution would change the constitution to define marriage as a union between only a man and a woman. At the forefront of the battle to pass this resolution are the Southern Baptists. Demonstrating their support and activity on the Federal Marriage Amendment, Foust (2003) writes:

A national Christian organization is seeking to mobilize 50,000 pastors against same-sex “marriage” and has set up a website . . . Richard Land, president of the Southern Baptist Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission (ERLC), said he has been pointing people to the website. The ERLC is part of a coalition of more than 20 likeminded organizations that have joined together in support of a constitutional amendment banning same-sex “marriage.” (P. 1)

As mentioned earlier, both liberals and conservatives emphasize domestic over foreign policy issues. International religious freedom is the one foreign policy issue that is a priority for any conservative group, the Seventh Day Adventists. It is not a priority for any liberal office. Interestingly, those few priorities shared by liberal and conservatives are foreign policy concerns.

### *Priorities Shared by Liberals and Conservatives*

There are four (out of 18) issues in this study on which the restructuring thesis breaks down. In other words, liberals, moderates, and conservatives share four priorities. The top two priorities shared by liberals and conservatives are foreign policy concerns. The Middle East (Israel/Palestine, Syria, and Turkey) and Iraq are presented as two categories. Even though Iraq is part of the Middle East, the offices treat it separately. Peace Protestants, Catholics, and the Southern Baptists are active on issues related to Iraq. The two Jewish offices, the Episcopalians, and Lutherans are involved in Middle East peace. All of these offices support a "Road Map," a specific plan to accomplish peace in the Middle East. This is the one issue that is a priority for both liberals and conservatives on which all groups are on the same side.

In addition to sharing a few foreign policy priorities, there are a few domestic issues that are priorities for both liberals and conservatives. The "life" category includes abortion, cloning, the death penalty, and euthanasia. These areas are a priority for Southern Baptists, Catholic bishops, and Unitarian Universalists. The Southern Baptists and Catholic bishops are on the prolife side, while the Unitarians are on the prochoice side of this issue. Opposing school vouchers is a priority for the Presbyterians and the Reform Jews. The Orthodox Jews support school vouchers. In sum, there are only three out of 18 issues that liberals and conservatives share as priorities, but they support opposite sides. Thus, providing support for the restructuring of religion in America thesis, liberals and conservatives address different issues rather than prioritizing the same issues as those groups within their faith families.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine how the restructuring of religion in America thesis may apply to Washington offices by examining their political priorities during the 108th Congress. The priorities of Washington offices fall along a liberal and conservative divide rather than within faith families. Liberal and moderate offices share priorities that are different from conservative offices. Liberal and moderate offices focus on social and economic justice concerns, while conservatives emphasize personal morality issues. These divisions are clearly evident when examining both the Protestant *and Jewish* Washington offices. For example, the American (moderate) and Southern Baptists (conservative) do not share any priorities. The Reform Jews (liberal) share priorities with the mainline Protestants (liberal), while the Orthodox Jews (conservative) share more priorities with the conservative Protestants.

Kniss (2003) suggests that a liberal and conservative split can be problematic because not all groups, such as Catholics, fit into one camp. Historically, the Catholic Church has been treated as a unified collectivity because it is an organized body held together by a single hierarchy despite various strands of thought within the Church (Stark and Glock 1970). In this study, Catholic offices share more priorities with each

other than with other offices. Thus, the restructuring thesis characterizes the Protestant and Jewish, but not the Catholic, Washington offices.

To examine the restructuring thesis, I analyzed the political priorities of 15 Washington offices during one congressional session, the 108th Congress. The thesis discusses changing patterns of religious boundaries and expression over time. Because some Washington offices' agendas may change in response to different political climates (Kraus 2007), future studies may compare the priorities of Washington offices laid out here to their priorities during other Congressional sessions to examine how they may change over time and how these changes may or may not support the restructuring thesis. Similarly, a first step in examining the extent to which a group is prophetic or following a preset political agenda is determining its priorities. Future research can compare the agendas of Washington offices with the agendas of other political groups and the broader political leadership to examine degrees of propheticness. Elsewhere (Kraus 2007), I suggest during the 108th Congress, the priorities of liberal Washington offices were at odds with the Republican-dominated Congress and a Republican president. However, the priorities of conservative Washington offices fit with those concerns. Thus, it could be argued that during the 108th Congress, liberal Washington offices acted prophetically. However, additional research comparing Washington offices' priorities to those of other groups is needed to determine whether they were dominant leaders or supported the work of other advocates.

Furthermore, issues overseas are important to liberal *and* conservative offices, even though neither camp focuses on foreign policy issues to the exclusion of domestic matters. That some foreign policy issues are priorities to both liberals and conservatives, scholars interested in studying polarization (positions on an issue moving to opposite ends of the continuum over time) may wish to examine foreign policy matters. The war in Iraq is particularly ripe for analysis because this is a priority for both liberal and conservative offices, yet they are on opposite sides. The liberals oppose the Iraq war, while the conservatives support it.

Finally, identifying how the restructuring thesis may or may not apply to Washington offices by examining their priorities raises questions about *how these offices address their priorities*. Future studies may wish to examine whether or not, when, and how Washington offices collaborate with groups pursuing the same issues.

In sum, the political agendas of Protestants and Jews support the restructuring thesis because their priorities fall along a liberal and conservative divide. Instead of sharing priorities with others in their own faith family, Protestants and Jews divide into liberals and conservatives. Liberal Protestants share priorities with Catholics and liberal Jews, while conservative Protestants share priorities with conservative Jews. Liberals focus on social welfare and economic justice, while conservatives emphasize religious, life, and morality issues. However, Catholic offices do not clearly fall along this divide because both offices in this study share more priorities with each other than any other Washington office. Thus, with the possible exception of "Catholic," the tripartite Protestant-Catholic-Jewish distinction may have been appropriate in an earlier age, but does not best reflect the current advocacy work of Washington offices.

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## NOTES

1. Critics may rightfully suggest that there are many specific issues that make up a category. Focusing on specific issues is a worthy question, but not one that is the topic of this article. Dissecting these categories and focusing on specific issues would create too many areas to be meaningful for this particular analysis. Analyzing specific bills would limit the number of issues that could be presented, thus making it more difficult, if not impossible, to examine the restructuring thesis as it may or may not apply to Washington offices, which is this paper's goal.

2. There are very few data available for the American Baptists. Only Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF), the welfare reauthorization bill, could be triangulated. In addition to TANF, issues surrounding civil rights are reported as a priority for this group because the office issued an action alert on civil rights. Furthermore, TANF and civil rights were both identified as priorities during the interview. Because TANF and civil rights are the only two issues that were explicitly identified as priorities and there is some empirical activity on both of them, these are the only two issues that are considered priorities for the American Baptists.

3. For some of the offices, more or less than five priorities are reported. Less than five issues are reported for the Seventh Day Adventists, American Baptists, and Orthodox Jews because they are the only ones that were identified as priorities and for which there is empirical evidence of activity. Domestic and international religious freedom issues are the only matters that could be triangulated for the Seventh Day Adventist office. After ranking the issues for the Orthodox Jews, there were three issues tied for fifth: same sex marriages, judges, and the economy. There were only three instances of this office addressing each issue. Furthermore, there was a clear gap between the amount of work on these issues and work on their first four priorities. Additionally, none of these issues were explicitly identified as priorities during the interview. So, these issues are not reported as priorities of the Orthodox Jews. For a few offices there are more than five priorities reported because two issues were tied for fifth and there was little gap between the fifth issue and the other four.

4. Three issues addressed by only one of the liberal groups have been omitted from the table for purposes of presentation. They do not contribute to the overall pattern. Personal addictions (gambling, alcohol, etc.) are a priority for the United Methodists, Latin America is a priority for the Church of the Brethren, and Native American issues are a priority for the Friends.

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# The Emotional Consequences of Service Work: An Ethnographic Examination of Hair Salon Workers

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*This article explores the connections between service work and the everyday lived emotional experiences of hair salon workers. Over the past few years, numerous studies have linked service work with various social psychological outcomes, including well-being, job satisfaction, emotional exhaustion, depression, and stress. In an effort to explore the connections between service work and the everyday lived emotional experiences of service workers, original data in the form of nonparticipant field observations and in-depth interviews of 25 hair salon workers were collected in a moderate-sized Midwestern college town. Our findings are generally consistent with the power and status theories of emotion described by Theodore Kemper (1984, 1990, 1991) and Randall Collins (1984, 1990). Customer service interactions are conducive to both positive and negative emotional outcomes. Specifically, complimentary evaluations and the conferral of intimacy favor feelings of pride and happiness, whereas unsatisfactory evaluations and the denial of intimacy contribute to feelings of anger and sadness.*

According to data compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, over 80 percent of all workers in America are currently employed in the service sector of the economy (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2007). Service-providing jobs will continue to be the number one opportunity for employment in America for the foreseeable future as well. It is anticipated that between 2004 and 2014, approximately 18.9 million new jobs will be created in America. Of these, roughly 18.7 million are expected to be service sector jobs (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2005). Given these estimates and projections, it is clear that the service sector has emerged as the predominant source of employment in the postindustrial occupational landscape (Leidner 1993; MacDonald and Sirianni 1996; Ritzer 1993, 2000) and will remain so for some time.

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Service work is, at best, a mixed experience for many people. Although some service sector jobs can be rewarding in terms of autonomy, pay, and job satisfaction, many service sector jobs are low-paying, low-prestige “McJobs” (Coupland 1992; Lindsay and McQuaid 2004), offering few opportunities for advancement, economic viability, and career fulfillment. Additionally, many service-providing jobs have a tremendous impact on employee well-being, which is the central focus of the current investigation.

## SERVICE WORK AND THE WELL-BEING OF SERVICE WORKERS

The considerable growth of employment in the service sector of the economy has inspired a great deal of sociological research over the past few years, with much of this research connecting service work to a variety of social psychological outcomes. These outcomes, especially as they relate to employee well-being, have been found to be both positive and negative, depending on the nature of the work, the amount of job autonomy, and whether or not the service worker must come into contact with the general public. For example, research by Wharton (1993, 1996) revealed that service workers who report greater job involvement also tend to report greater job satisfaction and less emotional exhaustion. Findings by other investigations dovetail with Wharton’s work and demonstrate that workers who exercise greater job autonomy as part of their service work also tend to report greater well-being (Bulan, Erickson, and Wharton 1997) and fewer depressive symptoms (Erickson and Wharton 1997).

Previous research has also shown some of the downsides of service work, especially when employees are required to have contact with the general public. Indeed, occupations that require interaction with customers have been found to lead to lower amounts of employee satisfaction and greater stress (Pugliesi 1999), as well as feelings of inauthenticity among workers (Erickson and Ritter 2001; Erickson and Wharton 1997; Hochschild 1983; Leidner 1993). It has been argued (Erikson 1994, 1995; Erickson and Ritter 2001; Erikson and Wharton 1997) that these negative outcomes and feelings of inauthenticity are the result of what Hochschild refers to as “emotional labor,” which can be defined as “the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display” (Hochschild 1983:7). Leidner (1993) notes how the management of personal feelings and emotions has become a standard (and often required) feature of service work, especially when the worker is called upon to have contact with the general public. In essence, service workers are now not only tasked with performing their job correctly, but must also do so in a manner that will convince the customer that they actually *enjoy* their task. Thus, the service worker’s very actions have become part of the economic product (Bulan, Erickson, and Wharton 1997), given that emotional labor is a major element of the job.

Despite the fact that emotional labor has become a central aspect of customer service work, the notion that working with customers will inevitably diminish employee well-being is somewhat unclear. Although the previously cited literature does show

that the labor associated with customer service work can lead to negative outcomes, there is a small body of evidence (Frenkel, Korczynski, Shire, and Tam 1999; Tolich 1993; Williams 2003) that suggests that the labor connected with customer service work can, in fact, be satisfying, depending on the circumstances of the situation and nature of the labor being performed.

One manner in which customer service work may bring about employee well-being involves the various ways that workers can choose to deal with the boredom and repetitiveness that are often aspects of service work. In an investigation of how factory workers coped with the tedium of their labor, Roy (1959) described how a small group of three employees developed a variety of expressive actions and ritualized routines to ameliorate their workplace alienation. At different points throughout their workday the three men would engage in a form of rule violation by taking a series of unauthorized breaks, some of which were known as “banana time,” “window time,” and “peach time.” The men would also keep up an ongoing banter with one another as a means of staving off boredom. As Roy (1959:167) notes, the “tensions born of long hours of relatively meaningless work were released in the mock aggression of horseplay.” What Roy discovered was that the workplace is often rife with play and humor, a point that has been found in other investigations of various service work settings (see Ashforth and Humphrey 1995; Charlton and Hertz 1989; Collinson 1988; Fine 1988). Whether used to alleviate boredom, deal with workplace stress, or increase coworker solidarity, the use of humor, play, and levity in the workplace has been shown to enhance a sense of community among workers, while also increasing task effectiveness and employee well-being (Ashforth and Humphrey 1995).

Another way that service work may lead to improved employee well-being rests with the possibility of the work’s enhancing a person’s concept of self. Rosenberg (1979) defines the self-concept as the totality of an individual’s thoughts and feelings with respect to the self as an object. Rosenberg’s definition of self-concept is posited in part upon the notion of reflexivity, which is the belief that certain social accounts act to affect change upon those situations to which they refer (Jary and Jary 1991). It is also derived from Cooley’s theory of the looking-glass self, which argues that a person’s self-concept develops via interactions with others and one’s own interpretations of those interactions (Cooley 1902). Thus self-concept is developed via interaction with others in all domains—at home, in school, during leisure activities with friends, and in the work setting as part of a service job. If the service work a person engages in results in positive reflections from customers, it stands to reason that a worker’s sense of self may be enriched via the process of reflexivity, just as the sense of self may be diminished as a result of negative interactions with customers.

Using an identity negotiation framework, Swann (1987) postulates that since a person has a conception of self, he or she will undertake activities and behaviors to ensure the survival of this sense of self. Additionally, he suggests a person will also seek to promote the enhancement of his or her self-concept. This line of thought can be applied to either global conceptions of self or, as Stryker (1987, 1994) suggests, a specific facet of the self that is contained within a person’s hierarchy of identities. For example, if a person has the identity of employee at a given service job and that identity provides

positive outcomes beyond simple monetary remuneration, an individual may allot an increasing amount of time, energy, and resources to enhance that facet of self. In other words, if the type of service work done by a person is both intrinsically and emotionally satisfying, the work itself can become a source of well-being that enhances one's self-concept. This line of thought has limited empirical support. An investigation that focused on beauticians in the United Kingdom by Sharma and Black (2001) discovered that the majority of the workers they interviewed saw their labor as a source of fulfillment on both an emotional and occupational level, thus resulting in an enhanced sense of self.

## GOALS OF THIS PROJECT

This last statement is perhaps the most salient point with respect to the central research question of our investigation: can service labor or customer service work actually promote employee well-being? In order better to explore this question, we focus on the everyday lived emotional outcomes of customer service workers in hair salons. Although there are many different types of service industries, we chose hair salons in part because they are such a common part of social life (Lawson 1999) and are typically rife with social activity. Salons also tend to be small establishments that employ relatively few workers; as such, they can be studied comprehensively. Another reason we focused our efforts on hair salons is because of the paucity of research that has examined the labor of beauticians, especially within the context of the everyday lived emotional outcomes of customer service work. To date, only one other published article (Sharma and Black 2001) has chosen hair salons as a venue to investigate the connections between employee well-being and customer service work. But where the Sharma and Black study primarily focused on how beauticians define their job as a "serious, professional status [occupation]" (2001:915), in part because the workers managed their emotions in the workplace, our project will explore the connections between service work and the everyday lived emotional experiences of beauticians to see if the emotional labor associated with customer service work has either positive or negative outcomes with respect to employee well-being.

## METHODOLOGY

We opted to proceed from a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990) with respect to our data collection in an effort to describe, explain, and understand the experiences of our research subjects (Chappel and Nofziger 2000; Charmaz 1995). To facilitate this goal, the present study employed two common qualitative methods of data collection, nonparticipant field observations and in-depth interviews of hair salon workers. The use of these qualitative methodologies allowed us to gather "thick" and detailed descriptions of the lived emo-

tional experiences (Denzin 1990) of the research subjects. As our descriptions may not provide consistent or reliable data across all similar settings, it should be noted that our investigation is focused more on issues relating to illustration rather than confirmation (Kirk and Miller 1986).

### *Data Collection Techniques*

As previously noted, the present study employed two common qualitative methods of data collection. The first was nonparticipant field observation of the research subjects and settings. The data gathered by way of this technique was supplemented via a number of in-depth interviews conducted with the subjects that were observed in the field. By assuming the role of "participant-as-observer" (Gold 1958) it was possible to observe when, where, and how hairdressers and receptionists interacted with customers and coworkers. Efforts were also made to observe body language (e.g., posture and facial expressions) in order to gain evidence of emotional outcomes associated with hair salon work.

Approximately 20 hours of field observations were logged in the spring of 2001 over a span of eight weeks at four different hair salons in a small Midwestern college town. For each of the four salons, the bulk of the nonparticipant observations were made during three separate hour-long increments. Observations were primarily made from within designated waiting areas; at times, observations were made while folding towels, disposing of trash, and sweeping floors. All observations were documented with extensive field notes. The field observations were supplemented with open-ended in-depth interviews of the hair salon workers and receptionists at the four field sites. The following questions in some version were asked of 17 hairdressers and eight receptionists: "What are some things that you like about your job?" and "What are some things that you don't like so much about your job?" In response to these questions, the interview subjects almost invariably discussed positive and negative aspects of customer service and/or coworker relations, especially as they related to emotional outcomes of their labor. For added clarity, follow-up questions like "What was that like?" or "Can you give me an example?" were used to probe for more information. All interviews were privately conducted on salon premises, within offices and break rooms, and each interview lasted approximately twenty minutes. All interviews were tape-recorded and later completely transcribed. Pseudonyms have been used in the data presented below in order to ensure anonymity of the subjects who were interviewed.

### *Data Analysis Techniques*

Before the data were analyzed, observations and interviews were separated by salon and then sorted as they related to customer service, coworker relations, and the emotional outcomes of labor. Data analysis followed the inductive coding techniques described by Strauss and Corbin (1990). Coded observations and interviews were cross-referenced for any notable similarities and/or discrepancies, examined independently for each salon, and then compared across salons.

During open coding, the data were conceptualized and categorized in accordance with procedures outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990). In focusing on customer service relations, workers often described their customers as being “satisfied,” “happy,” and “pleased” with services. Interviews also provided evidence of emotions such as “joy,” “happiness,” and “gratification.” As these concepts were thematically related to one another, they were categorized as positive performance evaluations and positive emotions, respectively. In focusing on coworker relations, open coding revealed that “talking,” “joking,” “sharing,” and “supporting” were all common activities among workers. Workers also reported feelings of “acceptance,” “belonging,” and “closeness” in relation to other coworkers. As these concepts were thematically related to one another, they were categorized as status rituals and feelings of solidarity, respectively. During axial coding, connections were made between the aforementioned categories (Strauss and Corbin 1990). In focusing on customer service relations and following from the first two examples of open coding, it was determined that workers were responding to positive performance evaluations with positive emotional outcomes. In focusing on coworker relations and following from the last two examples of open coding, it was apparent that status rituals were somehow creating feelings of solidarity.

### *Setting and Sample*

In the spring of 2001, the managers and/or owners of four different hair salons in a small Midwestern college town agreed to participate in our study. All four salons offer similar services at comparable prices, with a shampoo, haircut, and blow dry costing between \$15.99 and \$18.00. Two of the salons are walk-in based and primarily serve men, while the other two salons are appointment based and mostly serve women.

Considering that only 10 percent of all hairdressers in this country are men (Mittelhauser 1997), it is not surprising that the interview sample was entirely composed of women ( $n = 25$ ). In terms of race, the interview sample is also quite homogeneous, as the sample includes one Latina and 24 non-Latina whites. Although the hairdressers ranged in experience from less than a year to over 20 years, the majority of the subjects included in the study had less than two years of experience as hair salon workers. Because the sample is both convenient and purposive (Johnson 1990), it should be noted that the findings are not generalizable beyond those hair salons included in the study. Our findings are discussed at length below.

## FINDINGS

Overall, our findings indicated that customer service work is associated with certain everyday lived emotional experiences, be they positive or negative emotional outcomes of said labor. Further conceptualization and categorization (Strauss and Corbin 1990) during analysis revealed three primary outcomes that were linked to the everyday lived emotions of the hair salon service workers under observation. These include emotional outcomes linked to performance evaluations, emotional outcomes linked to issues of intimacy, and emotional outcomes linked to coworker relations.

### *Performance Evaluations*

Because hairdressers thought of themselves as educated and trained service workers, they commonly expected to obtain complimentary performance evaluations from their clients. Workers' performance expectations were important considerations in that they provided filters through which their labor was translated into everyday lived emotional experiences. During observation, it seemed that complimentary performance evaluations were, in fact, interpreted positively by the salon workers, and that these positive interpretations resulted in positive emotional states among the workers. On one occasion, Valerie, one of the beauticians we observed, asked a customer, "How's it looking?" The customer replied with a smile, "Oh, very nice." Valerie would then smile to the customer's reflection in the mirror. It seemed that the customer's evaluation and the way it was conveyed (while smiling) encouraged Valerie to smile as well.

In concurrence with the above observation, our interview data furnished additional accounts from our subjects of positive emotional experiences that were predicated on their labor. In the following excerpt, Peggy discussed how she felt when complimentary performance evaluations were obtained.

When I can have a client sit in my chair, I get a chance to reform them, as far as their hair goes and stuff like that. It's really an instant gratification. I don't have to wait. I don't have to . . . it's like an artist. When they are painting, they have to, you know, watch their painting come to life. But it takes a while for that painting to come to life. A hairdresser's an artist, but they don't have to wait. Within a half-hour to forty-five minutes, they've got a whole new look. Making them look beautiful is something I enjoy, especially when a client tells you how much they like it and how much better they feel about themselves, once you've done something. It's more creative for them and stuff. It makes you feel really good when they tell you that you've done something good.

Peggy implies high performance expectations: she describes herself as an "artist," one with the ability to make customers "look beautiful." Her performance evaluations were resonant with her performance expectation, conducive to feelings of pride in her skills and abilities. According to Peggy, "It makes you feel really good when [customers] tell you that you've done something good."

In much the same way that Peggy identified with artists, Wendy identified with the more prestigious aspects of the hairdressing profession.

I think that I should be doing photo shoots and stuff like that because I make everyone look really great, like runway models and stuff. I usually tell people that when I joke around. But, yeah, it brings me complete joy. Like I love it. I love it when people come in and they don't feel very good about themselves, and I'll be like the hardheaded hair stylist: "Just sit down in my chair." I style them up and everything, and I always do this thing where like I won't let them watch. Like most stylists position their clients right in front of the mirror, and like I won't do that. Like I'll turn them off-kilter or whatever, because I like doing the grand finale . . . the spin . . . because they look so different. And so then I'll be like, "All right." And then like people are usually like, "Oh, my God. Oh, my

God. I look so good.” And then it just brings me complete joy. Like I love doing that. It’s a totally fulfilling job.

In this excerpt, high performance expectations were implied when Wendy related that she “should be doing photo shoots” and that her customers “look really great, like runway models.” When customers say things like, “Oh, my God. Oh, my God. I look so good,” Wendy noted that such evaluations bring her “complete joy,” which suggests the labor she performs as a hairdresser is not emotionally draining, but rather emotionally rewarding.

Like Peggy and Wendy, Monica indicated that she took great pleasure in obtaining complimentary performance evaluations.

I like knowing when I come into work that I’m gonna be servicing people, making people happy, making people feel better about themselves. That’s what a hairstylist does . . . is to make the person feel better about themselves. Sometimes you can just see it in their faces. They’ll tell ya, “Oh, this feels so much better. This looks so much better.” Just stylin’ it up for them . . . not lettin’ ’em go out wet. You just know. It makes you feel good. It makes you feel like you have a purpose . . . like you come to work for a reason.

During her interview, Monica revealed that she had a number of high performance expectations for herself and her labor. Monica noted that when she came to work, she would be “servicing people, making people happy, [and] making people feel better about themselves” because “that’s what a hairstylist does.” As with the other stylists, complimentary evaluations by her clients were resonant with Monica’s performance expectations and conducive to feelings of pride. According to Monica, complimentary evaluations make “you feel good . . . like you have a purpose . . . like you come to work for a reason.”

Although no instances of unsatisfactory performance evaluations were found in the interview data, respondents indicated that these types of performance evaluations were tantamount to negative sanctions that would result in negative emotional outcomes. During her interview, Tristia stressed her efforts to satisfy customers who were perceived as “hard to please.”

There’s always, in this shop here, some that are hard to please, as far as cutting their hair. You try your hardest, and it just seems like . . . sometimes they’ll give you a hard time about something. You know, you’re really trying your hardest to please them, to make sure that they like it. It’s really hard. It used to bother me a lot. I mean I was really thin-skinned. I took everything really personal. I was kind of sensitive about stuff like that. I guess as you get better, as you get more confidence, as you learn more, you kind of don’t let it bother you as much . . . although it still does. You tried your best, and if they don’t like it, they can either find a different stylist or go to another shop.

Even though Tristia perceived that she had tried her “hardest” to please the customer, she was simply unable to realize a sense of accomplishment, which resulted in feelings of sadness: “you kind of don’t let it bother you . . . although it still does.”

During her interview, Kathy described a situation in which she was compelled to perform what she perceived to be an unrealistic service request. Kathy also suggested that she obtained a negative emotional outcome resulting from unsatisfactory performance evaluations.

It sucks [when customers are unhappy with services]. It's just like a blow to the stomach. You just feel pretty bad, especially if you feel like you've done everything necessary to make these people happy. They'll bring you pictures of Cindy Crawford, and they'll say, "I wanna look like her." But you're really not gonna look like that. Your face and your body's not gonna look like that, even if I make your hair look like that. If they bring you a picture, you pretty much know that's not gonna work out for them. You may try to guide them in a different way. You find another picture and say: "This might be better suited."

In this excerpt, Kathy characterized unsatisfactory evaluations as "a blow to the stomach." Like Tristia, Kathy appeared to anticipate complimentary evaluations to follow from her efforts, but instead felt negative emotional outcomes associated with her labor, despite her best efforts: "you just feel pretty bad, especially if you feel like you've done everything necessary to make [customers] happy."

During her interview, Peggy recalled a time when, despite extensive efforts to please her client, she still received an unsatisfactory performance evaluation.

When you do something and someone doesn't like it, it's very disheartening. You feel like, wow, I just put in two and a half hours of time putting this color together for you, telling you exactly what I'm gonna do, and you don't like it. If I feel it looks good, that I've done a good job, it's disheartening to listen to your client maybe not like it. It is very disappointing.

In this excerpt, Peggy appeared to anticipate complimentary evaluations to follow from "two and a half hours" of service. Instead, Peggy feels both disappointed and disheartened, suggesting negative emotional outcomes from her labor.

### *Intimacy*

In addition to performance evaluations, workers often experienced emotional outcomes as a function of how intimate their interactions were with their clients. In the following two excerpts, hairdressers identified themselves as pseudotherapists and suggested that the conferral of intimacy was often a routine feature of their customer service relations. According to Wendy:

For some reason, some people feel totally comfortable with you. If you are somebody's hairstylist, they love you to death and have complete confidence in you. They'll tell you everything. You become a therapist.

Susan made a similar comment:

You can give [customers] advice. It's kind of like counseling. You give 'em advice as you're doing their hair. Like a therapist. You kind of take on that job description, when you start doing someone's hair. My parents have been divorced. My mom's been divorced twice. So, I've been through it twice. My boyfriend's parents

are divorced. I went through it with him. I've given a lot of advice on divorce. I just give them advice on how to hang in there.

During observations, it was apparent that hairdressers could obtain varying degrees of intimacy with their clients. On one occasion, we observed Peggy interacting with one of her regular customers. We could tell right away that they knew each other pretty well. Almost immediately Peggy began to ask her questions about her children. Peggy asked, "So, your boy coming in later to tan?" "Yes, he is," the customer replied.

On another occasion, Tristia was observed interacting with a customer that she had obviously never met. Shortly after Tristia introduced herself to the customer, they were quite talkative. At first, they were talking about friends with illnesses but then began to discuss children. The customer talked a lot about her daughter. At this point Tristia was smiling a lot and responding promptly to questions. When the phone rang, she appeared to let it ring until they found a comfortable stopping place in their conversation.

During her interview, Laura recounted an instance when one of her customers had "cried and cried and cried."

I can get some people in here that have had a bad day and cheer 'em up. To cheer someone up and make someone feel better makes me feel really good. I guess that's why I'm still in the business. That's one reason I still like to cut hair. I had this old man once and he just lost his wife. He was probably in his eighties and he just sat in my chair and cried and cried and cried. And that made me cry. I just like to take care of other people.

In this excerpt, Laura noted that she had an ability to "cheer [customers] up." The intimacy associated with her labor was not draining to Laura; on the contrary, it was conducive to feelings of pride on Laura's part. According to Laura, "to cheer someone up and make someone feel better makes me feel really good."

The next two excerpts from Tristia and Gini, respectively, dovetail with Laura's and support the idea that the conferral of intimacy is related to positive emotional well-being among workers.

I think the big thing is that I've had people that know myself, know my husband, so they're inquiring about him and how he's doing . . . like I had a few on Saturday that asked me about my husband, so I could talk with them, and that made me feel better. . . . It makes me feel good 'cause they're concerned. It's good for me because I can bring it out and air it a little bit.

For the most part, [customers] are nice. Half of them I know. Most of them are usually cheery. . . . They show me pictures of their kids or something. I can't describe it. You feel like good inside because a perfect stranger feels confident enough to share their feelings, or share even their kid's pictures with you. It's a very good feeling. It makes me feel good about myself . . . and that people accept me for who I am.

Although no instances of workers being denied intimacy were observed directly, the interview data did provide an example on this. During her interview, Valerie

noted that some customers “sit there the entire time and do nothing,” which, in turn, led to feelings of displeasure on Valerie’s part.

You can ask them a bunch of questions. You try to get things out of them. Maybe not so much personal things but like: Where do you live? Did you have a good day today? Did you just get here off work? You know, just try and get them to talk. You are trying to do that personal one-on-one. It’s your time with them. You don’t want to let them sit there the entire time and do nothing. I don’t like to do their hair when they’re like that. I like it when they talk to me.

### *Coworker Relations*

Our findings revealed that, like customer service relations, coworker relations were also connected with the everyday lived emotional experiences of workers. Indeed, analysis of the data shows that the behaviors among coworkers were so common (i.e., repeated and patterned) that they could be more accurately characterized as status rituals. In this sense, our findings were consistent with the work of Barsade (2002) and Collins (1984, 1990) in two respects: first, the subjects under observation were found to share in each other’s mood, which can be described via Barsade’s notion of “emotional contagion”; second, a number of “status rituals” were enacted from these shared moods so as to create feelings of solidarity among coworkers via the production of what Collins refers to as “emotional energy.”

*A common mood.* Collins (1984, 1990) and Barsade (2002) argue that when groups are at the center of attention, the members of these groups, via emotional contagion, become “caught up” in each other’s emotional experiences and come to share a “common mood.” Consistent with their work, our findings suggest that the workers under observation shared in each other’s moods in two ways. First, workers easily recognized the tone of each other’s moods; that is to say, workers could almost immediately tell if and when their colleagues were in a good or bad mood. Second, workers shared in each other’s moods via emotional contagion. This simply means that certain moods could be transferred from one coworker to the next, as if the workers were links in an “emotional chain.”

During observations, it was clear that the workers were at times well aware of each other’s demeanors and moods. On one occasion, we observed Deirdre asking Jennifer, who was sitting at her station, “Are you okay?” Jennifer said, “Yeah. I’m just waiting for my customer. I’m bored.” While walking back to her desk, Deirdre said, “Oh, you just looked down.”

During her interview, Peggy noted that she could easily recognize changes in her coworkers’ demeanors.

Normally, a person coming in is happy. They are talkative. You know, they’re laughing, cutting jokes, and things like that. And then one day they’ll come in, and they’re not really saying a whole lot. They are not really doing a whole lot of smiling. They’re complaining a lot. That pretty much indicates that there’s something wrong.

In the following two excerpts, Jaimie and Marcie, respectively, related that they could also identify whether coworkers were in “good” or “bad” moods.

When I first came here, I felt kind of awkward. You don't know how to read the girls yet. You don't know, well, this one's in a bad mood . . . stay away. Now that I'm here more and have been here longer, I can tell that.

When you walk in, you know who's gonna be in a bad mood and who's in a good mood. You know stuff like that, and you stay clear of them. Part of it comes from working with them for so long. It's like with one of the new receptionists, I just go, “Hey, stay clear of her. She's in a bad mood.” She goes, “How can you tell?” I'm like, “Just look at her. She isn't even talking to her customer. You can tell she's in a bad mood.”

In both of these examples, it was implied that workers developed an awareness of each other's moods as a function of time. Jaime noted, “Now that I'm here more and have been here longer, I can tell [when coworkers are in bad moods].” Similarly, Marcie attributed her awareness to “working with [coworkers] for so long.” Jaimie and Marcie also suggested that they avoided other coworkers who were perceived to be in bad moods. Avoidance, in this case, may have allowed workers to elude confrontation with other coworkers (see Goffman 1967).

Beyond the basic recognition of coworkers' moods, evidence suggested that workers could actually experience each other's moods via emotional contagion. Martha indicated that when her coworkers were “not in the best of moods” she would “usually get in a bad mood [herself]”:

Some people just have their days. Like the people that you work with may not be in the best of moods. Sometimes when I'm in a really good mood, then it doesn't really bother me. But like if I'm in an okay mood, then I usually get in a bad mood myself. Then I don't feel like dealing with people, so that affects my job, too. It just keeps going on and on.

In the following example, Padma described in some detail how she was able to share in her coworkers' moods.

Say that two coworkers get into a fight. They are just like yelling. You're just standing there like, “Okay.” You didn't do anything, but you know they need someone to talk to. I mean I understand they need someone. That's not that big of a deal to me, but sometimes that puts you in bad mood. You're like, “Okay, that ruined my day. Now what?” It just puts you kind of in a bad mood because you kind of feel bad that she's in a bad mood. You just kind of start thinking about things. You just kind of put yourself in their shoes.

Padma implied that she shared in other coworkers' moods through role-taking, which, according to Collins (1990), is at the core of any successful ritual. According to Padma, “You just kind of put yourself in their shoes.” Laura suggested that moods were shared among multiple workers by emotional contagion:

*When somebody comes in and they're in a bad mood, you can blow it off for so long and then, all of the sudden, everybody else . . . like a chain [emphasis added].*

Everybody starts getting in a bad mood. It just works its way down and you can't blow it off anymore. Right now we are short staffed. There are only three full-time people, so they're stressed out. They come in here stressed. They are like I don't give a crap this and that. It does. It brings ya' down. It's just those things that build up after so long.

*Coworker solidarity.* In addition to the sharing of moods, coworkers also described a number of behaviors that were associated with task cooperation, friendliness, and intimacy. Because these behaviors were apparently repeated and patterned, they were more accurately characterized as status rituals. Again consistent with the work of Collins (1984, 1990), our findings suggest that workers enthusiastically anticipated status rituals, thus implying that status rituals created solidarity among coworkers by creating emotional energy (i.e., long-term feelings of solidarity).

On one occasion, an instance of task cooperation was observed. The shop telephone had just rung, and Tammy and Katrina looked at one another. Tammy said, "I'll get it. You're almost done." Katrina continued to cut the customer's hair. No doubt as a result of her own haircutting expertise and experience, Tammy knew when Katrina was "almost done" and offered to answer the shop telephone. Katrina was also apparently aware that Tammy was between customers and in the best position to cover the telephone.

During her interview, Gini set forth a number of cooperative behaviors that were related to her work tasks.

We work together mostly as a team. When they need something I get it for them. If I'm busy, they'll pick up extras that I've left. They'll help with the towels. They'll help clean up the floors or something. If I have to clean the floors, they'll clean the brushes for me. We just kinda work as a team. It's just really fun working here. I think mainly because we're all girls here. You know what it's like to need someone, to be helped with. And, we're all stylists. We all have that one thing in common, which bonds us. It's actually pretty comforting knowing that if you might screw up or not get something done, someone will be right there, have your back and get it done for you. It's comforting.

In this example, cooperative behaviors were seemingly repeated and patterned rituals that Gini had grown to anticipate. Gini explained what ties them together: "We're all stylists. We all have that one thing in common, which bonds us. It's actually pretty comforting knowing that if you might screw up or not get something done, someone will be right there, have your back and get it done for you." Gini also noted that she and her coworkers "work together mostly as a team," further indicating that work-related status rituals contributed to the production of emotional energy.

During observations, it was apparent that coworker relations were quite distinct from any customer service relations that were encountered, no matter how regular the customers may have been. Talking, confiding, joking, and cooperating were all apparently indicative of inclusion, belonging, and, by inference, feelings of solidarity. On one occasion, we observed Janelle doing Deirdre's nails. Deirdre was playfully complaining (they were both smiling and laughing) about "ridges" in her nails. Deirdre

said, "I'm not really pleased with the service." There was a pause and then they both started to laugh. Just then, Deirdre shrieked, "Ow!" "You're such a baby," Janelle remarked. They both began to laugh again. When Janelle asked Deirdre what color she wanted her nails to be, she replied, "You pick it." Janelle picked a color, and Deirdre said, "Not that one." Janelle just rolled her eyes and smiled.

During her interview, Tori detailed a number of behaviors that were associated with friendliness and intimacy.

We're all pretty close. We all talk about our personal lives and joke around. It's open. It's a better environment. It's not like we don't care about what you feel. Like if one of us has a bad day, usually one of us will pick up on it. We can talk. They are really understanding. It's a good feeling. It's like being around your friends when you're having a bad day. Talk about it. Get it off your chest. It's over with.

In this excerpt, certain behaviors were ostensibly repeated and patterned and were something that Tori had grown to expect. According to Tori, "if one of us has a bad day, usually one of us will pick up on it. We can talk. [Coworkers] are really understanding." Tori also described her coworkers as "friends," indicating that these kinds of status rituals contributed to the production of emotional energy.

When interaction rituals create solidarity, the ideas and objects that were in common focus become loaded with emotional overtones (Collins 1990). In the following two excerpts from Marcie and Rachel, respectively, customers were reportedly absent; as a consequence, workers were able to partake in status rituals.

It's just the coolest thing when we can all just sit and laugh. I think I have become good friends with many of the people who work here. They're like my little guidance counselors. And it's just really cool that I can joke around with the people that I work with. I can't stand it when, people who say, "I hate the people I work with." I just . . . that's what I like about here. I know I can get along with pretty much anyone that works here. We can sit back on a slow night and just be bustin' out laughin'. We have so much fun. It just makes it a lot easier to work here.

I liked today because there weren't too many customers. We had fun. It was relaxing because we haven't done that in so long. We played games, laughed, and shopped. We all knew it was our stress reliever for the week.

Whenever it was a "slow night" or there "weren't too many customers," workers participated in status rituals such as talking, joking, playing games, and shopping, a finding that is consonant with the work of Roy (1959) and others (Charlton and Hertz 1989; Collinson 1988; Fine 1988). Moreover, these status rituals were ostensibly conducted on the "backstage," which is consistent with Goffman's notion of the backstage being a place where a "performer can relax; he [or she] can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character" (Goffman 1959:112).

Whenever group members recollect these rituals, they are called to mind as symbols or emblems of solidarity. According to Collins, when group members think of

“concepts that were the focus of a successful interaction ritual, they are subjectively reinvoking . . . feelings of membership” (Collins 1990:34). When Rachel remarked that she and her coworkers had not “done that in so long,” her nostalgia appeared to indicate that status rituals had, in fact, contributed to the production of emotional energy.

## DISCUSSION

In our efforts to theoretically frame our research findings, we utilized two different (but related) theories of emotion as articulated by Kemper (1984, 1990, 1991) and Collins (1984; 1990). These two similar but distinct approaches to understanding emotion provided us with useful lenses through which to frame the connections between customer service work and employee well-being, especially as related to the emotional outcomes of customer service labor. Because customer service relations were typically dyadic in nature and coworker relations more often than not involve groups of workers, both theories were appropriate to account for the findings of the current investigation.

Consistent with the work of Kemper (1984, 1990, 1991), we found that the status accorded gains associated with the conferral of complimentary evaluations by clients were conducive to positive emotions among the hairdressers we interviewed, whereas status accorded losses and negative emotions were related to unsatisfactory evaluations conferred by clients. It was also clear that the workers under investigation expected to receive complimentary evaluations as part of their labor. As predicted by Kemper’s (1984, 1990, 1991) work, these expectations provided filters through which status accorded outcomes were translated into emotions. When workers were given complimentary evaluations, these evaluations were resonant with performance expectations and were conducive to feelings of pride (self as agent). When workers received unsatisfactory evaluations, these evaluations were discordant with performance expectations and were conducive to feelings of sadness (self as agent). What is most interesting about this translation of complimentary and unsatisfactory performance evaluations into the everyday lived emotions of service workers is that the translation took place in a setting that has a relatively high degree of performance ambiguity, a hair salon. This performance ambiguity can be interpreted as a boundary condition between workers and clients that makes positive customer feedback even more critical to employee well-being.

Previous researchers have noted that, depending upon the type of work setting, some customer service relations are more intimate than others (Gutek 1995; Gutek, Bhappu, Liao-Troth and Cherry 1999; Gutek, Cherry, Bhappu, Schneider, and Woolf 2000). Our findings would suggest that the service work of beauticians is one such type of occupation, with intimacy being achieved on both a physical level (coming into physical touch with the client) and an emotional/cognitive level (talking to, connecting with, and sometimes counseling the client). To be sure, the current investigation demonstrates that the intimacy associated with the labor of beauticians can result

in a gain or loss of status as a result of being conferred or denied intimacy. When workers were conferred intimacy, encounters were conducive to feelings of pride (self as agent) and happiness (other as agent). When workers were denied intimacy, these encounters were conducive to feelings of anger (self as agent). These findings are again in alignment with the work of Kemper (1984, 1990, 1991).

Collins would agree with Kemper that power and status are perhaps the most fundamental dimensions of dyadic social relations. However, Collins (1984; 1990) goes a step further and argues that these dimensions are fundamental to social structure at the group level, a point we previously touched on when discussing our results concerning coworker relations and emotional outcomes among service workers. We found that when power and status relations are repeated and patterned, they tended to be more accurately characterized as “interaction rituals.” Collins (1984; 1990) predicted that these interaction rituals tend to create solidarity among participants by producing emotional energy (i.e., long-term feelings of solidarity), which is what we found in our investigation.

In focusing on coworker relations, we found that workers were able to share in each other’s moods in two ways. First, the workers under observation were able quickly to recognize the tone of each other’s moods, probably as a function of both proximity and time, but also as a function of what Barsade (2002) calls “emotional contagion.” As Barsade describes, people tend to be “walking mood inductors” (667); that is to say, individuals in a group are continuously influencing the emotions and affective states of others. Second, workers were able to share in each other’s moods by this process of emotional contagion. Analysis of the data further revealed that the workers participated in a number of behaviors that were associated with cooperation, friendliness, and intimacy. These behaviors were repeated and patterned and are more accurately characterized as status rituals. Consistent with Collins’s theory (1984, 1990), these status rituals created solidarity among coworkers by producing emotional energy.

Many scholars characterize service work as both alienating and dehumanizing (see Hochschild 1983; Leidner 1993; Ritzer 1993, 2000). Although the present study revealed that customer service relations could be conducive to negative emotions such as anger and sadness, it was discovered that these same relations were also conducive to positive emotions, such as pride and happiness. In this respect the outcomes of our research were similar to those of Sharma and Black (2001), as they also discovered during their investigation of beauticians in the United Kingdom that making a client “feel better” about themselves can be a source of job satisfaction and emotional well-being among hair stylists. Evidence from our investigation also suggests that emotional bonds develop among coworkers, and that these bonds were conducive to feelings of solidarity and belonging. In light of these findings, future researchers may wish to consider the possibility that service work may not be altogether alienating and dehumanizing and can at times be both meaningful and rewarding for workers.

Future researchers may also wish to take into account some of the limitations of the current investigation before conducting further studies in this area. One methodological limitation of the present study relates to the technique we used to gather our

data. According to Mayo (1966), the “Hawthorne effect” tends to bias data when participants act or behave in ways they normally would not, simply as a function of being observed. Although our interview data described many negative customer service encounters, none was observed directly during our field observations. As such, it is conceivable that our presence during observations encouraged workers to behave in more socially desirable ways.

Sample homogeneity was another limitation of the present study. The sample was almost exclusively composed of non-Hispanic white women. This tendency is a concern because men and women are socialized to express emotions in different ways (Kemper 1990). Men and women have also been found to perceive service quality differently for both male and female hairdressers (Fischer, Gainer and Bristor 1997), a concern that should be addressed in later research projects.

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# Controversial Mascots: Authority and Racial Hegemony in the Maintenance of Deviant Symbols

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*Mascots are designed to represent athletic teams to fans while allowing violence and aggression to play out symbolically. Although mascots rarely evoke anger because of perceived offensiveness, teams that utilize Native American symbolism (NAS) are embracing a contested practice in the United States. Using the Cleveland Indians and their mascot, "Chief Wahoo," I consider NAS as a negotiation between those who want to preserve NAS, retention advocates (RAs), and challengers who wish to remove such mascots. I analyze letters to the editor and editorials in newspapers over a fifteen-year period (n = 397) concerning the argument that Cleveland should change the name of its team, change the use of Chief Wahoo, or both. Guided by conflict theory, symbolic interactionism, and literature on racial hegemony, I find that pro-Chief Wahoo arguments are grounded in the importance of consistency in sports symbols and a series of public accounts that minimize harm and challenge NAS challengers, ideas that assume a colorblind society. In contrast, challengers frame NAS in terms of political or cultural opposition. The article concludes by considering how these perspectives on NAS represent a failed negotiation. Because RA perspectives, grounded in white racial hegemony, benefit from social structure, challengers are forced to attempt to align themselves with RAs' cultural values or overlap with a pro-sports perspective. Each of these options renders challenger perspectives ineffective, further strengthening current social structure.*

Nearly as old as organized professional sports in America, mascots are theoretically designed to represent athletic teams to fans, opponents, and any other interested party (Springwood 2002). A visual and linguistic representation of a group of athletes playing a designated sport, mascots are supposed to allow violence and aggression to be played out symbolically through names and pictures, so that the actual game can be

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carried out in a more dignified and civil manner (Sigelman 1998). This paper addresses how two groups understand the symbolic violence that mascots can perpetrate against groups that they are designed to represent. Although it is not uncommon for mascots to spark anger via the competitive nature of sports fans, it is rare today that a mascot evokes anger because it is deemed offensive or inappropriate; however, mascots that evoke this sort of reaction are those that are perceived to be stereotypical or demeaning images of Native Americans, such as the Redskins, the Seminoles, the Braves, and the Indians (King et al. 2002).

Over the past 125 years a number of college and professional athletic teams have taken on official or colloquial names for Native American groups to represent their sports teams. The use of Native American names and symbols appears to be unique to the realm of sports, as teams once named the "Spearchuckers," "Coons," "Wops," "Dagos," and "Charlies" are more urban legend than reality. Although some Native American mascots have changed as new generations have found them inappropriate and offensive, most Native American slurs and imagery are still present in contemporary American sports (Deloria 1999; Staurowsky 1998; Tovares 2002).

This research aims to shed light on the ongoing Native American mascot debate by considering the use of authority in settling conflicting perspectives over the deviant language and imagery surrounding the Cleveland Indians and their mascot Chief Wahoo. Combining conflict and symbolic interactionist theory, this paper considers the use of perspectives framed in terms of racial hegemony and group position, along with the authority and control over the public framing of Chief Wahoo used to maintain Native American imagery in professional sports.

## RESEARCH AND THEORY

### *A Brief History of Chief Wahoo and the Native American Mascot Debate*

The use of Native American symbolism (NAS) in athletics has been common for over 120 years (Coombe 1999; King 2004; Silva 2007; Staurowsky 1998, 1999). The vast majority of these names and mascots came about over a period of 40 years during which Native Americans possessed few legal rights, the legacy of the Indian Wars of the 1870s were alive and well in the public consciousness, and Indian populations were being physically removed as the fruition of manifest destiny (Connolly 2000; Coombe 1999; Staurowsky 1998). Staurowsky (1998:8) cites a 1995 review of mascots regarding the number of Native American mascots in America: "1500 high schools, 14 AAA minor league baseball teams, 73 college and universities, 50 junior colleges, and 5 professional sport franchises were identified."

Cleveland's baseball team changed its name to "Indians" in 1915 and decades later, in 1946, added the symbol Chief Wahoo. Prior to this change, the team was referred to as the "Naps" in honor of their star second baseman, Nap Lajoie. But when Lajoie was traded to Philadelphia the team needed to change its name. According to Cleveland Indians press material, the name "Indians" was selected after it was sug-

gested by a fan, as part of a contest to rename the team. The Indians media guide states that a fan suggested the name, and the team took on the moniker, in order to honor the memory of Cleveland player Louis Sockalexis, the first American Indian to play Major League Baseball (Cleveland Indians; Staurowsky 1998, 2001). The Cleveland Indians Corporation argues that the name is something for which their organization should be thanked and recognized, mentioning in their press guide that “the memory of Louis Francis Sockalexis was not forgotten in 1914 and that he continues to be remembered today” (Cleveland Indians 1997).

The story that Cleveland’s name is intended to honor Louis Sockalexis has been widely reported by news outlets and is often cited authoritatively by groups in the Midwest dedicated to the retention of Chief Wahoo and the Indians moniker (King et al. 2002; Staurowsky 1998, 2001). Any critical examination of the Cleveland Indians story immediately reveals major flaws in the logic and evidence. First, contextually the story doesn’t make sense. Although it is not impossible that a fan might suggest the name “Indians” in a way designed to be honorable, it is highly unlikely that this suggestion for this reason would win the hearts of many Americans in 1915 (Prochaska 2001; Staurowsky 1998, 2001). Americans had completed numerous actions displaying a belief in Manifest Destiny, actions that crushed Native Americans throughout the United States. Most fans in their forties or older would have memories of the Indian Wars of the 1870s. The year 1915 was not a time when this story would make sense anywhere in the United States (Prochaska 2001; Staurowsky 1998). Second, Louis Sockalexis is not mentioned in news stories regarding the name change in the four major papers in Cleveland. Sockalexis played for the Cleveland Spiders toward the end of the nineteenth century, and he was one of the better known players in baseball, in part because of his racial status and the social context at the time (only 20 years removed from the Indian Wars). Occasionally newspapers would jokingly refer to the Spiders as “the Indians” but this typically came off as mocking in intent as opposed to honoring the team (Staurowsky 1998, 2001). Third, Sockalexis was a widely known player in the league from 1897–1899, but the media covered him as an oddity and focused highly on the negatives, such as the bout with alcoholism that hastened the end of his career. In other words, there is not a great deal of evidence to support that 15 years after the end of his career he would be honored in such a fashion (Staurowsky 1998, 2001). Fourth, the story of a contest supported by the fans is in no way validated by evidence from the news. A review of news articles indicates that a commission was created, consisting mostly of sports journalists, to create the name. Fans were encouraged to send in suggestions, and a list of 57 was submitted. A story published indicates that none of these names was “Indians”; the decision to name the team the Indians was likely made by sports announcers and team ownership (Staurowsky 1998, 2001). Fifth, stories about the name change indicate that “Indians” was intended to be a temporary moniker until a more suitable name could be found (Staurowsky 1998, 2001). If the intent were to confer honor, as the Indians organization claims, it seems unlikely that the honor would be deemed temporary and in need of improvement. In sum, a critical review

of easily available information demonstrates that the history of the Indians name is revisionist.

For 31 years Cleveland kept the name "Indians" without the creation of a consistent symbol or mascot to match the name. Their uniforms typically consisted of a "C" emblem on hats and sleeves or various patches symbolizing important events in Ohio and Cleveland. In 1946 the first of two eventual visual representations termed "Chief Wahoo" was created and placed on the sleeves of Cleveland's uniforms (Okkonen 1993). The first version of Chief Wahoo had a large smile; a long, narrow, yellow face; a ponytail; and a bent feather coming out of his head. In 1951 the symbol changed to the version that still exists. The modern version of Chief Wahoo has the large smile, but now has a dark red face that is more round than the first version. There is no ponytail and the feather coming out of the back of the head is straighter (Okkonen 1993). In 2002, arguably in response to criticism of the mascot, the Indians revealed a script "I" that began to appear on many versions of the uniform instead of Chief Wahoo, although Chief Wahoo still holds a major place in Indians iconography, both at the Cleveland Stadium and on Indians promotional materials.

The argument over Native American imagery has been especially strong during the past thirty to forty years (Banks 1993; Coombe 1999; King 2004; King and Springwood 2001a, 2001b; Pewewardy 1991, 1998; Springwood 2001; Staurowsky 1999). The issue remains hotly contested, since many Native American mascots are currently used in school and professional athletics. Since 1980, initiatives to remove or change mascots have had various levels of success at private and public universities, colleges, and high schools, but in the professional arena there has been virtually no change. Some of the most notable sports teams still using Native American imagery are the Cleveland Indians, Atlanta Braves, Chicago Blackhawks, Washington Redskins, and Kansas City Chiefs.

The conflict over NAS in Cleveland has existed in some form or another since their beginnings, but has intensified over the past thirty years. More recently, in 1994, the Cleveland Indians opened their new stadium, then known as Jacobs Field, to a great deal of protest, driven primarily by the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and Media. Vernon Bellecourt, president of the coalition, and other protesters were arrested, but charges were later dropped. In 1997, Bellecourt was arrested during the World Series for burning Chief Wahoo in effigy. Protests have arisen multiple times, although they are most intense during times of transition for the Indians, such as when there is pressure for new ownership to change the name and symbol, for new uniforms without Chief Wahoo, or during times of great success for the franchise. During the 2007 postseason, Chief Wahoo was very visible, with a number of fans painting their faces red, with exaggerated painted smiles surrounding their mouths. A great deal of pressure was put on sports websites and TV stations not to show images of individuals dressed and decorated in this style. This forces consideration of an important issue in sociological theory: How do we understand the conflict between supporters of Native American mascots and those that would like the mascot changed (Denzin 1992)?

### *Race and Power in the Creation and Maintenance of a Mascot/Team Name*

Any understanding of NAS in the United States should begin with a discussion of racial conflict and racism. Feagin (2006) has argued that we have a tendency in the United States to think of racism as a hangover of past oppression that will slowly go away; he argues we should consider it more as a recurring nightmare that is based in the realities of the present. Specifically, what makes racism so problematic in the status quo is that we are attempting to address modern problems in a modern way but based on assumptions of the past (Feagin 1991, 2006; Feagin, Vera, and Batur 2001). Whites view themselves as entitled to the control of normalcy, rights, and power in the United States. American social structure was created using a white frame of reference that impacts everything from law to daily social interaction. So for Feagin, although the U.S. may be less openly or overtly racist as a society, specifically White America, a white frame of reference is still used to understand and respond to events and ideas in our social system (Feagin 2006; Feagin et al. 2001). What makes racism a perpetual nightmare is that it still is learned and perpetuated in social interaction and in segregated spaces, but is no longer believed to exist by many whites. This has the effect of naturalizing racial inequality, which makes racial progress even more difficult to attain (Feagin 1991, 2006; Feagin et al. 2001; Inniss and Feagin 1995).

Although the United States is a highly diverse country with a number of racial and ethnic groups, the massively overwhelming majority of team names and mascots representing racial minorities label Native American populations (Deloria 1999). Feagin argues that while there are a number of problematic racial histories in the United States, the story of Native Americans is unique in that it is a story of knocking a group out of the way, as opposed to attempting to subordinate and infuse it into the work force, as is the case for black, Asian, and Latino populations in America (Feagin et al. 2001). Although other groups are oppressed, they are viewed as necessary in some ways, and so the racial response is ongoing and changeable, and the groups have some degree of power to contest the imagery. From the white point of view, the story of Native Americans is one of conflict and eventual victory—meaning they are viewed historically, as opposed to being part of a current conquest (Deloria 1999; Feagin et al. 2001).

Although academic communities outside of those that study Native American culture are only just starting to discuss racialized symbols as representations of athletic teams, a great deal of work has already been done on the topic. The decision to use American Indian monikers and imagery is a celebration of Western mythology of the American conquest and dream (Davis 2002). Past white frames of reference justify our current understanding of symbols and conflicts regarding race (Feagin 2006). Historicized representations of Indian populations serve to celebrate the “victory” of America’s founding. The ability to frame Native Americans in the past is the symbolic demonstration of white racial hegemony (Davis 2002; Hauptman 1995; Staurowsky 1998). Hauptman (1995) argues that we have a tendency to define American Indians as obstacles to progress for whites. Therefore, symbols such as Chief Wahoo serve as

imperialist nostalgia that celebrates Western expansion at the hand of white settlers (Hauptman 1995; Prochaska 2001; Staurowsky 1998).

Specifically with Chief Wahoo, the primary debate is not whether or not Chief Wahoo, when viewed in a certain light, can be seen as offensive; even most persons that support Chief Wahoo partially grant this point (Davis 2002; King et al. 2002; Staurowsky 1998). The central debate revolves around whether the impact of Chief Wahoo is severe enough to warrant actually changing the symbol and losing all of its apparent benefits (Bird 1996; Pewewardy 1991). Staurowsky (1998) points out that most are not angry about calls to change the mascot, but simply confused about the request because they do not perceive the symbols as racist. However, the impact of these symbols is in the continued stereotyping of Native Americans and the institutionalized racism that serves as a precedent for further bad acts. The fact that a cartoon version of a disempowered group is used as a mascot in competition with animals and objects (for example, the Detroit Tigers) makes a statement that American Indians are on par with animals and objects (Bird 1996; Fenelon 1999). In his book *Playing Indian*, Deloria (1999) equates Native American mascots and iconography at sporting events as playing up power and demonstrating superiority. This manner of defining Native Americans sets a tone that continues to place them in a subordinate position in the power structure of the United States (Fenelon 1999). These symbols also have the impact of publicly framing Native Americans in a historical and folk sense, thus disregarding their relevance and rights in the status quo (Sigelman 1998; Smith 1997; Springwood 2001, 2002).

These issues are put forth by those who vehemently disagree with the use of Native Americans as mascots; however, they are not opinions that are being expressed by people and groups who are part of the collective that most sports fans use to inform their perception of the issue. It is not surprising that many fans of Chief Wahoo would mock the idea that Chief Wahoo and the name "Indians" is offensive. Feagin argues that white racism is so entrenched that most have trouble believing it exists or that they are capable of participating in it (Feagin et al. 2001).

Conflict theorists believe that society is characterized by conflicts between groups that differ in levels of power. Criminologists discuss the resolution of these terms in regard to the creation and enforcement of formal laws and rules of conduct. This theoretical tradition abandons the concept of consensus in society and focuses primarily on how dissensus is negotiated (Herman-Kinney 2003). Although conflict theorists focus almost exclusively on the legal order, I believe that the tradition can be used to understand the debate over Native American mascots. Dahrendorf (1958, 1959) discusses conflict with a focus on power as the source of dissensus in society. Although power can be defined in a number of ways, Dahrendorf defines it in terms of authority. Conflicts in society are between those who have and those who do not have the authority to exercise control over behavior and action. This is a superior understanding of conflict, because it applies to contexts outside of the control of commerce, such as cultural and political deviance. Dahrendorf (1959: 171) explains further:

There are a large number of imperatively coordinated associations in any given society. Within every one of them we can distinguish the aggregates of those who dominate and those who are subjected. But since domination in industry does not necessarily involve domination in the State or a church, or other associations, total societies can present a picture of a plurality of competing dominant (and, conversely, subjected) aggregates.

Extended to the discussion of Native American mascots, those who have authority are the large number of individuals that positively define Chief Wahoo and the name "Indians" and the persons in ownership of the franchise who need to maintain a fan base and continue to make profits from Chief Wahoo merchandise.

### *Contributions of Symbolic Interactionism*

The debate over NAS in Cleveland can be conceived of as an instance of symbolic conflict that is the result of racial power distribution in the United States. Symbolic interactionists consider two factors that are important in the discussion of mascots and the controversies surrounding them: the use of symbols as social objects that are used for communication and the importance of perspectives in dictating how objects are defined. Of central importance in the conflict over Chief Wahoo is that two groups are defining the exact same physical and visual symbol in very different ways. Symbolic interactionists explain that two sides are coming from two perspectives that are influenced by their selectivity in viewing the object.

Silva (2007) writes that those arguing for the retention of NAS, whom he calls retention advocates (RAs), have at least two advantages over challengers in contested practices. First, RAs have the power of the status quo on their side. RAs, by definition, are fighting to retain something that is in place, as opposed to challengers who need to convince governments, populations, or, in the case of this research, athletic teams and fan bases, to change something that is in place. Second, because RAs are supporting something already in place, they have the advantage of knowing that a large group of persons already supports their cause, which gives them a great deal of power.

Symbols used in human interaction can be dissipated when the symbol is not seen in a similar fashion by two groups in competition. Perspectives are frames people use to understand and respond to objects and other forms of symbolic communication (Goffman 1986; Shibutani 1955). Shibutani (1955) discusses how perspectives are the results of reference groups. A reference group is the social system whose perspective the individual uses to define objects. The conflict over NAS in Cleveland suggests that the symbols used to convey Cleveland baseball are layered in a complex fashion that lends itself to competing and conflicting interpretations within the United States. To negotiate these differences in public spheres, challengers and retention advocates must align their public frame within a context that can be understood by large populations. This process, referred to as aligning actions, is a verbal effort aimed at creating meaningful interaction in the face of conflict (Silva 2007). This means that existing social structures and norms often limit the possibilities of contesting public practices (Silva 2007).

Understanding how race is conceived in symbolic interaction is important to understanding the contested practice of NAS. Blumer (1958) argues that racial prejudice must be considered in a group as opposed to an individual context. He argued that race and racial conflicts are primarily a discussion of maintaining or contesting general group positions (Blumer 1958; Bobo 1999; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Winant 2000). Blumer states that “race prejudice presupposes, necessarily, that racially prejudiced individuals think of themselves as belonging to a certain racial group. . . . To characterize another racial group is . . . to define one’s own group” (1958:3). Commodifying and symbolizing a group via mascot and performance is an overt way of characterizing another group and establishing dominance.

Blumer highlights four social feelings that are related to race and group position; these are especially important for the research at hand: first, the belief in in-group superiority and a strong preference for in-group members (Blumer 1958; Bobo 1999; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Winant 2000); second, the belief that members of the out-group are strange and alien. Bobo and Hutchings (1996) identify that Blumer’s first two elements set up and create pride in one’s own group and the stereotyping of others. Third, establishing group position involves the belief that there are “proper or proprietary claims over certain rights, resources, statuses and privileges—those things that in-group members are duly entitled to (Bobo and Hutchings 1996:955). Fourth, Blumer argues that out-group members are perceived to feel entitled to a greater proportion of the power possessed by the in-group (Blumer 1958; Bobo 1999; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Lyman 1984; Omi and Winant 1994; Winant 2000). These four factors combine to create a sense of group position and the development of stereotypes regarding outsiders. The discussion of Chief Wahoo as a racist symbol immediately puts those who like or align with Chief Wahoo in a position where they are defining themselves racially, the same way an opponent of Chief Wahoo is forced to define himself or herself racially when confronted with the mascot. This cues general beliefs about group position and the maintenance of group position. The resistance to changing Chief Wahoo can be seen as a resistance to racial equality and the maintenance of racial subordination. By this same line of logic, challenging Chief Wahoo can be understood as an attempt to reclaim power from groups that perceive racial hegemony.

Since group identity trumps individual identity in issues of racial prejudice, most, if not all, whites (the assumed dominant group) will succumb in some form to the dominant racial position of maintenance. In his work entitled “The Future of the Color Line” Blumer (1965:322–323) argues that the color line “represents a positioning of whites and Negroes as abstract or generalized groups; it comes into play when members of the two races meet each other not on an individual basis but as representatives of their respective groups. . . . Whites adhere to the color line when and where the social code requires its application.”

This explains the Chief Wahoo issue because even those who feel privately that Wahoo is a stigmatizing image have to reconcile this with their public obligation to maintain the subordination of groups that are lower in the power structure. Even many whites that acknowledge the harm caused by Cleveland baseball may not be

willing to commit fully to fighting it in a substantive or meaningful way because of a feeling of obligations to racial group position (Bobo 1999; Bobo and Hutchings 1996).

It is likely that those who define the image positively and negatively will be using entirely different reference groups to inform their definitions of the symbol. The discussion earlier on racial hegemony, conflict, and white frames of view helps us understand the views of the majority in this conflict. In addition, Mead (1934) argues that we actually see objects in a highly selective manner, a concept that he refers to as pragmatism, although this might also be understood simply as selective framing (Charon 2001; Goffman 1986). In this respect, one definition of Chief Wahoo might be selectively excluding ideas that are not excluded by another. This is important to the question of what perspective we have on the offensiveness of symbols. The concept of selective framing, in combination with racial hegemony and authority, allows us better to understand how a conflict can be so heated, yet seem to go nowhere.

In his work on debates over NAS, Silva (2007) offers a useful list of four public accounts used by RAs to counter challenger narratives regarding NAS. First, *denial of injury* involves framing the issue as one with no harm. Second, *assertion of benefits* frames the contested practice as something that actually creates benefits for either the challengers or the community as a whole, which outweighs the harm claimed by challengers. Third, *rejection to challenge* denies the validity of the challenge on the grounds that the challengers are of poor character or that the nature of the challenge threatens a vital part of the social system in which the challenge occurs. Fourth, *claims of authority* are not really independent public accounts but accounts that bolster the first three. When claiming authority, RAs argue that they possess a unique attribute that makes them more qualified to speak on the issue than challengers. Although Silva's (2007) analysis is restricted to accounts by RAs, his typology of accounts is useful in considering the frames of challengers as well. In the case of the debate over Native American mascots, those with authority would seem to have little to gain from a negotiation (substantive outcome *unimportant*) and no need to maintain good relations with the protestors who do not appear to be sports fans (relational outcome *unimportant*). Keeping this in mind, the negotiation strategy to use is avoidance, meaning no negotiation at all (Lewicki et al. 2004). This concept of negotiation explains the lack of action by those in authority in relation to Native American mascots.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This paper explores how individuals understand, define, and explain the symbols and names used to describe the baseball team in Cleveland, Ohio. My research aims to answer three basic questions. First, how do RAs of NAS understand and explain the importance of mascots? Arguing for the symbolic importance of mascots in sports can serve as a factor in the perspective of sports fans who oppose changing Chief Wahoo. Second, how is race presented differently in the understanding of Native American mascots of teams by challengers and RAs? Third, how is conflict negotiated between

the competing perspectives? Specifically, do individuals respond to arguments made by opponents or do they selectively exclude the rationale of opponents' arguments? These questions can be answered through a comprehensive review of literature and a systematic examination of public accounts.

To assess the function and uses of mascots, differing ways to define and use Chief Wahoo specifically, and the factors important in shaping perspectives on Chief Wahoo a data set was necessary that was both approachable yet could offer insight into how individuals actually frame their opinions on the topic. I analyze data based on a content analysis of editorials on the topic in newspapers over a period of 15 years.

Editorials and letters to the editor are an interesting data source for understanding how persons use mascots and how the debate over Native American mascots is framed for supporters and proponents. Written and published letters and commentaries do not provide true interaction and lack some elements of realistic conflict; however, these data present a consistent feed of interaction on the same topic over an extended period of time. In addition, the way that persons carefully frame their opinions in editorials and letters to the editor provides insight into how winners are determined in these conflicts. It is likely that many voices are excluded from the data. First, the dominant perspective may not be fully represented by elites who have control over the team. Although this is problematic, the research questions being answered with the data require an understanding of how race is used symbolically, and the current sample allows a first answer to these questions. Second, there are probably many marginalized voices not represented in this sample. Specifically, there does not appear to be—it is not completely known—a large Native American population represented in the sample. The lack of indigenous voices is problematic, but not unexpected. Overall, this sample is problematic but represents some of the best data available to answer the questions posed in this research. The data are popular discourse, which means they can be guarded. But in a symbolic interactionist framework this guarded discourse is performance and is, therefore, valuable. Although newspaper content lacks authenticity, its performative element illustrates the limits to which race is symbolically understood—even in guarded contexts. There are certainly limitations, but their unique contribution to answering this study's research question make the data viable.

To obtain this information I performed a content analysis of the results of a series of Lexis Nexis searches. Initially, I attempted to find information by doing a search using keywords "Chief Wahoo" and then a separate search using the keywords "Cleveland Indians." The latter search yielded such a substantial volume of results that it was not practical to analyze the data. In the end two searches were used. The first was "Chief Wahoo." This search yielded a workable number of results that were focused primarily on the debate about Chief Wahoo as a symbol (the focus of our study). The second search used was "Cleveland Indians" and "Mascot." Although there was a great deal of overlap, the second search added some substance to the data. I excluded everything but editorials and letters to the editor so that all of the quotes would be based on opinion instead of an attempt at objectivity that is seen in stan-

ard news articles. The searches were restricted to January 1993 through December 2007. After these limits were placed on the sample, 397 editorials were analyzed.

I first coded each of the articles as being in support of or against the use of Chief Wahoo and/or the name “Cleveland Indians.” The coding was “for” ( $n = 166$ ), “against” ( $n = 192$ ), or “other” ( $n = 39$ ). The other category consists primarily of articles that discuss Chief Wahoo in some historical context without overtly criticizing or endorsing Chief Wahoo or the name “Indians.” It could be argued that by not explicitly opposing Chief Wahoo and the name “Indians” that the other category passively supports the status quo. It is important to note that the majority of editorials support the use of Chief Wahoo, which can be seen as counterintuitive, since Chief Wahoo remains in existence today. The predominance of anti-Wahoo editorials is not surprising, considering that the primary focus of the editorials is the existence of Chief Wahoo and the name “Indians”; it makes sense that people fighting the norm would be more vocal. The groups were then considered separately and sections of the editorials were coded based on their relevance to the research questions of this project. Among the more important items in the coding scheme were “use of mascots—general,” “defining team above individuals,” “nonverbal communication,” “team support—general,” “pro-CW—tradition,” “pro-CW—no malice,” “pro-CW—pure symbol,” “pro-‘Indians,’” “anti-CW—offensive general,” “anti-CW—reinforces stereotypes,” “anti-CW—discrimination,” “anti-‘Indians,’” “perspectives pro—sports reference group,” “perspectives pro—nondiverse reference group,” “perspectives pro—selective view,” “perspectives con—diverse/Native American background,” and “perspectives con—nonsports reference group.” Each of these coded groups was then easily organized so that I could view all of the coded passages from the editorials within relevant themes.

## FINDINGS

### *The Function of Mascots*

Although the data are focused on editorials and opinions related to the Cleveland Indians and their mascot Chief Wahoo, the argued function of mascots becomes clear in a general sense. Understanding the importance of mascots is paramount to understanding dissensus in negotiating NAS. The more important NAS is perceived to be, the more compelling the argument for change needs to be. Silva (2007) argues that the more easily aligned a practice is with mainstream culture, the more difficult it is to challenge. This rhetoric is important because the persons putting forth the arguments perceive their justifications to be colorblind, therefore justifying the use of racialized symbols. The more firmly RAs frame NAS as not being about race, the more difficult it will be to create change.

The first function emerging is that mascots narrowly define athletic teams that are frequently changing in composition. Sports allegiance is based on allegiance to the team first and to the individual players second. In this passage, one person explains his opinion on Cleveland Indians players that have left for another team:

The one constant that bridges the history from Feller to Colavito to Robinson to Lofton and Alomar has been the name and logo. The beauty of the game of baseball is its timelessness and tradition, and the way those elements connect generations. The name and logo are at the heart of that tradition in Cleveland. . . . Players come and go, owners come and go, even sports venues come and go. But the name, the colors and the logo (or lack of logo) are what identify a team and conjure up the memories, the exhilaration and the heartbreak that are part of being a fan. These issues are not trivial, but they are being trivialized by those seeking to dump the Chief. (Colombo 1999)

In this example, the writer argues that those calling for Chief Wahoo's removal are being insensitive to those wishing for consistency in their memory of baseball players, what Silva (2007) refers to as a rejection of a challenge. Invoking the name of the team and mascot indicates an allegiance beyond just a group of individuals teamed together; this is an assertion of benefit. The mascot is a symbol of allegiance that allows people to focus and define what they support, even as its contents are changing. This highly representative sample implies that race has nothing to do with NAS.

Second, mascots serve to maintain team support and create a collective identity for the fans who support the athletic team. One fan discusses how Chief Wahoo helps him define himself and friends, "Whenever I see the Chief, I feel proud and know he symbolizes a very important part of my life. When I am out of town or in a foreign country, I am recognized by this symbol as a resident of Cleveland" (Gareis 1999). The RA is discussing Chief Wahoo as a means to affiliate with others through nonverbal communication. The symbol makes him part of a team just like the players, thus asserting a benefit while claiming authority (Silva 2007). This theme is prevalent and is important to the conflict over NAS. The data indicate that many persons felt solidarity with other Indians fans and the symbol of Chief Wahoo is the impetus for this solidarity.

Third, mascots evoke an emotional response through nonverbal communication on an individual level. One Indians fan states:

But how does it hurt to change the logo, the anti-Chief proponents say? Anyone who ever walked into the old Stadium when he was 7 years old with his since-deceased father or mother, anyone who has lived and died with this team for years, knows the answer to that question. Anyone who has taken his own children to games when all they cared about were hot dogs and cotton candy, and who has watched their interest, understanding and appreciation of the game grow, together with their loyalty to the team, knows why the name and logo are not to be discarded in a fit of political correctness. (Colombo 1999)

In this passage, the fan is discussing how Chief Wahoo itself is necessary for him to feel the solidarity and attain all of the advantages of his team support. Once again, the RA claims emotional authority on the issue of sports fandom and asserts a cathartic benefit to the contested practice. The three themes that have emerged indicate why and how mascots are important and also how difficult they might be to change.

These themes support racial hegemony and conflict perspectives. First, although there is some subtle acknowledgment that the symbols could be seen as offensive, they

are dismissed in support of the needs of those with authority: fans and ownership. Second, this is colorblind rhetoric of support, which dismisses the idea that support for the mascot or resistance to change could be related to race, reaffirming the idea that the only form of racism is conscious and overt racism.

### *The Debate on Chief Wahoo and the Cleveland Indians*

Not surprisingly, the data indicate that there is clearly a difference in the way that supporters and opponents of Chief Wahoo define and interpret the symbol. RAs define the mascot as a pure and arbitrary symbol in the present that helps them to identify their team and serve as a visual prompt for a number of positive memories. One fan notes:

The reality is that this 'movement' is a very small group of protesters, some of them not even Native Americans. I respect these individuals, but to believe that we embrace Chief Wahoo as an insult to the Native Americans is ludicrous. The caricature is just that, a caricature. Over the years, it has taken on its own presence, a very proud one. (Gareis 1999)

The data indicate a dominant way in which RAs align the practice of NAS. The RA denies injury by citing the intent of users and creators as the most important consideration and by arguing that only Native Americans can be offended. Specifically, this writer indicates a perspective on race consistent with Feagin's argument that many Americans think of racism as a lingering hangover as opposed to a consistent nightmare. Another fan notes:

But Chief Wahoo . . . Wahoo is a cartoon, man—created in whimsy, worn by fans with affection and endearment. Nothing hostile about it, either on the surface or subliminally. Now, I am not so naive as to suggest Cleveland is free of racism, but although I have heard many disparaging, hateful comments directed toward this or that ethnic group, I never one time heard anyone in this town make an anti-Indian remark. (Dirck 1999)

This passage is interesting as well because it notes lack of malicious intent, a common response, as a reason that the writer has no problem with the symbol. The emphasis is put on the dominant group's authority in determining whether something is offensive. The standard set by the majority of the supporters of Wahoo and the Indians is whether or not there is overt intent. Therefore, Chief Wahoo is defined by proponents as purely symbolic and referent with no negative attributes.

The importance of Chief Wahoo as a reason to resist change was pervasive among RAs. Specifically, many fans of Chief Wahoo frame challengers as overly sensitive and greedy minority groups attempting to steal power, invoking group position. One fan notes:

No other symbol says Cleveland louder and clearer than the Chief Wahoo logo. Cleveland will lose a significant symbol if the name and logo are taken away. Indians should consider it an honor to have a team logo named on their behalf. If we walk on eggshells to not offend people, our nation will be stagnant. These protesters are being too sensitive. (Aran and Sangiacomo 1993)

This illustrates Blumer's views on group prejudice. Embedded in this perspective is that whites and Cleveland are entitled to this symbol and that challengers threaten the dominant group. The symbol, according to this perspective, should be maintained because those that oppose Wahoo are just being too sensitive.

This sense of entitlement, leading to a perception of racial threat, can also be seen clearly in the following statement:

It never fails to amaze me how these so-called minorities complain about everything. Should we drop the term 'redskin potato'? *Indians* are not Native Americans, because their ancestors came here from Asia, and there was no America at that time. The only native Americans are the ones who were here during the Revolutionary War. (Speak Up 1996)

One form of maintaining racial subordination is to selectively define history. This representative perspective illustrates how maintenance of NAS legitimates past oppression by reaffirming the Western myth that America's founding is a victory over Native Americans.

Challengers of NAS in Cleveland attempt to give Chief Wahoo and the Indians meaning outside of sports. Most challengers frame their argument in terms of Chief Wahoo's stereotypical Native American characteristics and define the object in terms of its historical relevance outside of the issue of sports. One person notes:

The bucktooth Chief Wahoo character of the Cleveland Indians is the moral equivalent of the hook-nosed Jew or the Mexican in a sombrero taking a siesta. Why does the team continue to use it? The problem is that the line between the clearly offensive and the essentially harmless is not cleanly drawn. In a country where people knew to put aside ideological blinders long enough to tell the difference between an offensively bucktoothed caricature of a brightly red-skinned Indian and just the word "Indian," nobody would think these things needed regulation, and nobody would complain about overbearing regulations. (Hernandez 2006)

Although this is one of the most direct statements in the sample, I use it because it embodies most of the points that are put forth by opponents of Chief Wahoo. This challenger is attempting to redefine injury and creating a new standard for authority. There is really only one theme in the anti-Chief Wahoo perspective; the symbol is racist, and racism is a higher priority than consistency in sports. Surprisingly, perhaps as a deficiency in data, media pay no attention to the unique situation of Native Americans in the United States. Although the position is taken that Native Americans should receive the same consideration as other minority groups that are not turned into mascots, there is little public explanation or clarification of the unique racial history that makes Native American groups more likely to be categorized as mascots, making instances of NAS especially meaningful.

### *Forming Perspectives on Chief Wahoo*

Shibutani's (1955) argument that perspectives are reference groups aptly describes definitions and negotiations of NAS. Challengers of Chief Wahoo aligned with three

reference groups: Native Americans, non-sports fan, or culturally sensitive sports fan. One person refers to her Native American heritage arguing:

Sure. Stereotypes don't have feelings, or children who deserve to grow up with images that reflect who they are—not perfect images, but realistic ones. While Little Black Sambo and the Frito Bandito have gone the way of minstrel shows, Indians are still battling a red-faced, big-nosed Chief Wahoo and other stereotypes. No wonder people are confused about who Indians really are. When we're not hawking sticks of butter, or beer or chewing tobacco, we're scalping settlers. When we're not passed out drunk, we're living large off casinos. When we're not gyrating in Pocahoonie outfits at the Grammy Awards, we're leaping through the air at football games, represented by a white man in red face. One era's minstrel show is another's halftime entertainment. It's enough to make Tonto speak in multiple syllables. And it's enough to make hard-working, decent Indian folks faced with more urgent problems take to the streets in protest. Personally, I'd rather take in my son's Little League game, but as long as other people insist on telling me when to be honored or offended, or how I should look or talk or dance, I will keep telling them otherwise. To do nothing would be less than honorable. (Pyrillis 2004)

Based on her primary reference group, Native Americans, the challenger defines NAS differently from persons without this authority.

Another challenger writes, "A lot of times Indian people get stereotyped as just a part of the Old West. But they are very much a part of this new century; we didn't die with John Wayne." These perspectives fail to align in any meaningful way with those of retention advocates meaning that meaningful interaction on the topic between the two sides is highly unlikely. The theme illustrates Blumer's point that a race or ethnicity losing a group prejudice conflict is likely to define a situation differently from a group in power.

Next is the non-sports fan perspective. Although many may sympathize with this opinion, it fails to align in any way with the perspective of RAs who possess the upper hand in public accounts of contested practices. RAs argue that sports mascots are important enough to outweigh prejudice. In contrast, challengers of NAS will almost always use a non-sports fan reference group as the basis for how they define the object. This theme is consistent throughout the responses, demonstrating a desire for many sports fans to distance themselves from political reference groups when considering this issue.

One way RAs counter these perspectives is to reclaim racial expertise and authority by cherry-picking Native American RAs:

The taxpayers of Cuyahoga County built Jacobs field and the majority are in favor of keeping the Wahoo logo. In 1997, I was employed part-time at Jacobs field and sold the very merchandise that Vernon Bellecourt so despises. From that experience, I know that not all Native-Americans want Chief Wahoo laid to rest. In fact, two customers of Native American ancestry said they were proud of the moniker. I have a friend in Youngstown who has Native American ancestry. She

and her three children adore the Indians and have no animosity toward Chief Wahoo. Baseball is a business, and if you don't like the product you don't have to buy it. If Chief Wahoo annoys any baseball fan that much, root for the cute and adorable Cubs. (Lennon 1999)

This illustrates Mead's concept of pragmatism because the individual is not critically examining his own perspective, only seeking someone to agree with his perspective; this is highly selective and reaffirms the myth that racism no longer exists, unless it is direct and intentional (Feagin 2006; Feagin et al. 2001).

One challenger counters:

I was transferred to a federal lab in Cleveland 10 years ago, where my Cleveland employees were shocked that I found the Indians' mascot, Chief Wahoo, offensive. Several even worried that I'd force them to take the mascot's picture off their office walls. I assured them that, personal feelings aside, I wouldn't do that. But I also informed them that if some other folks were to start a team called, say, The Sambos, in nearby Akron, with a black (instead of red) Sambo as their mascot, they would get the same treatment from me. One rule for everyone. Although no one would think of using the derogatory black Sambo image because of the reaction it would generate, attempts at pointing out the similarity with Chief Wahoo are sometimes pooh-poohed. I've seen no difference in sensitivity—or lack thereof. Apparently, discrimination remains OK, provided the group you're insulting and demeaning is too small in numbers to cause you any harm. (Huntsman 2007)

This argument frames retention advocates as too selective in defining NAS. The data indicate that reference groups are very influential in dictating the perspective one holds on the topic.

Perhaps the most interesting perspective that emerges from the data is the sympathetic sports fan. These individuals challenge Chief Wahoo while also aligning with a pro-sports perspective. One person notes:

I am a lifelong, dyed-in-the-wool Cleveland Indians fan and a season ticket-holder dating back to Cleveland Municipal Stadium. I love the team name, colors and logo and my family has a vast array of Indians' caps, T-shirts, sweatshirts and jackets. However, it has become increasingly clear to me that the team must change its offensive moniker and mascot, Chief Wahoo. The issue is not whether white, black, Asian or Hispanic Clevelanders believe that the team name should be construed as derogatory or racist, but whether Native Americans feel that way. Obviously, they do. (Pomerantz 1999)

In this particular case, the person still identifying himself as a fan is clearly indicating that he does not want to be grouped with certain other fans. This perspective distances the writer from authority on racial harm while establishing authority on fandom. The fact that this individual is such a large financial supporter of the team and does not indicate that any action will be taken past writing the letter indicates that he still subscribes to the dominant group. However this is an interesting perspective.

Another person writes:

As a transplanted Clevelander I still find myself following the exploits of the city's sports teams. While I am a die-hard supporter of the Cavaliers, Rockers, Lumberjacks and Browns, my attitude toward the Indians has always been ambivalent. The uncertainty stems from the use of Chief Wahoo as the team symbol. While many feel that he is only a cartoon, others are offended by this undignified representation of a people and their culture. Although I acknowledge that no consensus has been reached on this issue, I was still shocked to read about the actions of certain fans at the team's home opener. Specifically, I am referring to those who yelled racial insults and taunted protesters with the tomahawk chop. Never have I been more ashamed to say that I am from Cleveland. This type of intolerant behavior is befitting of 1960s Birmingham, not Cleveland in 1999. It is time for fans to wake up and realize that they are offending a significant segment of the population. At the very least, Clevelanders should attempt to understand the opposing viewpoint and learn to respect it. By denying the legitimacy of protests against the symbol and by acting out against protesters, the city is propagating a racist legacy that legitimizes the title "Mistake by the Lake." (Tamaskar 1999)

Reference groups are clearly important to the perspective, because, in theory, they are the only group that has a chance to gain any ground in this cultural negotiation because they can align with both challengers and retention advocates. However, this is the rarest consistent theme in the data set.

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The question of how racial hegemony and ideas of group position contribute to the perspectives used to frame Native American symbols has received relatively little attention but is central to understanding why efforts to change the symbol of the Cleveland Indians have been stagnant. NAS exists for the same reason many other stereotypical images of the past century have existed, through white authority over the dissemination of information and popular culture (King and Springwood 2001a; Tovaes 2002). However, what has helped maintain negative symbols is the consistent lack of representation of Native Americans in positions of power in athletics, politics, or popular culture, something that has not been quite as problematic for other minority groups (Davis and Rau 2001). In addition, the data indicate that the unique place that Native Americans hold in the narrative of American history, combined with the colorblind logic of current racial hegemony, makes challenges to Chief Wahoo easily dismissible in the minds of RAs. This means that information on the topic for younger generations comes from sports fans and older white generations that are used to the tradition and sports customs associated with Native American mascots (Bird 1996; Davis 2002; Davis and Rau 2001; Felon 1999). Perspectives and the difficulties that arise in trying to change them are central to the question of perceived impact and need to change stereotypical symbols.

Symbolic interactionism contributes to our understanding of NAS as a contested practice. Mascots are believed to exist for a number of reasons; they encourage collective identity, mediating competition, nonverbal team support, and emotional investment. Sports fans define these as important enough reasons to reject calls for change. This rationale is contingent on the fact that many Americans believe in a colorblind status quo, meaning that modern relics of racism may be unfortunate but do no actual sustained societal harm. Those opposed to changing Chief Wahoo do so because they define the object differently from others. RAs set NAS apart from racialized discourse, using all four forms of public accounts set out by Silva (2007). This can be explained as maintenance of racial subordination through the maintenance of NAS.

This perspective contrasts greatly with challengers to NAS who define Chief Wahoo as anti-Native American. The varied definitions of Chief Wahoo are attributable to the reference groups and the selective view of each side. Proponents tend to use “sports fan” as their reference group and selectively exclude political or cultural reference points in considering the topic. Opponents, on the other hand, use reference groups that go outside of the arena of sports, such as non-sports fans and Native Americans. The debate and opinions on the topic are made clearer when considered through the lens of symbolic interactionism. No form of collaborative negotiation will occur on this issue unless those with authority see a relational and outcome benefit to compromising with Native American groups, or without challengers aligning culturally on some level with a prosports perspective.

This is the only article, to my knowledge, to discuss the debate over Native American mascots as a structured negotiation governed by symbolic communication. A paper that engenders a better understanding of the debate over Native American mascots will, I hope, encourage others to seek out potential solutions to this problem. Clearly, this debate is a matter of the varying perspectives that people use based on the reference groups that inform their perspectives. Future action should be geared at adding reference groups for sports fans that show alternate sides of the issue.

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