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Author(s)	Table of Contents	Page
Catalina Herrerias	An Inside Look at Dr. Ralph G. O'Sullivan's Body of Work	1
Ralph G. O'Sullivan	Cursillo in Social Movement Literature	5
Ralph G. O'Sullivan	Voluntary Serfdom: An Ideological Journey into Dual-Class Labor Conflicts and Possible Workers' Solutions	15
Ralph G. O'Sullivan	Fictional Reality and the Portrayal of Justice in Modern Sociology and Contemporary Novels	37
Ralph G. O'Sullivan	Social Variance as it Exists Between Conformity and Deviance: Following Some Advice from Ogburn	62
Ralph G. O'Sullivan	Shaping Visual Sound: A Friendly Look at Total Institutions and Their Role in the Subculture of Competitive Marching Music	76
Ralph G. O'Sullivan	Combining Merton's Strain Theory with Labeling Theory and Moral Entrepreneurs	99
Ralph G. O'Sullivan	Culture Wars Against Religion and a Gathering of Triangulated Responses to Them	108
	Author's Manuscript Submission Form	129
	Preparation Checklist for ASA Manuscripts	130

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**AN INSIDE LOOK AT
DR. RALPH G. O'SULLIVAN'S BODY OF WORK**

Catalina Herrerias, Ph.D.
University of Oklahoma

Ralph G. O'Sullivan is a long-time friend of *Free Inquiry In Creative Sociology (FICS)*. Not only is he a frequent contributor, he is our very best external reviewer. He has reviewed countless manuscripts and prepared thoughtful, constructive, and thorough evaluations of many of our submissions— all with turnaround times of one to two weeks. Due to such commitment and scope of work, the Editors of *FICS* dedicate this special issue to him, allowing him to select previous articles for this issue as we learned more about him and his writings.

Dr. O'Sullivan received his B.S. and M.A. degrees in sociology from Eastern Illinois University. His Ph.D. in sociology was obtained from Western Michigan University. His high school history teacher, Mr. Leroy Greffin, showed him that alternative sources and methods of presentation can be just as enlightening as arcane and pedantic ones; and his E.I.U. professor' and good friend, Dr. Richard Hummel, taught him to dig deep and expand generously and reasonably. These mentors, and his diversified publication record, helped shape Dr. O'Sullivan's domain beliefs about writing sociology that he uses as reminders to himself.

The first work of the issue is "**Cursillo in Social Movement Literature**" (*FICS* 1997 25:2). It was his third article on the religious move-

ment. Similar to this one, the others, including a fourth, article discuss elements of Cursillo. His article identifies Cursillo as a redemptive *religious* movement, and that distinction is important. Dr. O'Sullivan considers this article his most formal piece as it addresses the social *movement* dimensions of Cursillo at the macro-, the middle-range, and the micro-levels of analyses. The macro-approach, social strain theory, shows that the Cursillo movement is one response to attacks against religion and Christianity. Faithful witnesses rally together to reaffirm their beliefs, identities, and sense of purpose— a theme that Dr. O'Sullivan reprises in a current piece in *FICS* addressing culture wars against religion.

After 25+ years of teaching, Dr. O'Sullivan left academia for private industry. "**Voluntary Serfdom: An Ideological Journey into Dual-Class Labor Conflicts and Possible Workers' Solutions**" (*FICS* 2002 30: 2) was a case study of a harsh work environment where management and labor were at loggerheads, and Dr. O'Sullivan was a member of the labor force. He borrowed ideas from Marx and from Seeman as they formed an infrastructure to assess the workers' plight and possible means of adaptation via his second adaptation of Merton's goals-means scheme. Originally used in his article "Congregation

Switching and Religious Revitalization" (*FICS* 1995 23:1), he adapts Merton again to illustrate how disgruntled wage earners can adapt to an abusive and dangerous workplace.

"Fictional Reality and the Portrayal of Justice in Modern Sociology and Contemporary Novels" (*FICS* 2006 34:2) was his first directed use of literature to illustrate sociology. Dr. O'Sullivan had cobbled together a course in criminal justice for prison inmates. A friend suggested that he read some novels by James Lee Burke and by Kathy Reichs. He became acquainted with various novels given to him by family and friends to include writings by Alafair Burke, J.L. Burke, Patricia Cornwell, Janet Evanovich, and Sue Grafton. On separate visits to the local library, he found novels by Nevada Barr as well as ones originated by Oliver North. While on leave from his job for a workplace injury for a period of six months, he read more than one hundred novels by the identified writers. Dr. O'Sullivan commented that after reviewing the occupations of the stories' protagonists, and the type of justice discussed in his course were recalled, the article began to take shape.

Most of the authors' backgrounds prepared them to describe their star characters as they did: The stories were not autobiographical and the authors did not write as autoethnography, so Dr. O'Sullivan used the term "near-autobiography" to reflect the novelists' intimacy with their tales. The main characters in the books held a wide variety of jobs that he collapsed into more or less common occupational categories and the types of

justice they served. The article, however, served another purpose, as the second of three pieces concerned with social deviance and labeling theory. The first of these, "Moral Entrepreneurs, Local Morality, and Labeling Processes" (*FICS* 1994 22:1), expanded H.S. Becker's two *moral entrepreneur* categories of *rule creators* (legislators) and *rule enforcers* (police) to include *rule interpreters*. Dr. O'Sullivan then used his article about novels to extend the list of moral entrepreneurs as they pertain to the occupations of the protagonists. The third thematic installment is in **"Combining Merton's Strain Theory with Moral Entrepreneurs"** (*FICS* 2010 38:2). *Rule influencers* try to shape the judgments of rule creators with moral appeals, or bribes. *Rule pretenders*, like Merton's ritualists, feign conformity, "going along to get along," avoiding the consequences of overt disagreement. *Rule avoiders*, like Merton's retreatists, believe that rules are unjustly imposed, so they "drop out," seeking alternative meanings for themselves, as in B.F. Skinner's novel *Walden Two* that Dr. O'Sullivan discussed in his 2011 *FICS* article "Social Shepherding and Moral Nets as Found in Some Novels by Fyodor Dostoevsky, James A. Michener, George Orwell, B.F. Skinner, and C.S. Forester." (*FICS* 39: 1).

In his article, **"Social Variance as It Exists Between Conformity and Deviance: Following Some Advice from Ogburn,"** (*FICS* 2007 35:1) Dr. O'Sullivan introduces social variance as what exists between conformity and deviance in modern sociology. He holds that novelists often exist on the

periphery of core social institutions and hold ideas about key social and sociological issues in a manner that an audience can readily access and easily understand. Dr. O'Sullivan's writing demonstrates that conformity and deviance are created in the very process of norm construction which dictates what we should and should not do.

Dr. O'Sullivan's "**Shaping Visual Sound: A Friendly Look at Total Institutions and Their Role in the Subculture of Competitive Marching Music**" (*FICS* 2008 36:1) is one of his two favorites—the other is the one about his grandfather. The article represents another "perfect storm" of causality. Dr. O'Sullivan found only two written accounts of participation in competitive music and no reflections in the social sciences as he prepared his article. He hoped to fill that void as readers gained some insight about the positive effects of total institutionalization in this sensory rich *visual sound* subculture that is comprised of "artistry, ambition, athleticism, and awards." This article combine his insider's voice from "back in the day," observations of the type that prompted the study, interviews, daily score-keeping from field competitions, and the use of some electronic archives. It was in one of these, Dr. O'Sullivan says, that he came across a picture of his drum and bugle corps, the Berwyn Blue Knights from Berwyn, IL, in a parade where he was in the drum line.

Unlike the other articles in this issue, "**Culture Wars Against Religion and a Gathering of Triangulated Responses to Them**" is a new article that addresses modern claims about culture wars against religion, putting

them into historical contexts and lending support to his previous article on the social movement of Cursillo. It is included in this issue due to convenient timing, so Dr. O'Sullivan addressed it in the same ways as he did for the other inclusions. This article has three meanings. The first is that it combines elements of social psychology with historical specificity to the three paradigms discussed in "Cursillo in Social Movement Literature" article—social strain, resource mobilization, and expectancy-value. The second consideration is that external sets of information sometimes appear unexpectedly, creating useful alliances with original thoughts. The third element of importance for this article, and all submissions, is the role of the peer review process. Dr. O'Sullivan received opposing comments about his original submission so he addressed the constructive ones in his revision.

This summarizes the works of Dr. O'Sullivan that appear in this volume of articles. We hope that our readership will enjoy reading them as much as the editorial staff did in compiling them. Contact Dr. O'Sullivan directly at: 230 N. Louise Street, Chillocothe, IL 61523, rgodoc@hotmail.com.

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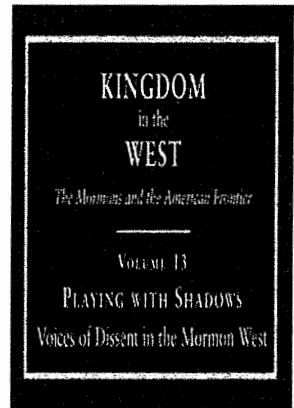
Playing with Shadows: Voices of Dissent in the Mormon West

Edited by Polly Aird, Jeff Nichols, and Will Bagley
 ISBN 9780870623806

The personal journeys of four Latter-day Saints who came to doubt the faith.

This collection of narratives by four individuals who abandoned Mormonism—"apostates," as Brigham Young and other Latter-day Saint leaders labeled them—provides an overview of dissent from the beginning of the religion to the early twentieth century and presents a wide range of disaffection with the faith or its leaders.

Historians will value the range of beliefs, opinions, complaints, hopes, and fears expressed in these carefully annotated life histories. An antidote to anti-Mormon sensationalism, these detailed chronicles of deeply personal journeys add subtlety and a human dimension to our understanding of the Mormon past.



CURSILLO IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT LITERATURE*

Ralph G. O'Sullivan
Chillicothe, IL

ABSTRACT

Cursillo has its origins in Spain the late 1940s. Initially a Roman Catholic venture, it now occurs in several Christian denominations retaining the task of promoting religious renewal or revitalization for its members. Since there are no publications which appropriately place *cursillo* in social movement literature this article accomplishes the task using social strain, resource mobilization, and expectancy value theories.

*Originally printed in *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology* 1997 25(2).

INTRODUCTION

There are few singular analyses of *cursillo* in the sociology of religion and these are by Dragostin (1970), Marcoux (1982) and O'Sullivan (1988, 1989). The titles for two of these works, "The *Cursillo* as a Social Movement" (Dragostin 1970) and *Cursillo: Anatomy of a Social Movement* (Marcoux 1982), suggest that the reader is included in conversations about *cursillo* as a unique social movement. Because these publications never truly satisfy the expectation, this study of *cursillo* does that which has been left undone by providing a selective triptych of theoretical scenes to describe and explain *cursillo* as a redemptive religious movement.

Several tasks must be accomplished to make this undertaking successful. First, basic dimensions of social movements are reviewed to classify *cursillo* as a social movement. Second, three theories are offered at the macro-level of analysis, the middle range level of analysis, and the micro-

level of analysis to explain how *cursillo* is constructed and directed toward the religious re-creation of the self. Third, the redemptive appeal of *cursillo* is reviewed to delineate this movement from other, secular self-help or self-improvement programs.

When the responsibilities of this article are completed there will be an addition to the body of knowledge about the movement which has received scant sociological attention. These analyses begin with summaries of information about movements.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

There are many definitions for social movements so a recent interpretation is used:

A movement is constituted by human beings engaged in discourses and practices designed to challenge and change society as they define it (Garner 1996).

While it is tempting to identify all varieties of social movements it must be remembered that there is often

interaction between them which hinders the ability to separate their limits, goals, and memberships (Aberle 1966; Garner 1996; Heberle 1968; Roberts and Koss 1979). When more ideas of Aberle (1966) are used, *cursillo* is labeled as a redemptive movement since it is oriented toward the complete reawakening of the self. This classification is extended to designate *cursillo* as a redemptive religious movement since it occurs in sacramental Christian denomination that have defined religious histories, theologies, and promises of salvation. *Cursillo*, then, is composed of members who have gone through similar transformations, who are sympathetic to its purposes, and who bring others into the "psychological crowd" (Park and Burgess 1924) in a collective process.

With a preamble to the study of *cursillo* as a redemptive religious movement completed there is need to turn to the combined works of several social scientists to identify some of the general traits of social movements which are used in this study. Because social movements revolve around complex moral issues, the expression "moral intuition" (Jasper 1991) refers to a people's visions of that which is morally "right" and that which is morally "wrong." A "moral shock" (Jasper 1991) happens when those visions are threatened. Social or religious mores defining right from wrong become indistinct and produce anomie (Durkheim 1951) when accepted voices of authority, knowledge, tradition, and social order are questioned, attacked, and driven by the principles of competing beliefs. People who experience such anomalies may undergo "para-

digm shifts" (Heinrich 1977) or "epiphanies" (Denzin 1989) to re-create noble constancy in their lives. Realigned religious identities (Fowler 1981; O'Sullivan 1995) can be brought by forming social movements to promote alternate principles, or by joining social movements whose views fit emergent ideals.

Many sacred and secular redemptive movements have charismatic leaders of origin (Aberle 1966), but each is dependent upon a "moral community of believers" (Jasper 1991) whose members have a "common paradigm of experience" (Gusfield 1968) to "spread the word" evoking radical or subtle reforms in a region. Because social movements vary by parentage, leadership, conviction, intent, discourse, practice, and history, three sociological theories are used to portray the diversity of *cursillo* as a redemptive religious movement.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY APPLIED TO CURSILLO

Social movement studies have been dominated by social strain and resource mobilization theories. These two approaches are used in conjunction with expectancy-value theory (Klandermans 1984) to describe and explain *cursillo*.

Social Strain Theory

The tenet of this theory is that social movements have natural histories derived from objective and subjective interpretations of social strain and anomie (Garner 1996; Smelser 1963). The premise is joined with contributions from Jasper (1991) to promote

the conclusion that social movements are centered around efforts to invalidate the sources and teachings of those beliefs which create normative disarray in order to reform intellectual, social, moral, and ideological normalcy in a population. Such writers as Bord and Faulkner (1983), Mauss (1975), Smelser (1963), Cleary (1985), and Pena (1995) would endorse this scenario when it is applied to the beginnings of *cursillo* in Spain following the civil and second world wars.

Spain was then rife with local codes like republicanism, anarchy, fascism, nationalism, communism, and splintering within Roman Catholicism which weakened it and the parent theology (Garner 1996; Marcoux 1982; Michener 1968; Pena 1995). The profane beliefs and advocates were reasoned enough to curry favor with many Roman Catholics, goading them to disavow religion, to reject religion's "flattened" teachings (Fowler 1987), to sample replacement lessons (Garner 1996), and to migrate with patterns of belief-exit and belief-entry religious innovation (O'Sullivan 1995).

Spain's balkanization and the people's disenchantment with the ecclesia aroused a layman, Eduardo Bonnin, and a cleric, Bishop Juan Hervas, to explore new or alternative methods to present personalized images of religion to apostates and to those who were being courted from it (Bord and Faulkner 1983; Marcoux 1982). The manifest intentions of Bonnin and Hervas led to *cursillo*'s first retreat in Mallorca during January 1949, and it has since been diffused to other locales such as South America and the U.S. where it serves similar purposes.

From the perspectives of colonial and evangelical history South America has been almost as ecclesiastic as Spain. However, recent events in the region have shown that there is much dissent converging on such issues as international capitalism, allegations of political corruption, charge of abuses of power in the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant missionaries, Marxism, and liberation theology. This climate in areas of South America is almost identical to that of Spain when *cursillo* began. Consequently, *cursillo* was introduced into the region as one theology of reconciliation to defuse the tide of disenchantment with the church and defection from it (Cleary 1985; Pena 1995).

Whether or not *cursillo* is an effective tool against liberation theology is a matter of conjecture. Liberation theology is directed toward the vulnerable masses in the areas that represent a political-economic minority and are racked from maltreatment, corruption, and exploitation at the hands of those who represent a political and economic majority. *Cursillo*, on the other hand, is directed toward the categories and social classes of people who are more privileged (Cleary 1985; Marcoux 1982), who support the church, and who use such influence or power they have to promote Roman Catholicism against the populist beliefs of liberation theology. The conflict there has yet to be settled.

The diffusion of *cursillo* into the U.S. shows that it has been adopted in many dioceses and synods of the Episcopal, Lutheran, and United Methodist churches as an element of instructional technology for several

plausible reasons. First, because these religious chapters are also sacramental the composition and contents of the original cursillo are easily translated into the liturgies, rubrics, and rites of the borrowers. Second, the popularity of cursillo in the Roman Catholic community may have prompted leaders in the other denominations to join the bandwagon and vie for their fair market shares of new members in a competitive environment (Iannaccone, Olson and Stark 1995).

Certainly the social climate of Spain in the late 1940s is not present in the U.S. today, just as the era should not be considered as a viable stimulus for the growth of cursillo outside Roman Catholicism. Yet because assorted threats to Christianity still exist, there is continual need to retain standardized and essential curricula of religious education, to present and preserve the promises of deliverance, to actively reconstitute membership rolls, to preserve the religion, and to re-introduce defectors to the religion and to the churches from which they had strayed.

The means by which the goals are partially met are built into the configuration of a cursillo weekend retreat. As the retreat progresses, the novices or candidates are offered a series of fifteen *rollos* or religious talks that are given by members of the laity and the clergy who direct the weekend. Each rollo is scripted and sequentially presented to facilitate the candidates' epiphanies or paradigm shifts (O'Sullivan 1989). The first rollo, entitled "Ideal," asks all players to reflect upon the lifestyles they have led and upon the "isms", "ologies", and work/aca-

demie endeavors to which they have given allegiance or have been dedicated. An intimated message or call in the talk is to create cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957) in the minds of the candidates without attacking any particular lifestyle or belief system. The candidate is allowed to deconstruct a personal doctrine or way of life. Once the seeds for dissonance have been sown, the remaining rollos, group discussions, and worship services allow candidates to discover cognitive consonance (Festinger 1957) with a religious theme by way of reconciliation with God and with the person's denominational affiliation.

A change in religious feelings on the part of an individual, however, does not create a social movement. The application of social strain theory to cursillo has tandem attributes. *Cursillistas* or members of the cursillo community strive to recruit new members through their various social contacts, thereby increasing personal expertise about the movement in a centripetal direction. Then, once the recruits become cursillistas, they too are encouraged to become evangelists or proselytes for cursillo, increasing public awareness about the movement in a centrifugal direction.

Conflicts of belief are rarely won, but they can change course by redefining moral debates. Cursillo was born in a time of social disruption in Spain and the movement has similar purposes in regions of South America, just as it exists in the U.S. to neutralize contemporary vulgar, populist, or secular attacks to the religion and its participating churches. The modern religious movement now deserves fur-

ther investigation with another sociological device.

Resource Mobilization Theory

The second approach which defines these analyses is resource mobilization theory that has been created and refined by such authors as Iannaccone et al (1995), Gusfield (1968), Lawson (1991), McCarthy and Zald (1977), and Tilly (1978). It is an organizational approach which specifies that holdings of human skills, various forms of capital, and material culture are invested to yield high profits in the forms of goal attainment and membership recruitment (Garner 1996; Iannaccone et al 1995). An aspect of this theory is that social movements and their regional cells/pockets of activity need managerial guidance. The superintendence is provided by a "directed" segment consisting of organized and structured groups with specific programs [of study for reform], a formal leaderships [core], definitive ideology, and stated objectives. Its followers are members of an organization as well as partisans to a belief (Gusfield 1968).

The directed segment of a movement has the obligation of dispensing the movement's cultural package to attract religious seekers (Iannaccone et al 1995; Lofland 1966). A cursillo center's boards of management are the steering committee, the servant committee, and the secretariat. They are all comprised of members from the laity and the clergy who have ascended the status hierarchy of a center by learning how to "talk the talk" and "walk the walk" of cursillo and by way

of volunteerism for the movement (O'Sullivan 1988, 1989).

Resource mobilization can be called the resolve side of strain for a cursillo center. Since the weekends vary by religious chapter, the rollos are apt to be modified to fit the characteristics of the host denomination, and daily details of a weekend need to be adjusted for large or small numbers of participants. The weekend retreats usually begin on Thursday night and end on Sunday, but in others there are time abbreviations. In some cases a cursillo center receives candidates almost monthly, yet in some locales a cursillo weekend occurs just once a year. After the governing boards of a cursillo center receive ideas, advice, and suggestions from their respective national offices, the panelists make purposive decisions to cover wide varieties of exigencies relative to local population venues.

Another comparison is now possible between this application of theory at the civic level with events in Latin America. Remember, cursillo was introduced into that region as a theology of reconciliation or redemption in an effort to conquer the attractions of liberation theology for those who felt dissonance between themselves and government, the economy, the church, and the mavens of theoretical theology. Many liberationists believe that the church itself can be freed by returning it to the people or by having the people take back that which has been taken from them. The people must involve themselves collectively, effectively, and passionately.

Comunidades eclesiales de bases

or base Christian communities (CEBs) (Cleary 1985; Pena 1995) are similar to cursillo centers in that they are comprised of local partisans who have been recruited, have a feeling of sisterhood or brotherhood with their fellows, gather for worship, community action, and study, define the church in personalized terms, and feel they have found a spiritual hangout for themselves. Cursillo centers and base communities are also havens of respite, renewal, and encouragement in the face of competition.

The principle differences between cursillo centers and the CEBs are their degrees of bureaucratic composition. The base communities are laity-rooted and decentralized units, being the manifestation of praxis between their members and clergy in the church's theocracy who have contaminated theological tradition by "selling out" to sirens of economic and political power. Cursillo centers, though, exist with the approval of their churches, have designated spiritual directors who are members of the clergy, and whose roles and events are overseen by members of the churches' hierarchies. They are units to be administered by having their assets laid out to provide maximum economic returns on investments.

Expectancy-Value Theory

There is another theory which completes the triple casing of sociological pictures about cursillo as a redemptive religious movement. That image addresses the social psychology concerns of membership and identity. Resource mobilization theory has been charged with over-emphasizing

the organizational and instrumental elements of a social movement while downplaying the individual member (Klandermans 1984). Nevertheless, the contributions the theory and social strain theory have made to the study of social movements helped support the formulation of expectancy-value theory. The two approaches allow logical shifts of emphases from macro-level concerns to middle range level interests to micro-level issues which have dual attributes affecting social movements' courses.

First, *consensus mobilization* identifies articulated public relations campaigns which broadcast communal and non-specific evidence about a movement to a community (Klandermans 1984) as the efferent drive for a movement. This action is conferred with the mass media public relations blitz enacted by the "Divine Precepts" church (Lofland 1966). Second, *action mobilization* refers to specific support of a social movement by enlisting new members (Klandermans 1984) as the afferent energy *within* a movement.

The righteous claims or emotional appeals in both motivational actions will contain debatable truths. Even though the "right"- "wrong" dichotomies are open to interpretation, they have economic merit when religious seekers or pre-converts define their enlistments as being profitable, when delinquent members define "re-ups" or re-enlistments as being beneficial, and when current members define continued presence as being valuable.

While expectancy-value theory emphasis is on the individual and cost-benefit analysis, the utility of the approach to the study of redemptive

religious movements, like *cursillo*, needs clarity. Precise explanation continues with departure from its principles and arrival in the realm of adaptation. The gain-loss and exit-entry dimensions of the theory revolve around the answers to complementary questions: "Redemption from what" and "Redemption to what?"

REDEMPTIVE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

An earlier section of this article presented an amended perspective of a redemptive social movement to describe *cursillo* as a redemptive *religious* movement. In light of the fact that this schedule is related to self-help or self-improvement groups (Turner and Killian 1987), a clear demarcation between their agendas must be made.

The analogous events are dependent upon a person's paradigm shift or epiphany of altered "moral nets" (Davis and Stasz 1990). The adjustment prompts the formation of new lifestyles and the creation of new networks of friends who have had similar psychological moments. Reformed ways of living are found in secular humanism and secularized religion or in many twelve-step recovery programs which rely on generous invocations of God's assistance. When the latter path is taken then the program should not be labeled as a redemptive religious movement. An organized theology, a defined religious history, and explicit sets of premises, promises, and salvific appeals are not the cornerstones for membership and participation.

This redemptive world view of *cursillo* is distinct because it contains

clear outlines of holiness and faith in the covenant of deliverance. *Cursillo's* regenerative invitations are built into Christianity's several prominent creeds and into additional bodies of internal literature. Fidelity to the belief is offered through re-proclamation, re-affirmation, renunciation, and sacramental inclusion.

It is in this context that Hoffer's (1951) ideas are used to state that leading a secular or an autonomous life is vile, barren, and sinful, which is insinuated in the "ideal" rollo. This contention lends some credence to a modified adage or parable: If an individual is so completely full of the self then there is no room for spirituality. Atonement is possible when the person-as-sinner becomes enlightened about amorality or immorality, how they are manifested, and how denunciations of personal demons and their nefarious deeds are possible.

Redemptive religious movements are composed of spiritually-motivated members who are penitent for their wicked ways, and who have put themselves into positions of piety with a divinity. The apostles amass their skills and supplies to help religious seekers who are entangled in dilemmas of faith, who are pursuing solutions for their quandaries of virtue, and who seek the company of empathetic others in a spiritual community.

Hoffer also states the co-processes of atonement entry into a state of piety with a godhead and joining a religious community, such as *cursillo*, are relatively simple.

"[T]o confess [sins] and repent is to slough off one's individual distinctiveness and separat-

rateness, and salvation is found by losing oneself in the holy one-ness of the congregation [of believers and the attendant creeds]." (1951)

Friends, family members, and work associates are the points of contact between a seeker and cursillo. The proselytes inspire the pre-converts to attend selective events prior to the retreat in order to taste some of its offerings and to meet its "fellowship of believers" (Heberle 1968). Members of the community greet the guests with a combination of general and specific compensators (Stark and Bainbridge 1987). "[C]ome join us...because we are the means of obtaining the right relationship with God" (Lawson 1991), and "We have found it and we will help you find it too" represent teasers often proclaimed by members to the visitors. Advocates assert the opinions that profits earned from membership are unlimited and that similar returns are available to all people of faith. The wholesale subjugation of the self to a group and its beliefs, however, has been the concern of social commentators.

As Christianity, its denominations, and their subcultures like cursillo have emerged, all begat controversy. Dragostin (1970) makes this point salient by excoriating cursillo with the claim that members are trapped in a closed, ethnocentric, self-serving, and vindictive club. Wayward citizens who belittle, neglect, or reject the congregation find that they are discredited, slighted, and ostracized by its members. His warning has literary allusion in

Skinner's (1948) trope about *Walden II*'s sheep which are kept in a symbolic pen and are overseen by a watchful dog lest they transgress.

A religious seeker's decision to join and maintain a career in cursillo is partially dependent on available opportunities (O'Sullivan 1988). The options are also functions of perceived gains or anticipated losses according to expectancy-value theory, whereby seekers join the movement to form religious bonds when had none not existed or to renew religious ties which had waned.

CONCLUSION: REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Cursillo is a redemptive religious movement directed toward the spiritual revitalization of its members. Entry into the cursillo community takes place during a retreat which occurs over an extended weekend. Cursillo's candidates or seekers are presented with a series of talks by members of the clergy and the laity who serve as the candidates guides. Until now, though, there have been no sociological observations to identify the qualities of cursillo as a social movement.

This article partially fills that void using social strain theory, resource mobilization theory, and expectancy-value theory, but the task is still incomplete. All efforts to describe cursillo, to explain it, and to interpret it are limited in scope by the general absence of sociologists who study it. Even so, it is not likely that there can ever be a completed picture of the movement. Events seen, described, and explained

should be filtered through diverse interpretive lenses such as those which have been used here.

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Stories of Old-Time Oklahoma

By David Dary

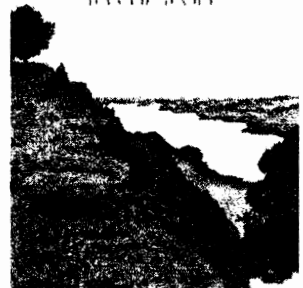
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Most of the stories gathered here first appeared as newspaper articles during the state centennial in 2007. For this volume Dary has revised and expanded them—and added new ones. He begins with an overview of Oklahoma's rich and varied history and geography, describing the origins of its trails, rails, and waterways and recounting the many tales of buried treasure that are part of Oklahoma lore.

But the heart of any state is its people, and Dary introduces us to Oklahomans ranging from Indian leaders Quanah Parker and Satanta, to lawmen Bass Reeves and Bill Tilghman, to twentieth-century performing artists Woody Guthrie, Will Rogers, and Gene Autry.

Reading this book is like listening to a knowledgeable old-timer regale his audience with historical anecdotes, "so it was said" tall tales, and musings on what it all means. Whether you're a native of the Sooner State or a newcomer, you are sure to learn much from these accounts of the people, places, history, and folklore of Oklahoma.

STORIES OF
**OLD-TIME
 OKLAHOMA**
 DAVID DARY



**VOLUNTARY SERFDOM: AN IDEOLOGICAL JOURNEY
INTO DUAL-CLASS LABOR CONFLICTS AND
POSSIBLE WORKERS' SOLUTIONS ***

Ralph G. O'Sullivan
Chillicothe, IL

ABSTRACT

This article identifies my paradigm shift toward greater acceptance of conflicts and alienation sociologies from Marx and from Seeman. Having never been a follower of their sets of ideas, ample evidence has been found in recreational and sociological literatures, and at work, to support the contention that they are more important than I had previously thought. The conclusion is derived from reviewing a variety of novels, poems, a travelogue, sociological findings on dual- and antagonistic-class structures, data about alienation, and putting a theoretical twist to Merton's goals-means model of adaptation.

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"Nothing like division of labor."
(Harriett Beecher Stowe,
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1984)

INTRODUCTION

I have hardly been a great fan of certain elements of conflict and alienation sociologies because I never really felt deprived. When I was young my family owned a cartage company in Chicago and we lived in a historic suburban village. Drafted into the army, I had cozy duty in Texas when other troops went to Viet Nam. In college my expenses were covered by veterans' assistance programs, graduate and research assistantships and separate teaching contracts. Without ever having a tenurable job, I was published, sat on M.A. thesis committees, was active in sociology associations, and was an Associate Editor for a jour-

nal which encourages creative sociology.

In spite of these modest successes, I left higher education due to the uncertainty of contracts from one term to another, where paychecks were unevenly distributed, in pursuit of other opportunities. My current employment in a privately-owned and non-union factory, and reflection on my twenty-five-something years as a scholastic outsider, have enticed me to rethink my favorite sociologies, forging a finer understanding of, and appreciation for, the conflict and alienation perspectives in sociology as they are related to the real presence of a dual-class and tension-based bourgeoisie-proletariat structure with its separate outlook of "rank has its privileges." The dramatic changes in employment core values and treatment of workers serve as the basis for this ideological journey.

Besides the normal library re-

search for a project like this, there were two related methods of gathering information. The first of these was ethnography, “the native’s point of view” (Harris 1968 572), which consisted of field observations and conversations with my fellow workers. This method is in agreement with the emic tradition in socio-cultural anthropology wherein testimony is acquired from a speaker who uses the voice of the “I” or the first-person singular. However, since the orator is often untrained in contextual analysis the research puts the idiographic accounts into nomothetic frames of reference as the etic heritage of anthropology allows (Geyer 2001; Harris 1968).

The second method of investigation for this article was the use of auto-ethnography or “reflective observation” (Forsyth and Palmer 1999), an “interior vantage point” (Hummel 1994), and “opportunities research” (Reimer 1977; Ronai-Rambo and Ellis 1989). This “complete-member-researcher” method (Adler and Adler 1987; Ronai-Rambo and Ellis 1989), the joining of the actor-orientation and the observer-orientation as the combined voices of the first- and the third-person singular, allows us to view the world of the “I” and the “the...” in a variety of ways. We can walk with my good friend Dick Hummel when he engages in, and writes about, blood sports as “I, the hunter-scholar.” We can sit in a night club and watch dancers hustle customers as “I, the table dancer-sociologist” (Ronai-Rambo and Ellis 1989). We can sit in a room and listen as a sports writer attends weekly meetings with his dying former sociology professor as “I, the reawakened-student” (Albom 1997).

We can eavesdrop on the customers of a restaurant in Chicago’s Hyde Park district as they tell each tall tales, friendly lies, and solve the world’s problems over coffee and food (Duneier 1992). Finally, we can ride with an outlaw motorcycle gang by reading about the experiences of “I, the biker-journalist” (Thompson 1967). This *analytic-experiential* and *inclusion* method of data gathering is in accord with a famous invitation for the sociologist to take an unfamiliar look at a familiar world (Berger 1963)— one wherein the investigator is first a participant in society, who then becomes an invigorated spectator whose own observations become the objects of study.

There are four facets to this study which lead to its successful completion. There is a need to identify how dual-class structures have been presented in the mass and popular media, for two reasons: First, it is through such entertainment outlets that many of the public’s perceptions of social stratification are derived; and second, those mediated realities lend support to the arguments made at the end of this article. Then, specific sociological interpretations of class data are reoffered through the writings of scholars like Weber (1978) and Edwards (1979) with targeted emphases placed on the contributions of Marx (1959) and Seaman (1959, 2001) which identify various dimensions of workers’ economic alienation. These debilitating experiences are discussed in detail because factory workers are subjected to varieties of devaluation and social indifference by an owner-managerial social class. The data about alienation

are followed by identifying the means by which workers can adjust to a harsh environment using the assorted methods of adaptation offered by Merton (1968). The body of the article is concluded with summary and cautious remarks about the presence and outcomes of the tensions between the "haves" and the "have-nots." The assembly of arguments begins by providing evidence from classical and contemporary literatures, as well as visual media, which underline the contention that there are many and varied forms of criteria for dual-class stratified systems.

RECREATIONAL SOURCE EVIDENCE

All literature reviews are undertaken with the purpose of supporting the author's point of view. With that in mind, let me remind the reader that social classes are not just categorical differences in lifestyles led by associations of people. If that were the case then the divisions would exist on a horizontal plane as simple nominal classifications. However, when some sort of *moral worth* or *social importance* is assigned to the groupings they are turned ninety degrees, a vertical angle to the original plane, now existing as ordinal categories—hence socially stratified.

The pieces of work used here do not represent all possible identifications of social-class systems; instead, they were chosen because they offer examples of bipolar arrangements. The search for evidence was entertaining because I had to locate appropriate passages in books I had already

read, and then find additional confirmation in new publications. The illustrations come from a variety of sources including general thematic novels, poetry, a travelogue, a book about sports, and several movies and television shows as they collectively identify the universality and the diversity of two-dimensional class structures. So, just who are these storytellers who have the audacity to be sociologists *sine qua non*, and what are the shows which have the gumption to teach sociology outside the classroom?

Some of the writers who were selected for quotation include such noted Euro-Russian authors as Victor Hugo of *Les Miserables*; Fyodor Dostoyevsky who wrote *Crime and Punishment*; Leo Tolstoy who composed the short story "Master and Man," and the controversial social conscience of Victorian England, Rudyard Kipling, who masterminded the poem "The Ballad of East and West." Reliance is also placed on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Theodore Roosevelt's exploits from *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*, as well as Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall's trilogy of books about the mutiny aboard the H.M.S. *Bounty*. Unfortunately, only snippets from these volumes can be used because of space limitations, but additional sociology can be found in them.

Four thematic novels are also reviewed, and they include Stowe's book again, Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country*, as well as Alexander Waugh's *Island in the Sun*, all of which are woven around racial politics. Then Leon Uris' *Trinity* is concerned with the politics of religion in strife-torn Ireland.

Several stanzas from Dr. Seuss' "The Sneetches" are also important, as are the contents of several movies and old television series, but first I begin with analyses from Hugo's Novel.

Les Miserables is a story with which I became familiar as a seventh-grade student. One of my teachers had an extra class period with us, and during it he would tell us about the adventures and the flights of the hounded Jean Valjean as he fled from the dogged detective Javert. Later in life I decided to read the book, and in my copy of it there is a wonderful line which depicts the Dickensian lifestyle of the underprivileged poor who were under the heavy-handed control of those people who had social influence and who held legal power.

As there is always more
misery at the bottom than
there is humanity at the top...
(Hugo 1987:8)

According to the French law at the time of the story, ex-convicts could still be relentlessly pursued by the police, under the assumption that they were always criminals. Valjean's continuing, though well-meant, activities automatically made him a permanent member of a criminal underclass of people— the prosecuted and persecuted poor.

The Russian crime story *Crime and Punishment* (Dostoyevsky 1950) also identifies the presence of two social classes, using a related variable to separate them— purely legal power, compared to the legal-poverty factor used by Hugo. Dostoyevsky's Dounia talks about her Raskolnikov's vision of social reality in the following passage.

I am not blaming him; please don't think that; besides, it's not my business. A special little theory came in, too —a theory of a sort— dividing mankind, you see, into material and superior persons, that are persons to whom the law does not apply owing to their superiority, and who makes laws for the rest of mankind, the material, that is (Dostoyevsky 1950:476).

The unequal distribution of legal power endorsed by both Hugo and Dostoyevsky is directly reflected in modern sociology through some writings of Becker (1963) who identifies the *rule creators* of society as legislators, and the *rule enforcers* as police. Likewise, O'Sullivan (1994) identifies the *rule interpreters* as jurors who determine if laws are correctly or wrongfully applied to allegations of illegal behavior, often in an adversarial contest consisting of the accusers and the accused— a dualistic legal proceeding.

A melding of these contemporary approaches with thoughts that are worthy of Hugo or Dostoyevsky, or an English legend, is derived from the history of hunting.

Hunting and fishing as sports were owned by the European aristocracy and preserved for them by law...Poachers continually challenged this domination by taking game whenever and wherever it offered itself. Laws provided draconian penalties for violators who

had the misfortune to be apprehended. (Hummel 1994:134)

Privileges and rights go to those who own them.

Tolstoy, the other enlightening and informed Russian author, wrote the poignant short story "Master and Man" (1977), and the title could stand by itself as evidence of dichotomous statuses. The tale involves a relationship between an astute and miserly businessman, Vasilli Andreich Bekhunov, and his employee-servant/serf Nikita.

Vasilli Andreich did not pay Nikita the eighty rubles a workman such as he was worth, but only about forty, which he paid without any proper reckoning, a bit at a time, and then for the most part not in money but in goods charged from his store at a high price (Tolstoy 1977:70)

Although Nikita owed his heart and his soul to the company store, he dedicated himself to his master with obedient and fatal loyalty. That which Tolstoy has successfully done for us, beyond describing a feudal economy, is to show the callous disregard for, and the vulgar exploitation of, one social class toward another— the "bread and butter," the *idée fixe* of conflict and alienation sociologies.

The first U.S. novelist in this work is Stowe via her book Uncle Tom's Cabin (1984). Stowe's character St. Clare, a member of New Orleans' gentry, is talking to his northern cousin Ophelia about local customs when the

following distinctions are made.

Look at the high and the low, all the world over, and it's the same story— the lower classes used up, body, and soul, for the good of the upper. So it is in England; and so it is everywhere; and yet all Christiandom stand aghast, with virtuous indignation... (Stowe 1984:211-212)

Total exploitation of the oppressed by the oppressors was institutionalized. Even though the practice was abhorred by many it was still allowed to exist, thus legitimizing it. This opinion is further advanced by one of the books more notorious characters, Simon Legree.

Legree took silent note of Tom's availability. He rated him as first-class, and yet felt a secret dislike to him—the native antipathy of the good for the bad. (Stowe 1984:349)

Legree, of course, considered himself to be the "good" guy because he was a white slave owner, whereas he viewed Tom as a "bad" guy because he was a black slave, even though the story proves otherwise.

Thus far, the cited findings underpin the premise that there are two major social classes in society which have caste-like or feudal qualities to them. However, they are locally determined, they are commonly called the "haves" and the "have-nots," with their attendant features and obligations to each other. Still, several questions may be lingering in mid-air, and they would include: "Is there to be any

blending of them or diffusion between them?" and "Is it possible for there to be more than one duality existing at any place or in any point in time?" There are answers to these questions.

With regard to the possible amalgamation between categories we can review parts of the poem by Kipling, visit one of the Bounty books, and then return to Stowe for the possible answer. First, Kipling's "The Ballad of East and West" clearly identifies the vision of English colonialism and imperialism on this subject.

Oh, East is East, and West is
West, and never the twain
shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand pre-
sent at God's great Judgment
Seat,
But there is neither East nor
West, Border, nor Breed nor
Birth,
When two strong men stand
face to face, tho' they come
from the ends of the earth!
(Kipling 1900)

This expansionist sentiment is also covered in Nordhoff and Hall's *Men Against the Sea* (1946), the second book about the events surrounding the H.M.S. *Bounty*.

This story recounts the heroic voyage of Captain Bligh and eighteen of his loyal seaman who were cast adrift by Fletcher Christian. In their forty-day journey, traveling about 3,400 miles across the Pacific Ocean in a launch the size of a large family van, the men visited some inhabited islands. The following lines depict how desperate men, but still Englishmen, look upon the mannerisms of some of the people who they encountered.

These Indians were unlike any we had seen in the South Sea; they were coal black, tall and remarkably thin, with long skinny legs. Two of the men stood leaning on their spears, with one knee bent, and the sole of the foot pressed against the inside of the other thigh— an attitude common as it was uncouth. (Nordhoff and Hall 1946:116-117)

As gaunt, starved, exhausted, and as hopeless and as helpless as they were, they were still able to look askance upon people whose mannerism were unfamiliar to them— that is, not Britons, but seen by others as "foreigners" in their own land.

A similar sentiment about cultural separation is contained, once again, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Now an aristocrat, you know the world over, has no human sympathies, beyond a certain line in society. In England the line is in one place, in Burmah another, and in America another, but the aristocrat in all of these countries never goes over the line. (Stowe 1984:224)

Together, Kipling, Nordhoff and Hall, and Stowe are telling us that cooperation is impossible: Such a thought is never even considered in the tradition of the "haves" for the "have-nots." It is evident then that that which creates any dualism and maintains it is simply ethnocentrism, and the ability of one category to exercise complete control over another.

In answer to the second question, it is possible for several dualisms to co-exist. There are hints of this issue in Hugo's volume, but Stowe's book is used again because of the logical substitutions derived from it, along with additional bolstering from Roosevelt. Stowe writes

[t]here stood two children, representatives of the two extremes of society. The fair high-bred child, with her golden hair, her deep eyes, her spirited, noble brow, and prince-like movement; and her black, keen, subtle cringing, yet acute, neighbor. There stood the representatives of their races. The Saxon, born of cultivation, command, education, physical and moral eminence; the Afric, born of ages of oppression, submission, ignorance, toil, and vice!
(Stowe 1984:244)

While Stowe's images are fragrant with the ethnocentric cultural conceit necessary for her story, we can take the categories "Saxon" and "Afric" and replace them with multiple substitutes: Republicans and Democrats, privately-schooled and publicly-schooled, upper-class and lower-class, full-time faculty and part-time faculty, the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, white-collar and blue-collar, military officers and enlisted personnel, as well as management and labor¹. The sets of labels are real and simultaneous, the identifiers being as important as the modifiers, and such arrange-

ments are universal, as is affirmed elsewhere.

Theodore Roosevelt is known for his Presidency, his burly anatomy, his robust lifestyle, and for his prolific writing. His book *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* (1920) is the tale of his travels and exploits in South America. It was there that he saw at least two dualisms existing together. One was based on religion, and the other was founded upon ethnicity. Roman Catholics were accorded higher social statuses than were members of any other religious or spiritual background because of the strong historic and missionary movements in the area. Then, Europeans, especially Spaniards, were accorded opportunities not available to others, for the same reason.

Two-tiered classes can be based on variables other than ethnicity, economics, the law, and religion. *Mutiny on the Bounty*, the first of the series, for example, reveals that sex-gender identity can also serve as a basis for social differentiation, depending on local mores, as in Tahiti during the time of the story.

[T]he Indians believe that Man was sky-descended, and that woman was earth-born; Men *raa*, or holy; Women *roa*, or common. Women were not permitted to set forth in the temples of the great gods, and among all

¹ An argument could also be made that Hummel's (1994:44-46) elitist-exclusive and democratic-inclusive attitudes toward sportsmanship fit into an opposing class system, but that would require work beyond the current project.

classes of society it was forbidden –unthinkable in fact– for the two sexes to sit down together. (Nordhoff and Hall 1960:84)

Not only did the Tahitians make earthly distinctions between men and women, but the division was given great credence because the separation had a supernatural source. This division was enacted in daily life as was shown in *Pitcairn's Island*, the final book about the mutineers. Having landed on that fateful island, Fletcher Christian and his followers sat down to eat.

The women, according to Polynesian custom, waited until the men finished before partaking of the food. Their hunger satisfied, the men drew apart and lay in the shade, some sleeping, some talking in desultory fashion. (Nordhoff and Hall 1936:41)

The reader may wish to explore beyond the meager offerings cited in these pieces of literature which contain confirmation of bilateral classes in other general novels, poetry and travel accounts. Several thematic novels, beyond Stowe's presentation of slavery in the antebellum South, contain similar distinctions based on racial politics. Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* (1948), for example, is concerned with the existence and the effects of apartheid in South Africa which was the law of the land for many years until its recent legal demise. Another novel about racial politics is *Waugh's Island in the Sun* (1955) which weaves a

complex story on a British-governed island in the West Indies. This novel, unlike Paton's and like Stowe's, addresses the subtle discrimination toward people of blended heritage in the manner that Stowe looked at the fates of the quadroons, the mulattos, and the Creoles in her story.

Changing direction, Uris' *Trinity* (1976) details social-class warfare in Ireland at the turn of the 1800s into the 1900s, but the conflict is between Irish Roman Catholics and British Anglican Protestants. Unlike Roosevelt's findings, the story's Roman Catholics are the underdogs, the "have-nots," in a land where the political and economic institutions are controlled by people other than themselves– that is, the numerically small but politically greater Anglo-"prots," a conflict which exists today. Without divulging too much of the stories' plots, it is sufficient to say that no matter how enlightened, noble-minded, and "modern" the privileged classes are, traditions and practices are often resistant to change.

All of the authors presented have done their homework well, for they have described societal scenes which are valid and are easy to envision. The writers can then be justifiably called sociologists without portfolios because they describe societies using readable and entertaining formulae, in much the same way that many of us can name a particular professor who made sociology, anthropology, or the humanities come alive for us.

The print media portion of this review is finalized with a humorous, though pointed, poem which is often considered to be children's literature, but really contains a high level of

social, moral, and adult sophistication. Dr. Seuss wrote in "The Sneetches":

Now, the Star-Belly
Sneetches
had bellies with stars.
The Plain-Belly Sneetches
had none upon thars.
Those stars weren't so big.
They were really quite small.
You might think such a thing
wouldn't matter at all.
But, because they had stars,
all the Star-Belly Sneetches
would brag, 'We're the best
of the Sneetches on the
Beaches.'
With their snoots in the air,
they'd huff and they'd snort
'well have nothing to do with
the Plain-Belly sort!'
And whenever they met
some, when they were out
walking,
they'd hike right past them,
without even talking
(Seuss 1961:3-4)

No interpretation of meaning is needed here.

If the works cited had to be called a "population" that was studied, they would be labeled a combination of purposive and convenience samples. They were chosen because they uphold my stance and my change of thought, and because they were available to me. They are not meant to exhaust the range of evidence in popular outlets; in fact, more findings can be seen in such moves as *Driving Miss Daisy*, *Dirty Dancing*, Ralph Macchio's *Crossroads*, and *The Cutting Edge*, as well as old television series like *Upstairs, Downstairs* and *Beacon Hill*. While such inquiries can be made

privately, it is now time to turn to sociological literatures on two-sided class conflict and worker alienation.

SOCIOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Almost any introductory sociology textbook informs the student that there are several sets of class structures in our society. One of these systems contains three categories being the upperclass, the middleclass, and the working or the lower class. Another configuration shows either five or six layers— the upper-upper, the lower-upper, the upper-middle, the lower-middle, and the upper-lower and the lower-lower or the poverty level. Then the third form, used in this article, contains just two categories comprised of the enfranchised or the "haves," and the disenfranchised or the "have-nots." So just how many systems are there and of what are they comprised?

All three stratified orders are consistent with public opinions formed by way of the mass media, making an absolute definition difficult, just as it is hard to identify perfect criteria for membership in any of the groupings. Further difficulties are posed because, depending on the criteria used, and the purposes to which they are put, we see multiple and contiguous categories. Emphasis here, however, is placed on the latter arrangement and the conflicts and the tensions which entail between the associations of people.

Any economic differences between clusters are based on a division of labor: People are skilled at different tasks, and organizations have complementary needs. The existence of a

bourgeoisie-managerial class is just as important for business as a proletariat-worker class. In a perfect world they work in cooperation for mutual benefit, but all too often the former exploits the latter, from which tensions emerge, providing antagonisms and preventing concert, and it is in such strain that this article is grounded.

Social conflict theory is rich in history, subject matters, interpretations, applications, and in possibilities for social reform. We see its presence in pre-Solonic Greece prior to the advent of democracy, and it is evident in the writing of American, French, and Russian revolutionaries; it is contained in the writings of such sociologists as Weber, as Edwards, as Marx, and as Seeman, as well as Becker or O'Sullivan as earlier shown; and inequality is the calling card of class warfare between Democrats and Republicans.

The following sections of the article offers quick reviews of sociological presentations from Weber, from Edwards, and from Marx. Attention is then focused on illustrating worker alienation from a Marxian viewpoint, and the same is done with alienation from the vision of Seeman, and these discussions begin.

Weber, Edwards, and Marx: Briefly

Weber was kind enough to inform us that social-class membership is usually a function of the differential distribution of power, prestige, esteem, and wealth. That is, the more a person has of all of these rewards the higher the person's status is apt to be. In similar fashion, social-class affiliation is also dependent upon a person's income, occupation, and education—the

more a person has of one, the greater the likelihood the person owns more of the others, resulting in variations in status assignment.

In keeping with these thoughts, Edwards has notified us that there are two categories of work in which we are likely to be engaged. *Primary labor markets*, on the one hand, are those occupations which have high individuality and autonomy of effort, and entail great personal satisfaction for work completed. *Secondary labor markets*, on the other hand, have lower levels of social prestige; do not require extensive education or skill development; have routinized, repetitive, and over-seen work; incur fairly low wages; and create great boredom for the worker. A comparison of Weber's and Edward's contributions reifies the thesis that there are two competitive and often dueling social classes in our society.

Some of the most noted discussions about the sociology of economic life come from Marx and his friend Engels who covered such diverse topics as modes of economic exchange, guidelines for economic reform, and analyses of different social classes. While the latter subject contains descriptions of such groupings as the salariat, the landowners, a petite bourgeoisie, and the *lumpenproletariat*, most modern sociological and activist emphases are placed primarily on the bourgeoisie as an owner-managerial category, and on the proletariat as a wage-earner division. A very generous rendition of the bourgeoisie means that its members are the monetary and the political high-rollers of an area who are able to influence or determine how the economic variables of land, labor,

and capital are to be used; whereas a similarly liberal interpretation of the proletariat means that its members represent everyone else whose lives are controlled by the whims of those who are powerful— that is, the *proles* are the manor lords' vassals. If so, then the "haves" and the "have-nots" are genuine, regardless of which specific criteria are used for membership, as has been shown with ample evidence.

Another aspect of Marxian sociology is that it looks at the relationship between the two classes from the perspective of the less-powerful groups, because is it through them that social change will occur. This viewpoint stands in opposition to the recreational pieces offered earlier, because it was there shown that the powerful assemblies determine the courses of history and local mores. It is widely held in conflict theory that the discontent felt by the lower classes for the upper classes contains the seed for social reform —the ability to create history and new futures through revolution for significant modification of social institutions— with which I stand in some disagreement.

I would like to reveal through the corresponding writings of Marx and of Seeman, and my fieldwork, the types of alienation which have been felt by factory workers because they, as members of the proletariat, are disenfranchised and devalued due to the designs of a company's owners and their managers. The illustrations are derived from my employment and curiosity at "Industrial Development, Inc." (IDI) which is located in "Lichenville, IL," where we render outsourced sub-assemblies of engine parts for Woolly

Bear, Inc." a Fortune 500 company, whose corporate offices are in nearby "Will it Play Here? City." Woolly Bear has an international reputation and market for its earth-moving, mining, and farming products, as well as for its sturdy diesel engines. That company earned the nickname "Big Saffron" because of the mellow yellow color of paint used on its goods, and the company's sole labor union is the "Unified Horseless-Carriage Workers of America." Let us now see how Marxian sociology can be applied to IDI as it goes about the business of supplying parts for Woolly Bear.

Elements of Alienation: Marx

One of Woolly Bear's main money makers is its diesel engine division, which provides the power units for its own products as well as for such other commercial uses as the trucking and maritime industries. An engine block is put on an assembly line carousel for its three-hour journey, along which all needed parts are attached. IDI people do the sub-assemblies for almost all of the engine's external parts so that Woolly Bear's union workers only need to take the assigned parts from racks, kits, or tubs and bolt them to the engine. IDI sub-assemblies are accomplished in the interests of profitability for Woolly Bear, meaning that costs are reduced when IDI does the work rather than having union members do the same tasks. IDI people attach hoses and supports to radiators, connectors to fuel-related parts, drains on oil pans, housings on clutches, and so on, for Woolly Bear's products. IDI's workers are thus deprived from the feeling of accomplish-

ment with the final *product* because they usually only work on one type of part in a single bench area, and are almost never allowed entry into Woolly Bear's plants due to security reasons. Work then is boring and repetitive, and there is little a person can do except "grin and bear it," or maybe seek cloned work at one of Woolly Bear's other suppliers where only lateral or horizontal social mobility is attained, at best.

IDI employees are also alienated from the *profit*, which the company earns. Assemblers are paid a wage which starts at \$7.25 per hour, a working poor earning, and have a modal rate of about \$8.00 or \$8.50 per hour; and a few workers earn as much as \$9.00 to \$10.00 per hour. The company does have profit-sharing as its "retirement" plan wherein an employee is fully vested after five years of employment. However, only about twenty of the IDI's 250 employees are so situated because people quit often, relinquishing any shares which may have been earned. When an employee nears full enrollment in the plan, it is common for the personnel director to lower the person's wages, then reassign the employee to a job which is either dirtier, harder, or on another shift, hoping that the worker will quit; and people have been fired just prior to maturation because all forfeited monies from voluntary or involuntary terminations revert to the general fund.

One payday we received our annual earnings statements, and there was a negative entry for my year's total. I immediately asked the personnel director what that meant, and I was told that the company did not earn a profit

for the past year. When I asked her if that was in the report filed to the Internal Revenue Service or in the report for the company's stockholders, I was given a blank stare. Profits seem to be elusive things, which the workers are unable to comprehend or need not take interest.

IDI workers are also alienated from *themselves* since there are virtually no opportunities for upward social mobility within the tightly-run, almost managerially-incestuous, organization; and there are not chances for the worker to show individual initiative or creativity. Assembly designs come from Woolly Bear and any variations from them will result in product errors, subject to fine by the contracting company. Each engine has a specific configuration and there is no tolerance for variations and mistakes. Even if a worker knows from experience that an engineering flaw is present, the product must be sent as defined; interestingly then the worker will be held responsible for the mistake by his or her employers. Repeated mishaps can result in a "no questions asked" firing and a replacement worker will be hired at a lower wage whenever possible.

The fourth form of alienation, according to Marx, is *separation of the workers from themselves* to keep them from becoming a collective, conscious, and conscientious body politic, and such detachment is actively promoted in several ways. Since IDI is not a union shop fault is quickly found with any worker who openly discusses unionization or violations of OSHA safety regulations. We are constantly told that we should spend our days working ceaselessly, and that we

should chit-chat among ourselves only during breaks or lunch periods. Managers are famous for finding hiding places where they can spy on us; and workers whose jobs require movements through the facilities have been followed by supervisors, foremen, or leads who make notations of the person's movements and conversations. I surmise that IDI's owners and managers feel that we are a disruptive cabal, actively plotting the demise of the company; but, there is no evidence to prove that several bomb threats were made by anyone associated with the company, past or present.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this article, I had never been in an employment setting wherein I formed a deep appreciation for the "workers" or the "have-nots." Reflecting on my downward occupational and economic mobilities, as well as daily interactions with my working colleagues, I have changed my mind about the value of conflict and alienation sociologies stemming from the ideas of Marx, but since his ideas do not stand alone, I turn to the thoughts of Seeman as I continue to share this paradigm shift.

Elements of Alienation: Seeman

Like Marx before him, Seeman took a humanistic stand in his investigations by looking at workers' viewpoints about themselves and the places where they work because the employee is the focal point, the subject and the object, of private experiences. Accordingly, Seeman also identifies matters of economic alienation which are valid from the discernment of the worker, and I would like to review

them and illustrate them, still using IDI as the specific setting.

Seeman's *powerlessness* is the inability to control one's work environment, and Hobson and Sullivan (1990: 90) state that this condition is virtually identical to Marx's alienation from the product because the worker can do nothing to affect the processes of production. I would like to go one step further and note that powerlessness also refers to the general managerial disregard for constructive input which the worker might have. In a weekly safety meeting and a "pep talk", our foreman always reminds us that no one, not even himself, knows our individual work areas as well as we do. Would it stand to reason then that through such knowledge, we might have reasonable ideas for the improvement of production and safety? "No!" It is their reasoning that the plant has been designed for maximum efficiency and safety, so no changes need to be made.

Our foreman seems to enjoy playing a psychological game with his pattern of praise in one breath and foul berating in the next. His efforts to make us feel as if we are important people are overridden by the open disregard and contempt for us as peers. An example of his true feeling for us occurred when he met an employee at a convenience store on the way to work and she tried to say "hello" to him. He told her that he did not have to talk to her because they were not at work yet. It would seem that he does not like her, and he does not like us.

My own interactions with the foreman support the same contempt and

distrust. I had a severe accident at work which required long disability leaves for healing, therapies, surgery, and more therapies. I stopped at IDI with some papers from my doctor and medical bills when the foreman walked past me, and instead of inquiring about my health, he asked "When are YOU coming back?" He does not like me, but once again he made it obvious that he does not like us.

Company officials justifiably treat alibi ailments with suspicion. Yet when people are truly sick or have been injured on the job they are still treated with unwarranted disdain and wariness— as if infirmities are malingering or show lack of fealty to IDI.

Seeman's *self-estrangement* is likened to alienation from work processes (Hobson and Sullivan 1990:98) because there are few additional material payoffs as incentives beyond actual wages. IDI's retirement plan is built for long-term employees, and there are no bonuses for hourly workers for work well done. The company does have a quarterly bonus of \$100 for perfect attendance, but when it is earned, it is attached to the paycheck so it becomes taxable income. However, if a person is five minutes late for work, or if a person has to leave work for a doctor's visit or a court appointment, then the reward is nullified. Pay raises are small, rare, and denied to individuals as punishment. I received my last raise increase more than three years ago, and since insurance costs have risen in that time my next paycheck is lower than it was then.

An extension of this theme addresses the duration and conditions of employment at IDI: It is not guaran-

teed, and exists only as long as the company's officials want an employee on-site to do the assigned and rote work. So if someone walks to the time clock at the beginning of a shift and finds the timecard missing, then the employee has been fired and the company does not need to give advance notice. There are no job assurances, and people are fired with stalinistic efficiency and eldritch glee.

Seeman's notion of *social isolation* seems to correspond with Marx's alienation from others (Hobson and Sullivan 1990:98). IDI workers perform thousands of assemblies for the union workers at Woolly Bear, but equal statuses are not assigned to both sets of workers. Woolly Bear's workers receive much higher wages than we do, and that company's reputation for quality is founded upon the union's claims of superior workmanship through collective bargaining and training. A brief story indicates the differences of comparative opinion which at least once IDI worker has about himself and others.

I played golf with some of my buddies one day after work, and as we drifted into the pro shop, I hailed one of them by asking, "Hey, don't we work together at IDI?" He did not want, under any set of circumstances, not even jokingly, and certainly not in public, to be linked to, or embarrassed by, IDI and its local reputation. We still play golf together.

Seeman also talks about *normlessness* wherein codes of conduct are either non-existent or *anomic* (Durkheim 1951; Merton 1968), or they are so fluid in their interpretations and applications that they may as well be ficti-

tious. It would seem that Seeman was almost prescient about IDI and its managerial orientations towards behavior standards. Safety glasses and steel-toed shoes are to be worn by everyone on the factory floor— except it seems by even such managers as our safety officer. No one is supposed to smoke or have open beverage containers on the work floor— except apparently by supervisory personnel who openly smoke and drink coffee as they wander around keeping their vigil on us. No one is supposed to be eating as they assemble— except apparently managers who eat at their corrals on the floor. Late attendance or absence without just reason results in dismissal without pay, for one day or for three, depending on frequency— except apparently, for “brown-nosers” for whom rules are suspended or bent. Foul language is discouraged, except when an employee is being reprimanded. References to canine ancestry or personal habits are not tolerated, except for when a worker gets chastised by a manager. Laws forbid sexual harassment, yet one day a former lead of mine told me that he loved me, and neither my supervisor nor my foreman took any corrective action for his misdeed. In other words, it is difficult to predict what will happen from one day to the next, except that we work our shift and depart—tired, dirty, smelly, and sweaty— leaving deference to ill-tempered managers behind us.

Finally Seeman acknowledges the condition of *cultural disengagement* wherein workers are not in touch with dominant ideologies or sets of creative ideas in society, and it is here, I believe, that both caution and additional

research are needed before significant conclusions can be drawn. Indeed many of IDI’s employees are not highly trained, educated, or apparently interested in outside pursuits, but there are exceptions to this rule: “Sam,” for example, is president of a local astronomy club and he is the manager of the city’s celestial observatory and telescope. While profane lunchroom banter is an index of disinterested people who have no desire to expand their horizons, it must be remembered that schooled interests require free time, disposal incomes, and rudimentary skills, so many of my colleagues do not have the opportunities, wherewithal, or the talents to follow artistic, philosophical, ideological, educational, or linguistic endeavors.

This element of disengagement, along with the absence of a collective identity, is especially consequential for the maintenance of a system of inequality. The inability of a labor mass to experiment with alternative ideologies and economic practices due to the apparent absence of opportunity inhibits social change. An individuated class of people “in itself” does not mean that it can be translated into a unified body of people “for itself” when it lacks skills, leadership, and resources to do so. The system then perpetuates itself.

When I interviewed my subjects, I did so with discretion to maintain their dignity, trust in me, confidentiality, and to avoid arousing suspicion by company officials. One of the questions on my agenda was, “If you could change just one thing about IDI, what would it be?” The pervasive and plaintive response was along the lines of “Change their [management’s] atti-

tudes toward us," which seems to summarize and encapsulate the sociological descriptors we have about alienation, but certainly not expressed so eloquently and as scholarly as academicians have done. That descriptive task was left to such people as Marx or Seeman who objectified the subjectivity of personal experience and dissatisfaction of workers in place. So, it seems that both Geyer and Harris are correct when they state that it is the analyst who ascribes the labels and the language of alienation rather than the repressed, thus representing the best of ethnography's interpretive traditions.

My understanding of worker conflict and alienation theories is dependent upon the materials I have read, and upon my ability to relate to them and apply them. It is also underscored from over four years of employment at IDI, which allows me the opportunity to add several other notations about the surroundings of discontented members of a proletariat.

OTHER DISHEARTENING ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

In addition to the known elements of alienation and exclusion, there are two less tangible, and important, factors which are associated with being economically "kept," and they can either serve as conduits through which all other ideas flow, or they can be seen as umbrella covers under which the others are included. Wage-earning factory workers, including myself, my fellows, and the employees of Woolly Bear, feel as if we are human chattel, to be used and discarded with as

much sentiment as a replaced spark plug for a car; and there is a strong feeling of negativity which permeates the worker's psyche. Both sensations are actually promoted by management, itself, as the following sets of orientations indicate.

Human Chattel

The word "chattel" has several meanings. Originally, the term meant cattle which are owned, controlled, and herded by ranch owners and ranch hands; they are live property. Another definition for the word means that it is the owned physical capital of a person or a business enterprise; it is non-animate property. Cattle have no free will over their ownership or their plight to become T-bone steaks or hamburgers, and a machine is just as incapable of emotions or affecting its destiny. Neither definition for the expression can be credited to IDI's management as they look upon their workers as just so many pieces of property which, not who, can be manipulated and replaced for any number of real or imagined reasons; but I want to provide a specific example of such a mindset from a conversation I had with a manager as evidence of IDI's microcosmic specimen of bourgeois mentality.

While on a lunch break, I had a chance to talk to a general supervisor about the managerial obligations of our foreman. I acknowledged the fact that the man has a formidable task to maintain production schedules and standards, and the general interests of the company; but many employees feel that his communication skills need improvement. The general supervisor

appreciated my input, and indicated that employees' ideas are always valuable and welcome because we are important assets to the company, at which point he departed. The guys with whom I was eating and I concluded that we are more like resources than pieces of property which offset liabilities on accounting balance sheets. Words convey meanings and the choice of words offers insight into the speaker's vision; and the difference between an asset and a resource is a clear index of disparate points of view.

Such variations in thought are abundant in recreational reading as shown by the thoughts of, or conversations between, story characters; but the authors of such tales have more literary license than academicians are allowed, so oftentimes we can only hint at disparagement with antiseptic language. Like the unwanted, expressed, and undeserved feelings of inferiority and being totally controlled, negativity is as thick on the floor of IDI as are its industrial dirt, grime, forklift truck tire dust, oil slicks, loose parts and discarded dunnage.

Negativity

This term also has several meanings which include an absence of positive attributes, and responding in a direction away from that which is positive. In the assembly arena of IDI it means a condition of entrapment or slavery wherein nothing the worker does is seen as being worthwhile, and wherein the employee receives little, if any constructive input from managers. It also means that the worker almost always receives a negative response

for any inquiry, as a list of actual questions and answers shows: "Can I have a raise?" No. "Can I work another shift?" No. "Can I transfer to another building?" No. "Can I work under another lead?" No. "Would you please install an electrical outlet so I can have a fan?" No. "Can I go to Woolly Bear on the 'hot truck' to see how the line works?" No. "Can I change my vacation schedule?" No. "Can we open the big doors for better air circulation? It's hot in here." No. "How does this part work on the engine?" I dunno. "Will we be laid off when Woolly Bear goes on vacation?" I dunno. "Why can't we open the big doors?" I dunno. "Is Woolly Bear gonna keep this product line?" I dunno. "Are we gonna get any new lines from our competitors?" I dunno. "Why can't I have an electrical outlet for a fan?" I dunno.

Someone, somewhere, once said that knowledge is power. If that adage is true, then the owners and managers of IDI work hard to keep us ignorant and powerless; and, speaking as a wage earner, it gets old, quickly. Our foreman's version of positive feedback is to tell us that we had no fines levied against us by Woolly Bear. There are other ways to express satisfaction, like a simple "Atta boy," but that would seem humane for the company's handlers who appear well-versed in the history of feudal lord-vassal relationships. Maybe they selectively agree with some of Zeitlan's (1968) synopses of relationships between elites and non-elites according to either Pareto, Mosca, or Michels; or perhaps they identify with Tolstoy's Vasilii Andreich, with Stowe's Simon Legree, or with

William Bligh as they go about micro-managing the daily affairs of the small fiefdom called Industrial Development, Inc.

Much time has been spent discussing the subjugation of workers at IDI, but little attention has been paid here or elsewhere to identify how workers might adapt to a non-halcyonic environment. That task is now accomplished using Merton's well-known modes of adaptation with a theoretical twist.

A MERTONIAN APPLICATION

It is rare in sociology to see the writings of conflict and alienation exemplars joined with the offers of someone who is often considered to be an archetypical functionalist, and it is daring to use that person's paradigm in a conflict vein; yet, both are accomplished in this article. Once used by O'Sullivan (1995) to show how people go about the process of religious congregation switching resulting from spiritual dissatisfaction, Merton's goals-means model shows how IDI's wage earners can cope with their loneliness.

The five adaptations can be sorted into two major groupings. Three of the modes are labeled as belonging to a quit-dismissed range of possibilities, and the remaining two are arranged into a stay-retained cluster. Each set of outcomes has specific and different benefits to the worker and to the company.

Since many of IDI's workers are openly unhappy with their employment milieu, there are several means by which they can adjust. The IDI worker-

rebel may quit spontaneously with great fanfare and name-calling, to which IDI's leaders pay no heed, except to escort the now-former employee to the exit; much personal satisfaction is felt, though, because, following the title of Johnny Paycheck's popular song, IDI is told to "Take This Job and Shove It!"—many a worker's dream. The IDI worker-*retreatist* also quits figuring that working there is just not worth the effort to stay, and may even feel that unemployment insurance pays more than IDI does. The IDI worker-*innovator* becomes a workers' paladin, or a reformer, hoping to make IDI a better place to work. Managers neither like provocateurs nor do they tolerate their commentary: they do not want trouble-makers, making it convenient for them to look for errors in the worker's habits as justification for dismissal. Even if fired, employees find some solace in the expression "I was looking for a job when I found this one," but there are still two alternative choices.

The IDI worker-*ritualist* realizes entrapment, but may have even fewer options so the employee goes about assigned duties mechanically and well, while avoiding company politics which could result in trouble. Finally, the IDI worker-*conformist* is fairly content with his or her lot, and engages in constructive output for the company—assuming new duties voluntarily and casually which later take on the aura of assignments; making no errors in assembly; talking positively about the company and its owner-managers, and so on. The workers *ritualist* and *conformist* stay because work is proximate to their homes;

because a spouse works there, too; because a court requires it; because the worker has no real marketable skills so he or she can get by, there; because the employee likes the company; or, because other life circumstances affect employment. As we say, "It's the job I have today," but IDI is only where we work; it does not define who we are.

There is now an interesting theoretical twist centering on these choices. Yes, the workers who leave and the ones who stay are apt to feel rewarded in some way— they "win," either morally or financially. Yet, the company is designed for its own "win-win" benefit. Disruptive employees have left by one way or another, while the ones who remain get paid the lowest wage possible, with full knowledge of their voluntary serfdom plight, earning profits for people who do not seem give a whit about their workers. The conflict-based division of outcomes identified here, the rules of engagement between the bourgeoisie owner-managers and the proletarian workers, are always maintained by those who are in positions of privilege. This aspect of Mertonian sociology, then, fits well with other conflict and alienation sociologies according to the connected sayings "Take it or leave it" and "There's the door"— both suggestions being oft-spoken by our bosses.

My appreciation for the differential distribution of power and privilege has changed over the past several years. However, I am not a complete convert, and there is need to identify some of my reservations.

A SHORT DISCUSSION ABOUT CHANGES OF VIEW

Scholars have long paid attention to conflict and alienation studies, discussing the origins of their practices and terminologies, as well as addressing their religious, philosophical, and religious dimensions (Geyer 2001; Lichtheim 1968; Seeman 1959, 2001). Because the type of work which a person does and where that person works are often co-indices of a master status, significant attention has been paid to the psycho-sociologic-economic aspects of alienation by looking at workers who are separated from the dominant means of production and the determination of economic policies. Emphases have shown the disparities of rewards and privileges between the bourgeoisie controlling class and the proletarian subdued class.

While my views on this subject have changed, I do not completely agree with the monotonous chorus of universal tension, anxiety, and class warfare. I do not believe that there can be all-encompassing macro-level, national, or international conspiracies on the parts of the "haves" to control the "have-nots" because ample evidence has been provided showing diversity of dichotomies to dispel the contention of collusion. I also do not believe that there can be unified efforts on the parts of the "have-nots" to overthrow the "haves" for the same reason. Membership in either a "have" or a "have-not" category does not hold true over time and in different locales, as the comparison between Roosevelt's observations and the groups in Uris' book clearly showed; and further diffi-

culty if evident when someone ranks high on one status scale, yet low on another.

However, once focus is shifted to micro-level economies and businesses like IDI where absentee owners' managers yield unheralded palatine power over third-estate workers, or to universities which outsource teaching loads to adjunct faculty members². Then the tensions and disparities of power, prestige, and privilege become apparent to even the casual observer. It is here then that I believe conflict and alienation scholars are more correct in their understandings of class struggles than I had been willing to acknowledge—the divisions are real and consequential, although tensions and antagonisms vary locally.

CONCLUSION

Personal narrative is a useful research device for the social scientist because it permits the vision of insight via the voice of the first-person singular research subject. The speaker though may not be qualified to interpret personal thoughts or activities or be able to put information into a larger intellectual context. Enter then the ethnographer to accomplish those tasks with visual imagery for appropriate audiences.

Given that the scientist is also a participant in society, and thus has experiences which no one else has had, the analyst can then and should use autoethnography to become the subject of study, narrating from the actor-observer self, putting that which has been recounted into appropriate frames of reference for scholarly use.

By so doing, the investigator can add credence to the discipline, and continuity can be given to that which has already been learned, not through replication because that would be impossible, but through closely-related studies.

For example, the data used by Marx and by Seeman are valid by them-selves. While acquiring confirmation through continued study, those findings can assume additional meaning for the scholar-teacher when the constancy is affirmed directly and personally. The teacher-scholar can then say "Marx was right after all, and I can attest to his conclusions because..." In similar fashion, the teacher-scholar can debate Goffman's 1961 ideas on regimentation of life in total institutions by saying "Not all of our soldiers' daily lives are as strictly ordered as he says they are, and I know that because..." A sense of trust and credibility is almost automatically accorded to someone who can honestly say, "Been there, done that."

Sociologists easily become too comfortable with old notes, and may develop myopia because they treat ideal types as real types; because they see the world through small openings in their ivy-covered windows; and because they only view social actuality by way of questionnaires whose responses are coded for computer-generated statistics. Many college stu-

² Another interesting study would be the investigation of colleges' and universities' out-sourced instruction via temporary faculty members, but I fear that acquiring sufficient information would be difficult.

dents are first-generation attendees, and their families know about the "real world" because they are police officers, military cadre, factory workers, secretaries, truck drivers, prison guards, dental hygienists, carpenters, are on workers' compensation disability, and so on. If an instructor talks "sociologese" to students about topics, where in the student is a practical expert and the teacher is not, then a built-in "B.S. alarm" will warn that the forthcoming lecture is based less on experience and more on laziness, theory, narrow and limited observations, and on crunched numbers.

Most of us entered the social sciences or the humanities because we felt they were fun, controversial, and vital to us and to others. It is time to make them so again by allowing us to look knowingly at our surroundings in several ways. Either before the degrees plan is finished, or during vacations and sabbaticals, we should become cops, truck drivers, stevedores, laborers, roughnecks and roustabouts, or teachers in public- or inner-city schools, thus permitting us the opportunities to use our voices of the first- and the third-person singular, the actor-observer, to challenge our world views, academic truths, and ideal types, in order to help our peers and students evoke theirs.

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**FICTIONAL REALITY AND THE PORTRAYAL OF JUSTICE
IN MODERN SOCIOLOGY AND CONTEMPORARY NOVELS ***

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ABSTRACT

Social justice is a popular subject of discussion in sociology, politics, jurisprudence, as well as popular novels. The outcomes of its proceedings are equally curious because that which is "just" depends upon such variables as defining the direction that justice needs to take, allocating authority to enforce it, and public reaction to its consequences. This article represents a layered investigative journey into the portrayal of justice in nine popular series of novels because its fictional enactment represents the way that the population would like to see it enforced, but does not. Since the body of the material reviewed here are works of fiction which incorporate known data a new expression is offered. *Fictional reality* refers to the ways in which novelists weave fair knowledge about modern justice into stories which please their audiences, and this article explores the means by which that melding occurs.

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"You want justice done you got to get it yourself" (James Lee Burke, *Moon of Red Ponies*).

"That's what the notion of 'justice' was all about anyway: settling up" (Sue Grafton, *A is for Alibi*).

"I don't think Barbara Daggett gave a damn about seeing justice done, whatever that consists of" (Sue Grafton, *D is for Deadbeat*).

"First food, then justice. That's the proper ordering of world events" (Sue Grafton, *J is for Judgment*).

"You can't leave justice to others" (Nora Roberts, *Northern Lights*).

INTRODUCTION

If these statements by three popular novelists are correct then our system of justice is the subject of serious public despair and ridicule. A common understanding about social justice is that it exists when that which is morally "right" prevails over that which is morally "wrong" in a legally-contested process. While such proceedings are intended to be swift and sure, they are often slow with uncertain outcomes, leaving the population both unhappy with it, and scornful of it. Contemporary writers such as James Lee Burke, Sue Grafton, and Nora Roberts understand these mixed concerns and capitalize on them by writing books wherein justice is depicted in ways which they would like to see it fulfilled. A novel,

then, becomes "an internal search for truth that the author shares" writes Jeff Rovin (2005:233), author of books in a Tom Clancy-created series.

James Lee Burke created the series of books featuring Deputy Sheriff Dave Robicheaux (1987-2003, 2005, 2006) and the shorter series about Billy Bob Holland from which the above statement was taken; Sue Grafton wrote the best-selling "Alphabet" crime books starring private detective Kinsey Millhone (1983-2005); and Nora Roberts created many stories whose genres are difficult to classify. One of the reasons that these authors, and others to be identified shortly, frequently top best-selling lists is that they integrate geo-politics, geography, sociology, abnormal psychology, forensic criminology, moral entrepreneurial roles, humor, and romance into their stories. A second reason for their popularity is that the books fulfill our thirst for an ideal system of justice as we are taken on journeys into the unreal-real world of literature— that of fictional reality.

This article represents an excursion into that world wherein celebrated heroes do not fit some stereotypical images. They no longer ride white horses, use silver bullets, follow the rules, and have the full authority of the law behind them. As this journey begins, there are several destinations which await our arrival. First, there is need to discuss the logic behind the choice of series novels instead of stand-alone books; this trip requires the identification of the authors and series chosen for examination. The second stop on this trip identifies the several ideal types of justice which are portrayed in the books, and special emphasis is

then placed on the moral entrepreneurial roles of the books' characters. The third destination for this excursion is an analysis of the near-autobiographical method by which several of the writers have been able to create likable and believable fiction. Authors can accomplish this task by keeping our emotions peaked with aversion, sensuality, and tension carrying us to the last pages of their books.

When this article is completed, we will be able to better understand how selected novelists enlist wide readership simply by providing surrogate images of a justice system that works. As this journey into the melding of fiction and fact begins there is need to identify the means by which the series novels were chosen for use here, as well as listing the specific ones which were selected a literature review.

NOVELS: TYPES AND CHOICES

Excluding genres, novels fall into one of two categories— series or stand-alone books. Each has particular appeals for the authors and their audiences. Each has designated properties. Each has certain limitations. Each contains different types of storylines and characterizations. Each can be related to sociological methodologies, all of which need to be discussed before the chosen authors and their books are presented.

Series and Stand-Alone Books

A series of novels is one in which there is a set of characters, locales, or events which have recurring presence from one book to the next. Characters change over time by growing older,

suffering illnesses, having family members and friends emerge and die, and moving from one place to another as jobs require. Series fans read the latest installment as soon as it is available, then anguish for months or years until the next one is published. Fans may also mourn or feel betrayed when the series ends by design or by the death of the author. Friendships with the characters grow as does a like-mindedness with the author and fellow believers. Dave Robicheaux, for example, is discussed among readers as if he is a real person. Fans of his might purchase baseball caps and t-shirts emblazoned with the logo for the "Robicheaux Bait and Dock" shop from an internet source. Borrowing from sociology's methods, there is a longitudinal quality to series books because they portray their characters over an extended period of time even though each episode in the series is a story unto itself— as in static dynamics.

In comparison, stand-alone books have a kinship with cross-sectional studies in sociology. They represent a snapshot story taking place within limited boundaries rather than ones which are not so restricted, but which can often work to the advantage of a reader. Since there are no intended links to preceding or succeeding books, the reader is free to explore other authors or genres without feelings of guilt or disloyalty, free to have alternative literary experiences without becoming bored by stylistic or thematic duplication.

While readers are free to choose their own forms of amusement, it should not be concluded that they are restricted to one type of book over an-

other. I read series and stand-alone books, many of each because they are both appealing even though they may contain similar thoughts, for which two illustrations are provided. The opinion about social justice provided by Nora Roberts at the beginning of this piece is virtually identical to those of James Lee Burke and Sue Grafton, but the book is not one of a set. Likewise, Sandra Brown's *Fat Tuesday* (1997), starring Burke Basile as a New Orleans' cop, contains probative methods similar to the ones contained in James Lee Burke's books, but her piece is not part of a set either.

The stories chosen and the people in them are fictional. Yet as we define subjects and their actions as having an existence beyond mere fantasy, we voluntarily suspend our intellectual understanding of fiction and treat it as being real— a luxury in which we engage for purposes of entertainment. We are just literary junkies and voyeurs as we delve repeatedly into the lives of imaginary people, illusory justice, and the lives of the books' creators. So why were the books chosen and which ones were selected?

The Authors and Their Series

The series books chosen for use here were originally read for recreational purposes. It was later determined that an organized investigation of them might be possible which promoted three dominant reasons for their selection.

The first and obvious one is that they represent a convenience sample from private libraries or they were borrowed from public facilities. The second reason is that the books deal with

different types of justices being accomplished and they contain different types of moral entrepreneurial roles to fulfill justices. Third, most of the authors who were selected have personal stories, or near-autobiographies, which are particularly suited for their creations. The series do not represent random sampling because they were not given numerical assignments from which they were chosen. The series do not represent an effort to exhaust all possible options because that would be an impossible task and it would negate any possibility for a relatively short undertaking. Given such reasoning the authors and their creations are identified in alphabetical order.

Nevada Barr's Anna Pigeon

Nevada Barr has written thirteen Anna Pigeon stories (1993-2005). Anna is a middle-aged widow who left New York City for a career in law enforcement with the National Park Service. Crime has left the cities, has transferred into our national parks, and has contaminated them. As with most crime-mystery novels, the most significant crime which she investigates is murder; but who would want to read many books about a ranger who issues camping licenses to visitors and citations for littering? In order to make good stories, there are often raw greed factors that precipitate human harm or damage the ecologies of the parks that she has sworn to protect. Anna gets assigned to many parks across the country from the Natchez Trace to the Dry Tortugas, to islands of Georgia and Minnesota, to caverns in the southwest, to mountain ranges in California.

She battles an alligator, near drownings, the confines of a pitch-black cavern, the ravage of a forest firestorm, and her use of alcohol.

Alafair Burke's Samantha Kincaid

Alafair Burke is a newcomer to the trade and daughter of James Lee Burke, and has penned three Samantha Kincaid books (2002-2005). Samantha is a Deputy District Attorney in Portland, Oregon who investigates the cases she is assigned. Burke's books have been tightly and precisely written, but we are beginning to acquire insight into an uncomplicated ethical obligation of "Get bad guys, don't get good ones." (A. Burke 2005:214) This succinct philosophy parrots the thinking of her successful dad when he describes a "bust 'em or dust 'em" ideology of police work" (J.L. Burke 2005:213) for Robicheaux and his buddy when they were homicide detectives in New Orleans. Given the similarity of lines and near-simultaneous publications of two of their books in 2005, it is not hard to imagine the influence that father and daughter have on each other. The confluence of their work is even more noticeable as we read of Robicheaux's book-daughter, Alafair, who has a prominent presence in his stories.

James Lee Burke's Dave Robicheaux

James Lee Burke's sabulous Dave Robicheaux stories are an all-time favorite among this bunch (1987-2006). Dave Robicheaux is now a more-than-middle-aged Deputy Sheriff in Iberia Parish, Louisiana. He and his sidekick Clete Purcel have come to roost in bayou country after controversial ca-

reers in the New Orleans Police Department. Resentful of outside assistance from such an agency as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he and fellow cops jeer the Feds as "Fart, Barf, and Itch." (J.L. Burke 1995:315; 2006:66) Beyond the commonplace obligations of a policeman (J.L. Burke 2006:82-83), disputes surround him as he fights crime, authority, alcoholism, and the demon memory from a harsh combat tour of duty in Viet Nam. Like Anna Pigeon, most of the crimes he investigates are murders, but there are often deeper wrongs for which murder is only a symptom. Organized crime infiltrates his turf. Corporate greed sponsors environmental pollution. Vice trafficking targets unwary citizens. It is upon the already-poor that abusive elitists impose even more "hunger, fear, injustice, and oppression" (The Episcopal Church's *Book of Common Prayer* 1979:392). He fights all of these social ills with a moral certainty which contests his empowered duties. He too could be labeled as an advocate for localized liberation theology as he fends for people who cannot do so for themselves—a paladin. When manipulative, arrogant, and imperious power brokers feel that they are above the law and cross his path, he makes them aware of the errors of their ways. He may not kill them, but does greater harm than that which mere death accords: He ruins them by provoking downward mobility. While all this is happening he receives public condemnations for his aggressive methods and simultaneous private approvals for their results.

Patricia Cornwell's Dr. Kay Scarpetta

Patricia Cornwell introduced us to Dr. Kay Scarpetta (1991a-2005) as the chief medical examiner for The Commonwealth of Virginia. Her duties at that time included overseeing the office, giving legal testimony as needed, conducting autopsies, and investigating possible homicides with her friend, Pete Marino, a Richmond police officer. Over the years she has developed political rivals, helped raise an adventurous niece, been stalked and intimidated by *le Loup-Garou*, retired, entered into a private business venture of security, and returned to her old haunts. Her life, like yours and mine, has changed and such ebbs and flows cannot really take place in stand-alone books, but are staples of series.

Janet Evanovich's Stephanie Plum

Janet Evanovich has now written twelve numbered books starring Stephanie Plum (1994-2006) as the bumbling bond enforcement agent, or bounty hunter, of Trenton, New Jersey. Plum's lack of job skills provides many laughs in her capers with a former hooker, a transvestite, her funeral-lovin' and gun-totin' grandmother, a cousin who is also her sleazy boss, two competing alpha males, and a vintage powder blue Buick. While her job is to capture bail jumpers, we find that she is more likely to be stalked by them as they destroy her cars than she is to nab them. Evanovich encourages readership by inviting her fans to submit potential titles for her forthcoming books, and publicly thanking the submitter (2006).

Sue Grafton's Kinsey Millhone

Sue Grafton's Kinsey Millhone has been a private detective for twenty-two years (1983-2005). Kinsey was orphaned as a young girl, raised by an austere aunt, was a police officer, and is periodically contracted by a California insurance company to investigate possible fraudulent claims. As a side business, she is also contracted to look for missing people, to tend a parolee, and is ultimately involved in murder investigations such as a true Jane Doe case upon which the book *Q is for Quarry* (2002) is loosely based. Grafton's prolific writings are matched only by reader curiosity about her next book "T" and how she will conclude the abecedarian series when she reaches the letter Z.

Jack Higgins' Sean Dillon

Jack Higgins' Sean Dillon books (1992-2005) chronicle the life of a former assassin for the Irish Republican Army who had a paradigm shift, and is now working for a special intelligence agency within the British government. Having ranked high on an Interpol "most-wanted" list, Dillon was taken into custody by other British agents who recognized and needed his particular skills. Realizing that cooperation was a better option than incarceration or execution, Dillon neutralizes such threats to world order as neo-Nazism, oil cartels, and alliances between Irish nationalists and a Russian mafia. Higgins' continued popularity is measured by new book sales and library usage.

Oliver North's Peter Newman

Oliver North's military and governmental careers are matters of record,

so it is no wonder that he could create, with some help, Peter Newman, U.S.M.C. (2002-2005). Newman is a career officer who is enlisted to interdict into international nuclear and electronics crises by recruiting military specialists and local partisans to combat militant terrorists and corrupt politicians who would harm him, his family, and his country. While the series currently contains three books they are, perhaps, the most serial of the ones used for this project because the stories are definitely linked to each other. However, the Epilogue to book three suggests that there may be no more because Newman has been assigned command of the training center at Quantico, removing him from harm's way.

Kathy Reichs' Temperance Brennan, Ph.D.

Finally, Kathy Reichs is a forensic anthropologist who is employed by a southern university and the Montreal police department just as her Dr. Temperance "Tempe" Brennan is (1997-2006). Brennan is an expert scientist who is called by public agencies to determine the classifications of recovered skeletal remains, to assist local police, and to bring closure to human death. Throughout the series Brennan has encounters with outlaw bikers, military misconduct in Guatemala, religious zealots, burking for illegal organ harvesting, and is the conflicted prize of competition between another dyad of alpha males. Reichs' popularity as an author is further reflected in the fact that a popular television series called *Bones* is based on the Tempe Brennan role.

There are many other thematically-similar series books which could have been used, it is certain readers are familiar with them, and are encouraged to conduct other investigations of them in order to extend the ideas presented here. It is now time though to move forward with and offer necessary information about social justice and its players as they are portrayed in more than one hundred popular series novels.

SOCIAL JUSTICE: TYPES AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ROLES

Social justice is a complex matter with several tandem conflicts. It has an ideal and an actuality. It is a process and a product. It is something which is achieved and is missed. It is revered and is reviled. It is static and is dynamic. It has real-life drama and is portrayed in fictional form. Its co-existent divisions may work against each other.

Justice also has diverse shapes and goals in the same way it contains dualities. This section of the article presents those ideal forms and the roles of moral entrepreneurs within them. Such information is provided in order to show how each of the series' main characters fit into our justice system, even if such placements exists only in the combined imaginations of creative novelists and their eager audiences.

Types of Justice

Scholars have long been interested in the forms and functions of justice. Such writers as Cahn (1968), Montada (2001), O'Connor (2004), and Pollock (1994) have sifted through much literature and have categorized justice into its several ideal varieties to include *dis-*

tributive justice, *corrective/substantive* justice, *commutative* justice, *procedural* justice, and *vigilante* justice which receive special attention. These are presented in summary fashion, followed by their entrepreneurial roles, and are subsequently combined for application to this article.

Distributive Justice

Pollock defines distributive justice as being concerned with "allocation of the goods and burdens of society to its respective members." (1994:50) In other words, it represents an effort to "level the playing field" ensuring that all people have fair or equal opportunities to participate in a competitive society. A generous extension of the thought means that people, groups, or organizations which have unfair or unequal advantages, and abuse them, should be reduced in stature and power. Their protections and rewards need to be re-allocated or re-distributed to others in order to prevent feudal monopolies or controlling groups from hurting others who are not similarly favored.

Corrective/Substantive Justice

Corrective justice is concerned with the distribution of punishment or the principle of "just desserts" in the tradition of classical criminology (Pollock 1994:50). Its cousin substantive justice has the presumptive definition that procedural findings are based on such ideals as fairness, equality, and impartiality during investigative processes (Cahn 1968). Disciplinary and probative activities are to be conducted with the utmost discretion and made available for public scrutiny.

Commutative Justice

According to Pollock commutative justice is associated with transactions and interchanges in society when one person feels unfairly treated... for example, when one is cheated in a business deal or when a contract is not completed (1994:50). That is, a business arrangement has "gone south" or formal arrangements between parties are not fully completed, so arbitrated conclusions are reached.

Procedural Justice

Cahn and Montada agree that procedural justice is a complex set of activities which are instituted to guarantee that justice is fulfilled within social and legal parameters of confidence. To be "legal" here means that discovery methods, testimony, and evidence are used in strict legislated manners in antagonistic settings. To be "antagonistic" here means that contending or competitive parties have the right to confront each other in open and public settings; they have equal access to all testimony and evidence; they are given fair opportunities to present their respective points of view; and binding decisions will be made by impartial third-party observers.

Vigilante Justice

Vigilante justice has been romanticized throughout mass media history; has almost always been portrayed in a negative vein; and is apparently lacking a wide knowledge base. A commonly-held definition about vigilantism is that people take the law into their own hands (O'Connor 2004:1) as they skirt the law or try to accomplish for the law

that which it has been unable to do on its own.

Case studies of public lynchings, for example, have often been used to create our images of its enactment. While case studies are always significant, they are limited in their abilities to explain wide-ranging causal variables, and a number of questions illustrate this concern: With what types of justice are vigilantes concerned? Have legislators made the wrong laws and punishments? Have police failed to protect society? Have judges and juries made the wrong decisions? Are certain groups of people criminal solely because of membership? Are vigilantes concerned with what might happen to them? What are the moral foundations for their actions? Each of these questions has unique answers but the ability to generalize beyond identified circumstances is specious. Besides, as is argued, a certain amount of self-appointed law enforcement is a necessary ingredient for fictional reality's enforcement of justice.

The types of justice presented here do not stand purely as abstractions. They have ingredients, and the most notable of them is that they are comprised of people whose responsibilities are to make sure that justice happens. Broadly defined, these actors are called *moral entrepreneurs*.

JUSTICE'S MORAL ENTREPRENEURS

Becker (1963) provided us with the term "moral entrepreneur" that represents a person who has an active and a devoted interest in the direction of moral stability within a population. He

refined this classification to include several specific occupations which dutifully enact their *moral nets* (Davis and Stasz 1990) upon a community. *Rule creators*, or rule makers, are legislators who create laws for people, and these guidelines are intended to reflect the interests of the common good. *Rule enforcers* are the policing agents who oversee the actions of people to determine if their behaviors seem to be in accord with the rules which have been imposed upon them. Without deconstructing the scholarship of Becker, O'Sullivan (1994) further enlarged moral entrepreneurialism by identifying the *rule interpreters*. These people sit in antagonistic settings listening to ideological and substantive debates, and then determine the course of justice's differential distribution. Occupations in this status may be of a full-time nature such as sitting judges or part-time jurors, both of whom are empowered to make per case decisions about the applicability of laws and challenges of wrongdoing.

Three more entrepreneurial statuses are offered—two of which were created for this use, and the third has an obvious presence. *Rule users* are exemplified by attorneys who represent both sides in a litigious setting, representing the accusers and someone being accused. They use the same laws, the same evidence, the same testimonies, and the same rubrics of presentation and decorum, but for different purposes. They are commonly called prosecutors and defense attorneys. Another entrepreneurial category is the *rule abuser* as someone who is empowered to enforce the law but who

does it with such zeal that social and legal tolerances are stretched to their fullest extent. The rule abuser becomes a *de facto* or a *de jure* vigilante, but with righteous intentions and some legal backing.

The third entrepreneurial role stands by itself: The *rule breaker* is someone who violates the standards of acceptable social behavior. This person has an alternative and personalized moral vision which is innovative in nature (Merton 1968), but is curtailed by rule creators, rule enforcers, rule interpreters, and some rule users. Those approved and licensed entrepreneurial statuses and roles are designed to prevent the deviant or criminal enactment of individualized ethics.

Now that the ideal forms of justice and their entrepreneurial occupations have been established, it is time to continue discussions about the portrayal of justice in series novels by reprising the series' main characters occupational roles, identifying the types of justices with which they are concerned, and appraising their entrepreneurial roles. In most cases, the illustrations will be combined due to similarities of occupational roles, but there will be a singular analysis.

BOOKS' CHARACTERS, JUSTICES AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ROLES

The numerous serial novels written by the nine authors were read in preparation for this article. Time is now taken to share findings about how Anna Pigeon, Samantha Kincaid, Dave Robicheaux, Kay Scarpetta, Stephanie Plum, Kinsey Millhone, Sean Dillon, Peter Newman, and Tempe Brennan fit

into the justice system based on their occupations and entrepreneurial obligations.

Anna Pigeon and Dave Robicheaux

Anna Pigeon and Dave Robicheaux are both cops, but with different jurisdictions. Anna Pigeon is a law enforcement ranger within the national park system and the tracts in which she serves. She is a federal officer, but does not have the wider scope of authority which other national, state, or county agencies have. With regard to her job description, her duty was to report her findings to local authority, turn over anything she had, be available for interviewing should they deem necessary, then butt out and be a private citizen. (Barr 1999:253), but that would create boring books.

Dave Robicheaux's provincial responsibility is technically limited to Iberia Parish, Louisiana. Nevertheless, he boldly takes his criminal investigations into other parishes or into other cities like Baton Rouge and New Orleans, even without appropriate invitations or notifications.

Pigeon and Robicheaux are rule enforcers who fight rule breakers in their territories so they are both involved in *procedural justice*. They are legally entitled to investigate crimes, gather evidence and testimony, and make their allegations available to prosecutorial officials. While murder is usually the crime which prompts their involvement it is often just the crime de jour prompting Pigeon and Robicheaux to delve more deeply for root causes in their pursuits for distributive justice.

The role of Anna Pigeon is exaggerated in order to make good stories, but

she follows the rules. The duties of Dave Robicheaux are also magnified but he has issues with authoritative guidelines. He was excused from duty in the New Orleans Police Department because of his unorthodox methods. During his employment in Iberia Parish, he is fired several times because those methods have stayed with him, and he is re-hired because those methods are effective nonetheless. Even though Robicheaux is an entrepreneurial rule enforcer because of his vocation, he can legitimately be called a rule abuser as well. He fights crime with equal force and tenacity, going so far beyond some moral inhibitions that he recognizes his own vigilantism. "...I couldn't be mad at Clete. He was the first person to whom I always took my problems, and in truth his violence, recklessness, and vigilantism were simply the other side of my own personality." (J.L. Burke 2005:45).

His unconventional, but effective methods have resulted in a checkered career, but he has found the perfect and like-minded partner to assist him. Clete Purcel is now a licensed bail bond officer and private investigator so he can cross jurisdictional boundaries with impunity in the course of duty which Robicheaux cannot do. As such, they often work together to commit mayhem and wreak havoc on bad guys. Their commonality extends beyond the professional realm because they love each other, but not in an unhealthy way. Robicheaux and Purcell speak of their bond as: "The Bobbsey Twins from Homicide ride again" (J.L. Burke 2006:223); "The Bobbsey Twins from Homicide are forever" (J.L. Burke

2006:253); and "The Bobbsey Twins from Homicide stomp ass and take names and are here to stay, big mon." (J.L. Burke 2006:354)

It was stated earlier that Dave Robicheaux could be called a liberation theologian for reasons the readers of this article can discern for themselves. The same label could be attached to Anna Pigeon for the equal reason: They hate injustice and want to stop it.

Stephanie Plum and Kinsey Millhone

Stephanie Plum describes her job in simple terms: "I enforce bail bond requirements. That's the extent of my authority." (Evanovich 2004:62) Kinsey Millhone makes similar statements: "Cops have some leverage. A PI has none." (Grafton 1987:113), and "I may be a licensed PI, but that cuts no ice with local law enforcement. The quickest way to alienate the cops is to tramp on their turf." (Grafton 2005:272). Bounty hunters and private investigators have limited enforcement duty, but Evanovich and Grafton have created fake police officers to attract attentive audiences.

Stephanie Plum's job is to track bail skippers, take them into custody, and remand them to the court so that dispositions of their cases can occur. Her job, then, is basically involved with corrective justice because her clients have broken some law and she ensures appearances in court. Her clients, however, feel as if they have been unjustly accused. They have gotten a "bum rap," so they are recipients of commutative justice.

Bounty hunting, or skip tracing, is actually the duty of police departments, but they eschew it, voluntarily licensing

other people to do their work. While Plum is technically a rule enforcer under these circumstances, her work is really more of a vigilante nature, but with the consent of police officers.

Humor is added and she is woven into complex webs with clients. She tries to track them and apprehend them, but since they feel unjustly abused by the legal system, they vent their frustrations on Plum by tracking her and specifically targeting her cars. Some people might call the frequent destruction of her cars as symbolic death or rape, but an average reader of this popular form of "beach reading" might not be so inclined. The police officers with whom she has frequent contact take unprecedented joy in her bad luck because it only strengthens their belief that law enforcement should be left to the professionals rather than with amateurs.

As a former police officer, Millhone would have learned one immutable fact: The public is obliged to pay attention to the police and their questionings. The public is under no obligation, however, to pay any consideration to the work of private investigators who have no official rule-enforcement power. Such a detail neither disturbs Millhone's self-image nor does it interrupt her work which has a definite vigilante quality to it in that she does for the police that which they have been unable to do for themselves.

The crusty police officers with whom she has contact view private detectives as intruders who would question their skills and interfere with their work. Millhone walks a tightrope in her dealings with them. The police can provide official information on an "off the record"

basis, can provide her with certain legal protection and assistance, but they are not required to "serve and protect" her in any way which is different from other citizens.

If Millhone only investigated insurance claims and did not get involved in crimefighting then Grafton's writing career would likely have been short-lived. The vigilante nature of Millhone's work has ensured that Grafton will continue her series, to such an extent that real-life police have enlisted Grafton to publicize information about a case which remains unsolved, thus affirming the belief in the viability of fictional reality.

Sean Dillon and Peter Newman

Dillon and Newman are the most notable vigilantes of the nine series' major characters. Neither of them carries a badge, and while Newman's career in the military does involve protecting national security, his duties exceed normal responsibilities. Both men are employed by special agencies of their respective governments, but those agencies would disavow their actions if caught, leaving Dillon and Newman to fend for themselves —*Splinter Cell-style* (Michaels 2004)— if captured or identified as outlaws. Newman's tenuous legal status is particularly evident in the third book because there he operates under auspices of a Presidentially-appointed star chamber to mitigate certain nuclear and human high-value targets because the normal rules against assassination no longer apply; but the cabal's constitutional authority is as suspect as his protected rights.

Although the operatives have different immediate imperatives, they are both working to preserve distributive

justice by preventing abusive reigns of power. One of the several objectives in the Dillon stories is to deter the nastiness of Hitlerian Germany from renewing its place in history, and other recurring stories address his efforts to prevent a single family from gaining a stranglehold on worldwide petroleum distribution. Newman's goals are to prevent nuclear terrorism from the use of so-called clean and dirty nuclear devices, to preserve secret communications systems from general use, and to extinguish political and military sources and abuses of power. The Dillon books are likely to continue with emergent characters, but the Newman story may have reached its inevitable conclusion.

Tempe Brennan and Kay Scarpetta

At this time the moral entrepreneurial positions of these investigators are inconclusive. Their jobs place them on the same side of the law. They are not policing rule enforcers even though both of them work with police departments. They are not rule interpreters who make critical decisions but offer professional expertise and opinions as needed. They are not rule abusers who manipulate laws for outcome advantage, but their testimonies and opinions are intended to affect rule interpreters. They are not rule creators who make laws, but their opinions may affect the laws which legislators enact. They are not vigilantes who work outside the law but passionately fulfill their public duty alongside the police. They are both guided by the rigors of forensic and anatomic sciences which their jobs require, just as they are led by human decency which their subjects deserve. They work within the combined realms

of procedural justice and corrective/substantive justice helping to solve crimes so that the dead can be treated honorably and the rule breakers can be punished, accordingly.

Eight of the nine series portrayals have been discussed in tandem due to the similarities of occupations and entrepreneurial roles. The last book character, Samantha Kincaid, needs to be discussed separately.

Samantha Kincaid

Kincaid's philosophy about apprehending and punishing the "bad guys" is no different from the moralities of her fellow series' stars, but her entrepreneurial status is beyond doubt. She is a rule user who is positioned on the prosecutorial sides of corrective/substantive justice and procedural justice whose litigious occupation places her in complex relationships with other moral entrepreneurs. Kincaid and rule enforcers work on the same side of the law for similar purposes, but there are times when the two occupations have ideological and pragmatic differences of opinion.

Prosecutors and police officers are supposed to work as a team to defend citizens from criminals. Sometimes police officers become corrupted, abuse the law and civic responsibility, *testi-lie* (A Burke 2005:138), or take others into custody in order to detract attention from themselves. They have become rule abusers and it is Kincaid's duty to investigate them and prosecute them just as she would any other rule breaker.

As a prosecuting attorney Kincaid's obligations stand in opposition to defense attorneys whose rule user job

requires a moral vision which contradicts Kincaid's. Even so, the inimical jobs of prosecuting and defending attorneys require that they present their cases before sundry rule interpreters who make the ultimate decisions about the directions which justice takes. Kincaid directly addresses this entrepreneurial triad.

Once a conviction is obtained either by verdict or plea-sentencing should be easy. Defense counsel says his thing, I say mine; judge does what he wants (A. Burke 2005:214).

Kincaid's occupation represents clear examples of entrepreneurial interaction and the mingling of justices which can be shown with Venn diagrams: They overlap, invading the boundaries of each other. Those amalgamations can also be exemplified through emergence of a new popular culture term *co-opetition*. This word was first noticed during the broadcast of a NASCAR race and it refers to the friendly competition between racecar drivers. All of them want to win, but sometimes they will help team members or friends, all rivals, obtain an advantage on the track. Kincaid and other moral entrepreneurs want to win, but sometimes they must relinquish a particular advantage in order for justice to prevail.

Whether or not the nine authors are specifically familiar with the sociological and popular culture expressions used here is speculative. It is noted, though, that they are familiar with the concepts behind the terms, and such comprehension has made all of them comer-

cially successful. Their achievements may also be founded upon an empathetic and experiential "been there, done that" empiricism, which now deserves attention.

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND FICTIONAL REALITY

The ability to create compelling stories requires an active imagination, of course. Plots must be credible. Characters must seem like people whom the readers would know. Places and events may be easily identified. Many of the data contained in fictional reality can be acquired through traditional library research methods. Many feel, however, that a good story is ultimately dependent on the author's life. The writer is so intimately familiar with the storyline, the people who are portrayed, and the places that are visited, that the written word and the written world are merely extensions of the writer's self. This point is substantiated with discussions about research methods in cultural anthropology and sociology with their relevance to recreational literature.

ETHNOGRAPHY, AUTO- ETHNOGRAPHY, AND NEAR- AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Ethnography is the field methodology of cultural anthropology. Based on the work of embedded researchers, it allows us to view the lifestyles of populations with which most of us would not be familiar were it not for George and Louise Spindler's *Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology* from Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. It is a

qualitative and humanistic approach to social population research which allows us to envision the daily activities of subjects, described by them, and interpreted by specialists.

In pure ethnography, the researcher uses the voices of insiders to tell the peoples' stories using the perspective of the third-person singular or plural as the Yanomamo..., the Danis..., or the Swazi... for example. A variation of ethnography is autoethnography wherein the researcher describes life as seen by the combined points of view provided by the first-person and third-person singular as "I-the-hunter," "I-the-biker," or "I-the-stripper," for example. Because the researcher has unique experiences as everyone else does, the analyst becomes the object and the subject of investigation as O'Sullivan (2002) showed in his article about industrial labor-management conflict.

Autoethnography allows the writer to describe *and* interpret that which is seen personally. It is a *life-story* approach which is useful for some types of social research, but that term is too arcane for this project, so that methodological term is replaced with *near-autobiography* for several reasons. None of the authors' books are declarative accounts about their lives. Similarly, they do not combine the first-and third-person voices as in, for example, "I-the-lawyer". Their stories are near-autobiographies written with prosaic and fact-based qualities which support this research, as is paraphrased from Roberts (2000:306).

The novelist eases into the story because it is a familiar one. The main person portrayed is someone whom

the author knows intimately as are the secondary characters. The author's experiences, feelings, and beliefs are transferred to the readers via the storyline and the people in it.

People whom the novelists know are renamed or become combined portrayals. Community names or locale names may be changed, but they may retain their familiar identities. Local economies and political currents, as well as global economies and geopolitics, serve as infrastructures for the books. The author's hometown, favorite cuisine, subcultural lingo, community patois, and local atmosphere become those of the lead character whose sense of justice appears to reflect that of the author. The writer's life story becomes the biography of the protagonist. The novelist is embedded in a private domain and chooses to make it public province with fictional and not-so-fictional stories woven into the fabric of fictional reality.

WHO WAS WHERE AND WHAT DID THEY DO?

Seven of the authors have personal stories which made them especially qualified to create their novels, their characters, and provide sufficient foundation material to make their yarns seem believable. Information about the writers was obtained from several sources which include dust-jacket *bio-blurbs*, the writers' Internet home page sites, Wikipedia listings, and email communications with two of the writers. These novelists are discussed in alphabetic order, concluding with Kathy Reichs who seems to have written four of her novels just for use here.

Nevada Barr

Anna Pigeon is a direct reflection of her creator. Both are (or have been) law enforcement rangers in their forties. Both have a sister named Molly. Both fled the big city in favor of the National Park Service (Davies 2004:3). Barr has served as a ranger in at least two of our national parks: *Track of the Cat* (1993) takes place in the Guadalupe Mountains National Park in Texas; then *Deep South* (2000) and *Hunting Season* (2002) occur along the Natchez Trace in Southern Mississippi.

Barr was apparently introduced to the National Park Service as an occupation because her first husband was involved with the agency's responsibility, and that alignment "...raised Barr's interest in conservation and wildlife" (Davies 2004:1), which are endemic portions of her plots. If she has not served as a ranger in the other books, it seems fairly obvious that she has visited them extensively; just as she has provided us with sufficient amounts of information in the ACKNOWLEDGMENTS sections to let us know that she has done her homework.

Alafair Burke

The real Alafair *Burke* was named after her great-grandmother, raised in southern Louisiana, attended Reed College and law school at Stanford University, became a public prosecutor in Portland, Oregon, took a staff position teaching law at Hofstra University, and became a novelist like her dad. The fictional Alafair *Robicheaux* was saved from drowning in a plane crash, was adopted by Dave Robicheaux, and attended Reed College and law school, before becoming a public prosecutor in

Portland, Oregon (J.L. Burke 2005). The real Alafair's father writes about a sheriff's detective, while her fictional "daughter" Samantha Kincaid has a dad who is a retired police officer. With such information, it is easy to identify Samantha Kincaid's ancestry. She is a descendent of three Alafairs, as Alafair *Samantha* Burke has confirmed with me: Her dad's maternal grandmother Alafair Holland Benbow, Alafair Burke, and Alafair Robicheaux.

Burke's ability to write keenly and knowledgeably is due to the fact that she can use the voice of an occupational insider. A prosecuting attorney who regularly interacts with other rule users, rule enforcers, rule interpreters, rule breakers, and rule abusers is in an ideal position to portray the backstage arena of negotiation in pursuit of justice. A prosecuting attorney has an alliance with the *local morality* of a community (O'Sullivan 1994) to pursue justice for the greater good of all— to nab criminals even if they are local officials, to debate with defense attorneys, and to sway the opinions of judges and juries. A prosecutor-turned-novelist can create vivid images of investigations, interrogations, and degradation ceremonies. A prosecutor turned-novelist who is the daughter of an accomplished writer can learn much at home.

James Lee Burke

As the author of fifteen Dave Robicheaux books, two other shorter series, and several stand-alone novels, Burke has received numerous literary awards. He was born in Houston, Texas and after many jobs settled into writing as a career. He is intimately familiar with the fragile and fruitful environment of

coastal Louisiana and Texas. Jim told me that both he and Robicheaux were well aware of the dangers of alcohol abuse, and they take appropriate steps to avoid those dangers. Burke vowed Robicheaux was *not* his reincarnation, but instead reflected more of an experiential self who shared many of the same emotions and morals as he did.

Robicheaux's father was an alcoholic and Robicheaux is a recovering one. Robicheaux, like Burke, was raised in the Deep South gulf coast region. Both men love bayou country and balk at people who would abuse it. Robicheaux has held many jobs like his creator, and one of those occupations was board-road construction, or oilfield "swamping," for heavy vehicles which I did once between semesters. It was hard, dirty, dangerous, and low-paying work. Burke and Robicheaux both live in Iberia Parish, have daughters named Alafair, and ponder the strengths and frailties of human nature and our system of justice.

Throughout the series there are several themes which are intense issues for Burke and Robicheaux. They are environmentalists committed to protecting coastal wetlands. They both disdain the persistent antebellum two-caste system wherein the aristocracy or aristocrat wannabes abuse the masses at will. As such, the writer and his creation are both champions for the underdogs. Burke and Robicheaux are also keenly aware of the effects of alcoholism and the nature of Louisiana politics. Alcoholism and sobriety compete for one's self-esteem, self-image, and self-portrayal in opposing ways. Robicheaux admits that sobriety and stupors can be equally scary and tenu-

ous places when he states that “[f]or the recovering alcoholic introspection and solitude are the perfect combination for a dry drunk” (J.L. Burke 2005: 29).

Similarly,

There is no possession more valuable than a sober sunrise, and any drunk who demands more out of life than that will probably not have it.

(J.L. Burke 2006:60)

Louisiana politics has had a notorious reputation from the days preceding Huey Long to the modern era. Political positioning is not so much of a job or a public service as it is engrained lifestyle, especially when it takes place south of Baton Rouge and Interstate 10. It seems to be reserved for people who would sell their souls and morality, then skew justice and the state for personal privileges and stations of power as Robicheaux muses on this condition.

The person who believes he can rise to a position of wealth and power in the state of Louisiana and not do business with the devil probably knows nothing about the devil and even less about Louisiana.

(J.L. Burke 2005:95)

Throughout the series, and especially in *Pegasus Descending* (J.L. Burke 2006:66-67), we read of the corruption existing between politics, crime, avarice, vice, and justice turned upside down which Robicheaux abhors yet faces as a cop.

I do not know how much of James Lee Burke is actually reflected in Dave

Robicheaux and his quests for justice. There are more than enough allusions and proverbs in the books, though, to suggest that the mirroring is substantial. Readers would like to learn more, but for now must wait until the next chapter in his life is published.

Patricia Cornwell

Patricia Cornwell has written several non-fiction books (1991-2005) as well as two series of novels, from which the Kay Scarpetta stories were chosen for use here. To date, there are fourteen books about the life and work of the now-former Chief Medical Examiner for the Commonwealth of Virginia. Cornwell is a novelist, not a medical doctor, so Scarpetta is not the writer's reincarnation. The series is loaded with vivid descriptions of autopsies, forensic methods of investigation, and the *weltanschauung* of crusty and seasoned police officers, such as Scarpetta's dedicated friend Pete Marino which were produced by a good imagination and related research.

Cornwell is often credited for her accuracy and expertise, an expertise acquired by working at the Virginia Chief Medical Examiner's office, where she witnessed hundreds of autopsies. Cornwell also worked for three years as a Voluntary Police Officer and would often work the arduous midnight shift. She has undertaken intensive training at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, and has run the 'Yellow Brick Road', a grueling obstacle course for recruits ... (Rabago n.d. 1).

To that end, Cornwell speaks of herself:

It is important for me to live in the world I write about... If I

want a character do or know something, I want to do or know the same thing. (Cornwell 2005b).

Whether or not the stories are based on actual or composite cases is a matter of conjecture. There is, however, a consistent rumor that one of her recurring villains is similar to an actual serial killer, but Cornwell has never verified that suggestion (Rabago n.d.: 1-2).

Cornwell's popularity as a storyteller is evident by her wide audience, and she has earned numerous awards from mystery writers' associations. The bio-blurb data from her book *Trace* (Cornwell 2004) also indicate that she has helped establish the Virginia Institute of Forensic Science and Medicine, the first forensic training facility of its kind in the nation, and serves as the Institute's Chairman of the Board.

It would seem then that Cornwell is an avid student of writing and science, allowing her to combine fact and fiction into enjoyable formats.

Jack Higgins

Jack Higgins is one of the pen names used by Harry Patterson (Wikipedia 2005a), but the readership world has become more comfortable with the pseudonym. His most recent book *Without Mercy* (2005) contains the following bio-blurb statement.

Higgins, who lived in Belfast until he was twelve, had several close calls with bombs and gunfire at an early age. After leaving school at fifteen, he served three years with the Royal Horse Guards in East-

ern Europe during the cold war. Subsequently, he was a circus roustabout, a factory worker, a truck driver, and a laborer before entering college at age twenty-seven. He has degrees in sociology, social psychology, and economics from the University of London, and a doctorate in Media from Leeds Metropolitan University.

Higgins seems to be a man of many talents, several of which have prominent places in his books. He is an accomplished scuba diver and there are several occasions in the stories where Dillon uses that skill to his advantage. Higgins, a former soldier, would be knowledgeable about guns and ballistics, as is Dillon. There is though another major element of Higgins' background which he uses to good advantage in the series.

Dillon is "...a walking contradiction - warm and humorous, yet he kills at the drop of a hat" (Higgins 2005:17). Dillon is a hired gun who is paid to support social movements, but he is most prominently known in the series as a former IRA terrorist who once plotted an unsuccessful assassination of a popular British Prime Minister. Higgins' background naturally led to the creation of Dillon through his formative years in Northern Ireland where he witnessed the effects and the tactics of urban and freedom terrorism. In the beginning of the series there was no love lost between Dillon and anglophiles, but he was persuaded to think otherwise and uses his crafts to strike against anyone who poses a threat to international political and economic

stability— even against his former IRA associates. When international terrorists or worldwide gangsters hurt his friends, he executes a dark combination of distributive and corrective justices upon them because that is his job. At the same time, he exacts an even darker and merciless vigilante justice upon those enemies due to deep loyalty to his friends.

Higgins and Dillon are worldly and savvy men whose practical understandings of geopolitics and global economics extend far beyond theoretical understanding. Both men are also students of history in that two of the books in the Dillon series address the possible revival of Nazism, and one of these recalls Martin Bormann's escape from Germany at the end of World War II. Dillon's failed assassination effort is based on an actual attempt on the life of former Prime Minister John Major. Given all that, I wonder what Higgins' classes were like when he taught, and am I especially curious about how many of his world views on social justice are projected in Sean Dillon? They are probably substantial.

Oliver North

The American public was first introduced to Lt. Colonel Oliver North, U.S.M.C. during the televised debates on congressional inquiries into the Iran-Contra Affair during the presidency of Ronald W. Reagan. We were told that Lt. Col. North, a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, had served in Viet Nam and in other global hot-spots, and was a military and intelligence advisor in Washington, D.C. He now serves as a war

correspondent and military analyst for a mass media network.

There are many allegations about covert operations in which Lt. Col. North had either been a participant or an architect, but I am not positioned to either substantiate them or refute them. I feel that it would be safe to assume though that Lt. Col. North was aware of the kinds of operations in which Peter Newman was engaged, so the fictional U.S. Marine and his work may also be composite constructions.

There is another element in the lives of Lt. Col. North and now General Newman wherein art reflects reality. Biographical data state that Oliver North was raised as a Roman Catholic but now participates in evangelical Christian activities (Wikipedia 2005b). Newman's Christian wife and their combined beliefs and work in Christian outreach programs became important elements as the series progressed in at least two integrated ways: Religious conflict is an endemic ingredient to international terrorism, and potential harm to his family supercedes Newman's loyalty to country. Newman's senses of national loyalty and preferred forms of justice may be cautiously inferred, but I am better able to guess at North's by simply looking at his military education, his length of military duty, and the oath to which military people give allegiance. All U.S. military personnel, officers and enlisted pledge to defend their country against all enemies foreign and domestic. Oliver North and Peter Newman were so sworn and they did so in reality and in fiction.

Dr. Kathy Reichs

Dr. Kathy Reichs has her Ph.D. in physical anthropology from Northwestern University; she teaches at the University of North Carolina-Charlotte; is a certified forensic Anthropologist; works for the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner for the State of North Carolina and for the Laboratoire de Sciences Judiciaires et de Medicine Legale for the Province of Quebec; is an executive for the Board of Directors of the American Academy of forensic Sciences; and is a popular novelist. It is relatively easy to surmise that the life of Tempe Brennan imitates that of Kathy Reichs as Reichs tells us in her own words.

At the end of several books *Bare Bones* (2003:305-306), *Monday Mourning* (2004:301-303), *Cross Bones* (2005:349-351), and *Break No Bones* (2006:335-337) we read sections called "From the Forensic Files of Kathy Reichs" in which she identifies the means by which she became involved in investigations which resulted in those books. She states: "For legal and ethical reasons I cannot discuss any of the real-life cases that may have inspired [my books], but I can share with you some experiences that contributed to the plot[s]." (2003:305; 2004:301) and then outlines the stories' developments.

It is evident to many other readers that Kathy Reichs can write about the work and the adventures of Tempe Brennan with full experiential authority, and there is an interesting reversal of roles in the television series *Bones* which is based on Reichs' books. Tempe Brennan, the lead character in the show, engages in forensic investi-

gations during the daytime, and at night she writes a series of crime-inspired novels starring Kathy Reichs. Reichs invented Brennan, then Brennan invented Reichs in a manner which is reminiscent of Samantha Kincaid's ancestry.

Commentary

Samuel Pepys (b1633-d1703) was a renowned public servant, chronographer and diarist who recorded history as it was happening and life as he viewed it (Wikipedia 2005c). Had he written novels, I foresee they would have been epochal and Dickensian. Instead, he wrote a diary dedicated to the patterns of his life. In some ways, the seven near-autobiographical authors identified in this section wrote in a Pepysian diarist tradition. The novelists substituted themselves with surrogate portrayals in a variety of occupational roles to signify how social justice could, and perhaps should, happen. One could imagine that Pepys would have liked the several authors addressed here, especially those who projected themselves into their fictional realities.

CONCLUSION

Reading novels gives the readers opportunities to suspend personal disbelief in the falsity of the stories. We treat the plots as possible for reasons of entertainment and recreation. The ability to create a series of novels is dependent on the writer's skills to have the characters change and to create new plots, and this may mean the stories contain more than a little near-autobiographical reasoning: The writer addresses subjects, people, and pla-

ces which are familiar by mingling fiction and reality into plausible plans.

The purpose in writing this article was to show how successful blends between fact and fiction happened in the series novels from nine different authors. The novelists portrayed people in diverse entrepreneurial roles whose personal moralities and job responsibilities required that they address wrongful behavior and the administration of justice in different ways. Two of the series' people were law enforcement agents. Two of the series' people were engaged in work adjacent to formal law enforcement. Two of the series' people were involved in forensic in "clearing" a crime.

When arrests are made, or when rule breakers are terminated, the story, the book, and our investment have ultimately reached "THE END." Crimes cleared or tyrants vanquished denote *prima facie* evidence that justice has been fulfilled and our thirsts are quenched; not in real life, of course, but only in our imaginations created for our entertainment by novelists of fictional reality. In *The Historian*, a recent and popular novel about Dracula, the author writes that "...the line between literature and history is often a wobbling one (Kostova 2005:274), which was later rephrased as "what can you expect... when historians begin using their imaginations" (Kostova 2005: 384). While these thoughts are expressed in a novel about a search to separate the historical Dracula from impressionistic versions of the person, the same can be said about the portrayal of justice in crime and intrigue novels.

This article is premised on the

notion that the American public has significant emotional concerns about our system of social justice which does not meet our expectations. We want good guys to win, bad guys to lose, and justice to prevail; but all too often our ideals are left unfulfilled, leaving us saddened, in despair, and untrusting. As a possible means of abating our worries novelists have identified the taproots of that disquietude and they have created likeable rule users, rule enforcers, rule abusers, rule interpreters, rule breakers, and vigilantes who satisfy our social ideals, at least in our imaginations. The authors have done so through creative combinations of fiction and fact, yet when all is said and done, fictional reality depends on wobbling for its very existence. It is that wobbling beyond known data, that creative combination of fiction and fact, which keeps the reader's imagination and quizzical nature begging for more fictional reality.

ENDNOTE

- 1 Series of related interest which were not included are: The Jack Ryan books written by Tom Clancy, and the *NetForce*, *Op-Center*, *Power Plays*, and *Splinter Cell* series created by Clancy; the investigations of Dr. Alex Delaware, psychologist-detective, by Jonathan Kellerman; the wanderings of "insurance investigator" Travis McGee penned by John D. McDonald; the Jack Aubrey "Master and Commander" naval series by Patrick O'Brian; Sara Paretsky's Chicago-based detective V.L. Warshawski; James Patterson's Dr. Alex Cross as detective-

psychologist; and the comedic-mystery books starring Bubbles Yablonsky as a beautician-turned-reporter which were written by Sarah Strohmeier and inspired by Janet Evanovich.

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Moving Beyond Borders

Julian Samora and the Establishment of Latino Studies

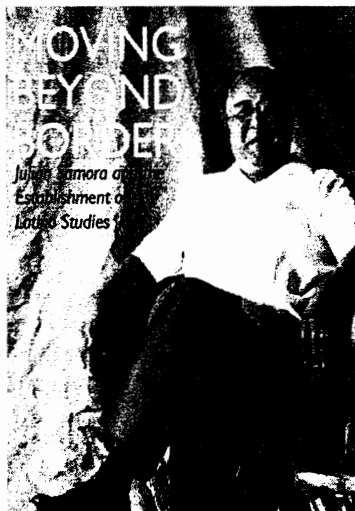
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The lifework of a pioneering scholar and leader in Latino studies.

Moving Beyond Borders examines the life and accomplishments of Julian Samora, the first Mexican American sociologist in the United States and the founding father of the discipline of Latino studies. Detailing his distinguished career at the University of Notre Dame from 1959 to 1984, the book documents the history of the Mexican American Graduate Studies program that Samora established at Notre Dame and traces his influence on the evolution of border studies, Chicano studies, and Mexican American studies.

Samora's groundbreaking ideas opened the way for Latinos to understand and study themselves intellectually and politically, to analyze the complex relationships between Mexicans and Mexican Americans, to study Mexican immigration, and to ready the United States for the reality of Latinos as the fastest growing minority in the nation. In addition to his scholarly and pedagogical impact, his leadership in the struggle for civil rights was a testament to the power of community action and perseverance. Focusing on Samora's teaching, mentoring, research, and institution-building strategies, *Moving Beyond Borders* explores the legacies, challenges, and future of ethnic studies in United States higher education.

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**SOCIAL VARIANCE AS IT EXISTS BETWEEN CONFORMITY AND
DEVIANCE: FOLLOWING SOME ADVICE FROM OGBURN***

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to introduce social variance as the "stuff" that exists between conformity and deviance in modern sociology. We often over-emphasize the either-or qualities of conformity and deviance, presuming that nothing lies between them. A foot-long ruler is not intended to look at 0 or 12 on a stick, so why do we do that very thing? By borrowing generously from novels, distance measurements and art, social variance represents aberrations from conformity and from deviance as a new subject in a discipline which has been dedicated to traditional definitions, dualisms, and labeling theory.

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"No one Sampson or I spoke to that morning had seen anything out of the ordinary around Sojourner Truth School. We heard the usual complaints about drug pushers, the zombie-like crackheads, the prossies who work on Eighth Street, the growing number of gangbangers...But nothing out of the usual"
(James Patterson, *Jack & Jill* 1996).

"We were discussing duels and when they were, by general consent, permissible when they were universally condemned and when they were absolutely required"
(Patrick O'Brian, *The Truelove* 1992).

"[Joan had] read about religious fanatics who fondled snakes, but a turtle fixation was borderline deviant"
(Carl Hiaasen, *Lucky You* 1997).

"As a civilization, through consensus, we agree on what is normal, but this consensus is as wide as a river, not as narrow as the high wire above a big top"
(Dean Koontz, *Life Expectancy* 2004).

"...no venal or meretricious enterprise existed without a community's consent" (James Lee Burke, *Jolie Blon's Bounce* 2002).

"Something can be legal but not moral"
(Steve Perry, *Cybernation* 2001).

"It all simply comes down to good guys and bad guys"
(Jimmy Buffett, *A Salty Piece of Land* 2004).

INTRODUCING SOCIAL VARIANCE

Novelists often exist on the periphery of core social institutions (Steward 1955) as one type of *peripheral activist*, writing stories containing ideas about key social and sociological issues, like conformity and deviance, in ways that audiences can access and understand, easily. Singer-songwriter-novelist-actor Jimmy Buffet writes that we often dichotomize social phenomena for reasons of convenience, comprehension, and clarity, and some of those visions can serve as bases for social labeling. James Lee Burke, author of the popular Dave Robicheaux detective/mystery series, reminds us that communities often permit an illegal activity, such as prostitution, to exist because it is deemed useful, just as poverty and unemployment have been called functional (Gans 1971). Dean Koontz states that in a pluralistic society consensus of opinion regarding social morality may be difficult to achieve. Some conduct codes are designed with broad parameters of application, resulting in multiple reactions and sanctions which are differentially enforced. Patrick O'Brian author of the Jack Aubrey "Master and Commander" naval series, confirms that norms are not universal, needing to be seen in cultural context which Kony (2007) calls defining deviance "sideways" because "...rules are not evenly distributed with and across societies..." Kony (2006:630). Detective Alex Cross, created by James Patterson, confirms that citizens and public officials have become inured to

open and unattended activities which were once considered to be unacceptable, but are now commonplace. Steve Perry, a writer for the Tom Clancy-created *NetForce* series, informs us that legally-accepted behaviors do not always meet the ethical ideals of a community: A city in central Illinois, for example, is the location of a famous adult night club, a strip joint, which was once featured on a *Donahue* television episode. Finally, Carl Hiaasen, who usually writes comic tales about ecological and exile politics in southern Florida, reminds us that even mildly deviant behavior can have limited social tolerance.

These authors are, of course, novelists with much literary license who are not required to cite data and sources, so we should not treat them authoritatively. Still, they identify collectively a triptych of key themes in sociology. It is often difficult to have unequivocal definitions for conformity and deviance and their applications; we often think in oppositional frames of reference; and we do love our labels. Consequently, we can no longer subscribe to conformity and deviance as depicted in the following way:

Conformity-----Deviance

Instead, we could think about the range of tolerance for both conformity and deviance as being extremely fluid, existing on sliding scales, in the following visual manners.

Conformity----->Deviance

Conformity<-----Deviance

There is, though, yet another way to visualize the issues of conformity

and deviance because they, and peoples' responses to them, are not always what they seem to be.

Mathematicians use rulers to measure the infinite number of discrete distances between 0 and 12 on a foot-long stick. The end points are used only as places of reference. Artists, in similar fashion, do not rely solely on the primary colors of red, blue, and yellow in their creations. They blend them, varying the originals, making an endless array of hues. Moralists and sociologists, however, may not yet have reached this same level of pragmatic sophistication because that which is "right" and "wrong," "normal" and "abnormal," "approved" and "disapproved," "conformity" and "deviance," "good guys" and bad guys," "criminals" and "non-criminals," and "legal" and "illegal" are ideologically charged ideas sitting at opposite ends of scales of propriety as ideal types. Actual illustrations of them exist somewhere between the opposites, as can be shown visually

Conformity → Variance ← Deviance

The term *social variance* is introduced here as that which exists somewhere between the polarized ideas of conformity and deviance. This new term was created to reflect a wide range of illustrative legal-but-not-totally-acceptable, illegal-but-not-totally-unacceptable, once stigmatized-but-now-defined down, as well as the quirky/odd/idiosyncratic/unusual/strange behaviors which exist in a community. There are often lingering questions of doubt, for example, when others tell us that they are ex-convicts, *recovering* alcoholics/addicts, *former* mental pa-

tients, *seeing* a therapist, *between jobs* right now, or *work-release* convicts like many of my fellow workers; and Chamblis (1973) wonders how the community's people would really view the Saints if their actual delinquency was known, just as he wonders whether or not the Roughnecks could have actually been assigned grades higher than "Cs?"

Much of instructional sociology is dedicated to "buzz word" approaches, encumbered by ideal types and dualistic reasoning, and bound to shopworn illustrations for the phenomena we study. Instead, we need to provide students and ourselves with opportunities and accreditation to play with new approaches, thinking "outside the box," relying on non-traditional sources of inspiration and sponsorship of new research, and there is a sociological precedent for such an approach. It was Ogburn (1930) who said that we should sometimes leave the laboratory, refresh ourselves, and return to work renewed. It can be tempting to look at the word with myopic vision reality as seen through sociology rather than reality through the eyes of others. Those "others" such as novelists, have made their own observations which are often molded into their stories. Even though such thoughts are not framed in sociological paradigms, and even though they are presented to a reading public in recreational formats, they should not be denied by sociologists; instead, those ideas can be embraced by us as points of departure for research, and this type of foundation has already been used.

O'Sullivan (2002) discussed his

paradigm shift to an appreciation for the conflict approach as he reflected upon his occupational move into a private factory environment. In partial support of his epiphany he cited numerous bodies of recreational literature that depicted the presence of dualistic class structures in diverse places and times, even though the criteria for membership in the upper- and lower-classes varied considerably. O'Sullivan neither validated nor vilified the oppositional classes he encountered in his reading, nor did he attempt to deconstruct or subvert them by questioning their moral hierarchies. Instead, he used them to better understand the types of arguments that conflict theorists use in their dialogues about social disharmony. Similarly, this study makes no efforts to support or deny the foundations for social norms, the inherent tension between conformity and deviance, or the justification for the labels of conformist or deviant. They are beyond the scope of this piece as it is based on public sentiment expressed in literature, which can give us the opportunity to remove ourselves from Ogburn's "laboratories," to venture into new areas of exploration and explanation, making sociology a more comprehensive, interesting, accurate, up-to-date, and grounded activity.

If we never extended ourselves beyond ideal types, never used our experiences as the bases for research, and relied only on existing data, replications, and previous questions and explanations then our discipline would never have grown; and if we do not delve into new realms of curiosity it will grow no further. Our discipline re-

quires dynamic and venturesome explorations, not static convenience. As Konty (2006) argues, we have arrived at a threshold in the history of conformity-deviance studies. We must stay true to such notable scholars as Becker (1963) and Goffman (1963), but we must also strike out in new directions of study. We can do all of this by looking critically at our terminologies, re-evaluating how we envision the subject matter, looking at our labeling process, and by creating new methods of study which would include alternative foundations for research.

Now that the term and the bases for social variance have been introduced and visually signified, there is need to explain the expression's origin. There are three.

EXPLAINING THE ORIGINS OF SOCIAL VARIANCE

Several tasks need to be completed in order to successfully explain the origins and utility of the new term. First, there is a need to talk about the fact that the multiplicity of norms in our society makes it almost impossible to have moral constancy upon which any interpretations of conformity and deviance are based. Second, there is a need to review strengths and weaknesses about dualistic reasoning in order to show how its use can hamper thinking about anything between conformity and deviance. Third, and last, labeling theory, in the broadest sense, will be discussed to show how deviant behavior labels, or stigmas, have fostered traditional thinking; and to show how deviancy has been defined down, and up, at least in terms of

labeling while the original forces which created the labels remain with us.

Social Variance Founded in Social Norms

Introductory textbooks in sociology have a chapter dedicated to the subject of social deviance which usually defines it as behavior patterns which violate social norms. Those same textbooks also contain a chapter which is concerned with the subject matter of culture which identifies prevalent types of norms in a people's lifestyle, and that list of norms is usually comprised of folkways and mores, but may also include laws and social institutions. Socialization into a culture involves the internalization of those social norms in order to do that which is desired, necessary, and normal. Conformity is expected and deviance is not, but may be normal, so deviance receives the disproportional amount of social attention and ethical condemnation. Those norms need to be reviewed in order to see how both conformity and deviance may be more fleeting than rock-solid.

Folkways, mores, and laws exist for different reasons, have different constructions and are enforced differently. Folkways refer to behaviors which are asked to be followed for reasons of courtesy and respect, and if they are violated the person may be considered to be rude and impolite, but not likely to be formally and publicly sanctioned. Mores are more important expectations because they have societal survival built into them, as in social institutions; but they also exist to protect individual rights, dignity, and property. Laws are codified norms, put into statute forms with formal negative

social sanctions applied which are intended to serve as specific punishments for offenders and as warnings to would-be offenders. However, our legal system is complicated and diversified consisting of civil and criminal statutes, state and federal jurisdictions, canonical laws and the military's Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), all having unique responses. For example, the violation of certain canonical laws and UCMJ codes are handled internally, without civilian responses, but when criminal codes are violated by church members or when military personnel violate community standards, civil proceedings may result.

Norms, especially laws, are complex things, requiring collective agreements based on shared ethics or morals, constructed consistency, applications, enforcement, interpretation, adjudication, and consequences. At the very least they require several occupational statuses and roles as Becker (1963), Weber (1967), Reid (1991), and O'Sullivan (1994, 2006) have shown, whose occupants are specifically authorized to create, enforce, and interpret rules of conduct as they encounter formal disputes. There are others, outside officialdom, who also have vested interests in the moral-legal well-being of a community and may lack legal franchise, but they can be more influential than powerful.

Symbolic crusaders (Becker 1963; Weitzer 2006) are mobilized against something broadly-defined as sinful or harmful, as shown in the temperance movement (Gusfield 1963) or in the movement against prostitution (Weitzer 2006). The crusaders often have a

religious foundation to their beliefs and activities, a moral righteousness, but lack the formal ability to impose their wills and beliefs upon others. To repair that deficiency they may align themselves with those who do, forming alliances against something which becomes morally and legally harmful, now enforceable.

So when textbooks state that deviance is defined as rule-breaking behavior, there is a gross over-simplification of complex issues which should spawn many questions that are related to the concerns of Chambliss and Mankoff (1976) when they asked "Whose Law, What Order?" An additional list of questions includes: What types of norms? What are the moralities behind those norms? Who made the norms? Who is evaluating the behavior? Who is enforcing the norms? Are conformists obliged or merely invited to follow the rules? Does the person who is evaluating, or attempting to enforce conduct norms have the authority to do so? When we talk about deviance, are we talking about all wrongful behavior or that which seems to violate those mores and laws which reinforce each other? What are the rewards for conformity, or are they just the absence of punishments? Are these questions meaningful to rule-breakers, or only to us as we ponder them?

Conformity and deviance are not defined simply, and the problem of assignment becomes even more complex when we discuss the presence of groups, subcultures, and/or counter-cultures. Conformity to one set of norms may actually violate another, and two sets of examples illustrate this

point. Heyl (1979), Reiss (1987) and Calhoun (1992) all studied the subcultural world of prostitution which exists as a criminal offense in most locales. These three writers, however, have shown that there are strict guidelines to be followed by participants. In none of their works was it shown that the sale of sex was a matter of personal promiscuity, but rather it represented a job or a matter of economic need. Similarly, F.D. O'Sullivan (1928:271-274) and Stark (1987) agreed that certain elements of disorganized urban zones tended to be breeding grounds for juvenile delinquency. For example, in subterranean subcultures the incarceration of youths for their offenses is more common than not, and tends to enhance further deviant behavior due to labeling and learning effects (Tannenbaum 1939; F.D. O'Sullivan 1928). In such ecologies as these, deviant behavior may be more a matter of predictable normalcy than an abnormality, as such sociologists as Durkheim (1938), Moynihan (1993), and Hendershott (2002) as well as novelists Burke, Patterson, and Hiaasen would likely agree. The questions "What is normal?" and "What is abnormal?" can no longer be answered easily.

In an important discussion about rural-urban studies, Dewey (1960) stated that the referent points on a continuum need to be clearly articulated to make analyses viable; if those points are phrased in ambiguity then there may be need for abandonment of study or re-clarification of terminology. That which was true then applies to discussions about a conformity-deviance scale as well. If the definitions for conformity and deviance do

not clearly identify which types of norms elicit conformity or deviance, then we need to rework our explanations. Currently, their definitional bases are squishy, or tenuous, at best so we need to revise them and consider the utility of an in-between concept such as social variance, and continue to explore its second explanation of origin.

Social Variance Founded in Dualistic Reasoning

The history of sociology is full of oppositional categorizations including types of groups, relationships between people, social organization, societal systems, and other social forms which are too numerous to discuss and unnecessary here. There are also several substantive discussions in sociology which pertain directly to dualistic reasoning about conformity and deviance. We have, for example, dialogues about the normal and the pathological from Durkeim (1938). Lemert (1951) taught us about primary deviance and secondary deviance; Chambliss (1973) introduced us to the Saints and the Roughnecks; and from Becker (1963), we have a two-dimensional look at conduct and social reaction to it. He talks to us about rule-abiding and rule-breaking behaviors, and then about acts that are not perceived as being deviant and those which are. Furthering previous discussions about types of norms there are two which deserve special attention, and they are *prescriptive* norms and *proscriptive* norms.

Prescriptive norms remind us of the need to engage in certain forms of behavior as *thou shalt* types of state-

ments. Proscriptive norms are prohibitive *thou shalt not* dictates. If we follow these commands by doing what we are supposed to do, or by avoiding actions which are forbidden, we are, at least at face value, conforming. If, however, we fail to do as we are told, or if we engage in taboo acts, we are engaging in some form of social deviance if the norms and the acts are strictly defined as being opposites.

With only a few notable exceptions such as the terms suburban, urban, and exurban discussed in relation to a rural-urban division, there are no interstitial *typologies* between oppositional categories as gray is a blend of black and white. To suggest that only extremes exist is to commit a dualistic fallacy of reasoning under the presumption that extreme ends are perfectly constructed, always applicable, and lacking ambiguity. Such issues as *hot* or *cold* or *fast* and *slow* can have quantified variances, but such concerns as prescriptive and proscriptive norms, conformity and deviance, and conformists and deviants are so loaded with moral and political positioning that absolutist interpretations are problematic, further contributing to a fallacy of reasoning.

This analytic error has special relevance when used in discussions about criminal or delinquent acts, those labeled as criminal or delinquent, and three case studies centering on the reactions of various moral entrepreneurs are used in illustration. Psychologist Mike Roberts, who worked with the San Jose, CA Police Department, reported that police officers divided the world into two distinct categories of people, "assholes and cops" (Meredith

1984:22). Chambliss (1972) reported the police and the Roughnecks were always in a state of conflict, but the police often viewed the Saints' acts of delinquency as just "sowing wild oats."

There is yet a third case study illustrating the necessity for a middle-ground social variance, and that involved high-profile "celebrity justice" trials which took place in two of California's court systems. The athlete-actor O.J. Simpson was accused of murdering his ex-wife and an acquaintance of hers. The American public, a labeling body, was split in its opinions about Simpson's criminal status, but the public was not his criminal court jury which officially determined that Simpson needed to be acquitted on both charges, and he was. Thinking dualistically, he was not a criminal and wrongfully accused. Later, in civil proceedings against him that used different criteria for jury decisions, Simpson was found to be responsible for the two deaths and was held accountable to the victims' surviving families.

Two separate and legitimate court systems placed Simpson at opposite ends of a spectrum simultaneously. Unless a person is straddling a state line border, with one foot on each state, it is fairly impossible to be in two places at once. Once again, Dewey is used to assess the possibility of overlapping traits.

Dewey (1960:65) stated: "[t]here is no such thing as urban culture or rural culture but only various culture contents somewhere on the rural-urban continuum." When we look at the multitude of conduct norms and their applications we can paraphrase Dewey

and conclude that there are no such things as absolute versions of conformity and deviance, but only conducts which exist somewhere on various conformity-deviance continua that elicit diverse reactions from observers.

Social variance is not an attempt to undermine or trivialize our understandings of norms and the social opposites of conformity and deviance. Instead, it enhances them by adding another element and reaction to them. Unfortunately, the actual expression social variance and the subsequent term social *variant* contain some ambiguity, also due to fluidity of any existing definitions from which they can be derived. Nonetheless, the new term gives us another opportunity to think critically about the over-simplified way we have traditionally treated the subjects of conformity and deviance. Novelists recognize this deficiency so it is time for us to do the same.

The first section of explanation for the use of the term *social variance* stated that the presence of so many types of norms makes it difficult to have universal visions of conformity and deviance. The second section, illustrated with the O.J. Simpson case, affirmed that dualistic thinking may be out-of-place in our understandings of conformity and deviance. It is now time to take a look at the labeling approach in sociology to see why the expression was created.

Social Variance Founded in Social Labeling

So, where are all the old "bad guys," (Buffett 2004), "...drug pushers... crackheads... prossies, [and] gangbangers" (Patterson 1996), the

“genetically deficient numskull” (Hiaasen 2006), and “Nuts, Sluts, and Perverts” (Lazlos 1985)? They are still here, but they are now identified and perceived differently.

Social labels, such as stigmas for deviant behavior and halos for conforming behavior are convenient devices for us. They are founded in personal or collective moralities, help us to define who we are and what we believe, and they help us to distinguish between insiders and outsiders so we can separate ourselves from those who do not act or believe as we do. People with authority use labels, people with influence use them, and people who have no recognized authority or influence use them so frequently and casually that it is difficult to determine whether or not the labels are justified; and that is a significant problem when discussing the subjects of conformity and deviance.

Whether or not we accept Moynihan’s 1973 thesis that we are defining deviancy *down*, Karmen’s 1994 criticism of Moynihan’s premise, including the idea that we are defining deviance *up* (Adler and Adler 2008; Karmen 1994), is a personal choice. The fact remains though that many old orientations toward deviance and stigmatization, as well as toward conformity and the halo effect, are changing. We are no longer limited to old visions as we have been, and there are several possible causes for these paradigm shifts in the American public.

Once-stigmatized groups have become more publicly open in displays of their lifestyles, perhaps lobbying for new laws protecting them against discrimination. Some provide assistance

for participants, such as the old CO-YOTE organization of prostitutes has done for people in the sex-for-sale industries. Those same groups also rally to the support of other stigmatized groups to increase public awareness with facts rather than impressions.

Popular culture media fare show that people who were once stigmatized are now normalized and humanized—shown to be just like the rest of us. In some cases, the deviant behaviors are so commonplace that public officials and police do not have resources, time or energy to curb them, consigning them a tacit legitimacy. While Hendershott (2002) would argue making the abnormal normal is due to moral decay, the effect of such changes is that the behaviors and the people who engage in them are no longer considered so deviant, better understood, and thereby needing a new place on the old conformity-deviance scale. The behaviors are not gone, but our reactions to them have been modified, perhaps to a variant status.

Over the past several decades, there has been a specifically identifiable social movement which aided in the de-stigmatization process, removing responsibility from the actor, and that explanation is the medicalization of deviance (Davis 2006; Hafferty 2006). This controversial approach is based on the idea that medical professionals and medical scientists are strategically and advantageously placed to use their expertise in diagnosis and treatment of some forms of deviance, treating them as medical rather than social issues. For example, Davis (2006:59) cites findings indicating that such concerns as lunacy, de-

generacy, sin, and poverty have been defined as illnesses in need of appropriate social policies, programs, and monies, to "treat" them, as we take doses of medicine for certain types of illnesses. In the same manner, homosexuality and alcoholism are now identified as having biological bases so individuals may no longer be accused of choice/habit based behavior or differential socialization. Novelist Sarah Strohmeier addresses our obsession with "treatment" drugs in one of her romantic comedy books about Bubbles Yablonsky –hairdresser and reporter.

I considered all the possibilities that could be damning: drugs to treat depression, drugs to reduce the severity of mental illnesses like schizophrenia and frightening diseases such as cancer. There were drugs to treat impotence, embarrassing foot odor, uncontrollable flatulence, kleptomania, rampant swearing, homicidal and suicidal tendencies, menopausal hot flashes and ravenous food cravings (Strohmeier 2006:280).

Extending this thought, can we treat such norm violations as failure to get an education, failure to vote, failure to shake hands with glove removed, failure to help senior citizens cross streets safely, failure to say "pardon me" when we sneeze in crowds, or, as happened to me in the Army, failure to remove a cigarette from my mouth as I saluted an officer, as maladies which can be treated with "wonder drugs?"

There are serious issues with medi-

calization which reflect upon discussions presented earlier in this article. The first concerns the problem of whether or not medical practitioners or medical scientists have the right, expertise, or authority to serve as social engineers who can define what society needs, which actions are "good" or "bad" and how "bad" acts or "bad" people can be treated or cured? Since studies in social deviance are also studies in social power, we must recall the two questions of Chambliss and Mankoff (1976), and their subsequent derivatives. The answers may be elusive and not held by all.

The next concern revolves around the perception that something was missing from the works of Davis and of Hafferty, and that *something* is a specific and a general theoretical deficiency. If deviance can be defined in medicalized and directional terms, then conformity should be explained similarly, but is not. Medicalization cannot explain conformity, nor can this approach explain how a person's "backstage" behavior is deviant while public demeanor seems in accord with a group's wishes. Can "bad genes" or the absence of a "scruples gene" explain corporate executives' uses of slick accounting methods to steal megabucks from unsuspecting stockholders and company employees?

Fortunately we have a long explanatory history which has tackled such critical issues as the origins and amplification of conduct norms (Buckley 1967; Quinney 1970); the possible results of labeling (Becker 1963; Goffman 1963; Lemert 1951; Tannenbaum 1938); as well as the role of differential opportunity and its directional influ-

ence (Cloward and Ohlin 1960). Different types of personal epiphanies are documented by Denzin (1989) and by O'Sullivan (1999), and by combining them with symbolic renunciations (Lambert and Lambert 1964), we can envision how volitional changes in peoples' life can occur such as transitions from lifestyles of alcohol abuse or sinfulness to ones of sobriety or salvation (Denzin 1986, 1987; O'Sullivan 1999). We can also rely on discussions of a thrill-seeking element in personality theory (Farley 1986); the impact of such values as attachment, commitment, involvement, and beliefs in a conformity-deviance configuration (Hirschi 1969) and the possibility of lifestyle drift (Matza 1964). The paradigm of adaptation to social goals and their means of achievement (Merton 1967) is a sociological staple, just as analyses of differential association and role learning (Sutherland and Cressey 1978) are required reading for us. Finally we have the presence of subterranean values (Matza and Sykes 1961) which might explain corporate leaders' fiduciary greed and criminal activity. Collectively, these other explanations attend to many of the issues about conformity and deviance which biomedical accounts cannot accomplish alone.

There is no specific theory that can explain how socially-variant acts occur nor is there any specific type of norm which allows us to say which acts are indicative of social variance. Instead, social variance represents a reaction to, and a refinement upon, traditional ways of looking at social norms, oppositional ways of thinking, and social

labeling as novelists have already shown is possible.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In a perfect world, all of our norms are clearly defined, applied, and have equal consequences, but such is not the case as novelists clearly show to readerships wider than sociology's audiences. Novelists are not required to collect data as they begin their stories, but they may use them, and public perceptions, as they depict discrepancies between the ideal and the real.

Conformity and deviance are created in the very process of norm construction which dictate what we should and should not do. If we adhere to norms of conformity, we are called conformists, and if we violate them, we are called deviants or worse. There are so many formal and casual norms covering so many areas of jurisdiction that is impossible to identify them all, and more are constructed every day in various legislatures. Further, not all of them are of equal consequence, so there will be differential responses to them, as is the case of sanctions applied to misdemeanor criminal offenses compared to those for felony criminal offenses. All of this suggests that our traditional orientations to conformity and deviance are more flexible than customary, so there is need to reassess how we view the traditional conformity-deviance continuum because old ideas may no longer be applicable. Social variance is not intended to replace our understandings about conformity and deviance. Instead, it adds to them.

Sociologists Adler and Adler, Karmen, Konty, Moynihan, and Lazlos tell us that the discipline and the subject matter of sociology are continually changing new paradigms are created, new areas of interest are emerging, and the roles of sociologist-as-academician, sociologist-as participant, sociologist-as-practitioner, and sociologist-as-reporter are changing regularly. When we write that former "deviants" are being redefined and studied anew, and when we create new ways to assess social conformity and deviance, we should consider ourselves as being a part of the change process and talk to our audiences about information which peripheral activists already know and share with their followers.

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Chuck Hagel: Moving Forward

By Charlyne Berens
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In late August 2004 the Republicans were celebrating the nomination of incumbent George W. Bush for another term as president of the United States. In the midst of the festivities, Chuck Hagel, a senator from Nebraska, was telling reporters that the Republican Party had come loose of its moorings. This was a bold position for someone identified by the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and Boston Globe as a prospective 2008 presidential candidate, but it was not surprising coming from a Republican senator who had also recently remarked that the occupation of Iraq was poorly planned and that it had encouraged the spread of terror cells throughout the world. Who is Chuck Hagel, what is his story, and is he a genuine player on the national political stage? Charlyne Berens sets out to answer these questions in her close and careful look at one of the most interesting and independent figures on the current American political scene.

Having survived a tour of duty in Vietnam and having made a fortune as a pioneer in the cellular phone industry, Chuck Hagel seemingly came out of nowhere to beat a popular sitting governor in a race for the U.S. Senate in 1996. Berens charts Hagel's quick rise to national recognition and influence and examines the background that has led Hagel to an outspoken internationalism that often puts him at odds with his own party and president. This complex, plain-spoken Nebraskan may be on his way to the White House. Charlyne Berens explains why and how.



CHUCK HAGEL
Moving Forward

CHARLYNE BERENS

SHAPING VISUAL SOUND: A FRIENDLY LOOK AT TOTAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE SUBCULTURE OF COMPETITIVE MARCHING MUSIC*

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Abstract

Visual sound is the intricate blend of thematic music, marching, interpretive dancing, and colorful costuming that emerged in the early 1970s as modern drum and bugle corps and competitive high school marching bands engaged in field competitions against other corps and bands. The performance seasons for corps and for bands are intense, lasting only a few months, and each competition reflects a complex intersection of artistry, ambition, athleticism, and awards. This article is premised on the idea that a friendly version of total institutions is a latent development in the performance histories of drum corps and high school marching bands, and some personalized, illustrative, ethnographic, and numerical data, as well as descriptive narratives, are used to portray their emergence and role in this performance subculture. Rehearsal camps for corps and bands, and life on tour for corps, as types of controlled-movement environments, have become vital and virtual necessities for performance development and competitive success as musicians and dancers enter the fields of competition for their shows which last from ten to twelve minutes on football fields before fans, spectators, other contestants, and judges.

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INTRODUCTION

Drum Corps International (DCI) and Bands of American BOA¹ are two non-profit organizations that sponsor music performance and music education in the U.S. The domain of DCI is primarily drum and bugle corps, sometimes simply called drum corps, whereas BOA works with secondary education programs, especially high school bands. The two organizations were born at about the same time (DCI in 1972 and BOA in 1975), have common interests, and both set the perfor-

mance criteria and judging standards for their respective participants.

I belonged to a small corps in its percussion/drum line, and my daughter was a member of a state championship marching band during her four years of high school. I have visited a corps and the band while in camps; attended many competitions; have taken notes regarding the music played; evaluated the programs with estimated scores and rankings; and, have compared my estimates against actual programs and rankings. I am also a sociologist who, having been in the

army, having read Goffman's *Asylums* (1961), and having taught in prisons, found that some elements of total institutions apply to competition seasons for drum corps and high school bands, but with differences of purposes.

Total institutions are usually seen as controlled-movement environments that are organized for the impartial treatment of their residents, with the administration having primacy over the individual, working to ensure that power differential. In contrast, the total institution element of rehearsal camps and life on tour for corps and for bands is designed to build confidence, competence, artistic skills, stamina, and pride as the performance journey takes place. This project reflects an exploration into the differences between some traditional interpretations of total institutions with a variation of them wherein enhancement of the self and talents, not the mortification of them, are focal concerns.

This study is a complex one, involving several overlapping and staged elements. Included are discussions about total institutions as they have been viewed and studied traditionally; a discussion about the inspiration for this project; a discussion about how the *classic* era of drum and bugle corps evolved from its military background; how that era evolved into the *modern* one of DCI and BOA; an alternative look at the total institutional element of life for three performing units—DCI's The Cavaliers from Rosemont, IL, its Glassmen from Toledo, OH, and the Marching Grey Ghosts from Illinois Valley Central High School in Chilli-cothe, IL; and the performance schedules and score data from their respect-

ive 2007 seasons as they reflect tightness of life and partial registers of the effects of their training schedules.

The two corps and the band were selected as a combination of convenience, purposive, comparative, and biased samples. They were not chosen randomly. The Cavaliers is my favorite drum corps, and it is a perennial favorite for many others. The Glassmen was selected as a comparative corps that is always a contending one, but it rarely wins big competitions. The Marching Grey Ghosts was chosen as the high school band because it is local, providing inspiration, and several people affiliated with it offered me their assistance and encouragement. Drum corps and competitive high school bands are not the same things, but are closely related, and their features are generously interwoven. One of their commonalities is the creation of a total institution-like existence for their rehearsal and performance seasons, so a discussion about total institutions is in order.

TOTAL INSTITUTIONS

Goffman did not invent total institutions; rather he outlined their special features and purposes. Others, such as social reformers, novelists, social scientists, and film producers knew about them long before the arrival of Goffman's book. Jeremy Bentham was credited in the late 18th century with designing the panopticon prison where inmates are constantly monitored by guards, thereby reducing individuality and enhancing depersonalization. In 1862/2002, Fyodor Dostoyevsky wrote about prison camps in Tsarist Russia

in his book *House of the Dead*. Psychologist Bruno Bettelheim wrote in 1943 about detainees' adaptive mechanisms in Holocaust-era concentration camps; in 1953 film producer Billy Wilder gave us the movie *Stalag 17* about conflict and turmoil in a Hitlerian Germany P.O.W. camp; and in 1957 actor/producer/director Jack Webb released the movie *The D.I.* about U.S. Marine Corps boot camp at Parris Island, SC. We see through these illustrations that organizational concern for control over the lives of residents or incarcerated is maximized with concern for their comfort and well-being minimalized, and this differential is ensured by three dominant features of total institutions: (1) batch/communal living environments, (2) strict ordering of daily routines, and (3) the loss of individual autonomy and individuality because everyone lives their lives in common (Goffman).

Total institutions exist as types of formal organization that operate under different philosophies and their memberships are filled in diverse ways. One basic principle of management is the belief that residents deserve to be there and are threats to society, so life there must be harsh as punishment. There are many survivors of prisoner of war and concentration camps who have written about their experiences using the first-person voice of experience combined with social science. Some of those survivors who would confirm Goffman's study and the punitive element of total institutions would include Bettelheim, American diplomat Alexander Dolgun (1975), Nobel Prize winner Alexander Solzhenitsyn (1973, 1974, 1976), and sociologists Pitirim

Sorokin (1950). Then a modern religious movement is viewed from a critical perspective and a friendlier one that is aligned with the utility of total institutions for competitive music.

The Christian revitalization movement called *curtillo* emerged in Spain in the late 1940s, took root in the U.S. in 1950s, and is a renewal staple for several major denominations. It has been described by Marcoux (1982), criticized by Dragostin (1970) and parsed by O'Sullivan (1988, 1989, 1997, 1999).

Entry into this redemptive religious movement and non-territorial community (O'Sullivan 1997) occurs during a sequestered three day weekend of religious education as religious seekers (Lofland 1966) join to enhance their senses of religious self. Its initiates voluntarily separate themselves from friends and family to hear talks about religious piety, study, and action as stages of cognitive development (O'Sullivan 1988), the possible effects of appropriate linguistic skills (O'Sullivan 1989), as well as personal witnessing as the telling of retold epiphanies (O'Sullivan 1999).

Sleep, meals, meetings, and group discussion periods are tightly scheduled because there is much to be done in a short period of time that is managed by gentle mentors, volunteers, and personal sponsors. It is this very structuring, though, that Dragostin criticizes, claiming that the unsuspecting seekers are blindsided or lulled by the movement's bandwagon of moral appeals that are cloaked red herrings for its forced indoctrination and elitist membership, making it more totalitarian than humanitarian.

O'Sullivan though does not deny controlled activities are elements of the cursillo weekend, but he feels its purposes are more self-enhancing and self-fulfilling than Dragostin contends. People seek the cursillo weekend so-lace to become better Christians, and there are amiable others to guide the seekers in their religious journeys. Likewise, musicians and dancers join drum corps and high school bands as *performance* seekers to become better at what they do, to learn about themselves and others, and to test their skills against those of other performers in competitions under the tutelage of skilled mentors, volunteers, and personal sponsors.

With the advent of each new competition season corps and band directors must recreate their performing units due to attrition from aging out², graduation, or residential mobility, all of which require the recruitment of new performers. For example, in 2007 The Cavaliers were composed of about 50% first-year members, and because all positions are open every year the auditions for limited placement are keen. A similar rotation occurs in high school bands because seniors graduate, others move away or drop out, and freshmen or other newcomers arrive. Some bands, like corps, base membership on levels of performance proficiency while others, like the Marching Grey Ghosts, have open memberships. Regardless of how corps and bands are formed, they are more than mere associations of people who have similar interests: They gather to become members of performance communities wherein pride, cohesion, and masteries of skills

are made through shared preparations as many become one.

The shaping of skilled performers' artful field shows usually begins in rehearsal camps, and are often continued with life on the road. Both require participants and their chaperones to live closely and intimately with others, sharing their daily routines. Just as military enlistees, prison camp inmates, and cursillo initiates relinquish personal privacy and some individuality for the benefit of the group, so do corps and band members for the show, challenges and personal growth, respect for self and others, the honor to have competed, and the emotional roller coasters that are felt during award ceremonies. The purpose of corps, band camps, and competitive touring is to enhance the skills of the musicians and dancers, but some of their defining features replicate Goffman's descriptions of total institution in the modern era of competitive music, and that realization served as the basis for this article.

INSPIRATION AND FOUNDATION

This study's inspiration and foundation began on June 9, 2007 when I took a personal day from work and visited The Cavaliers in training camp at Eastern Illinois University (EIU) in Charleston, IL. The corps had been there for about a week, and I spent a lazy time at my *alma mater* watching the corps' drills and practice sessions. That evening while attending the 2007 program's preview performance, I began to wonder if an article could be written about this subject. Later that month, I attended the DCI Central

Illinois competition at Illinois State University (ISU) and on the way home, I realized that there were several personal, sociological, and cultural reasons for this work.

At the personal level it looked like fun. I am a big fan of drum corps and high school band field competitions, so I attended many local contests as "research". Sociologically, studies of total institutions have included analyses of seclusion, supervised schedules, and the common life of residents in jails/prisons, P.O.W. camps, work camps, mental asylums, hospitals, training grounds for members of religious orders, military schools and military basic training facilities, as well as tourist facilities, but not such an activity as this, even though it has been discussed outside academia. Kuzma (2004) wrote about the time he spent with the Denver Blue Knights drum corps, and Laine (2007) spent a year studying the Concord High School Marching Minutemen from Elkhart, IN, but neither author used specific sociological frames of reference, so that task remained undone. Beyond these there are several cultural bases for this study.

We cherish independence, yet in the world of competitive marching music participants voluntarily relinquish this trait for the group. We are competitive people; we want to win at war and in sports, and a philosophy about sports states that to "win" second place is merely to be the first loser. Performance trophies for a competition's grand champion, first-, second-, third-place, and other standings are sized proportionately. Music and dancing performances have moved from

peripheral (Stearly 1955), esthetic, and "high" culture arts into stylized contests attracting spectators and sponsors alike. DCI contests alone attract more than 400,000 people every year (Drum Corps International 2008). Witness also the currency of television's "reality" shows that spotlight competitive singing and dancing.

Historically, music and art programs have been accorded lower statuses and budgets when compared with other school activities. Many school bands are now accorded state- and nation-wide acclaim for their performances and programs, working closely with drum corps whose members often belong to each. Bands' performances during football half-time periods are now taped for review and may be dress rehearsals for field competitions the next day. The assignment of diminutive and "nerd" statuses to drum corps and competitive high school marching is no longer in vogue.

Given such thinking, I recalled Berger's 1963 *Invitation to Sociology*. He invited us to pay attention to the sociology of everyday life. With that behest in mind, a combination of traditional sociology and a systemic look at the world of competitive marching music seemed inevitable, requiring a two-stage inquiry into competitive marching music's history.

STAGE I: DRUM AND BUGLE CORPS IN THE CLASSIC ERA

Musical instruments have served significant utilitarian, ceremonial, and entertainment roles in the U.S. military. Today all branches of our armed services have orchestras, wind en-

sembles, concert banks, chorales, parade bands, and some of them have drum and bugle corps. "The Commandant's Own" drum and bugle corps of the U.S. Marines may be the most renowned of them as it often plays in exhibition for, and recruits from, major DCI and BOA events. The repertoire of such parade bands or corps is often and necessarily marching music which can stimulate deep feelings of national pride and patriotism, and that same type of music was repeated by fledgling corps.

It was in the early years of drum corps history that several civic organizations emerged as being important to the art form, all intending to have positive influence on America's youth. One of them is the Boy Scouts of America (BSA), and at least three contemporary corps still endorse their founders. The corps are The Cavaliers, the Madison Scouts from Madison, WI, and the Racine Scouts from Racine, WI. Two other founding organizations are the American Legion (AL) and the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), whose influence started early competitions, whose very nature affected a continuing military presence on the field of competition for corps and bands.

Just as the modern rodeo began from friendly contests of horsemanship and wrangling skills between rival ranches, the idea that our kids are better than yours was unavoidable. Performance contests among posts with the AL and VFW as well as between their various posts began. The drum corps to which I belonged in a suburb of Chicago was sponsored by American Legion Post 422 in Berwyn, IL, and we

were the Berwyn Blue Knights. We never went on competition tours because touring had yet to evolve into its current lifestyle. We rehearsed on Tuesday nights, worked on field maneuvers in a local forest preserve district, and the people of Berwyn witnessed our parade skills as we marched on their streets. We never went to corps camp because we did not need it. While we had periodic AL, VFW, or other locally-sponsored competitions, we were a modest parade corps paid for our day-trip participation. I left the corps after four years. It was disbanded several years later because many parents felt that it had become too regimented, demanding, and competition-oriented as its Director correctly envisioned the future.

The AL and VFW have always had state and national conventions, and some of the staples of those gatherings were regionally-appropriate competitions between their sponsored drum corps, and those contests always had a strong military quality to them. Before we entered the competition field, we had a "tick line" uniform and personal inspection to see if our clothing was clean and our white shoes spotless. The American, state, and organization flags were carried and guarded by corps members bearing arms the color guard³; the music was based in 4/4 time; and movements on the field were in block formations as we marched forward, backward, sideways, in parallel lines, and at right or oblique angles like soldiers performing drills on parade grounds. Drum majors continued to call corps/band "ten hut" and salute judges before and after their drills. The uni-

forms for most corps and bands today still mimic the formal attire worn by officer candidates in our military academies. Judging was conducted by AL and VFW officials who were also musicians. All corps competed against each other without regard for size or skill levels, which produced lopsided scores and assignment of awards. We entered competition at one end of the football field and exited at the other, while trying to engage in meaningful, artistic, and precise formations. If we left the field too early, stayed on the field too long, or strayed off the field, we were docked performance points which then, as now, are based on a complex rating scale from 0-100 points.

Many members of early competitive drum corps as well as their leaders disagreed with the stringent AL and VFW regulations and settings, contending that the rules stifled creativity, membership potential, fair competitions between diverse corps, performance styles, independence, growth, and opportunities to compete. The watershed year of tension was 1972 when DCI was formed, signaling the beginning of the modern era of drum corps. Three years later in 1975, BOA was formed for high school marching bands, so DCI and BOA are just about "Irish twins."

DCI conducted its first championship contests in 1972 (Wikipedia 2007a). BOA followed suit in 1976 with its Summer National Championships and in 1980 with its Grand National Championships (Wikipedia 2007b). A second stage or era of competition and preparation had begun.

STAGE II: DRUM CORPS AND MARCHING BANDS IN THE MODERN ERA

There was great historical animosity between drum corps and high school bands, and some of this tension was due to the fact that they competed for membership. Each could take talent from the other. My high school band director, for example, would not let me be in *any* band of his because I belonged to a drum corps. Some conflict may also have been due to a preference for a wider range of sounds than drums and bugles afforded. Concert bands use a wide variety of woodwinds, brass instruments, and percussion devices. Drum corps in the classic era were limited to true valve-free bugles, single- and multi-valve horns, and percussion instruments. Band directors were purists, so drum corps were perceived as being noisy, brash, and incapable of using or producing "good" music, but that was before DCI and BOA. The unofficial link between them and their performing units is so great now that the label of "corps style" often identifies the imitative impact that corps had on high school and college bands alike.

Before I get to the thrust of this article, the total institution element of competitive music, there is a need to present some elements of this modern art form. I take this liberty and opportunity to spend some descriptive time focusing on financial sponsorship, instruments and music choices, field performances, and a philosophical debate about the purposes of corps and bends.

Financial Sponsorship

Since DCI is the parent body of today's competitive corps, it helps to underwrite corps and competitions from private and corporate sources, but it cannot cover all costs. The Director of The Cavaliers told us at the June 2007 preview that the corps has an annual budget in excess of \$1,000,000. The Cavaliers, the Glassmen, and other corps must rely on a wide variety of incomes including tuition payments, paid performances, civic support, corporate and private donations, sales of memorabilia and recordings, booster groups, fundraising events, sponsorship from instrument and uniform makers, as well as some monies from the U.S. Marines drum corps. Alumni donations are also important. Early in the 2007 season, for example, there were problems with The Cavaliers' portable kitchen. Hastened donations from past members helped to cover the unanticipated and out-of-budget costs and the portable kitchen was replaced for 2008.

The primary source of income for public high school bands, such as the Marching Grey Ghosts, is local tax revenue allocation and extracurricular activity fees, and income for private school bands is derived from tuition payments. Like corps, bands rely on their booster clubs, donation dinners, paid performances, local business sponsorships, sales of performance recordings, and other types of gifts. Several years ago, for example, the IVC band was invited to play in the Fiesta Bowl Parade and field competition in Arizona. My wife and I, like other parents, paid for our daughter's airfare and personal expenses, and

the owner of a local logistics and trucking company donated employees and one of his trucks to transport the band's equipment.

The movement from AL and VFW leadership and sponsorship of drum corps led to creative financial thinking, but the new era for corps and for bands did more than change the flow of money. It changed the way they were able to look at their instruments, music choices, and auxiliary performances, to expand and enhance their field shows.

Instruments and Music Choices

There is a good reason for the abbreviation of "drum and bugle corps" to the shortened "drum corps." Corps no longer rely on bugles. Instead, they use a variety of such multi-valve and bell-front instruments as all types of trumpets, the marching euphonium, the marching baritone, the marching French horn, the mellophone, the shoulder-mounted and converted contrabass/tuba, all providing balanced and tonal variety for open field and outdoor competitions in football stadiums.

One of the biggest advances in field competitions for corps and for bands was the introduction of the stationary percussion section, or the "pit", in the mid-1980s. Just as the orchestra pit does not entertain on stage for live musicals and operas, these percussionists do not march on the field, but they do play in front of it. Their instruments include various mallet devices such as vibes or xylophones, tympani, chimes, gongs, wood blocks, amplified instruments (guitars, keyboards, even an electronic bass vio-

lin), hand bells, sleigh bells, cow bells and anything that can be struck because these "toys" as I have heard them called, create special sound effects that marching instruments are incapable of providing.

The total impact of the changes in instruments from the classic era of drum corps to the modern one, and the joint modernity of competitive bands, represents a significantly wider range of musical options for both types of marching units. Among corps, original compositions are heard often because such music is designed especially to attend to the horns and percussion instruments which they use, and adapted scores are ones which highlight parts for specific instrument choirs. While we sometimes hear original compositions for bands, we hear more frequently combinations of classical, modern, and contemporary composers whose scores also offer balance between bands' brass, woodwinds, and percussion sections, providing enough tonal, tempo, thematic, and theoretical variety for dancers to engage in colorful, intricate, and interpretive dramatizations of the music.

Changes in Field Performances

Prior to the formation of DCI, corps competed with other corps regardless of size, meaning that small corps like my Berwyn Blue Knights and similar corps like the Windy City Cadets from Chicago went head-to-head against such Chicago land heavyweights as The Cavaliers and the Imperials from Norwood Park. Small and open membership corps were incapable of beating larger and more selective corps in

open contests, as results from one classic era contest show.

The 1958 American Legion's State of Illinois drum and bugle corps championship was held at Lane Tech High School in Chicago. I was there with my corps. The Cavaliers won first place with a score of 92.50. The Imperials were in third place with 86.60, we were eleventh with 68.40, and the Windy City Cadets were twelfth (last) with a score of 62.40.

To make competitions more equitable, DCI created divisions based on corps size and resources. Division III corps had memberships ranging from 30-70 members; Division II corps were allowed between 70-135 participants; and Division I corps, such as The Cavaliers and the Glassmen through the 2007 season, were permitted as many as 135 musicians and dancers. These categories were rearranged and reorganized into the International, Open, and World Class groups. The Cavaliers and the Glassmen were in the World Class group at the onset of the 2008 season (Drum Corps International 2008).

Just as DCI divides corps into stratified categories, BOA does the same for high school bands, each providing contest awards within classes, thereby maintaining degrees of equity among corps and bands. By so doing, DCI and BOA encourage high levels of enthusiasm, ever-expanding musicality, a feeling of fairness, and friendly competition.

Since DCI and BOA share common interests, they share more or less common provisions for field competitions. Having separated ways with AL and VFW rules, corps and bands no

longer march from one end of the field to the other. Instead their programs begin and end at midfield, allowing for maximum audience visibility and pleasure, concentration of sound and optimal opportunities for dancers to perform too. For example, once in a great while the flags/auxiliaries the dancers of DCI's Vanguard from Santa Clara, CA perform their famous "bottle dance" at the fifty-yard line of the field with the musicians behind them, showcasing them. This dramatic performance is athletic artistry, and all members of the audience, regardless of corps allegiances, love it and appreciate its difficulty. There are also times when the pit section has a particularly inspiring piece, so the corps or the band forms a semi-circle around it, creating a band shell, stepping off the field without penalty now.

The changes are many, but there is one element of field competition that has kept its prominent place in the design of programs for both corps and competitive marching bands. Some competitions have a special trophy for audience appeal, and this maneuver helps the corps or band to earn it.

My wife calls this event a musical "surprise" because the corps or bands have been moving away from the audience playing softly until it turns around, majestically readdressing the spectators. There are now complementary blasts of musical phrases from all instruments whose sounds emphasize a change of expression in the song or the program. I have heard people in the stands and "amateur" fans call this sequence "bang and boom". Our daughter and her friends

call this move a "park and blow". Among such "professional" advocates, however, as those who belong to "The Cavalier Nation" and groupies for other corps as well as corps members themselves, this explosion of sound is known as the "park and bark". Its sole purpose is to be dynamic, causing people in the audience to say "WOW!" because cheers and applause may be the only awards the units earn.

Drum corps and high school bands engage in more or less similar types of field competitions, but not against each other because they are different types of units. While corps do participate in traditional parades and concerts, their primary purpose is to compete on the field. High school bands are busy throughout the school year, and competition is one element or phase of their music programs. Some people feel that it is or should be the band's primary focus, and herein lies that which I call "The Great Debate" as it pertains to the competing cultural issues. Do the kids join to enhance themselves as performance *seekers* or do they join to be performance *winners*?

The Great Debate

It is sometimes argued that the development of personal character and musical talents outweigh the importance of competition results and winning, just as it has been argued that the purpose of competition is to win, not to lose. While the mission statements for The Cavaliers and the Glassmen omit the word *winning* and fail to mention competitive performance, and while the Marching Grey

Ghosts' motto is Pride and Performance, competition is a way of life and a measure of performance skills.

Differences between one philosophy and the other can be illustrated with two personal stories. As parents, we were proud as the Marching Grey Ghosts won competitions when our daughter was in it, but we also felt anguish when it did not do as well. As adults we were proud of the band kids at the time of our son's death. About forty of them came to the visitation at the funeral home where they played *Ghost Riders in the Sky*, the band's signature song, for him and for us; and on the following day, several members of the trumpet section were excused from school to play brass accompaniment to the church organ at the funeral mass. The purpose of drum corps is to *compete*, but the goal of high school bands may be more than that, which is illustrated by ideas gained during two interviews that I conducted during the course of my research. One of my subjects was the Director of the band and the school's only music teacher, and the other subject was a senior clarinetist who had just returned from band camp in 2007.

When I talked with the Director and asked for his opinions on the comparative and competitive stances of *journey vs. competition, performance vs. points, or the "Why compete?"* issues, he had several comments. He tells his students every year that trophies in the band room reflect *nothing* that is objective about judging. The only fact that exists about the awards is that they were based on judges' evaluations on particular days. The judges' written comments on the performan-

ces they evaluated can be used to help musicians and dancers to become better at what they do, and those same judgments can help the directors improve their music education programs.

One of the questions I then posed to the musician was, "Why do you like competition?" and she provided a long list of reasons. Her first answer was an immediate one. "It's fun!" Other items on her responses menu included the solidarity that exists among band members, being differentiated from the rest of their fellow students; after they compete and pack their gear, band members get to sit in the stand, for free to watch the other bands and compare performances. She gets to evaluate the newcomers at the beginning of the season and wonder what they will become, then look at them at the end of the season to see what they became; to watch the *magic of transformation* (her term) as individuals became members of the collective and share common emotions when trophies were distributed; to look at the performances, scores, and placements when member unity was present, compared to when it was absent; and she feels wry pleasure when the band's performers convince the judges that they were good. She enjoys the competition.

Whether or not the scales are tipped in favor of personal development over competition or the reverse is matter of personal perception that can be debated *ad infinitum*. A necessary item to address now though is the friendly and constructive setting in which kids in drum corps and in bands shape their seasons' performances—

the total institution element of the subculture of competitive marching music.

TOTAL INSTITUTIONS IN THIS PERFORMANCE SUBCULTURE

Total institutions are formal organizations that have the responsibility of maintaining constricted lifestyles for prison inmates, for example, within walls. The total institution role for corps and for bands is different, referring to the need for arranged-living environments, without walls, allowing corps and bands to take shape, practice, and travel during performance seasons. The technical details are learned and continually reinforced in close and closed settings. Drum corps did not compete often or regularly in the classic era, just as high school bands entertained mainly at football games and appeared in Homecoming and local parades. Controlled living and rehearsal settings were not generally required.

There are now about 100 DCI-sanctioned competitions every season and corps travel from town to town, from state to state to compete. There are too many high school band field competitions to count. As premier DCI corps, The Cavaliers and the Glassmen start new seasons with the week-end-long rehearsal sessions in the Winter. In late Spring or early Summer, members arrive at the corps' residential camps, such as the one I visited. When competitions start in mid-June these corps and others are on the move, constantly meeting tour demands. Bands' pre-season camp schedules and locations vary by philosophy and resources, but the March-

ing Grey Ghosts meets in residential camp for about a week before the new school year starts. There is little room for sybaritic comfort and individuation which corps and band members alike accept as they prepare for their respective competition seasons.

Corps and band directors cannot rely on public or private transportation systems to get musicians, dancers, other staff members, and equipment, from one site to another, on time. Intricate choreographies of corps and bands are not self-taught. There is no such thing as a *priori* understanding of others' movements during performances. All must be nurtured and enhanced in common and commanded settings. The total institution aspect of life for corps and band members is a vital if unanticipated element of competitive music, and this demanding lifestyle is evident in rehearsal camps for corps and for bands, and during road tours for corps, which now receive directed attention.

Corps and Band Camps

DCI's competition season begins in mid-June, ends in mid-August, and its premier corps usually compete in thirty to thirty-five events. Before the tour begins though, the corps gather in various rehearsal camps wherein attendance is mandatory. The musicians, dancers, and staff members begin the process of shaping themselves into a community of visual sound.

The Cavaliers and the Glassmen had their first 2007 competition on June 16 in Annapolis, MD. Before that, The Cavaliers had extended camps at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb

and at Eastern Illinois University while the Glassmen held camp at the University of Toledo and practiced in its Glass Bowl. While at EIU, The Cavaliers lived on campus in one of the dormitories, ate dorm service food, and practiced in the football stadium and in other locations on campus.

Drills and rehearsals occurred all day long and into the night. On the day of my visit, The Cavaliers' sections were practicing by 8:30am with a lunch break around noon. The afternoon session began around 1pm and lasted until approximately 5pm. The early evening session began around 6pm, the preview program lasted from 7:30-8:30pm, and more rehearsal followed. Once The Cavaliers arrived in California for DCI finals, its anticipated rehearsal times during the week of August 6-11 were as follows:

Tuesday	10:00am-10:00pm
Wednesday	04:00pm-10:00pm
Thursday	10:00am-02:30pm
Friday	10:00am-02:30pm
Saturday	10:00am-02:30pm

(The Cavaliers 2007)

Even with rest and food breaks that was a lot of practice time, but it was the end of the season, the time for which the corps had been preparing the entire summer. There was much to be done in a short period of time.

When corps members are on a college campus, they are not exactly "roughing it", whereas camp accommodations for the Marching Grey Ghosts are rustic. Every August all band members, as well as their leaders and chaperones, have instruments, bedrolls, luggage, and personal kits packed into school buses and a

truck for the trip to a 4-H camp in central Illinois. Other personal items such as electric fans, food, coolers, and bottled water are toted to camp by devoted families and friends. All campers live in cabins without air conditioning, sharing living quarters with eight to ten others. Shower water is cold and the drinking water has a metallic taste. Creature comforts are few, but they are not there for rest and relaxation.

The camp is about a two-hour drive from home; family members have limited visitation privileges; and the weather of central Illinois in August is usually steamy and unpredictable. It is here, after summer pre-camps at home, that the show takes form with daily sessions for instrument groups, marching drills, and learning the program. As with corps' camps, band camp has little personal privacy, schedules are demanding, and this isolation is deemed necessary in order to create a minimum amount of distraction.

Parents and friends are granted a one day, non-emergency opportunity to visit and to replenish diminished personal supplies. While family members are not allowed to transport the musicians and dancers to camp, just as they are not allowed to transport their kids to parades or competitions, they are allowed to take them home in private vehicles. These limitations are similar to those imposed upon visitors to prison hospitals and military "boot camps," and exist for similar purposes. When the band returns home to the new school year, it meets during regular class hours, after school in a parking lot, and in evening sessions on the

Figure 1: The Marching Grey Ghosts' Band Camp Schedule for Monday, July 30, 2007.

TIMING	EVENT
07:00am-07:45am	Wake up and breakfast.
07:45am-08:15am	Stretching and exercises.
08:15am-09:00am	Marching drill blocks (fundamental of marching) with "Dr. Beat" –an electronic and noisome metronome.
09:00am-11:00am	Program drill with rank and section leaders. Everyone must learn where everyone else is on the field at all times.
11:00am-12:00pm	Noon Practice in instrument sections.
12:00pm-12:45pm	Lunch
12:45pm-02:00pm	Break with chance to visit the floriculture gardens of the estate upon which the camp is located.
02:00pm-04:00pm	Practice in instrument sections.
04:00pm-05:45pm	Program drill without instruments.
06:00pm-06:45pm	Dinner
07:00pm-08:00pm	Program Drill
08:00pm-08:45pm	Basic marching, again with "Dr. Beat."
08:45pm-09:00pm	Break
09:00pm-10:00pm	Entire band rehearses music in pavilion.
10:00pm-10:45pm	Rest (or more rehearsal if needed).
10:45pm-07:00am	Lights Out
12:00am	Midnight "Midnight March" The rite of passage and initiation for freshmen and other newcomers, after which the seniors say "Welcome to the Marching Grey Ghosts!"*

This event usually occurs within the first two complete days at camp to help create solidarity early. In 2007, it happened on the first full day at camp.

football field where visitors, like my wife and me, are welcome.

Dostoyevsky wrote of life in a Russian prison, and Solzhenitsyn (1973a) did about the same in *One Day of the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. So what is "one day in the life of band camp" like? My student subject provided an approximate timetable for Monday, July 30, 2007 to answer that question, as shown in Figure 1. While there are daily variations in schedules, the timing of them is precise because there is much to be done in a short

period of time between arrival on Sunday and departure on Friday. Once camp is completed for the Marching Grey Ghosts the secluded rehearsal *period* is also completed. The same cannot be said, though, for corps during competition season.

Corps on Tour

Most competing high school bands do not go on tour during the fall season, but there is a summer program that is conducted and sponsored by the Mid-American Competing Band Directors Association (MACBDA). Or-

ganized in 1972, participating bands from the upper-Midwest use this venue in place of fall or early winter competitions (Lane 2007) for good reason: Instruments are hard to play when fingers are cold, lips are chafed, and spit is frozen. Attention here is placed on the touring competition season for The Cavaliers and the Glassmen.

Figure 2 provides several pieces of interesting and related data about the corps. Each one had competitions that were spaced just several days apart; the competition sites were in different towns throughout the country; and as the season progressed the competitions become more widespread, eventually leading to the 2007 DCI championships. The corps were on tour. All of the musicians, dancers, staff members, volunteers and equipment were transported daily in self-sufficiency for the entire season.

A competing corps needs several major pieces of equipment to accomplish this task. There must be enough coach buses to transport everyone and the number of vehicles needed is dependent upon the size of the entourage and its composition. There are tractor-trailer trucks which are specifically designed to carry the corps' instruments, uniforms, spares of each, and repair equipment. A corps has its own built-in labor force with the musicians and dancers to load and unload vehicles. There is often another tractor-trailer truck which, in other times, would have been called the chuckwagon—a portable kitchen—because everyone has to eat.

Just as religious seekers are the focal points of support in cursillo weekends, corps and band performance

seekers are similarly upheld. Accordingly, there are many paid staff members from the Director to musician and dance instructors to medical personnel, as well as volunteers who do infrastructural and “grunt” work at camp and at competition sites. When at The Cavaliers' camp, for example, I met one of the coach/bus drivers who was working without stipend for the corps because her daughters had been with a corps and she fell in love with corps' life and its purposes. Her summer months were not quite as *total* as that of the instructional staff, musicians, dancers, but her duties were different—to transport them safely and on time. When the corps is being moved from one competition to another, people sleep in the coaches as well as they can. When they arrive in a city for practice and competition, they often sleep on the gymnasium floors of local high schools for which arrangements have been made ahead of time, and cooks fire-up the stoves/ovens in the portable kitchen. IVC has been a host school for The Cavaliers, the Madison Scouts, the Pioneers from Milwaukee, WI, the Bluecoats from Canton, OH, Pacific Crest from Diamond Bar, CA in 2007, and the Colts from Dubuque, IA in 2008 as they all prepared for DCI Central Illinois at ISU.

Competitions typically take place in the late afternoon or early evening. When they are over the corps members load and board their caravans and depart, arriving at the next waystation for sleep on hard floors and more rehearsal for the next show. They compete, then move on again. DCI touring corps repeat this process

Figure 2: 2007 Tour Season for The Cavaliers and Glassmen

Date	Place	The Cavaliers		The Glassmen	
		Score	Rank	Score	Rank
6/02-6/09	Toledo, OH Charleston, IL	Pre-Season Camp		Pre-Season Camp	
6/16	Annapolis, MD	73.900	1st	81.850	5th
6/17	Pittsburgh, PA	75.050	1st	65.100	4th
6/19	Fairfield, OH			64.650	3rd
6/20	Decatur, IN	77.100	1st	66.000	3rd
6/23	Toledo, OH	78.550	1st	69.459	3rd
6/24	Belding, MI	79.950	1st	70.950	3rd
6/25	Erie, PA			72.200	2nd
6/26	Hornell, NY			74.050	1st
6/28	Oswego, IL	81.900	1st		
6/29	Normal, IL	81.300	1st	72.900	5th
6/30	Kalamazoo, MI	81.900	2nd	73.600	4th
7/01	Port Huron, MI	82.850	1st	73.700	3rd
7/02	Centerville, OH	82.700	3rd	74.100	4th
7/06	Michigan City, IN	84.459	1st	74.850	3rd
7/07	Canton, OH	84.400	1st		
7/08	Allentown, PA	85.325	2nd	75.825	6th
7/09	Dublin, OH	85.550	1st		
7/10	Charleston, WV	86.259	2nd		
7/10	Salem, VA			78.800	4th
7/12	Louisville, KY	86.400	2nd	73.300	5th
7/13	Murphreesboro, TN	87.500	3rd		
7/14	Atlanta, GA	88.125	3rd	77.900	12th
7/15	Jacksonville, AL	89.550	2nd	78.500	4th
7/16	Tupelo, MS			77.900	3rd
7/18	Lafayette, LA			77.900	4th
7/19	Houston, TX	90.400	1st	81.150	4th
7/22	Denton, TX	91.300	1st		
7/23	Midland, TX			81.250	4th
7/26	Dubuque, IA	91.450	1st		
7/27	Naperville, IL	91.900	1st		
7/28	Denver, CO			81.400	6th
7/28	Indianapolis, IN	91.950	2nd		
7/30	Ogden, UT			82.550	5th
7/31	Boise, ID			84.500	5th
8/02	Portland, OR			84.750	4th
8/02	El Paso, TX	93.950	1st		
8/04	Phoenix, AZ	94.475	1st		
8/04	Stanford, CA			84.425	6th
8/05	Clovis, CA			86.750	5 th

Figure 2 (continued): 2007 Tour Season for The Cavaliers and Glassmen

Date	Place	The Cavaliers		The Glassmen	
		Score	Rank	Score	Rank
<i>DCI Division I World Championships – Quarterfinals</i>					
8/09	Pasadena, CA	96.225	2nd	87.175	10 th
<i>DCI Division I World Championships – Semifinals</i>					
8/10	Pasadena, CA	96.775	3rd	87.025	10 th
<i>DCI Division I World Championships – Finals</i>					
8/11	Pasadena, CA	96.350	3rd	85.750	11th

This does not include all camp dates or stopover towns. (Sound Machine Archives 2007; The Cavaliers 2007)

for two months. The Cavaliers' 2007 season for example consisted of visits to six towns before competitions began. Once it did, the corps visited more than forty other towns and cities in just under sixty days. The Glassmen did about the same.

Daily life in rehearsal camps for corps and bands, and life on tour for DCI's premier corps all mirror the communal living arrangements, strict ordering of daily routines, and significant loss of privacy as the triune of elements for total institutions outlined by Goffman. Fortunately, electronic technologies now allow outside communication and inside recreation to alleviate the monotony of travel, communalism, and the isolation of sporadic contact with families and friends at a level that was neither imagined nor possible when the modern era of competitive marching music began.

**NET EFFECTS:
COMPETITION SEASONS**

Figures 2 and 3 are presented for comparative purposes. Figure 2 shows that The Cavaliers and the Glassmen were entered in many of the same contests during the 2007 season. More importantly is the fact that they were spaced just a day or two apart from each other, on average, in different cities around the country. Precise timing and pre-arrangements were crucial.

Other data in Figure 2 show the comparative scores and rankings for The Cavaliers and the Glassmen. On June 16th, The Cavaliers scored 73.900 points and won first place. On August 11th, it scored 96.350 points, finishing in third place in the DCI Division I finals. The improvement difference was 22.450 points. The corps' standings throughout the early weeks of the season remained about the same, but sagged late in the season. Nonetheless, its consistently

high rankings were anticipated because The Cavaliers were DCI Division I champions in 1992, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, and 2006 (The Cavaliers 2007).

The data for the Glassmen show some similarities for the 2007 season. On June 16th, its score was 61.850 and it finished in fourth place. It scored 85.750 points on August 11th, finishing in eleventh place at the DCI Division I finals. With an improvement difference of 23.900 points, its relative placements in competitions also remained about the same throughout the season, but with two significant variations in large events and plummeting during finals. Rarely a top corps, the Glassmen have never won its DCI division title even though it usually competes in the finals. Its highest placement was fifth in 1998, 1999, and 2001 (Wikipedia 2007c).

There are several possible explanations to account for the changes in placement for The Cavaliers and the Glassmen during the 2007 season. Competitions early in the summer are often smaller so the contests are not as challenging. As the season progresses, more of the better corps are encountered, challengers are improving, and fatigue may have taken its toll. The purpose of competition is to *compete* to become as precise in performance as possible and to be better than an opponent in a contest. Someone wins. The DCI Division I world championship for 2007 was awarded to the Blue Devils from Concord, CA, which was accorded a score of 98.000 points -1.650 more points than The Cavaliers earned and 10.500 more

points than the Glassmen. Someone won.⁴

Since field competitions are limited to performances lasting from 10-12 minutes, it cannot be concluded that drum corps performers undergo the season because they enjoy sleeping in crowded buses and on gymnasium floors for two months. Instead, these performance seekers opt for life of total voluntary involvement as they pursue the music, the dance, the show, meeting others, the combined allures of travel and competitions, the contests, and, ultimately, knowing themselves better.

Figure 3 presents an entirely different picture for the Marching Grey Ghosts. Its competition seasons for the past several years were composed of five to six contests in the fall, which were unevenly spaced on Saturdays, and only day trips from home. Other than time spent in camp, this band's members could not live in such totality as their corps counterparts for one simple reason: They were still in high school meeting their curricular requirements.

A look at the comparative scores within each season shows considerable variation. Judges look for different elements in programs. Not all judges are equally skilled or trained and not all competitions use the same criteria for class size. The competitors vary, scoring methods differ, and a program may not be strong enough to maintain a competitive edge over the opposition. While the program remains the same for a season, it is modified as the Director sees fit, so no two performances are the same, as shown in

Figure 3: Field Competition Seasons for the Marching Grey Ghosts*

Year	Place	Date	Class	Score	Rank
2002	Monticello, IL	n/a	Pre-Season Band Camp		
	Pekin, IL	09/21	n/a	59.15	1 st
	Washington, IL	09/28	n/a	81.90	1 st
	Mt. Prospect, IL	10/06	n/a	74.60	3 rd
	Urbana, IL	10/16	n/a	80.00	2 nd
	Normal, IL	10/26	2A	79.00	1st**
2003	Monticello, IL	n/a	Pre-Season Band Camp		
	Danville, IL	09/27	n/a	89.40	1 st
	Mt. Prospect, IL	10/11	n/a	73.50	6 th
	Urbana, IL	10/19	B	91.00	4th***
	Normal, IL	10/25	2A	77.15	1st**
	Monticello, IL	n/a	Pre-Season Band Camp		
2004	Normal, IL	10/16	2A	68.55	1st**
	Urbana, IL	10/23	B	81.67	2 nd
	Monticello, IL	07/28-08/03	Pre-Season Band Camp		
2007	Pontiac, IL	09/22	3A	73.50	2 nd
	Genesco, IL	09/29	3A	76.80	1st****
	Washington, IL	10/06	3A	81.10	2nd*****
	Urbana, IL	10/13	B	87.17	2 nd
	Normal, IL	10/20	1A	59.40	1st**

*Available, but not inclusive, dates and score data.

**State champion for class.

***Governor's Trophy for combined field and parade scores, classes C/D and B.

****Grand Champion over all bands.

*****Grand Champion for combined field and parade scores, classes 3A and 4A.

2007's statewide contests at Urbana and then at Normal. In the first of these, the band took second place in class with a score of 87.17 points. Only three other bands scored higher in the entire show. A week later, the band won first place in class with a score of 59.40 points that represents a drop of 27.77 points from the previous week. Two possible explanations for this shift were that the judging styles were different and the judges looked for different elements of proficiency. Regardless of scores, though, first place in class in the state competition

is still first place in class in the state competition.

During the 2002, 2003, 2004, and 2007 seasons, the band was able to earn the title of winner in its class in the contest which is recognized as the state championship event, and 2003 was a banner year for the band. On successive weekends it earned the title of state champion in its class, as well as the Governor's Trophy for combined contests and combined small band classes at the other statewide competition.

Drum and bugle corps and compe-

titive high school marching bands are not the same, so as Weber (1983:45) might argue it would be unfair to contend that one of these art forms is superior to the other. Their instruments are different as are their sounds. Corps memberships are based on auditions every year, whereas bands may or may not be. Their organizations and finances are also diverse. DCI oversees one and BOA oversees the other. Their competition schedules and seasons are different. When the drum corps competition season is completed, the corps disperse until auditions are completed. Rehearsals begin during the winter and spring months, but when high school band competition season is completed, the students return to their regular classes the next week. Corps and band members make different kinds and degrees of personal sacrifices. Collectively, competitive corps and high school bands are composed of countless numbers of young people who enjoy the challenges and the opportunities which the subculture of visual sound has to offer them as they create it.⁵

CONCLUSION

When most of us think about total institutions, we are probably inclined to view them as harsh places of residence with an overbearing administrative and caretaking staff. Prisons, concentration camps, and military boot camps are likely to be high on our lists of examples, but lower on those same lists we might see summer camps for our kids or exotic cruises on luxury sea liners. There are no real descriptive differences between them, but the

variation lies in purpose. Some are designed to separate people from society as punishment or soldierly training, and others are for recreation.

Another type of total institution exists as training grounds for the religious, as when people seek professional religious orders, or when laypeople seek a better understanding of their religious selves by attending such as a renewal weekend as *cursillo*. If we change slightly, the expression religious seeker to performance seeker we can take a look at today's competitive marching music and the role that total institutions play in it.

Young musicians and dancers join drum and bugle corps and competitive high school marching bands in order to enhance their performance skills as the corps and bands engage in intense field competitions during short seasons—several months in the summer for corps and several months in the fall for bands. Since there is much to be done in a short period of time for both corps and bands, communal living arrangements, tight schedules, and significant loss of privacy are needed in rehearsal camps or on tour as the corps and bands are shaped from being loose associations of musicians and dancers into cohesive performing units for this modern subculture of competitive marching music.

END NOTES

- ¹ Bands of American became Music For All in the Spring 2007 to encompass a wider range of high school music education programs. The old name of BOA was retained here for conversational convenience.

² Musicians and dancers can participate in drum corps between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one or twenty-two years, depending on their birthdates. If a person has a twenty-second birthday which falls just two days before the competition season starts, eligibility is lost; but if another person has a twenty-second birthday falling just two days after season begins, eligibility is maintained. Those who have *aged-out* may choose to participate in the smaller and non-competitive Drum Corps of America, work for a corps, simply move on, or participate in another performing art. Some enterprising and former members of the disbanded DCI Division I Star of Indiana, for example, created the successful and entertaining touring troupe called *Blast* that presents corps-style music in a lively colorful and fast-paced stage production.

³ Drum corps and competing high school bands no longer carry national, state or organization flags onto the field of competition. Yet, the expression "color guard" is still here. Today, this unit may be called the color guard, the flag corps, or the auxiliaries, but they are the dancers who perform visual interpretations of the music. The presence of dancers engaging in balletic movements while twirling imitation rifles and sabers is a symbolic reference to the military background of field competitions.

⁴ This article was based on DCI data and scores from the 2007 season, and since then the 2008 season has been completed. The 2008 DCI World Class competitions were held

in Bloomington, IN with the following results: The Quarterfinals were on August 7th and The Cavaliers placed 2nd with a score of 97.050 points, and the Glassmen were 11th with 87.625 points; the Semifinals were on August 8th and The Cavaliers had 97.555 points and placed 3rd, and the Glassmen earned 88.125 points for 13th place; the Finals were on August 9th and The Cavaliers' 97.325 put the corps in 3rd place, while the Glassmen was scored with 87.200 points for 11th place. The DCI World Class Champion for 2008 was the Phantom Regiment from Rockford, IL, which earned 97.125 points (Sound Machine Archives 2008; The Cavaliers 2008).

⁵ Due to adverse economic times, the Glassmen did not compete in DCI's 2013 season.

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Field Guide to Nonprofit Program Design, Marketing and Evaluation

By Carter McNamara

ISBN 1933719087

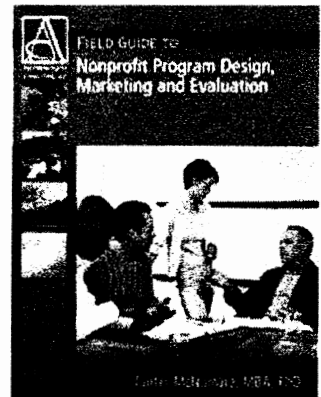
The most important goal for any nonprofit today is to prove that it consistently provides extremely useful services to its community. Otherwise, the nonprofit will not get the support and funding so critical to its very existence. Thus, the activities of program design, marketing and evaluation have never been more important to nonprofits! This guidebook provides clear and comprehensive guidelines for all of the most important aspects of designing, marketing and evaluating a program. Guidelines are written in an easy-to-implement style, resulting in a highly practical resource that can be referenced at any time during the life of a nonprofit program. Consultants and leaders can apply this book with nonprofits to: 1. Develop well-designed programs guaranteed to meet the needs of clients. 2. Develop very credible nonprofit business plans and fundraising proposals. 3. Ensure focused and effective marketing, sales, advertising and promotions. 4. Evaluate effectiveness and efficiencies of current programs. 5. Evaluate program performance against program goals and outcomes. Includes numerous worksheets. They can be downloaded from the Web, too.

Field Guide to Developing, Operating and Restoring Your Nonprofit Board

By Carter McNamara

ISBN 1933719052

There are already plenty of publications about nonprofit Boards. Some publications provide basic, introductory overviews of Boards. There are many with practical tips on one certain Board practice, for example, how to staff a Board. Some contain reflective and even inspirational discussion about the type of governance needed for the 21st century. If you boiled down the information in these publications to the most practical suggestions and then added a lot of other useful material, including how to fix a broken Board, you would end up with our Field Guide. It includes 20 sample Board policies that can be downloaded and many guidelines for governing nonprofits effectively. This book was formerly titled "Field Guide to Developing and Operating Your Nonprofit Board of Directors".



COMBINING MERTON'S STRAIN THEORY WITH LABELING THEORY AND MORAL ENTREPRENEURS

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Abstract

Ritzer (1974) wrote that sociology is a multi-paradigmed discipline where each framework can hold several theoretical explanations. Such declarations are often treated individually, but there are often unexplored confluences between them. Merton's goals-means theory of social strain, for example, is here considered as a labeling one heavily laced with implications about moral authority when applied to studies in deviant behavior. The synthesis of dialogues, illustrated with sociological ideas from modern novels, validates the thesis that social complexities deserve integrated explanations.

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INTRODUCTION

I have long believed that literature is a marvelous outlet for social discourse that readers can easily understand. Novelists have always been peripheral social activists (R.G. O'Sullivan¹ 2007) exploring such complex topics as deviance and conformity, reporting their findings to faithful followers. Sociologists do the same, but in different ways and venues.

Introductory sociology textbooks all contain a chapter on deviant behavior where social deviance is defined as rule –or norm-breaking behavior and conformity is defined as rule- or norm-abiding activity. The texts, however, rarely identify specific conduct codes used as standards for evaluations, a failure noted by O'Sullivan (2007). The

“Being a disfigured felon carries weight in certain circles...”
(novelist Carl Hiaasen 2010)

“Police had a natural suspicion of teenagers, especially those who already had track records of trouble.”
(novelist Tami Hoag 1991/2006)

“Not all sexual predators are killers or serial rapists. The most successful of them live well within the boundaries of the law and they're probably more common than we'd like to believe. See... the problem is identifying the bastards. They're not social anomalies; they are deviants.”
(novelist Randy Wayne White 1998)

¹ R.G. O'Sullivan is hereafter just called O'Sullivan, except when needed to avoid possible confusion with F.D. O'Sullivan.

deviants will be treated as outsiders resulting from social stigmas, but rule followers or conformists are not usually accorded halos (O'Sullivan 2007) because quiet choices do not garner notoriety.

The chapters include many of the historical and modern masters of the subjects, including Merton's 1967 theory of adaptations that is co-referenced in the social strain and rational choice frames, telling us that people make studied economic choices rather than spontaneous ones toward cultural and social expectations. The chapters also offer information from Goffman's 1963 study on stigmas and H.S. Becker's² discussions on moral entrepreneurs as elements of the interactionist approach, enhancing our understandings about social labeling and a community's moral oversight. Little space is available in the texts to combine these approaches on adaptation, labeling, and moral authority so that task is accomplished by following several steps.

First, some alternative ways to look at definitions for deviance and conformity are offered because traditional ones are simplistic and limiting. Second, the basic premises of Merton, of Goffman, of Becker, and of O'Sullivan are highlighted, setting the stage for their ultimate synthesis. Third, those thoughts are made available in easy-to-read and side-by-side manners to envision the bonds between them and within them, with discussions following. No numerical data are offered. Instead, existing expressions are mixed with emergent ones, "new wine in an old bottle," as a different way to look at familiar subjects for those who like to

explore sociology by going "outside the box" of convention.

LOOKING AT DEVIANCE AND CONFORMITY: TRADITIONALLY AND ALTERNATIVELY

The social sciences are dependent on their key terms as bases for discussions, and sociology is no exception. Sometimes, however, such simplicity is confusing. Sociology, for example, is often considered as the scientific study of society, making one wonder if there is an unscientific approach, and what, then, are the roles of history, economics, political science, social/cultural anthropology, and social ecology if they are not comprised of empirical explorations and explanations?

The same dilemma of absolutism exists with traditional definitions for deviance and conformity. Before leaving academia, I offered my students an alternative perspective because any understandings of deviance and conformity involve ideal and normative beginnings, individual conduct choices based on evaluations of those codes, and social responses to the acts and the actors.

As I see them, deviance and conformity refer to the definitions that exist for inappropriate and appropriate behaviors based upon the local moralities (O'Sullivan 1994) of groups, organizations, communities, and larger social systems. Two examples exist. All states have criminal codes that define illegal acts in "thou shall not" forms, including listings about inappro-

² *H.S. Becker is hereafter just called Becker to avoid possible confusion with H.P. Becker.*

appropriate methods of goal acquisitions. The states also have rules for the road handbooks that define proper motor operation as "thou shall" guidelines.

Such codes and others exist at several levels of social importance in civil, military, and religious settings containing differential distribution of social power to protect people, their properties and rights, as well as group, organizational, and societal preservation. The mere presence of the codes, however, guarantees neither adherence to them nor their effectiveness. People evaluate the norms in terms of efficacy and opportunities, responding with a range of options that includes Merton's. Others then respond to the selections by assigning the labels of deviant or conformist to the participant and choices, allowing social and legal definitions for deviance to expand and deviant labels to amplify through systemic processes (Buckley 1976; Lerner 1951; Quinney 1970). Responses to conformity do not grow in similar manners.

Deviants are likely to receive public and sociological attention whereas conformists fly "under the radar" fitting personal ethics with the community's. At times, however, such anonymity goes unrewarded and special notes of good deeds are made. Prominent sailors have ships named after them, and school committees honor distinguished alumni. People are canonized for religious deeds, and monies traditionally bear the images of prominent politicians. Military personnel are awarded with medals and promotions for acts of bravery, whereas post office walls have historically been strewn with posters of less honorable people.

My preferred classroom definition for deviance evolved into "those violations of mores, institutional traditions, and laws that reinforce each other", invoking social indignation against the violators. This outlook contains the triune of definitional, behavioral, and responsive elements, but it is still oppositional to the reciprocal facets of conformity. That weakness was partially addressed by O'Sullivan (2007) as he identified social variance as activities that exist between the dichotomies, thereby easing the problems of a dualist fallacy creating a sliding scale of deviance-variance-conformity.

LOOKING AT SOCIAL LABELING: MERTON, GOFFMAN, BECKER, AND O'SULLIVAN

Merton, Goffman, and Becker are renowned sociologists, O'Sullivan is less well known. All have made contributions to social labeling theory and studies in deviant behavior so their individual sets of ideas are quickly reviewed.

Merton's Thoughts

Merton's stylized adaptations to cultural materialism are standard fare in most discussions about deviance and conformity enhancing our ability to discuss both topics simultaneously: They give dualistic capital to the other. He stated that we have a variety of goals worthy of achievement and access to them, but discrepant availability to each causes social strain. The adaptations of conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion are ultimately based in perceived economic outcomes of gains versus losses.

Merton's adaptations also show continuity with labeling theories. The act of conformity is made by the conformist and the act of innovation is accomplished by the innovator³. The act of ritualism is accomplished by the ritualist, and the act of retreatism is accomplished by the retreatist. The act of rebellion is accomplished by the rebel, so the acts designate the actor. Any act other than conformity has the potential for being called deviant, depending on its consequences, the actor, and the authorities of observers.

Merton may not have meant for his model to become a general-use device, but it has. O'Sullivan (1995) first employed the device in a study on religious revitalization illustrating that people adjust to a religious congregation's traditions by conforming to them, or by switching places of worship via innovation avoiding internal conflict. Congregants can go along with local habits without internalizing them via ritualism, withdraw from any membership affiliation via retreatism, or try to change tradition-laden gatherings via rebellion.

O'Sullivan used the model again in his 2002 case study in labor economics, illustrating that workers can adapt to hostile work environments by conforming to a company's precepts, or through innovation by quitting, telling the company to "Take this job and shove it!" They can be ritualists by just doing the work without using it to define master statuses, or by the retreatism of withdrawal from the active labor force. The company rebel who questions managerial policies, decisions, or authority runs the risk of being told "You're fired!"

O'Sullivan (2010) revisited that study, making a needed adjustment to innovation's quitting-out-of-anger mode. As companies downsize offering reduced hours and take-home pay, wage-earning employees with stationary cost-of-living and cost-of-work expenses exercise a personal version of asset-liability management. The workers may participate in proffered voluntary layoffs, pursuing other jobs or unemployment and COBRA insurances that outweigh the reduced benefits of diminished work time. Still an innovator, the act identifies the actor.

Goffman's Contributions

Goffman's analyses of stigmas and other labels are important discussions on social deviance and conformity. They were not the first, however, having had many major and minor precursors. F.D. O'Sullivan's little known 1928 *Crime Detection* presents a list of environmental factors contributing to a *culture for urban deviance* (R.G. O'Sullivan 2009) and one variable is incarceration that opens revolving doors for continued juvenile deviance. Marked youths may adopt the label of spoiled identity as their own and act on it, contributing to the self-fulfilling prophecy of deviance that Tannenbaum (1938) called the "dramatization of evil." That idea was later reinforced in Lemert's (1951) discussions about the shift from primary deviance to secondary deviance, and modern novel-

³ *Not all acts of innovation are negative deviance, but they get more attention than positive deviance as Wolfzorn, Heckert, and Heckert affirm (2006).*

ist Hoag (1992/2006) used this train of thought to her literary advantage.

Transitions from tainted identities to saintly ones can be slow and uncertain, but movements in the reverse direction can be swift and sure as novelist White depicted. Witness, for example, how quickly public opinions can change toward the following illustrations: Priests who exploit acolytes, politicians who exploit interns or who transfer campaign contributions to private "offshore" accounts, teachers who sexually exploit students, the business mogul who uses a ponzi scheme to fleece megabucks from unsuspecting investors, the marquee athlete who wagers against the home team or is held accountable for the death of a family member, the good cop who goes "rogue", or father and son presidents who are vilified as being slow when responding to natural disasters (Bush 2010). So, who does the labeling and why? Becker offered answers to these questions.

Becker's Ideas

His *moral entrepreneurs* are a community's guardians of morality. They want the unit preserved, and such stability is dependent on the presence of community-wide ethics, visions for the future, and behavioral norms. Notable aberrations from them are threatening. His *rule creators/makers* define the behavioral guidelines, and his *rule enforcers* are agents of social control whose duty is ensuring social conformity. Both categories entail legitimate authority which is the main reasons that folkways were excluded from my definition for deviance: These codes of etiquette are unofficial, casu-

al, and regional, whereas many mores and institutional traditions have greater social value accounting for inclusions in my perspective. Since rule creators/makers and rule enforcers are differentially empowered and enabled to formally label/stigmatize, is Becker's list complete? O'Sullivan does not think so.

O'Sullivan's Thoughts

He expanded Becker's list several times enhancing scholars' perceptions of moral entrepreneur bases when legal panels such as juries, or arbiters such status-role sets. The social legitimacy and proper applications of laws are determined on case-by-case bases when legal panels such as juries, or arbiters such as judges, have such responsibility after hearing arguments from opposing counsel. O'Sullivan (1995) named the decision makers *rule interpreters*, and the advocates of differing juridical outcomes are *rule users* (O'Sullivan 2007). Police or other rule enforcers who side-step permitted investigatory methods are called *rule abusers* (O'Sullivan 2006), and he identified legitimately-labeled deviants as *rule breakers* (O'Sullivan 2007) whose individual moralities violate those of a collective.

The extended list of moral stewards is still incomplete. *Rule influencers* try to shape the directions that laws or regulations should take, and there are others that further reflect Merton's categories. *Rule pretenders*, like ritualists, feign allegiance to a maxim as a means to an end, not an end in itself. *Rule avoiders*, like retreatists, believe that socially-approved goals and avenues of achievement are restrictive or

unnatural so they drop out, becoming seekers of alternative meanings (Lofland 1966). *Rule changers*, like rebels, see inherent discrepancies in goals-means properties and want to modify them by creating alternative expectations and opportunities. Finally, *rule abiders*, like conformists, internalize and follow the rules as their own.

COMBINING MERTON WITH LABELING THEORISTS

Merton's theory of action identified five forms of behavior and their attendant actors. Merton, then, is a labeling theorist by virtue of connecting personal activities with identifiers, but social labeling is more than simple tagging. Labels are consequential for the labeled as they open some doors of opportunity and close others. The moral entrepreneurs identified by Becker and by O'Sullivan play the roles of official observers, becoming enablers or gatekeepers. Anyone can make casual and informal judgments about others, but similar opinions from people vested with social power are accordant. Several sets of related ideas have been presented in these pages, and they are better seen with visual reminders of the interplay between them. (See Figures 1 and 2).

Once the guiding principles behind cultural materialism, social labeling, and moral standards are set and vocabularies are refined, the paradigmatic and theoretical coalitions between them are evident, and for good reason. No single explanation for deviance or for conformity has domain over all others. Multi-dimensional to-

pics are worthy of dedicated explanations.

DISCUSSION

A question was raised earlier asking whether or not there is an unscientific, casual, or informal sociology? The question is likely answered in the negative within the discipline, but that response may not be so self-aggrandizing outside it. The novels of Hiaasen (2010), for example, usually address the serious issues of exile- and eco-politics in Florida couched in humor to entice appreciative audiences, and each stand-alone tale commonly has two characters attracting such interest. Please bear in mind, however, that his storylines are less important for this study than his understanding of social deviance and deviants.

One person is the returning "Skink" as a decorated army captain and sniper turned governor of the state turned survivalist recluse swamp rat —the one-eyed innovator/retreatist/rebel and rule-breaker/avoider/changer who exacts creative justice on those who defile his state. The other varies from story to story, but in *Star Island* he is "Chemo." Stigmatized because of his criminal record and disfiguration, his convoluted sense of right and wrong emerges in his role as a bodyguard for tragic others.

After making hedged choices against the law and imprisonment, Chemo was arrested by rule enforcers, and trial lawyers, as rule users, argued for his guilt or acquittal. Jurors and a judge, as rule interpreters, de-

Figure 1. Old and New Sets of Moral Entrepreneurs*

From Becker	From R.G. O'Sullivan	The New Ones
Rule Creators	Rule Interpreters	Rule Abiders
Rule Enforcers	Rule Users	Rule Influencers
	Rule Abusers	Rule Pretenders
	Rule Breakers	Rule Avoiders
		Rule Changers

*Figure 1 identifies the parallel sets of moral entrepreneurs.

Figure 2. Integration of More Entrepreneurs and Merton's Adaptation**

Moral Entrepreneurs Means	Adaptation	Goals	Means
Rule Abiders	←-----→ Conformity/Conformists	+	+
Rule Breakers	←-----→ Innovation/Innovators	+	-
Rule Pretenders	←-----→ Ritualism/Ritualists	-	+
Rule Avoiders	←-----→ Retreatism/Retreatists	-	-
Rule Changers	←-----→ Rebellion/Rebels	±	±
Rule Influencers	←-----→ Rule Creators/Makers		
Rule Enforcers	←-----→ Rule Abusers		
Rule Users	←-----→ Rule Interpreters		

**Figure 2 presents them against Merton's adaptations and each other.

termed that the charges against him were justified, so he was sentenced to Raiford Prison as a rule breaker, but the handle remained with him as an ex-convict. Casual stigmas were also attached to him because of his marred body, but stigmas are not always damning, and may even have the reverse effect as sociologists and storytellers have noticed. Chemo's prosthetic arm, a battery-driven weed whacker, is abhorred and admired. As the housing market of Florida improved he took a job in an occupation that he had studied while doing time –real estate finance. Skink remains at-large.

Sometimes sociologists are slow or

reluctant to address possible bridges existing between their ideas; they may be reticent to admit that others outside academia notice those connections; and simple definitions as ideal types cannot be absolute. The quotes from Haaasen (2010), from Hoag (1992/2006) and from White (1998), for example, highlight many sociological truths. Moral entrepreneurialism addresses several responses to cultural expectations. Social labeling is not always official. Stigmas and halos are sometimes justified, sometimes not. Stigmas can have the latent function of enhancing social reputations rather than demeaning them. The assigned

labels from Merton, Goffman, and from other labelers can overlap. Sometimes deviance is seen as less bad, conformity is less good, resulting in the anti-hero and social variant statuses of Skink and Chemo, for example.

I agree with the combined beliefs of Ogburn (1930) and O'Sullivan (2006, 2007) that it is appropriate to look beyond sociology at alternative or non-traditional sources of information to ground research. Ritzer (1974) is correct when he states that sociology is a multiple paradigm endeavor of integrated theories to be pursued vigorously, but we must go beyond formulaic traditions because outsiders, including the three novelists borrowed for this study, already know to do so far beyond their quoted snippets. They "get" Ritzer.

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Randy Lopez Goes Home

A Novel

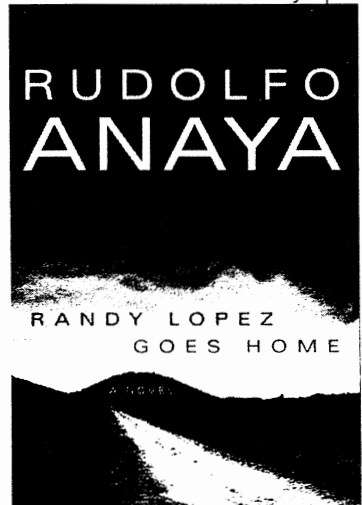
By Rudolfo Anaya

ISBN 978-0806141893

When he was a young man, Randy Lopez left his village in northern New Mexico to seek his fortune. Since then, he has learned some of the secrets of success in the Anglo world— and even written a book called *Life Among the Gringos*. But something has been missing. Now he returns to Agua Bendita to reconnect with his past and to find the wisdom the Anglo world has not provided. In this allegorical account of Randy's final journey, master storyteller Rudolfo Anaya tackles life's big questions with a light touch.

Randy's entry into the haunted canyon that leads to his ancestral home begins on the Day of the Dead. Reuniting with his *padrinos*—his godparents— and hoping to meet up with his lost love, Sofia, Randy encounters a series of spirits: coyotes, cowboys, Death, and the devil. Each one engages him in a conversation about life. It is Randy's old teacher Miss Libriana who suggests his new purpose. She gives him a book, *How to Build a Bridge*. Only the bridge—which is both literal and figurative, like everything else in this story— can enable Randy to complete his journey.

Readers acquainted with Anaya's fiction will find themselves in familiar territory here. Randy Lopez, like all Anaya's protagonists, is on a spiritual quest. But both those new to and familiar with Anaya will recognize this philosophical meditation as part of a long literary tradition going back to Homer, Dante, and the Bible. Richly allusive and uniquely witty, *Randy Lopez Goes Home* presents man's quest for meaning in a touching, thought-provoking narrative that will resound with young adults and mature readers alike.



CULTURE WARS AGAINST RELIGION AND A GATHERING OF TRIANGULATED RESPONSES TO THEM

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Abstract

This article brings together four triangulated sets of core values and beliefs as tools that religious adherents, or believers, can use when faced with culture wars or social attacks against them. The principles contained in the sets of ideas can transcend faiths and denominations, but they were developed within Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, and are credited to St. Benedict's rules of monasticism, the individual teachings of Anglican theologians Richard Hooker and C.E. Raven, and the modern *cursillo* movement within the Roman Catholic and Episcopal denominations. While the expression "culture wars" is considered to be a modern phenomenon, social attacks against religions are not, and can be considered as elements of social conflict with one notable exception. Traditional social conflict theories make ample use of such expressions as groups, parties, and coalitions, suggesting united memberships, united beliefs, and coordinated efforts. Modern culture wars against religion, however, seem to be waged by amorphous bodies of critics without uniform beliefs between them, trying to discredit an equally unshaped body of believers with diverse theological, liturgical, and canonical traditions.

INTRODUCTION

The social conflict paradigm did not begin with the combined writings of Marx and Engels even though Zeitlan (1968) declares that much sociology after the mid-1800s has been a continuing debate with their legacies. No effort is made here to review all their thoughts, but attention is paid to the semantic differential Marx used when he identified some methods to end the strife and the disparities between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (1848/1954) because such two-sided membership boundaries are rarely evident when culture wars against religion are discussed.

Whether or not there are actual antagonisms of this type is a matter of speculation using an abundance of circumstantial evidence without proof of orchestration, but some scholars suggest that there are several specific targets of such attacks. Messner, for example, a Fellow at a conservative think tank, identifies three issues that seem to be at the center of culture wars against religion (2011). They are abortion and the right to life, co-religionism in social organizations, and opposite- vs. same-sex marriage, and more items could be listed. No effort is made here, though, to delve into specific debates; instead, several sets of instructions illustrating how people of

faith can respond to attacks against them are offered, and this process occurs in several stages. First, comparisons between traditional social conflicts and culture wars are made because they are similar, yet different. Second, four historically separate and triangulated theological reactions to social attacks are set forth. Those responses come from St. Benedict (ca. 530 A.D./1975) who outlined monasticism's tenets of *pax, ora et labora*; from the Middle Ages there is the "three-legged stool" of dedication to reason, scripture, and tradition of Richard Hooker (1539/1994). Following them in mid-20th Century, C.E. Raven (1943) wrote about the need to maintain religious integrity, sympathy, and community in the face of secular and scientific challenges to religious truth and authority; and from the modern redemptive religious movement called *Cursillo* comes its "tripod" of support as piety, study, and action that believers can use to solidify their faith and enhance their worship communities. Taken together, these bodies of ideas represent staples in social psychology's own trilithon of self-identity: Cognition, as that which is known or perceived about the self and all things external to it; affection, as evaluations about the self and all that is outside it; and behavior, as observable or measurable activities in response to that which is believed and felt. The third stage of this study is based on an article by Fagan (1996), also a contributor to a conservative think tank, who says that social scientists have long known the positive effects of social organization; as such, the themes from St. Benedict, from Hooker, from

Raven, and from *cursillo* are formally integrated with ideas about attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief from Hirschi's 1969 social bond theory. A final discussion is an illustrative one, welding academic discussions with practical applications based on the author's recent visit to an all-Hispanic religious congregation in one of Chicago's famous Zone III "neighborhoods" where many social tensions work against the congregants.

The inspiration for this piece began after hearing an Anglican priest disagree with the equality of balance between the three legs of Hooker's stool. Both of their arguments contributed to this discussion about secular disagreements with religion and faithful witnesses' possible responses to them.

SOCIAL CONFLICT AND CULTURE WARS

Culture wars can be placed under the broad umbrella of culture conflict, but they are not identical. It is necessary, then, to identify their similarities and differences.

Traditional Views of Social Conflict

The conflict paradigm has a detailed history so several meanings for social conflict are reviewed. A popular but unfiltered electronic encyclopedia says that "Social conflicts are perspectives... that emphasize... inequality of a social group..." but they "...do not refer to a unified school of thought" (Wikipedia n.d.). Early American sociologists Park and Burgess (1924:505) state that social conflict is unfair competition without safeguard-

ing it and eventually ending it in the [institutional] sector of society. Conflict is personal, conscious, emotionally-laden, a concentrated effort, dissociative, dualistic, and based on "hatred and envy, want and desire" they further say (574-583), to which we can add ethnocentrism, greed, and the grasp for power or influence. A few years later House (1936:120) reported a simpler idea, that conflict is "opposing social tendencies." Finally, Coser (1956:8) comments that social conflict is "...a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents [especially the aggressors] are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate... rivals," making it a dyad of antagonists and their vested interests.

Most recreational readers do not wade through detailed reports and data on disparities between divergent groups. Outside such sources, however, there are many accounts of social conflicts that casual readers can enjoy. Novelists make good, imaginative, and successful use of controlled power based on gender, economic, cultural, wealth, religious, legal, and ethnic variables as R.G. O'Sullivan (2002) reviewed. So, regardless of which definition a person chooses, social conflict can be summarized in this tongue twister: "There are the haves and the have-nots, and the have-nots want to have what the haves have, but the haves do not want to give what they have to the have-nots, because then the haves and the have-nots would switch places, reversing who has what" in a dialectic process of social change; but are there rules of conduct in the tensions? Not

for social conflict, answer Park and Burgess. When it comes to social conflicts, there are no codes that determine fair or foul play, and much the same can be said about modern culture wars.

Culture Wars

The *inter alia* or battlefields of culture wars are the opinion-editorial sections of local and major newspapers, legal venues including political assembly halls, and the airways of the broadcast media. Their weapons are not guns with bullets, but words: Aspersions, epithets, and character assassinations; data and reports that resemble Orwell's *newspeak* (1949/1961); and speeches that are selectively edited by opponents. Culture wars against religion, for example, contain changed expressions in official and unofficial national anthems, revisionist history that redacts sources of national character and resolve, the renaming of religious holidays to accommodate political correctness, and civil medical regulations that are imposed on faith-based health care providers.

Culture wars' victims seem to be entire categories of people and the *moral nets* (Davis and Stasz 1990) they hold dear. Victors in military wars are those forces that inflict the most physical damage upon the enemy, whereas the populist victors in culture wars seem to be those who most effectively sway public opinion against their ideological enemies. The purposes behind culture wars then are the demonization of opponents and the neutralization of their political influence as Hunter (1991) discusses in

his groundbreaking book *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*.

Standard discussions about social conflict have assessed one category of people pitted against another. Culture wars are different because they are voiced public arguments about core social values, including morality: "...discussions about what is fundamentally right and wrong about the world we live in— about what is ultimately good and what is finally intolerable in our communities" entailing such "words and phrases as truth, justice, the public good, and national purpose..." (Hunter 32-33). Should we be tradition-bound or progressive, backward-thinking or forward-thinking, conservative or liberal? These are the types of questions raised in culture wars.

Hunter had unlimited space as he wrote his book, but I do not have that same luxury, so I can only present some excerpts from his pages capturing the essence of his themes. Both sides of culture wars are involved with the opposing processes of image-making and image-tarnishing— making themselves look good and the others bad (143). Each portrays the other as being extreme— outside the mainstream of society (146). Both sides try to monopolize legitimacy— portraying themselves as the keepers of the faith and the others as moral outsiders (147). Each side portrays the other as being intolerant of diversity therefore dangerous to society (149-150). If the expressions of disfavor could be viewed by non-partisan observers then the allegations and charges they contain are virtually identical (152). Neither side can tolerate desecration

of its visions or defamation of its advocates (153). The conflicts are not about specific bodies of people, Hunter argues, but about which vision of moral parochialism will survive and is better for society (156, 158), where, borrowing a line from the popular novelist Suzanne Collins (2010:133) "both truth and justice will reign."

Hunter acknowledges the importance of Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912/1954) as an early account about culture wars against religion that are concerned with the *sacred* which can be holy, traditional, and socially conservative, and the *profane*, or the secular, that is directed toward this-worldly issues, the modern, or the progressive. Viewed this way, culture wars against religion are based on the moral dualisms of the sacred vs. the secular as proponents of each try to preserve their institutional visions over the encroachments of the other.

Religion and politics are core social institutions, and even though we have legal principles that disallow the creation of a church-state or a state-church, there is a latent alliance between them. Based on the work of Hooker, House (42) calls that relationship "ecclesiastical politics" and Hunter calls it an "isomorphism" (120) where there is a prevalent belief that all members on each side of the traditionalist-progressive, sacred-secular stances have common world views as they ponder public discussions and elections. Religio-political conservatives and religio-political liberals each want to earn public support, so each side exalts itself while demeaning the other by extending morphed moral

appeals— pro-sacred anti-secular or pro-secular anti-sacred to various audiences, and there are no editors to vet the veracity of their claims. Political victory akin to the struggle of good vs. evil may be the claim made by the winners.

If Hunter is correct can individuals in targeted populations respond without specifically getting into the fray of public exchange and becoming cannon fodder for the attackers, and if so, how? "History" provides affirmative answers to these concerns and the selected versions of them are offered, next.

A GATHERING OF RESPONSES

One of the primary functions of social conflict, says Coser, is that opposing groups, especially the ones reviled, can reaffirm their histories, traditions, beliefs, and morals as they face opposition. Such restrengthenings are historically frequent as various religions face their adversaries and adversities, and four examples of reaffirmations in Christianity are offered here with appropriate background information. It is important to note, however, two related items about the four sets of responses: First, none of the three items in each set stands alone, but receives strength and meaning from the others; and second, their common linguistic, structural, theological, and purposive biases are impossible to avoid.

Saint Benedict's *Pax, Ora Et Labora*

Benedict of Nursia, Italy (b. 480 A.D.—d. 547 A.D.) was canonized in 1807 for his healing ministry and resultant medical miracles, but he was

born into a family of considerable financial means in an era of social decline. He was disappointed with the secularism that prevailed by choosing a life of spirituality and eventually founded the monastery at Monte Casino (Seasoltz 1987:98). He is not the founder of monasticism as a way of life, but he is credited with being the "Father of Western Monasticism" (Spencer 1965:117) based on the writing of his *S. Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum* or *The Rule of St. Benedict* (ca. 530/1975), just as Comte was later called the "Father" of modern sociology. Each laid appropriate principles for their successors.

Benedict's guidebook (henceforth *Rule*) identifies the various ways that monasteries, as a type of total institution (Goffman 1961), are essentially surrogate families dedicated to the spiritual fulfillment of their residents and to the glorification of God. These tasks are partially accomplished by creating satisfactory divisions of labor, by having formal conduct norms, by shaping levels of authority, by determining membership criteria, by scheduling allotted times for work, for prayer, for community involvement, and so on (Benedict; Seasoltz; Southern 1970:217-240; and Spencer). All these types of partitions were later identified by Weber (1947) as elements of bureaucracies that were idealized in the in the secular Walden Two community designed by novelist and psychologist B.F. Skinner (1948/1962).

Early European Christian monasticism was made possible by three events: The Christian Baptism of Roman Emperor Constantine I gave

the religion legitimacy in a this-worldly, pagan, and secular society; developing beliefs that faith and piety should be orderly, rational, and responsible—not random; and, the invasions of barbaric hordes following the decline of the Roman authority opened new possibilities for, and challenges to, religious outreach, possible conversions, and maintenance of faith (Meisel and del Mastro 1975:12-14; Spencer 14-15). *Rule* contains seventy-three chapters that prescribe the daily activities of monasteries and their residents that revolve around the three precepts that are attributed to Benedict.

Pax

This Latin word for *peace* has mixed meanings. One of them refers to the end of hostilities between enemies. Another suggests a personal comfort that can be derived from a number of variables, including a satisfaction, a reconciliation, or a balance of maturity between one's aspirations, expectations, and achievements. It can also be a product of attachment to family and close friends, a product of solid beliefs and commitments to traditional moral nets while rejecting alternative others, or a product of active involvement in community affairs.

Peace, however, also has purely theological value as an ideal that has several defining qualities. The religion of the New Testament is one of victory over all, with which people align themselves; it is freedom from enticements, hindrances, and moral conflicts; or, it is internalization of external religious traditions as "the restfulness

of a surrendered will" (all Ottley 1919: 700-701). A reading of Benedict's *Rule*, however, shows that word *peace*, and its qualities, are in scarce supply allowing the interpretation that it is more than a mere product of human existence, possibly found in its derivative word *pact* meaning an agreement between consenting parties.

One form of idolatry, as discussed again later, is placing the self on a level with the object or the person of adoration, but that is antithetical to subservience and obedience, and may be an act of sin depending on theological constructs. Avoidance of such self-elevation is made possible through acts of contrition or humility that are detailed in *Rule's* Chapter Seven— "Humility." In it, Benedict makes an allusion to the Biblical story of climbing Jacob's ladder that contains twelve rungs as steps toward God's exaltation, not the individual's. Those steps are: Obeying God's commandments, avoiding self-pleasure; not imitating God; accepting travails as tests of the will; confessing wrongful behavior and lustful thoughts; working obediently for, and according to, God; *believing* in the oral confessions; striving to avoid their causes; obeying the rules and authorities of the monastery; refraining from joviality; speaking infrequently, only with material purpose, and quietly; and being so diligent that actions speak louder than words (Benedict 56-61). *Pax*, then, is produced by obedience and subservience as humility to something greater than the self.

Ora

A direct translation of this Latin

word means by mouth, or speaking, and. Benedict presents two methods of delivery. They are prayer and study. Prayer has been defined as a verbal expression of oneself with God (Macquarrie 1977:493) wherein thoughts on adoration (praise), expiation (forgiveness), love (charity), petition (spiritual assistance), and thanksgiving (appreciation) are offered. Daily monastic life is scheduled around prayer and worship services taking place from “no sun to no sun,” as the approximate saying goes.

The other side of *ora* is the active study of holy scriptures as they were then written. Christianity in the time of Benedict was more of an oral tradition than a written one, and that which was written was scarce, manually transcribed, and in Latin or in Greek. The physical process of study was arduous, but was also contained in monasteries' daily schedules as the only direct and personal means to comprehend the words of God.

Labora

The multiple tasks of monastic life required work. Monasteries are physical residences that need regular maintenance, the provision of sustenance for the inhabitants, the establishment of balanced economic reciprocity (Polanyi 1946; Sahlins 1972) with patron manors and local communities, and so on. Some of their tasks were menial, some were agricultural, and some were profitable. Some involved distilling potent potables from the fruit of the vine, and others were mainly esthetic. Monasteries became the repositories for existing art, safe-

guarding it from plunder while simultaneously becoming studios for new art, for good reason.

Written religious literature was basically useless for non-literate people, and oral exhortations are hard to imprint without experiential or visual frames of reference. Consequently, much high art of the era was created in monasteries as tangible depictions of salvation vs. perdition.

Further, Christianity was newly-legitimized in Benedict's time but it was still implausible to, and distant from, the commoners. Roman statuary may have changed but secular habits were replaced with those from invaders. There were few changes for rural enclaves as they led their lives in that which Redfield (1956) calls “the little tradition.” Cities and monasteries, however, were populated by the *literati* of artists, medical specialists, and clergy that Redfield calls “the great tradition.” One of duties of *monastics*, then, was to take the specific great tradition of Christianity into the little tradition of the rustics, blending the *ora et labora* as community outreach.

Benedict's *Rule* was written for monasticism, but does it have any direct relevance to members of the then- or the now-laity? All believers at all times are faced with visions of life that run counter to their beliefs, just as they are assailed for their principles. The three settlements behind *Rule* – *pax* as humility, *ora* as prayer and study, and *labora* as work in, and for, God's domain– still prevail and variations of them are offered in the later section on *cursillo*, but it is now time to fast-forward about twelve centuries.

Hooker's *Three-Legged Stool of Reason, Scripture and Tradition*

Richard Hooker (b. 1554–d. 1600), the “judicious Hooker” (Holmes 1993 15; Raven 62) is credited with publishing *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (henceforth *Laws*) around 1594 as guiding principles for the emerging Anglicanism of the Church of England. Hooker was born into a family of modest means, but was sponsored for study at Oxford University. A scholar, vicar and pastor, and family man, Hooker's greatest notoriety seems to have come from *Laws*.

Not all culture wars are waged by forces outside religion, and the nascent Church of England had detractors and competition from other denominations. Roman Catholicism was unhappy with King Henry VIII's departure from its sacramental traditions, authority, and taxing power; and Puritans felt that Anglicanism was too episcopal, liturgic, iconic, and lacking inerrancy or infallibility of sacred texts (Holmes 1993; Massey 1987; Russell 1994). Roman Catholics wanted to overthrow the new church while Puritans just wanted to reform it (Moorman 1980:208), so Hooker's designs were intended as a *via media* or middle way of worship.

“[A]rguing that Roman Catholics had added too much [theocracy and political power] to traditional Catholicism and that Puritans had subtracted too much, *Laws* affirmed Anglicanism's continuity with the Catholic Church of its fathers” (Holmes 15).

Laws was written in high Tudor

language, so Russell is the summarist for the three-volume edition used here, and in that role, he offered two sets of observations. The first shows there were and there are still internecine struggles against Anglicans' orthodoxy, identifying these struggles on p. I-1 of *Laws* Volume I.

1. Lay and clergy divide themselves into parties and acrimoniously attack one another.
2. Clergy defy existing collegial structures by forming conventicles for disciplined study of Holy Scripture.
3. Parties identify the structures of the church as ungodly, then generate proposals for alternate structures.
4. The authority of Church decisions gets challenged with proof texts from Holy Scripture.
5. The national Church's power of independent decision making gets challenged.
6. Bishops find their very existence questioned by those who promote an alternative ordering of ministering.
7. Ultra-Protestants pull the church in one direction, ultra-Catholics in another.
8. Groups propose special ecclesiastic structures to accommodate their conscientious objections to the existing order, all causing him ask if anything had changed from the 1590s to the 1990s.

A few pages later (I-13-14), Russell cites seven strategies that critics in Hooker's day used against him when they launched their opposition. These methods are listed as:

1. Existing leaders are easy targets. Attacking them with sufficient severity imputes righteous zeal to the attackers;
2. People who sling enough mud will eventually hit something;
3. People with a grievance will happily project it upon a target already smeared with someone else's mud;
4. People upset with one thing will more easily accept some new or untried thing as a remedy...;
5. Dissidents overly simplify complex issues in order to narrow people's viewpoints, deliberately creating a closed or circular system of argumentation;
6. They drape themselves with untestable claims of illumination by the Holy Spirit, and;
7. They use the freedom and hospitality offered by the hosts to undermine them, clearly showing that culture wars against religion are not new.

Like Benedict's *Rule*, Hooker's *Laws* remains a mainstay of its denominational tradition; but just as only the broadest visions of *Rule* were offered only synopses of *Laws* can be set forth here. Whether or not Hooker

actually coined the expression "three-legged stool" is uncertain and moot, but the phrase and its alleged authorship remain with us.

Reason

In some ways, says House (42-43), the contributions of Hooker *prelect* Hobbes' and Locke's ideas on social authority, except Hooker addressed ecclesiastical authority (*Laws* Vols. II and III) rather than civil leadership. All, however, believed in the inherent ability of people to ponder and compare their experiences, coming to their own conclusions by engaging in the process of reason.

There are several ways to define *reason*, and one is "the human capacity for (or practice of) seeing, forming, and investigating cognitive relations (Finch 1987:223). Another is "the relational element in intelligence, in distinction from the element of content, sensational, or emotional" (Smith 1919:593); and then Russell (I-9) says that Hooker's orientation toward reason is specifically directed toward things ecclesiastic.

Hooker writes in *Laws* (Vol. 2:19) that "no religion can wholly and only consist of untruths" or allegations made about it, requiring a person of reason to investigate the forms, functions, and validity of internal truths as well as the forms, functions, and validity of external claims made *about* religion. Such concentrated effort is called *study*, but the reasonable person runs the risk of being too rational, too objective, and ambivalent especially when study becomes ongoing without commitment to any ideal. The metaphoric question "Are you going to

fish or cut bait?" could easily have been Hooker's own, yet there comes a time, Hooker would hope, when the person finally says "I believe..." and further study affirms that commitment.

Scripture

This is the word divine as revealed through holy documents. Russell (*J-10*) says about Hooker that "Scripture is the perfect end for which it was created: to impart knowledge needed for salvation that people, because of their sinfulness, can no longer find through the use of their reason." On his own, Hooker writes that holy documents, as recorded by humankind, represent the witnessing of the sacred: "The voice and testimony of the church acknowledging Scripture to be the law of the living God, is for the truth and certainly thereof no mean evidence" (*Laws Vol. II:89*).

Scripture must be studied diligently because its truths may not be directly stated but are often hidden in symbolic stories, parables, and proverbs, just as the moral codes or laws they contain may not be found as easily as Benedict's *Rule* delineates his. Theological truths must be discerned as they sometimes offer different revelations. Christianity's Gospels of Sts. Matthew, Mark, and Luke, for example, are called the *synoptic* Gospels because they contain parallel and co-sequential synopses of Christ's life, whereas the Gospel of St. John can be called a *theological* one because it mainly addresses the purposes of Christ's life, not its chronology of events.

Discernment is acquired through diligence, but Hooker and others contend that the real purpose of such ef-

forts is to take that which is learned, and that which is learned from it, to others. There is an adage that says that we can reflect on our lives, but we must live them forward, and that premise can be rephrased in the modern question "What would Jesus do?" Both thoughts support Hooker's work since holy scriptures are templates for any now-modern population when facing the secular and the unknown.

This article was inspired by a chat with an Anglican priest and by a term paper that he wrote for his seminary degree (Doubet 2010). He disagrees with the premise that elements in Hooker's triune were co-equal, stating instead that their configuration was less like a stable milking stool and more like Mattell's Big Wheel tricycle with scripture being the driving force of movement. Without scripture, Doubet argues, there are no moral issues to ponder [Hooker's reason], just as there are no bases [Hooker's tradition] for ethical decisions. Doubet concludes his paper by saying,

"Scripture is the driving force to matters ecclesiastical, it also steers the vehicle.

Tradition and reason keep things running smoothly, with tradition having the ability to slow things down when interpretation or reason get out of control."

Tradition

Tradition, Hooker states, is the totality of scriptures, prophets and prophecies, biographies, beatitudes, acts of dedicated advocates, letters of support and advice to isolated disciples, miracles, symbolism, parables, prov-

erbs, creeds and all things holy from the time of the Christian Apostles forward. It also contains standardized rites of celebration and incorporation, canons, duties for the clergy and the laity, lyrical psalms and hymns of praise, and organized authority hierarchies, at all time and in all places.

Traditions are always products of social facts preceding them, resistant to change, disparaging of both competition and criticism, ancestral (Fichter 1967; Jensen 1967), learned, and where "Remember" is [their] first commandment..." (Villiers 1987:1). Applying these comments to *Laws*, Russell (I-11) says that traditions "...are the cumulative decisions of Christian people over time. They are the mixture of necessary and accessory things which, with the help of Reason and Scripture, people have cobbled together to give glory to God."

By maintaining dedication to scripture, established ritual, and episcopal authority, congregants can understand how they are linked to the same grounded problem-solving techniques that their ancestors faced, that they face, and that their descendants will face. If Hooker could rise from his grave today and look at the ways that traditional cultural values and practices are redefined rather than reinforced, he might be saddened because "there will always be evils which no art of man can cure, breaches and leaks more than man's wit hath hands to stop" (*Laws* Vol. 2:38). At the same time, however, he might be gladdened because faith "allayeth all kinds of base and early cognitions, banisheth and driveth away evil suggestions which our invisible enemy is always

apt to minister" (*Laws* Vol. 2:168). With those thoughts in mind, it is time to jump forward again about 350 years.

Raven's Integrity, Sympathy, and Community

Title page information from the books of C.E. (Charles E.) Raven (b. 1985-d. 1964) show that he was an Anglican priest, theologian, and a professor of science and religion at Cambridge University. He served as a Canon of Liverpool and was a Chaplain to the King of England. He wrote eight books including *Science, Religion, & the Future* (henceforth *SRF*) and its contents mingle well with others from Albert Einstein (1930, 1939, 1941, and 1948) who also wrote about the relationships between science and religion based on his combined insights and identities of scientist and Zionist.

Raven's *SRF* was written during the middle of World War II, an era that was a military conflagration and a moral one. Democratic capitalism and elements of conservative religious traditionalism were at odds with the civil rulers who tried to "destroy the spirit of humanity" (Einstein 1939) by borrowing selected principles from developing genetic and economic sciences. From Darwin and from Malthus, Raven writes scientists of Hitlerian Germany practiced eugenics and genocide to create a master race void of hereditary contaminants. Raven further writes that Marx and Engels were influenced by Ricardo's ideas on economic distribution, leading to the schemes for social change by Lenin and by Stalin as ideologies

that eventually made their ways into the U.S.

Military wars might be preventable if we listen carefully to the rhetoric of the saber-rattlers before the tensions escalate, but can modern culture wars against religion be avoided? Raven offers some insights into the issue, ideas that can be summarized as "know your enemy." The challenge to ministers and members of the laity alike is to pay close attention to the words of religion's detractors: Overt contempt does not need translation, but expressions of benevolence are often masks or false faces.

As a scholar who studied the history of science and religion Raven offers a three-sided view of enlightenment toward culture wars against religion in his time that can be applied to any era. The process includes: Being open to new cognitive experiences and appreciating them; classifying those experiences into systems of beliefs that are considered as being true; and using those moral nets as personal guideposts in daily life and in the communion of others (5-17). Raven gives all of these views further consideration. Chapter IV, "The Intellectual Task: Integrity" (80-96) discusses the cognitive dimensions of awareness and information comparisons; Chapter VII "The Moral Task: Sympathy" (97-112) discusses the affective element of appropriate moral nets and their comparative efficacy; and Chapter VIII "The Religious Task: Community" (113-125) addresses the call to action.

Integrity

Raven's interpretation of integrity refers to the demanding task of

intense and directed investigation. The cognitive act of study, Raven advises, is to "learn what is" (80) because counter arguments to those used against religion are weak without viable foundations. He writes, "Open your eyes and see; test and notice the consequences, grasp the significance of your observations; act upon it as a means to further discoveries" (86). Raven would encourage believers to become like Socrates, to "...puncture the pretensions of his contemporaries, to insist upon strict investigations of the meanings of the words [and the accusations] that they used and the ideas that they professed" (95), not as an accused anarchist or a martyr, like Socrates, but as an informed unifier and reconstructionist. Three related questions are then raised: "What is studied?", "Why study?", and "Whose values?" The first of these is answered immediately.

Like Benedict and Hooker, Raven feels that believers should study holy scriptures that are appropriate to the religion, related scholarly and filtered commentaries and histories, as well as annals of religious archaeology. It is also incumbent for the adherent to study the beliefs of the critics. If attacks come from other religions, gnosticisms, heresies, theosophy, scientology, cosmology, secular humanism, social gospels, libertarianism, atheism, ecumenism, inclusive language, cultural relativity, and so on, then the same types of literatures from them about them need to be studied. In order to affirm "what is" there is need to know "what is not" and how that is used against the known. The investigations are not just academic exer-

cises, Raven argues. If the first question has a cognitive quality, the second has an affective value: "Why study?"

Sympathy

Informed opinions about "what is" and "what is not" give rise to what *should be* (Einstein 1939) as the articulation of moral nets for the individual and the collective. Scientists and theologians have competed for audiences by offering alternative answers to questions of ultimate meaning, definitions of truth, and the shape of morality as they often tread [or plod] into realms outside their respective domains of expertise (Einstein 1948). Still, science and religion are not necessarily incompatible: "Science without religion is lame, and religion without science is blind" writes Einstein (1941), and Raven would likely have agreed with this statement.

The evolutionary sciences of Darwin's and of Raven's times were not as sophisticated as they are now, but there was still a general belief that geological, biological, and cultural evolutions occur together. Whatever the processes, Raven writes, the results have been humanity with "heroes, artists, thinkers, and saints" (103) impacting "the scope and character of moral issues... [including the opposing issues] "good and evil" (106) and liberalism and conservatism (1). Culture wars against religion can be fought successfully, Raven would argue, if critics of religion are debated reasonably by informed believers, lending the third question, "Whose beliefs?"

Community

Cultures and societies are created by people living together cooperatively, but there are usually exceptions to this rule. A form of idolatry, says Raven, is the *superindividuated* self who is self-segregated from the community, replacing a "we not me" ethos (Campus Ministries n.d.) with "me not we" egocentrism. Since religious mores are products of collective reason and traditions say Hooker, Raven, and Einstein, personality cults can threaten local and global stability.

Raven writes: "... we become what we love, and finding a common loyalty and a common service with our fellows discover our organic unity with them" (122), where personalities develop, and where creeds, as essential statements of belief, are formed and shared. These creeds can be found in national anthems, national pledges of allegiance, oaths of office, or promises made before legal testimonies where they all promote civil cohesion.

Creeds can also define religious heritages, as found in the Nicene Creed and the Apostles' Creed in Christianity, even as they contain different elements of historicism. There is a difference in voice, for example, in the Nicene Creed contained in the prayer books for the Church of England (C. of E.), the Episcopal Church in the U.S. (TEC), and the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA). Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury under King Edward VI, was summoned to compose a book of prayer suitable for the common people of England to use in their local par-

ishes. *The First English Prayer Book* was published (1549/1999), and in 1662 the *Book of Common Prayer* was designated as the official prayer book of the denomination.

Cranmer had protestant Lutheran leanings, so when he translated scripture from Greek to English he used the voice of the first person singular, rather than the more catholic first person plural. The beginning of Cranmer's version of the Nicene Creed states, "I believe..." (24), and that tradition was maintained in the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP) for TEC. The 1979 version of the BCP changed the voice to the "We believe..." translation (358) for two reasons. It better reflects the original Greek from which it was derived, and the plural voice mirrors the body corporate of TEC, and that same reasoning and wording is used for the *Common Worship* missals that are found in many congregations of ACNA in the U.S.

Raven would likely agree with the adage that there is "strength in numbers" since no military battle or war has ever been won, outside mythology or political leaders' claims, by one person acting alone. Religions are *sui generis* communities of believers who stick to the habits of study, moral stances, and themselves because each faces the bewilderments, the corruptions, and the derelictions (Raven 124) of the culture wars against them in their times, allowing us to move forward about a decade.

Cursillo's Tripod of Piety, Study, and Action

Cursillo was born in Roman Catholicism but now appears in other de-

nominations under different names with appropriate structural modifications. Dragostin (1970) criticized *cursillo* by calling it secretive and cultic, but it was given a friendly review by Marcoux (1982). A few years later, it was assessed four different ways with sociological insights by R.G. O'Sullivan (1988, 1989, 1997, and 1999), and this article relies on his 1988 publication.

The word *cursillo* is Spanish, meaning "a short course in Christianity," and the movement began in Mallorca during the mid-1940s. It was migrated to the U.S. during the mid-1950s when many were flirting with the ideas that gave rise to the Russian Revolution, the Spanish Civil War, World War II, and the Korean War.

Socialization into *cursillo* normally takes place during its "weekend" that lasts from Thursday night to Sunday evening, and for reasons of modesty they are divided into weekends for men and weekends for women. The meetings are intense and sequestered opportunities for personal reflections and inspirational talks called *rollos* that are presented by staff members from the clergy and from the laity. Each full day is oriented to a particular leg of the tripod: Friday to Piety, Saturday to Study, and Sunday to Action.

Most of the attendees, or candidates, are already Christians and members of the host denominations, wanting to renew or revitalize their beliefs. Conversions are rare, but they, dramatic personal events, as well as pranks, take place. Worship services and scheduled opportunities for reverence and contemplation are frequent, as are times for small group

discussions about spiritual journeys, obstacles to faith, and personal epiphanies.

The entire weekend prepares the candidates for the "Fourth Day" of cursillo as re-entry into the world of opinions and habits that oppose religious principles—the secular vs. the sacred. Cursillo's contents are similar to the themes in Benedict's *Rule*, in Hooker's *Laws*, and in Raven's *SRF*, but differ in one remarkable way: They are co-equal in value but not co-temporal in development, as is explained next.

Mead (1934) gave us the *preparatory*, *play*, and *game* stages of cognitive development that Denzin (1986) modified as the *preparatory*, *interactional*, and *participatory* stages of involvement in recovery groups. R.G. O'Sullivan (1988) used Denzin's orientations and stages of development as they apply to cursillo's thematic weekend. Friday is the *preparatory* or infra-structural day, with its promises of things to come. Saturday is the *interactional* day because the candidates begin to feel some unity and lose inhibitions. Sunday is the *participatory* day because the candidates are given specific suggestions about using their learned skills in home parishes and neighborhoods, doing social good for others. R.G. O'Sullivan's first analysis, then, can be adjusted to fit the context of this article: Just as military basic training, or boot camp, prepares recruits in successive stages of development for potential combat roles, cursillo prepares candidates in successive stages of development for culture wars against religion, but there is a major difference between them—military recruits are resocialized into new be-

havior habits, whereas most cursillo candidates reaffirm existing ones. It is now time to look at the legs of the cursillo tripod and the weekend's developmental stages.

Piety

There are several ways to define this sentiment, including a developed or a developing relationship with God; humility, in the Benedictine sense; and an A-B conversation, or a dyadic dialogue, with God. Using an idea expressed earlier it can be typified as a balanced reciprocity of redemption for obedience to God; and, going one step forward, or backward, we can borrow from Rousseau's 1762/1947 civil social contract to call piety a *theological* contract or covenant with God.

The initial *rollo* of the first day is called "Ideal," and it does not specify any particular one, but it invites candidates to reflect upon priorities in their lives. As R.G. O'Sullivan (1988) says, the theme of the first day is partially destructive—reminding the candidates that many of the "ologies" in their lives are only academic sciences, and the various "isms" in their lives are economic and political realities to which they can adapt. Neither those "ologies" nor "isms" have, as adapted from Einstein (1939), *super-institutional value* worthy of religious-like adoration. The candidates are encouraged to evaluate their orientations toward the sacred, the secular, cultural materialism, and our meritocracies, but such self-reflections can be unsettling as many find comfort in their daily beliefs, goals, and achievements. As a point of irony, R.G. O'Sullivan recalls that he was a cursillo candidate in 1982 just three days

after defending his doctoral dissertation. Salvific hope and promise are offered, however, toward the end of the day in the rollo entitled "Piety" as a reminder that good things come to faithful witnesses.

Study

Study is dedicated investigations into relevant literature. The rollo on this subject offers specific methods and resources that are compliant with the host denomination, making them beyond the scope of this article. Study also involves emotional and participatory appeals. The rollo called *Sacraments*, for example, itemizes rites of incorporation and membership, religious vocations, atonement, bonds of commitment and attachment, and movement through the lifecycle. Personal solace is possible during the recitations of the creeds as well as in public and private confessions. Saturday is also a time when the weekends' leaders hope that the candidates lose their suspicions and shyness, develop a sense of belonging with fellow *seekers* (Lofland 1966), gel as a group, and start to have fun. The day concludes with a special candlelight service showing the candidates that they are supported by their sponsors and fellow members of cursillo.

Action

This day provides several guidelines for committed involvement. It is important for the candidates to be active members in their home congregations and denominations, but they should also become involved in local residential communities. Evangelism is a calling of all religions if they are to

grow and be viable, but the word is reviled and its "evangelicals" are de-based as being religious fanatics by those who fuel culture wars against them. Nonetheless, members of the cursillo community, or any religious group, are asked to engage in community involvement helping others, serving as role models and inspirational leaders for those who are helped. The allures drawing people away from religions are always present and real, but culture wars against religion can be fought using such strategies and tactics as are taught in cursillo, especially in the rollo entitled "Christian Community in Action" where specific suggestions for outreach are also outside the range of this article.

The combined offerings from Benedict, Hooker, Raven, and cursillo contain similar and redundant defense weapons that religious believers can use in respond to culture wars against them. The twelve recommendations can be summarized by borrowing two expressions: The first is attributed to Oliver Cromwell during a campaign against the Irish when he said "Put your trust in God, but mind to keep your powder dry;" and the second is assigned to Lt. Col. William Barrett Travis, commandant at the battle of the Alamo, when he said "Never retreat ...just reload." Both of these leaders encouraged soldiers in their ranks to stay true to their convictions and be prepared to defend themselves.

A SOCIOLOGICAL INSPECTION

This article is published in a sociology journal, not a publication in religious history or theology. As such, ele-

ments of Hirschi's social bond theory and juvenile delinquency are scattered throughout these pages, so it is now time to fully integrate them with responses to culture wars against religion.

Those sets of recommendations contain overlapping and repetitive themes allowing them to be collapsed into four grounded categories: Personal attachment to groups of like-minded disciples, commitment to religious ideals, involvement in community outreach, and a deep-seated belief that religious ideals are just. These are the same categories and meanings that Hirschi uses in discussions of social bonds and juvenile delinquency.

The premise of his work is that differential degrees of social integration have some impact on the juvenile conformist-delinquent dichotomy where bonding has four elements. *Attachment* is alignment with compatible others, and *commitment* is "stick-to-it-iveness" to social and cultural expectations. *Involvement* is engaging in wholesome and constructive community activities, and *belief* is internalizing external traditions—owning them.

It may be simplistic to state that juvenile delinquency occurs with the absence of moral guidons, just as it may be facile to state that juvenile delinquency is avoided when moral nets are present. Nonetheless, there is something intriguing about the absence-presence thesis when stated as propositions about inverse correlations: The lower the conforming social bonds the higher the likelihood of juvenile delinquency, and the higher the conforming bonds the lower the

likelihood of juvenile delinquency, that F.D. O'Sullivan (1928), R.G. O'Sullivan's 2009 revival of F.D. O'Sullivan's work, and Stark (1987) all substantiated, just as Messner and Fagan each argued that religious integration and social cohesion are entwined yet endangered by culture wars against them.

Taking these terms and applying them to culture wars against religion there are inverse correlations that are nearly identical to Hirschi's. The lower the attachment to religious traditions and religious communities, the lower the commitment to sacred moral nets, the lower the level of outreach as involvement in local areas or to those in need, and the lower the internalization of moral ideals the higher the impact of the secular over the sacred. The opposing proposition states that higher the religious attachment to likeminded others, the higher the commitment to sacred moral nets, the higher the outreach as involvement in local areas or to those in need, and the higher the internalization of moral ideals the lower the impact of the secular over the sacred. In summary then, the social bonds identified by Hirschi can be heavily laced with the combined contributions of St. Benedict, Richard Hooker, C.E. Raven, and cursillo communities for all times and in all places, as illustrated in the next section.

A WELDMENT OF THEORY AND ILLUSTRATION

People of faith often face many overt and covert attacks against their lives in religious dignity. Sometimes

specific areas of tension can be identified as was accomplished here earlier. At other times, though, the conflicts between the sacred and the secular elude specificity, are multiple, and can be environmental rather than campaigns.

The author recently saw such interactive distractions during his visit to the Anglican congregation in the "Pueblcito" neighborhood of Chicago. He had already witnessed its members' religious dedication and he wanted to visit them, so he accompanied the diocesan bishop on a trip to the congregation. The bishop's purpose was to administer the sacramental rites of Confirmation and the Eucharist, and first communion, to about forty-five people, mostly teenagers, upon completing their catechism.

The neighborhood is comprised almost entirely of Hispanics from Mexico and from countries in the Caribbean and Central America. Many in the neighborhood are undocumented residents so a census is fluid, as is the size and the composition of the church's congregation. The local economy is comprised of specialty stores, currency exchanges, laundromats, and store-front lawyers, and the unadorned church sits in the middle of them. Seating capacity is limited so it was standing room only for the two services' confirmands and their families, other congregants, and guests, totaling 425-450 people.

The bishop's sermon to the two groups was offered in Spanish as it addressed the topic of culture war as it addressed them, but only in aggregate form, as well as parts of Hirschi's social bond theory, but also outside

academic verbiage. The bishop's sermon praised them for the achievement of completing a year of dedicated religious study and instruction, urging them to continue their studies. He praised them for their commitments to the congregation and involvement in community affairs, asking them to be living testimonies for others to witness. Finally, he praised them for dedication to their religion's traditions and beliefs that have many vexations.

This congregation is an Anglican one, so another sacramental denomination that is more commonly associated with Hispanics debases the group and its beliefs. The area is multi-cultural with different practices, but intercultural conflicts are set aside when the congregants enter their church. Local and federal police officers prowl for non-legal residents, but members of the congregation can receive legal assistance as they seek residential legitimacy and social acceptance. There are opportunities to engage in subterranean economies but many of them are shunned as the congregants try to avoid legal problems or violate their religious commandments. Finally, there is a contingent within the national hierarchy of the church's denomination that looks disparagingly at the composition and the complexion of the congregation and at the social activism of its priest, but to little avail. It is the fastest-growing congregation in an equally-enlarging diocese as each faces the culture wars of moral, theological, administrative, and legal challenges that could defile their faith.

CONCLUSION

The U.S. has undergone many battles "on" things. We have seen the "War On Poverty," the "War On Drugs," the "War On Illiteracy," the "War On Terror, and we will likely see more. Some distinguishing features of such efforts include official and schooled expertise, funded agencies, and strategic campaigns to eliminate their harmful effects.

Wars on things have been replaced with culture wars *against* things, such as perceived culture wars *against* religion, *against* women, *against* fossil fuels, and *against* capitalism where goals seem intentionally divisive rather than cohesive, corroding fundamental beliefs, morals, and traditions by replacing them with new and expedient ones. There is, however, a latent backlash difference between culture wars against religion compared to other targets of derision. Many religious groups have amassed and reloaded well-stocked arsenals of cognitive, affective, and behavior response weapons, including inspirational hymns that were written about culture wars against them to use as defensive devices that other targets of scorn may not have as armaments.

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