Missouri Folklore Society Journal

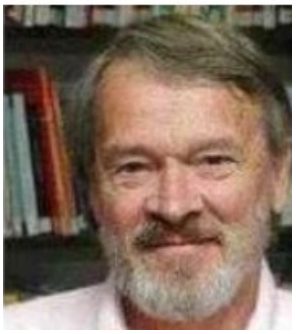
Emerging Folklore, Emerging Folklorists

II

By agreement of the Board of Directors at the Spring 2026 meeting, this collection of student-written fieldwork is dedicated to two longtime educators and pillars of the Society:

Brett Scott Rogers: October 19, 1958– August 5, 2025

Jim Vandergriff: August 14, 1942 - May 2, 2025

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Please send manuscripts and editorial correspondence to the General Editors at the address given above, or as an email attachment to the address given at the website. The Society welcomes articles on folklore, folklife, folk music, and related topics -- especially but not exclusively, of Missouri and the surrounding region. Books, recordings, videos, or films for review should be sent to the Review Editor at the address given above.

Missouri Folklore Society Journal

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Emerging Folklore, Emerging Folklorists II

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Preface to Volume 46

As a graduate student with an affinity for the study of folklore, it has been a pleasure to compile and edit this volume of the Missouri Folklore Society Journal. Having taken folklore as a freshman undergraduate student at Truman State University, editing this volume as a graduate student at the very same school has been a full circle moment that has rooted my experience in what I would consider the study of the experiential.

From the contents of this volume, it is ever abundantly clear that the study of folklore contains multitudes. These essays discuss all aspects of life: from occupational jargon and identity to rich cultural practices rooted in colloquial hobbies; from studies of language and literature that bridge cultural divides to essays that articulate the rich inner workings of bounded cultural groups. Folkloristics provides an apt platform to look at life from quite literally every vantage point.

In taking these opportunities to zoom in on the mundane, the ordinary, the everyday anthropology of life, we magnify it. The essays within this volume take on this task of magnifying these small, rich, often unobserved aspects of quotidian life, allowing for us to slow down in the hustle and bustle of our contemporary moment and actively choose to observe it.

By the act of observation and analysis, we do not necessarily make these facets of the everyday larger than life, but we ascribe life to them. In writing and reading and creating a space for these essays, we honor the life that is happening in every corner of the universe: everywhere from the book return at the library to the altar of cathedrals, from a knock at a door while trick-or-treating to a dab of a bingo dauber at a community center. The study of folklore is a testament to the life that is occurring all around us. These essays are a reminder to take a moment to look at it, to take a moment to live it.

Lucy McCormick

Librarians and Language: Finding the Folk Group

Gracie Doolin

Language is a conduit of connection for humans; it allows us to learn, grow,and communicate about subjects of importance. It is natural then that language would become characteristic of certain folk groups, providing a boundary to enclose them into a cluster of like-minded individuals and a barrier to keep those they do not wish to allow into their circle out. These boundaries of speaking can be as large as anational language and as small as inside jokes shared between two people. However, this study focuses on the language subgroup of occupational jargon; specifically, the language of librarians. In the changing landscape of modern education and academia, librarians have found themselves in the unique position of being quite difficult to classify. Offshoots of library science and the varying levels of education and workplaces in which a librarian can find themself makes it challenging to encompass them into a folk group. With that complication in mind, this project seeks to identify similarities in the occupation jargon of librarians, specifically collegiate level librarians, that would aid in the categorization of a once clearly defined folk group that has now become hazy in definition.

Occupational jargon has been studied from many different folk groups by many different researchers; however, historically, this has not always been the case. In fact, some of the earliest research about folklore from the mid-19th century mentions very little about jargon, occupational or otherwise, and instead encompasses it, along with many other parts of verbal lore, under the umbrella term of folk-speech or folk-dialect. In Alfred Nutt and G.L. Gomme's "Folk-lore Terminology" they encompass much of verbal lore as, "*Folk-speech*, corresponding to the study of philology, grammar, rhetoric, and metre" (Nutt & Gomme 312).[1] Nutt later goes on to explain that he suspects folk-speech could be written out of folklore altogether on the grounds that speech is physiological rather than psychological (Nutt & Gomme 312). While this is technically true, many scholars at the time objected to this definition and to his reasoning for why folk-speech should not be considered a genuine field of

study. In a response to the article a month later, C. Stainland Wake argued, " Folk-speech, should certainly be excluded from folk-lore, the interests of which may be injuriously affected by too great an extension of its scope" (Wake 346).[2] While Wake was still in favor of rejecting folk-speech, he did identify the objection that many folklorists shared about Nutt's definition: it was simply too broad. As a result, the study of folk-dialect began to break down into smaller subcategories as research began to be conducted, such as jokes, toasts, riddles, and more.

Moving forward in time, by the mid-20th century, occupational jargon had become a regular field of study. In his book *The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction*, Jan Harold Brunvand creates a distinction between folk-speech and jargon defining any linguistic outliers that were ephemeral or technical in nature as "slang" or "jargon," while lasting or general speech was hailed as "folk-speech" (Brunvand 35). Gerald E. Warshaver uses this distinction when investigating the occupational jargon of countermen, waitstaff, and short-order cooks. He identifies that the jargon had extended beyond the folk group that had created it, the restaurant workers, and was then being used by restaurant goers as well. Warshaver explains, "Although many of the terms used by this occupational group have enjoyed longevity beyond the mass of slang terms and have passed into wider use than is common for jargon, the ephemeral nature of much of this specialized language, combined with its secret, in-group nature has led it to be commonly called either 'lingo' or 'jargon'" (Warshaver 134). While Warshaver acknowledges the drift in jargon knowledge from the waitstaff to the patrons, he also notes how the jargon can be used as a form of border patrolling. Those who know how to navigate the language, such as the staff or regulars at the restaurant in question, are considered a part of the folk group, even if there is no shared occupation. Those that do not have an awareness of the jargon are then, by default, considered an outsider.

While border patrolling is certainly a function of occupational jargon, it is not its only purpose. In Kenneth Kolb's study about counselors and their clients, "Claiming Competence: Biographical Work among Victim-Advocates and Counselors", he illustrates, "Her (the counselor's) use of jargon and experimentation signals her status and membership in a professional community of counselors" (Kolb 95). Though not a folklorist, Kolb is able to identify another function of occupational jargon: status. The more jargon one uses, and the comfort with which one navigates a professional conversation containing jargon, are clear indications of rank and experience. Jargon can act as border patrolling to signal who is a part of the folk

group, but it can also be used within that group to determine a hierarchy of experience.

With this in mind, one can now begin to investigate how occupational jargon fits into the college librarian folk group. The jargon, in a similar way to Kolb's study, can serve as an indicator as to who is likely newer to librarianship and who may have been in the field for a longer period of time. Alicia Kubas and Jenny McBurney in their article "Frustrations and roadblocks in data reference librarianship" reference this use of jargon. They write, "Essentially, the less experience a librarian has working with secondary data inquiries, the more time she needs to spend figuring out verbiage related to how data is presented and discussed in a variety of disciplines that have data needs" (Kubas & McBurney 9). However, while jargon distinguishes experience in librarianship, it diverges from the typical functions of occupational jargon in the purpose of border patrolling. Unlike other folk groups, who may use jargon as a means of keeping people who are not part of the ingroup out, librarians find themselves in the unique position of continually attempting to simplify their jargon to make it understandable for as many patrons as possible. In fact, many studies and pedagogy models have revolved around this very issue. One such study by John Kupersmith, "Library Terms That Users Understand", goes so far as to list the terms that were or were not confusing for over forty American college libraries, as well as give advice to librarians on how to translate and minimize the use of their jargon to make research and access easier for patrons (Kupersmith 1-26). So, if occupational jargon remains pervasive in librarian lore despite the implications it creates for patron access and ease, one must attempt to discover why it continues to be used.

The purpose of this study was to learn if the reason occupational jargon was still in use was because it helped to define college librarians as a folk group if they do indeed share the same jargon. To accomplish this goal, seven collegiate level librarians, belonging to three different universities in all, were interviewed. Originally, grade school and public librarians were also to be consulted, but initial research and inquiries elucidated the impression that there was very little commonality between these occupations. For example, college libraries have remained fairly institutional in nature while a grade school library has become a mixture of library and classroom, and a public library a mixture of library and childcare, technology resources, etc. However, even though the collegiate library may not be a liminal space, the librarians that work in those libraries do sometimes occupy an area between institutional faculty and staff. In this study, all the informants interviewed are considered faculty members.

Of the seven interviewees, all of them consented to allow for identifying information to be shared. Consequently, all the following information pertaining to the informants has been given with permission. Five of the respondents were employed by Truman State University's Pickler Memorial Library, one by Central Methodist University's Smiley Library, and one by the University of Missouri's Ellis Library. Position titles were self-declared and included Dean of Libraries, Director of Special Collections and Museums, several Research and Instruction Librarians, Associate Dean of Libraries for Technical Services and Systems, Director of Digital Learning, and Associate Professor of Information Science and Learning Technologies. Additionally, many of the informants held multiple titles which have not all been included here[3]. Introductions and scheduling were conducted via email, though two informants were previously known prior to interviews. The interviews were scheduled for a convenient time for both the interviewee and the researcher and were conducted face-to-face. Age, gender, experience, nor position(s) held were factors in the process of selecting informants. Interviews took place in a location of the informant's choosing, usually the informant's office, to ensure very little outside distraction that could affect responses.

Limitations to this study include a smaller sample size as only seven informants were willing and/or able to participate in the study. Furthermore, all the informants are located and employed within Missouri, which did affect responses to some extent. Finally, as the informants were all employed by only three universities in all, there is the possibility that some responses may be hyper-specific or colloquial.

The question that garnered the most responses overall was about occupational jargon. The informants were asked to list occupational terms that, to their knowledge, did not exist outside of library science. Again, since only collegiate level librarians, such as research librarians, deans, and directors of various aspects of the library, were consulted, some of the responses gathered may lend themselves to a very specific aspect of librarianship; indeed, over fifty responses were collected and compiled, but for the sake of space and time, only the responses that received two or more mentions are listed here.[4] MOBIUS, an online consortium of over 80 special and academic libraries, was the most mentioned jargon with four of the respondents mentioning it at some point in the interview. This answer can be credited for limitations about exclusively Missouri-based librarians, as MOBIUS is a Missouri specific consortium and only Missouri librarians were consulted. However, despite MOBIUS receiving the most responses, only one informant was able to recall what

the acronym stood for: Missouri Online Bibliographic Information User System. The librarian that gave this lengthened answer was one of the research librarians consulted; therefore, it stands to reason that they would have the most exposure to MOBIUS and the most likely to remember the acronym. The three other librarians that mentioned MOBIUS relayed that they used to know what the acronym stood for, but, over time, it was not needed as more librarians simply knew the database as MOBIUS and the need to clarify became less and less. All following expanded versions of acronyms and initialisms were found by either informant explanation or later research; they shall appear in parentheses for readability purposes. After MOBIUS, catalog was mentioned in some capacity, whether that be card, online, or descriptive catalog. Several of the librarians noted that card catalogs have become a thing of the past and that younger librarians, while likely still aware of what a card catalog was, probably never had to learn how to use one. This lost ability of librarians could be attributed to many causes, but the most likely cause is undoubtedly technological advances as online cataloging became easier and more efficient.

Catalog, along with ACRL (Association of College and Research Libraries) and LOC (Library of Congress) were mentioned three times. One could hypothesize that ACRL would not be mentioned by librarians in public or grade school libraries, but this is only an assumption based on the small, specific pool of informants. Bibliographic Instruction/Services, Boolean, and Dewey were mentioned twice. Boolean, referring in this case to the AND/OR/NOT operators that are used in online research, technically exists in fields outside of library science. For example, in computer science a Boolean operator maintains the AND/OR/NOT format, but where in library science these Boolean operators would condense a search to a more specific text, in computer science they result in either a True or False output. Though both instances of the Boolean operator are used almost exclusively online, the difference in usage is an interesting divergence. The term takes its name from George Boole, an English mathematician in the 19th century, but it wasn't until Claude Shannon introduced the operators to computer science 70 years after Boole's death that they became a common occurrence in the field (Barnett 2-3). However, though Boole was a mathematician, his main reason for using the operators was the same as modern librarians: to make database searches easier and more effective (Boswell 1). This double usage of the logic operator helps to illustrate how interconnected different folk groups are, and how the librarian field has become increasingly technologically driven.

In addition to the aforementioned terms, OPAC (Online Public Access Catalog), ERM/S(Electronic Resource Management/System), ALA (American Library Association), and MARC (Machine Readable Cataloging) were all mentioned twice as well. Given the academic nature of the informants' occupations, accuracy about terminology is necessary; therefore, not much variation was expected. However, variation did occur within this list as one informant added system to ERM while one did not. Furthermore, MLA was mentioned once in a context of the Missouri Library Association as that informant was a previous president of said association. One could posit that MLA would likely refer to the Modern Language Association to other informants; however, it was not mentioned in other interviews and is therefore simply a theory.

With these responses in mind, one can now examine the functions they serve for librarians. One point of interest was the many acronyms and initialisms that were mentioned. Of the 51 responses gathered, 30 were acronyms of some kind. The acronymization of librarians' occupational jargon could serve multiple purposes. One such purpose is that it is simply faster and easier to say. This does come with the danger of forgetting what the expanded version of the acronym is, as we have seen happen with MOBIUS. Another effect of acronymization, likely an unwanted effect, is confusion amongst students and library patrons. Many of these acronyms in their expanded form are comprehensible and one can at least garner a guess at what the jargon is referring to; however, once that jargon enters acronym form, it is more difficult to ascertain what the acronym is referring to. Given that all the informants mentioned that a librarian's main goal is to provide easy access to information for all patrons, one can assume that causing confusion amongst those patrons by using acronyms is unintentional.

Another function of the jargon could be to determine who is new to librarianship and who is perhaps more experienced. When asked how they determine this fact, the respondents' answers varied from vocational awe, appearance, and attempting to transpose classroom teaching directly onto work practices and pedagogies, but the most mentioned method of determining experience was the librarian's knowledge of the jargon.[5] Four informants answered that a librarian who does not understand the terminology, has to ask many questions about said terminology, and is hindered in helping students by their difficulties in navigating the jargon is a clear indication that they are relatively new to the profession. As one can see, the informants' responses about occupational jargon knowledge indicating

experience concur with the conclusions drawn by the aforementioned researchers. While Kenneth Kolb studied counselors, collegiate level librarians also seem to use knowledge of occupational jargon as a signifier of maturity in librarianship. Furthermore, as Alicia Kubas and Jenny McBurney found, the fieldwork responses agree that the more questions, time, and research a librarian undertakes, the more educated they will be about occupational jargon.

Since comprehension of occupational jargon can be assumed to function in a similar role as other folk groups, one cannot rule it out completely as a method of defining the librarian folk group. However, while the previous data is compelling, the responses listed above were only 10 of 51 responses gathered, with 41 responses only occurring once. While the definitions of folk groups will always be a bit flexible, lest we fall under the bright lines problem, this much variation in responses could cause that haziness to turn to intangibility. Given the wide range of answers and the lack of the border patrolling function, occupational jargon as an identifier should warrant closer investigation. Furthermore, the other usual methods of definition for folk groups, such as age, gender, shared experiences, practices, or location, also did not produce much overlap. For these reasons, one can assume that there is another method of defining the librarian folk group that produces more tangible evidence than the occupational jargon.

This brings us to the one thread that remained constant throughout each interview. This response was mentioned at different times in the interviews, sometimes when asked to define a librarian, sometimes when asked to list a shared belief of the folk group, and sometimes when asked what the most important part of librarianship was. Quotes from each of the interviewees have been included below documenting their responses:

- "Someone who works to provide access and information to all kinds of resources to everyone."
- "People who like to help. There's a lot of help-oriented people, and they really like to reach out, they really like to be the source of information, they really help guide people or help them learn in their own right."
- "An eagerness to assist people, to help people access information that they need. Respecting the value of information to any one individual....Respecting the importance of access."
- "Just a willingness to help people find information or help them to learn about using information, whether that's directly finding a resource for

somebody or instructing some people in the process of finding information...transmitting information skills in some form or another."

- "Five Laws of Library Science: Books are for use...every user his book, every book its user, save the readers' time, and the library is a growing organism."
- "...providing resources to whoever their constituents are and whoever their users are. And so it's about providing them and also helping them figure out how to use those resources."
- "Someone who works to provide access and information to all kinds of resources to everyone."

As one can deduce, every informant responded that a core, shared belief of librarianship was to connect users with needed, accessible information. The fact that this thread of commonality appeared in each interview is statistically significant. No other response so similarly worded appeared in every interview. As librarians become harder to define, at both an individual level and a folk group level, this similarity could be the boundary that binds librarians together. An argument could be made that if one simply works inside a library then one is a librarian. However, several informants mentioned that there were plenty of employees inside their respective libraries that would not consider themselves librarians. In that case, perhaps one could make the point that if one's official title contains the word librarian, that person belongs to the folk group. Yet several informants' titles did not contain 'librarian'; furthermore, some informants were not technically considered a librarian anymore, as their duties fell more into the realm of outreach or education. However, after giving their definition of a librarian, they agreed that they would prescribe themselves and their goals in the workplace to that description.

As stated earlier, the purpose of this paper was to attempt to determine if occupational jargon could be utilized as an identifier of the librarian folk group. Perhaps the terminology could be, as it does allow for librarians to determine who is new and who has experience. It also created a boundary between the folk group and the patrons as the jargon has proven difficult to understand for many library goers. Though, with this new information about providing access, one must consider both the positive purposes the occupational jargon provides and the stumbling block it creates on the way to achieving that goal. One could assume that this duality in function creates ambivalence amongst librarians as their jargon can both set them apart from patrons and other faculty, yet it can also be detrimental to their goals in the

workplace. Occupational jargon is, of course, not the only reason that college students experience difficulty when approaching their library. However, the other prospective causes of this strain, such as the stereotypical depiction of libraries and librarians or the degree of separation that a library has from its school, are the perceptions of the librarian folk group rather than their actual lore and therefore are not investigated further in this study.

In the changing landscape of academia and librarianship, it becomes increasingly difficult to draw a clear line between librarians and non-librarians, yet folklore advises us to listen to the folk group and believe them when they tell us who they are. Therefore, if the title, age, gender, location, practices, shared experiences, and perhaps even jargon do not produce much overlap to aid in defining the librarian folk group, one must consider the implications created by the shared belief of access to information, for each informant, regardless of their technical title or duties, considered themselves a librarian because of their belief in intellectual freedom and the ability to gain knowledge.

Notes

1. Several of the opinions and beliefs stated within this article contain discriminatory ideologies that I do not prescribe to. This article is included to give a background on the history of folklore which, like the history of many fields of study, will include harmful language or insinuations. This note is created to provide a trigger warning and an explanation for its inclusion. To pretend that the harmful behavior of past folklorists did not happen would be to belittle the pain caused by that behavior; therefore, one can disagree with the attitudes held by the past folklorists and still utilize their articles to provide historical context.

2. See note one.

3. Other position titles: Professor of an information research class, member of Faculty Senate, member of Office of Student Research, Manager of MakerSpace and DigitalU Crew, Professor, Chair of Learning Resources Committee, Professional Development and Outreach

4. The comprehensive list of jargon that was collected during the interviewing process is attached below.

Occupational Jargon	**Number of Responses**
MOBIUS*(One respondent gave the elongated version)	4
Catalog/card catalog/online catalog/descriptive catalog	3
ACRL: Association of College and Research Libraries	3
LOC: Library of Congress	3
Bibliographic Instruction (Bibliographic Services)	2
OPAC: Online Public Access Catalog	2
ERM (ERMS): Electronic Resource Managing (System)	2
Boolean	2
ALA: American Library Association	2
MARC: Machine Readable Cataloging	2
Dewey	2
Benders	1
Terms Change	1
Retrospective Conversion	1
LMS: Learning Management System	1
*Missouri Online Biographic Info User System	1
TS: Tech Services	1
Holdings	1
LCSH: Library of Congress Subject Headings	1
Deselection	1
LOEX: Library Oriented Exchange	1
OCLCA: Ohio College Learning Center Association	1
OCLC: Online Computer Library Center	1
ITS: Information Technology Services	1
Collection	1
Continuations	1
AACR2R: Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules	1

RDA: Resource Description and Access	1
Running title	1
Periodical	1
XML Standard: The Extensible Markup Language	1
PPM: Parallel Particle Mesh	1
DACS: Describing Archives: A Content Standard	1
EAD: Encoded Archival Descriptions	1
FRBR	1
Flyleaf	1
Gutter	1
Front/back matter	1
PALS (PALS-C): Project for Automated Library Services	1
EBSCO: Elton B. Stephens Company	1
CD-ROM: Compact Disc Read-Only Memory	1
Truck	1
Header	1
IMS: Information and Monitoring Services	1
Interlibrary Loan	1
MLA: *In the context in which this answer was given, it stood for Missouri Library Association	1
ARP: Automatic Release Plans	1
COA: Council On Accreditation	1
RBMS: Rare Books and Manuscripts	1
FOLIO: The Future of Libraries is Open	1
Innovative Interfaces	1

5. The comprehensive list of responses about how to differentiate between new and experienced librarians is attached below.

How to tell who is new or experienced	**Number of Responses**
Not understanding lingo	4
Has more questions	3

Approach with a vocational awe and gumption	3
Appearance	2
Not understanding databases/cataloging	2
Take learning from classes straight to the field	2

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Folklore in Mathematics

Rosemarie Carter

Mathematicians are not often thought of as a folk group. On the surface, the factors that unite them are simply their academic focus and the proximity that results from it. These do not inherently mean that mathematicians would display common behaviors and ways of being outside of academic settings, but in my experience, they do. The individuals I interviewed touched on clothing ways, in-group identity, and math as a language and a way of thinking.

The only academic source I was able to find that related to this topic was a biography of the famous mathematician, Paul Erdos. It contains valuable quotes and stories from people in the field, but, unsurprisingly, the book is mostly focused on Erdos's life. Since mathematicians seem to be overlooked as a folk group, finding relevant academic sources was extremely difficult. There is likely a lot of relevant information hidden within biographies; due to the time constraints of this project, most of my focus is directed on information from the interviews I conducted.

This study was limited by the number of interviewees, all of which were academics from the Midwest. Given more time and resources, I would have liked to expand my informant pool to include professors and students from various Universities in the USA and Canada.

I conducted a total of three interviews, two with Truman faculty, and one with an undergraduate student. Each interview was one-on-one, recorded as audio, and lasted between 40 minutes and an hour. The interviewees were Dr. Donald Bindner, Dr. Pamela Ryan, and Lilly (name changed by request). Dr. Donald Bindner has been a professor at Truman State University for 25 years. He received an undergraduate degree in mathematics at Truman State and his Ph.D. from the University of Georgia. Dr. Pamela Ryan received her undergraduate degree in mathematics at South Dakota State University, worked as a programmer for the US Army for 6 years, and then went back to graduate school. She received her Ph.D. in Boolean algebra from Iowa State University. She taught at Drury University for 4 years and at Truman State University for 22 years. Lilly is a second-year undergraduate math student at Truman State University.

One of the most prominent folk group behaviors my informants mentioned was the way mathematicians dress. All of them shared the notion that mathematicians were less likely to put effort into their appearance, often wearing loose-fitting and practical clothing. Dr. Pamela Ryan remarked that "You go into math if you don't care

about your appearance." She recalled seeing one of her colleagues go into his office wearing sweat shorts and a t-shirt and he said, "I can't wait till the semester's over so I can quit dressing up for school!" When I asked how she would describe the way mathematicians dress, Dr. Ryan said "Just very casually. Jeans are dressed up to most of us."

This sentiment was echoed by Lilly, a sophomore math student at Truman. She described the typical clothing worn by mathematicians as "comfortable, awkward, and ill-fitting." She mentioned professors wearing clothes that didn't fit, and in one case, wearing a variation of the same outfit every single day. Lilly then recalled an anecdote about the well-known and respected mathematician Von Neumann she had read recently. Allegedly, "he was unusually well dressed and well groomed for a mathematician. His colleagues would say things like 'Why don't you get some chalk dust on your clothes so you look like the rest of us?'" This sort of banter reinforces the image of casual dress as an in-group behavior. Note that this anecdote also connects chalk and being chalky to group identity. This will be discussed in greater detail later.

Jeans as dress clothes seem to be common among undergraduate math students as well. When asked about proper attire for the Missouri Collegiate Mathematics Competition (MCMC), Dr. Tony Vazzana (The Truman State Faculty sponsor for MCMC) stated in an email that "The answer is, whatever you are comfortable in. There is a banquet on Friday night, but this is a math conference, and lots of people will just be wearing t-shirts and jeans." When I asked Lilly whether this was the case last year, she said she didn't remember what other people wore. Then she laughed and said, "I can testify that I was in track pants and a sweater."

This practice of paying little attention to physical appearance was discussed most often regarding male mathematicians. My third informant, Dr. Don Bindner, said that though dressing poorly was far from universal, people would let them get away with it because of their occupation. "Men get away with it," Dr. Ryan told me bluntly. "I was told you have to dress a little bit nicer because women faculty aren't taken as seriously as men." This gender divide was also noted by Lilly. She told me that "The female graduate students will dress really nicely to teach, and the male graduate students don't necessarily dress up." Lilly hypothesized that this divide had to do with a combination of respect and confidence. She mentioned a very skilled and confident female graduate student that was very casual with her students. "She showed up in jeans and a t-shirt and sat on the desk and was casual because, by virtue of being good at what she did, was able to get that respect that the male graduate students got by virtue of being male graduate students." Lilly also pointed out that she doesn't see the same divide among undergraduate math students but was unsure whether that was a genuine change or just a result of lower expectations for college kids.

My informants had plenty to say about clothing habits but their input on jargon subverted my expectations. They were all familiar with the use of the word "orthogonal" instead of "perpendicular" in upper-level math as well as the pronunciation of the Greek letter phi as "fee." Dr. Bindner joked that they did this because "you couldn't have some random person off the street walking in and understanding math." Despite their recognition of my examples, they had few examples of their own. Dr. Ryan mentioned the frequent use of Greek letters and conventions that assign those letters meanings but had few spoken-word examples. One informant had a lot to say about why there seems to be a lack of math jargon. Lilly said that math is "a way to conceptualize the world" and as a result, "Mathematicians definitely talk to each other differently." She explains that difference as something other than exclusionary language, though. "There's not a lot of exclusionary jargon but like exclusionary concepts. Explanations and metaphors and so forth." Lilly then explained to me that she will use advanced math concepts to describe everyday events when talking to other mathematicians. For example, she might "explain a social situation as a matrix game." Dr. Ryan said that the best example she could think of was how her fellow graduate students would toss around terms like Fermat's Last Theorem (a well-known, recently solved conjecture) as if everyone knew what it was. There are enough subject-exclusive concepts that using additional jargon would serve little purpose.

These concepts are talked about with a lot of enthusiasm among mathematicians. Dr. Ryan mentioned that she was in graduate school when Fermat's Last Theorem was finally proven. She described the reaction from those around her as "the nerdiest thing ever." Everyone was incredibly excited and "wondering what was going to fall next." Toward the end of our discussion, she noted that "mathematicians really think their subject is beautiful." This idea of math as beautiful and even artistic is widespread among those who study it.

G. H. Hardy, an English mathematician known for achievements in number theory and mathematical analysis, expressed this appreciation well:

> The mathematician's patterns, like the painter's or the poet's, must be beautiful; the ideas, like the colours or the words, must fit together in a harmonious way. Beauty is the first test: there is no permanent place in the world for ugly mathematics... It may be very hard to define mathematical beauty, but that is just as true of beauty of any kind--we may not know quite what we mean by a beautiful poem, but that does not prevent us from recognizing one when we read it. (Hoffman)

Lilly echoed this sentiment when I asked her why she likes doing math proofs. Her response was more straightforward, though. "It's pretty. I like it because it's pretty. It's pretty, it's fun, and the symbols look nice."

Mathematicians admire the beauty of the subject, and Paul Erdos is one of the most frequently cited enthusiasts. Recognized as one of the most prolific mathematicians of all time, Erdos wrote around 1,500 mathematical articles and directly collaborated with over 500 mathematicians (Hoffman). As a result, many mathematicians have something they call an "Erdos number." Erdos has an Erdos number of 0, his direct collaborators have an Erdos number of 1, their direct collaborators have Erdos number 2, and so on. Dr. Don Bindner said "I first heard about Erdos numbers when I was in college, and they were described to me as this cult of people who follow this mathematician. I didn't know anything about Erdos back then." He mentioned that his peers discovered their professor had an Erdos number and found the idea hysterically funny. "We laughed and laughed. We couldn't believe people kept track of such a thing—and in truth, almost everybody who ends up professionally in the field probably goes to the website and figures out their Erdos number...I would say most of us know our Erdos number." The three people I interviewed immediately recognized the term. There were also a few professors I was unable to have a sit-down interview with who I'd asked about Erdos numbers. They all were able to tell me their numbers immediately. It appears to be a well-known concept among published mathematicians.

Paul Erdos was a very famous and very quirky mathematician. From the way he is discussed, one could compare him to a sort of folk hero. One of my informants was actually able to meet Erdos due to his frequent visits to the University of Georgia. Dr. Bindner said, "It was always a high-energy thing when Erdos would come to visit." He recalled that Erdos struck him as "very frail but likable" and would only talk about mathematics. If you started talking to Erdos about something that wasn't math, he would just leave the conversation. Dr. Bindner continued on, explaining how "the number theorists in particular often invited him out, and then catered to him because he had, you know, dietary preferences and things like that." When I asked for elaboration here, Bindner recalled that

> He was very systematic about what he ate. I can remember things like… he never made coffee. I suppose he must have drank coffee… I remember that they specifically went to get food that he ate. I remember stories like him being in a restaurant at one point. There was nobody to butter his bread, so he buttered it himself and it turned out it wasn't that hard after all. He'd just never been bothered to butter his own bread before he got into that situation where there wasn't somebody to do it for him.

When I asked Lilly what came to mind when I said "Paul Erdos" she replied:

> Homeless, did amphetamines—though self-described not an addict, couldn't butter his own bread, couldn't brew his own coffee, one of the

> most prolific mathematicians of all time. His name appears right now 33 times on Wikipedia's list of unsolved conjectures. He would just kinda come up with stuff and say 'I think that's probably true'… He just had this incredible mathematical instinct.

She told me that he didn't have a job or a home and was just a wandering mathematician. "Other people would take care of him in exchange for math." Lilly also echoed Bindner's claim, stating "He wasn't interested in food or sex or human companionship or like any typical human things. He just wanted to talk to people about math. That was what he wanted to do."

Erdos wasn't the only quirky, extremely math-focused person my informants mentioned. Lilly told me a story about a mathematician and physicist from the NSA she'd heard.

> I was talking to a friend who used to work at the NSA, and he said that in the first weeks that he worked at the NSA, one day he walked into the men's room and there was a man standing there in a full suit and wingtips and boxer shorts. He went back to his desk and asked his co-worker 'what's going on in there? There's a guy without pants on and the guy said, 'Oh that's Dr. Shaker!' So, this guy, Dr. Richard Shaker, went by Dick, was a brilliant physicist and/or mathematician who worked at the NSA. Some days he would leave the house so engrossed in a problem that he would forget to wear pants to work. He would show up at the gate to do his security clearance, and they'd say 'Uh, Dr. Shaker, you forgot your pants again' and he'd have to call his wife to bring him pants.

Dr. Ryan told me a story about another intensely invested math academic, her logic professor Dr. Pigozzi. According to Ryan, Pigozzi was a graduate student at Berkeley in the 1950s and 60s.

> There were a lot of demonstrations there because of the Vietnam War. Often the police would come and throw tear gas to break up the demonstrations, and he said he was finishing up his Ph.D. at that time, and he just wanted to be done so badly. So, he was always in the library, and it got to the point that, when they threw the tear gas, all the librarians would leave and tell him, 'Just lock up when you leave.' He apparently had a high tolerance for that.

She also noted that, though Pigozzi was a brilliant man, he would often make arithmetic mistakes. She said this isn't universal but also not uncommon among upper-level mathematicians. "Being good at arithmetic and being good at proofs are different skills."

The last quirky mathematician story I was able to collect was about a professor at Iowa State, Dr. Alexander Abian. He was one of Ryan's professors during graduate school and was apparently very vocal about his view that we should blow up the moon. She said he thought we should "take pieces of the moon and pad it on the earth so we could change the earth's axis so it would be spring all over earth, all year round." I asked how vocal he was about this belief, and she said, "he voiced it enough that he showed up in The Enquirer and magazines like that." She said he "was the most unique person" she'd had as a professor.

These mathematicians are the exception, not the rule, but the stories may have a purpose. As Bindner said regarding informal dress, "People would let them get away with it because of their occupation." The same may hold true for eccentric behavior. By acknowledging and sharing stories of brilliant and quirky mathematicians, their quirks are framed as a fundamental and excusable part of who they are. Erdos allegedly went years without buttering his own bread or brewing his own coffee and that was fine because he was a mathematical genius. An important note is that both stories that Lilly told me had been told to her by professors. This suggests that beyond just being funny stories, they may serve to communicate the idea that "this is how we are" to aspiring upper-level mathematicians.

The people I spoke to expressed not only an appreciation for their field but also a confidence that arises from being part of it. Dr. Bindner said that there is confidence that comes from the difficulty of the subject and that this leads mathematicians to come off as less pretentious. "The stuff we do is hard," he told me, continuing on to note that "everybody agrees that the stuff we do is hard in every discipline and so there's a kind of puffing up that I think is less common among mathematicians. They tend to be a little bit more genuine." Lilly mentioned this confidence as well. She told me that the more confident someone was with math, the more likely they seemed to be to dress and act very casually; all my informants agreed that mathematicians tend to be very informal in their interactions.

Beyond informality and confidence, my informants noted one more key characteristic of mathematicians. Dr. Ryan told me, "We see ourselves—whether or not this is true—as very rational and oriented towards solving problems." Lilly noted this too, saying, "there is an openness to exploration of a question. Part of that is problem-solving. The desire to look at problems, to solve problems, to create new problems. Mental exercises, right?" She told me that this extends far beyond math itself, with many of her professors doing puzzle-like activities in their free time. One of her professors has a shelf of "things to solve and things to break apart:" Rubik's cubes, geometry puzzles, puzzle boxes, and locks to pick. Another of her professors is a big fan of "Cryptic Crosswords," an especially complicated kind of crossword puzzle. Dr. Ryan mentioned that she makes a conscious effort to take the optimal path when walking somewhere. She'll even modify her walking routes to get to exactly

a mile. Bindner said that he optimizes a lot in his daily life, even optimizing the way he orders fast food.

When I asked my informants about the attitudes they saw towards other disciplines, they agreed that the humanities and non-math stem subjects were perceived as less rigorous. Dr. Ryan saw a certain level of frustration towards those in the humanities from her colleagues. She said that, because mathematicians see themselves as very rational and problem-solving oriented, they were bothered by people who weren't as efficient. She did note that she perceives this attitude as far less hostile at Truman and hypothesizes that this is because it's a liberal arts school.

Dr. Ryan said the general attitude she saw within STEM was that Chemistry and Biology were seen as "taking the easy way out." This wasn't unique to the sciences. "Even statistics was… well… if you can't do math…" Lilly saw a similar attitude, noting "there's a lot of statistics and accounting slander because, like, that's where people go when they think math is too hard. That's where the math dropouts go." Bindner noted that he liked subjects less as they got further away from math but has grown to appreciate other subjects after befriending those that study them. "I did kind of look down on biologists." He told me. "I didn't really learn to appreciate biology until I had a dance partner who was a biology faculty member for a while…I used to find the whole discipline kind of messy and unsatisfying but when I watched her do the discipline, I recognized it as being messy but I recognized it as being very very difficult because of the messiness." The presence of an in-group identity can lead to bias against other groups, but in this case, it is mitigated by mingling with other disciplines.

Though far from universal among mathematicians, the love of chalk and chalkboards is an important piece of field-specific lore. Lilly said that "Everybody is covered in chalk… It's part of the look." Violette Hall, the campus building that holds most math classes at Truman State, is one of the few buildings that still has chalkboards. According to Dr. Bindner, "When they remodeled Violette Hall 25 years ago, they asked the mathematicians 'What do you want for classroom technology' and they said, 'We want slate chalkboards.' That's the only thing they asked for that I know of." They didn't end up getting slate chalkboards, but at least they succeeded in keeping the regular chalkboards in the classroom.

Lilly has seen a lot of enthusiasm around chalk from the faculty. "The professors love it. Some of them are really into their Hagoromo and always bring their good chalk to class. Sometimes in a gum wrapper if you're Tony Vazzana." Hagoromo Fulltouch chalk is a specific brand of chalk that is said to write smoother and erase cleaner. Even Bindner, who prefers whiteboards, is very aware of Hagoromo,"if I'm going to use chalk, I like to steal my friends' good chalk."

Hagoromo Fulltouch chalk was first produced in Japan, and when the company went out of business, mathematicians began to hoard it. Some people, like Brian Conrad of Stanford, became chalk dealers. "I would reach into my cupboard in my

office and pull out another box and we'd do the deal in my office" (Gopal). Hagoromo is now being produced in Korea, and the enthusiasm for it remains. According to Wei Ho, a math professor at the University of Michigan, "Hagoromo definitely has a cult following, but that cult might be nearly all mathematicians at this point. So it's a pretty big cult" (Gopal). Lilly has seen this in action when she collaborates with other students. "If I go to work on math with somebody else and they pick up the chalk from the blackboard I say, 'Hang on I have Hagoromo.' They put their chalk down and say 'Oh you've got Hagoromo' and wait for that. They know." When Bindner mentioned his preference for colorful dry-erase markers, I mentioned that Hagoromo now comes in color. His response was very enthusiastic: "Oh, Hagoromo chalk comes in color? I might be willing to buy that. I'll steal my friends' white chalk, but I might be willing to buy my own colored chalk. That would be amazing." While he was very adamant about his personal neutrality to chalk, he did remark "There will always be somebody who likes their chalk and would like to keep their chalk I think."

Mathematicians exhibit many behaviors associated with folk groups. Attachment to chalk and casual clothing ways were the two behaviors I was able to collect the most information on, and there were other topics not discussed in this paper that would benefit from further research. These include dividing lines within the academic math world, most notably pure math vs applied math. There are plenty of subgroups to be explored, but ultimately the math community is just that: a community.

At the core of all these quirks and identities is a profound appreciation for math: as a subject, a language, a way of thinking, and as something that brings people together. As Lilly said, "I love everybody I am surrounded by. They're great people. They love math and they love people who love math."

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A Community Covered in Dirt:AFolkloristic Analysis of the SXS Community

Emma Berens

Introduction

SXS (side-by-side) racing (a type of UTV or utility terrain vehicle), is a widely enjoyed sport within the off-roading family. The term "SXS" refers to an off-road vehicle with at least two seats stationed side by side and enclosed within a roll cage. SXS driving is something that can be enjoyed in both a causal or professional manner. I decided to dive into the folklore of this community because of my connections to racers and people who make their living in the world of SXS's. There are many types of SXS races and many brands and models of SXS's used to race. Similar to NASCAR or other racing groups there are many levels of SXS racing and the network of racers, builders, social media influencers, many off-road parks and more make this activity well-structured and connected through many states. This research has introduced me to a deeper understanding of the community surrounding this exciting group.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Review of Literature

Because there are not many scholarly sources reporting the folklore of the SXS racing community, I had to get creative. I used scholarly articles to build background information and set the stage for the great deal of information I acquired from my informants. As previously mentioned, SXS racing can be related to other racing groups, but what differentiates SXS racing from others? UTV racing is a type of off-road racing that takes place across different terrains including mud, rocks, forests, and

sand.[1] SXS's can be raced both casually and professionally and it is typically for racers to go on rides with other racers or groups of other SXS owners. Different types of SXSs can be used for different purposes. Generally, Sport UTVs are used for racing because they are the fastest and have the best handling.[2] They typically seat two people. There are also Crew Cab UTVs which are the ones you normally see people using for work like construction. They generally fit four to six people and are bigger with cargo space. The fun thing about SXS racing is that anyone can do it. There are even Youth UTVs. However, I do know of a 9-year-old boy who races a Sport UTV SXS that was modified to fit his body.

Figure 3

There are many safety features on SXSs that are required for professional racing. The roll cage is one of the most important safety features for people doing off-roading. It is a protective frame that covers the cabin of the SXS. It can restrict the amount of harm done to the driver and passengers if the SXS rolls.[2] John Weule, who I interviewed, owns Weule Welding and Fabrication (WWF). At WWF, John's specialty is his cages. It is known that if you have a Weule Built SXS your cage will protect you from just about anything. Obviously, there are some instances where almost nothing can protect you from a serious roll or flip. Some other important equipment it is important to have are doors, specifically doors that lock or fasten and harnesses.[2]

Just like in other racing a harness keeps you in your seat even if the rig is upside-down. In case of an accident where the driver is injured or unconscious the vehicles ignition must be accessible from inside and outside so that the rig can be shut off.[3]

There is some controversy whether off-road racing is harmful to the environment. I will cover this more in my interviews, but what I found was that a lot of riders were not even aware of the controversy and the ones that knew disagreed fully. David Newsome wrote a paper about policy development and what is needed in response to off-roading in protected areas. His perspective is that people who participate in these kinds of activities won't be focused on the environment where the events are taking place, but on the audacious and risky event itself.[4] Newsome says

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[1] Burgess, Michael Burgess. "What Is UTV Racing?" *Red Bull*, Red Bull, 16 Feb. 2023, www.redbull.com/us-en/utv-racing-guide.

[2]Burgess. "What Is UTV Racing?"

[3]Burgess. "What Is UTV Racing?"

[4]Newsome, David. "Appropriate Policy Development and Research Needs in Response to Adventure Racing in Protected Areas Volume 171, Pages 259-269." Mar. 2014, Accessed 22 Feb. 2024.

"Such a philosophical standpoint and competitive attitude towards the environment is therefore likely to be sub-optimal in terms of such visitors appreciating the natural values and conservation function of a protected area."[5] The idea is that racers and spectators will not take care of the areas they are having these events in because they are so focused on the tasks of the event itself. Personally, I do not agree and the racers I interviewed do not either. Newsome goes on to say that it is so important to take care of the environment so that they can be continued to be used for many activities and that there should be more restrictions or an approval process for area recreational use.

These issues go back more than 50 years. Off-roading is not a new thing. There have been many updates and modifications to courses and vehicles, but the basic idea is still the same and there is still controversy over environmental harm. Luter J Carter's paper from 1974, *Off-Road Vehicles: A Compromise Plan for the California Desert*, discusses the details of plans that were put in place by the Federal Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and their philosophies remain today. Off-road vehicles (ORV) were able to freely use the land, but in September of 1972 the BLM started requiring special permits to use the land for competitive events.[4] Carter writes, "ORV interim management plan promulgated by the BLM on 1 November, however is supposed to limit the use of ORV's significantly, with only about one-eighth of the BLM lands not to be open to unrestricted use."[6] However, this plan was questioned by environmentalists wondering if it was practicable to enforce this new plan.[7] In Carter's paper, it is said that BLM spokespeople say that 11 million Southern Californians view the desert as "their own backyard". This is probably still true today. Although, this does not account for the visitors that come for the events.

Recently, a group of friends traveled to California along with hundreds of people to compete at King of Hammers. King of Hammers is a competition that combines desert racing and rock climbing in the California desert, specifically Means Dry Lake at Johnson Valley. We know that the conceptions Carter writes about have lasted to this day. Pieter O'Leary wrote a similar paper in 2012 called *A Walk in the Park: A Legal Overview of California's State and Federal Parks and the Laws Governing Their Use and Enjoyment.* This paper is similar to Carter's in the way that they both discuss the way off-roading overlaps with the environment. They also both cover the particulars of what was being done to protect the environment at the time the papers were written. The most important thing I got out of this paper was what O'Leary says about the same concepts Carter wrote. "The use of motor vehicles on lands in the SVRA is confined to areas and routes designated for that purpose. Various issues

[5]Newsome. "Appropriate Policy Development"
[6]Luther J. Carter, Off-Road Vehicles: A Compromise Plan for the California Desert. *Science* 183,396-399 (1974). DOI:10.1126/science.183.4123.396
[7]Luther. Off-Road Vehicles

related to the increasing popularity of OHV (Off-Highway Motor Vehicle) use in California, including mounting pressure to increase SVRA (State Vehicular Recreation Areas) acreage conflicts with environmental and wildlife concerns."[8] The reason I disagree with what is said about off-roading harming the environment is because I know that when my group races or rides it is off-road parks designated for those activities. However, since SXS racers are known to travel in large groups and these events are normally very large and sometimes include overnight stays in parks, the larger question might be how the people themselves are disturbing the environment.

As stated earlier there are many features in a SXS to keep riders safe. I have seen a lot of flipped SXSs and even some scary accidents. I remember at an event in the summer of 2023 during a knockout racer a driver was headed for the turn around (this included making a sharp turn around a tall stack of large tires), when he hit a jump that sent his rig into the air where he landed on the top of the stack of tires for a few seconds upside-down before falling to the ground. Thankfully he was okay, but it was scary to watch. If he had not had the correct equipment, his accident could have been much worse.

A forensic analysis done by a group of engineers showed what can happen if a UTV rolls or flips. I focused on one particular case in general where a UTV rolled after crossing a water bar. A water bar is a transverse mound of dirt that diverts water from the road. In this case the UTV was traveling slightly downhill 29-34 mph. The cage collapsed, the plastics had scratches and dents, and the bumper had significant damage. The driver also partially ejected, hitting their head on the ground causing a paralyzing spinal cord injury. Their left arm and leg were pinned under the driver's side at rest resulting in more injuries.[9] This is why a quality built SXS and protective gear is so important. As mentioned earlier, John Weule creates unique builds that help protect his customers. By having a sturdy cage, a lot of injury and even SXS damage can be prevented. All racers double-check their equipment, and most will admit that if they do not feel comfortable working on something they outsource to someone who understands better. Without a sound cage and quality built SXS, racers and trail riders would not be able to accomplish some of the crazy feats they have.

Figure 4

All this information is important to understand the SXS

[8]O'LEARY, PIETER M. "A Walk in the Park: A Legal Overview of California's State and Federal Parks and the Laws Governing Their Use and Enjoyment." Natural Resources Journal, vol. 52, no. 1, 2012, pp. 237–63. JSTOR, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24889604. Accessed 23 Feb. 2024.

[9]Jacobson, O., S. A. Batzer, M. Kittel, J. A. Grantham, G. J. Barbera, and A. Molitoris. "Forensic Engineering Analysis of Failed UTV Roll Cages". Journal of the National Academy of Forensic Engineers, vol. 33, no. 1, Jan. 2016, doi:10.51501/jotnafe.v33i1.30.

community, their behaviors and values. It also stands to show that much more goes into SXS racing than just racing. Unlike NASCAR drivers, who never work on their cars themselves, most SXS do all their own work or outsource to fellow racers. Lots of work goes into keeping riders and racers safe and making sure events are enjoyable to everyone. I was able to interview a good amount of people, some of which I have personal connections with. This was important to me because the SXS community is not made up solely of a fandom. While there are many fans of racing and specific racers themselves, the majority of the community is made up of participants. This just goes to show that anyone can join in on the fun.

Methodology

Because it was hard to find scholarly sources on the actual folklore of SXS racing, I had to rely heavily on my informants to get more information about the community. I am so grateful for this experience to learn more about a group I am involved in. I had a few in person interviews and because of conflicting schedules and distance some phone interviews. I also attended an event where I was able to watch races, see people I have met at other events, and make new connections. At these events everyone works together to make things work smoothly.

Figure 5

Since this most recent event was put on by our friends, my friends, boyfriend and I were put to work. The event was the first ever Jim Trenary Motorsports Team Knockout Races at the Lincoln County Fairgrounds in Tory, Missouri. For me the weekend started on Friday buying supplies for the race the next day. This included food, drinks, sunscreen, wet wipes, etc. Others oversaw the sign-up forms, waivers, and last-minute fixes on the racing. On race day I made food and packed bags and coolers while the boys loaded up the SXSs on multiple trailers then we headed to the fairgrounds. I set up food, handed out staff sweatshirts, and did whatever I could. Others oversaw wetting down the track, setting up the sign-up table, and other organizational tasks. Once people started showing up, we hung out and looked at all the bikes coming to race. Once all the teams signed up there was a drivers' meeting while staff made the bracket. Then it was time for the race. I got to watch an amazing

Figure 6

race and make great connections with the other staff and some racers. After the race we cleaned up, loaded up, and celebrated a successful event with our friends.

Interviews

I am lucky to have been able to interview some of my close friends and others in our riding group for this project. However, this means I have more information than I could know what to do with. These interviews were a great way for me to see how different the riding/racing experience is for everyone, but also how the community is brought together over a shared interest.

Figure 7

My first interview was with John Weule. Pretty much anyone in the SXS world knows John. I have already spoken about him multiple times in this paper. Like I said, John is the owner of Weule Welding and Fabrication LLC based in Troy, Missouri. He is not only the owner but is also a welder/fabricator. He has a great influence over the community and is extremely popular. Like many others in the SXS community, John is on social media. His Tik Tok page has over fifty thousand followers. John works with others to make unique "Weule Builds" for his clientele. He just recently teamed up with Bryce Sparks, who engraves logos or pictures onto the doors of the bikes. John told me that he first got into SXS racing when a good friend of his invited him to his first race. He said he got first and was immediately hooked. When I asked him how being a part of the SXS community affects his life outside of racing he stated, "I've built a career out of this, so my life is this. SXSs are my life and my customers are my friends." I think this is the case for a lot of racers. They make friends at events and then those friends become their group. Since John has made a career from the SXS world, I asked him how much is actually hands-on work, how much is done by someone else, how often he works on his bike, and what happens if a part breaks or something happens during a race. His response was that "Everything is hands-on. From installing every single nut and bolt to constantly double checking to make sure they don't pop loose from impact all the way to putting your hands on the steering wheel. I work on mine and everyone else I go with before every race. If something breaks, we all jump in and fix it as a team to make sure we get to run and have the most enjoyment."[10]

[10]Weule, John. March 15 2024

My next interview was with Bryce Sparks, or as he is known throughout the SXS community, WhiskeyBiz. Bryce is a social media influencer from Missouri with 1.3 million Tik Tok followers, over three hundred thousand followers on Instagram, and over fourteen thousand subscribers on YouTube. He and his wife make funny videos, and he is famous for his crazy stunts.

I asked Bryce about traveling for races and if people know him when he goes out of town. He said, "I have a pretty good online presence, so I'm pretty well known everywhere we go. Sometimes I'm known more than several states away than I am locally." Bryce and I talked about the controversy that off-roading is a cause for environmental harm, and he notes that "Pound for pound…SXS causes a more positive environmental effect than negative," continuing on that "People such as game wardens, farmers, conservation agents, green energy construction teams, park rangers…all use SXSs daily to complete their tasks." Bryce argues that off-road vehicles allow these officials to do their jobs and take care of the land. Pertaining to how much work he does on his own rigs, Bryce says, "Everyone's situation is different. Personally, I do as much as I have time for and what I'm comfortable with doing. I work on my rigs nearly every day. We bring parts to races, and myself and my friends make our best attempt to repair at the track if necessary."[11] This is something that makes SXS racing attractive to many people. Unlike big race groups like NASCAR, most racers do all their own work. Of course, there are some people that have enough money to get it sent out for all the work they want done. SXS racing is open to so many people. Bryce and his wife have been shooting a tv show that airs soon called Mud Madness. They filmed at races last summer and have done interviews since then. Last summer our group was followed around by a film crew one weekend at Pike's Offroad Park in Bowling Green Missouri. This is a big deal for SXS racing and of course for the Sparks family. Hopefully, this show will generate even more publicity for the sport, and it will continue to grow. As that happens, I'm sure WhiskeyBiz will become more popular and with him other racers will begin to gain a following.

Figure 8

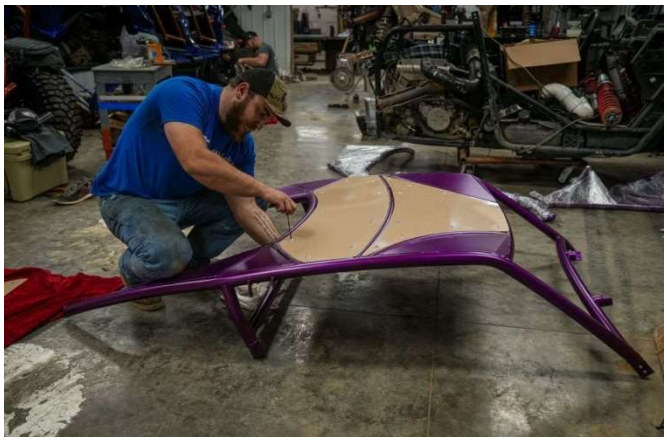

Figure 9

Not everyone makes their living from the SXS community. This is the case for Chad Brunnert. He is a union sheet metal worker for Mechanical Solutions Inc. He

[11]Sparks, Bryce. March 27 2024

also happens to be my boyfriend, which gives me insight as to what it's like for racing to be a hobby. Chad got into SXS racing by hanging out with John Weule. He then started working for John as a shop assistant, working every night after his day job. While Chad might not have as big of a following as John or Bryce. He is known by the same people as a fix-it guy. Chad says that people recognize him from John's TikToks and YouTube videos (a lot of which are skits he participates in at John's shop). He races his own RZR, but is always helping others out with their own before, during, and after races. In fact, even when I travel with him to races, I do not see much of him because of how busy he stays working on everyone's bikes. When asked what a typical race weekend looks like, Chad said this, "We get the bikes ready, load them up, and travel if we have to. Then we got to set up and double check the RZRs. During the races everyone is watching but also running around fixing stuff. It's a lot of work. If stuff breaks, we got to fix it before the next round if you want to be able to ride that weekend. After out-of-town races, we normally go trail riding all night and just hang out before going home the next day." It can be draining working all day then working for John at night, but it gives him an opportunity for more experience when it comes time to ride or race. Chad's exposure does not only come from working for John, like many others he is friends with a lot of the same people he races with. When I asked what the best part of racing is, Chad said, "The adrenaline rush from it is probably the best part of racing." After watching him race, I can definitely say it is exhilarating for not only the racers, but the spectators.[12]

SXS racing is not just a men's activity. My next informant proves that women can be just as good. Tiffany Crawford, known as X3 Tiffany on social media, says she got into SXS racing because her small town growing up did not have much fun to offer outside of off roading. "I always had a need for adrenaline and new experiences. I decided to combine the two and start racing." Tiffany has over twenty thousand followers on TikTok that know her for her SXS content and funny videos (some of which are based around breaking stereotypes of SXS racing being a men's sport). I met Tiffany at the Jim Trenary Knockout Race in March. After talking with her for only a few minutes during the craziness of the race, I knew I needed to interview her. I asked her about some of the specifics of SXS racing. She told me her pre-race ritual is "usually going off by myself, studying the track inside and out and watching other races." She likes the opportunity to map out her line and come up with possible problems or outcomes of the race. This seems to be common with racers as many will walk the course before the race. Tiffany and I talked about the unspoken rules of racing. "Always help fellow racers. All of us started knowing nothing about a buggy or racing or any of this. We never need to forget that we all had to learn." I think this is a great approach to sportsmanship and was parallel with other answers I heard. Tiffany also had an interesting take on the idea that SXS racing or off-roading in general

[12]Brunnert, Chad. March 20, 2024

causes environmental harm. "Off-roading and racing bring revenue to otherwise struggling small towns. Some of the parks I visit avidly rely on the off-roading industry to stay afloat. From riding passes, gas, grocery stores, restaurants, small businesses, etc. It brings people to towns not in the 'must visit' areas, the forgotten towns. As long as people are respectful and clean up after themselves, I disagree." Tiffany's favorite part about racing is "the experiences on and off the track. New people, parks, tracks, obstacles, etc. It's never a dull moment and never the same thing twice."[13]

Another notorious member of the group is Colton Rhodes. He has been into off-roading since he was 6 and got his first four-wheeler; "It escalated from there." Colton's connections shine through in his answers. When asked what some common sayings are in the community Colton's answer was "Anything John Weule says." When I asked him what happens when something breaks during a race he stated, "Thankfully I have my master mechanic Chad Brunnert to mess up, I mean fix everything on my RZR when it's broken. Depending on the kind of race we may or may not have time to make repairs for the next round." The connections and friendships seem to be unending and important in the SXS community. Everyone I spoke to had some variation of the same comment. Everyone helps everyone. No one answered that they did not have connections within the community and no one has friendships in the community that they don't continue off the track.[14]

Figure 10

Another big name in the community is Justin Ball, better known as JBall. Justin is a business owner and content creator based out of Florida. He has forty-five thousand followers on TikTok, twelve thousand followers on Instagram, and over five thousand subscribers on YouTube. JBall is known for his SXS content and his entertaining personality. I got some insight from him about the different types of races. "Bounty hole racing is a deep mud hole. The fastest time across or whoever makes it the furthest wins. Bounty course races consist of obstacles and tend to be harder on your machine. Knockout races are similar to bounty courses, but it's team versus team and whoever loses is knocked out until one team remains." Justin also talked about his love for the community and the friendships he has built. "I always

[13]Crawford, Tiffany. March 25 2024
[14]Rhodes, Colton. April 2 2024

know other people, and everyone normally knows who I am. The best part is the adrenaline and the community!"[15]

Not everyone in the SXS community is a racer. Bryce Werdehausen is a perfect example of someone who contributes to the off-road world without racing. Bryce is the quality coordinator at DooLittle Trailer MFG. A lot of racers have DooLittle trailers, and Bryce and his family are a staple at events. Bryce can often be seen hanging around offering a helping hand. By being around the group Bryce has picked up on a few things. I asked Bryce what some common sayings he hears at races. The two he remembers hearing a lot are "Race your race" and "Drive smart." He also had an opinion on the negative environmental effect of off-roading. "As long as you respect the law and property (like not driving in creeks or tearing up land that isn't marked as trails, I disagree." He says the best part about racing is "the community and the friendships created by going out of town and being able to have a mutual interest." While not everyone who races comes from the same place, the same group, or even the same economic class, racing is something that can connect them.[16]

Dalton and Heather Malone are a couple from Georgia who also travels with the group. While they have not raced, they know the ins and outs of racing just by being around the community, just like Bryce Werdehausen. They shared another type of race that Justin did not mention. "Hill climbs are steep, difficult hills." Racers go up and down these hills as fast as possible competing against each other to have the fastest time. They also had similar answers to everyone else about the community they have built. Heather said, "We have met so many great people. Some from far away and some close to home. We try to get together for dinners or an occasional trip to hangout outside of riding/events." Dalton says his favorite thing about being a part of this community is "The rush, the people, and the environment."[17]

Figure 11

I enjoyed talking to every single one of my informants. Even though I am a part of this community, it was so interesting to learn even more about this group I am a part of and its individuals. Some things that I would do differently if given the chance would be to ask more specific questions. Some of the interviews were hard since they were over the phone so I could not get my question across as clearly as I

[15]Ball, Justin. April 2 2024
[16]Werdehausen, Bryce. March 28 2024
[17]Malone, Dalton and Heather. April 2 2024

would have liked. I also would ask more questions and vary those questions more for the individual. Overall, I feel as if I got high quality, honest information and was able to better understand the lore of the SXS community.

Results

My analysis of these results is that the SXS community is a tight knit group with many connections. Each member I interviewed, no matter how different, shared many of the same goals, behavioral traits, and values. There was a lot of variation of the same answers throughout my interviews, especially about the connections they have made throughout the years. As far as the environmental effect, I went into this research understanding why there is controversy, but after talking to my informants I realized that although there is the possibility of negative effects, as long as racers and spectators respect the land and clean up after themselves there should not be much of a problem. I think it is different now than at the time when my scholarly sources covered this topic. Racers and spectators want to be able to continue racing and watching so they seem to do their best to take care of the areas they use.

Figure 12

I do not feel as though this is the type of community to exclude people. While I understand that folklore is shared within a group, I think that anyone who wants to be a part of this group is welcomed. When I first joined my boyfriend at races and trail rides, I thought I would feel like the odd man out because I had never been involved in anything like it before. I was gladly mistaken. I was immediately accepted. People did their best to explain the specifics of racing to me or explain inside jokes or stories that I may not have understood otherwise. I can see this being the case for others based on my informants' comments about the community and friendships they have made.

Conclusion

The SXS community is a cohesive group that is dedicated to continuing their passion. The friendships and connections made are relationships that last outside of events. If I was able to further my research, I would go to more events and interview as many people as possible. Hopefully in the future there will be more scholarly sources about SXS racing as the sport grows. I do believe these events will become more popular and recognized and we will be hearing more about it in the future.

Photos

Figure 1: John Weule's RZR

Figure 2: examples of racing conditions (desert, forest, mud)

Figure 3: Chad Brunnert's RZR flipped, John Weule and Bryce Sparks pictured helping to flip it back over

Figure 4: left- John Weule crossing the finish line by rolling, right- Jim Trenary Knockout Team Races, racer flips twice before landing and finishing the race

Figure 5: Chad Brunnert and I at the Jim Trenary Team Knockout Races

Figure 6: Chad Brunnert racing in the Jim Trenary Team Knockout Races

Figure 7: John Weule with his newly engraved door featuring a depiction of his girlfriend

Figure 8: Bryce Sparks (WhiskeyBiz) performing stunts

Figure 9: Chad Brunnert working in John Weule's shop

Figure 10: Colton Rhodes getting ready to race

Figure 11: Weule Built jumping over four SXSs

Figure 12: SXS lineup at John Weule's shop, left to right- Jett Full Throttle, John Weule, Chad Brunnert, John Weule, Colton Rhodes

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The Culture of Step: A Black Greek Tradition

Taylor Howard

One aspect of Black culture that is undeniable is step dancing. Step is a predominantly Black activity that holds a special place in the hearts of the participants and their communities. As an expressive dance, step is personal and can express interpersonal dynamics amongst the members and offer potential leadership roles in a Greek organization. While some believe step could have been a sort of competition between African tribes, which can translate to the group competitiveness between chapters, it is still a unique Black practice that has been sustained for decades (Fine 47). Step connects Black people with traditions harkening back to slavery and times of restriction that could be translated through dance.

From Africa, the Caribbean, and the Americas, Black Africans that were captured as slaves maintained their heritage through dance and music, finding creative ways to communicate and find levity during difficult times or close monitoring. After the Stono Rebellion in 1739, there was push from lawmakers in South Carolina to enforce communication barriers between slaves, which was already a practice on slave ships (African American Registry). Taking away instruments and placing many slaves from the same tribe became standard practice across the nation. Despite this, they used their bodies as percussion. Traditional dancing was still done for special occasions or daily life, celebrating life, and finding meaning in their lives (African American Registry). Dancing revived itself.

Stepping is described as highly energetic and percussive. Claps, stomping, and spoken words create polyrhythms, a staple of African music (StepAfrika). Stepping was adopted in historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) or Black communities in predominately White institutions. Most notably in HBCUs, Black students in the early 1900s formed their own Greek organizations to support and foster brotherhood and sisterhood with people that looked like them. This included financial and academic support and providing service to the community (StepAfrika). Black Greek-lettered organizations provide solace in times of racial isolation and the pursuit for social change (NPHC).

African American traditions from the past are clearly passed down to the present through step traditions. Step shows usually include folk traditions such as call-response, rapping, military jodies, signifying, and handclap games. Step also involves a

routine, which incorporates percussive movement, individualized dance for each member, and even props and uniforms (Fine 39-40). These routines are taught orally or through video (46). The communal part of traditional African music-making while maintaining the synchronized unity is unmatched from other performing arts. Stepping is a ritual performance that expresses group identity and represents the organization's unity and spirit (Fine 40). In recent years, outside groups have dedicated themselves to preserving the art of step with aesthetics of technology, live music, and storytelling (StepAfrika).

The Black-lettered Greek organizations operate under a separate council than White Greek ones. The Black council is called the National Pan-Hellenic Council. The nine fraternities and sororities inducted under the Council all function under the mission statements of the Council, members take these principles into their hearts with love and pride (NPHC). The five fraternities and four sororities are labeled "The Divine Nine", all founded in the early 1900s besides Iota Phi Theta Fraternity in 1963 (StepAfika). The Divine Nine are as follows: Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. (1906), Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. (1908), Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. (1911), Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc. (1911), Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. (1913), Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc. (1914), Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc. (1920), Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc. (1922), and Iota Phi Theta Fraternity, Inc. (1963).

There is a leader to every line, acting as a drill sergeant to start initiates chants and stepping (Fine 40-41). Each organization has a trade step that is iconic to them and identifiable during shows. For example, the oldest fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha owns "The Grand-daddy Step." (46). This step is performed in a circle, taking inspiration from ring shouts and *juba* of Black tradition. This routine is believed to have Beninan roots in a dance performed once a month called *avogan*. The *avogan* is when young people from different areas of a city take turns satirizing each other to develop their dancing and signifying skills (47). To begin the routine, the Alphas first mimic the walk of an old man with shaky knees and an imaginary cane. The chant begins:

> We're the Alpha brothers, for heaven's sake
> We're the grand-daddies making no mistake
> We're the first, the first and we're never late
> From us all the others originate
> We're gonna break it down for our grandsons' Que
> We're gonna break it down for Omega Psi Phi.

Depending on the chapter, "break it down" can be replaced with "breaking it down." Similarly, the oldest sorority Alpha Kappa Alpha has a trade step called "It's a Serious Matter."

Some step routines exhibit the sexuality and sexual "virtuosity" of the members in the line for the shock and amusement of the audience. Alpha Phi Alpha

performed the "Clutch Me Baby" routine in 1984. The members line up single file, chanting the refrain in unison:

> Oh, clutch me babe
> You doing okay
> For A Phi A
> You're doing alright
> You do it all night.

After the refrain, each member receives a spotlight to rap about the sexual skills with innuendos and the enthusiastic acting by their exaggerated suave personas (42-23). Trade steps have recognizable rhythms, vocal phrases, and movements that are rather consistent (46). Additionally, qualities of their performance are established in the folk group such as vigorous dancing and handclap routines with synchronized stomping, clapping, and body movement with specific numbers of the repeated actions to be completed (44).

At least three distinct types of acts are done during a routine: cracking, freaking, and saluting. "Cracking" is some type of signifying action, verbally or nonverbally insulting the other group. "Freaking" refers to a member breaking the synchronization of the group to gain the audience's attention, the member being called a "freaker" or "show dog." "Saluting" is the ritualized greeting and steps of an organization being imitated by the opposing party. The first example of "cracking" was performed in 1984 by Alpha Phi Alpha signifying Kappa Alpha Psi through the crack theme "We're Laughing at You" (Fine 48). This chant is heavily embellished with belly laughing and finger pointing:

> I once *(points index finger)*
> Kew some Kappas
> That went to this school
> They were slooow walking *(slow motion walking)*
> Sweeeeet talking *(rubs hand over hair)*
> Oh, oh
> So very very cool *(closes eyes and clinches fist over chest at the work "cool").*

The use of exaggerated body movements, indirection, and innuendos are very common and functional. The performer's ability to imitate the style of the other organizations makes their mark to the audience and the strength of the line.

While I attempted to contact active chapters outside of Truman, I was unable to get contact or correct email addresses in time. I interviewed my mother, a Truman alum. I conducted this interview in the living room of our family home, taking notes on my laptop and making audio recordings. I asked her questions about her experiences in her sorority when at Truman, memories associated with step shows that she participated in, and how being in a line works. My mother joined her sorority,

Delta Sigma Theta (DST), on April 22, 1995. If she had to guess, she may have held either the secretary or historian position while in DST. While on the step team, she estimates that she stepped in three or four shows. A line consists of the new class of accepted members to the organization. The line learns a routine together, experiencing the newness together. The routine the members learn is in preparation for a probate show in the historical context of Truman State University. This is their form of an initiation and "a coming out" to the school, as this information is kept a secret from outsiders prior to this event. Through this learning process, the sisters learn to persevere through any adversity through a bond that is unbreakable even after college.

My mother believes that being at a predominantly White school made her more inclined to join when her friends became more interested in Black Greek organizations, but she was never interested to begin with, saying, "I honestly think that if I went to an HBCU, I would have not joined a sorority." Most of the Black students were in one. While she was attending Black Greek events for moral support for her friends, she began seeing more advertisements for DST. It led her to learn about their values and service, which resonated with her due to her time on the Youth Council for positive development for OBS. She participates in activism, which is a major part of DST's priorities, arguably the most important.

One of her fondest memories of being on the step team was winning the Homecoming show in fall of 1995, keeping the bragging rights for the whole year. She expresses extreme joy in this. In addition to this, she told me what being a part of the step team meant to her. It signifies the legitimacy of your membership and a celebration of your cumulative effort and sisterhood. The bonds in Black Greek organizations are unique as the fun remains through their competitions through the shared goals through the NPHC. Homecoming is another fond memory for her and many Black alumni. It is essentially a large reunion filled with families, old friends, and all the organizations competing.

Nonetheless, step has a unique culture that has roots to African tradition. Black Greek organizations channeled their ancestry through dance and creating a joyful, expressive space. The step tradition is a glimpse into the Black experience that is as special as the people that participate in it.

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Bingo as Community and Third Place: A Study of Wednesday Night Bingo at the El Kadir Shrine Club

Zoe Aldrich

When thinking of the bingo hall, I see red lip sticked, little old women haloed in smoke daubing and chatting their way through an afternoon or evening. This imagined view comes from media, stereotypes, and my chain-smoking great aunt's propensity for hosting a bingo night every now and again. While there is immense oversight and overgeneralization in this picture of the bingo hall, it isn't completely wrong. The El Kadir Shrine Club—a notable host for bingo in Kirksville—smells of smoke, fried food, beer, and ink, and bustles with a surprisingly tense atmosphere on Wednesday nights. There's little chatter during the game, big sighs and harsh ripping when someone calls bingo, glaring and focused eyes, yet conversation and friendship abound between games. There is a sense of expansive warmth when the game is paused and a closed-in tunnel vision when the game is in session. When I approached the Shrine Club's bingo group, my initial intention was to find good luck rituals, reasons for playing bingo, etc. Essentially, I was looking for a cohesive and bustling community with established ritual, but what I found favors a complex and diverse community of people who love both the game and what it can provide, who are set in their own ways of playing while understanding the approach of others which leads me to see the bingo hall as a veritable third place.

While most existing studies and ethnographies focus on bingo as a form of gambling, and the attitudes and consequences therein, I sought to understand why and how people in the Kirksville area play bingo. Previous ethnographies have also sought to establish shared identity factors of those that play bingo and have found that traditionally, women tend to be the predominant demographic found in bingo halls.[18] Further, many existing papers focus on bingo outside of the US with emphasis on England and Canada, and one of my informants even noted that bingo is rather popular in England especially when compared to the US. Papers that do focus on

[18] Jeffrey Scott Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd: An Ethnography of the Development and Maintenance of Community among Bingo Players," (University of Regina, 2009), 6.

bingo within the US often focus on bingo as it pertains to Native American Reservation culture and shared connections with gambling spaces. Beyond these scopes, research centers on bingo as a teaching tool at all stages of life. Therefore, studies that have been done surrounding bingo are often completed to legal or educational ends, and there is much less research around the construction, maintenance, and ritual of US bingo communities.

When approaching the Shrine Club to complete my field research, I had a difficult time contacting the appropriate figure to help me with my surveys. After a handful of emails to the office in St. Joseph, and an unanswered email to the Kirksville Shriner's, I resorted to gaining permission in person at the start of a bingo night. In itself, this was a gamble, and I chose to approach the subjectively least busy and kindest looking Shriner with my proposal. With a laugh and a curious look, he took a copy of my survey and informed me that he would have to take it to "the big boss" for approval. With the entirety of my proposed research project hanging in the hands of "the big boss" and the Shriner who took the forms to him, I organized my own bingo cards and tried not to panic. Fortunately, I was allowed to proceed as long as I secured consent before giving an individual my survey, and I absolutely could not "demand that someone had to do my survey in order to play bingo." With a grateful and still panicked, "Of course, I would never!" I was free to begin seeking informants.

Because of the impromptu nature and lack of planned assistance from the Shriners, I pivoted to a table-to-table approach, introducing myself and my project to bingo goers, asking if they would like to fill out my survey. While I was met with many "Noes" and "No-thank-yous" and confused looks, I was also met with a spectrum of bemused laughter to simple "Okay's" as my informants agreed to participate. Due to the focused nature of the game, I approached potential informants before and between games, and thus certainly missed potential informants who were up and moving throughout the room. In the end, I received five surveys filled out to varying degrees of completion. Four surveys were completed by single individuals, and one was completed by a pair resulting in a total of six informants.

The six informants completed surveys consisting of 16 questions. Surveys handed in by the six informants were done to varying degrees of completion based on what informants felt comfortable answering or what they felt they could constructively answer. The survey was structured with initial questions asking informants for demographic information about their name, age, and gender as well as for general information about themselves and where they're from. The survey then asked informants to discuss where they began playing bingo as well as where they currently play bingo, and similar questions followed regarding who they play bingo with. Further, the survey asked informants to discuss items they observe being brought to bingo as well as more specifically if they see any good luck rituals in practice. These questions were phrased in such a way surrounding observed behavior so that the informant would not have to feel they were divulging specific information

about what can be deeply personal practices. Beyond the goods and space involved in bingo, the survey asked informants to remark on what bingo cards they play with and how they mark them during games. Finally, the survey asked informants to discuss why they play bingo, and it invited them to share anecdotes from their bingo experiences.

When asked location questions pertaining to where they are from, where they currently live, and where they started and/or currently play bingo, informants returned a diverse catalog of answers. When accounting for significant locations of origin, informants gave answers ranging from coast to coast, however there was significant influence of the Midwestern region with specific emphasis on Iowa and Missouri. This emphasis on the Midwest becomes especially relevant when addressing where players of bingo in Kirksville currently reside. Of the six informants, three specifically cited living in Kirksville while two gave more vague answers pertaining to living in the country and in a quiet neighborhood. The final informant wrote of living in California, Missouri which is around a two-hour drive from Kirksville, and the informant noted the small nature of the town. Further diversifying the perspectives brought to the Shrine Club bingo nights is the location where informants began playing and have played bingo. Of the six informants, two stated they began playing bingo at the Shrine Club. One informant began playing at Kirksville's Moose Lodge, and another began playing at the firehouse in Novinger, Missouri. One informant began playing near Wentzville, Missouri and cites playing in Oklahoma and Branson. Beyond that, one informant cites an ambiguously located Elks Lodge where he began playing as a kid. These findings suggest that while bingo can and has been accessed across the US and is an activity participants may be willing to travel for, there is an extra emphasis on club related bingo activities. Research has been conducted into the complexity of men's clubs beyond hosts of bingo but has a basis in the 1960s which both dates the research and creates the space for more investigation into where bingo is played currently and if there is a variety of spaces which are more popular.

As established with previous research, the surveys revealed a predominantly female base of participation in bingo. Of six informants, five were female and one was male. In his dissertation, *Alone in a Crowd: An Ethnography of the Development and Maintenance of Community Among Bingo Players*, Jeffrey Scott Dudar acknowledges that while he imagined the picture of bingo being an activity belonging to little old women was one of stereotype, "the research tends to support these representations rather than debunk them" which gives some credibility to the bingo demographic stereotype.[19]Further in line with previous research, the surveys revealed an older female and younger male dichotomy.[20] The single male informant was 53, and the female informants ranged in age from 37 to 72 with most of the female informants

[19] Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd," 6.
[20] Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd," 58.

being older than 53. So, while there are outliers to the claim that female players are older it is largely true. Generally, it is argued that women see bingo as a way to escape the home, either from loneliness or duty, and they see the bingo hall as a female-centered space in which to do this.[21] While my research did not necessarily preserve the idea that bingo provides an escape for women, informants did respond that bingo provides them with both comradery and a reason to get out. To put further variation on the notion that bingo functions as a way for women to avoid the home for various reasons, the single survey that was completed by two informants was done by a mother daughter pair which points to the idea that the family can have a space in bingo rather than functioning totally as an escape. This is further supported by the informant who began playing with his mother and the informant who currently plays with her uncle. However, individual life circumstances appear to impact this division, especially within the Kirksville bingo community.

In terms of individual life circumstances, of the six informants only two are currently employed with one working full time and the other working part time as a cashier. Three of the informants reported being retired with one adding that she is widowed. Another informant reported being on disability and receiving payments from Social Security. Half of the informants being retired further supports that bingo is an activity for what is considered an older age demographic. However, the presence of those working and on disability further supports that bingo appeals to a wide audience and provides a level playing field. While previous research has tied this concept of the level playing field to age, it seemingly also extends to socioeconomic status.[22] There is a degree to which Dudar reported concerns from his own informants about those on welfare playing bingo; there is nothing to stop them.[23] Thus, bingo becomes an open space for anyone who can afford to buy in to play, socialize, and attempt to win money. Of the previous ethnographic research into bingo, there has been little reporting on the hobbies of bingo participants outside of their games and careers. Informant responses about their hobbies revealed further diversities among participants. Topics of interest to bingo players range from other games (both physical and video) to movies and television, reading, crafting, spending time with family, and more. In terms of both work and leisure, bingo players engage in a multitude of activities and prove that despite the support for the age and gender of participant stereotypes, they are a demographic made of unique individuals.

A large part of bingo is the community it builds and those that rest at the heart of creating it. Of the players surveyed, only one informant did not specify who got

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[21] Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd," 8.

[22] Sandra O. Cousins and Chad S. Witcher, "Older Women Living the Bingo Stereotype: 'Well so what? I play bingo. I'm not out drinkin'. I'm not out boozing.'" (International Gambling Studies, 2004), quoted in Jeffrey Scott Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd: An Ethnography of the Development and Maintenance of Community among Bingo Players," (University of Regina, 2009).

[23] Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd," 55.

them into bingo, and of the five that did, each had a unique perspective to offer on how they began attending bingo nights. These inciting factors ranged from family to neighbors to coworkers and groups that began playing together and have continued to play together since. Some informants reported that the individuals who introduced them to bingo have passed or that they now play with different groups. Of individuals in this category, one reported missing the experience of playing with now-deceased relatives. Generally the sentiment of the community can be summarized by one informant who wrote that at the Shrine Club bingo nights "everybody pretty much knows everybody else" which establishes the concept that the Shrine Club fosters a consistent sense of community across weeks and games of bingo.[24] However, this informant also noted that "there's a couple of friends closer than others" which furthers the notion that while bingo can be a closely social event for some, it also functions as a less close or more individual event for others.[25] Bingo for some provides a space to socialize closely, and for others it provides a space to be around groups while still retaining distance and autonomy. This reflects Dudar's research which speculates "that bingo players have the capacity to establish a community within the hall, even though interaction within the hall appears to be highly individuated" which is to say that the bingo hall as a whole creates a cohesive community wherein individuals may remain individual without being denied access.[26]

Central to the visual structure of the bingo hall is the place setting performed by individuals and groups. Dudar refers to this physical place setting as the "external vibe" which indicates "where one player's space ends and another player's space begins" and which includes both good luck items and the bingo equipment itself.[27] In terms of the bingo equipment, each player surveyed appeared to take a unique approach to equipment usage and game strategy as they claimed both physical and participatory space. Some informants discussed playing just a 9-on which is playing nine cards during one game, while others reported playing 6-on's, 9-on's, and a computerized version of the game at the same time. Beyond this, informants reported participating in the progressives and early bird games as well as pull tabs and other small games that occur throughout the night. While each informant had a unique approach to what they played, all games of the night were represented in the surveys. Central to both the play of the game and the demarcation of physical space within the bingo hall and at tables specifically are bingo daubers. Many players bring totes or caddies of daubers and have multiple, but they differ on how they use them. One informant cited that while he didn't have a specific preference for dauber usage, he was aware of others having such a preference. The lack of preference was further

[24] Vince Pepple responding to a survey created by the author, March 2024.
[25] Pepple, survey.
[26] Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd," 20.
[27] Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd," 63.

supported by most informants, however, one cited that she liked to match her dauber color to the color of the bingo card which promotes both organization and potential ritual.

While most players had a sense of organized space at their table, only some appeared to engage in direct ritual practices to induce luck. In *Bingo! Hints of Deviance in the Accounts of Sociability and Profit of Bingo Players* authors Constance Chapple and Stacey Nofziger report that "they witnessed many players trying to increase their chances of winning through the use of charms and rituals" which creates the sense of established practice and continuity of action amongst bingo participants.[28] While they don't provide a specific statistic, Chapple and Nofziger's diction point towards a strong participation in good luck rituals which is not necessarily supported by my own findings in the Kirksville bingo community. When asked about known good luck rituals, two of the six informants refrained from answering. Of the four that did answer, similar concepts are reported as those found by Chapple and Nofziger which include possession of various trinkets such as stuffed animals, rocks, photos, etc.[29] One informant of the Kirksville community cited trinkets as being used and did not elaborate further on examples or experiences. Another informant, who didn't personally bring any trinkets, cited that her "roommate has an Elvis doll, a pig ornament, a pig that squeaks, and two rubber ducks" as a part of their regular playing set up.[30] Further, another informant wrote that participants may bring good luck items, and referenced totems such as rubber ducks which creates a continuity in community observation and understanding. Beyond the use of physical objects as harbingers of luck, informants pointed to more spacial and conceptual luck rituals. One informant reported the idea of trying to sit at the same table or seat across weeks, and another noted the idea of focusing on lucky numbers when selecting papers. The importance of lucky numbers was further supported by an interaction between myself and one of the Shriners when I was purchasing my bingo papers. When I was picking my papers, he encouraged me to dig through them if I wanted to for a certain number, and when I selected the third paper from the top of the stack, he remarked that three was his own lucky number. While it didn't turn out to be of any luck to me, the Shriners' commentary on this practice furthered the sense of understanding that exists between the players and the hosts of bingo, and points to the idea that even if individuals themselves do not partake in bingo or good luck rituals, they are aware of their existence and importance within the community.

When asked why they like to play bingo, informants pointed to two key answers and thus concepts. Dudar highlights that previous research has revealed that

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[28] Constance Chapple and Stacey Nofziger, "Bingo!: Hints of Deviance in the Accounts of Sociability and Profit of Bingo Players," *Deviant Behavior* 21, no. 6 (2000): 500.

[29] Chapple and Nofziger, "Bingo!," 501.

[30] Heather responding to a survey created by the author, March 2024.

to avoid focus on gambling, players like to pathologize bingo as social.[31] In doing this, players are able to feel as though they are profiting from the experience, even if not monetarily. While I did not directly ask my informants about their views on bingo as gambling and they did not volunteer much on the matter, most of my informants validated the findings of Dudar and other researchers in the sense that they claim to enjoy bingo because of its social factor. In fact, when addressing the monetary concept involved with attending bingo, half of the informants admitted that while they hope to win or find the game more exciting when winning, they are aware it often does not go that way. One informant went on to say that "sometimes [he] win[s], but mostly [he] lose[s] money" which further creates the sense that bingo is not entirely about the monetary goal.[32] While it is certainly nice to win as the informants point out, it is coming back to this community again and again despite the potential for loss that builds the social aspect of bingo. This social aspect is further fed by the groups that many of the informants play with, and one informant did cite her reason for attending as the fact that her uncle likes to attend.

Since previous research and the commentary provided by informants supports that bingo functions as a positive social space, bingo halls appear to take on the identity of a third place within society. The third place is a concept termed by Ray Oldenburg, and it "refers to places where people spend time between home ('first' place) and work ('second' place)," and these places provide a space where there is potential for "social classes and backgrounds [to] be 'leveled-out'" which provides for a feeling of balance and belonging within the place.[33] These concepts apply to the bingo hall which as previously mentioned functions as an escape from the home for many. Further, as research and the informant surveys address, bingo is a space where you can succeed despite your socioeconomic status. As long as you can buy into the game, you have the equal right to exist in the space, and since bingo is a game of luck, you have a theoretical equal chance to win. While in buying more cards, there is a degree to which the individual's chance to win might increase, bingo remains a relatively level playing field for participants. Despite the fact that many participants in bingo are retired, it still stands that the bingo hall and the community found therein exist for participants outside of the realm of both home and work which marks the bingo hall as a third place for participants.

To attest to the community built by the bingo hall, I can posit my own experience with playing bingo at the Shrine Club. I attended bingo twice, and the first week I was rather out of my depth, but the Shriners were friendly in directing me in what to do, and I felt myself getting into the game and matching the invested energy

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[31] Dudar, "Alone in a Crowd," 22.

[32] Pepple, survey.

[33] Stuart M. Butler and Carmen Diaz, "'Third Places' as community builders," published September 14, 2016, accessed March 29, 2024, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/third-places-as-community-builders/

of the rest of the room. The second time I went to play was the night I administered my survey, and through the survey, one of my informants corrected a faux pas of mine that I had not realized I committed. When responding to the question surrounding what people bring with them, this informant noted that many individuals choose to bring beverages with them, but that outside food was generally not allowed as the Shrine Club sells their own food. I had been in a rush between class and bingo that evening, and as a result had clumsily brought my own dinner with me that I picked up on the way. In a very subtle move, this informant corrected my behavior within the community without calling me out and made me feel rather welcome as a newcomer who is still learning the proper behaviors and interactions expected within the Shrine Club.

In hindsight, my research approach has many spaces in which it could be improved. Firstly, I think it could be compelling to add a racial identity question to explore the racial and ethnic breakdown of those that play bingo. Further, I think it would have been valuable to ask a question surrounding the nature of bingo as a gambling game. While I worry that might concern and thus clam up informants, I think it is an important notion worth addressing. Ultimately, I should have attempted to call the Shriners or talk to them in person ahead of time to secure a better timeline for conducting surveys. By handing out the surveys during the night and around times of gameplay, I think I missed the participation of potential informants who were focused solely on the game. Further, if informants had the opportunity to take the survey home or had more time before the start of gameplay to complete the survey, I think there could have been potential for both more responses and more depth to those responses. While I felt uncomfortable attempting to conduct in-person interviews because of my unfamiliarity with the community and due to time constraints, I think this would be an important step for future research. Not only because I think it would yield more information, but also because it would allow me to ask follow-up questions about aspects of bingo I was not previously aware of in order to formulate a direct question ahead of time. In terms of research of bingo halls in general, I think that with proper time and funding it would be valuable to carry out an ethnographic study of bingo halls across the US that comprehensively explores who plays, why they play, where they play, and how they play.

While it is stereotypical to say that bingo is relegated to the world of little old women, it is not entirely wrong to say that they dominate it. Despite their high levels of involvement, the bingo world as exemplified by the El Kadir Shrine Club in Kirksville is a relatively diverse space that sees unique individuals coming together to form a sense of community through the game. While there is much agreement in the social value of bingo and the bingo hall, each player brings unique approaches and experiences to the table which creates a sense of understanding and innovation within the bingo community. In allowing participants an escape from both home and work, the bingo hall becomes a third place that creates and sustains a community of

individuals. While earning money is, at the end of the day, on the mind of any bingo player, what becomes readily apparent through interaction with the bingo community is their emphasis on creating a space where anyone and everyone can come play the game they have all already found a connection with.

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Lose yourself, Find Yourself: Identity in Rave

Nick Puleo

A St. Louis born, Christian-school raised high school boy emerges from the Pageant, and from his first concert, fervently—even furiously—discussing with his friends that *this is it*, this is *our* music. We had just seen the early dubstep artist Flux Pavilion, and I was just about to embark on the heroes' journey that would transform me from the awkward, over-polite, introverted early-teen to what I would brashly describe as the Kerouac-like madness-loving self I inhabit today. Why are so many transformative youthful experiences conducted through the catalytic medium of music? It's hard to say, but hard to deny as well. Walking back to our car on the streets of the Delmar Loop, suddenly sweet and cool with release from the muggy venue, we were handed fliers for a show the following day at a place called "2720 Cherokee" where Dodge and Fuski would be performing. Dumbfounded that yet another of our culture heroes from the UK would be coming to St. Louis of all places, we google-mapped the location, finished our conversation in the parking lot about how this must have been what it was like to experience the emergence of jazz, then went our separate ways with plans to meet again tomorrow, at wherever this 2720 Cherokee place was.

It is the following night, and high school sheltered Nick is pulling into the alleyway beside a rattling, rumbling, graffiti covered building in the heart of the city, asking (begging?) his friends whether they should just turn around and leave, circling the building attempting to work up the nerve to park, witnessing a drug deal for the first time in his life and doing a few more nervous laps before throwing it into *P* and hopping out. Address two seven two zero, Cherokee Street. The inside offered no respite, as heavy, fast-paced, vicious music ripped at absurd volumes from floor to ceiling speakers, with people clustered around pressing their faces against the mesh. I had so little frame of reference. Why did the stairwell smell like a skunk? Who was molly? I knew no one by that name. I stood nervously in place among a crowd of dancing revelers and was slapped on the back and commanded to "Get turnt my friend!" and offered drugs I had never even heard of. It was absolute madness, a sensory orgy and a stark culture shock. I was back the next weekend.

I started this project with an interest in laying out what it was and is about the rave scene that so attracted me and my friends to it, that so dominated our later high

school lives, that acted as our bridge and our wading pool into the vices and the wonders of the wider world, that provided a flourishing example of the potential of the future and the first realization that it was ours to possess. I've spent considerable time trying to forge some sort of coherent narrative out of my rave experience, to try and enumerate the various aspects of the culture and its experiences which are so alluring and so unique. And yet, in sitting down and conducting my first couple of interviews, I've found that the more interesting perspective is not my own analysis of this subculture, but how it thinks about and conceptualizes itself. In this way I think I've begun to understand the work of the folklorist and have grown to enjoy it immensely.

So then, how does rave culture conceptualize itself? If folk group is shared experience, what is the experience these people share; what bounds the folk group? So far, I have been surprised as much by the congruity of answers as the range of them. I started my research by getting together with CJ, a good high school friend and someone who grew up with me through the rave experience, and asking him: "What is rave to you? As in, when someone asks you what you did last Friday and you say, 'went to a rave' instead of 'went to a concert', what was different to make you say that?" For those who might think the question pedantic, let it be clear that rave is not simply a word to describe people listening to electronic music together, it carries with it certain expectations, conditions, and qualifiers which while possibly difficult to enumerate, are certainly experienced as real by those for who the term "rave" holds value. This in mind, he bounced around a couple of ideas before saying this:

CJ: Was Flux Pavilion a rave?

Me: No, I suppose it was more like a concert.

CJ: But Dodge and Fuski at 2720 [Cherokee]…?

Me: Was definitely a rave, yeah.

CJ: Has there been any show at the Pageant you would call a rave?

Me: [Long pause]…no, I mean, we've gone to a lot of shows there but, I don't think of any of them as raves.

CJ: Had Flux [Pavilion] played at 2720, would it have been a rave?

Me: …yeah I could…I think it probably would have been.

CJ: It's place then, isn't it?

(Personal communication, March 23, 2015)

His argument would develop further as we continued to talk. He was right, the Pageant—a venue designed for bands and just atrocious for any sort of electronic

music act—has never hosted anything I would remotely call a rave. As CJ succinctly put it, "Can anything be called a rave if security is hovering around waiting to tell you not to climb on someone else's shoulders?" There is a feeling of loss of control, of danger and of no supervision that is absolutely a pre-requisite for raves, a sort of temporary anarchy that feels like it may spin out of control any moment, a general permissiveness to all things. CJ sees this as necessarily place-bounded, and I see his point. Raves as place.

His best point is in bringing up the legendary "Skatium", a decrepit, decaying skating rink in an absolutely terrible part of downtown, and by far the definitive venue for raves in St. Louis. The crux of his argument is that big-name DJs go to the Pageant, more underground artists go to 2720, and at the Skatium, names don't matter at all. Anytime a big name comes to the Pageant, we buy our tickets. Anytime a small artist comes to 2720, we listen to his music online and decide whether we want to go. Anytime a show is announced at the Skatium, we buy tickets immediately and without referencing the line-up; a show at the Skatium is a de-facto rave. After getting used to and even becoming comfortable with the area surrounding 2720, going to the Skatium for the first time was another terrifying experience. The event page proudly proclaiming, "Extra security provided this time!" was, somehow, little assurance as I parked in what I imagine a suburb of *Bladerunner*'s city to look like. At the entrance, they laughed as I presented my ID. Yes, I could bring my water bottle in. No, they didn't want to check if it had alcohol in it. Walking in, I immediately saw people smoking from pieces (pipes for marijuana) openly, and others dancing with barely any clothes on at all. Two people were robbed that night. I'll spare you the rest of the details, but if you want to experience what Caleb has called "The only thing left that actually feels like what I imagine an underground rave is like" (Caleb, email, March 18,2015), the Skatium is the premiere place to do it.

So, is the place drawing the people, or the people making the place? To CJ this is a non-question: whichever comes first is meaningless, it is still place-bounded regardless. Others I've talked to don't seem to agree fully with that conclusion. Many, almost all, touched on place as important. But it seems that the most common answer I've received so far could be headed under something like the word "community." I asked the same initial question to Frank, the president of MEMO (Mizzou Electronic Music Organization), "What makes a rave different than a concert?"

> Everyone's dancing…it's not just music, it's community. You don't just come to hear some music, the music is there, but you come just as much for the people and the fellowship. We're modern hippies [he says as a Grateful Dead song plays in the background]. Wait, you're writing that? Then write, 'Millennial Hippies.' That's what we are. Look, if you're at Daft Punk with 3 of the shittiest people, it will be awful, even if it's Daft Punk. I've had the best of times at the shittiest artists, and the worst of

> times at the best of artists. *It's that much about community*. (Frank, Personal communication, March 23, 2015)

We're at a MEMO workshop on how to old-school DJ with vinyl, waiting for others to show up. A guy walks in, arms full of equipment: "What are you guys talking about?" I decide to shoot: "What is rave?" "Rave is new hippies," he says without hesitation, "we're techno hippies." I'm grinning ear to ear, "Then what's rave culture?"

> Acceptance dude, rave culture is acceptance. Anybody, any walk of life. You see guys in leather coming from metal shows, black dudes from hip hop backgrounds, old dead heads in patch-work pants. Where else can you hear a metal remix, a jazz cover, a rap and a country song all done in one set? Electronic music is awesome because it bridges gaps; between genres, but by bridging genres you bridge social groups and generations [I'm writing furiously, this is gold]. You know, it's PLUR. Peace, love, unity, respect. I'm Mike by the way. (Mike, Personal communication, March 23, 2015)

There's a lot to address here. First of all, the bridge between generations is a subject me and CJ broached. Raves are youth culture; while it is becoming more common to see people over thirty at raves, most often the oldest person in the room is 25, and most people are much younger. And yet, when an older person joins a rave, there is immediate acceptance. I imagine an older person trying to fit in at an arcade or other youth dominated folk group would meet with resistance and suspicion. Not so in raves. There is a certain palpable joy when someone from a different generation is able to see what we enjoy, what we've created and to enjoy it as well. People will gather around, trade high fives, dance with them, whatever. There is a surge of group excitement and desire to help them fit in and feel welcomed. It's really as fanciful as I describe it. "No, no, I'd agree," says Caleb, reading what I've written, "I know I am always floored when I see, you know an older person, like especially an older woman. It's, I just think, how did they find out about this?" (Personal communication, March 18, 2015). A youth culture that is not age bounded and not suspicious of outsiders shows, I think, an incredible level of acceptance. To quote from an interview Hutson did with a man named Mike Brown, "you could have dance music and laser lighting, but it is not a rave unless it is unified. In short, we rave because boundaries must be broken" (Hutson, 7).

What deserves addressing next is a folk story—grounded in truth, impressively enough—that is told amongst rave goers about the origins of the most prolific of electronic genres: house. I believe the telling of the story seeks to explain the culture of absolute acceptance that raves have. It starts in the Chicago club scene of the late 70's to early 80's. Clubs were sharply segregated, with black people gravitating

towards R&B clubs, Latinos to clubs that played Latin dance music, and Disco clubs dominated by the gay community. A certain DJ, Frankie Knuckles, disliked how separated not only these communities were, but their music as well. He dreamed of a club where every style of music would be played, and where every sort of person from any walk of life would be welcomed. He opened a club called "The Warehouse" and hired DJs prominent in each of these genres. He sought to actively mix the distinctive styles of each of these genres in his own sets, combining the beats of R&B with the skittering drum tracks of Latin dance music and the wild synths of disco in the hopes of creating a new kind of music that belonged to everybody. Somehow, someway his dream worked out. As DJs were free to experiment with mixing any kind of music they pleased, they learned from each genre and in the The Warehouse, a new sound started emerging. The people showed up as well, gays, blacks, latinos and whites alike, to hear this new sound nobody else had. They needed a name for this new kind of music and named it after the club where it was played: from *The Warehouse* came *House music*, and from house music comes the first true electronic dance music, and the first true electronic dance music culture. A good story in its own right, and apparently largely a true one; but it doesn't take much to see how much value this story holds to a community that prides itself on acceptance. It's as powerful an origin story as any, and it seems fairly widespread; most of the people I queried at least knew of the *Warehouse* and its importance to EDM. [An interview with Frankie Knuckles himself, for a more sober account; Broughton].

Saint Louis has its own functionally equivalent version of the *Warehouse* story, in that it is used as a sort of "origin story" for how the community behaves. As it's been related to me in bits and pieces by various parties, some years ago a rave put on by a local organization, Blindfire Entertainment, was wrongfully shut down by the police. Apparently, it was one of the bigger parties of the year, and everyone felt pretty burned; no one more so, it seems, than the people at Blindifre themselves. They felt they had let down the community they cherished so much, and wanted to make it up to them. To make things right, they gathered a bunch of local DJs and threw a free party at The Old Rock House. The place was packed to capacity, the party apparently spilling onto the sidewalks and the streets surrounding the venue. It was heralded as a testament to the power of the community, and still is. "Dude, Free Bass is what I think of when I think of EDM in St. Louis, that's what we can do" (Hannah, Personal Communication, March 18, 2015). "Free Bass" was born, and it's been held every year since.

The community focus is serious; no headliners or big names to be seen, it is often a chance for fledgling local DJs to play their first show. Every time the event rolls around, the same rhetoric can be spotted: this is the community coming together, this is a rave by us and for us; we make this possible! And it isn't just rhetoric; there seems to be real value placed in this sense of community. During the Ferguson riots, three big artists that were scheduled to play in Saint Louis over the course of a week

all canceled their shows. Various local rave production organizations scrambled to fill out the slots vacated by international talent with local DJs, slashed the prices, and declared the events a way for the St. Louis community to gather and celebrate itself amid times that would otherwise seem to divide us. "It was really something special, something felt sane for once in that week" (Cory, resident of North County, personal communication, March 18, 2015). Hutson mentions that in rave culture, "Organic and familial metaphors are also used to express the sense of unity and reunification. The group of friends one makes at a rave are often referred to as a family" (Spiritual Healing in Modern Western Subcultures, 7). Indeed, this sort of terminology is still prominent in the St. Louis scene. Case in point: "STL EDM Family", an open Facebook group with 2,586 members where announcements about local shows, events, and producers are posted, and photos and stories from recent events are discussed. And at 2720 Cherokee, the patrons are often referred to as the "Loyal Family", as in "Always good to have the loyal family out here!"

Contacting a few other high school rave partners, I asked them the same question: what makes a rave distinct from a concert? I was hoping to get a scattering of unique answers I could comment on, but I've been surprised and excited to find they all align pretty well. Many of them echo what my friend Paul (March 12th, email) was able to summarize so well, which I will quote directly and, in its entirety, here:

> My first thoughts say that concerts are purely about music and that raves are about atmosphere and connection with the crowd. A concert is a performance, whereas a rave is an event. It seems to be much more about community.

Obviously, you can see echoes of what others have said here, especially as it concerns community. But there is something more specific I would like to focus on as a meaningful difference between rave and concert that others have expressed as well. When you are going to see your favorite band in concert, you aren't going (typically) with the expectation of discovering new music, of meeting new people, or of being a part of a conscious community. The focus of a concert, based on the interviews I've done so far, is on the performance of the band itself, and on the band itself. The music you have heard before, and you can pretty well guess what you will hear beforehand: you are there to see the artists you appreciate. Think, then, of classical music performance, which is much more about the piece of music being played, and how it is played, than about the person who is performing it (though, of course, this can't be said to be absolutely true). Rave, then, can be seen as a return to this form, where a DJ may play only a few of his own songs while filling the rest of his set with tracks he has discovered and appreciates. The focus has shifted away again from the performance of the music, and onto the music itself. This remains a potent comparison for a community that occasionally shows signs of wanting its music legitimized as art.

Two people reported that the main thing that comes to mind when thinking of raves is escapism, though this wasn't cast in a negative light as the word might seem to imply. Rave was seen as a place to go to de-pressurize and completely clear the mind of the worries of the world. "School was just unreal at that time, but when I was at a rave, I forgot about it entirely, I got it all out there" (CJ, March 23, 2015). One person in particular compared it to the gym, where repetitious activity (here dancing) led to a zen like state where the mind was completely blank and even an awareness of time and self becomes fuzzy (Cory, March 18, 2015). As pseudo-spiritual as that sounds, I'll throw my weight behind it as well. There is something clearly dissociative about the experience. Being in a room with a few hundred people all moving to the same beat is intoxicating in a way that is difficult to articulate but makes me think I might have something of a grasp of how mob-behavior works. You just seem to slip into place; you feel irrelevant in comparison to the churning mass of people. Like meditation, this seems to have a mind-cleansing/clearing effect, and walking out of a noisy rave into the silent early morning with a clear mind and exhausted body is a feeling of zen all in itself. This sort of groupthink, hivemind atmosphere I believe goes a long way towards explaining the prevalence of what are termed "club drugs": LSD, MDMA, and ketamine are probably the three biggest drugs consumed at raves, and all three have powerful dissociative properties.

Another aspect of escapism visible within rave culture is what some call "infantilism". Though it is more relegated to the candi-ravers of the 90's, dressing up, especially in purposely childish, baggy and pastel clothes is common. Seeing people with suckers or pacifiers in their mouths is not at all uncommon (its purpose is to stop people on MDMA/Ecstasy from grinding their teeth, though it is clearly in keeping with the infantile theme). Childish bracelets called "Kandi" (I was recently corrected on the spelling, which may in itself be an attempt at childishness) made up of colorful beads and patronizing sayings ("Tonight is the night!" or "PLUR!") are traded in a very specific, ritualized way. Two people who wish to trade both make the peace sign and touch their fingers together, then each hand is shaped to form one half of a heart, a full heart formed when the two hands are put together. Then the hands are placed palm to palm, fingers interlocked, and one person drags a bracelet from their arm to the other's, and then the other chooses a bracelet from their own arm to drag to the first's. I've watched this mini ritual taught to confused but eager rave newcomers a couple dozen times over; "The first time someone wanted to give me a piece of Kandi, I had no idea what was going on. But they weren't bothered, or didn't seem, anyways they seemed happy to be able to teach me how to do it" (Hannah).

Continuing the theme of infantilism, there is a bit of folk science that is told about how house music, being at 120 beats per minute, replicates the environment of a baby in its mother's womb, the beats of the song like the beats of the mother's heart. This idea does seem to carry real psychological weight in the community and also adds a strong case for the chasing of infantilism and escapism. It seems to have

garnered scholarly attention too. Hutson suggests that "The rave might even compare to the primordial state of being in the womb, where maturity, individuation and separation have not yet occurred." (Hutson, FN29). This idea is attractive in that it explains the ideas of infantilistic escape and the dissociative nature of rave (and maybe even absolute acceptance) all as having a common source: immaturity and "nondifferentiation." Goulding et al see this womb-like club as a sort of "liminal rite of passage", where when you step inside you are stripped of status, levelled with those around you (8). This hidden pattern of thinking seems to bubble to the surface: DJmagazine's number 4 club in the world, *Club Womb* in Tokyo, is unsurprisingly primarily devoted to house music (DJmag). Entering its dark, hot, sporadically lit maw really does make one feel undifferentiated from the swaying mass of indistinct, shadowed forms around you, against you.

While all of this may be academically appealing and may seem to explain a range of behaviors with a single string of logic, rave-goers, when presented it, are less enthused. Maybe it should be of no surprise that when offered the explanation that their culture is based around infantalistic escape, there is resistance; "Maybe that's the case, but that's not how I see it anyways. It makes it sound like what we do isn't deliberate" (Shannon, March 23, 2015). Indeed, if it cannot be characterized as escapism or longing for the more egalitarian days of childhood, how can we characterize it? I've said previously that rave is essentially youth culture, and I think a fundamental aspect of youth culture could be said to characterize rave: resistance. The profile picture for Midwest Massive Facebook page, a Colombia Missouri based drum and bass event organizer, was the raised fist. Ravers see themselves as in resistance, to any number of things. Most obviously to normalized ways of partying; "A couple beers and the game just doesn't do it for me, you know?" (Shannon, March 23, 2015). They see their taste in music as resistive, not dictated to them by the radio or the iTunes homepage, but spread from set to set in an "underground" fashion; "Discovering new music at shows, that's one of the best parts" (Caleb, March 18, 2015). There is resistance to mainstream societal norms (everyone I talked to was accepting of responsible drug usage, even if they didn't partake themselves), mainstream religion (no one I met professed any mainstream religion besides a few instances of Buddhism, though most claimed to be "spiritual"), and mainstream sexuality (all but one agreed, as well, that there seemed to be a much higher representation of alternative sexualities within the rave scene, due most likely to its history and acceptance).

Possibly most of all, there is resistance to mainstream consumer culture. Self-determination is important to them in that they see themselves as making deliberate, conscious decisions about their lives, what and how they consume, whereas they characterize "mainstream" culture with simply acting as automatons living and consuming whatever and however culture tells them. The fliers for shows are done by local artists, the same people who help organize events also post about locally-sourced

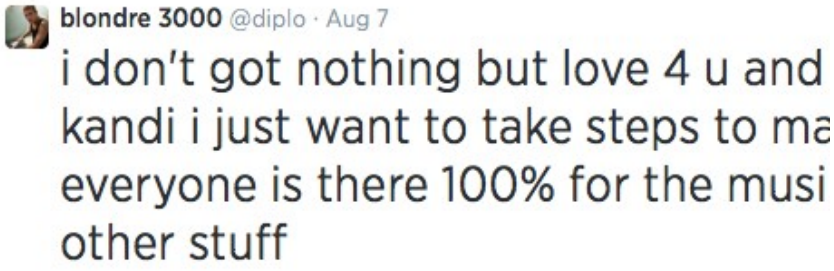
restaurants they work at, and the same girl who DJ-ed for an hour might teach a yoga class in the park down the street a few days later. They see themselves as deliberate actors in, and important determiners of, their communities. This is why you'd be rebuffed if you called a festival (a big, multi-day electronic music event produced by multinational companies replete with internationally known DJs) a rave. "Festis [festivals] are the things you go to, raves are the things we *make*" (Cory, March 18, 2015). Basically, there is nothing locally sourced or anti-consumer about a $300 festival in Las Vegas.

There is no reconciliation, then, of this resistive self-image with commercialization; and that is exactly the challenge this community faces. The EDM community is currently trying to figure out how to handle its culture going mainstream. From once pioneering DJs doing collaborations with Justin Bieber and Nicki Minaj ("I swear to God I will never listen to another Diplo track again" [CJ, April 10, 2015]), to being able to buy previously home-made Kandi at Hot Topic, there is resistance to the perceived and actual commercialization of the culture. There is no doubt that EDM is mainstream now; the North American market for it is now valued at $2 billion annually (Meadow). But there is a multiplicity of pressures this puts on the community. First of all, people are flooding into raves in unprecedented numbers, and they aren't always welcome. With a steady flow of newcomers, they can be taught or pick up the values that the community shares, but surges of outsiders make adaption unnecessary, and misunderstanding inevitable.

> There was this muscled-up bro, like tank top and everything, and he was getting in this other bro's face over this girl, like some animal in heat. They started pushing each other and I was just like, "Woah man, not PLUR," and he looked at me like he had never heard that word in his life. I mean, like, can't you just go tailgating or something? (Anonymous, March 23, 2015)

I think this helps illustrate the frustration felt by the community and also shows a bit of the elitism that has always been present, maybe must be present in subculture. This may seem oddly harsh for a community that prides itself on acceptance, but in their view this an influx of people who do not want to understand their culture, who do not want to participate and create, but simply want the hippest way to, "get fucked up for a few hours on the weekend" (Cory, April 10, 2015).

So, there is, as you would imagine, a push back from the inside. But there is also pressure from the other side as well. The DJ just mentioned who committed mutiny by collaborating with "mainstream" artists recently announced that at his next event there would be no kandi, no costumes, no face masks, essentially no artifacts of rave culture allowed. I'll let him speak for himself:



This push from the other side is from people who think that rave culture and its baggage is acting like a boundary patroller for outsiders, an unnecessary and draconian frivolousness that keeps people who aren't in the know away from the music, which they see as the only thing that truly matters. They do not conceptualize the scene, as others seem to do, as a lifestyle choice that brings with it certain values. Ravers, of course, see this as expunging their history from a medium they helped create, and as denaturing and deodorizing their culture in order to make it more commercially appealing; "It's not a rave without the stuff people do at raves, then it's just…it's just, just…music and that's it" (Hannah).

A culture which rejected the mainstream has suddenly been invaded by it, and there is confusion about what do to. Among the people I talked with there is no clear consensus. It ranges from "It isn't a rave without Kandi!" (Hannah) to "Well it is about the music, after all, and so I think I'm fine with it, it's fine" (CJ), to "There are more shows than ever now, so who cares if you got to, have to bump shoulders with some frat guys sometime" (Cory). While some of the biggest DJs try to drag EDM kicking and screaming from the dark and shake off the often-seedy dust of its past, others, such as Pasquale Rotella, founder of the Electric Daisy Carnival, one of the biggest festivals in North America, had this to say in response to the recent decision:

> One of my favorite aspects of dance music culture is the freedom of self-expression. Since the early days, dance culture has always been a non-judgmental environment where you could express your individuality through art, music and positive energy. It's been especially amazing to see how the making and trading of kandi has evolved over the years. Kandi started in Southern California and is now a tradition embraced by ravers all over the world! I love that these beaded works of art create a special bond between the giver and recipient when traded. Although I don't wear kandi regularly, I save all of the pieces I've been gifted by Headliners and remember the stories behind each one. Whether you're from SoCal or Singapore, wear your kandi proudly and continue to spread the good vibes! (Furer)

For their part, there is an interesting form of resistance to the palatalization of rave culture that is going on: a conscious effort to de-palatalize. Rave culture, albeit

always bold in admitting its debauchery, has begun to reappropriate various pejorative claims leveled at it, even to ameliorate them further. Shirts that say "Acid, Sex, Bass" can be spotted at any show alongside other examples such as "You go down, I get down" (essentially, you're here for sex, I'm here for the music) and "I am the one your mom warned you about!" It's reflected in lyrics as well, for example Jack Beat's song "Epidemic" mockingly samples a slowed-down version of a news report: "This latest craze continues to be an epidemic of drugs, dancing, and general debauchery. Can we make any sense of it? Let's find it." For those listening, there is no question as to who will be doing the finding, and what they will find. One of the ways rave culture defends itself from criticism, then, is to own it.

Is this the rave's fate, to hemorrhage the fringe and carry on in obscurity with only the most hardcore of adherents? Or will late night hundred-person warehouse gatherings give way completely to open-air, stadium-filling ten-thousand-person mega-festivals? As with the announcement of the death of any technology or fad, the answer probably lies in neither extreme, but somewhere in the middle. Rave is, after all, a culture like any other.

Rave culture is essentially youth culture and essentially counterculture; it is in its historical DNA these very two things. Raves are the "alternative" party, and their attendees identify themselves as connoisseurs of the alternative: alternative music, alternative medicine, alternative lifestyles, alternative spirituality, and on. But beyond just a general atmosphere of resistance and separation from "mainstream," there exists within rave culture a number of elements you would expect to find in any other culture: there are culture heroes (the founder of the Warehouse club in Chicago, producers/pioneers like Aphex Twin and Amon Tobin, etc.), there are traditions (sharing water, light shows, trading "Kandi" or purposely childish bracelets), there are guiding philosophies (PLUR, one love, et. all), and there are social divisions and allegiances, often aligned along preferred genre (Drum and Bass fiends/heads, Trap bros, festi(val)-goers). This is but a sampling of the "what" that can be found in the typical rave atmosphere. Yet what becomes fascinating is not proving that it is a viable culture and folk group, which of course it is, but in trying to see how it views and conceptualizes itself. What makes the folkloric approach to this issue interesting is that there are a multiplicity of types of humans and subcultures within EDM culture, and no doubt with this multiplicity of peoples comes a multiplicity of self-images, each of them meaningful and worthwhile so far as folklore is concerned. To see how rave culture is adapted to suit different group's worldviews, and to see how adaptable it is, is fascinating. Many projects for further study present themselves. One that would be incredibly interesting and endlessly repeatable would be to see how rave culture differs between groups that align themselves with different genres (and I can assure you it does), or to see how rave culture manifests in and through different cultures around the world. It would also no doubt be fascinating to see how other folk groups have handled the propelling of their culture into the mainstream, or how

various groups try to survive commodification. This paper focused on how rave culture views itself, but it cannot be denied that there is much to be said about how the outside world views rave culture. How has this generally negative outlook affected the development of the culture? Could it be used to explain the strong community and interdependence of the culture? What other subcultures developed under heavy public scrutiny and condemnation, and what do they seem to share with rave culture? Social deviance, or what is perceived to be as such, is its own reason for being studied, so there is much fruit in exploring any of these ideas further.

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Mushroom Hunting Folklore of Northeast Missouri

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Abstract

This study examines personal interviews collected from seven rural morel mushroom hunters within Adair County, Northeast Missouri. Lore and skills relating to the folk practice of mushroom hunting are compiled and analyzed. Comparisons between mycological societies and rural mushroom hunters are explored, including an examination of the disparate ways mycological societies and rural mushroom hunters deal with the presence of mortal danger within their shared activity. A new model for the folk group boundaries of mushroom hunters is presented, and further lines of study concerning rural mushroom hunters are suggested.

Keywords: morel mushrooms, rural mushroom hunting, Northeast Missouri

Mushroom Hunting Folklore of Northeast Missouri

Fungi have entranced humans for hundreds of years, from toadstools to fairy rings and beyond. Nonetheless, the positivity or negativity with which cultures view mushrooms fluctuates, both within the cultures themselves and within geographic regions. Mycologists—those who study mushrooms—and Ethno-mycologists—those who quantitatively study the culture surrounding mushrooms—work continuously to identify regions and cultures that are characteristically mycophilic (display an affinity for mushrooms) and those that are mycophobic (display an aversion to mushrooms). However, there remains an abundance of folkloric information regarding the hunting and eating of mushrooms that is yet to be discovered. This is especially applicable to the region of Northeast Missouri where the present culture is known for its active outdoor presence and abundance of rural mushroom hunters.

Literature Review

Despite this thriving potential, there appeared a dearth of folkloric research surrounding the subject of rural mushroom hunting, and still fewer sources on potentially related folk groups such as recreational fishermen and hunters. Many of the relevant, mushroom-focused works were of two types: ethno-mycological articles, and professional mycologist public statements. A typical ethno-mycological study

seemed to follow strict questioning procedures and was primarily concerned with determining whether a given population was able to distinguish between mushrooms that have been scientifically shown to be poisonous and those that have been shown to be edible. The most qualitative example found by this researcher was an article by Härkönen (2002) titled *Mushroom Collecting in Tanzania and Hunan (Southern China): Inherited Wisdom and Folklore of Two Different Cultures*. This particular article posed some folkloric approaches to mushroom hunting research, but even these were presented as binary answer questions. Moreover, the majority of such articles provided little folkloric analysis, and instead preferred to use impersonal and statistical approaches.

Statements from professional biologists and mycologists were plentiful and often served to caution the public against brazenly eating unidentified mushrooms. Referenced documents include a website hosted by the Missouri Department of Conservation and a pamphlet published by the United States Forest Service. Nevertheless, such documents provided some hints as to promising folkloric practices (albeit through negative association) and professional recommendations regarding methods of mushroom preparation and preservation (United States Forest Service, 2013) (Missouri Department of Conservation, N.D.). Similarly, an online article from the Mycological Society of San Francisco was instrumental in researching the various common names for certain species of mushrooms, specifically the *Morchella* genus, otherwise known as morel mushrooms (Freedman, 2000).

Of the few articles utilizing a folkloric methodology, the most beneficial were a pair of articles titled *Community and Boundary: Personal Experience Stories of Mushroom Collectors* and *Dying for a Laugh: Negotiating Risk and Creating Personas in the Humor of Mushroom Collectors* written by Gary Fine in 1987 and 1988, respectively. Both documents explored the more folkloric practices of mycological societies, which are notably different groups than those formed by rural mushroom hunters. On a spectrum from folk to elite practices, rural mushroom hunters (the focus of this investigation) may be considered as a folk group, mycological societies as a normative group, and professional mycologists as an elite group. That is, although mycological societies have some folkloric practices, as outlined by Fine, members utilize a largely scientific process when participating in mushroom hunting activities. Thus, mycological societies lie in between the highly folkloric rural mushroom hunting groups and the exceedingly elite professional mycological groups. That being said, *Community and Boundary* explored the purposes within mycological societies of telling stories. Fine adeptly compared such anecdotes to the typical tale structures used by fishermen when telling fish stories and described the boundary-setting functions such stories served (Fine 1987). *Dying for a Laugh* evaluated techniques of humor used in stories and anecdotes told within mycological societies. In the process, Fine recognized the humor as a means to speak about the complexities of dealing with an activity that has the potential to harm and even kill the participants (Fine 1988). These analyses cannot be directly applied to the findings of this study due to the dissimilar

natures of the folkloric groups, but certain issues with which members of mycological societies must cope are very similar to those problems rural mushroom hunters encounter. While one would expect mycological societies and rural mushroom hunters to deal with these issues in different ways, the presence of such needs should remain constant between the groups.

Purpose

Considering the absence of academic literature on the folk practices of rural mushroom hunters, this study's purpose was threefold. The first intention was to provide a foundational recording of the group's folklore. The second purpose was to seek information regarding the boundaries surrounding, and relationships within, a rural mushroom hunting folk group. The final motivation was to develop and focus avenues for future study.

Methods

The primary means of data collection was through personal interviews. Interviewees were selected based on participation in the activity of mushroom hunting and habitation within Adair County, Missouri. Six male interviewees and one female interviewee agreed to speak with the researcher, for a total of seven individuals. Interviewees ranged in age from 20 years old to 92 years old. Separate groups of two and three interviewed individuals were related, two being cousins and three being from one family (father, mother, and son).

The interviews were purposefully chosen to take place within neutral spaces or spaces in which the interviewee felt comfortable. In several cases this was the interviewee's home, while in others this was a local, casual dining restaurant. A list of potential interview questions was prepared beforehand (Appendix A), but the flow of conversation was not stringently enforced. Rather, and as often as possible, methods of non-verbal and verbal prompting were used to encourage interviewee direction of conversation within the general topic. Moreover, the list of topics was further refined as the interviews occurred, reflecting both the importance interviewees placed on certain information and the need for supplementary questioning in order to urge individuals to illustrate the teaching and learning relationships within the folk group.

Interviews were voice-recorded and subsequently analyzed, whereupon the collected information was organized into categories of the overall cultural practice. Thus, the findings describe these categories and are followed by an analysis of the relationships by which the folklore is passed down.

Findings

All interviewed individuals admitted to picking only morel mushrooms, although each could remember and name other types of mushrooms. These included false morels and another mushroom they consistently called "elephant ears." Each

interviewee expressed wariness towards eating other types of mushrooms. However, all stated that they knew other people who ate several varieties of mushroom, including "elephant ears." Multiple individuals attributed this hesitancy to the knowledge that some mushrooms—such as the "elephant ear" —can be poisonous to some people and not others, while some mushrooms—such as the false morel—can be poisonous, or even deadly to all people.

Mushroom Identification

Thus, proper mushroom identification would seemingly be an important part of mushroom hunting. For the interviewed rural mushroom hunters, identification was unanimously and solely done by sight. Notable quotes pertaining to identification include, "You know 'em when you see 'em," and "When you see one, you know 'em all the time." Yet, when pressed for a description, interviewees were able to quickly find the words to describe a morel mushroom. This was not the case for other types of mushrooms, including the false morel. Noticeably, there were no folkloric phrases to help with identification.

Mushroom Hunting Signs

On the other hand, a wider number of signs for the start of the mushroom hunting season were named among the interviewees. The consistency within this section revolved around the primary focus that the ground must be warm, but the specifics of this theme fluctuated. Some interviewees focused on the temperature at night, while others focused on temperature during the day. Of those focusing on temperature in the day, the range was bookended by the achievement of 70°F and the achievement of three days over 80°F. Of those focusing on temperature at night, one interviewee claimed the season started after the first night over 50°F and the remaining interviewees asserted that the nights must maintain 50-60°F temperatures. The majority of the interviewed mushroom hunters used additional, natural indicators, which they also attributed to temperature. Four interviewees used the "fluffing up" of May apples and four used the blooming of pear and apple trees, noting that three individuals used both signs. Nonetheless, the interviewees gave a number of qualifying statements, including that the sunny edges of meadows produced mushrooms earlier than shady forests, that warmer upper levels produced sooner than lower levels, and that south-facing, sunny slopes produced sooner than north-facing slopes. Interestingly, all interviewees noted separately that their respective, disparate signs coordinated with a season beginning in mid-April and ending in mid-to-late May.

Another sign indicating the correct time to go mushroom hunting was the presence of moisture. However, this was a highly varied theme that included signs such as high humidity or a recent heavy rain. Alternatively, location next to a river, creek, ditch, or low spot was also deemed sufficient by many interviewees. One such

suggestive statement was: "Creek beds…They grow on the river, and they grow on the hills if there is a springy place or seepy place down a holler, and a lot of trees, and it's shaded."

Signs as to the specific location of mushrooms revolved almost entirely around trees, with only one interviewee focusing on location next to moisture as opposed to trees. The areas directly around elm trees or "ellum" trees (as several interviewees referred to them) were declared to be the primary sources of mushrooms. Yet the majority mentioned that mushrooms would also grow, albeit in lesser numbers, around maple, cottonwood, and oak trees. In any case, five individuals stated that the tree must be in a state of decay with bark falling off, while the remaining one stated that the tree must be dead, but the bark must still encase the tree. One even mentioned the ability to "fix" trees to produce mushrooms, noting that mushrooms did not grow until the second year after he had "fixed" a tree. When the elm trees began to leaf out, he would take an ax, hit the elm tree three or four feet up on the trunk, and simply pull off the lower bark. To further define the timespan for a particular tree, four of the interviewees noted that a tree is only good for a few years after it begins losing its bark.

Mushroom Growth and Reproduction

An added variation within the activity of mushroom hunting was the type of morel mushroom an individual hunted. Interviewees named two different types of morels that they habitually picked, many individuals claiming to pick and eat both. The grey, or black, morels were characteristically smaller – only about 3-4 inches tall – and grew earlier in the season, while the yellow morels grew to larger sizes and appeared about a week later than grey morels.

Intriguingly, the difference in type of mushroom was a stepping-stone to a much larger debate between mushroom hunters: how mushrooms grow. Most interviewed mushroom hunters conceded that mushrooms grew, or "popped up," in less than a day, and that the amount of time mushrooms lasted above ground depended on the exposure to sunlight and the presence of moisture, with shady areas and moist ground indicating longer mushroom continuation. There was a great and openly acknowledged contest about whether mushrooms grew after they initially popped up. One person claimed that yellow morels would grow, but grey morels would not grow. Three interviewees stated that mushroom growth depended on the soil and the tree around which the mushrooms were growing. Another individual declared "I know a lot of people think they just pop out, but I used to leave 'em till they got a certain size…Sometimes they don't grow 'cause the weather's not right, but if the weather's right they'll grow six inches tall!"

A similarly diverse, though less disputed conversation was about mushroom reproduction. Interviewees often stated that the mushroom spores were the components responsible for mushroom reproduction. However, this led to a range of

different practices. One individual used a loosely woven basket to allow spores to drop while walking. Two interviewees regularly left a couple mushrooms in a patch behind to act as "seed" for next year. One interviewee mentioned that, while he didn't believe in the practice, some people threw out the water in which they soaked their picked mushrooms in order to disperse the spores over a particular area. One individual strongly held that spores manifested within the trees, declaring:

> …an elm tree, when it dies completely, it's encased, and I think there is the beginning of rot on the inside, and I think the spores gather in there in some fashion…A lot of times you can tell which way the wind was blowing by where the mushrooms are at. If the wind was blowing out of the west you'll find the mushrooms on the east side of the tree, 'cause it'll blow the spores out.

Yet it was mentioned several times that one might leave the stem in the ground when picking morels to enhance mushroom regrowth. One individual stated, "I try to leave the ends of the mushroom in the ground. I don't know why, but I felt like maybe that would make some mushrooms come next year."

Mushroom Hunting Materials

Varied materials were proclaimed by the interviewees to be taken on mushroom hunts. Bug spray and long pants were routinely recommended to combat ticks and poison ivy, respectively. Some took walking sticks to safely manipulate patches of multi-flora rose. The highest level of dissimilarity appeared in the type of container used to collect mushrooms. Some used plastic bags. Others used canvas bags to protect the integrity of the bag. A few used potato sacks to let ants crawl out while they walked. And still others used baskets to allow spores to drop from the mushrooms, as mentioned previously.

Competition With Animals

A further area of mushroom hunting folklore, showing consistency in presence but variation in description, was whether mushroom hunters compete with animals for mushrooms. Responses varied between an assertion that animals do not eat morel mushrooms due to their pungent odor, to a declaration that deer and squirrels definitely eat morels. Of note is the fact that the two cousin interviewees were positioned on opposite ends of this discussion. A granule of general uniformity was that ants are always found inside morel mushrooms.

Mushroom Preparation and Cooking

The finding of ants in mushrooms led naturally to the practices of preparing mushrooms for cooking, which were highly regular between interviewees. Morel mushrooms were always cut in half lengthwise and were soaked for two to three days

in salt water. The function of this was repeatedly identified as killing and getting rid of ants.

After morels were prepared, they were usually cooked immediately. Though various methods of cooking morels were named, preference was consistently given to pan-frying. First, morels were dipped in mixtures of egg or egg and milk. Next, the mushrooms were rolled in flour, finely crushed saltine crackers, or a mixture of flour and saltines. Then, morels were fried in different greases including bacon grease, butter, vegetable oil, and peanut oil. Some individuals then added salt, ketchup, ranch dressing, or "grandma's secret spice mix" as condiments. Other, less used methods of cooking were deep fat frying, and the making of mushroom soup – likened to a milk-based, slightly-seasoned potato soup.

Mushroom Preservation

If mushrooms were not used, they were preserved. Multiple interviewees discussed methods of drying or freezing morel mushrooms. To dry the mushrooms, one individual had been informed that one could use a dehydrator. Two other interviewees had heard of a natural method of drying. In the words of one individual,

> … If you get a whole basket of 'em, you take a string and run it through the tips of 'em… and hang 'em up in the attic so they could dry…they'd dry up there and then you could take ye some off and soak 'em in some water and 'fry 'em. Don't soak 'em very long…cause they'll disappear…ye won't be able to find 'em!

Several individuals stated that this reconstitution by soaking could also be done with some larger morel mushrooms, which displayed the tendency to dry out quickly and become paper-thin.

For freezing, three individuals agreed that the method to use was the following: prepare the morels to be cooked in the typical fashion, spread them out on a cookie sheet to freeze, then put them together in a bag for storage. Later, one could cook the morels by taking the frozen mushrooms and placing them directly into a pan of hot grease.

Mushroom Sickness

Most of the interviewed mushroom hunters cautioned against eating too many mushrooms at once. If one is not careful, one's mushroom eating days could abruptly end from either overexposure to the richness of the mushroom taste or from developing a sort of late onset allergy. One interviewee mentioned that he "got sick on them 20 years ago" and could not eat mushrooms since. Another individual shared a more dramatic story:

> …My son had a real close friend…this boy had eaten those mushrooms for 20 years, and one day he went and got some mushrooms of his own, cooked them at home, and went into anaphylactic shock. Had to take him to the hospital. He can't eat a mushroom now.

Mushroom Hunting Sociality

One overarching, and very important theme of mushroom hunting was the social dimension. Mushroom hunters, like fishermen and hunters, are commonly known for their friendly secrecy. This was confirmed in each interview through some joking but highly indicative statements regarding hiding the location of mushroom areas. One declared, "It's kinda like a fish story. You don't tell nobody where ya caught your fish at!" Another, referencing the fact that specific trees are only good for a couple years, said, "I ain't telling 'em where I found it the first year! I might tell 'em where I found it the second year!" Yet another interviewee jested, "Usually didn't tell where ya picked 'em. Ya lied to 'em! Kinda kept that a secret, because ya know'd the next year they'd be there again."

Nonetheless, the interviewed mushroom hunters were quick to say that they would take close friends and family out on mushroom hunts. Moreover, they all claimed to give mushrooms away to family members, friends, former mushroom hunters who were unable to go anymore, and the property owners of the land on which the mushrooms were picked (if not on one's own property). Several even asserted that they knew people who regularly expected mushrooms from the interviewees. Furthermore, at the end of a mutual mushroom hunt, the hunters would "divide them up however, so everybody got mushrooms." Summarizing the general sentiment, everyone who had a stake in the mushroom hunt received mushrooms.

On the other hand, when approached by "outsiders," mushrooms were frequently used as an economic commodity. Across a range of years, some interviewees sold mushrooms for an assortment of prices, from four or five dollars per gallon to 30 or 40 dollars for a 5-gallon bucket.

Mushroom hunts were normally associated with sparse conversation since people spread out to increase mushroom hunting yield, but the discussions that did occur most frequently involved other outdoor activities. In fact, the mushroom hunts themselves regularly appeared in tandem with a fishing day or turkey hunting activities since both spring fishing and spring turkey hunting were explained as having similar seasons to morel mushroom hunting.

While mushroom hunters would allow close friends on mushroom hunts, it seemed that a bulk of the passing on of the folklore was kept within the family. Whether or not this was an effect of the secrecy of the practice, every interviewee named a member of his or her family as the teacher of the mushroom hunting skill. The relationship through which one learned mushroom hunting varied highly. Yet, regardless of the gender of the interviewed mushroom hunter, the teacher was always

a male figure. The relationships given by the interviewees of this study included fathers, grandfathers, uncles, great-uncles, and older brothers. This was true even for the family interviewed in this study, including a father, mother, and son. The mother had learned to mushroom hunt from her own father, so she was aware of how to mushroom hunt before marriage. However, the son seemed to attribute more (but not all) of the knowledge of the skill to the father. A quote from the son best illustrates this relationship:

> A lot of the times, [we go mushroom hunting] whenever he says they're good. He can go out and find them a lot quicker than I've ever been able to. So, whenever he comes out and finds a bunch of them, then we'll start going out and looking for them.

The father later reinforced this by speaking about introducing his sons to mushroom hunting.

> I took them guys out when they couldn't even walk. I had to pack them out in a little chest carrier and took them out hunting…just 'cause it was time to go… There wasn't nobody else to watch them, so we just went.

The actual method of teaching one to mushroom hunt was unwaveringly one of direct instruction. One interviewee shared that his great uncle would say, "I know a place where there are mushrooms. Let's go get 'em!" He, in turn, taught his grandchildren to hunt by going out first to find the mushrooms, then pointing them in the right direction. Along the way he would teach them the type of trees to look for and other signs for a good mushroom hunt. Within the interview, he recounted that his grandchildren now shout while he is driving down a country road, "Look, grandpa! There's a mushroom tree!" A second individual recalled teaching his children how to identify morels and how to hunt mushrooms, saying, "Show them one, ya know. Shoot! They'd crawl around through the brush like rabbits!"

This is not to say that the act of mushroom hunting is a male dominated experience. In fact, mushroom hunting was overwhelmingly expressed to be a social and family-inclusive event. One mushroom hunter conveyed that he had taught both his sons and grandchildren to mushroom hunt, especially his oldest granddaughter. Additionally, one individual mentioned that he taught all his daughters to hunt, of which he had four, and that his wife was the only one in his family who knew how to cook the mushrooms. A third interviewee described going mushroom hunting with his wife. The mother of the family of three cited an aunt who used to mushroom hunt, described going on mushroom hunts with children and adults of a close family, and mentioned that a family friend had carved the mushroom hunting walking sticks for her sons.

Mushroom Hunting Anecdotes and Hyperboles

A final social aspect of mushroom hunting for consideration was the presence and use of anecdotes. These anecdotes were focused on either the size of a particular mushroom find or were a statement of the quantity of mushrooms collected in a location. Examples of a size-related anecdote include, "I picked 'em as big as a quart fruit jar" or "…I was across a big ravine, and I looked across and it was maybe an eighth to a quarter of a mile away from me, and I could see that mushroom…it was almost as big as a soccer ball!" A sample of an anecdote of quantity was the following story:

> The wind was out of the west and I actually *smelled* mushrooms. They have a real pungent odor…but you don't normally smell them… I looked around and I just started following my nose…I went about 200 feet, 300 feet, there was a great big elm tree…it was like Alice in Wonderland, there were mushrooms everywhere…I bet there was five, six hundred of them…"

Though no official record is kept for largest morel mushrooms by the Missouri Department of Conservation (Missouri Conservation Records Office, personal communication, November 8, 2016), the anecdotes given by the interviewees exist within a realistic realm of possibility. The Missouri Department of Conservation Field Guide documents that morels may grow up to 12 inches in height (Missouri Department of Conservation, N.D.), and pictures provided by an interviewee show a kitchen sink full of morel mushrooms collected in a single outing (Appendix B).

Alternatively, interviewees offered some statements as a sort of mushroom "tall tale." One individual remembered hearing someone joke, "I got one so big I had to cut it with a chainsaw!" while a second recollected a person saying, "I picked so many, I filled my whole truck up."

Analysis

Within the folk groups, the overall act of mushroom hunting served primarily as a means for sustenance acquisition. Among the interviewees, and in the face of inquiry, only one other purpose was named for acquiring mushrooms. One may sell one's collected mushrooms, but it was expected that the sold mushrooms would also be consumed. Historically and functionally, mushroom hunting may also assist in filling the "hungry gap" experienced by many farming societies. The "hungry gap" is the potentially frustrating season where winter stores are running low, winter garden crops have finished growing, and summer crops are not yet producing. In many areas this occurs during the months of April, May, and June (Dowding, 2011)

In this light, a multitude of other sub-categories can be linked to the effectiveness and productivity of food collection. Such categories include signs for the mushroom hunting season, signs for mushroom location, materials used for mushroom hunting, mushroom reproduction, mushroom growth, animal-human

competition, mushroom preparation, mushroom cooking, and mushroom preservation.

However, some categories served other purposes including member safety, member status, and folk group boundary setting. A noticeable shortage of folkloric phrases surrounding morel mushroom hunting was present in this study, especially in reference to mushroom identification. Within the Northeast Missouri community, the author is personally aware of several phrases for identification of other natural life. For example, "Leaves of three, let it be" is commonly used to warn people about the danger of poison ivy. It was therefore surprising to find a complete absence of such phrases in morel mushroom hunting. However, as described in Fine's article "Dying for a Laugh," the functions of mushroom hunting groups —mycological society, rural mushroom hunter, or otherwise—remind members of the possibility of death through their participation in the activity (Fine, 1988). This was confirmed in this study by the expressed hesitancy to consume any other type of mushroom apart from morels. The absence of folkloric identification phrases, or *any* other alternate identification means besides by positive sight recognition, may itself be a method of dealing with these concerns. Such phrases, by their nature, often focus on what *not* to handle or consume. However, the sheer variety of mushroom species, and even the visible variety within a species, provides a challenge in creating such a unifying phrase. Moreover, sayings might encourage people to pick and eat mushrooms based less on positive identification and more on association with a theoretically untrue heuristic phrase. With the stakes so high, this may not be a chance individuals would be willing to take.

Another category relating to member safety was the knowledge of mushroom sickness. These stories were often told in a cautionary manner and with a relatively high degree of enthusiasm. Presumably this served to authenticate the story, to express the seriousness of the matter, and to avidly warn budding mushroom hunters from the same fate.

Anecdotes afforded a means of establishing status as a mushroom hunter within a group. The act of telling numerous stories, stories about finding a peculiarly large mushroom, or stories about an exceptionally bountiful mushroom hunt seemed to be used as both a standard form of conversational entertainment on the subject and a means to establish credibility.

The joking hyperboles were used solely for entertainment. There was also a difference between how the two collected hyperboles were approached. The "chain saw" quote was obviously taken with a grain of salt and found funny by the interviewees. The "truck bed" tale was considered with hesitancy by some and near-disdain by others. It seemed to lie on the border between being a real claim and being a laughable claim. This indicated that there might exist statements that act as a border patrolling mechanism. In other words, only a "fake" mushroom hunter would truly claim to have picked so many that they could fill a truck bed, or only a beginning

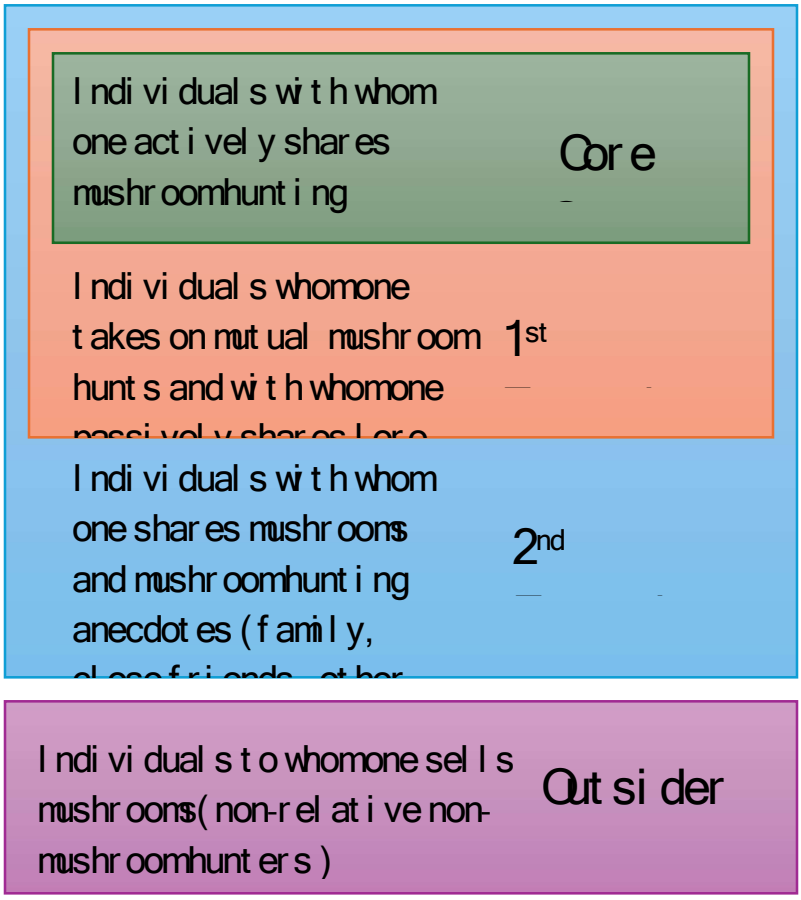
mushroom hunter would attempt to so obviously over exaggerate a story for status gain.

Still, rural mushroom hunters offered a challenge when attempting to define the folk group boundaries. As expressed in the findings, the passing down of folk mushroom hunting lore and skills was primarily done within a family group, and mostly through a relationship with a male authority figure. Nonetheless, this result did not outline the folk group boundaries, as close friends were often included in mushroom hunts. Two practices may serve to clarify a model for mushroom hunting folk groups of Northeast Missouri.

The first practice, which may have been an indicator of a boundary rather than a mechanism of boundary creation, was the act of selling mushrooms versus giving mushrooms away. Mushrooms acted as a social commodity within groups of family, friends, and other mushroom hunters, but were converted to an economic commodity when presented to non-mushroom hunters.

The second custom was the secrecy of the mushroom hunting groups. Mushroom hunting locations were not shared with other mushroom hunters but were shared with close friends and family. This marker seemed not to define the boundaries between mushroom hunters and outsiders, but to define boundaries between sections of the folk group itself.

Thus, the author proposes the following model for Northeast Missouri mushroom hunting folk groups:



Further Study

The results of this study uncovered at least five intriguing avenues for future scholarship. Firstly, the correlation between mushroom hunting and the hungry gap of a region should be thoroughly explored. Secondly, the absence of folkloric phrases and methods of identification in mushroom hunting groups should receive supplementary inquiry. Thirdly, the mechanism of passing down of mushroom hunting folklore by a male authority figure should be studied in greater detail. A relatively small number of individuals were interviewed in this study, but a larger sample size might determine if this mechanism is a consistent theme in Northeast Missouri rural mushroom hunting. Fourthly, the proposed model of Northeast Missouri mushroom hunting folklore should be reviewed, tested, and revised. Finally, further information should be collected regarding mushroom hunting anecdotes as a potential method of border patrolling for rural mushroom hunting groups. This includes both the boundaries between joking and authenticating anecdotes, and the potential for possession of an anecdote to be a key to group acceptance.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

The following questions indicate the topics covered within each interview.

- When and how did you start mushroom hunting?
- Did you start mushroom hunting with anyone? Is there a person you would identify as having taught you to mushroom hunt? How did he or she teach you to hunt?
- Can you tell me about a time when you went out with the person who taught you to mushroom hunt?
- Can you tell me about a time when you taught someone to mushroom hunt?
- What types of mushrooms do you typically hunt for?
- How do you identify edible mushrooms?

- Are there any sayings to help with identification? Are there any sayings that you have heard people say about mushrooms or mushroom hunting in general?
- Is there any other way you have heard of to tell if a mushroom is poisonous or not?
- Are there any other names you have heard people call certain types of mushrooms?
- Are there any signs that indicate good mushroom hunting in a specific area?
- What time of year/week/day should one go mushroom hunting? Is there a best time? What signs tell you, "now is the right time to be mushroom hunting"?
- What way's might someone prepare mushrooms? Do you have a preference?
- Have you heard of any signs that would indicate a bad mushroom hunting day/trip?
- Who would one share mushrooms with? Who would a mushroom hunter share mushroom hunting territory with? Would a mushroom hunter tell another mushroom hunter about a particularly successful spot?
- What kind of gear does one take on a mushroom hunt?
- To whom might someone pass on mushroom hunting knowledge?
- Have you heard of anyone using types of mushrooms for things other than food, such as for medicine?
- Have you heard what you might consider a tall tale or a joke about mushroom hunting?
- What kinds of stories do people tell about mushroom hunting?
- Do mushroom hunters go alone or do they mushroom hunt with other people?
- If people go together, what kinds of things do people talk about when they are mushroom hunting?
- Do you belong to any formal mushroom hunting group or mycological group?

Appendix B: Morel Mushroom Pictures

Figure 1. Anonymously provided by an interviewee, the above photograph shows a kitchen sink full of morel mushrooms. The interviewee stated that during a bountiful year, he would have this sink, a bathtub, and a metal washtub filled with soaking mushrooms.

Figure 2. Anonymously provided by an interviewee, the above photograph shows the structure and size of what the interviewee considered a typical morel mushroom.

Figure 3. Retrieved from the Missouri Department of Conservation online mushroom field guide, this photograph depicts a *Morchella angusticeps*, commonly known as a black or grey morel (Missouri Department of Conservation, N.D.).

Figure 4. Retrieved from the Missouri Department of Conservation online mushroom field guide, this photograph depicts a patch of *Morchella esculentoides,* commonly known as the yellow morel. (Missouri Department of Conservation, N.D.).

St. Louis Halloween Traditions

Lily Casey

Halloween is a holiday celebrated by large parts of the world every year on October 31st. Traditions commonly include children dressing up in costumes, sometimes home-made and sometimes store-bought, and "trick-or-treating" for candy and treats. However, in St. Louis, Missouri, tradition goes a step further, and trick-or-treaters are expected to tell a joke or do some sort of trick, for which they will receive a piece of candy as a reward. People who grew up in St. Louis are often shocked when they celebrate Halloween elsewhere and are met with confusion when they ask for a joke before giving out candy.

St. Louis' unique Halloween tradition has been the topic of many news articles from national publications, ranging from National Public Radio (NPR), to Smithsonian Magazine, to The Wall Street Journal. All these articles report on the perceived oddity of the tradition, as well as the transactional nature. Joe Palazzolo of The Wall Street Journal remarks that "These Midwesterners don't parcel out candy free. Trick-or-treaters have to earn it." Not everyone from St. Louis remembers telling jokes when growing up, though the tradition seems to go back decades in some parts of the city. This paper uses data collected through email interviews from 11 informants who grew up in the St. Louis area and trick-or-treated between 1940 and 2020. They span the city and various parts of the county, and each recall variations on telling jokes, singing, or doing a trick, for candy, playing pranks, and various other traditions relating to Halloween and trick-or-treating.

Although the tradition is simply to tell a joke, considerable effort is put in by some people to have the perfect joke, or to coordinate a joke with their costume. However, others choose to stick to simple Halloween themed jokes. Examples of Halloween jokes might include, "Q: What does a skeleton always say before eating? A: Bone appétit" (Greenblatt), "Q: What's a vampire's favorite pet? A: A bloodhound" (Sage), and various other quiz-style jokes about monsters, ghosts, and other spooky Halloween characters. Another popular form of Halloween joke is the knock-knock joke. Some examples of these would include, "Knock-knock. Who's there? Boo. Boo who? Don't cry! It's Halloween!" and "Knock-knock. Who's there? Ivana. Ivana who? Ivana suck your blood" (Mulroy). Most people handing out candy on Halloween will give every trick-or-treater the same level of enthusiasm for their jokes, even if it is one that has been told by countless other kids that night, because part of the fun of the

tradition is giving kids the satisfaction of feeling clever and funny with their Halloween jokes.

Dr. John Oldani, a folklorist living in St. Louis theorizes that the tradition of telling jokes on Halloween may have started with Irish immigrants who moved to the city in the mid-1800s. In his book *St. Lou-isms: Lingo, Lore, and the Lighter Side of Life in the Gateway City*, he writes that, "in Ireland, for centuries people would dress up in costumes and go from door to door to get something for the legendary Muck Olla who was wandering the neighborhoods that night looking for food or money. The costumed reveler would have to 'perform' in order to be rewarded with something for the mythical Muck Olla" (Oldani 150). This tradition could easily have morphed into the tradition of performing or telling jokes that remains popular in St. Louis to this day.

Another Halloween tradition which was popular through the 1950s but seemed to die out by the 1960s or 70s was to play pranks either on Halloween or on the night before. Oldani references the movie *Meet Me in St. Louis*, in which a character carries around a bag of flour while trick-or-treating. He adds that the belief in Ireland was that throwing flour into the face of a fairy or leprechaun on Halloween would capture them and allow the capturer control (Oldani 151). Other examples of pranks, provided by interviews in the fieldwork done for this paper, are soaping the windows or screens of both cars and houses, and disassembling a car to reassemble it on someone's front porch. Both trick-or-treating and prank playing offer examples of the conservation and variation of Irish traditions as they moved to St. Louis.

Many scholars have studied American Halloween traditions as they relate to those of other countries, but few go so deep as to look at traditions that are limited to specific cities or regions. Jack Santino, in his article for *Western Folklore* writes that Halloween traditions of dressing up and decorating homes can be traced back to the Celtic day Samhain, which was "the first day of the New Year in the Celtic calendar and was one of four major calendrical festivals" (Santino 3). Samhain was celebrated on November 1st, and was the date by which many chores, such as harvesting crops, were expected to be finished. The day was also considered to be a celebration of death and rebirth, comparable to modern-day Easter, and it was a day when the divides between the human and fairy worlds were especially permeable (Santino 5). Many aspects of Samhain, including the practice of giving gifts of food to wandering spirits, can be found in a slightly altered form within Halloween traditions.

Samhain also affects the ways in which Halloween is celebrated in Scotland. In Scotland, Halloween used to align more closely with traditional Samhain practices, but in more recent years the holiday has been "Americanized" and Scottish traditions now align more closely with the rest of the world. However, there is still one piece of Scottish Halloween traditions that remains untouched, and that is the tradition of trick-or-treaters telling jokes for their candy. Unlike in St. Louis, there is a special name for Halloween traditions in Scotland. It is called "guising," and "the word dates

back to the 13th century, and meant 'to dress fantastically,' with the same word root as 'disguise"' (Beedie). The tradition of "guising" actually dates to a Christmastime tradition, but over time it shifted to be included with Halloween. *Tobar an Dualchais*, a collection of Scottish oral history, has a collection on Scottish Halloween traditions collected over the last sixty years but also includes memories from informants that date back more than a century. Many mention beliefs regarding fairies and spirits, guising, and performing tricks for candy.

Like many Pagan festivals and holidays, Samhain was Christianized into All Souls and All Saints (All Hallows) Days. However, the holiday remained a day when magic, divination, and omens were commonly practiced (Rogers 463). Before it was banned at the Reformation, a common practice on All Souls Day was to go "a-souling," or begging for alms to help the souls trapped in purgatory (Rogers 464). It is easy to see the conservation and variation of this practice as it morphed into modern day trick-or-treating.

While the similarity between Halloween traditions in Scotland and in St. Louis historically compelling, it does not help to establish the origin of the St. Louis tradition. St. Louis is home to large groups of Irish and Italian immigrants but not many Scottish. Of course there is overlap between Scottish and Irish Samhain traditions and history, so it is entirely possible that the traditions that are now considered unique to Scotland were brought to St. Louis by the Irish immigrants in the 1800s. Either way, it is clear that there is some origin in Celtic Samhain and Muck Olla traditions to be found in St. Louis Halloween customs.

In his article for *Social History*, Nicholas Rogers, a professor of history at York University, explores how Samhain, and then Halloween became and then remained popular in the United States. He writes that part of the answer to this question is that Halloween is:

> a relatively free-form holiday under no particular jurisdiction, [which] has managed to retain the revelrous liminality that was characteristic of many festivals in the past. Halloween constitutes a time of transition when orthodox social constraints are lifted, a moment of status ambiguity and indeterminacy when ritual subjects can act out their individual or collective fantasies, hopes, or anxieties. (Rogers 463)

He adds that the appeal of Halloween may also come from its ambiguous relationship with reality, as the fantastical comes to life for just one night.

Of the eleven informants interviewed for this paper, all remember trick-or-treating, seven noted that telling jokes was "required" when trick-or-treating; four noted that singing, dancing, reciting a poem, or doing some other trick was acceptable either alongside jokes or in replacement of jokes; and three did not recall telling jokes or doing any other sort of trick or performance as part of their trick-or-treating. The informants' descriptions of their Halloween traditions, along with a note of their

location and dates are as follows: Welston, 1940s, trick-or-treating with no mention of jokes or performances, but playing pranks the night before Halloween was popular; The Hill, 1940s, trick-or-treating with jokes, also played pranks on Halloween; Wellston, 1940s-50s, trick-or-treating with jokes, singing, or dancing; Wellston, 1940s-50s, trick-or-treating, did not tell jokes, but did sing, recite a poem, or dance, and playing pranks was popular; Ferguson, 1950s-60s, trick-or-treating with jokes, tricks, or songs; Florissant, 1960s, trick-or-treating without jokes, but did sing songs; University City, 1970s, trick-or-treating with jokes, especially knock-knock jokes; West County 1970s-80s, trick-or-treating without jokes; Belleville, 1980s, trick-or-treating without jokes; Florissant, 1980s, trick-or-treating with jokes; Florissant, 1980s-90s, trick-or-treating with jokes, prank calls were also popular; South City, 2010s, trick-or-treating with jokes. This data shows the variety in how people celebrated Halloween in different parts of St. Louis across the decades. Pranks, such as soaping windows, were popular for a while, but went out of popularity until the 80s and 90s when they came back in the form of prank calls. From the 40s through the 60s singing a song, doing a dance, or performing in some other way was a popular alternative to telling a joke, but the tradition seems to consolidate into just telling jokes by the 70s.

One informant wrote that, "We never told jokes and were too shy to try to dance and we couldn't sing so we always just said 'trick-or-treat'" (appx. 1). Another provided an example of a standard alternative to the line "trick-or-treat" through this anecdote:

> One year my cousin, Jimmy, was staying with us. He was from a farm in rural Missouri and had never heard of trick-or-treating. He was my age, about 11 or 12 years old at the time. My sister and I dressed him up as a girl and we told him to say "my name is Jimmy and I'll take what you gimme." That was a Halloween expression of the time. Another was "trick-or-treat, smell my feet." Jimmy had a great time! (appx. 2)

These two informants are siblings who trick-or-treated in the 40s and 50s. Both examples show that trick-or-treating was an activity to be enjoyed even by those who did not participate in the "requirement" of telling jokes or doing tricks. One also noted that they would follow "trick-or-treat" with "thank you," and mentioned pranks being pulled by "naughty" boys in the neighborhood. Clearly manners were still important even though it was Halloween.

Two informants noted that while they did not experience telling jokes on Halloween when they grew up in St. Louis, they were introduced to the tradition when they had kids and moved to a different part of the St. Louis area. One wrote that, "In my neighborhood telling jokes was NOT a thing. We just made our costumes and rang doorbells. No tricks either. We were boring! I didn't encounter the joke-telling ritual until we moved into Clayton in 2002 and had our own kids. Suddenly there was pressure to have just the right joke!" (appx. 3). It is possible that their new exposure to

telling jokes on Halloween comes from the jump forward a couple of decades between when they trick-or-treated as kids to when they had kids, or that it comes from them both moving to different areas when they had kids.

One thing that several older informants had in common was their nostalgia for the Halloween's of their childhoods as the "good old days." They specifically noted that the streets were safer, that trunk or treats were not a thing, and that Halloween was more focused on the community and staying within their neighborhoods, unlike Halloween today which includes trunk or treats and traveling to streets that have better candy. Several also mentioned the change from homemade treats to packaged candy, most remembering some sort of incident (someone getting sick, someone finding a razor blade in a treat, etc.) that prompted the caution and the switch. Almost all the informants included mentions of their homemade costumes, some explicitly stating that buying costumes was not even an option. Several made specific mention of wearing their mother's "house dress" or a t-shirt of their father's. This differs from today's standard where it is uncommon to see a costume that is not store bought.

Halloween is a commonly celebrated holiday around the world, with roots in pagan festivals, such as Samhain, and the Christianization of these festivals. Many customs relating to the holiday are practiced widely and are fairly standardized, but some are specific to certain regions. Among these specific traditions and customs, is the St. Louis tradition of telling jokes for candy when trick-or-treating. This can be traced back to the Celtic practices both for Samhain and for Muck Olla, and telling jokes is still a common practice in Scotland as well. The presence of this tradition, and its variations across time and location within St. Louis, show conservation and variation at work within the community. It is a tradition that has been in St. Louis possibly dating back to the mid-1800s, and one that continues to flourish in the present day.

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Appendix 1:

Your Nana and I grew up on Ridge Avenue two blocks south of Easton Avenue. My favorite memory of Halloween was a day our mom took uss and a couple of our friends to Mrs. Langston's house on Delmar for a Halloween party. Mrs Langston was a family friend, she had everything decorated kind of on the spooky side! The lights were low. There was a dress mannequin dressed like a witch. Candles were lit with an old upright piano hanging with scarves and comwebs. The dining room table was laden with every kind of sweets we could possibly imagine. Oh we were so excited even though a bit scared. We were maybe five and seven years old.

Other years we dressed up in things we found around the house, always anxious to get 'free' candy. We never told jokes and were too shy to try to dance and we couldn't sing so we always just said 'trick-or-treat.' I think those fun years were around 1945 to 1953. I usually went to houses in our neighborhood with my sister and her friend.

One year when I was older the lure of the excitement and free candy was too much to resist, I went with a school friend dressed in hula skirts from Hawaii. At one house a man came to the door and after we said our usual 'trick-or-treat' line he said 'they sure are growin' them big now-a-days.' I was pretty tall but my friend was even taller. That was our VERY last time to go 'trick-or-treating.' So sad!!!

Appendix 2:

I grew up in St. Louis, Missouri, on the northwest side of the city, near what was then the Wellston Shopping District. I lived on Ridge Avenue, between Hodiamont and Hamilton Avenues.

I suppose I went trick-or-treating from about 1945 to 1952. It was something I looked forward to all year,

We wore mostly costumes made of things we had around the house. I remember having one "store bought" costume, probably purchased at either Woolworths or Kresges Dime Store. I usually went trick-or-treating with my sister and my friend, Necey. We did not tell jokes. That custom came about much later, when your Mom and Aunt Marnie were trick-or-treating in the 1970s. I have heard that it is a St. Louis tradition. People from other states have never heard of telling jokes for treats. When I was a child you were expected to sing a little song, recite a poem, dance or perform in some way. Or you just said trick-or-treat and thank you. Some naughty kids would soap windows of houses that did not give out candy or treats, or do other mischievous acts. Nothing really bad though..

One year my cousin, Jimmy, was staying with us. He was from a farm in rural Missouri and had never heard of trick-or-treating, He was my age, about 11 or 12 years old at the time. My sister and I dressed him up as a girl and we told him to say "my name is Jimmy and I'll take what you gimme". That was a Halloween expression of the time. Another was "trick-or-treat - smell my feet". Jimmy had a great time!

Appendix 3:

1. What part of St. Louis did you grow up in?

West county, near West Port Plaza. Parkway North school district.

2. What years (roughly) did you trick-or-treat /celebrateHalloween?

1972-1982

3. What sorts of Halloween traditions were popular when you were a kid and which ones did you participate in?

We made our own costumes--there was no Amazon--or even really Halloween themed stores--so we had to make from scratch. In my neighborhood telling jokes was NOT a thing. We just made our costumes and rang doorbells. No tricks either. We were boring! I didn't encounter the joke-telling ritual until we moved into Clayton in 2002 and had our own kids. Suddenly there was pressure to have just the right joke!

4. Do you have any specific memories of Halloween traditions you experienced such as jokes that you told, pranks that you played, etc.

Well, not really a tradition, but my best friend in middle school and I went as a pair: peanuts/peanut M&Ms, flower and bee. See attached! There are a couple other unrelated people to the theme in the pictures. Also, our neighbor used to make delicious fried batter things. Others sometimes handed out candied apples. Today, you wouldn't accept hand-made unwrapped items, right? In fact, the last 10 years or so we have given out light up fidget spinners and flashing rings--not candy at all…

The Influence of *Honne* and *Tatemae* in Japanese Folkloric Behavior

Jacob Colangelo

In any social situation—within any culture—a person is expected to modify their language and behavior to agree with the context in which they are interacting. We do not typically use the same tones or body language with our bosses or professors that we do with our friends. However, in Japan, this aspect of social behavior is so heavily ingrained into its culture that specific terms are used for it: *honne* and *tatemae*. By conducting interviews with native Japanese students and professors and doing bibliographical research, I studied the social practices related to *honne* and *tatemae* and how they have influenced patterns of folklore. There is evidence of conservation among these folk practices in terms of context-based phrases and behaviors, forms of border patrolling, as well as some aspect of regional variation in what constitutes socially appropriate behavior.

In Roger J. Davies' and Osamu Ikeno's book *The Japanese Mind: Understanding Contemporary Japanese Culture*, *honne* and *tatemae* are defined as follows: "These two words are often considered a dichotomy contrasting genuinely-held personal feelings and opinions from those that are socially controlled. *Honne* is one's deep motive or intention, while *tatemae* refers to motives or intentions that are socially-tuned, those that are shaped, encouraged, or suppressed by majority norms" (qtd. in Davies 115). While a person's inner thoughts or desires often do not agree with their behavior in any cultural setting, the Japanese "make use of it extensively, taking *honne* and *tatemae* for granted in daily life because it is considered a virtue not to directly express one's real feelings and intentions" (Davies 116).

I found no research on *honne* and *tatemae* from a folkloristic viewpoint. Most research comes primarily from anthropological, linguistic, or philosophical perspectives. Davies' and Ikeno's note that *honne* and *tatemae* are considered a virtuous behavior overlaps a philosophical idea discussed by Steve Odin: "In the tradition of *nihonjinron* or 'studies of Japanese identity' it has become commonplace to characterize the Japanese concept of self as social, group-centered, and collectivistic in opposition to the American notion of self which is by contrast said to be atomistic, egocentric, and individualistic" (Odin 241). However, Odin disagrees that the "social self" is totally absent from American philosophy, and was in fact discussed by several classical American philosophers (241). He names George Herbert Mead as the most important

of these, whose work argued that the self "is a field of social relationships which perpetually arises and perishes in a temporal stream of creative advance into novelty" (243).

Takeo Doi, a Japanese academic and psychoanalyst, wrote that "Mead's concept of 'self' corresponds to *tatemae*" and may "suggest that the Japanese words can be translated into Western concepts" (Doi 46). However, he believed that "*tatemae* and *honne* spring from everyday language" and, because the Japanese are "always aware of the special relationship between them," the two are "uniquely characteristic of the Japanese" (46-7). Additionally, he notes that "it develops in the home environment during infancy and childhood and, later, through the human relations developed in school and social situations outside the home" (46). This indicates that *honne* and *tatemae* are learned naturally rather than through direct instruction.

Despite Doi's insistence that Mead's concept of the self is not the same as *honne* and *tatemae*, the two do display a pattern of fluidity which agree with Mead's thought that "to be self-conscious is essentially to become an object to one'self in virtue of one's social relations to other individuals" (qtd. in Doi 46). This has been proven by anthropological research. Joy Hendry, through ethnographic inquiry, observed that *tatemae* had an aspect she metaphorically related to wrapping: "There are … different faces for different situations, but more importantly … there may be different layers of *tatemae*, the number of layers being in itself significant, and there are also different ways in which one can peel off and penetrate the layers of *tatemae* in any particular context" (Hendry 626). The "social self" appears as a complex system of adaptation in the form of *tatemae*. In particular, *tatemae* is affected by social hierarchies and situational formalities. Hendry refers to "meaningful interaction [which] must be preceded by an appropriate form of wrapping," such as "meetings … [which] almost invariably open with an exchange of formal, almost ritual, phrases, followed by a preliminary listing of items to be discussed, still in rather formal language, before the nitty gritty of the day can be addressed" (631).

Hendry also discusses the difficulty of understanding this wrapping principle for foreigners. In her observances, even people who spend years there "may never penetrate the gift-wrapped Japan" and "thus retain the idea that [Japanese] people are 'inscrutable'" (631). Research conducted by Carl Falsgraf, Noriko Fujii, and Hiroko Kataoka on foreign workers in Japan yielded similar conclusions that "foreigners tended to believe the *tatemae* of a situation too readily" (Falsgraf 187). Their research also brought out the linguistic functions of *tatemae*, and interestingly, the subjects who showed the greatest proficiency in the Japanese language still "had difficulty grasping the underlying message (*honne*)," and one Japanese person said their foreign colleague "tended to take what was being said at its face value and did not understand the real message" (192). Yutaka Yamamoto cited a specific example in which American President Richard Nixon misunderstood Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato: "President Nixon asked for a cut in Japanese textile imports, and Prime Minister Sato

answered, '*Zensho shimasu*,' which was translated literally as 'I'll handle it as well as I can.' Nixon thought that meant 'I'll take care of it,' but the Japanese understood it to mean something like 'Let's talk about something else'" (qtd. in Yamamoto 451). Yamamoto later defines *tatemae* as a "matter of tact" wherein "one represses real feelings and acts according to expectations in order to avoid confrontation, or causing offense and loss of face" (459). For Yamamoto, *honne* and *tatemae* are extremely context-based. Interactions between people who share strong mutual trust should never focus intensely on *tatemae*, and those between strangers should involve almost no *honne* (463).

In conclusion, *honne* and *tatemae* represent linguistic and behavioral patterns that shift with social contexts. Philosophically, this concept is in agreement with some American thought, and we certainly understand that someone changes the way they behave depending on the situation in *any* society or culture. Yet *honne* and *tatemae* affect the Japanese in ways more structured and repetitive than even native speakers may understand. My fieldwork revealed the mechanisms through which *honne* and *tatemae* influence patterns of folklore in Japanese language and behavior.

My fieldwork was based entirely on interviews with native Japanese people. I conducted interviews with eight people: six students and two professors at Truman State University. The students were Tatsuya Akiba, Hiroshi Honjo, Sayaka Kashima, Akari Kinjo, Satoshi Miura, and Misumi Seike. The two professors were Dr. Masahiro Hara and Shinya Uchida. To begin with, I wrote a list of questions meant to get the interviewees to think about *honne* and *tatemae* in more complex ways than they typically would. I meant for their answers to lead to trains of thought that would tie *honne* and *tatemae* in with Japanese culture as a whole and reveal underlying folkloric mechanisms. I did not ask every question of every interviewee, but rather used them as a guide to adapt my responses to each particular interview and try to flesh out as much unique information as possible. Additionally, I added and subtracted questions from the list as I began to see patterns in the interviewee's responses that showed me which questions would be useful to ask and which would not. As the interviewees responded to the questions or added comments which they thought would help clarify what they were telling me, I typed notes on my laptop that summarized what they were saying. After finishing the interviews, I compared each set of notes and analyzed the patterns and mechanisms they shared.

Overall, the interviewees gave me information that was somewhat different from what I thought I would receive. One of my questions was focused on how *honne* and *tatemae* are taught during childhood, which I thought might yield some children's stories or other tales. All of my interviewees declined that such a thing would ever be used, and instead said that *honne* and *tatemae* are a social practice that they learned through observation rather than direct teaching. However, Hiroshi remembered being taught lessons about morality in primary school that he tied in with *honne* and *tatemae*. Satoshi also mentioned that he was taught it in primary school as part of what he

called "Japanese hierarchy culture." This indicates a transition from folk to institutional instruction in *honne* and *tatemae*, a noteworthy but not unexpected development for a folk group at the national level.

Tatsuya said that when he was a child he didn't think about *honne* and *tatemae* as a part of Japanese culture and society. This indicates a noticeable separation between children's understanding and adults' understanding of the social practice, which was also brought up in my interview with Misumi. She said that kids tend not to think about what they say or how others will react, and it takes time before someone actually begins to care about what other people think. Tatsuya told a story from his childhood that echoed this idea. He once had a close friend group in primary school that he was talking with one day. He mentioned something about one of his friend's grades being poor and made fun of him for it. Unexpectedly, rather than go along with the joke, the group chastised him for it. Tatsuya believed that it showed one of the key mechanics of *honne* and *tatemae* at work, namely a form of "social punishment."

This social punishment indicates that *honne* and *tatemae* are as centered in the group as they are in the individual. Satoshi gave me an example where someone could be acting in a way considered annoying by the group they are in, but the group would typically not confront them about it. Instead, when the individual left the group, everyone else would talk about ways to avoid them or subtly remove them from the group. This was an interesting contrast with Tatsuya's personal story, and reflects a difference of behavior based on age. I believe it shows that the "punishment" Tatsuya received was an example of his friends lacking *tatemae* as much as he did: in the practice of *tatemae*, as Satoshi's example showed, people are typically not directly criticized for their actions. Mr. Uchida described a situation wherein someone shows a picture of their child to someone else, and they think it looks ugly. They would, of course, be socially expected to avoid mentioning their real thoughts and should instead say something like, "That looks cute!" However, if they do that too much, it may become obvious that they are lying. The interesting part of this example was that when the parent realizes the other person is lying, they should not confront them about it. Mr. Uchida explained that for them to confront them would be breaking *tatemae*, and thus socially, the *parent* would be considered the one in the wrong. It appears that as children grow up and learn *honne* and *tatemae*, there is a shift from confrontational to evasive behavior.

Mr. Uchida's example of the child's picture was a personal story, and he revealed something that indicated variation in regional behavior. He explained that people from the Kansai region of Japan like him are known for using insults as humor, and so might actually say "It's so ugly!" as a joke. In this context, the joke is not *honne* but rather another form of *tatemae*: they consider the humor appropriate to the situation, and because it is a joke, it's implied that it is not their real feeling on the matter. However, when he said this to a friend of his from Tokyo, she broke out in

tears because she thought he seriously meant to insult her child. I thought something like this would normally be attributed to differences in personality; Mr. Uchida, however, was very specific in his belief that it was tied to where they came from. This variation appears nonverbally as well. People from the Kyoto Prefecture—Mr. Uchida's home prefecture—are known for offering *ochazuke*—a dish with hot tea poured over cooked rice—or another dish or beverage to guests when they want them to leave. Rather than directly ask them to leave, they offer something edible meant as a take-home gift and expect the guest to understand it as a *tatemae* gesture which communicates their *honne* indirectly.

After further discussion, I found that all of the interviewees mentioned concepts related to group mechanics. Dr. Hara described boundaries he referred to as "in-group" and "out-group." For example, if a group of students is speaking to a professor, the students are expected to use *tatemae*because the professor is not a part of their group and is senior in both age and position. Later on, when the professor is gone, the students may make *honne* comments because everyone present is in the "in-group." This seems to be a form of border patrolling within the overall folk group itself, drawing boundaries between those with whom *honne* is allowable and those with whom *tatemae* is expected. There are also settings where there is no definable group (e.g., on a train), and Dr. Hara therefore believed there is no actual distinction between *honne* and *tatemae* and everyone simply acts respectfully toward each other.

Tatsuya, on the other hand, believed that public settings do in fact show *honne* and *tatemae*. If an older or disabled person gets on a train and all of the seats are filled, it is socially expected for more able-bodied people to stand and offer their seat to that person. To Tatsuya, the *honne* in this situation is the able-bodied person's tiredness and desire to sit, while their *tatemae* is the social expectation for them to give up their seat. Complementarily, the person to whom the seat is being offered may have the *honne* of wanting to sit down, but in order to maintain politeness may actually decline the seat in a show of *tatemae*. Then the able-bodied person is expected to *continue*offering their seat until the other person accepts, essentially displaying a back-and-forth battle of politeness. The fact that one person's behavior mirrors the other's reveals an underlying social awareness that has a near-involuntary effect on both physical and verbal language.

Other situations were mentioned that were related to politeness or humility. Misumi gave an example in which the parents of two children who go to the same school are talking. It would be very uncommon for one of the parents to brag about their child to another, and instead, they normally say things like "I wish my child were as smart as yours." Even in contexts where they *receive* a compliment, such as someone saying "Your child is so smart," Misumi claimed that they would actually reject it rather than give thanks. Using a very similar example, Akari described a context wherein one student congratulates another on getting a good grade. The congratulated student, rather than thank them, typically says something like "I did

okay." This makes their accomplishment seem as though it isn't an accomplishment at all, and places them on an equal level with the person to whom they are speaking. These two situations, along with the example of someone refusing a seat on the train, reveals a pattern of refusal with anything that would make someone seem superior to or more privileged than others.

In asking the interviewees a question about words or phrases related to *honne* and *tatemae*, I discovered a pattern of common phrases used in specific situations. Tatsuya said that in situations where someone does a favor for someone else and are thanked, they reply (or are expected to reply) with "*iie iie*." *Iie* simply means "no," and is used to express that doing the favor did not actually take much effort or burden them as much as the other person is implying. While "no" is certainly not uncommon in English, in this context it seems to be restrictive in that the word is always repeated once and then the sentence ends. Similar phrases are used in the context of favor- or gift-giving. *Okuchi ni au ka wakarimasenga*, which literally translates to "I don't know if this dish would fit your mouth," is used when you cook something for someone and give it to them. Another phrase, *tsumaranai mono desu gadouzo meshiagate kudasai*, translates to "This is nothing special, but please take it," and is used in the context of gift-giving. Much like saying "I did okay," the speaker is reducing their action to an average or equal level with the people to whom they are speaking. Akari said that this phrase tends to be shortened to *tsumaranai mono desu ga*, and is an example of *kenjougo*, extremely formal language.

The Japanese language is often structurally modified into different forms (one of which is *kenjougo*) that fit different social contexts. These forms fall under the category of *keigo*, which literally means "honorific language." Hiroshi said that a good equivalent in English would be the question "Can I open the window?" In Japanese *keigo*, this sentence would be changed from its basic form into something roughly equivalent to the English "Would you mind if I opened the window?" He related it to *honne* and *tatemae* as a way to speak one's opinion or intention more indirectly, so as not to upset the person to whom they are speaking. Most of the students agreed that *keigo* is related in many ways to *honne* and *tatemae*, mostly in the sense that one changes their language when speaking to people with whom they do not have a personal connection. Akari noted a historical variation in *keigo* usage. According to her, *keigo* was once used in everyday conversation but has now shifted almost exclusively to business environments. The professors disagreed with the students' opinion that *keigo* is related to *honne* and *tatemae*. They defined *honne/tatemae* as a social pattern of behavior and *keigo* as a rule-based change in grammar. However, the rules *keigo* is based on are entirely social, as the form is used specifically when speaking to people one does not—or should not—know well.

Satoshi provided an interesting example of the linguistic emergence of *tatemae*. He described the speech used by politicians, which is typically entirely in *teneigo*. In a hierarchy of formality, *teneigo* ranks below *keigo* but above casual language. A basic

example of its linguistic function is the use of the prefix *o-*. Nouns at the beginning of sentences—for example, the word *kuni*, which means country—may be modified with this prefix to sound more formal—using our example, the word becomes *okuni*. Additionally, *teneigo* also modifies verbs (which always come at the end of a Japanese sentence) from their casual form (e.g., *yomu*, or to read) into what is known as long or *masu* form (e.g., *yomimasu*). While it may be expected anywhere for someone in public office to speak professionally, in Japanese there are specific rule-based linguistic changes that occur. Satoshi explained that a politician is always expected to speak with *tatemae* because they are restricted to their position (which is inherently impersonal toward everyone else), and *teneigo* serves to aid them in saying what is appropriate in the public context.

The balance between *honne* and *tatemae* tends to shift depending on social hierarchy. When talking with close friends, people express their *honne* much more frequently than in other contexts, such as when speaking to their professor. This is another area where *tatemae* and *keigo* coincide. The relationship between a professor and their students is, according to Misumi, "very distant." Because the connection is not personal, both *tatemae* and *keigo* are used. However, there is some flexibility given toward the senior member of the conversation. In the professor-student context, Tatsuya claimed that while the student is always expected to speak formally, the professor may actually use informal language with no penalty. This appears everywhere where the seniority of one person is already established: in interactions between strangers who are the same age, both people are expected to speak formally because there is no definable hierarchy. Mr. Uchida also described a kind of flexibility existing when a boss is speaking to their employees. If everyone goes out drinking after finishing work, the boss may declare "*bureikou desu*." This basically translates to "honesty is allowed," and indicates that the employees may express *honne* more than they normally would. However, they do not have total freedom. The boss is still present, and therefore *tatemae* is still in place as the employees still want to be careful about what they say. Behavior may be informal, but what is expressed is not.

I asked the interviewees about their thoughts on how *honne* and *tatemae* were related to Japanese culture as a whole and how American culture is similar/dissimilar to that. All of them believed that things like *honne* and *tatemae* exist in American culture, as we still grow up learning not to insult someone or hurt their feelings. Akari said that the difference between Japan and the United States in that regard is the balance of *honne* and *tatemae*. American culture tends to promote individualism, and so we are quicker to shift toward expressing our *honne*; Japanese culture, on the other hand, is largely based on the idea of group harmony and thus individual opinions are seen as less important even in situations where they may be the ones in the right.

Other social concepts related to *honne* and *tatemae* were mentioned. Sayaka said that *tatemae* changes depending on *kuukioyomu*. The word *kuukioyomu* is a compound of the words *kuuki* (air or atmosphere) and *yomu* (to read). Essentially, it indicates the

particular situation for which specific behavior is or is not appropriate. Tatsuya and Mr. Uchida both mentioned the word *kuukioyomanai*, which is simply the negative form of *kuukioyomu*. The word is commonly used to describe people who cannot read situations correctly and therefore act inappropriately. According to Tatsuya, young people tend to shorten this to "KY," making use of the English romanization of the word for slang. This is clearly another form of border patrolling wherein the ability to read social contexts serves as the dividing line between one group and another. Dr. Hara related *honne* and *tatemae* to the concepts of *ninjo* (human emotion) and *giri* (social obligation). To him, these terms were the better way with which to approach the topic philosophically, while *honne* and *tatemae* were more sociological.

Overall, there seems to be some differences of opinion between the younger and older members of the Japanese folk group. Through my interviews, I uncovered a multitude of linguistic and behavioral patterns that have *honne* and *tatemae* as their origin. In summary, they are learned primarily through direct experience with social interaction; they are patterns of behavior at the group level as well as the individual; they influence some behavior variation across different regions in Japan; they are related to conserved phrases which show no variation across geographical space or time; they directly or indirectly cause changes in linguistic structure; they are used as tools of border patrolling based on social awareness and status; and they are related to various other concepts of Japanese culture and society.

A comparison of my bibliographical research and my fieldwork reveals some shared data. Takeo Doi's note about how *honne* and *tatemae* are learned through practical experience was confirmed by all of the informants. Joy Hendry's metaphor of wrapping conveys the concepts' social complexity, particularly with how individual *tatemae* may be layered over by group *tatemae*. Additionally, her note of ritual phrases in meetings is complimented by the common phrases provided by the interviewees for other situations. The distinction of *honne* and *tatemae* as specific to Japanese culture is rooted in their everyday prevalence and correlation with repetitive social behaviors, which supports Doi's belief that the two are more present in the Japanese mind than the American. Yamamoto's definition of *tatemae* as a method of avoiding confrontation is supported by some of the examples I was given by the interviewees, particularly the Kyoto custom of providing a dish for a guest one wants to leave.

My fieldwork revealed concrete examples of *honne* and *tatemae* at work, which I believe previous research on the subject lacks. The majority of sources I found discussed them as theoretical concepts rather than pragmatic functions, and the examples they did give were direct interpretations of their definitions. More research can be conducted to link *honne* and *tatemae* to common behaviors shared by the Japanese, which would allow them to be studied as folk practices involving linguistic and behavioral conservation and variation. This would deviate from the purely philosophical and sociological implications under which they have been previously

studied and toward folklore, which would help unveil *honne* and *tatemae* as the contributing factors in shared everyday social practices within the Japanese folk group.

Glossary

Giri: social obligations; the philosophical equivalent to *tatemae*

Honne: a person's true feelings about a situation or another person

Keigo: literally "honorific language," a modification of Japanese linguistic structure in order to fit specific social contexts and formalities

Kenjougo: literally "humble language," the most formal and restrictive form of *keigo*

Kuukioyomu: literally "to read the atmosphere," describes the social contexts one is expected to understand when modifying their language and behavior

Kuukioyomanai: the negative form of *kuukioyomu*, used to describe people who are incapable of properly understanding social contexts and expectations

Ninjo: human emotions; the philosophical equivalent to *honne*

Tatemae: what someone presents to others based on social expectations and appropriateness

Teneigo: literally "polite language," the simplest form of *keigo* which adds small changes to informal sentences

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A Clash of Worlds:Mythic Motifs and Environmental Variables

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Human Macroecology and Mythology: Answering a Puzzling Question

Human macroecology is an emerging subdiscipline of anthropology that uses big-picture data analysis to identify and test theories and patterns about relationships between human society and the environment (Burnside *et al*). Human macroecology has been applied to human geography (e.g. Terrell), human development and life history (e.g. Walter *et al.*), archaeology (e.g. Johnson, "Cross-Cultural Analysis of Pastoral Adaptations"), ethnic diversity (e.g. Cashdan), language diversity (e.g. Nettle), and even public health (e.g. Bonds *et al.*). This environmental analysis has proved to be a powerful and illuminating tool for understanding the relationship between human society and culture and the biotic and abiotic environment.

The techniques and frames of reference of human macroecology, as of yet, have scarcely been bought to bear upon a more esoteric, arcane, and non-rational aspect of human culture: myth. The purpose of my article is to explore whether human macroecology can be used to explain one of the central and most tantalizing questions of mythography. This question could be termed the issue of conservation and variation, the issue of unity and diversity, or an issue of genetic relationship. Simply put, the puzzling fact about mythology is that many myths of the world's cultures—even those cultures who seem to have little to no influence on one another—share motifs, archetypes, plots, and themes, but not all cultures share the *same* motifs, archetypes, plots, and themes. Why do so many, but not all, cultures that seem to have little to do with one another have flood myths?

The fact that the world's myths share common structures and elements and are not just eclectic collections of fantastical things was well established in the 20th century. Joseph Campbell more than any other scholar introduced the concept of archetypes and shared motifs to the common public. His most well-known work, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces,* develops and defends the idea of the universal journey of the epic hero and its associated archetypes and events, including the hero (Campbell 30), the virgin goddess (109), the call to adventure (49), the road of trials (97), magical aid (69), and the return with the elixir to redeem society (172-238). This pattern undergirds stories from around the world and even manifests itself in modern cinema.

Campbell was not, however, unique in his recognition of the common structures of myth[34]. Two of his contemporaries, Finnish folklorist Anitt Arne and American folklorist Stith Thompson, developed a method of systematic classification of folktales now known as the Arne-Thompson Tale-Type Index (Arne and Thompson). The Index is used by folklorists to sort folktales based on motif and structure and identify similarities and differences in folktales. Alan Dundes, perhaps the most prominent figure in modern folkloristics, comments upon the value of the Index, stating that while it is laden with problems (namely the often-arbitrary nature of the delineation of motifs and tale-types) it is nonetheless indispensable because it represents the acknowledgement of the real phenomenon of conservation and variation in the folktales of the world and is the best devised system for organizing them (Dundes). I have discussed these things to establish the (abridged) history of the thought surrounding the commonalities in the structure and content of world myths. The fact of unity and diversity in world myth is now uncontroversial because it is a matter of simple documentary. The critical and fascinating question is that of causation.

Both Campbell and Dundes were strongly engaged in the question of causation and pondered constantly the meanings of the structures of the world's myths. The tools of their analysis have their origins in the ideas of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung about the unconscious mind. The basic principle of Campbell's and Dundes' Freudian/Jungian analysis is that myth is the product of the bubbling up of the unconscious mind into the conscious world and that the structure of myth reflects the fundamental structure of the human unconscious or what Jung called the collective unconscious.

The concept of the unconscious and the relationship of the unconscious to myth has its roots in Freud's description of the id, ego, and superego and his study of the interpretation of dreams in his so-named book (Freud). The Freudian model[35] of dreams understands the bizarre content of dreams as expressions of the desire of the id or pleasure principle (the unconscious) in the forms allowed by the relaxed but still present moderating forces of the ego and the superego (Freud). Mythic interpretation from Freud up to and including Campbell has been founded upon the idea that myth, like dream, is the manifestation of the unconscious mind as symbols. This connection is not without emic precedent; the Australian Aboriginal concept of eternity or the

[34]In this case I am using "myth" very generally so that a myth and a folktale are synonymous or analogous.The only real qualitative distinction between the two seems to be the gravity with which they are treated within their native culture.They otherwise are similar phenomena.

[35] It is important to acknowledge that such a model might not and need not have grounding in anatomy or physiology.It was never Freud or Jung's intention to describe neurological structures.The purpose of these models is primarily to tell a story that helps explain and predict certain phenomena that are otherwise mysterious.The same was true for genetics; before the discovery of the structure of DNA, it was uncertain whether or not a "gene" was anything more than a useful idea.

spiritual world is often rendered as "dreamtime" in English (Stanner)[36]. Freud to some extent bought his own ideas to bear upon mythology; famously, he described a psychological phenomenon in terms of the Oedipus myth (Freud). However, it was Freud's student Carl Jung who truly paved the way for understanding myth in terms of dream and unconscious, coining in the process the term "archetype" to refer to universal or near-universal structures of the psyche that manifest in myth. In *Man and His Symbols*, Joseph Henderson writes:

> …The analogies between ancient myths and the stories that appear in the dreams of modern patients are neither trivial nor accidental. They exist because the unconscious mind of modern man preserves the symbol-making capacity…of the primitive. (108)

The operative difference between dream and myth is that dream is the manifestation of an individual's unconscious[37] and myth is the manifestation of what Jung called the collective unconscious. This is the basic theoretical frame with which folklorists, mythographers, and Jungian psychologists explain both the unity and specific content of the world's mythologies. There are archetypes, the theory states, because there are fundamental structures in the human psyche, and understanding the archetypes will tell us as much about the human psyche as understanding the human psyche will tell us about archetypes. Moreover, the theory allows us to understand why myths contain the things that they do. To understand non-factual and non-rational narratives which are repeated as fact or at least with the seriousness of fact, we must cease to understand these narratives as the results of defective rationality. Instead, we must understand that myth is meaningful despite being non-factual and that it has meaning because it is an imaginative expression of deep-seated human realities.

This framework does not, however, explain the phenomenon of the diversity of mythic motifs. Stating that the flood myth reoccurs in distant cultures because it is a manifestation of a structure of the human psyche or a universal human reality does not explain why some cultures would have a flood myth, but others would not.

Macroecology and Myth: A Hypothetical Relationship

I wish to propose, from this psychoanalytical perspective, and test a principal that solves this problem. In the Freudian perspective the superego is the moral structure or code imposed by society onto the individual and is a regulator of the id (Freud). The superego is variable between cultures. If we apply this concept that Freud used to describe the individual unconscious to Jung's collective unconscious, we

[36] The exact etymology and the accuracy of this translation is disputed.

[37] Dream is a manifestation of an individual's unconscious. Humans, however, are social animals and it is difficult to separate the individual from the social world he dwells in. Likewise, it may be impossible to separate the individual unconscious from the social unconscious.

have an explanatory principle for differing mythic motifs. In short: a variable superego regulates the manifestation of collective unconscious in mythic motifs.

Now that this hypothesis has been put forward, the new problem is accurately describing different superego structures. In order to determine whether this hypothesis explains the phenomena, the exact natures of different superegos need to be described so that they can be compared. Because there are myriad ways in which we might characterize the superego, at this stage in research I do not intend to try to test my hypothesis with qualitative descriptors of social order.

Rather, I intend to use environmental variables to approximate differences in superego. In the field of human macroecology, there is a substantial body of work supporting the idea that ecological factors have structural effects on cultures. Steward, a forerunner of the field of human macroecology, emphasizes the idea of the culture core, the subsistence/exploitation strategy and immediately surrounding cultural features, as the point at which the environment exerts influence upon the culture (Steward 37). Lewis Binford puts forward an array of environmental variables (or "frames of reference") that he uses to characterize and categorize hunter-gatherer cultures (Binford, *Constructing Frames of Reference* 55-113). These frames of reference show clear relationships between latitude, effective temperature, plant productivity, population density, subsistence strategy, and group hierarchy (Johnson, *Using Frames of Reference* 57-62). Binford's work on beliefs about death and burial practices provides a concrete example of the possibility of the existence of a relationship between mythic/religious beliefs, social structure, and environmental variables (Binford, "Beliefs About Death" 1-15). Elizabeth Cashdan shows relationships between latitude, ecological niche, disease stress, and ethnic diversity (Cashdan). The full extent of the relationship between environment and culture is unknown, but that the relationship exists is clear. So, in order to test the hypothesis that I have put forward I will use basic environmental variables to characterize variable superego.

Murder, Dismemberment, and the Creation of the World: A Test Case

I have put forward a hypothesis to be tested. I intend to test this hypothesis with a specific mythical motif henceforth to be referred to as the Killing the Primal Being (KPB) creation motif. In this creation story motif, there is a first or primal being; sometimes it is one or both of the first parents, other times it is a giant or beast. Later beings commit some act of violence—often murder and dismemberment—against the first being. Through this act the world—sometimes it is the literal universe, other times it is civilization or humanity—is created or allowed to exist. The Mesopotamian story the *Enuma Elish* provides the best and earliest example of this motif. In this story, Marduk is a descendent of Tiamat the primordial mother and at the behest of the rest of his siblings kills her in exchange for the kingship and in the process, creates the world and humanity from her corpse.

I have chosen this particular motif rather than any other because it is a motif that cannot be readily explained in terms of the depiction or explanation of natural phenomena. For instance, it is very simple to say that a flood myth is a memory of a real flood. Some myth *is* directly explainable by natural phenomena; Nunn shows a compelling relationship between creation accounts and island geology in the Pacific Islands (Nunn). This, however, is not the level of mythic analysis I am concerned with because it is far too easy to explain myth as poor science or poor history. Myth may sometimes be these things, but it is not *only* these things.Northrop Frye, a literary[38] critic, writes:

> The world of literature is human in shape, a world where the sun rises in the east and sets in the west over the edge of a flat earth in three dimensions, where the primary realities are not atoms or electrons but bodies, and the primary forces not energy or gravitation but love and death and passion and joy. (Frye ch. 1)

Myth may be populated by the things of the natural world, but it is primarily concerned with the human world. Dreams are populated by the things of the conscious world but still manifest the unconscious. I selected the KPB motif because there is no obvious environmental feature being referenced and will enable a (more) pure test of my hypothesis.

Methods

As has hopefully been made clear, the subject of this investigation and the kinds of questions involved are unorthodox. It follows naturally that the methods for answering such questions must likewise be unorthodox. The first step in the investigation was to compile a data set. It was fairly simple to create a list of cultures whose creation stories have the KPB motif. These cultures were the Norse (Hamilton), the Maori, the Greeks, the Mesopotamians (*Creation Stories from around the World*), the Romans (Livius), the Navajo tribe (King and Oakes) and the Chelan tribe (Clark). Appendix A has a discussion of the exact contents of the creation stories of these cultures and why they are considered to have this motif. A series of Binford's climate variables was selected to test for relationship with the KPB motif (Figure 1). A

Figure 1: Environmental Variables

Variable	Symbol	Notes
Latitude	LAT	
Mean Temperature Warmest Month	MWM	Degrees Celcius.
Mean Temperature Coldest Month	MCM	Degrees Celcius.
Effective Temperature	ET	Degrees Celcius. ET=[(18*MWM)-(10*MCM)]/[MWM-MCM+8]
Mean Rainfall Wettest Month	RHIGH	millimeters
Mean Rainfall Dryest Month	RLOW	millimeters
Possibility of Plant Growth	PGROW	Takes into account sun and rainfall; 0 indicates no growth, 36 indicates maximal growth
Net Aboveground Productivity	NAGP	g/sqm/yr

[38] What is literature but written, civilized, self-aware myth?

representative location was selected for each culture and ecological data was obtained from the "World Grid" environmental database ("World Grid") for each location (Figure 2).

The obvious and simple method of determining whether these ecological variables have any relationship with the KPB motif would be to use a t-test to compare the average of each ecological variable associated with the KPB motif with averages associated with cultures lacking the motif. This, however, is practically impossible for the scale of this project because it is more difficult to compile an outgroup than it is to compile a test group. First, it is nearly impossible to search a multitude of stories for a motif that they lack. Second, while it is possible to make an argument that a particular culture does in fact have a given motif (Appendix A), it is more complicated to argue that a culture does not possess that motif because it is unclear what the proper delineation of motif should be. For instance, the Maori creation myth has been included in this analysis despite the fact that no primal being is actually killed (*Creation Stories from around the World*). Likewise, the story Romulus and Remus has been included because it is interpreted as the creation story of a civilization even though it is not exactly a world creation story (Livius ch. 3-7). At the same time, the story of Cain and Abel is omitted because it is not a creation story even though an argument could be made that they are structurally similar. Finally, it is impossible to tell the difference between an apparent lack of the motif in a culture's creation story and the lack of recording of the motif in a culture's creation story by an anthropologist. So, the comparison of an experimental group with a control group proves impossible in the conventional way.

Figure 2--Climate Data for KPB Group

Location	LATITUDE	MWM	MCM	RHIGH	RLOW	ET
Athens	27.0	30.2	12.3	0.1	0.0	16.2
Sumer	32.0	35.4	10.3	21.0	0.0	16.1
Stockholm	59.0	17.8	-2.2	59.0	24.0	12.2
Seattle	47.0	15.3	1.2	288.0	46.0	11.9
Rome	41.0	23.8	8.4	136.0	19.0	14.7
Santa Fe	35.0	23.5	1.8	70.0	11.0	13.6
Wellington	41.0	16.9	8.5	114.0	43.0	13.4
Mean	*40.28571*	*23.27143*	*5.757143*	*98.3*	*20.42857*	*14.03509*
Variance	*111.5714*	*54.91905*	*29.61619*	*9269.63*	*350.2857*	*3.016938*
Standard Deviation	*10.56274*	*7.410739*	*5.442076*	*96.27892*	*18.71592*	*1.736933*

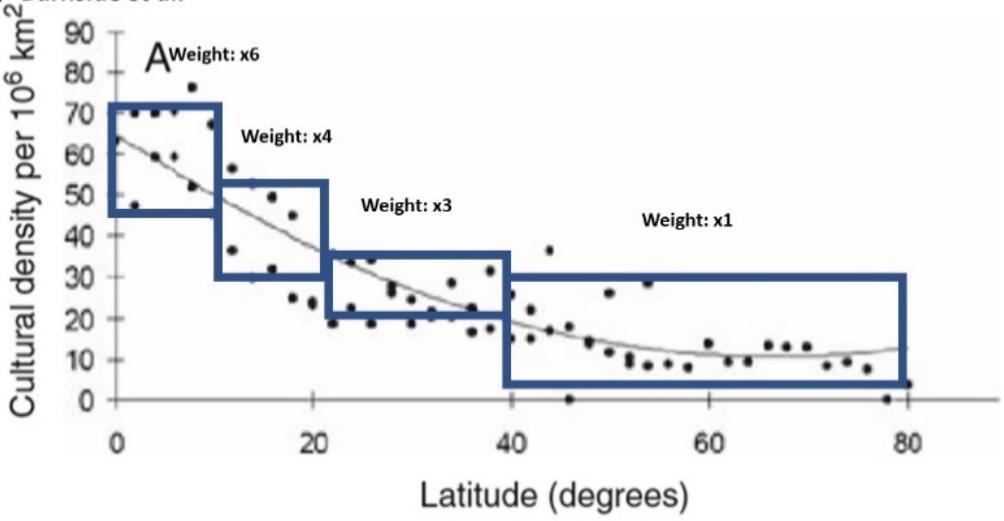
Instead of comparing two means, I devised a method to test for central tendency in the ecological data to determine whether the data observed in the KPB group was the result of random chance. The average of multiple random samples of the variance of a distribution of values converges to a particular value (henceforth, VARAVG) with its own variance. If VARAVG is calculated from a worldwide distribution of any quantitative ecological variable it will for all practical purposes represent an absence of central tendency. A confidence interval was used to test for central tendency in the ecological data associated with the KPB motif. The confidence interval was constructed according to the following formula:

$$\text{VARAVG} +/- \mu$$
$$\mu=(S*t)/(df^{0.5})$$

where μ is the uncertainty, S is the standard deviation of VARAVG, and df is the degrees of freedom. If KPB data has a variance significantly different from VARAVG, it is considered to be nonrandom, and the mean of that data can likewise be considered nonrandom and significant.

Random sampling of the World Grid was accomplished using a Python script (Appendix B) that complies and weights ecological data and calculates VARAVG and the standard deviation of VARAVG. The ecological data was weighted to account for the fact that there is a higher possibility of encountering more cultures near the equator than near the poles. The weighting system used is displayed in Figure 3, which was adapted from "Human Macroecology: Linking Pattern and Process in Big-Picture Human Ecology" (Burnside *et al.*). It is important to note that the Python script used to accomplish the sampling of the World Grid data is only able to process positive[39] whole numbers and zero, so no decimal places were included in the analysis. This introduces some error to the analysis but should not affect the data analysis in any meaningful manner.

Figure 3—Latitude-Based Weighting Scale for World Grid Climate Data Based on Fig. 7 from "Human Macroecology: Linking Pattern and Process in Big-Picture Human Ecology," Burnside *et al.*



[39]Much of the "World Grid" data for temperature is negative.To analyze this data, all data was adjusted by the same amount.This adjustment allows the data to be processed but does not change the variance.All reported averages (not VARAVG) are based on non-adjusted data.

Results

After constructing confidence intervals for each variable at different levels of significance, it was found that LAT, MWM, MCM, RHIGH, and RLOW have

Figure 4—Calculation of VARAVG Confidence Intervals for World Grid Data

Variable	Confidence	t	Standard Deviation VARAVG	(Degrees of Freedom)^0.5	Uncertainty	VARAVG (Control)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	KPB Group Variance	Significant? Y/N
LAT	80	1.282	187.6523648	31.6227766	7.6075019	470.990446	463.3829	478.5979	*111.5714286*	y
	90	1.646	187.6523648	31.6227766	9.7675102	470.990446	461.2229	480.758	*111.5714286*	y
	95	1.962	187.6523648	31.6227766	11.642682	470.990446	459.3478	482.6331	*111.5714286*	y
ET	80	1.282	9.18313607	31.6227766	0.372288	21.7571964	21.38491	22.12948	*3.016937852*	y
	90	1.646	9.18313607	31.6227766	0.4779922	21.7571964	21.2792	22.23519	*3.016937852*	y
	95	1.962	9.18313607	31.6227766	0.5697575	21.7571964	21.18744	22.32695	*3.016937852*	y
PGROW	80	1.282	43.1248169	31.6227766	1.7482973	117.134911	115.3866	118.8832	*116.952381*	n
	90	1.646	43.1248169	31.6227766	2.2446937	117.134911	114.8902	119.3796	*116.952381*	n
	95	1.962	43.1248169	31.6227766	2.6756313	117.134911	114.4593	119.8105	*116.952381*	n
MWM	80	1.282	38.92056219	31.6227766	1.5778551	59.46225	57.88439	61.04011	*54.91904762*	y
	90	1.646	38.92056219	31.6227766	2.0258577	59.46225	57.43639	61.48811	*54.91904762*	y
	95	1.962	38.92056219	31.6227766	2.414783	59.46225	57.04747	61.87703	*54.91904762*	y
MCM	80	1.282	164.0913371	31.6227766	6.6523284	345.060768	338.4084	351.7131	*29.61619048*	y
	90	1.646	164.0913371	31.6227766	8.541133	345.060768	336.5196	353.6019	*29.61619048*	y
	95	1.962	164.0913371	31.6227766	10.180864	345.060768	334.8799	355.2416	*29.61619048*	y
RHIGH	80	1.282	12683.80759	31.6227766	514.20663	11797.233	11283.03	12311.44	*9269.63*	y
	90	1.646	12683.80759	31.6227766	660.20601	11797.233	11137.03	12457.44	*9269.63*	y
	95	1.962	12683.80759	31.6227766	786.95273	11797.233	11010.28	12584.19	*9269.63*	y
RLOW	80	1.282	2044.007036	31.6227766	82.864862	1303.45921	1220.594	1386.324	*350.2857143*	y
	90	1.646	2044.007036	31.6227766	106.39279	1303.45921	1197.066	1409.852	*350.2857143*	y
	95	1.962	2044.007036	31.6227766	126.81814	1303.45921	1176.641	1430.277	*350.2857143*	y
NAGP	80	1.282	848167.3487	31.6227766	34385.043	1047169.96	1012785	1081555	*118373.8973*	n
	90	1.646	848167.3487	31.6227766	44148.035	1047169.96	1003022	1091318	*118373.8973*	n
	95	1.962	848167.3487	31.6227766	52623.6	1047169.96	994546.4	1099794	*118373.8973*	n

significantly (α=0.05, DF=1000) higher central tendencies than a random sample of global data. The central tendency of PGROW is not significantly different than that of a random sample of global data. The central tendency of NAGP is lower than that of a randomsample of global data. The confidence intervals can be seen in Figure 4. The significant non-randomness of LAT, MWM, MCM, RHIGH, and RLOW indicates

that the averages calculated for the KPB group for these variables are likewise significant and nonrandom. The averages and confidence intervals for each variable for the KPB group are presented in Figure 5. In general, the KPB group is found at about 40 degrees north or south with an effective temperature of about 14 degrees Celsius and strong seasonality reflected in differences between the amount of rainfall in the wettest and driest months and in temperature of the hottest and coldest

Figure 5--Confidence Intervals (α=0.05, df=7)

	LATITUDE	MWM	MCM	RHIGH	RLOW	ET
Lower Bound	32.45274	17.77587	1.721483	26.9028	6.549475	12.74704
Mean	*40.28571*	*23.27143*	*5.757143*	*98.3*	*20.42857*	*14.03509*
Upper Bound	48.11868	28.76698	9.792803	169.6972	34.30767	15.32314

months.

Discussion and Conclusion

These results are, frankly, intriguing. Binford described for hunter-gatherers a threshold of effective temperature (12.75 degrees Celsius) below which hunting and aquatic subsistence cultures predominate, and leaders are individually recognized and above which gathering subsistence strategies predominate and elders tend to be consulted as a council (Johnson, *Using Frames of Reference* 60). Below an effective temperature of 15.25 degrees Celsius, food storage is very common, and above that same threshold it is less common (62-63). A latitude of 40 degrees north or south is associated with the same division in subsistence strategy (57), and a latitude of 35 is associated with the same division in food storage practices (62-63).

The KPB motif is found in places with effective temperatures and latitudes equal or nearly equal to these subsistence and storage thresholds. In short, the cultures with this motif are found straddling the line between different subsistence strategies and social structures. Thus, the cultures that display that KPB motif are from locations that would allow them to adopt two different basic social forms.

This fact provides an interpretive key to the KPB motif. I have previously summarized the motif as: "to create the world an act of violence is committed against a primal being." This phrasing does not very well accommodate a story like Romulus and Remus which includes the murder not of a first being or parent but of a brother.

These findings, along with Binford's work on climate thresholds, allow me to rephrase the motif in a new and more meaningful manner. The KPB motif is defined by the murderous conflict between opposing rulers of opposing worlds. What was previously identified simply as a primal being—a god or titan or giant—is the guardian or ruler of a world that came before. The rebellious beings that overthrow and murder this primal being invariably become the rulers of the new worlds they create. This phrasing of the motif accommodates the Romulus and Remus story as well as the *Enuma Elish* because one can understand the conflict between two possible rulers of two possible worlds. Romulus wishes to find a city on this hill, Remus the other. In the context of the myth, only one brother can have his way and for that to happen the possibility of the other's vision must be destroyed. Likewise, Tiamat and Marduk cannot coexist by definition of the myth. The climate thresholds described by Binford are battle lines; the sides of the thresholds represent different social orders. A society that exists near the border is afforded some choice by the environment, and the conflict between the possibilities is represented in myth as the destruction of one side by the other. Sometimes the sides are brothers; perhaps we may understand this as two competing contemporary social orders. Sometimes the sides are parents and children; we can understand this as the conflict of tradition with the future or of the freedom of the children with the authority of the parents.

The story of Cain and Abel was not included in this analysis because it was not at the beginning of this process understood to represent a creative event.

Thematically, though, it is now clearly related. Cain is a farmer who offers a burnt sacrifice of grains to God and Abel is a herder who offers a burnt sacrifice from his flock to God. God is displeased with Cain's sacrifice and please with Abel's; as a response to this Cain murders Abel, is banished, and his decedents go on to found cities. The story explicitly (though it is not often discussed) depicts a conflict between two ways of organizing society: the sedentary agricultural city-based society and the nomadic pastoral society. The story communicates the moral superiority of the pastoral society but also suggests the vulnerability of pastoralism to the agricultural. Interestingly, had "Cain and Abel" been included in the analysis its climate data would likely have been mostly the same as the *Enuma Elish* because the Mesopotamians and the Hebrews are both Semitic peoples from the same part of the world. Perhaps we can even understand "Cain and Abel" as a depiction of the divergence of Hebrews from the rest of Mesopotamia, though an archaeological analysis may contradict this.

The data for PGROW and NAGP in the KPB group were not significantly less random than world data. Indeed, NAGP for the KPB group was more random than randomly sampled world data. The meaning of this is unclear. We might expect the potential for plant growth and the net above-ground productivity of a location to have a strong influence on the subsistence strategy and therefore social order. Future research in this area might explore the relationship between agricultural technology and effective PGROW and NAGP.

The chief problem in the interpretation of the data that I have presented here is that it applies to the mean climate data for the KPB group as a whole but not necessarily to individual cultures. For instance, it is simply not the case that the Scandinavian (59 degrees north and above) environment is temperate enough to support variable lifestyles in the same way that a Roman (41 degrees north) environment might. This does not, though, indicate that the analysis is invalid but rather that it is incomplete. I have suggested that the KPB motif is an expression of a conflict between two social orders. Though this conflict is probably not taking place along the line of subsistence strategy in Scandinavia, Norse mythology is defined by the conflict between worlds. The Aesir (Odin, Thor, and company) rule over the world and are locked in perpetual conflict with the Giants, who are perhaps analogs to the Greek titans, who will in the end triumph over the Aesir and the heroes of mankind in the world-ending event Ragnarok (Hamilton 443-465). The creation of the world from the body of Ymir the Giant (Hamilton 460) might be understood to represent an initial defeat of primordial chaos that will ultimately be repaid. The dismemberment of Ymir is also interestingly not melancholy in the way that Romulus and Remus are. The Norse worldview seems to be dominated by a perception of the fragility of civilization in a harsh eroding world, and their myths reflect this. This analysis constitutes a second explanation of the KPB motif. Future research should search for the motif and related worldviews in similarly harsh environments.

In general, further research should seek out a larger data set to test. In addition, data analysis methods need to be improved to be more precise. Further inquiry needs to be done into the genealogy of the myths listed here and the histories of the societies and practices of the cultures in which they occur. An interesting phenomenon that needs to be explored is the apparent co-occurrence of the KPB motif in societies with flood myths[40]. Finally, attention needs to be paid, as Johnson ("Exploring Adaptive Variation") asserts, to regional patterns now that global patterns have been identified.

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[40] The relationship goes only one way.Thus far, every culture that has a KPB motif has something like a flood story; not every culture with a flood story has the KPB motif.

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Appendix A: A Summary and Brief Analysis of the KPB Myths

Norse

For the Norse, in the beginning there was a great gulf between the ice world and the fire world. A river flowing from the ice world froze between the two and melted because of the fire. From the ice emerged the first Giant Ymir, the grandfather of Odin. Odin, the head of the gods, and his brothers, slay Ymir and make the world(s) from his body parts. The gods temporarily stave off the destruction of themselves and of the world of men by the Giants but will ultimately fail. This story fits very cleanly into the KPB motif category. The Norse creation myth has already been discussed in the main body of this paper (Hamilton 460).

Greece—The Slaying of Cronos and the War with the Titans

In the Greek vision of the first things, there were in the beginning personified things (Titans) of Nature—Chaos, Night, Earth, Sky, Ocean, and so on—that existed spontaneously and begat more of each other. Cronus and Rhea, two of these titans, give birth to the Olympians. Cronus, fearing his overthrow by his children, devours each of his children as they are born. Rhea, though, saves one of them, Zeus, by feeding Cronus a stone instead. Zeus and his fellow gods—whom he rescues from the belly of Cronus—battle the Titans and their father and are victorious. In the end, they slay Cronus and cast his dismembered body into Tartarus. The Olympians, with Zeus at their head, thus become masters of the world. (*Creation Stories from around the World).*

This myth fits into the KPB motif because through the defeat of Cronus and the Titans, the world can be made. I think it is important to point out the difference between the Greek theology and an animistic theology is that the Greek gods are not forces of nature personified but rather personalities that represent civilization. Their gods are rulers of nature as man is a ruler of nature. Their gods are also gods of civilized pursuits like beauty, love, strategy, agriculture, wine, war, and more. It is curious that in some tellings, Eros (Cupid) is one of the first beings in the universe along with Chaos, Night, and Erebus. Only later does Aphrodite come to take Eros (Hamilton 78).

Rome—Romulus and Remus

The Romans for the most part adopted the mythology of the Greeks and gave their gods Roman visages. For the purposes of this paper, I am not focusing on the

Roman account of the creation of the world but rather on the Roman account of the creation of Rome (which was at one point "the world"). The story is simple and well-known. Two brothers, Romulus and Remus, are abandoned in the wild as infants to die because their father king Amulius perceives them as a threat to his rule. They are suckled by a she-wolf and raised by a shepherd. They rise in the world and eventually set out to build a city of their own. During a disagreement over the location of the city Romulus kills his brother and becomes the founder of Rome (Livius).

Two commonalities between the story of Romulus and Remus and the Greek creation stories are immediately apparent. In both, a father fears overthrow by his children and tries and fails to have them killed. These children go on to become the progenitors of civilization. Second, these progenitors of civilization come (as children or adopted children) from natural, primal entities.

The key difference between the two is that in the Greek myths, children battle their parents' generation but in the Roman story two brothers fight one another. The idea of rebellion against the parents is the most common version of the story, but the story of Romulus and Remus is different because it is a story of inheriting civilization by slaying an image of oneself. Thematically, in both the creation of civilization is dependent on murder. For this reason, it is included in the KPB group.

The *Enuma Elish*—Marduk Kills Tiamat

The Mesopotamian story the *Enuma Elish* is the oldest story on this list and is the prototypical version of the KPB motif. Apsu and Tiamat, the father and mother gods respectively, are the first gods/beings in the Mesopotamian imagination. Their son Ea kills Apsu and takes his place as the head of the gods and has his own children, one of whom is Marduk. In an ensuring conflict between the descendants of the first gods and Tiamat who seeks revenge for her husband's death, Marduk is offered the kingship if he defeats the first mother. He kills her and creates the world from her dismembered body. Later, he kills her second husband and creates humanity from his blood to serve the gods (*Creation Stories from around the World)*.

Maori—Separating Heaven and Earth

In the Maori imagination, the first parents are called Rangi and Papa or Heaven and Earth respectively. Their six sons were masters of different parts of the world. Tane-mahuta was the master or father of the forests, Tangaroa of fish and reptiles, Tawhiri-ma-tea of the winds and seas, Tu-matauenga of humans, Haumia-kikitiki of wild food, and Rongo-ma-tane of agriculture. The first parents, say the Maori, clung close together and blocked the sun, so the world was in darkness. The six sons decided they wanted to see light and debated what should be done. The father of humans argued to kill their parents and the father of the forests argued for separating them. The father of the winds and seas found both ideas unpalatable and cruel. Four

of the six brothers try to separate their parents, and the fifth, Tane-mahuta the father of the forests, succeeded in separating the earth from the sky despite the protests of his parents. The sun was thus revealed.

Tawhiri-ma-tea the father of the seas and winds went into the sky with his father and summoned horrible storms to punish his brothers. Four of the other five brothers were battered by the storms but Tu-matauenga the father of humans withstood the storms. Because he had been abandoned by his brothers, he takes revenge against them and becomes their master. Only the seas and winds remained unconquered by humans, and these continually exact revenge for the separation of the first parents (*Creation Stories from around the World*).

This story is included in the KPB group because, although they are not killed, heaven and earth's separation is represented (by their protests) as an act of violence. One of their sons even wants to kill them. Likewise, although the world seems to exist prior to this act of separation, the separation is a transition between a dark world dominated by the parents and a light world dominated by the children.

Chelan—Slaying the Giant Beaver

The Chelan creation story involves elements that are not relevant to its inclusion here. Only the relevant elements will be reported. The Creator makes multiple animals at first, including the four wolf brothers. Because of the misbehavior of the animals, the Creator declines to make humans initially, instead making a giant beaver that will later be made into humanity by one of the animals. Coyote becomes a sub creator and initially believes he will be the one to make humans, but he misbehaves and loses the chance. Instead, Youngest Brother Wolf is the one to do it. He has his brothers make four spears, and they come with him to fight the beaver. The older brothers are beaten in the fight, and when Youngest Brother strikes with the spears three of them break but the fourth pieces the beaver's hide. He eventually kills the beaver, and it is cut into eleven pieces plus its blood, each of which go to make twelve tribes of humans (Clark).

This story was chosen for inclusion in the KPB motif group because it contains the basic story of creation from an act of violence. It is similar to the Norse and Mesopotamian creation myths because it involves creation by violent dismemberment of a primal being. It is unique among this list because in it humanity is previously another animal—a part of nature—but because of an act of violence is distinguished from the rest of nature.

Navajo

The Navajo creation myth, like the Chelan myth, is difficult to summarize in its totality. I will report only the portion of the myth that led to its inclusion in the KPB group. The Navajo creation deities make the world and people, but giant monsters

destroy the world and kill the people. Ever-Changing Woman and the Sun have to sons, "Monster Slayer" and "Child Born of Water." These two heroes obtain powerful weapons from their father and go about slaying monsters. As a consequence of this, the four original clans were able to be made (King and Oakes).

This story was chosen for inclusion in this study simply because of the monster-slaying quest that proceeds the spread of humanity. Otherwise, the story is very different from the rest of the stories included here. The story lacks the personal connection between the slayers and slain that is present elsewhere.

Appendix B: Python Script for Data Analysis

```
a=("latitude data")
b=("other climate data")
rawlat=list(a)
rawlat2=list(a)
dcount=0
for i in range(len(rawlat2)):###question--what is the range?
  if rawlat[i]=='\t':
    rawlat[i]='zed'
##the number of double digits is calculated, stored as dcount
for i in range(len(rawlat2)-1):
  if rawlat2[i]!='zed':
    if rawlat[i+1]!='zed':
      dcount=dcount+1
    else:
      dcount=dcount+0
if dcount==0:
  dcount=dcount+1
i=0
rawlat2.clear()

#for i in range((int(len(rawlat2)))-(int(dcount))):##range is len raw- number of double dig
while i<(len(rawlat)-1):
  if rawlat[i]!='zed':
    if rawlat[i+1]!='zed':
      rawlat[i]=rawlat[i]+rawlat[i+1]
      del(rawlat[i+1])
      i=i+1
    elif rawlat[i+1]=='zed':
      i=i+1
  else:
    i=i+1
#for i in range(int((len(rawlat2)-dcount)/2)):## rang is len raw-number double dig/2

i=0
while i<len(rawlat):
  if rawlat[i]=='zed':
    del(rawlat[i])
    i=i+1
  else:
    i=i+1
print("List rawlat is compiled.")

##Next, the rawlat is weighted
count=0
```

```
appendlat=[]
weightedlat=[]
for i in range(len(rawlat)):
##deal with zero
  if rawlat[i]=='0':
    count=0
    while count<6:
      appendlat.append('0')
      count=count+1
##deal with the rest of the values
  elif rawlat[i]!='0':
    if 80>=int(rawlat[i])>40:
      appendlat.append(rawlat[i])
    elif 40>=int(rawlat[i])>20:
      count=0
      while count<3:
        appendlat.append(rawlat[i])
        count=count+1
    elif 20>=int(rawlat[i])>10:
      count=0
      while count<4:
        appendlat.append(rawlat[i])
        count=count+1
    elif 10>=int(rawlat[i])>0:
      count=0
      while count<6:
        appendlat.append(rawlat[i])
        count=count+1

for i in range(len(rawlat)):
  rawlat[i]=float(rawlat[i])
for i in range(len(appendlat)):
  appendlat[i]=float(appendlat[i])
weightedlat=rawlat+appendlat
weightedlat.sort()
count=0
print("List rawlat is weighted and sorted numerically")
##1000000 random samples of 8 latitude are collected and 1000000 variance are collected
samplelist=[]
varsumlist=[]
variancelist=[]
j=0
import random
while j<1000:
  y=random.sample(weightedlat, 8)
  z=list(y)
  avgz=sum(z)/8
  for i in range(len(z)):
    varsumlist.append((z[i]-avgz)**2)
  variancelist.append(sum(varsumlist)/7)
  y=0
  z.clear()
  varsumlist.clear()
  j=j+1

##The average variance with standard deviation is calculated
varavg=sum(variancelist)/len(variancelist)
print("the average variance for a sample of 8 latitudes is: "+str(varavg))

##variance of calculation
vardiflist=[]
for i in range(len(variancelist)):
```

```
  vardiflist.append((variancelist[i]-varavg)*(variancelist[i]-varavg))
standeva=sum(vardiflist)/1000
standevb=standeva**(1/2)
print("the standard deviation of the average variance is "+ str(standevb))

print("starting part 2")

##Next, the inputed data is processed to be readable--rawlat
rawvar=list(b)



dcount=0
for i in range(len(rawvar)):###question--what is the range?
  if rawvar[i]=='\t':
    rawvar[i]='zed'
rawvar.reverse()
rawvar.append('bed')
rawvar.reverse()
z=[0]
q=0
while rawvar.count('zed')!=0:

  D=rawvar.index('zed')
  z.append(D)
  if z[1]-z[0]==2:
rawvar[z[1]]='bed'
    del z[0]

  elif z[1]-z[0]==3:
    rawvar[z[0]+1]=rawvar[z[0]+1]+rawvar[z[0]+2]
    rawvar[z[0]+2]='fed'
    rawvar[z[1]]='bed'
    del z[0]

  elif z[1]-z[0]==4:
    rawvar[z[0]+1]=rawvar[z[0]+1]+rawvar[z[0]+2]+rawvar[z[0]+3]
    rawvar[z[0]+2]='fed'
    rawvar[z[0]+3]='fed'
    rawvar[z[1]]='bed'
    del z[0]


while rawvar.count('zed')!=0:
  del rawvar[rawvar.ind0ex('zed')]
while rawvar.count('bed')!=0:
  del rawvar[rawvar.index('bed')]
while rawvar.count('fed')!=0:
  del rawvar[rawvar.index('fed')]

  ##Next, the rawvar is weighted
appendvar=[]
weightedvar=[]

appendvar.extend(rawvar[0:rawlat.index(10)]*6)
appendvar.extend(rawvar[rawlat.index(10):rawlat.index(20)]*4)
appendvar.extend(rawvar[rawlat.index(20):rawlat.index(40)]*3)
appendvar.extend(rawvar[rawlat.index(40):rawlat.index(80)])
```

```
for i in range(len(rawvar)):
  rawvar[i]=float(rawvar[i])

for i in range(len(appendvar)):
  appendvar[i]=float(appendvar[i])

weightedvar=rawvar+appendvar
weightedvar.sort()
count=0
print("List et is weighted and sorted numerically")
samplelist=[]
varsumlist=[]
variancelist=[]
j=0
import random
while j<1000:
  y=random.sample(weightedvar, 8)
  z=list(y)
  avgz=sum(z)/8
  for i in range(len(z)):
    varsumlist.append((z[i]-avgz)**2)
  variancelist.append(sum(varsumlist)/7)
  y=0
  z.clear()
  varsumlist.clear()
  j=j+1

##The average variance with standard deviation is calculated
varavg=sum(variancelist)/len(variancelist)
print("the average variance for a sample of 8 is (b): "+str(varavg))

##variance of calculation
vardiflist=[]
for i in range(len(variancelist)):
  vardiflist.append((variancelist[i]-varavg)*(variancelist[i]-varavg))
standeva=sum(vardiflist)/1000
standevb=standeva**(1/2)
print("the standard deviation of the average variance is "+ str(standevb))
```

Kindergarteners for World Peace: A Field Study of Children's Beauty Pageants in the Midwest

Hailey Boss

Introduction & Overview

When you give a mouse a cookie, he'll want a glass of milk. When you give a little girl a microphone, she'll say she wants world peace. Well, that's the case in beauty pageants, anyway.

Beauty pageants exist as a fascinating cross-generic section of popular culture. They combine aspects of performance, ritual, and competition in one sparkly, rhinestoned package. Although they have existed for centuries at this point, their merit and place in the cultural sphere is often questioned. Folklorist Kenneth Untiedt noted: "the results of beauty pageants are not going to greatly alter the course of world history. The same can be said about the Super Bowl and the World Series, most movies and books, the circus, and small-town celebrations, but few people would argue to abolish these events." That is all to say, beauty pageants are often preemptively cast aside, deemed inconsequential and insignificant. This immediate dismissal disregards the various impacts and insights they provide on gender roles/dynamics, the beauty industry, and society as a whole.

Pageants are said to have originated in ancient Greece with a tale of a mortal goatherd who was tasked with choosing between Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena to name the most beautiful goddess (PBS). This story is known as "The Judgment of Paris." The goatherd, Paris, chose Aphrodite, and the goddess rewarded him by sending Helene of Troy to be his wife. In choosing Aphrodite, Paris inadvertently started the Trojan War (Theoi Project). Although there is minimal evidence to suggest that such beauty competitions actually occurred in ancient Greece, there are clear, lasting messages from this work; namely, external beauty is an incredibly desirable trait for women to possess. In fact, a lack of beauty can result in a loss of opportunity, power, and/or prestige. Additionally, such competitions can cause detrimental and dangerous repercussions for everyone involved. These are common themes in the beauty pageant sphere today as well as in society in general.

Some literature suggests that male physique competitions that bear a slight resemblance to modern beauty pageants occurred centuries ago in Athens (PBS). However, In the United States, the first iterations of beauty competitions appeared in the form of photo contests that were published in newspapers during the 1850s. The first real beauty pageant took place in New Jersey in 1921 (North Carolina State University). Pageants then gained notoriety and spread throughout the country, evolving into the Miss America Pageant program over the course of a couple of decades. They have evolved to include various events including interviews, evening gown and swimsuit modeling, talent performances, and more.

There is a clear pattern in the structure of pageants, but each program has a distinct way of planning their competitions. The Miss America Organization is perhaps the most prestigious and notable of pageant systems, with tens of thousands of candidates involved each year (Miss Missouri). To compete in this program, candidates must first register with the national organization before registering for a local competition. This includes meeting certain eligibility requirements (age, place of residence, relationship status, general health, etc.), completing various paperwork, submitting headshots, and paying competition fees. The website also notes that competitors need "commitment, perseverance, talent, and ambition" (Miss MO Outstanding Teen). Once eligibility has been verified and registration has been completed, contestants prepare for their preliminary local pageant. This involves practicing their chosen talents, purchasing necessary attire, and rehearsing speeches/Q&A sessions. In Missouri, examples of local teen beauty pageants include Miss Spirit of St. Louis's Teen, Miss Lewis and Clark's Teen, and Miss Northwest Counties' Teen. Both local and state events includes the following areas of competition: Interview (a private interview with the judges), Talent (performing a 90-second talent on stage), Eveningwear (exhibiting poise and stage present while in formal attire), On Stage Interview Question (answering one question on stage as a continuation of the private interview), and Social Impact Initiative Pitch (presenting an explanation and necessity for the candidate's social impact initiative of choice). Winners at the local level represent their areas at the state level competition. They compete in the same categories described above, and the winner obtains the title of Miss Missouri's Outstanding Teen. This candidate then moves on to compete at the national level in Miss America's Teen. Prizes at each level include trophies, tiaras, sashes, floral bouquets, and scholarship money.

The county fair system is similar but occurs on a much smaller scale with much more variability in organization. Candidates must meet a certain set of criteria to be eligible for competition (including age, residence, relationship status, and minimal previous experience). They must register for their local fair pageant, submit photos, and pay required fees. Some of these events involve multiple days of competition while others take place over a single day. Candidates compete in categories including but not limited to Personal Interview, Speech, Talent, Eveningwear, and

Extemporaneous/Public Interview. Nomenclature for these categories varies from pageant to pageant. Winners at the local fair level move on to the State Fair Teen Queen Contest. In some counties, winning candidates are required to make appearances at future local events and future fair events. Like the Miss America Organization, prizes for county fair winners often include trophies, tiaras, sashes, flowers, and money and these funds are sometimes specified to be for scholarship purposes and sometimes simply prize money.

More specialized pageants follow a similar structure as well with varying scales. Certain festivals, parades, malls, dance competitions, all have their own traditions tied to their individual organizations which affects the overall aesthetic, programming, and goals of their events. Even so, these competitions also begin with a registration process to ensure that eligibility requirements are met, photos are submitted, and fees are paid. Candidates compete in categories including Interview, Speech, Talent, Formalwear, and Public Interview, but there are often fewer events in these small-scale programs. Winners sometimes move on to higher levels of competition, but often they are one-time events. Prizes often include the traditional options: trophies, tiaras, sashes, flowers, money. Some of these specialized pageants involve participation in parades, involvement in service projects, featured news stories, and more. Through this field study, high variation was discovered in these small-scale, specialized, local pageants.

Pageants in the Media

Today, there is a wide array of media that covers beauty pageants. News stories, books, movies, and TV shows/specials chronicle the glitz and glam of beauty pageants. Beauty pageants are referenced in a variety of works, often framed as degrading displays that encourage vanity and perpetuate harmful beauty standards. This can be observed in the film *Miss Congeniality*, in which a tomboyish female FBI agent must go undercover as a pageant contestant in the Miss United States Pageant. This movie attempts to defy the narrative that beauty pageants are wholly negative and damaging to women by showing the main character's changing attitude towards pageants and highlighting competitors' unique personalities, aspirations, and motivations. Moreover, children's beauty pageants garner a great deal of attention in the media. This can be observed in popular reality television shows like "Toddlers & Tiaras" and "Here Comes Honey Boo Boo". These works present dramatic, often sensationalized, depictions of children's beauty pageants, showcasing real contestants' journeys as they compete for coveted titles and prizes. These shows receive immense criticism with viewers regarding them as problematic and exploitative. Films like *Dumplin'* and *Little Miss Sunshine* offer fictional but pensive portrayals of children's/teen's beauty pageants; these works provide more somber commentary on issues like body image, dysfunctional families, and financial struggle within the context of the pageant sphere.

"Toddlers & Tiaras" is a reality television program that aired on TLC from 2009-2016. This show featured two to three young pageant competitors per episode, chronicling their preparation for over-the-top "glitz & glam" pageants. Contestants and their families were shown going to extreme lengths to achieve or, at times, fall short of their goals. Behaviors on the show ranged from controversial to problematic and even abusive at times. Common themes include exorbitant amounts of money spent on dresses and costumes, mothers living vicariously through their unenthused daughters, rigorous rehearsal schedules, races to get to the stage on time, and children throwing massive tantrums. Aside from the obvious purpose of entertaining viewers with the extreme, dramatic nature of the show, it would seem that "Toddlers & Tiaras" served several functions.

For one, the show highlighted negative parenting practices. In one episode, for example, a mom dressed her young daughter as Julia Roberts's character in *Pretty Woman* who is a prostitute. Judges and other parents criticized the mother harshly for dressing her daughter in this overtly sexual costume. The show never outright condemned poor parenting, but there was a tone of disapproval in the editing and during interview portions. This may cause viewers to cast a downward comparison and feel better about themselves as parents. It also may serve as a source of awareness for instances of child exploitation, thus encouraging people to be wary of their actions and how they can affect children and garnering cause for action against child exploitation.

Additionally, the show emphasizes how beauty ideals are pushed onto women from an extremely young age. Girls of no more than four or five years of age are shown getting spray tans, acrylic nails, and highlighted hair in preparation for pageants. On the day of the competition, children are roused awake several hours before competing to fasten hair extensions and wigs, apply mounds of makeup, and, often, wear fake teeth known as "flippers" to disguise their holey, childhood smiles. These painstaking preparations are cause for a lot of criticism and concern. They provide commentary that reflects the ideals of our society: women as young as preschool age are expected to adhere to hugely restrictive beauty standards in order to gain success and approval. The shock factor of such young girls putting in such great effort to achieve a certain look acts as a wake-up call for viewers to resist such oppressive beauty standards.

In contrast, the film *Little Miss Sunshine* comments on themes more overtly. In this movie, the dysfunctional Hoover family takes on a tumultuous journey to California so that young Olive can compete in the Little Miss Sunshine Contest. The family experiences several difficulties on their travels. Olive combats discouraging comments claiming that she is not "pageant material." A concept the film touches on is body image. One early scene shows Olive's father warning Olive that she may get fat if she continues eating ice cream. Although her mother and grandfather immediately shut down these warnings, encouraging the young girl not to worry, the

father continues to say, "those women in Miss America, are they skinny or are they fat?...I guess they don't eat a lot of ice cream." Olive is then hesitant to eat the ice cream she had just ordered. Soon after, Olive is shown checking her body from different angles in a mirror. This clearly makes observations on how restrictive body ideals and beauty standards can be hugely impactful and detrimental on girls. Additionally, it insinuates that these kinds of comments can lead to disordered eating habits. Later in the film, Olive meets Miss California at the Little Miss Sunshine Pageant. Olive nervously asks the beauty queen if she likes ice cream and Miss California replies "I love ice cream!" and continues to talk about her favorite flavor. The young girl instantly lights up, contrasting her disappointment after the earlier ice cream conversation. This touching moment illustrates the importance of representation and careful language when discussing body image with young girls. Although expressed differently based on medium and genre, themes and commentaries on beauty pageants in media are quite consistent.

Method & Research

Beauty pageants are often scrutinized for pushing harmful and restrictive ideals onto women, affirming unrealistic beauty standards, and fostering an environment that lacks diversity. Moreover, children's beauty pageants receive harsh criticism for their application of unnecessary pressure on young girls' psyches and for their objectification and even sexualization of children. Despite their controversial nature, beauty pageants remain wildly popular, with approximately 750,000 taking place each year in the United States (Untiedt). Especially in smaller areas, these pageants serve as rites of passage, important traditions, and opportunities to represent communities (Untiedt). During my research, my informants reported similar refrains.

The purpose of this study was to uncover the lore involved in children's beauty pageants in the Midwest. This was inspired by a personal interest cultivated by media mentioned earlier as well as personal, albeit minimal, experience in a pageant as a child. Public opinion on this subject is undeniably mixed, and I wanted to discover the function of beauty pageants from a folkloristic perspective to better understand these varying viewpoints and pageant culture in general. To gather information on personal experiences in children's beauty pageants, informants were interviewed in person, via phone call/email, or through a survey on Google Forms. Live interviews were preferred, but this was not always possible due to availability. In-person interviews were recorded for ease of notetaking. These informants ranged from ages 14-22 with a wide variety of experience levels in pageants. Some informants had just one day of pageant experience while others had up to 15 years. Each informant was asked the same 23 questions, including "how did you become involved in pageants, and how long were you involved?," "what typically constitutes a pageant winner?," and "what would you tell someone considering entering themselves or a child into a pageant?"

Responses provided great insight into informants' experiences, attained lore, and personal feelings towards pageants.

Pageantry Defined: Participant Experiences and Lore

My interviews with these informants produced many overarching themes within children's pageant lore. For example, it is clear that children's beauty pageants serve as environments for connection and relationship building. Several informants forged long-lasting relationships through their involvement in pageants. Informants noted friendships with competitors from around the state and even around the nation, noting that, without pageants, they never would have had the opportunity to make these great connections. Connections are not limited to friendships between competitors, however; as the phrase goes, it takes a village to raise a child. The same can be said about participation in beauty pageants. Informants mentioned support from parents, cousins, siblings, grandparents, close acquaintances/family friends, dance teachers, babysitters, and more. Whether they altered a dress, conducted mock interviews, drove convertibles, or provided coaching, the mention of their involvement during these brief interviews is indicative of the impact they had on the informants. The sense of connection forged in beauty pageants extends beyond just the pageants themselves. In fact, many informants' pageant experiences only took place *because* of a family member. A vast majority of informants noted that their mother or sibling led them to pursue candidacy in a pageant event. One may argue that this supports the idea that parents put pressure on their children by pushing them into the pageant sphere. However, none of the informants expressed any animosity toward their family members or regret in their pageant participation. The consensus among informants was that they had had very positive experiences participating in beauty pageants as a child. They cited friendship formation, gained opportunities, self-esteem improvement, and plain old fun as reasons for their enjoyment.

When comparing the pageant structures described by informants to the standard structure outlined by the Miss America Organization, there is no significant difference; participants signed up for the pageant, prepared for the event, and participated in the competition itself. Despite this, many informants insinuated or overtly expressed hesitance to consider themselves a "pageant girl." One-time pageant competitors and informants who had only competed in dance-centered specialty pageants showed the most reluctance to align themselves with the pageant world, with one informant stating that she "[doesn't] consider standard pageants to be a very worthwhile pursuit." Some informants expressed discomfort with friends seeing them wear a tiara, while others sheepishly referenced newspaper stories covering their pageant wins. This illustrates the widely held negative connotation of beauty pageants, with even devoted and successful contestants showing hesitance to express totally positive opinions of these events.

A possible explanation for this phenomenon could be internalized misogynistic beliefs. Although there have been vast improvements in gender equality, people still possess strong implicit biases. Beauty pageants promote traditionally feminine ideals and are largely viewed as an activity for women. Bodybuilding competitions, which are typically male-dominated and promote traditionally masculine ideals, do not attract the same amount of controversy. There is a possibility that, like with other female-centered topics and areas like menstruation, fashion, or motherhood, there is a demonization and negative connotation administered to pageants simply because they are for women. This could be a possible field of study in the future to discover if there is truly a correlation between societal criticism of beauty pageants and sexism/misogyny. No informant reports explicitly mentioned themes of sexism or misogyny regarding their own pageant involvement.

When asked about any negative experiences they had heard associated with beauty pageants, informants echoed qualms from the general public. Informants said that pageants may *seem* like merely beauty/popularity contests that judge based on looks alone, with stereotypes especially influenced by shows like "Toddlers & Tiaras." Others mentioned the possibility of negative effects on a person's self-image and the dangers of putting immense pressure on children. However, informants noted that these did not apply to them personally. The function of such stereotypes and stories could be to warn young girls against vanity and the prioritization of looks over personal development. Similar messaging can be seen in children's stories; in tales like *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* and *Rapunzel*, women who are overly concerned with their appearance are framed as villains and are punished in the end. This theme could be a functional explanation for the critical commentary surrounding pageants.

More aspects of beauty pageants remained consistent from online research to interview research. From Apple Blossom Princess to Miss Illinois, tiaras/crowns, sashes, and trophies seem to be the standard prize repertoire. Monetary prizes and scholarships were also mentioned several times. Some prizes were more specific to the individual pageant such as being included in a coveted book of past queens, riding in a parade float, a professional photoshoot, and invitations to special dance classes. These prizes serve not only as rewards for meeting judges' expectations during the pageant, but also as signals of achievement and as a source of community recognition. Informants noted a sense of pride within their schools, cities, and counties after accomplishing a pageant win. They explained the positive feedback and overwhelming support received from community members. Additionally, those who earned a title that required future appearances at events said they "felt honored" to represent their community. These prizes are much more than a plastic crown and flowers.

Reflections

Despite some mixed opinions on children's beauty pageants in general, informants were remarkably similar in their attitudes toward their own participation.

They remarked on pageant participation being a source of pride, a "big honor," a difficult achievement, and a "really fun" experience. Furthermore, all informants stated that they would recommend others participate in pageants, with some warnings and exceptions. Informants suggested that beauty pageants can teach valuable skills including public speaking, manners, communication, and self-confidence. They stressed, however, several things to keep in mind if choosing to compete in a beauty pageant.

Informants highlighted the importance of remaining true to oneself no matter what the outcome. They encouraged participants to be self-aware and mindful of their mental health, avoid social comparison, and maintain full confidence in oneself. This is invaluable advice not only for pageants, but also for life in general. Although pageants are criticized for their frivolous nature, they clearly have real-world applications and benefits. Interviewees also mentioned that overpreparation was obvious to the other competitors; some advice was more superficial, warning against getting heavy spray tans and wearing so much makeup that contestants "look like someone who they are not." Another informant offered an anecdote about a four-year-old confidently declaring that she would solve world hunger with the $100 prize money. These morsels of wisdom show that, like many things in life, success in pageants take effort. However, there is such a thing as too much preparation to where your behavior becomes inauthentic. Media surrounding children's beauty pageants emphasizes an extreme standard of preparation that is not necessary in real life. There appears to be a very real possibility of losing oneself for the purpose of winning a beauty pageant, and informants warmed against this. However, overall, the possible benefits seemed to outweigh the possible risks.

All informants noted self-improvement as a benefit of their pageant experience. Some commented on improved poise, manners, public speaking skills, and stage presence. These are skills that can be honed in other performance and artistic means like dance or theater. In this way, pageants seem to have a function of training participants in proper etiquette and social standards. Furthermore, interviewees mentioned improved self-confidence and sense of self after competing in pageants. These events serve as an opportunity for young children to step out of their comfort zone, try something new, and grow as a person.

Interviewees also noted professional development as a benefit of their pageant experience. Several contestants forged relationships with business owners and government officials in the area through pageant interviews. Others met higher ups in the dance industry, learning how to present themselves professionally and network at a very young age. Informants noted that, although these skills could be gained elsewhere, their pageant involvement was instrumental in preparing them for future education and careers.

Additionally, pageant participants had abundant opportunities to hone their skills and attend to their values during their pageant preparations. With many

programs involving a talent portion, several informants explained practicing their special skills including dancing and singing. It is evident that pageant involvement allowed them to pursue artistic endeavors and practice talents that contestants enjoyed. Artistic expression is an important outlet for all stages of life, and having time dedicated to that is a huge benefit of pageant participation.

Pre-performance practices and rituals also gave participants time to self-reflect and strengthen personal convictions. One informant noted the importance of being well-nourished before a competition. Another said she had prayed with her fellow contestants before the show began. Another talked about getting into the right headspace by listening to music. Several informants possessed their own unique coping strategies to settle nerves and proceed through the undoubtedly stress-inducing competition with a positive attitude. At an early age, informants learned how they functioned best and which values to lean on in times of doubt and struggle. These are important skills to develop, and pageant experience allowed these informants situations to hone such skills.

Conclusion

Children's beauty pageants in the Midwest are a custom that will likely be in existence for a long while. Through this study, I found many similarities between literature on the subject and the experiences of local informants. I also found major discrepancies between participants' attitudes towards beauty pageants and public perceptions of them. It is clearly a nuanced dialogue with controversy surrounding it.

This study could be improved to gain a more thorough folkloristic understanding of children's beauty pageants. One shortcoming of this research project was a lack of information on some specific pageant lore. I attempted to uncover practices that are perceived to bring good or bad luck and slang or vocabulary used specifically within the context of pageants. There is an abundance of lore related to these questions in similar performance folklore, like drag or theater performances, and in sports/competition folklore. I had hoped to uncover more information in these areas. I believe a larger group of informants with greater involvement in large-scale beauty pageants may have resulted in more responses to these questions.

Another limitation of this study is a lack of diversity regarding informants. A common criticism of pageants mentioned by folklorists Ashley Berfield and Kenneth L. Untiedt is racism in judging and lack of representation. All my informants were white and of similar socioeconomic status. My sample was far from random and therefore is not truly representative of the demographics of all childhood pageant participants in the Midwest. A larger group of informants and more comprehensive study could find more information on this topic.

Something to note is that large pageant programs are well aware of their less than stellar reputations, and these organizations are actively working to improve themselves from within. The Miss America Organization, for one, claims continuous

evolution to "better serve the women in [their] program and the communities in which they live" (Miss America Organization). These efforts can be observed in recent changes to the program. In 2018, the organization removed the swimsuit portion of the pageant. Gretchen Carlson from the organization's Board of Directors explained "we are no longer a pageant. We are a competition" (Dwyer). This has huge implications regarding the rhetoric and motivations in judging and public perception; critics can no longer claim that beauty pageants are just based on external appearances and push a certain ideal onto contestants when this factor is being mitigated by such large and iconic programs. Additionally, pageant winners have become more representative of different ethnicities, races, backgrounds, careers, etc. The most recent Miss America winner is the first active military member to earn this title. However, there still remains a lot of work to be done, as there is a lack of representation still for women of different body types, sexual orientations, ability levels, etc.

In the pageant sphere, there is certainly more than meets the eye. Pageant winners' tireless efforts should not be discredited or cast aside as inconsequential, and pageants themselves should not be written off as popularity contests. Although there are undeniable dangers and cautionary tales associated with the world of beauty pageants, the dedication of pageant competitors is worthy of commendation and appreciation. I am curious to see how beauty pageants will continue to evolve and whether public perceptions will evolve along with them. I am especially curious, though, whether the aforementioned four-year-old has figured out the "world peace" thing yet.

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The Veiled Prophet: A Folklore Analysis

Olivia Altomari

People who grew up in and around St. Louis are often aware of The Veiled Prophet organization. Known for its secrecy and elite selection of members, The Veiled Prophet is resented by some and loved by others. The Veiled Prophet is a social organization founded in 1878 "known for its annual parade and ball, which feature a mysterious figure known as the Veiled Prophet, who is chosen from among the organization's members" (Dowell). The photo on the right is provided by the St. Louis Post Dispatch and pictures the Veiled Prophet and his intricate garb for the event (O'Neil). Many people recognize it as an upper-class organization that inducts its young women into elite society. To understand the organization, one must study the way members perceive themselves and how they appear to outsiders. The Veiled Prophet, now rebranded as VP, is often associated with cultish behavior and racist and sexist ideologies. Folklore collected from this project shows that some people conserve this idea. Its controversial past may hold the key to further understanding the elusive organization.

A dissertation by Thomas Morris Spencer, III sheds light on the societal backdrop for the founding of The Veiled Prophet. He notes "A group of prominent St. Louis businessmen modeled the organization on the New Orleans carnival society the Mystick Krewe of Comus," and it was formed "largely in response to a general strike by workers the summer before, when workers had both symbolically and physically gained control of the streets" (Spencer 3). Spencer goes on to explain how the Veiled Prophet figure was used as a model or figurehead for the organization. The upper-class families that participated in The Veiled Prophet used the parade and ball to lay claim on the streets and assert superiority over the striking workers (Spencer). This power dynamic is still very much at play in St. Louis today, even without the striking workers. The conflict between the upper class and the working class boiling over in the second half of the 19th century explains The Veiled Prophet's rise to prevalence.

Lucy Ferriss' memoir, *Unveiling the Prophet: The Misadventures of a Reluctant Debutante*, explains the origins of the social organization. Thomas Moore's epic poem, *Lalla Rookh,* provides the inspiration for The Veiled Prophet. In the poem, a figure called The Great Mokanna is announced as the Prophet-Chief, who rules Persian land and blesses his people. A children's book, *The Coming of the Veiled Prophet*, was created by The Veiled Prophet when it was first founded in St. Louis (Ferriss 19). Its story is eerily similar to the poem, *Lalla Rookh*. In the children's book, His Mysterious Majestyprovides great blessings to the city, and in return, he commands his people to appear at his annual Court of Love and Beauty. Ferriss explains how this book functions to "impress upon their children the specialness of St. Louis, the reasons why the parade and the ball and the man in the pointy hat were so important" (Ferriss 20). Though The Veiled Prophet may no longer recognize Moore's poem as its inspiration or part of its past, some traditions, like the required attire and induction of women into society, remain the same.

To investigate the conservation and variation presented in The Veiled Prophet organization, I surveyed one informant whose father is a member. This individual will be referred to as Informant A for the remainder of the paper. Because of the secretive nature of the organization, only one of ten people I reached out to responded and was willing to comment. Thankfully, two informants who attended the Veiled Prophet Ball as guests were willing to answer my questions. These individuals will be referred to as Informant B and Informant C. This gives the project a valuable insight into how the organization is viewed by outsiders. In fact, there is a great discrepancy between the answers of Informant A and Informants B and C.

Informant A, as one would imagine, is more defensive about the organization due to her more direct involvement saying:

> I won't deny that there might have been some of those issues back in the day, however I am a firm believer that it was mainly caused by the time the org was created. I think the organization has grown as society has grown. From what I've experienced there has never been any restrictions on who can join, thinking in terms of color or societal status. The events I've been to have also never involved anything regarding discrimination. (appx A)

In contrast, Informant C asserts that, "The whole idea of it is extremely outdated in my opinion as well. The VP society itself is a secret society of rich white men, and the ball is their opportunity to parade around their wives and daughters" (appx C). This demonstrates the variation between how people closely related to the organization and outsiders view The Veiled Prophet.

Informant C's description of The Veiled Prophet touches on the general idea of debutantes in American tradition. The book, *Debutante: Rites and Regalia of American*

Debdom by Karal Ann Marling, gets to this same shallow concept by explaining the "ins" and "outs" of the group:

> The ins have the fiendish pleasure of looking down with amused disdain upon the outs, upon the earnest strivers seeking admission to the *Social Register* on the basis of cash contributions, ambitious wives, and pretty daughters. To engineer a successful debut is to place one's faith in the unspoken proposition that the girl in the white dress reifies her parents' standing in the community, launches her career among people who can do her some good along the way, and fortifies Daddy's pleasant feelings of belonging, accomplishment, and having done the right thing. (Marling 6)

Marling's description of the debutante tradition in America showcases the function that these social groups play in society. The wealthy "in" group members network together to remain wealthy and encourage their children to do the same. This is also the case in The Veiled Prophet, with the presentation of young women into society being a way for families to marry their daughters into other wealthy families.

When asked about this tradition of presenting young women into society, Informant A explains:

> From my understanding, the ball first started to present young women into society…[but] it does not hold as much meaning as it used …Instead, it is a way of celebrating tradition and having fun with your family and friends. It was the first and probably only opportunity I will ever have to be 'presented' or 'celebrated' for all that I've accomplished in my life. (appx A)

This offers a different perspective of the often-criticized organization. Perhaps some debutantes see the ball only as a fun way to celebrate. After attending the Ball, Informant C gave insight about what these celebrations entail, saying:

> I know another girl who walked in the ball, and she was telling me that the ball itself is pretty sketch. As I've mentioned a lot of drinking, but apparently a lot of drugs too. She told me that she made a deal with her parents that her two rules of the night were to 1) not get so drunk that she throws up on her dress (that was custom made in NYC that was 15k btw) and 2) don't do any coke. (appx C)

From these two accounts, the event seems to be less traditional than people may think. Time has certainly changed The Veiled Prophet, as older members are replaced with younger members. Despite changes in attitudes toward the organization's traditions, some rituals and ceremonial events of The Veiled Prophet Ball remain the same.

Informant C outlines the events of The Veiled Prophet Ball as she experienced them as a guest:

> The main ceremony was like 2.5 - 3 hours long. The ceremony itself was very culty and mainly consisted of women and their escorts with various titles that belonged to the society being announced and then they walked down the aisle. Eventually the veiled prophet appears and makes his way down the aisle where he sits in his throne at the end of the runway and the woman that was named queen the year previous sits next to him. The debutantes are then presented to him in which their names are announced, and their escort walks them down the aisle, they bow to the VP, then go take their seat on the stage. There were a lot of little formalities or rituals I guess you could call it such as a group of men dressed as some war reenactment uniforms with rifles that would march up and down the aisle and yell…" (appx C).

Informant A explains the ball to be, "like a ritual for a sorority/fraternity in college. There is a 'script' they read from during the ceremony to help keep the tradition alive" (appx A). Again, there are discrepancies in how the organization and its rituals are described. It might be important to note that Informant A is in a sorority and Informant C is not. Perhaps, this would explain why Informant A is more accustomed to organizational rituals.

Informant B shares her recollection of the event, attending as a guest and not someone within or connected to the organization otherwise:

> The veiled prophet came across with an eye mask, long beard, and some people who would hold up peacock feathers of a sort towards him. There was a gesture/announcer type person who would open a scroll and would present different types of people in the committee or group. He said, 'his royal majesty presents his ladies in waiting'. Then a group of girls processed across and their name was announced. This process was repeated until everyone was on the stage together. Then they made some announcements and then they processed out. Now that debutantes already processed after this event, they joined everyone for another cocktail hour. Then it was dinner, a three-course meal and dance time. A dance floor had now opened up with a live band. This dinner and dance hour

> lasted a long time and then if you were still up breakfast was served at around 1 or 2am which was the last event. (appx B)

As shown in all the accounts, The Veiled Prophet Ball lasts through the night and into the early morning. Additionally, the ball is held in a secret location disclosed in the invitations (Dowell). The photo above depicting an announcement of the event is provided by Craig Heimbichner's book, *Ritual America: Secret Brotherhoods and Their Influence on American Society* (Heimbichner). This adds a "secret handshake" element to the organization, as it allows only those in the "in" group to attend.

Traditionally, this "in" group has been wealthy white men in St. Louis and their families. As discussed in the beginning of this paper, a labor strike and conflict between the classes created the backdrop for the creation of The Veiled Prophet. Not only was there a stark difference in treatment of the wealthy and the poor by the organization, but race and gender soon became topics of conversation. Kennedy Hunt Law speaks on the topic of racism and its connection to The Veiled Prophet, noting "Though there are no definitive ties between the Veiled Prophet and the Ku Klux Klan, its imagery certainly does. The ball features a Veiled Prophet, an anonymous man in a costume resembling KKK garbs. What's more, Black men weren't allowed into VP until 1979" (Kennedy Hunt, P.C.). Since facing controversy surrounding its questionable past, "The Veiled Prophet (VP) Organization issued a statement acknowledging its past and the criticisms that have been leveled against it. The group also apologized for the actions and images from its history" (Dowell). Members now rebuke the claims of racism, saying that those actions were inexcusable and in their past.

In Ferriss' early adulthood, when most of her memoir takes place, she comes face to face with The Veiled Prophet's racist ideologies. The year she is to walk the stage as a debutante, she receives a letter from Percy Green, a known activist in St. Louis, asking her to renounce her role in the spectacle (Ferriss 7). Ferriss, before researching the organization she knew little about, responds saying:

> You are absolutely right. The Veiled Prophet Ball is nothing but a racist, sexist, imperialist show of power. On the other hand, my father has been shelling out money since I was born so that he could see me walk out on the carpet at Kiel Auditorium, bow to pay obeisance to the male prerogative, and take my palace on the stage. I cannot let him down. Think about it. Don't you have bigger fish to fry? This is a stupid party. We are slaughtering people in Southeast Asia. Let this one go. It will fall of its own weight. (Ferriss 9)

After doing more research into Percy Green and his work with ACTION, the "Action Council to Improve Opportunities for Negros," Ferriss interviews Green. When asked why he founded ACTION, Green explained that he wanted to, "'Call attention

to the link between the social power elite and discriminatory hiring. Show the world that these very same people who party together are locking black people out of jobs…Let the world know that the main reason, the one final reason, why a person could not get into that auditorium was the color of his skin. Or her skin"' (Ferriss 121). This shows the growth that Ferriss experiences as she learns more about what is actually happening with The Veiled Prophet. The photo on the left is provided by St. Louis Post Dispatch (O'Neil).

In addition to its controversial history of racism, The Veiled Prophet is also, according to Ferriss' memoir, fundamentally sexist. Ferriss meets with a former Queen of The Veiled Prophet Ball, Laura. From 1909 to 1984, Laura was the only Queen not to get married (Ferriss 146). Laura recalls her experience in The Veiled Prophet.

> And there were about 750 men milling around…and I could tell already that it was all about the eligible bachelors, about being sure they stayed within the flock, you know, didn't go out and marry some secretary or something. This one man, said he wanted to marry me in the middle of the dance floor. He said he wanted it because my mother threw such good parties and so he thought I could do it too, and this would be an asset to his father's chain of stores and to his corporation. He said this absolutely shamelessly, without missing a beat on the dance floor. (Ferriss 150)

Laura's experience shows how women were treated as a commodity to be traded between fathers and potential husbands. This is evident, even now, at The Veiled Prophet, because the women are presented to The Veiled Prophet as "his ladies." Laura continues, "'And a guy I actually liked blew me away when I said I was going back to Vassar, he told me no one would want to marry me if I graduated from college. I knew, whatever else happened, that was the end of my marriage career. If no one wanted to marry me for who I was, there was no point being married"' (Ferriss 151). Laura represents a woman who defied the path laid out for her.

Informant C points out another strange aspect of the ball regarding the selection of escorts for the debutantes:

> A part that bothered me is that the fathers of the debutantes are the ones that select their escort. Like how creepy to have some random rich dude that is friends with your dad escort you. I would want to choose my escort like a friend/boyfriend (like hello someone my age would be nice), my dad, or someone that I knew well/felt more comfortable with. I

> think women should have more say. That is just one example which is just the tip of the iceberg of how outdated I think this. (appx C)

Informant C's account of this strange tradition aligns with Laura's experience as Queen. In both instances, women are seen as potential wives for prominent men in society, instead of as people themselves. What is most problematic is the seemingly perpetuated idea that women are only worth the sum of their father's bank account and their mother's pretty face. There is no mention of women being recognized for academic or career focused achievements. This idea of women's worth is outdated, to say the least.

Despite all these concerning issues, according to the VP Saint Louis website, "VP Saint Louis is a fraternal organization in St. Louis focused on service to the community, camaraderie among members and celebrating our region" ("VP STL"). There is no mention of The Veiled Prophet Ball on their website. The photo on the right is provided by VP STL and demonstrates some of this community service that the organization is dedicated to ("VP STL"). The organization has renamed its parade "America's Birthday Parade." Informant A talks about her experience with VP through her father:

> My dad was the first in our family to join the organization so I don't know how it was prior to when he joined. When he first joined he was very involved with the social aspect and the philanthropy aspect like the parade. I remember as a kid being able to go look at the floats for the 4th of July parade and even got to ride in the parade one year! Ever since I can remember the org has been the same. He was a member before all the stuff with Jenna Fisher happened and the only thing I noticed that changed was the organization became more open about what they do because a lot of people weren't super knowledgeable about the org itself. (appx A)

Informant A also touches on this change that occurred in the organization after some controversies surrounding Jenna Fischer and Ellie Kemper became widespread. These celebrities apologizing for their involvement refocused the public's attention on The Veiled Prophet. Here, clearly the organization has shifted to remain relevant and in good standing.

In terms of folklore, The Veiled Prophet is full of conservation and variation in the ways both people who were closely connected to the organization and outsiders view The Veiled Prophet. There is a healthy amount of skepticism from those close to

the organization, as they recognize The Veiled Prophet's controversial past. However, outsiders, specifically outsiders who attended the ball, like Informants B and C, are much more likely to critique the organization. All the informants attended the same ball but recalled different aspects of the experience differently. For example, Informant C focused on how strange the ritual aspect is, when Informant A brushed it off as similar to sororities and fraternities. By looking at all the sources and the fieldwork gathered for this project, people perceive The Veiled Prophet differently. However, there is a lot of conservation within recollections. For example, a lot of what Lucy Ferriss describes in her memoir, the informants also talk about. Ferriss participated in The Veiled Prophet in the early 1970s, and the informants attended the Ball in the past year. This proves that some traditions stand the test of time.

When it comes to predicting the relevance of The Veiled Prophet in the future, a few writers on Reddit have some insight. One user writes, "What I wonder is if the younger people- the college/high school aged children of St. Louis' elite- are still as enthusiastic and 'into' the whole VP mythos as their parents and grandparents were. Or do they view the whole thing as a somewhat dated and embarrassing anachronism that they only participate in because Mom and Dad nag them into it" ("R/Stlouis - Is The Veiled Prophet Still a Thing?"). From the general attitude toward The Veiled Prophet and commentary from the informants, it seems like the tradition is less important to the younger generations than it is to the older members. However, there are surely many others who have been brought up to value the same wealthy social connectedness that The Veiled Prophet offers.

The Veiled Prophet, though it has recently reevaluated its priorities to include more community service, continues to face backlash for its racist, elitist, and sexist history. Perhaps, with the future, will come positive changes in the organization.

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Appendix A: Survey Response from Informant A, whose father is a member of The Veiled Prophet

Tell me about yourself!

"Junior at Mizzou, my dad is a part of the VP, I haven't really done a lot with it personally but recently walked in the ball.

How did you or your family come to join the Veiled Prophet?

"My dad has been a member for 8-10 years, he joined because a few of his friends were members.

If an older family member was part of the VP before you, how has the organization changed and stayed the same?

"My dad was the first in our family to join the organization so I don't know how it was prior to when he joined. When he first joined he was very involved with the social aspect and the philanthropy aspect like the parade. I remember as a kid being able to go look at the floats for the 4th of July parade and even got to ride in the parade one year! Ever since I can remember the org has been the same. He was a member before all the stuff with Jenna Fisher happened and the only thing I noticed that changed was the organization became more open about what they do because a lot of people weren't super knowledgeable about the org itself."

What does membership mean to you?

"Since I am not a direct member the org does not mean a whole lot to me. From what my dad has shared, the org provides him with an opportunity to meet people within STL and give back to the community more because they do a lot of charitable events. From my perspective as a college student, the VP almost seems like a business fraternity but for people outside of college."

What are some events you participate in with the VP?

"I have attended the ball 3 times, once as a kid, when my sister walked and then when I walked. The main reason I participated in the ball was because it meant a lot to my dad. I also participated in the parade as a kid where I helped with the floats."

Can you tell me about your experience with the Veiled Prophet Ball specifically?

"My most memorable experience with the ball was when I walked this past December. I was honestly a little nervous about it because of the drama surrounding the org. It ended up being a super fun and cool experience! The night consisted of a little performance then I had the opportunity to walk on stage as a debutant. From my understanding, the ball first started to present young women into society. In my opinion, it does not hold as much meaning as it used to in the sense of being presented into society. Instead it is a way of celebrating tradition and having fun with your family and friends. It was the first and probably only opportunity I will ever have to be "presented" or "celebrated" for all that I've accomplished in my life."

What kind of ranks within the organization are there?

"I'm not super familiar with the ranks but I know you have different statuses depending on how much time you devote to the organization, how involved you are with events, etc. Back in the day when the organization was first a thing

I believe ranks were based more on money and age however now it is more on devotion to service within the org."

Can you tell me about the debutante tradition and any other age specific roles there are in the VP?

"As a 6th grader, you are considered a junior maid and it is the first time you are able to attend the ball. They make the night special for the girls by giving them a background on the tradition of the org and then letting them sit together while they watch the ball. I think its main purpose is to give daughters the opportunity to meet other daughters within the org. As a junior in college, you have the opportunity to walk in the debutante ball. They recently increased this age from Sophomore to junior, not exactly sure why. Those are the age specific roles for daughters. I am not familiar with age specific roles for actual members."

Are there any stories that are passed down from generation to generation within the organization?

"None that I can think of."

Does the Veiled Prophet have any traditional service projects? If so, explain.

"The main service project they do is put on the 4th of July parade in STL. They also pick a charity each year and all the events they host are to raise money for that organization."

Do you know of any songs or sayings that are used between members of the VP?

"The best way I can describe the ball is that it is like a ritual for a sorority/fraternity in college. There is a "script" they read from during the ceremony to help keep the tradition alive. I am not familiar enough to remember anything specific."

What is your favorite thing about being part of VP?

"From what I've seen and experienced, the opportunity to get involved and give back to the community seems to be the best part. Since I'm not super involved and not a direct member I don't have a favorite part but I know they are always offering events and service opportunities for actual members so that's cool."

I've heard some negative views and stories. As somebody who supports the VP tradition, can you share the stories you've heard, and how you'd respond?

"There have been a lot of stories about the org being racist and things like that. I won't deny that there might have been some of those issues back in the day, however I am a firm believer that it was mainly caused by the time the org was created. I think the organization has grown as society has grown. From what I've experienced there has never been any restrictions on who can join, thinking in terms of color or societal status. The events I've been to have also never involved anything regarding discrimination or anything like that."

What else would like me to know?

"All of my answers are from the perspective of someone who is not directly involved in the org. My dad is involved and has done so much more than I have so I answered from my personal experiences and what I've witnessed from my father's perspective."

Appendix B: Survey Response from Informant B, who attended The Veiled Prophet Ball as a guest

Tell me about yourself and your connection to the Veiled Prophet. (If you only attended the ball please specify that).

"I grew up around St. Louis area and have had some friends be in the veiled prophet and have heard things about it. It piqued my curiosity and I thought it would be fun to go to a ball. I attended the veiled prophet as a guest to my friend."

What was the ball like? Walk me through the events.

"First off when we arrived there was a cocktail hour before entering the main event of the debutante ball. There were guys in costumes almost like knight attire meets the nutcracker. After cocktail hour it was time to make your way to the main event where an array of white chairs surrounded a runway through the middle of the crowd to an extended stage. Then members of the veiled prophet began coming out of these curtains and then processed across. The veiled prophet came across with an eye mask, long beard, and some people who would hold up peacock feathers of a sort towards him. There was a gesture/announcer type person who would open a scroll and would present different types of people in the committee or group. He said "his royal majesty presents his ladies in waiting". Then a group of girls processed across and their name was announced. This process was repeated until everyone was on the

stage together. Then they made some announcements and then they processed out. Now that debutantes already processed after this event, they joined everyone for another cocktail hour. Then it was dinner, a three course meal and dance time. A dance floor had now opened up with a live band. This dinner and dance hour lasted a long time and then if you were still up breakfast was served at around 1 or 2am which was the last event."

What did you know about the Veiled Prophet before attending the ball?

"I had heard that it had cult allegations and that there were never lots of details about it because it seemed like a veryprivate event or secret club. I knew people that had been to it and I knew that the debutante girls were presented to society and wore very nice dresses. I didn't know much going into it."

I've heard some negative views and stories. As somebody who attended a VP event, can you share the stories you've heard, and how you'd respond?

"I have heard that it's a cult and weird that these old men are presenting these young girls. It definitely had some interesting aspects and some of the masks and people that processed across was interesting. I took this event as more of a performative show as I watched and took the costumes and such as just a big show. Regarding the older men walking down these girls, I had thought it was chosen at random but the debutante's father chooses one of their friends and a trusted man to walk them down. I didn't think my friend's person who walked her was weird at all, he was quite sweet and very nonthreatening which debunked this creepy old guy theory."

Anything else you can share? More info the better!

"Idk."

Appendix C: Survey Response from Informant C, who attended The Veiled Prophet Ball as a guest

Tell me about yourself and your connection to the Veiled Prophet. (If you only attended the ball please specify that).

"I attended the ball as a guest to my friend that was walking as a debutante."

What was the ball like? Walk me through the events.

"The ball is a very long night. I arrived around 5pm which is much later compared to most of the people that attended the event. The first real "event"

of the evening was around 7-7:30 which is basically just a cocktail hour for all the guests that are not walking in the ceremony. The main ceremony was like 2.5 - 3 hours long. The ceremony itself was very culty and mainly consisted of women and their escorts with various titles that belonged to the society being announced and then they walked down the aisle. Eventually the veiled prophet appears and makes his way down the aisle where he sits in his throne at the end of the runway and the woman that was named queen the year previous sits next to him. The debutantes are then presented to him in which their names are announced and their escort walks them down the aisle, they bow to the VP, then go take their seat on the stage. There were a lot of little formalities or rituals I guess you could call it such as a group of men dressed as some war reenactment uniforms with rifles that would march up and down the aisle and yell that I could have lived without, but whatever they seemed to be having fun. FINALLY the ball is over and you have to pee like a mofo bc all you do is stand around and drink for hours before this thing starts and leaving your seat during the ceremony is a no no. Then it was just (you guessed it) standing around and drinking waiting for the debs to come out and then when they do come out you stand around and drink some more. After a little while the debs line up with their dads to go and do the father daughter dance. Then it is time for dinner at like 11:30 (obviously). After dinner the night is much more relaxed and people are kinda free to do what they want. There are drinks and dancing and all that good stuff. I had to dip around 3am because I was going on a trip that day, but I think it's just drinking, chatting, and dancing for a while and then there is a breakfast at like 5am or something like that."

What did you know about the Veiled Prophet before attending the ball?

"I didn't really know much about the veiled prophet (like the point of it/the history of it) before going. I figured it was similar to fleur di lis which is another popular debutante ball in stl. I just knew that the women are presented to the veiled prophet which is this "mysterious secretive figure" that no one knows the identity of. UGH that was the other thing, the whole ceremony they kept calling him "his mysterious majesty" like over and over holy crap its forever carved into the psychological makeup of my brain."

I've heard some negative views and stories. As somebody who attended a VP event, can you share the stories you've heard, and how you'd respond?

"I don't know a lot of stories, but I just knew that it has kind of been nicknamed a "racist ball". I know another girl who walked in the ball and she was telling me that the ball itself is pretty sketch. As I've mentioned a lot of drinking, but apparently a lot of drugs too. She told me that she made a deal with her parents that her two rules of the night were to 1) not get so drunk that

she throws up on her dress (that was custom made in NYC that was 15k btw) and 2) don't do any coke."

Anything else you can share? More info the better!

"As an outsider I think the whole thing is ridiculous. These families spend so much money on this night (on the low end I would estimate 20k) which is crazy to me. The whole idea of it is extremely outdated in my opinion as well. The VP society itself is a secret society of rich white men and the ball is their opportunity to parade around their wives and daughters. A part that bothered me is that the fathers of the debutantes are the ones that select their escort. Like how creepy to have some random rich dude that is friends with your dad escort you. I would want to choose my escort like a friend/boyfriend (like hello someone my age would be nice), my dad, or someone that I knew well/felt more comfortable with. I think women should have more say. That is just one example which is just the tip of the iceberg of how outdated I think this. These people just spend so much money on this night it is crazy to me like try I don't know donating to charity or something, just an idea."

Cultural Catholicism and the Function of Non-Traditional Traditions

Lucy McCormick

The hierarchical and institutional nature of the Catholic Church allows it to remain rigidly organized and structurally stationary, fostering an environment conducive to tradition in which conformity in practice is easily facilitated and expertly maintained. However, even with this largely doctrine-based tradition, rich cultural traditions and beliefs flourish within the households of practicing Catholics, extending beyond the teachings of the Church. The intersection between the fixed teachings of the Catholic Church and the diverse cultural practices rooted in Catholic teachings but varying from family to family emphasizes the boundary between institution and congregation, as well as demonstrates the way in which religious practices are evolving and transforming in an ever-changing modern world. From initial and historic pushback against the changes made by Vatican II, to resurgence of old traditions among younger generations born into a post Vatican II society, to completely syncretic versions of Catholicism arising in other culturally rich countries of the world, Catholicism, though a standardized belief system in theory, has been the platform for the emergence of divergent religious practices all stemming from a shared foundational belief in the Bible and Catholic teachings. This study seeks to explore these divergent cultural practices among Catholics and will analyze the function of utilizing these traditions adjacent to the teachings of the Catholic Church.

The more structured nature of past traditions that have been left behind by the congregation at large have been a factor that is driving younger generations to adopt more outdated religious expression, creating division within practicing Catholics. Though the prevalence of certain, more traditional Catholic practices decreased after the changes enacted by Vatican II, there was still observed pushback and adherence to traditionalism seen within congregation members back in the 1960s, following the Second Vatican Council (Maldonado-Estrada 3). In a post-Vatican II society, among some Catholics there is a sense of reverence for these more intensely structured practices, such as veiling during Mass, making these people feel more connected and rooted in their Catholic faith. (Cieslik and Phillips 49). Within the study conducted by Emma Cieslik and Robert Phillips of Ball State University, they found that many of the young women they interviewed who had chosen to revert to the practice of veiling felt strongly that the Catholic congregation is becoming more secularized in

the modern Church. As such, this resurgence of old religious tradition may be tied to an effort to return to a strength in spirituality and a hope to bolster the religious community within the Catholic Church. This movement of a return to more rigid pre-Vatican II religious expressions has been referred to as the Reverence Revolution and continues to be a basis for division within religious expression of practicing Catholics (Cieslik and Phillips 50).

According to Alyssa Maldonado-Estrada, an Assistant Professor of Religion, prior to the changes enacted by Vatican II, Latin Masses meant less of a connection to the liturgy in many cases for people, and members of the congregation "saw glimpses of the power and agency of devotional objects to intervene in their daily lives" (2). As such, they developed these devotions as a way of feeling more in control and involved in their religious expression and connection to God and scripture. These devotional items often tend to be Sacramental objects including but not limited to Scapulars, rosaries, prayer cards, and many more religious items that provide a sense of tethering an individual to their Catholic faith. While the use of these devotional objects has decreased following changes of Vatican II, the adherence to these devotions persists in the cultural lives of many Catholics today. In fact, though unintentional, Vatican II served as the basis for an increase in the following of certain non-traditional religious practices such as the Divine Mercy devotion[1] (Alvis, 10). Many historical bases for the proliferation of devotional Catholic traditions are also essential in understanding the prevalence of their practice. For instance, during World War II "word-of-mouth accounts of Faustina and the Divine Mercy devotion spread across occupied Poland" increasing the devotional practice among Polish Catholics (5). This is a clear example of how the sharing of memorates could contribute to an increase in cultural sharing of certain practices outside the bounds of Catholic teachings. These devotional practices within the congregation demonstrate the intersection between the official lore of the church and the lore created by the congregation itself, as it is both "highly traditional and open to innovation" (16).

This innovation has even been seen to reach more extreme levels of variation, leading to completely syncretic sects of the Catholic faith falling under the umbrella of folk Catholicism. This culturally rich and diverse syncretism of the Catholic faith can be seen in the Philippines, in which folk Catholicism can be witnessed through many unorthodox traditions and expressions of the Catholic faith. For instance, one popular practice among Filipino Catholics known as punas-punas is the "wiping or touching of a sacred image with a piece of cloth" which gives the cloth "a bisa or efficacy to cure sicknesses and ward off evil spirits" (Macaranas 10). These cultural practices allow for the continuation of indigenous practices while still recognizing and upholding the values instilled by Catholicism. Rather than assimilating completely to the structure of the Catholic Church and colonization, culturally diverse and rich traditions emerged that kept the spirit of past indigenous religion alive through the syncretic practice of Catholicism. Furthermore, Brazilian expressions of folk

Catholicism include folk medicine and healing from female folk healers called benzedeiras, who "heal in the name of the Christian God, with intermediation from Virgin Mary and Catholic saints" (Siuda-Ambroziak 197). This expression of religious healing has been noted to help with "building social bonds in the community" and thus strengthening the integrity of the folk group itself through folk Catholic practices (Siuda-Ambroziak 194). These syncretic practices help to provide a sense of comfort and community among Brazilian Catholics, allowing these healings to function to relieve physical pain as well as to alleviate the emotional and mental discomfort of suffering, all through the power of shared religiosity.

All these non-traditional cultural practices among Catholics serve a wide variety of purposes to those practicing them. In a questionnaire regarding Catholic religious practices, it was reported that the "religious practices that an individual perceives and internalizes" are essential in determining "their behavior both toward themselves and other people" (Krok et al. 3). This is of vital importance to consider within the consideration of Catholics as a folk group, as these ingroup interactions define and represent the nature of the group. Additionally, some practices, such as Catholic specific prayers, can act as a means of border patrolling to set a firm and apparent boundary between the ingroup and the outgroup. As such, considering how these religious practices affect the behaviors of the folk group toward both themselves and outsiders is essential in understanding their functionality. Furthermore, in another study analyzing the functionality of prayer, it was found that prayer creates "a sense of agency and control" as well as the impression of "a collaborative relationship with God" (Zarzycka et al. 3222). This would suggest that religious traditions among Catholics may also serve a function of providing a greater sense of certainty and control, while also achieving a level of comfort through a relationship with God. With these proposed functions in mind, this study seeks to explore the function of some of these unorthodox practices and why they still proliferate the Catholic community even though they are not expressly and explicitly endorsed by the Catholic Church.

All eight participants within this study grew up and belong to parishes within the St. Louis area and are between the ages of 50 and 85. Some of them have significant memory of changes enacted by Vatican II, while others' religious upbringing was largely unaffected. In order to obtain information regarding the cultural practices of informants, mostly face-to-face interviews were conducted aside from one interview that was conducted via email. Questions asked were largely open-ended and began generally. Interview questions were not entirely standardized but rather allowed for a natural flow of conversation to gather the most information from informants as possible as it pertained to the subject at hand.

Limitations to this study include a small sample size as well as a very geographically specific sample population. With the information gathered in this study coming directly from a small sample of St. Louisans, the insights gleaned from these interviews may not be completely applicable to practicing Catholics in other areas.

Therefore, more accurately, the scope of this study analyzes function of religiosity within Catholics practicing in the St. Louis area.

Initial questions sought out information about the religious upbringing of participants in which many described themselves as "cradle Catholics," jargon specific to the Catholic community. This information was culturally significant in terms of describing the way in which these informants interacted with their faith, and the way in which they were raised. First and foremost, this term is a self-identifier which was culturally significant to all the informants who described themselves as "cradle Catholics." Additionally, the use of this Catholic-specific terminology works within the Catholic community to not only distinguish Catholics from non-Catholics but also to identify a smaller subset within practicing Catholics of those who were born into the faith, rather than converting to it later on in adulthood.

Three informants also noted within their religious background that they were the children of a "cradle Catholic" and a convert. They all concurred that this environment was essential in shaping their relationship to their faith, as bearing witness to converts with strong faith deeply rooted in Catholicism encouraged them to also be strong in their faith. One informant described how seeing her father, who was raised a non-practicing Episcopalian, very active in his Catholic faith and "drawn to the Catholic Church" was a key factor in igniting her strong beliefs in the teachings of Catholicism. This displays the significance of the border between ingroup and outgroup within the Catholic community as well as exemplifies the monumental impact that outsiders breaching the ingroup can have on members of a particular folk group.

Furthermore, there was a clear division between informants who had experienced the changes brought on by Vatican II, and those whose religious practices were left largely undisturbed.One main point of division between these two groups was the process of taking Communion. About half of the informants took first Communion on the tongue, while the other half of participants took first Communion post Vatican II with the Host placed in their hands. Some respondents noted that they struggled with the changes brought on by Vatican II in regard to Communion. Some mentioned that they were highly encouraged by the Church to make the switch in accordance with Vatican II changes, even though they did not necessarily agree with or want to make that change. Many noted that they switched from taking Communion on the tongue to in the hands because of a desire to conform to the standard being followed by the rest of the congregation, even though it went against their personal desires of faith expression. This demonstrates the importance of group membership within the Catholic Church and how a sense of community was the more important factor to uphold.

This emphasis on community within the practice of Communion also serves as a boundary for division between the ingroup and the outgroup. One respondent was raised Methodist and converted to Catholicism in adulthood after marrying his

Catholic wife. Before his conversion, he was very adamant about taking Communion at an Easter Mass even though adults who are not confirmed in the Catholic faith are not allowed to participate in Communion. When he went up for Communion and the priest presented the Host saying, "the Body of Christ," he responded with "thanks" instead of the appropriate and standard Catholic response of "Amen." Through this, it is evident that some of the customary practices of Catholicism secondarily work as a means of border patrolling and identifying nonmembers. This practice of excluding non-Catholics from partaking in Communion at Mass demonstrates a way in which Catholics can be viewed as a bounded group, with a clear division and distinction between insiders and outsiders.

Another change brought on by Vatican II that some people struggled with was the disappearance of the Latin Mass.[2] Though there was a greater connection between priest and congregation with Masses being more easily understandable to a larger number of Catholics, some reported that they did not feel the same sort of reverence emphasized in the English Mass. Furthermore, one respondent reported that it took her a long time to adjust to the fact that Vatican II changed the direction the priest faced during Mass, even though it provided more of a connection to the congregation. This demonstrates the deeply rooted tradition and canonical practices of the Catholic Church, and how the congregation members respond to and value this unchanging tradition and rigid structure.

Even with changes brought about by Vatican II, many respondents made specific note of the resurgence of pre-Vatican II practices, specifically within younger generations of Church goers. Three respondents noted the return of practices such as kneeling for Communion, women veiling at Mass, and increased attendance at Latin Masses, all amongst young adults. One informant proposed that the resurgence of veiling could be because it provides an increased level of focus on the Mass. One specific comparison she made was that the veils acted similarly to "blinders on a horse," allowing the women who choose to wear them to zero in on the Mass without distractions, increasing their own involvement with the scripture. From this proposed explanation, the functionality of the resurgence of these more archaic practices may be to increase a sense of involvement within the Mass. The following of these more rigorous and demanding traditions may allow these Catholics to feel more connected to their spirituality, allowing them to participate more in their own religion.

However, with the resurgence of these traditions, a division is forming within the congregation of the Catholic Church. Instead of being one clearly identifiable folk group, there is a secondary group emerging with the following of these more rigid traditions. This, to some degree, breaks down the sense of community within the congregation, making a secondary split between older and younger generations of the Catholic faith. While some respondents reviewed this resurgence in a positive light, enjoying seeing the reversion to familiar traditions, others viewed it as younger

generations being caught up in old traditions rather than focused on their relationship with God.

After discussing religious upbringing, interview questions became more specific, transitioning into questions regarding more non-traditional practices among Catholics that occur outside of the teachings of the church. These questions were largely related to specific cultural traditions, sacramentals, material lore, as well as saints.

Within the realm of sacramentals, one commonality that was reported was the practice of hanging a rosary in a bush before an event to bring about good weather. Four respondents made note of this practice, most of which referenced it in relation to bringing good weather for a wedding, one of the seven Holy Sacraments of the Catholic faith, and some respondents mentioned it in regard to other events, such as graduation ceremonies and other important milestone events. In the discussion of this practice, memorates confirming the practice's efficacy were obtained from respondents. One respondent noted that she hung a rosary in a bush on her property the day before her wedding because there was rain forecasted, and though it still did rain, the rain stopped just long enough for her and her groom to enter and exit the Church without getting rained on. Another respondent shared that after utilizing this practice, it did not rain for a graduation ceremony, even though there had been rain in the forecast. The application of this practice to life events that are outside the scope of religiosity and spirituality demonstrates the extension of faith beyond the confines of the Church and exemplifies how Catholics apply these practices adjacent to the official lore and instruction of the institution itself. Additionally, given that this practice is employed in situations where personal control is impossible, it may function to provide a sense of control over the situation and a sense of agency. Through this illusion of control, this practice may function to bring peace of mind to those who utilize it, allowing them to turn over their worries to a higher power rather than deal with them in isolation.

Another practice of note was the cultural practice among Catholics of burying a statue of St. Joseph to have better luck in selling a property. Every respondent was familiar with this practice, but their understanding of how the practice was carried out differed from informant to informant. While every informant acknowledged that the St. Joseph statue must be buried upside down, location and orientation varied in each response. While some left orientation and location unspecified, others all separately and individually answered that the statue must be buried facing the house, facing the direction of the move, facing north, at a certain depth, or specifically in the backyard, creating a vast variance within the practice. Additionally, many informants noted that they had seen kits containing a St. Joseph statue and instructions to bury it sold at Catholic supply stores, a clear example of the commodification of a Catholic folk practice which could potentially lead to more conservation and standardization within the burial process.[3] One informant specifically noted that she had been told that the

significance of the burial of the statue upside down was to be representative of the fact that when Joseph had to flee to Egypt with Mary and Jesus, his life was "upside down," and he needed to "get back on his feet" in order to establish himself and support his family. This specific example from this informant demonstrates the intersection between the official and institutional lore from the Bible as well as the cultural practice that emerged separate from the Church as a result. In discussing with informants, all of them noted that they were made aware of this tradition from other practicing Catholics, exemplifying how this practice is perpetuated and spread throughout the community by the congregation rather than the official teachings of the Church, making it a creation of the folk. Through this, it is apparent that this specific practice serves a purpose to provide a tie to the biblical stories that parallel some of the struggles that one may face in everyday life. As such, this practice of burying St. Joseph statues could provide a sense of comfort and control over a sometimes overwhelming and unbearable situation, as well as provide a reminder of the presence of God within the common struggles of Catholics.

Similarly, several informants were also aware of a common prayer to St. Anthony, the patron saint of lost items, that included sound patterning. While a couple of respondents noted that they learned this prayer in their adulthood, most informants familiar with it learned it in their youth from an adult. Informants responded with two variations of this prayer:

Tony, Tony, look around, something's lost that must be found.
Tony, Tony, look around, something's lost that can't be found.

Both variations were collected in relatively equal proportions, with three informants being familiar with the "must" variation and two familiar with the "can't" variation. Similar to the St. Joseph statue, this prayer may also function to provide a sense of control within a situation that may seem like there is no outward control. Additionally, since this prayer is used to locate lost items, a couple of respondents claimed that they felt it provided a sense of guidance, meaning that while this prayer's surface purpose is to help people find lost items, in such an uncontrollable situation, it also may covertly function to help people themselves not to feel as lost. It ultimately provides a sense of comfort and trust in the Lord that helps individuals feel aided in times of need, as well as diffuses responsibility, leaving the one praying to feel less alone in their struggle. Also, in situations where multiple Catholics are looking for a lost item together, the reminder from one Catholic to another to "say the Tony, Tony Prayer" helps provide a sense of community as well as distinguish the ingroup from the outgroup.

Moreover, three informants also mentioned the significance of the Blessing of the Throats on the Feast Day of St. Blaise. This sacramental of the Catholic Church is more closely tied to the official lore; however, participants noted its importance within their religious practice and their interaction with their faith. Respondents described

that this blessing was to protect against illness and disease, where two unlit candles (though one informant did note that in the past, it was standard for the candles to be lit) would be crossed under the throat of the person receiving the blessing.

Similar to the Blessing of the Throats taking place during the Catholic Mass, another culturally rich practice involving sacramentals is the common practice of folding palms from Palm Sunday into crosses.[4] Three informants noted during their interviews that they were familiar with this practice. This tradition is not instructed by the Church, but rather a tradition brought on and perpetuated by the congregation itself, being a great example of material lore within the Catholic community. Perhaps the significance of this practice is to create a more visual connection between the palms from Palm Sunday and their connection to Catholicism and teachings of the Bible. By making these crosses, there is a more obvious connection between the sacramental and the biblical teachings that provide the basis for Palm Sunday. Furthermore, these crosses demonstrate yet another intersection between the canonical traditions of the Catholic Church and the created traditions derived from the congregation itself; Catholics expand upon the teachings of the Church and turn them into meaningful cultural practices that further the application of their faith.

Another element of material lore that several informants noted was the wearing of a Brown Scapular, which is supposed to be worn daily around the neck and under the clothes. All the informants familiar with the Brown Scapular noted that if an individual dies wearing it, they will go straight to Heaven, making this sacramental a signal of salvation. Through this explanation, the Scapular may signify for Catholics a certainty in one of life's biggest uncertainties: death. As such, it may function to provide a comfort in the unknown and help Catholics avoid existential fear. Respondents also mentioned that there are different Scapulars that carry different intentions. One informant had a Scapular that was supposed to help bring someone back to the Catholic Church. There was also variation in the way in which these Scapulars were utilized. Some informants reported that they wore theirs daily, one respondent noted that she kept hers hanging on her bed frame, and one claims she would take either a rosary or a Scapular to the dentist in her pocket as a child to comfort her and alleviate her fear. Similar wearable Sacramentals such as saint medals and Miraculous Medals also serve a similar function of providing a tie to spirituality as well as a level of comfort to those wearing them.[5]

Throughout the interview process, several informants also shared memorates of times they felt a real presence of God within their lives. These can be largely separated into two distinct categories: stories involving "divine intervention" in some capacity leading to the safety of individuals in dangerous situations, and instances in which informants felt as though God was "speaking directly to them." These memorates show a personal application of the Catholic faith outside of the teachings of the Church.

Memorates collected from informants who noted that they felt as though God protected them and ensured their safety were largely based on the notion that harm undoubtedly should have been caused. For instance, one informant noted a first-hand account of a time in which she was in the car with her daughter, and her daughter began to merge, noticed a car in her blind spot, overcorrected, and then crossed four lanes of traffic miraculously without getting seriously injured. This informant attributes her safety and the safety of the other drivers on the road to God's direct intervention protecting them all from harm that day. Similarly, another informant noted how she was stopped at a red light with a car in the lane beside her also stopped, and a pickup truck approached from behind without slowing down, and somehow seemingly with no other earthly explanation, fit between her car and the car next to her without any sort of collision, which she claims should have been "impossible." She also described that she felt as though "divine intervention" was the basis of her safety and protection. Since these instances seemed impossible to these informants, this could likely explain their attribution of the outcome to a Godly presence rather than simply believing it to be mere coincidence. This category of memorates demonstrates the way in which the outside world, unrelated to religion, can be a reinforcing factor of faith due to the foundational belief in a higher power, and thus contributing to the attribution of these outcomes to religiosity.

Furthermore, other memorates involved personal feelings that one was in direct communication with God. One informant noted that after her daughter was diagnosed with diabetes as a toddler, she attended several healing Masses, and at one in particular, she was struck by the sudden smell of roses, which within Catholic lore is indicative of the presence of the Virgin Mary. She interpreted this as a sign from God that everything would be fine, and this experience had an extreme calming effect on her mood and perception of her own struggle. Furthermore, another informant who converted to Catholicism in adulthood, accidentally happened upon a Catholic radio station providing answers to Protestant questions. He felt as though God was speaking directly to him through these radio hosts, which fueled his conversion to the Catholic faith. Additionally, he would attend noon masses during his lunch breaks and found that whatever question he had about Catholicism was always uncannily answered during the homily at these Masses, which he also attributed to God's presence. For him, these instances helped him to feel more self-assured in his conversion and to proceed without doubt. As such, this category of memorates could function to keep Catholics strong in the Catholic faith, as well as provide more feelings of certainty moving into an uncertain future.

The sharing of these memorates also functions to provide a basis for other Catholics to feel a sense of strength within their faith. With Catholicism being highly focused on an element of community within religious practice, these first-hand accounts with authenticating gestures from other members of the congregation can

strengthen the Catholic community and reinforce the spirituality of the congregation at large.

These elements of Catholicism that are products of the congregation serve many purposes for practicing Catholics. From a highly foundational standpoint, these non-traditional traditions are a strengthening factor in terms of faith, fortifying the spirituality of the congregation and providing a true, deeply rooted sense of community. When considering some of the more ritualistic practices, such as the burying of St. Joseph statues or hanging rosaries in a bush, it is evident that these practices bring into question the element of control. These practices, similar to many other faith-based traditions, allow an individual to feel a sense of control over a situation where personal control may be impossible. Paradoxically, these traditions also allow for a relinquishment of control and diffusion of responsibility, as these worries and earthly problems are turned over to a higher power. As such, this could reduce feelings of isolation and strengthen community ideals within the congregation allowing for a stronger sense of faith within the ingroup.

While these traditions may be relatively unorthodox and not necessarily endorsed by the Catholic Church, they still include elements of the Church's teachings and are based on understanding of scripture. Following these cultural practices demonstrates an agency within the application of the Catholic faith that allows congregation members to feel a greater control over their own religious practice and a sense of spirituality outside of the contained environment of a Catholic Mass. These traditions all also help to provide a sense of comfort and calming as a result of a perception of greater control. With this comfort provided by these common shared practices being contingent on the presence of God, these practices also help to reinforce the basic principle that unifies Catholics: their belief in God and following of the Bible. As such, these practices work not only to define the folk group of practicing Catholics, but also to unify them under shared ideology and shared cultural traditions. While these traditions may not stem directly from institutional instruction, they maintain their importance in Catholic folklore as a unifying and comforting force, bringing congregation members closer to both God and each other.

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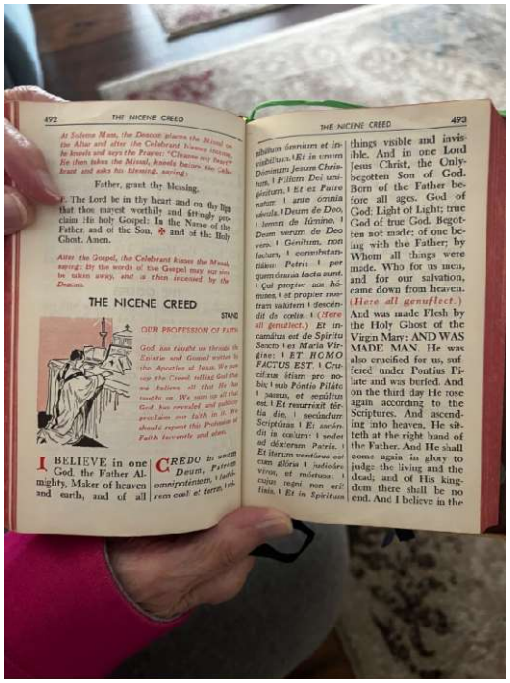
Notes

1. Divine Mercy image in the front window of an informant's home.

2. An informant's Daily Missal, used before Vatican II changes led to the wide disappearance of the Latin Mass.



492 THE NICENE CREED

At Solemn Mass, the Deacon places the Missal on the Altar and after the Celebrant blesses him, he kneels and says the Prayer: "Cleanse my heart." He then takes the Missal, kneels before the Celebrant and asks his blessing, saying:

Father, grant thy blessing.

℣. The Lord be in thy heart and on thy lips that thou mayest worthily and fittingly proclaim His holy Gospel: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, ✠ and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

After the Gospel, the Celebrant kisses the Missal, saying: By the words of the Gospel may our sins be taken away, and as then incensed by the Deacon.

THE NICENE CREED

STAND

OUR PROFESSION OF FAITH

God has taught us through the Epistle and Gospel written by the Apostles at Jesus. We now say the Creed telling God He we believe all that He has taught us. We sum up all that God has revealed and publicly proclaim our faith in it. We should repeat this Profession of Faith reverently and often.

I BELIEVE in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all

CREDO in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, factorem cæli et terræ,

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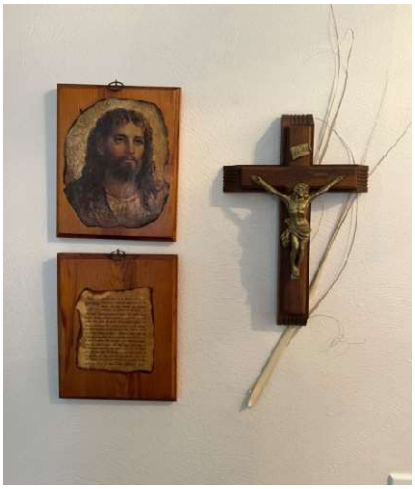
visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum. Et ex Patre natum ante omnia sæcula. Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero. Genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis. (*Here all genuflect.*) Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine: ET HOMO FACTUS EST. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato passus, et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas. Et ascendit in cœlum: sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos, et mortuos: cujus regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum

things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God. Born of the Father before all ages. God of God: Light of Light; true God of true God. Begotten not made; of one being with the Father; by Whom all things were made. Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven. (*Here all genuflect.*) And was made Flesh by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary: AND WAS MADE MAN. He was also crucified for us, suffered under Pontius Pilate and was buried. And on the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures. And ascending into heaven. He sitteth at the right hand of the Father. And He shall come again in glory to judge the living and the dead; and of His kingdom there shall be no end. And I believe in the

3. The commodification of the folk practice of burying St. Joseph statues to sell homes.

4. Palms from Palm Sunday displayed in an informant's home among other religious items.



5. An informant's Miraculous Medal (left) and Scapulars (right).