

Baseball, Rituals, and the American Dream: An Analysis of the Boston Red Sox's Response to the Boston Marathon Bombing

By
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BA, Arkansas State University, 2015

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Communication Studies and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Abstract

In April 2013, the Tsarnaev brothers placed two homemade bombs near the finish line of the Boston Marathon. This attack created a need for healing the city's spirit and the Boston Red Sox played an essential role in the city's recovery as the team invited victims and first responders to pregame ceremonies throughout the season to participate in ritualistic pregame ceremonies. This thesis examines the Red Sox first home game after the bombing and argues that ritualistic pregame ceremonies craft conditions for performing national citizenship identity by calling upon mythic belief systems to warrant norms of citizenship performance.

Acknowledgments

I did not know what to expect from my first year of graduate school at the University of Kansas. Five years ago, I would never have dreamed of being in the position I'm currently in. I knew school would be hard, but I was excited for the challenges at hand. Graduate school has been the most difficult thing I have ever done, but it has also the most fun I've ever had. That being said, there are a few people I need to recognize for the work they have done for me to get to this moment.

I would first like to thank Dr. Beth Innocenti for serving as my advisor. Dr. Innocenti has been instrumental in refining my ideas and getting them more coherently translated on paper. She has pushed me to do better, write boldly, and she has sharpened me into a better academic and student. She is one of the smartest, most patient people I've ever met.

Additionally, thank you to Dr. Robert Rowland and Dr. Brett Bricker for their assistance in early versions of this project. I would also like to thank my office mate Talya Slaw. Thank you for letting me run my ideas by you so they sounded better when written down.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my wife Haley. There is no way I would be at the point where I am in my journey without her. When I first came to Kansas, I wanted to be a 'cool kid' and write about the same popular things as everyone else. I am interested in presidential rhetoric, but that is not my passion. Haley pushed and challenged me to write about something that I love and something that I will want to wake up every morning and work on. It is because of her that I have a research identity and a clear direction for my career as a sports rhetorician. She has made me a better academic, a better person, and a better husband. I will always appreciate everything she has done and will continue to do for me. There is no more supportive person in the world. I love you Haley.

Dedication

To my father; for teaching me to love sport.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: A Case for the Significance of Sports Rituals as a Rhetorical Artifact	1
Literature Review	3
Politics and Sport	4
Sports Rituals and the Construction of National Identity	7
Pre-Game Sports Rituals and National Identity	10
Explanation/Justification of Textual Artifacts	12
Conclusion	13
Chapter 2: Play Ball (My Way): A Theoretical Exploration of Citizenship, Ritual, and Myth ...	14
Citizen vs. Citizenship: The Game-Changing Distinction.....	14
Rituals as Performances of Citizenship	17
Myths as Sanctions of Rituals.....	22
The American Dream: Imagining the Heroic American Citizen.....	25
Uncovering the Ideal Citizen: A Methodological Approach to Sports Rituals	27
Context (Myth).....	29
Commitments (Ritual)	30
Heroes (Ideal Citizen).....	31
Chapter 3: A Shining City on a Mound: The Red Sox’s Recasting of the American Dream	
.....	33
A Contextual Analysis of Baseball and Commitments in Pregame Ceremonies	34
Baseball.....	34
National Anthem.....	35
First Pitch Ceremony	38
Protect the Flag: Volunteers and Citizens as Protectors	42

Celebrating Ordinary Heroes	45
Your Government Thanks You: State-Sponsored Citizens	52
This is Our Fucking City: Big Papi’s Embodiment of the Ideal Citizen	54
Discussion.....	55
Chapter 4: Concluding Remarks on the Relationship Between Sports Rituals and Norms of Citizenship Performance.....	59
Implications	60
Limitations and Direction for Future Research	62
Bibliography	66

Chapter 1: A Case for the Significance of Sports Rituals as a Rhetorical Artifact

On the evening of October 16, 1968, Olympic runners Tommie Smith and John Carlos won the gold and bronze medal, respectively, for the United States in the 200-meter dash. During the medal ceremony, Smith and Carlos walked to the podium and took off their shoes, rolled their pants up to expose their black socks, put buttons for the Olympic Project for Human Rights on their jackets, and slipped a black glove over one of their hands as they raised their fists high during the playing of the Star-Spangled Banner. Their actions shocked spectators, led to vicious attacks against them in the media, and resulted in the expulsion of Smith and Carlos from the Olympics and their suspension from the U.S. Olympic team (Peterson, 2009).

Smith and Carlos' protest in support of the U.S. civil rights movement is an iconic moment in American history and demonstrates the social and political significance of sports rituals. Researchers have observed that sports are important sites for the expression of national identity (Morgan, 1999; Tomlinson & Young, 2006). Specific ritual performances within sports, such as the performance of the national anthem and medal ceremonies, are strongly associated with patriotism and "devotion to one's own country" (Spiegel & Spiegel, 1998, p. 35). Grant (1998) argued that sports reflect a comprehensive vision of life, and the singing of the national anthem links participants in this ritual with a national identity. Failure to meet expectations for citizenship performance comes with severe consequences. Smith and Carlos' performance demonstrates that rejection or deviation from these rituals can lead to criticism for being unpatriotic or un-American (Bryant, 2013).

But at the same time, Smith and Carlos' deviation from ritual expectations performs a national identity, specifically a protestor identity, that aligns with dominant norms of citizenship performance. Protesting has roots in the founding of the United States, is constitutionally protected by the First Amendment, and is a normal and expected occurrence in American culture.

If protesting is assumed to be part of performing American citizenship—or at a minimum viewed as a Constitutional right—then why was this protest sharply criticized for its legitimacy and punished? This incident and others like it beg the question: How do sports rituals craft conditions for performance of national citizenship? In this thesis, after showing that sport is a ritualistic site for the expression and transformation of national identity, cultural norms, and values, I will argue that ritualistic pregame ceremonies craft conditions for performing national citizenship identity by calling upon mythic belief systems to warrant norms of citizenship performance.

The Boston Red Sox's pregame ceremonies at Fenway park in the summer of 2013 illustrate how sports rituals craft conditions for performing national citizenship. On April 15th of that year, Tamerlan and Dzhorkhar Tsarnaev placed two homemade bombs near the finish line of the 117th running of the Boston Marathon. The explosion resulted in three deaths and 282 injuries (Kumar, 2013). Like any terrorist attack, the bombing was tragic and created a need for healing the public spirit of both the city and the nation. Previous research suggests that baseball is well equipped to shape national identity in response to terrorism. Butterworth (2005) suggested that baseball has a responsibility, as a symbol of unification and the essence of American national identity, to respond to instances of terrorism as the Yankees did after the attacks on the Twin Towers. In other words, the literature indicates that the Red Sox not only have an obligation to respond to the bombing, but baseball rituals are more useful for reconstructing American national identity in response to tragedy than a sport like hockey, which is generally seen as more of a Canadian or Russian sport.

Media commentary highlighted the Red Sox's essential role in the city's recovery as the team invited victims and first responders to pregame ceremonies throughout the season to aid the community in their emotional recovery (Shaikin, 2013; Filipov, 2013). Throughout the 2013 season, several people affected by the bombings were invited to perform the ritual of throwing

the first pitch. These first pitch ceremonies are good sites for exploring how sports rituals create conditions for performing citizenship. In particular, the April 20th ceremony is worth a close analysis because it is both unique and representative. It was unique in that it was the team's first home game after the bombing and featured an extensive pre-game ceremony that was not used in future first-pitch ceremonies. It was representative in that it served as a template for less extensive pre-game rituals later that season. In this chapter, I will first explain how my research advances our understanding of the relationship between politics and sport, sports rituals, and national identity. Next, I will justify focusing on the April 20th ceremony. Finally, I will overview the remaining chapters.

Literature Review

Sports are one of the most popular activities in the United States. A 2015 Harvard study indicated that 73 percent of adults played sports when they were younger and 72 percent of parents have their children play in organized sports (Datz & Blair, 2015). Playing sports positively influences healthy outcomes more than other forms of exercise (Datz & Blair, 2015; Eime, Harvey, Brown, & Payne, 2010) which may partially explain their popularity. Sports are also popular to spectate. Roughly six out of ten Americans describe themselves as sports fans (Jones, 2015). Clearly, sports are an integral part of Americans' lives. The massive popularity of American sports makes them an important site for inquiry.

In the following sections I will defend the assumption that sports and politics are shaped by and shape each other. Second, I will discuss how norms of national citizenship performance are constructed through sports rituals. Third, I will consider how scholars have approached the association between sports rituals and mythic systems.

Politics and Sport

Sports are closely linked with politics, although purists believe politics either should not or cannot influence sport. For example, the author of a recent opinion article criticized journalists for overstepping their boundaries by inserting political opinions into sports, stating that, “These opinions belongs [*sic*] on the op-ed page, not the sports page” (Moore, 2017). Perspectives like this have contributed to the lack of institutional legitimacy sports rhetoric has historically received from administrators and scholars who view sports rhetoric research as childish or irrelevant (Whannel, 2014). There is literature outside the field of Communication to ground research on this topic, but the pool is quite shallow inside our own discipline (Wenner, 2014).

Despite this gap, some Communication scholars have written about the association between politics and sport. Scholars have recognized broad connections among politics and sport but primarily focus on how politics shape sports or how sports shape politics. However, I assume they are mutually influential, and hold that sports rituals are a domain where politics and sports interact and influence each other.

Politics Shape Sports

Politics shape sports by using athletic events to transmit political meaning. Sports are unique institutions used by elites to inscribe and reproduce a national culture through both participation and spectating (Silk, Andrews, & Cole, 2005). The clearest example of this can be found within international competition. Victor Cha (2009) states, “sport is an unmistakable prism through which nation-states project their image to the world and to their own people” (p. 2). Sports are so vital for national image projection that some countries have been willing to go to extreme lengths for athletic supremacy. This can be seen in the recent 2016 Russian doping scandal that exposed state-sponsored steroid use for Russian athletes to gain a competitive advantage. Coates (2017)

argued that the Russian case demonstrates how sports have become weaponized by providing governments incentive to succeed by projecting their domination over other nations.

This phenomenon has been historically observed in American society for well over a century. In the 1900s, Theodore Roosevelt invoked a powerful association between athletes and patriotism by encouraging the military's participation in the 1904 Olympics, stating that America would send troops to compete in the hopes that other countries would send their servicemen and engage in "tests of endurance and strength under service conditions" (MacAloon, 2015, p. 158). The Olympics were more than a set of games; they were an opportunity to demonstrate America's physical supremacy. Athletes competed both to win their event and to win for America because athletic success translated to an increase in the perceived strength and prestige of the United States.

Roosevelt was also aware that sport could support national citizenship. After the conclusion of the Olympic games, Roosevelt encouraged men to continue participating in aggressive sports as a substitute for battlefields in times of peace in order to foster courage and prevent the development of effeminate tendencies in men (Rader, 1998). Roosevelt framed sport as a patriotic duty. His endorsement of sport made the activity integral to American identity.

Two more examples should be sufficient to illustrate how politics shape sport. First, Jesse Owens' multi-gold medal performance in the 1936 Berlin Olympics was one of the most impressive feats in the event's history, but his accomplishments went beyond winning a medal. Owens' victories as a black athlete challenged Hitler's myth of Aryan superiority by performatively contradicting the underlying assumptions of fascist ideology (Milford, 2012). Second, American Grandmaster Bobby Fischer's World Chess Championship against USSR Grandmaster Boris Spassky also used sport as a political statement for the Cold War. This match was viewed not only as two individuals, but also as two countries battling for supremacy. The

day after Bobby Fischer's death, journalist Ben MacIntyre remarked, "Few sporting events in history - and certainly no chess match - have been so heavily loaded with political and ideological symbolism: here was Capitalist America against Communist Russia, brash youth facing off against sophisticated experience, democracy versus totalitarianism, emotion against reason" (MacIntyre, 2008).

In short, sports' victories, defeats, and actions are frequently discussed in political terms. In each of these examples, the players and teams embodied more than just an athlete identity. Narratives of freedom, equality, and capitalism transformed these teams and players into symbols representing different political ideologies.

Sport Shapes Politics

Sports can also convey political messages. For example, Debra Hawhee (2004) argued athletic training served a pedagogical role in ancient Greece where athletics were closely "intertwined with citizen production" (p. 7). Sierlecki (2014) demonstrated that President Obama negotiated racial tensions during his 2008 campaign by playing basketball. Obama was able to use the sport to bolster his ethos and affirm the authenticity of his blackness while demonstrating his poise and leadership skills in the game to not discourage white voters from seeing him as "too black" (p. 107). Butterworth (2014) noted that sport provides an ideal venue for athletes to embody citizenship as an active, artistic response to public concerns and to construct "new and better ways of imagining democratic life" (p. 879). Guschwan (2014) argued that stadiums are sites that create a public forum for citizens to gather for the "expression, cultivation and maintenance of public culture" (p. 891). Every time an athlete takes a knee in protest of racial inequality or speaks out against gender inequality, they craft a political message with the intention of transmitting that message in the public sphere.

The ebb and flow of sports and politics influence social norms and perceptions of the world. Sports rituals—as a specific site where sports and politics meet—allow for these two concepts to interact, merge, and influence each other. With this in mind, next I will next discuss the significance of sports rituals and national identity.

Sports Rituals and the Construction of National Identity

I define a ritual as a practice or ceremony that is repeated and contains symbolic meaning for the communities that perform them. Sports are inherently ritualistic. They are highly structured events with detailed rules that are repeated in every game. Without exception, all organized sporting events will contain ritualized performances that go unchanged from play to play, game to game, and season to season. Even though the participants and results will change with every game, the patterns established in agreed-upon rules reinforce this ritualized aspect of sport that has always, and will always, remain a part of the activity. As long as sports have rules that participants must follow, then its nature will always contain ritualistic elements. Other research has shown the social significance of sports rituals. For example, Grano (2007) argued that contractual sports rituals are obligatory acts that reaffirm the social order by defining norms for governing behavior between athletes, coaches, and fans. Sports rituals help the communities where they are performed by reaffirming “valued virtues even as they struggle with their historical and actual failure to live up to those virtues” (Reid, 2017, p. 46).

Baseball has its own rituals and customs. The first pitch ceremony and seventh inning stretch are the most commonly-known baseball rituals. Many players practice their own personal sets of rituals. Many ball players, when approaching the plate to bat, perform specific mechanics like touching the home plate or a specific number of half-swings before the pitcher throws the ball. Players like Barry Bonds kissed a cross necklace after ever home run he hit (Reuter, 2011).

Scholars have observed that seemingly mundane rituals within sports create a vessel for national identity to be reified. The rituals involved in the playing of a sport, in a general sense, are connected to identity construction. Sports are important in American culture because they help individuals “fit a grid to their own experience in order to define it and give it structure” (Albanese, 1992, p. 475). For example, Baldassaro and Johnson (2002) argued that playing baseball provided a method for second-generation European immigrants to craft their American identity by participating in the customs of mainstream culture associated with America’s pastime.

Pregame rituals like the national anthem are more than self-imposed obligatory rituals. They provide powerful sites for the expression of national identity. The ritualistic performance of the national anthem expresses a patriotic reverence to the country. People typically remain silent, put a hand over their heart, remove their hat, and stand for the playing of the national anthem to demonstrate respect and patriotism. The link between sports rituals and national identity allows organized games to function as a site for community building through symbols and messages that are transmitted in the performance of pregame ceremonies. This performance unifies citizens through a shared sense of national citizenship identity.

The merger between sport and patriotism is a recent development that has turned into a nationalist fever symptomatic of fear (Bryant, 2013). Briley (2017) observed that images of American exceptionalism were prevalent in baseball ceremonies following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, when pregame performances of “God Bless America” in baseball stadiums accompanied images of the flag and servicemen, and served to deter dissent against the War on Terror through the manipulation of patriotic and military symbols. Hafen (2009) argued patriotism has had an increased role in defining America’s imagined communities of shared national identity in the aftermath of 9/11.

However, these patriotic sports rituals can also build community by excluding. Somers (2008) argued that questioning the patriotism of other citizens is an attempt to prepare the nation for inside threats because “the *real* enemies to the nation are the outlaws within the social body... those insufficiently aligned with the dominant ethnos of American nationalism and patriotism” (p. 139, author emphasis). Sports rituals are a method of community building and excluding, of othering those who are threats and identifying allies. In short, sports both create and define the community by identifying its insiders and outsiders and dictating expected roles for all members.

Although there is a plethora of research on the relationship between sports and American identity, scholars should be cautious when equating national identity directly with norms of citizenship performance for a few reasons. First, examining citizenship performance in sport requires cultural specificity. The unique cultural dimensions of the United States, and sports traditionally understood as “American,” require theory that attends to the unique facets of American fan communities. Second, the relationship between politics and sport requires careful attention to how society at-large defines citizenship performance. Identity claims involving sport are not static and are constantly questionable because they must be voluntarily maintained (Mumford, 2012).

At times, norms of citizenship performance may be uncontested. For example, all people may act in accordance with a social norm such as standing for the flag when support for the country is high. But at other times, norms of citizenship performance are contested. For example, people may adopt different norms like kneeling for the flag to criticize social injustice. However, any time there is a substantial disruption to how politics shape sport (such as a terrorist attack that challenges or criticizes national identity) or a deviation in the performance of a sports ritual (such as sitting during the national anthem) norms of citizenship in and outside of sport may

conflict. This thesis intends to build upon the current literature on sports rituals and national identity to investigate the response to the Boston Marathon Bombing as a moment where citizenship performances were designed to address a national crisis.

Pre-Game Sports Rituals and National Identity

Previous research has linked sports rituals to religious mythic systems, but few have linked them to national mythic systems. For decades scholars have shown a strong relationship between rituals and myth (Kluckhohn, 1942; Eliade, 1963; Rowland, 1990), and specifically the role of rituals in sustaining myths. Myths are stories that sanction rites (Hyman, 1996). Eliade (1963) argued that myths should “not just be remembered, but reenacted from time-to-time” (p. 11). For example, a religious service is a type of ritual that is sanctioned by the myths that community holds true.

Much of the research on sports rituals has linked them to religious myth systems (but compare Higgs and Braswell, 2004). For example, Serazio (2013) observed that fans carry a particular reverence for their sports teams and manifest their praise through the creation of totems and worshiping of sports god(s). Forney (2007) argued that American sports provide a religious orientation capable of “revealing a national sense of the sacred source of truth” (p. 8).¹

Rhetoricians have also noted religious characteristics in sports rituals as well as other mythic elements. For example, Olsen (2003) analyzed the NBA Draft as a ritualistic rite of

¹ Other scholars have rejected claiming that sports should be viewed through the lens of religion because it does not contain divine elements. However, quarrel is not a disagreement if sports rituals have a religious-like capacity for constructing and shaping societal norms; rather, they critique conflating sports as religious by arguing that sport fails to contain divine and holy components that distinguish it from religion. For more, see Higgs and Braswell (2004)

passage and found the rituals in the draft were not only religious in nature, but evoked a sacred nature through their use of setting and time to send draftees into a libidinal state for transformation from boys to men. Grano (2007) argued that contractual sports rituals are obligatory acts that reaffirm the social order by defining norms for governing behavior between athletes, coaches, and fans. In his view, sports rituals create “a level of conformity between athletes’ performances and contractual expectations of mythic heroism” (p. 449). Butterworth (2005) stated that quasi-religious rituals within sport “are uniquely constructive of American national identity” (p. 108). In baseball, the manner in which the ball is treated—discarded with any blemish—and the meticulous maintenance of the playing field are two examples of religious-like elements in the game.

Although researchers have examined the association between sports rituals and religious myth, there is a gap in the literature on how national myths use sports rituals to evoke citizenship performances. The link between sports rituals and national identity indicates that national mythic systems, which are a form of national identity construction, would be present in sport. For example, Butterworth and Schuck (2016) argued that “sport is central to the construction of mythic identities” (p. 94). However, their work concludes that sport can create ambivalence about national myths and leave them unchallenged. Butterworth (2010) has demonstrated that national myths, such as American Exceptionalism, are evoked through sports rituals to underlie justifications for military intervention policies. His findings suggest that investigating the role of other myths in national identity construction would be worthwhile.

I argue that the American Dream myth is called upon in sport to construct norms of citizenship performance. This thesis will add to the current literature by specifically focusing on pregame sports rituals and the different national mythos that are called upon to warrant norms of citizenship performance.

Explanation/Justification of Textual Artifacts

To investigate how sports rituals craft conditions for performing national citizenship, I examine the pregame ceremonies before the Boston Red Sox's first home game after the Boston Marathon bombing on April 20th, 2013 (Ambrose, 2013). This choice is appropriate because it was a time when questions of national identity were particularly salient. Americans have difficulty rationalizing why an individual would commit an act of terror against its citizens because the inclusive nature of the American Dream is incompatible with the concept of domestic terrorism (Matusitz, 2012). The assumptions embedded within American mythic systems—a unified nation—conflict with the notion that insiders would do harm to other members of their community. This domestic attack challenged the principles on which a unified national identity existed. I argue the pregame rituals performed in Fenway Park offer a site to observe how American mythic systems warrant norms of citizenship performance in moments of national identity crisis.

The Red Sox held multiple tributes throughout the season in Fenway Park. However, there are a few reasons why I focus on the April 20 pregame ceremony. First, the city of Boston has historically held the marathon on Patriots' Day, the third Monday of April. The Red Sox are legacy participants in Patriots' Day festivities and have scheduled a home game on this date every year since 1959. Boston is a sports city, but the significance of Patriots' Day links the Red Sox closer to the tragedy than the Bruins or Celtics who also paid tribute to the victims of the bombing (Burnside, 2013). Second, in comparison to all Red Sox games where individuals who were affected by the bombing were invited to participate in pregame rituals, the ceremony on April 20th is most significant because it was the team's first home game response to the tragedy.

Conclusion

The pregame rituals performed by the Boston Red Sox following the Boston Marathon bombing are unique moments that illustrate how sports rituals craft conditions for the performance of national citizenship. Chapter 2 describes a theoretical approach for analyzing sports rituals and their relationship to myth systems. Chapter 3 analyzes the Red Sox pregame ceremony, identifying norms of citizenship it enacts and how they are warranted by the American Dream myth. Chapter 4 summarizes findings, notes limitations of the project, and proposes directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Play Ball (My Way): A Theoretical Exploration of Citizenship, Ritual, and Myth

The term citizen is a familiar term for scholars but has been under-theorized in Communication Studies (Rufo & Atchison, 2011). Much is at stake in claiming who is and is not a citizen. Being named a citizen “or to define what it means to be a citizen means to have power” (Mitchell, Kuffinec, & Brod, 2009, p. 202). Being a citizen means having membership in a national group, but who gets membership is always controversial in democratic societies. Mouffe (2009) argues that democracy “requires the possibility of distinguishing who belongs to the demos and who is exterior to it; for that reason, it cannot exist without the necessary correlate of inequality” (p. 39). In many ways, identifying citizens entails identifying tools for exclusion. The citizen is defined in contrast to the non-citizen. Citizens are privileged because they have rights or opportunities that non-citizens do not or cannot attain. The dire social and political ramifications of citizenship make it one of the most important areas of research in the humanities.

In this chapter I advance a theoretical model for analyzing performance of citizenship based on Robert Asen’s (2004) discursive theory of citizenship. I first distinguish ‘citizen’ from ‘citizenship’ and lay out Asen’s theory. Second, I explain how citizenship can be performed in rituals. Third, I explain how myths are enacted in and sustained by rituals, and how American myths bolster national identity. Finally, I detail a methodological approach for analyzing the performative dimensions of citizenship in pregame baseball rituals.

Citizen vs. Citizenship: The Game-Changing Distinction

People may not explicitly be named as citizens, but I argue that everyone is a citizen of some sort. This position not radically different from how scholars and society typically conceive of citizens. Social theorist Hannah Arendt (1998) stated that individuals become citizens any time

they act in the space of appearance which “comes into being wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action” (p. 199). Although Arendt argued that only specific people who satisfied their work and labor requirements could politically act, I diverge from her larger argument and assert that every person is a citizen of some sort through their inevitable interaction with others. Humans are inherently social creatures and being a citizen is indivisible from the social essence of a person. Any time an individual engages with others, for political or non-political reasons, they may be called a citizen.

The term citizenship has an overabundance of theoretical conceptions that make it difficult to use the word with coherence (Cisneros, 2013). May Joseph (1999) argued that citizenship is a social construction that “must be acquired through public and psychic participation” (Joseph, 1999, p. 3). Citizenship is a unique kind of “performed labor that enables and sustains locality” (Louis, 2009, p. 282). In her writing on asylum seekers in immigration courts, Sara McKinnon (2009) argued that citizenship is evaluated by an audience through an actor’s ability to perform specific rituals that normatively restrict some types of behavior and require others.

The predominant approach to examining citizenship has been liberal in focusing on the rights of the individual (Inthorn & Reder, 2011). Others have examined citizenship as constituting particular acts in an attempt to measure the decline of civic engagement (Putnam, 2000). However, traditional methods of analyzing citizenship have not been without criticism. Robert Asen (2004) notably identified four issues with counting citizenship through specific acts. First, evaluating citizenship as a specific act blinds critics from awareness to how citizenship participation may change in form over time. Second, focusing on what citizenship is prevents scholars from properly assessing practices of citizenship because the critic asserts a subjective bright-line for what counts as an objective evaluation of citizenship. Third, Asen argued that

counting citizenship as specific acts ignores the larger question of agency in how and why people adopt the citizenship practices they take up. Fourth, traditional methods of identification create a zero-sum game where an act either is or is not a practice of citizenship. Asen's work provides a pointed criticism with a clear call to action for future research.

I follow Asen's call by asking "how do people enact citizenship?" (p. 191). Asen's discourse theory of citizenship is a useful starting point for understanding civic engagement and seeing how different performances of citizenship can exist. A discursive theory of citizenship examines citizenship as a "mode of public engagement" that "recognizes the fluid, multimodal, and quotidian enactment of citizenship in a multiple public sphere" (p. 191). Asen argued that citizenship must be examined as a modality, rather than a particular kind of act. This means that one does not own their status as a citizen but acts out their citizenship. An individual's performance is then socially evaluated.

This approach to studying citizenship is useful for a few reasons. First, Asen argued that studying citizenship as a modality is advantageous for revealing aspects of identity formation between groups and individuals. This suggests that the performance of citizenship is key to understanding how national identity is formed as a unique type of group identity at a broad cultural level. Second, Asen's method is echoed in other successful approaches to the study of citizenship in recent years which seems to suggest it is a sound theoretical approach to examining citizenship. For example, Danielle Allen (2004) defined citizenship as "the practice of attending to the losses that produce the bottom line, and of negotiating both our status as one another's mainstays and the need for taking turns at losses as well as gains" (p. 48). In contrast, Somers (2008) defined citizenship as an instituted process in a "matrix of institutional relationships, technologies, political idioms, and rights-claiming practices that are always dynamic and contingent" (p. 48). Both of these approaches are compatible with Asen's call to

study the modalities of citizenship through discursive relationships between people. Finally, Asen's work is still cited in recent studies on citizenship, suggesting that applications of his work still contain plenty of theoretical discoveries to be uncovered (Meier, 2017; Kock & Villadsen, 2017).

Rituals as Performances of Citizenship

I define a ritual as a practice or ceremony that is repeated and contains symbolic meaning for the communities that perform them. My definition of ritual fits within a discourse theory of citizenship by not making a sweeping claim about particular acts of citizenship. Asen argued that "citizenship appears as a performance, not a possession" (2004, p. 203) when observed as a mode of public engagement. My definition attends to the performative dimensions of citizenship rather than examining citizenship as a static entity. Additionally, this definition allows for citizenship to not be limited to one singular public by attending to the multiple performances of citizenship as they spread "across social, cultural, and political sites" (Asen, 2004, p. 195). Ronald Grimes (2000), a preeminent scholar in ritual studies, argued that a non-technical definition of ritual like this is a more useful approach for analyzing rituals because it prevents inattention to rituals that people may view as unimportant to a culture or society. With this in mind, I will further explain aspects of this definition of ritual and then explain the function of ritual.

Rituals are a practice or ceremony that manifests in physical acts. Grimes (2000) argued that rituals are "sequences of ordinary action rendered special by virtue of their condensation, elevation, or stylization" (p. 70). Grimes' conception of ritual attends to how rituals are made in physical acts and socially constructed by the individuals who perform them. William Doty (2000) argued that rituals should be understood as "gestures or movement or action types" (p.

398). David Parkin (1992) argued rituals are a unique type of action “that can only be understood as bodily movement towards or positioning with respect to other bodily movements and positions” (p. 12). A ritual is a unique type of performance, which requires kinesthetic attributes on behalf of an intentional actor.

Rituals must also be repeated. The repetition of ritual affirms the significance of a particular performance. If multiple people perform the same set of actions on multiple occasions, then that practice is important. Additionally, all rituals contain a degree of expectancy because of their repetition. For example, when a player is hurt the crowd typically observes a moment of silence. No one tells the crowd to stop making noise, but the repetition of this particular ritual allows participants to know what is expected. In other words, the repetition of ritual creates normative expectations that people learn and perform.

Rituals are physical actions that carry symbolic meaning (Heinze, 2000). They gain rhetorical purchase as a unique type of symbolic inducement. Theorist Kenneth Burke (1984) associated rituals with a symbolism that “guides social purpose” (p. 179). He went on to say that this symbolic regression “draws upon the pre-forensic, pre-political (“autistic”) level of informative experience” (pp. 209-210). Doty (2000) argued that rituals “both constitute and symbolize social realities” (p. 394). In other words, rituals assist in shaping our perception of the world. Ultimately, rituals reveal something about the actor and the situation through their performance (Schieffelin, 19998).

Rituals are also communal in nature. Rituals are able to “convey or reinforce systems of meaning held in common by members, such as morals, political or religious values” (Doty, 2000, p. 399). Parkin (1992) argued that bodily movements in ritual unite both observers and participants through a sense of occasion through the rules that govern a given ritualistic performance. Rituals are necessary in a culture as they play a unique sociological role by

celebrating a guaranteed unity within a community and serve as a way to “regain such unity when it is lost or threatened” (Doty, 2000, p. 357). Rituals perform a sort of boundary drawing around the communities that perform particular rites. Their performance draws symbolic lines that bring about an order for those who perform them. Rituals “are capable of creating a structure of meanings in which individuals can relate to one another and realize their own ultimate purposes” (Douglas, 1970, pp. 50-51). These performances bind humans into a community through shared experiences and stories.

Scholars investigating rituals must pay careful attention what act is being performed, who the act is for, and what the action says about members of the community as well as those excluded from it. But when can researchers describe a performance of citizenship as ritualistic? The honest answer is that it depends. Citizenship itself is a broad concept that must negotiate between the legal and cultural rules in a particular community. For the purposes of this project, I examine citizenship from a social framework rather than a legal framework. However, it is important to note that ritualistic performances of citizenship can emerge within either of these dimensions. Legal dimensions of citizenship performance are required by the state or government through laws or informal expectations. These performances enable people to gain formal recognition as a citizen and enable institutions to maintain order. Voting, getting a driver’s license, and attending jury duty are some examples of legal citizenship rituals where the citizen’s behavior in these activities is clearly defined and enforced through legal measures (e.g. you can only vote once, you must have appropriate documentation for the Department of Motor Vehicles, and missing jury duty means you get arrested). Though not everyone may participate in these rituals, those who do are expected to enact a particular performance when they do so.

Cultural rituals of citizenship exist outside the state and can be shaped by institutions or social norms. The examination of the Boston Red Sox pregame ceremony looks at a particular

type of citizenship ritual, the performance of the national anthem, that affirms expectations for a particular kind of performance (standing, hand on heart, removing hat). In fact, ritualistic performances of citizenship enact social norms. This behavior does not need to be inherently political. However, if it is not performed in a particular manner, individuals may risk not enacting citizenship within the group in question.

A violation of a serious ritual could risk exclusion from membership within a social network. However, the interpretations of an individual's performance of citizenship are always contestable. For example, take the debates in France on publicly wearing a hijab. Many women of the Islamic faith choose to wear a hijab, a headscarf that covers parts of the head, as a daily religious ritual. The conscious wearing of a hijab qualifies as a ritual because it is an action that is done in a particular way and deemed important by those who wear the garment. Therefore, the women who wear the hijab offer an interpretation of their ritualistic action for either religious or cultural reasons.

The ritualistic act of wearing a hijab in France has been legally and culturally challenged as a violation of the norms of citizenship performance. Specifically, the French government has passed a multitude of laws in the twenty-first century aimed at regulating the appearance of Muslim women in the public. In 2004, the French Parliament passed a bill banning the wearing of the hijab in school (Kramer, 2004). A few years later in 2010, the French Parliament passed a law banning the wearing of a face covering in public (Kramer, 2010). The law punishes women who wear a niqab, a hijab that includes a veil that covers the face, or a burka in public with a significant fine. In 2016, a series of mayors began trying to ban Muslim women from wearing burkinis—burka swimsuits that fully cover a woman's body (Diallo, 2018).

The restriction of a Muslim woman's expression of her faith is a result of the state's attempt to privilege a particular performance of citizenship by regulating religious expression.

Specifically, French citizenship is premised on the notion of a secular society, making any religious expression incompatible with their normative performance of citizenship and marks Muslim women who wear the hijab as an unfavorable type of citizen. In a discussion of the law restricting the wearing of a hijab in school, then French President Jacques Chirac stated in an interview that France “is an idea of citizenship, an identity forged in the neutral space of its public schools” (Kramer, 2004). This rhetoric emerged again in 2010 in an interview with then French President Nicolas Sarkozy that “the defining duty of French citizenship is to engage with one’s fellow citizens, which is to say, to engage face to face in the public sphere and in the workplace, the metro, the market—in any secular space where citizens assemble” (Kramer, 2010).

It is easy to understand why the French government has attempted to hold the line on religious secularism. As Kramer (2004) explains, France has hundreds of years of religious war in their history. This history creates a perspective of religious expression as a real, material threat. This fear of religious conflict was present in 1905 when France passed a law restricting the wearing of religious clothing and items in response to limiting the expression of Catholicism to promote secular engagement among its citizens. Combined with the aftermath of 9/11 and the increase in religious-based attacks both abroad and in France, it is easy to see how these laws are a reaction to the country’s bloody history (Why the French keep trying to ban Islamic body wear, 2016).

These laws are aimed at Muslim women who are French citizens because, in the state’s eyes, their religious ritual is a direct violation of the norms of French citizenship. The French citizen may be privately religious, but the best type of citizen is one that is socially secular. Any individual who performs a religious ritual in public contradicts the cultural understanding of an ideal French citizen.

But why are French women who wear a hijab so strongly criticized for deviating from this ritual expectation? Answering this question requires explaining why rituals come into being in the first place. In the next section, I will define myth and explain the role of rituals in sustaining myths.

Myths as Sanctions of Rituals

I argue that ritualistic performances of citizenship affirm cultural myths. The stories told in myth mandate the creation of rituals by sanctioning rites in accordance with their stories (Hyman, 1996). Mircea Eliade (1954) stated, “any ritual... unfolds not only in a consecrated space... but also in a “sacred time,”... that is, when the ritual was performed for the first time by a god, an ancestor, or a hero” (p. 21). Rituals are capable of transcending the present and evoke a mythic quality in their enactment. This is not to say that rituals cannot exist without mythic foundations. Rituals can, and do, exist independently from myth (Kluckhohn, 1942). For example, a morning routine of brushing your teeth after breakfast could be interpreted as a ritual, but it lacks key mythic forms. It does not follow a story and there is no clear hero—although perhaps the dentist could be seen as a villain, but I digress. Though rituals can be independent from myth, rituals of social and cultural significance cannot exist without a mythic framework. Additionally, myth cannot maintain its power without an accompanying ritual. Eliade (1963) says that myths should “not just be remembered, but reenacted from time-to-time” (p. 11). Indeed, one of the best indicators of myth is to look for rituals that celebrate stories (Rowland, 1990). Myths must be created, transmitted, repeated, or reinforced through ritual in order to maintain rhetorical power.

Myths are critical for interpreting and assigning meaning to the world around us. While narratives tell of the world as it is, myths allow for inspection of the past to glimpse an ideal world (Kerenyi, 1949). Although experiences vary from person to person, myth is the social

adhesive that connects a community together (Kelley-Romano, 2006). Kenneth Burke (1969) indicates that myths are well-suited for making subtle deliberative claims because “mythic image may be treated as figuring a motive that transcends reason” (p. 203). Myths are able to provide transcendence for those who believe them to be true and create understanding for whatever tragedy a society is facing (Rowland, 1990). Identifying with a myth means identifying with a shared set of values that shapes society and an understanding of one’s place in the world (Campbell, 1988). In this thesis, I use Robert Rowland’s (1990) narrow definition of myth which states that a myth must be a story, contain heroes, occur in a special time and place, and use archetypal symbols.²

First, myth must be told in the form of a story. Kelley-Romano (2006) argued that a clear plot development is needed in myth—making the existence of a story to be an essential litmus test for identifying a myth. Stories are essential elements of myth because they symbolically solve societal problems (Rowland, 1990). Mythic stories, according to Doty (2000), convey political and moral values in a culture that “provide systems of interpreting individual experience within a universal perspective” (p. 33). However, it is important to note that not all myths will have a neatly marked beginning, middle, and end. Nimmo and Combs (1980) argued that contemporary myths are dramatic but not always told in narrative form. Nimmo and Combs’ argument is useful in accounting for contemporary myths that may not exist independently as a

² Compare Rushing (1990) who opposed Rowland’s definition in favor of a broader approach to mythic theory. Specifically, Rushing asserted that Rowland’s definition, if taken up by scholars, would prevent scholars from analyzing myths that were common in society. Rushing criticized Rowland for failing to account for the role of the unconscious in myth stating that his approach was “logically contradictory and unnecessarily exclusive” (p. 144). However, Rowland has demonstrated that a limited definition of myth is more than capable of examining common myths with substantial societal impact. For more, see Rowland & Frank, 2011; Rowland and Theye, 2008.

story but are no less mythic. Therefore, a good approach to myth is to look for the dramatic elements in how a myth is utilized—whether that be explicit as the plot or implicitly within a larger context.

Second, myth must have a hero. Campbell (1949) says a standard myth follows a hero on a path of separation, initiation, and return. Through this process, the hero is able to fulfill their duty of returning boon to the community. Heroic characters are a key element in mythic form. If the problem facing society can be easily solved, then there is no inherent barrier preventing people from solving the problems proposed in myth. Heroes are unique in their ability to solve problems so great that they cannot be solved by ordinary people. Only a great hero is capable of solving the issues brought forth in mythic stories (Rowland, 1990). The concept of a hero is a key aspect to mythic theory that I will elaborate on later in this chapter.

The third form requires myth to occur in a special time and place. It is vital that myths provide a transcendence that does not exist in the current time and place. Part of this transcendence lies in rituals' ability to strengthen the community through customs or norms. Mythic settings must occur outside of the normal historical time or in a period that has been transformed into mythical time in order to separate the community from their present problems and look for outside solutions (Rowland, 1990). Myths are transformative in that they posit solutions outside of the present by connecting to their origins as a “narrative resurrection of a primeval reality” (Malinowski, 1954, p. 101). They can occur outside of the normal world or in a real place with symbolic importance and power (Rowland, 1990).

Fourth, myths rely on archetypal language. Rushing and Frenz (1991) describe archetypes as tendencies toward expression that are ingrained in the psyche. These symbols vary from culture to culture, but the patterns underlying symbol formation are the same everywhere

they are reproduced. Archetypal language must accompany the myth for the profane world to be abandoned and access to the sacred for transcendence (Eliade, 1954).

Myth must also fulfill specific functions in order to influence individuals and society. Rowland argued that there are two functions of myth. The first is that myth must be a true story (Rowland, 1990). This does not require the story to be true, but that the audience must believe the story to be true. As Frye (1957) notes, “nearly every civilization has, in its stock of traditional myths, a particular group which is thought of as more serious, more authoritative, more educational and closer to fact and truth than the rest” (p. 54). Belief in the truth of a story is the main separation between myth and folktales. Myths carry a particular seriousness in the communities in which they are told (Frye, 1967). Even if a myth never happened, it does not lose its significance just because it is false.

The second function of myth is to provide transcendence for those who believe in it. The rhetorical power of myth lies in its ability to transcend ordinary life and provide understanding for problems that cannot be answered discursively (Rowland, 1990). Myth does not attempt to explain something through rationality (Malinowski, 1954), but nonetheless makes an argument about how individuals should frame their lives. Myths guide individuals through crisis, help to search for answers that individuals do not have, support and validate a specific social order, and help to make sense of the world (Kelley-Romano, 2006; Campbell, 1981). The ability to provide direction for individuals, dictate communal structures, and situate individuals within their cosmological position distinguish myth from other modes of persuasion.

The American Dream: Imagining the Heroic American Citizen

The American Dream is an idealized social myth prevalent in the ideological fabric of the United States. It is one of two great secular mythological systems in America—the other being the

American Revolution (Jones & Rowland, 2015). The American Dream myth draws on a common thread that visualizes America as offering “a better chance to succeed here than common men enjoy anywhere else on earth” (Jillson, 2004, p. 269).

As mentioned, a core characteristic of a myth is its use of heroes. Robert Rowland and John Jones (2011) have studied the American Dream as a progressive rhetorical dream “in which the heroes are ordinary, rather than extraordinary” (p. 131). Their thinking was influenced by Walter Fisher (1973) who argued that the identity of the nation depended upon a balancing between two variants of the American Dream: the materialistic and moralistic myths. The materialistic version of the American Dream supports competition and rewards hard work. It is premised on the belief that if someone tries to use their talents to their fullest abilities, then they will reap the rewards of their effort. This version of the American Dream is invested in articulating the value of the individual and their quest to achieve their dreams. In contrast, the moralistic version of the American Dream focuses on values of “tolerance, charity, compassion, and true regard for the dignity and worth of each and every individual” (p. 161). In doing so, this version affirms the legitimacy of the government to work towards preserving opportunities for others to reach their goals and stresses the importance of communal action. Fisher explicitly argued that a strict division between the material and moralistic visions of the American Dream posed a threat to America’s identity (p. 167). Part of the identity of American citizens required investing in both individualistic and communal values. Although the gradation between the two myths have waxed and waned over time, the primary argument here is that without the American Dream, American citizens would lose their sense of national identity.

From this perspective, Rowland and Jones (2011) argued the heroes in the American Dream myth emerge from one of two variants: the individualist and the communitarian. The individualist hero emerges when action is displayed by a singular person. This version celebrates

individualism by emphasizing “the extraordinary heroism of ordinary individuals” (2011, p. 133). This hero is marked as separate from the rest of the population because of their extraordinary actions that mark them as different and admirable. The contrasting hero, the communitarian, emerges through communal action to create one unified American identity. This hero focuses on the community and a shared sense of need. This hero is a generous character that tries to assist others with getting the “help they need to reach a brighter future” (p. 133). Rowland and Jones have argued that whether the heroic action comes from an individual or the communitarian is critical for determining what actor or actors become empowered (Jones & Rowland, 2015).

The empowered heroes in the American Dream myth serve as models of ideal citizens. The ideal citizen is not marked as a voter, school board member, or a neighborhood association treasurer (although these are not excluded). Instead, the ideal citizen embodies the everyday, mundane expectations of citizenship performance. When praised or affirmed through ritual, these ordinary, ideal citizens become models for others to imitate. In the next section, I articulate a methodological approach for examining myths, rituals, and citizenship within pregame baseball ceremonies.

Uncovering the Ideal Citizen: A Methodological Approach to Sports Rituals

I argue that the heroes of the American Dream myth frame a social conception of an ideal citizen. By ideal citizen, I mean an individual who displays an expected and approved performance of citizenship. Specifically, the conception of ideal citizen grounds an examination of the enactment of citizenship in a multimodal theoretical perspective. A person does not own their citizenship but acts it out in the hope of meeting social expectations based on mythic heroes.

Asen's (2004) discourse theory of citizenship has advantages for the project at hand. Primarily, citizenship may be performed in a range of acts and viewed as an active social creation. The ideal citizen may embody different performances in different locations and times. The ideal citizen may call upon different national myths. Additionally, instead of the scholar determining what counts as citizenship, they must find what the society considers an ideal citizen by looking at their cultural myths. That, in turn, will more accurately explain different scenarios in which citizenship is performed.

Finally, and most importantly, the ideal citizen model cannot claim something is not a citizenship performance. One of Asen's major objections to traditional methods of identifying citizenship is that it creates a zero-sum game where an act either is or is not a practice of citizenship. The ideal citizen model allows for the understanding that a conflicting performance of citizenship can be accounted for by different perspectives of what the ideal citizen is. In the event of two competing national identity myths, there can be multiple beliefs about how exactly a citizen is supposed to perform. Even with the American Dream myth, competing visions of the ideal citizen can be evoked based on if the materialist or moralistic version of the dream are in conflict with one another. This model best accounts for how citizenship, and the rituals that affirm it, can be challenged and contested.

In order to examine how ideal citizenship is performed in pregame baseball ceremonies, I argue that analyzing ritualistic performances must consider context, commitments, and heroes to understand how norms of citizenship performance are constructed through sports ceremonies. This methodology will form the foundations for my approach in Chapter 3. In the following section, I will explain how context, commitments, and heroes inform the model of the ideal citizen.

Context (Myth)

Rituals are culturally specific both in action and meaning. The context surrounding a ritual provides the mythic justification of a particular performance. This means a couple of different things when a scholar begins analyzing a ritual performance of citizenship. First, scholars must look at the histories and traditions that inform a given practice. This can occur in a number of ways, but a good starting point is to ask questions such as, when was this ritual first enacted? What stories are associated with this performance? The content of these stories can provide a necessary perspective for understanding why a society performs a particular ritual. Of significant importance, scholars should look into the mythos that surrounds a particular ritualistic performance. If a ritual does not have a myth associated with it, then it probably lacks sacred significance needed in order to be socially significant.

Second, scholars should analyze the particular setting where a ritual is performed. Myths and rituals provide transcendence by occurring in a particular time and place. Some ritualistic performances of citizenship can only be performed in specific settings; therefore, locations and moments of significance are important factors for analyzing ritualistic performances of citizenship. For example, the act of voting is ritualistic in nature and is a performance of citizenship, but people can only perform this ritual in designated areas. Other rituals, like standing for the national anthem, appear in a number of venues—predominantly schools, sporting events, and military engagements. Each venue where a ritual is performed can potentially influence how that ritual is socially perceived in a particular setting. If a scholar sees a ritual performed in multiple settings, they must see if other settings in the same culture influence how the ritual is perceived in the setting they are studying.

Finally, scholars should look for archetypal symbols to provide contextual clues about a given ritual. Specifically, understanding a ritual requires looking for patterns underlying

symbolic formation. One prominent example of an archetypal symbol used in performances of citizenship is the American Flag. As I will discuss in the next chapter, the American Flag has strong symbolic meaning in American society. The use or display of the American Flag during a citizenship ritual evokes a particular kind of meaning that must be interpreted to fully understand the performance at hand.

Commitments (Ritual)

Commitments are equally important for analyzing ritualistic performances of citizenship. Understanding the commitments undertaken in a ritual requires scholars to determine what participants commit to when performing a given act. By commitments, I mean the reasons that help to explain an individual's performance. There are a few criteria scholars can use to analyze the commitments undertaken by performing rituals.

First, the scholar should attempt to determine if a ritual requires the performer to believe something as true. "Truth" does not necessarily mean that a society believes that the myths surrounding their performances are literally true. However, it does require that performers believe there are right and wrong ways to perform a particular ritual. Myths and rituals must be taken seriously by those who perform them. If the ritual is not seriously important to the community, then it is likely not a ritual of citizenship performance. A productive way to conceptualize this would be to ask, is it possible to incorrectly perform a given ritual? If so, would that error evoke a negative response? If the answer to both questions is yes, then the ritual has a truth that mandates it be taken seriously.

Second, scholars must consider whether the ritual in question provides transcendence for those who perform it. What occurs when a ritual is performed? Is the ritual performed in response to a controversy or threat? Does the ritual perform a sociological or cosmological

purpose? These questions should reveal if a ritual is culturally significant. One way that scholars can determine this is to consider whether a ritual is normative. By this, I mean to say that scholars should consider whether and to what extent there is social pressure to perform citizenship in a specific way. For example, voting is one of the pillars of democracy, and having the right to vote is typically a mark of citizenship. However, people have the right *not* to vote in the United States. But they risk criticism for not voting because the ritual of voting provides something that the community feels it needs. As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, the performance of the national anthem in a sports venue is one necessary ritual that ideal citizens are expected to perform.

Heroes (Ideal Citizen)

If you can find the heroic citizen, then you have found the model of citizenship. Scholars should pay careful attention to the heroes on display in a ritual as they fulfil a necessary component of myth that will point clearly to the functional justifications of ritual. Ritualistic performances of citizenship will have heroes presented in some form or fashion, which means that scholars should clearly identify who the heroes are. As a rule, no hero means no mythic qualities.

Heroes in citizenship performances are displayed as symbols of an ideal citizen that affirm national myths and inspire audiences to live up to their values. Scholars should ask who the hero is, what have they done that is heroic, and what pedagogical value they carry. Heroes will be a primary focus in the following chapter as the role of the hero shapes how the ritual is interpreted. A ritual can have multiple heroes, so understanding how they all participate in the overall narrative is of vital importance.

The heroic ideal citizen is by no means a specific figure. Particularly in American mythos, scholars have noted that the use of the term ordinary citizen is intentionally used as a

generic classification of “to the nature of the citizen relative to other subjects” (Rufo & Atchison, 2011, p. 197). An individual who is labeled as a hero in a ritual of citizenship performance is cast as an ideal citizen whom other citizens should strive to imitate. The ideal citizen will always enact themes of patriotism or nationalism that are intended to influence others’ expectations and actions.

Because the hero is not always clearly defined, scholars should determine if the audience is also an intended performer. Ritualistic performances of citizenship are unique in that expectations are required both for those performing a ritual as well as those witnessing it. In the case of the national anthem at sporting events, people sing the anthem while others hold the American flag on the field. The people holding the flag and audience members who stand at attention with their hands over their hearts are active performers. Their acceptance and performance of the ritual matters for gauging the significance of a given ritual and for understanding different ways of performing commitments.

Ritualistic performances of citizenship operate normatively because they enact ideals and norms. Failed or flawed ritualistic performance can result in an individual being criticized for poor citizenship. In the next chapter, I will use this theoretical model of ritualistic performance of citizenship to analyze a specific performance of a sports ritual.

Chapter 3: A Shining City on a Mound: The Red Sox's Recasting of the American Dream

“We are one. We are Boston. We are Strong. We are Boston Strong.” -PA Announcer, Fenway Park on April 20, 2013.

The 2013 season for the Boston Red Sox began with no expectations. The team had finished last in their division the previous season and was not expected to have what would become one of the best seasons in franchise history. The team went on that year to win the World Series against the St. Louis Cardinals but did more than win a championship. Fenway Park, the home field for the Red Sox and a fixture in the Boston community, became a location that served as a place for solace and celebration less than a mile away from where the Boston Marathon bombs exploded (McCaffrey, 2013). The Red Sox organization inserted themselves into the city's emotional recovery as the team invited victims and first responders to pregame ceremonies throughout the season (Shaikin, 2013; Filipov, 2013). Several people affected by the bombings were invited to participate in pregame rituals during the national anthem and first pitch ceremony throughout the season.

In this chapter, I argue the rituals comprising the Boston Red Sox April 20th pregame ceremony crafted conditions for the performance of national citizenship. Specifically, I argue this sports ritual reaffirmed specific norms of citizenship performance in response to the terrorist attack at the Boston Marathon by displaying cultural heroes as emblems of the mythic heroes of the American Dream. To support this claim, I first analyze and describe the historical context and commitments of baseball and two main pregame rituals—the national anthem and the ceremonial first pitch—to identify cultural myths embedded in the game. Second, I describe four different types of heroes appearing in the ceremony: the Boston Marathon volunteers, three

Bostonians, the state vis-à-vis local police and politicians, and David Ortiz. These heroes were cast as worthy of emulation as representations of both individualist and communitarian heroes. Finally, I conclude by discussing norms of citizenship performance exemplified in this case study.

A Contextual Analysis of Baseball and Commitments in Pregame Ceremonies

Analyzing citizenship performances of sports rituals requires attention to context and commitments. In this section I first describe how baseball operates as an important cultural institution in the United States. I then discuss the performance of the national anthem at sporting events. I conclude this section by discussing the significance of the first pitch ritual.

Baseball

The mythic power of baseball has allowed its rituals to reaffirm national identity by enacting norms of citizenship performance. The rituals in baseball, like the first pitch ceremony, rhetorically construct interpretations of democracy, citizenship, and nationhood (Butterworth, 2010). For example, Lawrence Baldassaro and Richard Johnson (2002) argued that baseball “provided a window on the American Dream, creating in second-generation youth, especially those of European heritage, an awareness of those ideas that the arbiters of mainstream culture identified as “American” and serving as a bridge between the customs of their immigrant parents and the world they found outside the home” (p. 4). The sport is a melting pot for ethnically diverse players to craft their American identity in democratic ideals (Baldassaro & Johnson, 2002, p. 3). The rituals involved in America’s game through playing and spectating are a method for discovering and enacting community identity and experiencing a sense of belonging.

Historically, baseball has contributed to cultivating American national identity in two ways. First, baseball has served as a locus of reunification. For example, Butterworth (2010) argued that baseball became a quintessential institution of American identity in the aftermath of the Civil War when baseball operated as a symbol of reunification by creating sites for people to come together in instances where they were previously divided. Baseball's ability to heal and unite in a time of crisis created a powerful narrative that made the sport essential to creating a unified national identity. Second, baseball has cultivated specific national virtues. Baseball is an American invention and institution. Since its inception in the 1840s, baseball has been part of American identity through its identification as 'America's pastime.' Baseball's identity as America's game allowed the sport to represent not just people standing on grass and sand, but virtues of freedom, justice, and equality (Price, 2006). Because baseball cultivates national virtues and reunifies, it has developed a mythic character that can be turned to in times of crisis. When a crisis occurs—such as a terrorist attack—baseball can unify and reaffirm American identity (Butterworth M. L., 2005).

National Anthem

There are few songs or ceremonies in American culture capable of binding people together quite like the pregame performance of the national anthem. The creation of the national anthem and its eventual incorporation at sporting events emerged over a period of time after Francis Scott Key first put pen to paper. The national anthem enables unique citizenship performance with deep symbolism in the singing of its lyrics and the presentation of the flag. *The Star-Spangled Banner* and the American flag each contribute an important dimension to the overall ritual.

Key wrote *The Star-Spangled Banner* during the War of 1812 when he was aboard a British naval vessel during the bombardment of Fort McHenry (Ferris, 2014). Key was inspired

by the American troops garrisoned at the fort who had survived hundreds of Congreve rockets during the British bombardment. The next morning, the troops at Fort McHenry took down their storm flag and raised a massive 42 by 30-foot garrison flag, fired a morning gun, and played Yankee Doodle to demonstrate the forces at the garrison were still alive and well (Ferris, 2014). Key wrote his poem, and it was later coupled with a popular English melody. This transformed his poem into *The Star-Spangled Banner* song that we know today.

The history of America's national anthem cannot be separated from its military and political connections. Ferris (2014) explained that politicians commonly hijacked *The Star-Spangled Banner* for political purposes in elections during the 1800s. For example, Abraham Lincoln used the melody to *The Star-Spangled Banner* at rallies during his 1860 campaign to stir public support. During the Civil War, *The Star-Spangled Banner* became a part of Northern life and was played frequently at concerts and public meetings as a way of asserting patriotic vigor in opposition to the South (Ferris, 2014). *The Star-Spangled Banner* was an unofficial national anthem during this time to be played on holidays and special occasions along with other songs such as *Yankee Doodle* and *God Bless America* (Spiegel & Spiegel, 1998). In 1889, Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Tracy ordered the frequent and uniform playing of *The Star-Spangled Banner* by troops as part of their morning colors and required all sailors to face the flags and salute (Ferris, 2014). The following year, Tracy requested that the Marine Band perform *The Star-Spangled Banner* at the close of their performances to mimic customs that other countries observed with their national song. On March 3, 1931, a bill designating *The Star-Spangled Banner* as the official national anthem of the United States was passed unanimously by Congress and was signed by President Herbert Hoover (Ferris, 2014).

American citizens developed unique rituals to distinguish *The Star-Spangled Banner* from other national songs at the turn of the twentieth century (Taylor, Kendrick, & Brodie,

2008). Ferris (2014) argued that this development was a consequence of the anthem's emergence "as the chief aural symbol of national identity" (p. 73). While the military trained soldiers to stand and salute the flag, civilians developed their own code of conduct to demonstrate reverence including removing one's cap and standing in silence. Military ritual performances during the national anthem significantly influenced civilian behavior at sporting events, which served as prime breeding ground for these rituals to develop (Ferris, 2014).

The historical developments of the national anthem inform this analysis of citizenship norms for performers of this ritual in a few ways. Ferris argued that "Semisacred national songs ... offer revealing insights into the give-and-take between individuals and top-down, officially sanctioned efforts to foster patriotism" (Ferris, 2014, p. 6). Joseph Price (2006) argued that the playing of the national anthem before a baseball game fused "the mythical with the political" by securing "public sanction and political approval" for the match at hand (p. 85). Its performance is necessary before a game can begin and is an explicit attempt at creating a uniform practice of state-sponsored patriotism. However, the rituals performed by citizens are largely self-imposed in an attempt to demonstrate patriotic commitment to the military and the nation. The national anthem, through its rituals and lyrics, has symbolic significance as an emblem for the ideal national character comprising perseverance and fighting spirit. Participating in this ritual enacts respect for the military and reverence to the country.

The national anthem ritual contains communitarian heroes in the American Dream myth by the evoked image of the military. Military members are often characterized as sacrificing for the greater social good. The people who fight in our armed forces are communitarian heroes because their duty is to protect and serve. When an audience performs the ritual of the national anthem (e.g. putting their hand over their heart, removing their cap, standing at attention), they are affirming the actions of these communitarian heroes and their value to the community. This

affirms actions associated with military duty (duty, honor, sacrifice) that members of that community ought to enact. Although not everyone enlists when they hear the national anthem, this ritualistic performance affirms an ideal citizen as someone who acts in accord with duty, honor, and personal sacrifice for community good in non-military contexts.

First Pitch Ceremony

During the first pitch ceremony, an individual, or group of individuals, throws a baseball from the pitcher's mound across home plate to mark the beginning of the game. On Opening Day in 1910, President Taft became the first sitting president to throw the ceremonial first pitch and cemented the tradition into baseball's history (Kehmay, 2013). Since then, every sitting president has participated in a first pitch ceremony before the end of their tenure—though President Trump has not yet thrown a first pitch at the time of this writing (Rymer, 2014). Although the exact origin of the first pitch ceremony is unknown,³ Taft was not the first politician to perform it. In 1901, then Vice President Roosevelt was the first person to throw an Opening Day pitch for the Washington Senators (Smith, 2018). In any case, Taft was critical in turning the first pitch ceremony into a tradition as other presidents followed suit.

There are three significant differences between the present version of the first pitch ceremony and the one that occurred in the past. First, the type of individual who throws the first pitch has dramatically expanded. In early decades of the twentieth century, being chosen to throw the first pitch at a ballpark was a rare honor reserved for politicians and military veterans

³ In my research, I found information suggesting that the earliest first-pitch ceremony could have occurred in 1890 when then the mayor of Wheeling, West Virginia threw the first pitch in a game between two nearby cities. However, I could not gain access to these newspapers to personally verify this claim. For more information, see <https://esnpc.blogspot.com/2016/09/president-taft-governor-mckinley-and.html>

(Kehmay, 2013). Today, people from all walks of life have thrown the first pitch including athletes, rappers, movie stars, and even Chewbacca (Doyle, 2015). Second, in the past the first pitch was reserved for Opening Day or significant events. Today, every major league baseball team, with the exception of the Yankees, throws a ceremonial first pitch before the start of every home game (Kehmay, 2013). Finally, in the past the individual who threw the first pitch would throw a ball from the stands to a player or umpire on the field. Around the late 70s the location of the pitch moved from the stands to the pitcher's mound (Kehmay, 2013).

The person or people who throw the first pitch must be of positive significance to the community. Each home team is responsible for organizing and selecting individuals to participate in this ceremony. The home team's selection of the participant is an endorsement of their membership in the community. However, an individual's participation does not guarantee their acceptance by the locals. For example, Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price was booed when he threw out the first pitch at a Washington Nationals game in August 2017 due to his unpopularity from pushing to repeal ObamaCare (Thomsen, 2017). The first pitch ceremony is a way to recognize an individual's prestige or accomplishments, but the individual still needs to be perceived as a positive impact on the community. Secretary Price demonstrates what occurs when the person chosen for a first pitch ritual is an antagonist to the communitarian hero. Successful performance of this ritual needs either a communitarian or individualistic hero to throw the ball.

Although the ceremonial first pitch may ordinarily seem routine, it becomes a truly sacred ritual in times of crisis when these heroes become ideal citizens that embody possibility and optimism in the face of communal adversity. For example, baseball historian John Thorn stated in an interview that when President Bush threw the first pitch in the 2001 World Series game, in the month after the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and

Pentagon, the pitch had “enormous symbolic importance and the country was absolutely united behind both its government and its game” (Zucker, 2017). As a politician, Bush demonstrated the government’s support for the sport and showed that the American spirit would not be deterred in the face of threat and adversity (Chappell, 2015). In this moment, Bush embodied themes of the individualistic hero. The World Trade Centers were attacked because these buildings were iconic representations of America. The President, by virtue of their office, is also an iconic American symbol. There was concern that an attempt might be made on the President’s life. Additional safety measures were instituted for the game including requiring the President to wear a bulletproof vest (Chappell, 2015). Bush appeared as an individualistic hero because he put himself in enormous risk. Bush also embodied themes of the communitarian hero, by recognizing the need for unification in a moment of crisis and uncertainty. Putting oneself at risk to perform this first pitch symbolized the country’s attempt to come together and overcome the attack. The President communicated a message promoting the communal good of the American people and that working together would illuminate the path forward.

First pitchers can also display ideal citizenship as their accomplishments are recognized by their community of fellow citizens. For example, in the aftermath of Hurricane Harvey’s destructive flooding in Houston, football star J.J. Watt set up a fundraising campaign for the relief effort that raised over \$37 million. He was formally recognized for his work in the community by being honored to throw the first pitch in Game 3 of the World Series between Houston and Los Angeles (Rollins, 2017). Another example is from 2009 when Captain Chesley "Sully" Sullenberger was asked to throw out the first pitch in Yankee Stadium for his heroics in landing US Airways Flight 1549 safely in the Hudson River (Prunty, 2009). Both Watt and Sully are heroes in the American Dream myth—Watt embodying the communitarian hero for his charity and Sully embodying the individualistic hero saving lives. Their performance in the first

pitch ceremony affirms their status as ideal citizens and that their performance of citizenship is good. Being chosen to throw the first pitch highlighted them as models for others to look up to and emulate.

Ultimately, the success or failure of baseball rituals depends on their acceptance or rejection by the community (Butterworth, 2010). If people refuse to participate in these practices, then the rituals will have no power. The power of the first pitch ceremony to spotlight individuals and their preferred characteristics will be important in the next section where I analyze the pregame ceremony in the first home game in Fenway Park after the Boston Marathon bombing. For my analysis I use two video perspectives of the same event. One is a video from MLB.com, the other from a fan in the stands behind the first base dugout (MLB, 2013b; Ambrose, 2013). Both videos display the same event, but each has a notable distinction that requires the other video to serve as a supplement. First, the videos create two different visual perspectives of the ceremony. The MLB version shows the visuals that were displayed on the video board that are missing in the Ambrose video. Second, the videos have different audio cuts. The Ambrose video lets the audio play the entire time. However, the MLB video cut the audio whenever the PA announcer was not speaking. Using both videos gives a fuller, more complete picture of the event.

The site of these rituals is significant. Social commentary highlighted the appropriateness of the ceremony to be held at Fenway Park during the first home game after the bombing:

Fenway has remained a fixture in Boston, in moments of heartache and jubilation, as one of the city's many long enduring relics. It seemed so very fitting that the Red Sox would play their first game back in Boston since Monday's bombing on the Park's anniversary. The mini-sanctuary served as a place of solace and

celebration the day after Boston's nightmare -- one that started less than a mile away and six days ago -- came to an end. (McCaffrey, 2013)

Fenway Park is an important cultural site for the people of Boston. Michael Borer (2008) argued that Fenway Park contains shared human landmarks, which are “any person who acts as a medium for social cohesion between others in public within a defined and distinct local area” (p. 71). The ballpark has symbolic significance to the residents of Boston, which suggests that rituals performed there could provide the conditions necessary for transcendence. With this context in mind, in the next section I will evaluate the specific rituals that occurred in the pregame ceremony and identify four heroes chosen to participate for their performance of citizenship: volunteers, marathon participants, state officials, and Big Papi.

Protect the Flag: Volunteers and Citizens as Protectors

And now, it's our honor to shine the sunlight and the spotlight on some friends and neighbors who represent the spirit, the toughness, and the resilience of Boston. (Ambrose, 2013)

The PA announcer started the main portion of the ceremony by calling attention to friends and neighbors who embodied the spirit of Boston (Ambrose, 2013). First, he welcomed the marathon volunteers to the field stating,

First, a host of ordinary citizens who are anything other than ordinary. They were pressed into duty in a life-changing and life-saving way just 5 days ago. Today, they will protect the symbol of our freedom, the American Flag, and they will be back on Boylston in 2014. From the Boston Athletic Association, the Boston Marathon Volunteers. (Ambrose, 2013)

The Boston Athletic Association is the organization in charge of hosting the Boston Marathon and recruited 8,500 volunteers to assist with the race in 2013 (Schworm, 2014). Marathon volunteers are essential to the event every year in passing out water and food, as well as providing medical assistance to runners. When the bombs detonated, the volunteers sprang into action, helping to clear a path for emergency personnel, performing triage on runners, passing out blankets, and organizing places for runners to stay for the night (Hale, 2013).

The PA announcer's introduction foregrounds two hallmarks of ideal citizenship. First, the volunteers were 'ordinary citizens who are anything other than ordinary.' This is typical imagery of heroes produced in the American Dream mythos. To say the scene of the bombing looked like a warzone might be an understatement. One doctor who testified at Dzhokhar's trial stated that the explosion left body parts scattered across the ground that looked like "puzzle pieces" (Woolf, 2015). The ability for ordinary people to enter this environment and rush forward without fear or hesitation is an immense feat. Though their response was incredible, there was nothing noteworthy or incredible about the volunteers. They were neighbors, friends, runners, and people who wanted to give back to the city of Boston. They were not prepared to respond to this type of tragedy but provided assistance without hesitation. The volunteers' response embodied the communitarian hero and exemplified norms of citizenship performance that emphasize assistance to the community in moments of tragedy. Their actions were extraordinary, but they themselves were still ordinary. Describing the individual as an ordinary citizen implies that any citizen, and thus anyone who partakes of an American national identity, can and would perform these incredible feats if the need arose. In other words, the ordinary citizen is expected to be extraordinary in their performance of citizenship.

Second, the volunteers were tasked with protecting the American Flag as a symbol of '*our* freedom.' The use of the flag rhetorically was a powerful archetypal symbol that identified

every individual at Fenway Park as a member of the national communal identity. This transformed the ballpark into a public sphere where fans were called upon to enact their citizenship and recognize the flag as a symbol of freedom as a right bestowed to all within the nation. The audience was framed as members of the social community and, as a consequence, were normatively required to recognize the volunteers as heroic in the story of America that symbolically represented the affirmation of American values.

The PA announcer then called upon fans to participate in a common American ritual—the singing of the national anthem:

And now, please rise to continue a new Boston tradition born in The Garden just 3 days ago. Our organist, Josh Canter, will get you started but you take us from there. As together, we lift our voices to new heights and sing the Star-Spangled Banner. That anthem that affirms our faith in the land of the free and the home of the brave. (Ambrose, 2013)

The use of archetypal symbols in this setting and manner evoked a rhetorical myth that provided pedagogical paths forward and affirmed the sociological make-up of the community. By singing the national anthem in a new tradition, as opposed to a performer singing the anthem, the new ritualistic practice creates unity through patriotic celebration. The combined use of heroic, everyday citizens symbolically protecting the flag, and the audience reaffirming the value of that symbol by carrying the congregation's hymn, calls upon a shared national identity that calls citizens to act in support and defense American cultural institutions. As stated in the introduction, Americans have great difficulty rationalizing why an individual would commit an act of terror against its citizens (Matusitz, 2012), but this symbolic affirmation of national identity through the performance of citizenship provides a pedagogical illumination of a way

forward for the community by requiring a reinvestment into the structures the Tsarnaev brothers attempted to demolish through their attack.

Celebrating Ordinary Heroes

The PA announcer also specifically celebrated individual heroes Matt Patterson, Stephen Byrne, and Dick and Rick Hoyt as “symbols of our beloved Boston and of our strength, our toughness, and our resilience” (Ambrose, 2013). As these heroes were announced, they entered the baseball diamond to be presented at the pitcher’s mound and were accompanied by a brief narrative from the PA announcer. Although I will include the PA’s statements in my analysis, it is important to understand that heroes must be understood outside of their ceremonial recognition. The Boston community, for a variety of reasons, knew these heroes before they threw the first pitch as a result of news stories being shared after the tragedy. In some ways, these individuals were already recognized as heroes before the first pitch ceremony. Therefore, it is important to include aspects of their story that the audience was aware of to establish a context that informs the audience reaction to these heroes. In this section I argue that this first pitch ritual crafted norms of performance of national citizenship by using Patterson, Byrne, and the Hoyts as symbols of Boston’s strength, toughness, and resilience.

Patterson as Strength

The first individual to be recognized by the PA announcer was Matt Patterson. Stories and photos of Patterson’s quick response to the bombs made him a national hero, and many news outlets circulated his story. He received a number of accolades for his actions including formal recognition from Judith Flanagan, mayor of Patterson’s nearby hometown of Lynn, for his

“demonstration of selflessness and professionalism in an extremely hazardous situation” (Shuman, 2013).

The off-duty firefighter and paramedic was eating lunch with his girlfriend and friends near the location where the bombs detonated (Pow, 2013). After hearing the sound of the second explosion, he stepped on the street and saw a young boy with his right leg completely amputated (Mascia, 2013). He then leaped over a barricade to rush towards the child, used a belt as a tourniquet to stop the bleeding, and attempted to comfort the child as he went into severe shock (Mascia, 2013; Pow, 2013). Patterson received assistance from fellow bystander Michael Chase in running the boy a block and a half to an ambulance before going back to the scene of the tragedy to assist others (Pow, 2013). On his return, he attempted to perform CPR on Martin Richard, an 8-year-old boy who was the youngest fatality in the bombing, and covered the boy’s body to hide the wounds after realizing he was dead (Pavia & Taylor, 2013; Pow, 2013). He then tended to Martin’s younger sister, Jane, who had a severe leg injury and used a belt to apply a tourniquet to stop the bleeding (Woolf, 2015). Patterson also saved the life of a third individual, a 30-year old-man who lost their left leg and used a shoelace as a tourniquet to stop the bleeding (Pow, 2013).

Matt Patterson was a hero to the city of Boston and the Red Sox’s PA announcer recognized his valor as Patterson was announced to deliver the ceremonial first pitch:

Inside Abe and Louis restaurant on Boylston sat a firefighter from Lynn. He was enjoying a marathon day lunch with his friends, an annual tradition. Besides serving as a firefighter, he is also a paramedic and an army veteran of the war in Afghanistan. He heard the boom, he jumped to his feet. He sent diners to the kitchen while he headed to the street. He saw a little boy, a belt became a tourniquet, he carried the child to medical personnel, and simply saved his life.

And that was only one of the lives he saved right up the street just 5 days ago.

Representing firefighters, paramedics, veterans, and every day citizens who, amid sudden danger, chose to rescue others. Welcome Matt Patterson. (Ambrose, 2013)

The PA announcer's account featured three qualities of good citizenship performance. First, the actions of Patterson are extraordinary while also framed as commonly typical. He is a firefighter by trade, but his experience as a paramedic and a veteran are highlighted. It is implied that his training from these other professions prepared him with the skills necessary to respond to these types of situations. The people of Boston knew firsthand the danger of Boylston Street through their own personal experience and through pictures of the tragedy that were shown in a tribute at the start of the ceremony (MLB, 2013). Responding in this urban warzone was a remarkable feat, and only individuals with appropriate skills could have responded with the heroics Patterson displayed.

Second, his actions were also typical and expected. Patterson did not save the life of the little boy; instead, he '*simply* saved his life.' The articulation of 'simply' implies that Patterson's heroics were the conditioned consequence of American social norms. In this moment, the PA announcer advances the argument that anyone who was present when the bombs detonated and had Patterson's skills would be expected to *simply* do the exact same thing. In other words, Patterson epitomized norms of citizenship performance that required this intervention as a civic duty that any Bostonian would have done without hesitation. Patterson's act of exceptionalism was framed as a commonplace act of basic human decency.

Third, Patterson was symbolized as, "Representing firefighters, paramedics, veterans, and every day citizens who, amid sudden danger, chose to rescue others" (MLB, 2013). In this statement, citizenship is explicitly called into play as a common characteristic of Bostonians. This reaffirms the identity of the city by further establishing Patterson's actions as something

anyone can and will do. Patterson's actions are not limited to veterans, firefighters, or paramedics with expertise. These heroics are performed by individuals and ordinary citizens who desire to help others. The willingness to face danger and prioritize communal values over individual survival is a norm of citizenship performance representative of the communal identity of both Boston and American.

Byrne as Toughness

The second hero to be recognized in the first pitch ceremony was Steven Byrne. Byrne arrived at the marathon with friends to support a firefighter running for charity (Sobey, 2013). His group was standing close to the second bomb when it detonated, and he lost his friends in the smoke and confusion (Sisk, 2013). Byrne was able to walk to an ambulance, but suffered serious injuries from the blast and was taken to Beth Israel Hospital (Sisk, 2013). Once admitted, Byrne was rushed into emergency surgery and was treated for shrapnel in his face and neck. A mailbox stood between Byrne and the second bomb, which protected him from injuries to his lower extremities, but he still suffered burns, scars, permanent hearing loss, and surgeons had to leave BBs in his body that were too close to major arteries and nerves (Sobey, 2013). Ultimately, Byrne fared better than his friends whose legs were amputated (Sobey, 2013).

Steven Byrne was another Boston hero recognized by the PA announcer as he made his way to the pitcher's mound:

On Monday, he was with his two best friends and their sisters, standing on Boylston when they heard the first explosion. He was shielding the sisters when suddenly the second explosion threw him over a fence, lit his clothes on fire, and sent shrapnel into his face and neck. He was rushed to Beth Israel Deaconess. There, a trauma surgeon performed emergency surgery and again, simply saved

his life. And while he still has a ways to go, he's on the road to recovery. He's with us today and he's representing not only his two friends, each of who lost a leg, but all who are on that road. Welcome Lowell native and a Lowell High grad, Steven Byrne. (Ambrose, 2013)

The PA announcer's story of Byrne stressed three important things about norms of citizenship performance by American citizens. First, Byrne's story reaffirmed communal values through his selfless attempt to protect and shield others. The similarities in selfless sacrifice for others between Byrne and Patterson are intentional. Byrne's story is additional evidence that norms of citizenship performance require citizens to prioritize the community and devalue self-interest. Attempting to shield the sisters after the first explosion reaffirms that ordinary, everyday citizens are characterized by small, heroic attempts to help others.

Second, the story about the trauma surgeon played a role in articulating citizenship norms. By stating that the surgeon 'simply saved his life,' the PA announcer illustrates that an emphasis on communal values benefits the individual. Members of the Boston community have a shared identity that casts heroics as an expected norm that everyone can and must live up to. In other words, the veteran, the surgeon, and 'the citizen' will tackle adversity and danger head on and *simply* do what needs to be done for the good of others in their community.

Third, Byrne's representation for all those injured and on the road to recovery provides a key mandate that is essential to norms of citizenship performance in America. Byrne was invited to Fenway Park to throw the first pitch because he was one of the first survivors of the attack to be medically released (Sobey, 2013). His presence marked an important milestone in the city's recovery efforts by showing that those who were seriously injured were beginning to not only recover but return to their routine lives. In doing this, toughness and a will to overcome adversity were reaffirmed as norms of citizenship performance. By throwing the first pitch only a few days

after the attack, Byrne showed the citizens of Boston that overcoming the attack was possible and necessary for the community to move on. Boston and America were shaken as a result of the attack and everyone who was impacted physically or psychologically was on the road to recovery. Byrne's performance became a symbolic guide for citizens to proceed and return to normalcy and a requirement of their social identity.

The Hoyts as Resilience

The final heroes to be recognized in the first pitch ceremony were Dick and Rick Hoyt. The Hoyts were local celebrities of the Boston Marathon. Rick is the son of Dick and has cerebral palsy. When Rick was 15 years old, a lacrosse player at his high school was paralyzed from an accident. Rick asked his dad to help him run a fundraiser race to show that life could go on despite his disability (Pfeiffer, 2014). Dick pushed his son in the 5-mile race, and Rick found a new freedom telling his dad, "When I'm running I don't feel handicapped" (Matson, 2014). The Hoyts started running in other races with the goal of running in the Boston Marathon. In 1981, the Hoyts met the qualifying time of 2 hours and 50 minutes and ran their first Boston Marathon (Sisk, 2014; Pfeiffer, 2014). After that, they participated in marathons and triathlons across the world and became a staple of the Patriots' Day marathon. The 2013 race—their 31st Boston Marathon—was intended to be their last. Dick had developed medical complications that made running difficult, but they were stopped near the 23-mile mark because of the bombs and were unable to finish (Pfeiffer, 2014). Undeterred in their desire to complete the race, they vowed to run the marathon again the following year in honor of the victims (Sisk, 2014).

The PA announcer recognized the heroic character of the Hoyts as they entered the field:

And now, a symbol of resilience if there ever was one. The father who, for 31 years, has pushed his son's wheelchair across that Boylston Street finish line. And

who, together, are determined to carry on and be back on Boylston in 2014.

Representing all the runners, welcome father and son Dick and Rick Hoyt.

(Ambrose, 2013)

The Hoyts represented the resilience of the Boston community, and in turn the spirit of America, by answering the call to continue the marathon. Their persistence to run answered the call to be undeterred by those who wished to destroy the social structures. Specifically, there was a desire to prove that the Tsarnaev brothers' attempt to permanently harm the psyche of America was futile by demonstrating they had not been permanently impacted by the bombing. At an interfaith service to honor the victims of the bombing, President Obama expressed this communal desire when he called Boston to run another marathon and referenced the resilience of the Hoyts in stating, "We can't let something like this stop us" (Obama, 2013). The PA announcer reiterated, "We will run another marathon. One bigger and better than ever" (Ambrose, 2013).

The Hoyts' performance of citizenship was cast as an idealized representation of American identity. Their citizenship was an expected performance of the everyday citizen by framing Boston's recovery as a civic duty. The Hoyts' heroics did not require saving lives or recovering from trauma but were still extraordinary in that they refused to be deterred and vowed to never give up. Therefore, the Hoyts performatively argued that Americans can and should be resilient to inspire others to continue with their lives and to restore a sense of normalcy for themselves and for others.

These narratives collectively argued for a vision of America that cannot be understood through the lens of one hero. Patterson, Byrne, and the Hoyts as heroes displayed different facets of American citizenship, and the rituals they participated in made them points of sacred transcendence to provide answers to the community for healing by emphasizing strength, toughness, and resilience as identity markers for Bostonians and Americans at large. Like

President Bush, the heroes of Boston signaled that that the community could begin healing and their transcendence at the sacred mound of Fenway. Their participation in the ceremonial first pitch positioned these heroes directly within the mythic power of baseball. The ritual of the first pitch provided the foundations for their significance, reaffirmed the unity of the city, and provided real heroes the city could point to and learn from as ideal citizens. Participation in sacred rituals at Fenway Park, a cultural temple for the community, articulated the significance of their actions as both extraordinary and expectable.

Your Government Thanks You: State-Sponsored Citizens

Before the playing of the national anthem and the first pitch ceremony, but after these citizens were announced on the field, a group of politicians and police officers also was introduced:

Coming to thank them personally is the Governor of our Commonwealth whose leadership along with the extraordinary leadership and stamina of Boston Mayor Thomas Menino has never been more crucial than this week. Joining him are members of Mayor Menino and Governor Patrick's law enforcement effort as well as those from near and far. And how fortunate we are able to express our thanks to them on this day. (Ambrose, 2013)

A collection of high-ranking local police officers, the FBI special agent in charge of the manhunt for the bombers, and Massachusetts Senator Mo Cowan were introduced by the PA announcer. Their presence on the field, standing around the pitcher's mound, is significant as they are visibly participating in the cosmological center of the field. The PA announcer's statements earlier in the pregame ceremony show the importance of the police and politicians in this event, stating, "our governor, our mayor, and our police officers thank you. For the way citizens responded, for the contributions they made to the apprehension, and to the way we demonstrated

such fierce unity” (Ambrose, 2013). The representatives of the state were incorporated into this ceremony as a way of demonstrating their appreciation for the way citizens handled the tragedy. They celebrated the resolve of the individuals directly involved and victimized by the tragedy as well as the effort of the community to pull together to help each other.

However, their inclusion is a celebration of the community’s obedience. In particular, the representatives of the government are brought forward to thank the people of Boston for their display of resilience. The PA announcer elaborated further, stating,

Throughout this week, in the aftermath of tragedy one truth has emerged: we are resilient. *Thursday, our president, our governor, and our mayor urged us to rely on that resilience.* For the past thirty-eight hours in particular, that resilience has been on grand display. Law enforcement officers have battled through the dark of night and in the face of danger. *Embodying the spirit of our beloved Boston, they have prevailed.* (Ambrose, 2013, p. emphasis added)

There are three features of the ideal citizen that can be gleaned from these passages. First, it is articulated that the state relies on the participation of citizens. The help of other citizens, in particular the way they came together as a community to help one another and assist first responders, was critical in stopping the Tsarnaev brothers. This appears to be a fairly logical argument at first glance. Citizens helping each other lowered the time and resource demands of first responders and police officers so their energy could be devoted solely to stopping additional threats. However, this statement also shows that the state is successful in moments of tragedy because of the way citizens behave. Not only did the tangible activities of citizens help police officers, but they exuded a spirit of Boston that, apparently, helped the officers prevail.

This leads to the second insight: the force of the state is critical to the security of the nation. An efficient police force is needed to stop terrorists and is more successful when done

with the voluntary participation of the community. Police are intended to serve and protect. That job becomes astronomically easier when others are assisting you.

The third, and most important, conclusion from these passages comes in the form of a blueprint of the ideal citizen. Specifically, ideal citizens listen to the government and do what they are told by the state. The politicians and police affirmed that the assistance of Bostonians was critical to their efforts, but also affirmed that specific performances of citizenship were needed in their endeavors. By entering the field and surrounding Patterson, Byrne, and the Hoyts, the state affirmed these individuals as ideal citizens for the way they reacted in the aftermath of the bombings. This created a vision of the community where performances that deviate from that of these heroes is not only detrimental, but an active hindrance to the state. In this world view, making the job of the police more difficult is equivalent to aiding and abetting. People can hide in their homes if they want, but a true citizen would be resilient and actively do what they could for their community.

This is Our Fucking City: Big Papi's Embodiment of the Ideal Citizen

The last hero to be celebrated in the pregame ceremony was Big Papi, otherwise known as David Ortiz. Ortiz had played first base/designated hitter for the Red Sox since 2003 and was an accomplished player with several All-Star appearances in his career. Ortiz had been dealing with an Achilles injury to start the year and had not played in a game for the 2013 season prior to this pregame ceremony (Lauber, 2016). Not only was this the team's first game back after the bombing, this particular game was Ortiz' first game back from a lengthy absence. After serving as a catcher in the first pitch ceremony, Ortiz took the microphone near the pitcher's mound and said,

Alright, alright Boston. These jerseys that we wear today, it doesn't say Red Sox's. It say [sic] Boston. We wanna thank you Mayor Menino, Governor Patrick, the whole police department, for the great job they did last week. This is our fucking city. And nobody's gonna dictate our freedom. Stay strong. Thank you. (Ambrose, 2013).

Ortiz's performance embodied the vision of an ideal citizen in a few ways. First, his participation in the ritual as one of the catchers does not affirm his status as a hero in the community. The role of the player in the first pitch ceremony is, by itself, not significant because the ritual is intended to honor the individual who throws the pitch. However, Ortiz taking the microphone and speaking near the pitcher's mound positioned him in the cosmological center of the field. It is this location of Ortiz that affirms his status as a hero to be looked up to.

Second, his message provided a pedagogical function for the audience and a direction forward from the tragedy. His affirmation that "nobody's gonna dictate our freedom" is an argument that the space of Boston belongs to the citizens as "their fucking city." This rhetorically tied the concept of freedom to the particular place of Boston and argued that an ideal citizen should act to preserve their freedom. In particular, Ortiz's argument is that the audience should "stay strong" and not be deterred from the bombing because doing so would allow the terrorists to dictate their freedom. In this way, Ortiz embodied a heroic, ideal citizen that others in the community could look to for instruction. His particular argument for what citizenship should look like in the aftermath of tragedy echoed the prior messages affirming a continuation of the status quo. Not being deterred and continuing as normal, Ortiz argued, is quintessential for a citizen to properly perform their citizenship.

Discussion

This analysis of the Red Sox's pregame ceremony demonstrates a few things. First, sports rituals are uniquely situated to support mythic systems premised in the communal vision of the American Dream. The heroes in the American Dream themselves are ideal citizens who serve as models for citizenship performance of American national identity. The heroes in Fenway Park are the same heroes the American Dream utilizes in narratives of individuals who "are ordinary, rather than extraordinary" (Rowland & Jones, 2007, p. 131). Specifically, the performance and praise of the volunteers and survivors provided several models of ideal citizenship that citizens were expected to emulate. The ideal citizen is praised for individualistic accomplishments for communal benefits, which explains why norms of citizenship performance are warranted by the communitarian vision of the American Dream.

Another implication of this case study is that citizenship is not the direct byproduct of a legal framework, but a social mythos that sits at the heart of nationalist pride and identity. Although citizenship is not formed via myth exclusively, social myths are powerful ways of warranting a society's understanding of norms of citizenship performance. In the case of American citizenship, myth is a critical element in warranting norms of citizenship performance as it provides pedagogical and sociological foundations for understanding what citizens should and should not do.

Third, the myth of the ideal citizen is successful when emulated through multiple heroes. Traditional religious myths rely on a specific hero or group of heroes to bestow boon upon society and frame the hero(es) as an exclusive title to be earned by few. However, social myths that address citizenship are more attainable with multiple heroes. If citizenship myths had only one hero, then the vision of the ideal citizen would be unattainable by the masses and not a status that individuals would strive to achieve. Multiple heroes are needed for citizenship myths; and the more heroes present, the more likely the mythos will be a critical component for national

identity formation. American understandings of ideal citizens mimic this logic in areas. George Washington was a great leader, but the collection of founding fathers gives a more vivid picture of what American citizenship is than the first president by himself. One potential concern of this would be that as different versions of ideal citizens proliferate, it becomes harder to criticize or challenge aspects of the myth as a challenge of any one citizen becomes a challenge of the whole myth.

Fourth, implicit in these narratives celebrating strength and community lies the premise that an ideal citizen must perform citizenship within set legal parameters. This ceremony strongly illustrated police officers and state officials as ideal citizens. Themes of justice and order were associated with these heroes and tied these characteristics to the American Dream myth. One consequence of utilizing these patriotic themes in pregame ceremonies means that dissent or criticism of the state is marked as deviant—for an ideal citizen would respect, honor, and appreciate the police and government that work hard to make everyone safe. Although this may be beneficial in a reaction to terrorism, this ideology can be problematic in the long term if the police and state stop working in the best interest of the community.

Fifth, the American Dream myth asks a lot of its citizens. When heroic action is cast as “simple,” it suggests that it is something that anyone can and should do. In a very direct way, this vision of the American Dream mandates that performances of citizenship require immense self-sacrifice and a willingness to put one’s self in life-threatening danger. This baseball ritual was designed to affirm the actions performed by these heroes are pitched as accessible acts that any member of the community would do. Therefore, acts of self-sacrifice were cast as normative expectations of citizenship for other contexts. In future tragedy, these reactions will not only be normatively associated with American national identity, but expected as an extraordinary and praiseworthy act of an ideal citizen.

Finally, this case study has provided evidence of the close association between nationalism and sports. In this instance, there is a mutually shared direction in how politics shapes sport (i.e. politicians stressing the importance of running another marathon) and how sport shapes politics (the fact that the Red Sox's organization put on this event in the first place). In this particular text, both state and society affirmed the same normative expectations for citizenship performance. Being a member of the Boston community required listening to these heroes and going about your daily life according to their prescription. Panic and fear were not only unproductive but risked social exclusion for failing to align with the vision of the ideal citizen. Only through a particular performance of strength, toughness, and resilience could a communal identity be maintained by citizens.

Chapter 4: Concluding Remarks on the Relationship Between Sports Rituals and Norms of Citizenship Performance

After the pregame ceremony on April 20, the Red Sox repeated versions of the first pitch and National Anthem rituals with other survivors and heroes of the Boston Marathon Bombing. For example, Pete DiMartino and his girlfriend Rebekah Gregory were at the finish line when the bombs detonated and were severely injured from flying shrapnel (Murphy, 2013). On May 23rd of that year, they delivered the ceremonial first pitch in Fenway Park. A few days later, on May 28, Jeff Bauman and Carlos Arredondo were also celebrated in the ceremonial first pitch on May 28 (The Associated Press, 2013). The pair were the individuals in the iconic image of Arredondo in a cowboy hat rushing a severely injured Bauman to seek medical attention (Rohan, 2013). The Red Sox also invited the family of Sean Collier, the MIT officer who was killed by the Tsarnaev brothers in their attempt to flee arrest. On August 28th, nine members of Sean's family lined up in the diamond on Fenway Park and threw the ceremonial first pitch to honor both Sean's sacrifice and his support of the Jimmy Fund (MLB, 2013a). On April 15, 2018 the city marked the fifth-year anniversary of the bombing by holding charity events and volunteer programs throughout the city, including a celebration of the survivors and victims in Fenway Park (Rojas, 2018; Ryan, 2018).

The goal of this project was to understand how sports rituals can craft conditions for the performance of a national citizenship identity. Sports rituals are unique because they treat them with the same seriousness as religion and with the utmost importance as foreign policy. Most sports rituals are not special and make no effort to have significant cultural meaning other than for the individuals who perform them. Examples include superstitious rituals such as chewing a new piece of bubble gum before each at bat or eating a peanut butter and jelly sandwich before a

game with the hope it will improve performance on the field. However, some sports rituals are performed with the intent of articulating a relation between the player or fan and their nation or culture. Sport can and does operate as a ritualistic site for the performance of national identity, cultural norms, and values. In these special moments sports rituals can answer questions about what good citizenship involves. The Red Sox's ceremonial first pitch and National Anthem rituals are but one example of how this phenomenon occurs. In this chapter, I will discuss the implications of examining norms of citizenship performance through sports rituals, respond to potential weaknesses in my argument, and suggest directions for future research.

Implications

The major argument I advance is sports rituals—such as the singing of the national anthem or the throwing of the first pitch—are inherently political acts that enact normative claims about how citizenship should be performed. Sports are deliberately used by actors as a site in which to engage the public sphere. Relevant actors include individual players and fans who participate in these rituals, and the elites in the media, the state, and team ownership that organize and endorse these performances.

This finding suggests that sport should be embraced as a political activity that affirms broader social values. That suggestion resists discourses holding that politics ought to be kept out of sport. Specifically, athletes are under pressure to not enact their own politics in the aftermath of Colin Kaepernick's political protest. In an iconic example, basketball player LeBron James was recently criticized for discussing his political opinion and was instructed by a Fox News commentator to "shut up and dribble" (Sullivan, 2018). However, these positions ignore the material reality that the connections are not only frequent but have positive benefits. David Ortiz's decision to speak rather than shutting up and swinging served a vital role in inspiring

Boston to heal after the bombing. The Sox were clearly instrumental in helping the community move forward and recover. On one hand, people want somewhere outside of politics to retreat and forget about pressing political problems. This was the predominant narrative about baseball post-9/11 and after the Boston Marathon Bombing. People wanted to just watch baseball and forget about the fear and terror surrounding them outside the temple walls of their favorite ballpark. But on the other hand, politics are firmly woven into the fabric of sports with the benefit of creating and sustaining public, political communities.

The second implication is that sports rituals play a powerful role through the performance of norms to govern citizenship performances. The national anthem and first pitch ceremonies evoke an understanding of an ideal citizen by showing the audience a prestigious hero that society should desire to emulate. People who fail to behave in a certain way during the National Anthem, such as Tommie Smith and John Carlos, risk not being seen as American because they did something contradictory to what is perceived to be an inherent part of the American identity. Citizenship is not a status to be marked but a contested marker of one's identity that must be performatively maintained. "Citizenship appears as a performance, not a possession" (Asen, 2004, p. 203) when observed as a mode of public engagement. People must act out their citizenship in the hope of meeting the expectations of a particular type of citizen to be accepted as part of the national identity and culture. Sports rituals offer a way for citizens to gauge their performance with others and see if they are enacting behaviors that will be acceptable.

Even when Smith and Carlos protested during the National Anthem as American citizens, their performance called into question their ability to claim their citizenship in a predominantly white nation. They did not lose their legal status as American citizens, but their citizenship, and ultimately their patriotism, were called into question because their performance failed to map onto the expected normative behaviors of citizens. This case study demonstrates there is a great

deal of theoretical utility to viewing citizenship as a performance in an instance where a pregame ceremony is intended to affirm the spirit of a city and what separates those citizens who love America from those who do not.

Third, the myth of the ideal American citizen is most successful when it utilizes both communitarian and individualistic visions of citizenship. The best citizens are those who make a name for themselves while also giving back to their community and fellow citizens. In many ways, the mythic ideal citizen embodies the characteristics of the American Dream that Fisher (1973) proposed. The best heroes who participate in sports rituals affirm both the materialistic and moralistic visions of the American Dream (Jones & Rowland, 2015).

Finally, one of the most important functions of the mythic ideal citizen is to quell dissent of the state. Both the national anthem and the first pitch ceremonies are intended to affirm specific performances of individuals. The historical context of both rituals is embedded in each performance to support a pro-state message that is at the heart of these ceremonies. Myths often work as “brakes upon the speed of cultural change” (Kluckhorn, 1942), and it is very difficult for social change to occur through rituals. This would mean that national anthem protests are likely to be unsuccessful at promoting social change because the underlying critique is not of the state, but of the myths perpetuated through state-sponsored patriotism.

Limitations and Direction for Future Research

This project has attempted to advance a theoretical framework that scholars can use to analyze sports rituals by examining the Boston Red Sox as a case study. In this section, I will address a few limitations of this project and make recommendations for future research.

The first limitation is that the sport rituals in question focus exclusively on baseball. There is a need for more research on how rituals in other sports involve performances of

citizenship. Though each sport is constrained in how it evokes specific norms based on the unique history of each sport and its culture, it would be beneficial to see if sports rituals in different sports or non-professional leagues uphold different norms of citizenship performance. Previous research has affirmed that niche groups have the capacity of creating a strong group identity that distinguishes itself from the larger culture. For example, the early theoretical work on hegemonic masculinity examined surfer culture and how that community negotiated tensions between socially feminine characteristics and culturally masculine behaviors in order to promote specific forms of normative behavior within their culture (Connell, 1990). Another example comes from feminist scholarship which has looked at how identity can be culturally constructed in small group sport settings as a site of resistance against dominant masculine cultures (Fuller, 2010). The research seems to suggest that sports have a unique capacity to shape group identity and therefore actions. Future research should analyze rituals in other sports to see what norms of citizenship performance are enacted.

The second limitation of this project is it focuses on American sports rituals. Sport is a global phenomenon, but there are particular sports that have historically been viewed as a global sport; soccer is the most obvious example. As the sport world continues to expand and our societies become more connected through the expansion of markets, there will be a growing need for public spheres to emerge that cater to the idea of a global citizen. Sports like soccer could be one such site for norms of global citizenship performance to emerge as a way of crossing cultural and national boundaries. Future research can analyze baseball rituals in other nations and sports rituals from an international perspective.

The third limitation of this project is that it fails to directly address issues of class, race, and gender within sport. Specifically, MLB players, fans, and team owners are whiter and wealthier than their NBA or NFL counterparts (Chang, 2017). One of the strengths of this project

is that I was able to examine an instance where sports was used politically without controversy. However, the downside of that is that the sport of baseball is the least likely sport to adapt a politically controversial position because the individuals within the baseball community are more privileged. Evidence of this can be seen in the recent proliferation of National Anthem protests across professional sports. Although multiple protests have occurred in the NFL and NBA, the only player from the MLB to participate in a National Anthem protest was Oakland Athletics catcher Bruce Maxwell (Pappu, 2017). Ultimately, additional research is needed on how race, class, and gender affect expectations for citizenship performance.

Finally, the last limitation of this project is that it focuses on an occasion that was politically uncontroversial. The Red Sox followed a similar script to what the Yankees did in 2001 following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and their performance was positively received. Additional research on rituals that are controversial is needed. Specifically, Colin Kaepernick's national anthem protest would be an interesting site to examine ritual violations and national myths. Kaepernick gained national attention for non-football related reasons during the 2016 NFL preseason when he began a silent protest by refusing to stand for the national anthem (Sandritter, 2016). His actions garnered widespread criticism and praise over a variety of topics including, but not limited to, the appropriateness of his protest, his legitimacy to criticize the United States, and whether his criticisms were factual or warranted (Wilder, 2016; Toosi, 2016; Gregory, 2016; Blackistone, 2016). This controversy is going into its third season and is showing no signs of halting. At the time of this writing, NFL teams have unsuccessfully tried to institute team policies requiring players to stand during the national anthem or risk being suspended for multiple games without pay. Since then, the NFL and the players union have walked back from that position and advocated for more discussions on the issue (Jones, 2018). This is not the first

time the league has had conversations between owners and players on a uniform policy for the national anthem, and this controversy will likely continue.

National anthem protests, and the discourse surrounding them, are ideal sites to examine arguments about norms of citizenship performance and the relationship between politics and sports. Understandings of what the nation owes its citizens, and what citizens owe to the nation, are important conversations that could benefit from scholarly analysis. At the heart of protests are competing visions of what American citizenship ought to look like. Even though this discussion occurs in the background of a game, it is a serious debate that will shape America for many decades to come.

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