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*We Are What We Celebrate: Understanding Holidays and Rituals*, edited by **Amitai Etzioni** and **Jared Bloom**. New York, NY: New York University Press, 2004. 253 pp. \$19.00 paper. ISBN:0814722261

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Functionalist sociology usually highlights structure, but Durkheim's later thought emphasized culture by showing how ritual and symbols helped integrate diverse people into a common society. This edited book discusses the solidarity functions of major holidays like Thanksgiving, Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, Kwanzaa, Halloween, and Easter, along with less-well-known rituals like Purim and Mardi Gras. Collected from previous publications or inspired by a multidisciplinary conference on holidays, chapters usually do not explicitly address sociological theory, but they do provide empirical analyses that should help understand patterns and functions of ritualized commemorations. While chapters from a few sociological heavy hitters are included, historians dominate the discourse in this edited text (but only three of the twelve chapters are histories of a single holiday). Rather than discussing each chapter in turn, this review will discuss two common analytic themes: institutionalization and social functions.

The institutionalization of traditions is a common analytic theme throughout the book. Durkheim suggested that worshipped totems could essentially be anything because the totem had no intrinsic meaning in and of itself. Similarly, the chapters here suggest people make sacred their shared past through rituals and holiday commemorations. Even Thanksgiving was first a sectarian affair that became established largely through vocal, partisan advocates. Other chapters uncover the special interests that engineered Santa Claus and Kwanzaa. The chapter on the King holiday discusses not only where the holiday was adopted, but also resistance to the holiday by some states. Analyses of the institutionalization of holidays share a common outline. Commemorative entrepreneurs used media outlets to spread their message. As the holiday or ritual gained popularity,

politicians supported the holiday to further their political careers, and business interests used the holiday to advocate purchasing products as a sign of love. Schools began using holidays to inculcate proper values. The larger cultural and political environments also shaped institutionalization. One entire chapter is focused on explaining how changes in the family led to holidays focused on frivolity and fun for children. Another suggests the civil rights movement sparked ethnic pride and interracial marriage—forces that changed holiday commemorations. Thus, institutionalization was not solely a product of human agency—particular interest groups engineered holidays within contexts they could not completely control.

Contrary to the traditional functionalist argument, rituals and holidays serve disintegrative as well as integrative social functions. The traditional argument suggests rituals recreate stability and integration by helping members of a diverse society share experiences and develop emotional bonds. Holidays and rituals, Etzioni argues, contain "seedbeds of virtue"—they carry the beliefs and actions that allow the recreation of community. Following this logic, the volume is organized into three parts: family building, community building, and nation building. But the chapters do not uniformly conceptualize a conservative function for holiday commemorations. Etzioni's introduction states that the traditional Durkheimian argument must be strongly modified. This statement is supported by the chapters that follow. Several authors suggest inversion rituals were popular on Thanksgiving and Halloween. These allowed safe ritualized reenactment of inverted social class relations. On Thanksgiving, it was common for young, poor children to dress in drag and beg for handouts. On Halloween in Middletown, the witch inverts the American mom, and Theodore Caplow claims, "The most important aspect of Halloween is its mockery of the resurrection" (p. 109). Several authors argue that the ongoing privatization and commercialization of holidays has demised local public traditions. Others document the increasing gender inequality regarding the work and planning necessary to make holidays happen, or suggest that holidays have the potential to challenge marital stability. In another case we learn from nineteenth century ethnic news-

papers that immigrants did not simply bow to Anglo conformity during holidays; they adapted rituals to also celebrate their distinct immigrant culture. Francesca Polletta examines a host of different protest tactics used during holidays throughout the world. Her analysis suggests that holidays provide powerful opportunities for social movement activism. Polletta asks the reader to consider if dissent during holidays diminishes the ability of holidays to act as a ritual of solidarity. In answering the question, she suggests that holidays are integrative for dissident groups and that these groups might provide a model of how to organize a different democratic life. While authors here generally agree that rituals and holidays are socially integrative, they also show how rituals can act as a force for change.

The institutionalization of rituals and their varied social functions are important themes embedded in these readable chapters, yet a few problems persist. Most of the authors rely on (undefined) content analyses of media articles while the larger field of sociology of culture is also wanting for more methodological variation. And applicable sociological theories of collective memory and civil religion are ignored. Despite these minor shortcomings, the patterns uncovered by this multidisciplinary team should provide fertile material for further sociological theorizing about holidays and rituals.

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*The Catholic Revolution: New Wine, Old Wineskins, and the Second Vatican Council*, by **Andrew Greeley**. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004. 237 pp. \$15.95 paper ISBN: 0-520-24481-8.

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In *The Catholic Revolution: New Wine, Old Wineskins, and the Second Vatican Council* Andrew Greeley reframes his earlier research on attitudes of American Catholics in light of literature on collective behavior and revolution in complex organizations. Greeley identifies rigid organizational structures of rights of the Catholic Church's institutional leadership to make binding rules prior to the Second Vatican Council, suggesting that

resources and schema supporting those structures were too weak to withstand the destabilizing effects of specific events of the Second Vatican Council. The changes are discussed as a revolution within the Catholic Church. The research focuses on the Catholic Church in the United States, but attitude data from 22 countries are used to support the claim that changes might be more global than is suggested by interpretations offered by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church that attribute causal importance to moral values of contemporary American culture.

Greeley argues that key Council events destabilized specific weak structures causing significant dissent among Catholics on issues about rules for moral conduct; yet he shows that Catholics continue to participate in the Church supporting its other structures relating to sacramental and communal traditions. Since the Council made only modest changes in both sets of structures, there is also a discussion about what appears to be a paradox regarding why many Catholics dissent on some matters while still participating in the life of their parishes. Although Greeley raises more education among Catholics as an important variable in the analysis, he does not use it to account for the revolution directly nor to resolve the paradox. He does not, for example, argue that Catholics might have known about the imperfect history of the institutional leadership of the Catholic Church over the centuries, which it had undergone changes in the past, and that Church laws are not immutable. He may regard these as factors that weakened existing Church structures. Resolution to the paradox relies as much on Greeley's own ideas about the Catholic Imagination as on reasoning about organizational revolutions. The discussion of emergent structures is under-articulated, so it becomes difficult to tell "false prophets" and "chaos" from emergent structures.

The book targets several audiences. It offers a case analysis of important social change within an organization for sociologists. It also addresses the social science literature on religion. The book also presents the interpretation of change in the Catholic Church to Catholic leaders and laity. Although it has interest for each of these audiences, the book's effort to achieve multiple purposes with several audiences some-