

We're All Behind You:

The Co-Construction of Turns and Sequences-at-Cheering

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Abstract

The goal of this research is to investigate sports fan cheering as a collaborative undertaking. This is primarily done by examining video data of informal cheering groups called Student Sections at intercollegiate Ice Hockey contests. Additional video and anecdotal data of spectators at other sports and audiences at other types of performance are also used to illustrate and contrast various forms of en mass collaboration in spectators. The data is addressed from an ethnomethodological perspective, using conversation analysis to break down both the instances of cheering and the sport's play into sequences of turns to see how the turns at cheering orient to the turns at play. The analysis shows that Student Sections orient to a range of factors and interaction resources within the game and within the Section itself. This is done in order to collaborate on the performance of shared turns as a whole and to achieve proper meaning with those turns by managing their placement within the sequence of the game being watched. For the realm of interaction research this study hopes to expand the view of what can constitute a social actor beyond individuals. To this end a new form of social actor is proposed where individuals may mutually coordinate to not just talk amongst themselves but talk as one shared self, engaging as a recognizably unified actor in interactions with external actors. For sport itself a detailed understanding of cheering as a process of interaction offers a radically different approach to understanding fan participation and involvement than current studies focused on unilateral psychological factors like excitement and attachment. With new tools to investigate larger-scale interactions via EM/CA and a better understanding of the vital role interaction plays in cheering it is hoped that this research will promote greater investigation of sport as a research topic in interaction and greater use of interaction research in the management of sport.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It is a Saturday night. The Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech) is hosting the University of Miami in a game of American Football. There are five seconds left in the game. Virginia Tech is leading, Miami has the ball and one chance left to score and win. Miami uses a “timeout” to stop the game and allow the players to go the side of the field and talk over strategy with their coaches. Moments later, the stadium speakers blare the opening notes of “Enter Sandman” by the heavy metal rock band Metallica. It’s the unofficial “fight song” of Virginia Tech, as it is the song that introduces the home team for their entrance into the stadium before games. A roar fills the stadium, as the 66,233 people inside start yelling. The students and marching band jump and down in time with the music, some older fans stay seated, but smile and wave their hands in the air as others jump around them.



One of the commentators describes Miami’s difficulty in finding open (unguarded) players to give the ball to, and the other commentator, a former college football player himself, pipes in:

“Let me tell you what has become open. This *crowd*. That makes the task of [Miami Coach] and [Star Player] that much more difficult. You lose a little bit of your composure and your focus and understanding....”



The Virginia Tech players walk back out onto the field and turn to the stands; waving their arms up into the air, encouraging the crowd to make even more noise.



After the second commentator’s analysis the first commentator picks up the thread, chuckling as he talks: “*Look* at this. This is just *spectacular*. These

people are *losing* their *minds*.” The camera cuts to a young child gamely hopping along with the rest of the leaping, shouting mass as the commentator finishes: “this is *beautiful*.”



The Joy of Cheering

There is a beauty to what is happening here. Cheering like this comes with a pageantry and revelry that other large-scale crowd efforts - like a swarm of commuters piling into an early morning subway train - may not. Other than the general idea of sports being fun entertainment for its fans, an explanation I hold for the fun in these sorts of situations comes from sociologist Erving Goffman. Goffman (1981) suggests that make-believe is not the abandonment of reality, but the production of a self-contained one. Make-believe scenarios hold an agreed-upon reality within their play which is made and upheld by the players. This is in comparison to the on-going “real” reality/realities laid across everyday life. We may see make-believe as an escape from reality, but Goffman suggests that what defines make-believe is that it is escapable. The participants in make-believe can drop it at any time, without major repercussions. The characters left behind and the tasks left undone hold no need for accountability, and simply disappear as the fantasy dissipates.

When it comes to contests like sports, Goffman presents them as a mere step away from make-believe. Essentially that they are make-believe made more robust by some formal elements and expectations.

“the whole affair depends upon the contestants' acting as if the score outcome itself is what drives them. The players, then, must convincingly act as though something were at stake beyond the entertainment of those who are watching them. League rankings, personal performance records, and prize money all help to stabilize these nonperformance features, pointing to something that is significant in its own right which could not be resolved without actually playing the match through” (Goffman, 1981: 125).

These formal trappings tend to attract the attention as “the point” when it comes to sporting contests. The addition of the consequences of victory, loss, titles, league promotions, and demotions “make things interesting,” as a gambler might say; and indeed, betting on the outcome is another way in which the make-believe is bolstered by formal features.

Personally, I return back to that core of make-believe and its fragility and constraint as a point unto itself. That beauty and joy shared by the Virginia Tech fans jumping and yelling to celebrate a song playing, the fact that the song connects them, and that they are all excited about this upcoming 5 seconds of play. 5 seconds of play that may *ruin* them if Miami manages to score. For this moment though, this minute of Miami's timeout, they are going to play. They are going to take the space and resources available to them, make something wonderful, and enjoy it while it lasts.

The YouTube video that I took these images and quotes from is one of many on the site of this specific television broadcast. In their titles and descriptions they make special mention of the crowd's cheering. The particular clip used is titled “Virginia Tech / Miami 2011 Last Play with Sandman” and includes in the description: “It's a Blacksburg [home of the Virginia Tech campus] thing. Turn it up!” (Riggo82, 2011). Another is “Fans in Lane Stadium Go Crazy to Enter Sandman - End of Game Miami vs. Virginia Tech” with the simple description of “Beat this!” (zard1214, 2011). These and other clips of crowd behaviors celebrate those behaviors, and

suggest a joy in reliving the act of cheering for a sporting event as much as the event itself. Part of what makes the fleeting nature of these moments of cheering so precious is that while they can be rewatched, they cannot be re-lived. As Goffman says of a card game: “The materials in the realm of card play are not mock-ups of life but events in their own right...The player cannot say, ‘I enjoyed that hand so much that I'm going to come back tomorrow night and play it again’” (1981: 136).

The crowd's chase then is for moments like this instance at Virginia Tech, and it begs a question of control in the occurrence. Why not just play “Enter Sandman” next week and have everyone “lose their minds” again? Like Goffman's card player, we do not get to just order up experiences that came from a particular cascade of interdependent events, some controlled and some uncontrolled. Especially not in a contest where some of those events rely on the choices and actions of opponents who are pursuing their own positive experience. They are trying to have the lead be theirs with 5 seconds left, for them to be on the cusp of victory instead, and so a re-do of the game could just as easily end in misery and heartbreak. An experience like this for those involved then takes on the air of a gift rather than a happenstance. The unpredictable machinery of sport jostled the possibilities and produced an outcome in their favor. While the team's victory comes from domination of their opponent, victory for the sports fan is their receipt of an experience.

Or at least the receipt of a chance for an experience presents the possibility for victory. In this Virginia Tech instance it is not the lead with 5 seconds left nor the momentary safety of the timeout that creates this exciting reaction and moment. It is not even the playing of “Enter Sandman.” It is the Virginia Tech crowd's skill at recognizing those factors and capitalizing on them that creates that moment of atmosphere. *That* is the great interest of cheering. It is a combination of vigilant skill in finding opportunities for moments, and collaborative skill in maximizing those opportunities. With the reward being these blips of wonder to be enjoyed together before having to return to reality.

The Question of Cheering

There are many potential questions to be studied out of a situation like this. The simplest would be the core matter of sports and sports fandom: what happens after the timeout? Did Miami manage to score in those final five seconds? For the realm of sport psychology, the second commentator's analysis raises a vital question: *does* the crowd noise and heightened atmosphere actually hinder Miami's play in those final seconds? From a historical perspective we have the history of collegiate sports in general, college football in general, college football in the American south, college football at Virginia Tech, and all the institutional and cultural factors that may inspire such devotion from the faithful. Within that sociological consideration, what is the history of "Enter Sandman"'s connection to Virginia Tech, and why do the fans and team identify with it so closely?

A difficulty with examining cheering is that its scale tends to generate so many good questions. There are so many people, so much is happening, and most of what is happening is designed to be heightened and overwhelming. Looking upon the spectacle, it's understandable that one might respond with bemused chuckling like the commentator. There is comfort in declaring strangeness as craziness, announcing the minds of those involved are "lost," and standing back with amusement while waiting for it to return to "normal." Even if one decided to treat the scene as worthy of a closer look, the first question that may come to mind is "what?" or "why?" *What is* this thing that is happening? Such a question may take you through the historic aspects of a stadium/game as a social object (Bale, 1993; Ruddock et al., 2010) or the event's underlying meaning as a cultural text (Duncan, 1986). Even with an acceptance of what is happening, it's understandable to wonder *why would people do this?* That question would then take you into examinations of demographic trends and individual motivations for game attendance (Giulianotti, 2002; Lock et al., 2009; Fulconis & Paché, 2014) or the achievement of 'fan' or 'competitor' as a "valid occupational character" (Birrell & Turowetz, 1979: 223).

For me, the most curious question is *how*. How does this happen? How do 66,000 people - from tiny children, through undergraduates, to grinning grandmothers - make what passes for chaos together? Even more interesting, what if the chaos is actually quite predictable and orderly? This Virginia Tech example may come across as pandemonium, as the crowd “losing their minds,” but they remain mindful enough to re-orient their attention back to the game when Miami finishes their timeout and return to the field of play for the end of the game. There is no musical cue or announcement to guide the crowd in this reorientation, only their own ability to read and understand the game, read and understand each other, and use those understandings. This way they can collaborate on a spate of “madness” before bringing it to a neat and timely conclusion to transition back to focused support. So it would seem there is a civilized system to a crowd going wild, and an intricate logic to a crowd going crazy.

Even more interesting than the loose ordering of chaos is the precise ordering of orderliness. We have “the roar of the crowd” but that does not mean crowds are resigned to muddled dins of simple noise. While there is a certain primal joy in that performance, I am even more fascinated when crowds speak in complete sentences. This is especially true when hundreds of people speak to someone else:

Crowd:	Hey JOHN! How much <i>time</i> is left?
Arena Announcer:	ONE minute left to PLAY in the period. ONE minute.
Crowd:	Thaaaaank youuuuu.

When I say “cheering” then, I am not talking about the simple act of making noise. Noise is a very scattershot and loose description of what is actually being achieved in cheering. I would define cheering not by some specific structural form, but by a specific orientation of attention and performance. Cheering is interaction-based engagement with an event, especially where personal *involvement* in the event is not possible.

In this Virginia Tech example, the fans cannot call a timeout and stop the game or organize and implement a strategy for the upcoming play, so they are not directly involved in the contest. But they can orient to that game-stoppage space and engage with the opportunities it makes available, such as a collective freak-out to “Enter Sandman.” The key being that their performance is still linked to the structure of the game. When the timeout ends and there is an upcoming play to orient their attention back to, they re-orient their attention and engage in an appropriate performance for the new situation of “upcoming play.” That is the difference between cheering and making noise. They could have stayed in that joyful moment: kept yelling, kept jumping, kept orienting to one another. The game could have continued without them, but then they wouldn’t have been cheering. They would have just been making noise.

This work is designed to address the specific question of how the engagement of cheering is organized, displayed, and utilized. The goal being an understanding of sports fandom not as a question of personal identity, economic choices, or other wide social considerations, but as an embodied, in situ practice at games. Hopefully a better understanding of that practice will allow us to see how persons perform as fans, rather than merely investigating if/how they think of themselves as one.

1.1 Students of Cheering

My interest in the performances of sports fans comes from my own experience as a sports fan. In particular it was my experience as a “super fan.” Superfanning is not really an official term, nor one I will be returning to, but it was the term my older brother and his friends used for what they would do at their high school’s basketball games. They would dress up in the school colors, heckle the opposing team - even going so far as to bang pots and pans together to distract them - and generally make a scene. They became somewhat infamous for this outrageous performance, and so I was repeatedly asked if I was going to start doing the same. So, I began making

signs, dressing up, and going to loudly cheer on my friends at their basketball games. Though I did not have the courage to do anything as drastic as arrive with pots and pans to bang together.

I mention this part of my story because it is utterly vital that I stress the difference between superfanning and cheerleading. Cheerleading certainly sounds like it should be the primary consideration of someone investigating cheering, and once upon a time it may have been. It began much the same as superfanning, with students showing up to events with the intention of cheering and encouraging others to cheer. There is a historical tradition in American universities of taking large-scale student undertakings and incorporating them into the official university administration. Students challenging students at other schools to sporting contests eventually resulted in professional athletic departments funding and governing intercollegiate sport, student-run fraternity-based housing prompted the development of housing departments for university-controlled dormitories, and students leading cheering at sporting events became official, university sanctioned cheerleading teams. Today cheerleading teams wear official uniforms, gain special access to the playing area, and make official public appearances as university representatives.

Despite its historical beginnings, I consider cheerleading to be an inessential aspect of cheering as an undertaking. In modern times it has become its own pursuit, separate from cheering as engagement with a sporting event. Over time cheerleaders began to perform more elaborate stunts to rile up the crowd, and eventually cheerleading became its own competitive sport based around elaborate team routines featuring gymnastic tumbling, aerial acrobatics, and feats of collaborative strength where teams will anchor and lift one another to form towers and other structural arrangements. There are settings that do still feature cheerleaders doing some simplistic cheering and exhibiting portions of their competitive routines. They remain culturally iconic in sports like American Football and college basketball, but they are simply one of many possible features at a sporting event that cheering may orient to, rather than one relied upon. While some

data was looked at where cheerleaders played an organizational role, none of the data presented in this work features any cheerleaders or cheerleading. Though it does all feature cheering.

The actual inspiration for superfanning came from college “Student Sections.” These unofficial, informal groups of cheering students engage in loud and brash spectacles of interaction. They are dedicated to providing constant energy and support for their team, and disruption and antagonism for their opponents. Their engagement with events is so thorough and adept that they are often presented as a veritable extra-player: the “12th man” as Texas A&M University refers to their crowd. Student Sections have their equivalents in other sports and cultures - such as “supporters’ clubs” in European soccer and rugby - but as far as American sport they are the gold-standard for cheering engagement and complexity. For that reason they will be the central focus of this investigation into how cheering is performed.

Student Sections

Student Sections are, as the name implies, sections of a stadium or arena where the seats are reserved for current students of the school. Sometimes this is officially enforced, with some form of student identification required for entry, but it can also simply be the seats that students typically occupy. Much more important than the physical idea of a reserved student section is what Student Sections have come to mean as a collective performance of support and antagonism during collegiate sporting events. While Student Sections are often marked off or labeled with physical signage, both permanent and temporarily hung by the students themselves, the true borders of their existence are determined by participation in what they do.

Standing Out from the Crowd

Membership in a Student Section is not a one-time decision or a passive accomplishment. Rather, it is an ongoing accomplishment via participation in a central, collaborative act of cheering. When I say that the

Student Section says a phrase or does an action, it does not mean everyone within a physical border is saying or doing that thing. Instead, I mean that everyone who is saying or doing that thing is participating in the performance of the Student Section. While the name, origins, and some of the form and function of these groups relies on their occupying a shared space, it is their engagement with each other in service of a greater involvement (perceived or real) in their team's contest that provides the most vital and recognizable association between Student Section members.

This differentiation work goes beyond what would typically be recognized as cheering. In fact, an illustrative example can be found across a variety of Student Sections with their expression of devotion through time and energy. In terms of time, Student Sections show up exceptionally early. A better description might be that they arrive *performatively* early, as it is far more about expressing dedication than logistics.

Many students bound for the Student Section will arrive before the arena is even open, and wait outside. Then a production is made of the moment when the staff open the doors as students will hurriedly hand their tickets to the ticket-takers and then sprint to their seats. At University of New Hampshire ice hockey games the arena staff even play the finale of Rossini's *William Tell Overture*, Rimsky-Korsakov's *Flight of the Bumblebee*, or some other frenetic score as the students scramble to their seats. The hurry is for it's own sake, as there is nothing yet to be late for. It will be almost a half-hour before the teams emerge for their warm-ups, when they will be greeted by a near-empty arena with a near-full Student Section.



Early arrivals in the Student Section

The performance of earliness is taken to its extreme at schools like Duke University in Durham, North Carolina where undergraduate students line up days in advance for entry to major basketball contests, forming a semi-permanent campsite outside the arena. This earliness is why there is no significant difference between formally policed areas for students and informally traditional areas for students. The Student Section members' performance of earliness ensures they will arrive well before any other populations that might compete for the same seats.

Along with showing up early, many Student Sections also express devotion by standing for the duration of games: only sitting during intermissions when the teams leave the playing area and standing back up when the teams return.



Student Section Seated Before Game



Student Section Standing During Play

This simple physical act of standing is quickly overshadowed by frequent, elaborate, and frenzied instances of cheering, but shows a deep level of thought about the resources available to differentiate themselves and express devotion. Standing up may be simple, but they are the only ones who do it for the whole game. This means they consistently (and literally) stand out from the rest of the crowd. Even for the periods where they aren't cheering they remain visibly differentiated.

Independent Actors

There are plenty of other recognizably separate groups available for study within sporting events. Many of them engage in cheering, and some even engage in cheering with the Student Section. I will be discussing some of these in addition to Student Sections, particularly the "Pep Band" - a subset of brass, woodwinds, and percussion from a school's 100+ member marching band - who typically have their own reserved section near the Student Section and collaborate closely with them. The Student Section will be the primary consideration though, and other groups will be discussed as their actions relate to the Student Section. This is because there are a number of complications faced by formal university-controlled "spirit groups" like cheerleaders, bands, dance teams, and costumed mascots.

These official groups are tasked with performance responsibilities in such a way that the line between engagement and involvement becomes muddled. There are times when these official spirit groups are a part of the game production, which is the scheduled pageantry that surrounds a sporting event - the stage production for the stadium, as it were. As a result, there is a question of when they are a part of the proceedings and when they are reacting to the proceedings. I would contend then that the act of having been nominated for a role in the proceedings is the fundamental act that differentiates official spirit groups from the crowd. For the Student Section though, it is their self-determined engagement and involvement that makes them a recognizably separate character within the cast of a sporting event.

This autonomous, unofficial nature of the Student Section makes them especially interesting to focus on for two reasons. The first is procedural and comes from the fact that, as a group, Student Sections only exist at games. The lack of a formally managed membership means they do not have separate practice time like the official groups do. This means all the recognition of problems in their performance and negotiation of solutions to those problems happen in public, and are thus more likely to appear in data of games. This provides more opportunity for understanding the process of cheering by seeing its management and repair in more plain instances. The second aspect is that Student Sections are able to cheer in places and ways that official groups are barred from.

When it comes to “persons subject to the rules” (Redding, 2015: FR-94) of a sport, obviously the players, coaches, and officials come to mind. Also included are those official spirit groups I mentioned earlier. Their interactions are regulated in the rulebook to prevent interference with the contest. For example, in American football these groups “shall not create any noise that prohibits a team from hearing its signals” (Redding, 2015: FR-94) and in ice hockey “the band(s) shall not be allowed to play while the game is in progress” (Piotrowski, 2014: 54). So there are periods of play where the exciting, inspiring, and potentially opponent obstructing feature of stadium atmosphere cannot be provided via institution-controlled methods such as blaring sound systems or contracted/tasked employees. In these spaces there is an advantage to having a crowd willing and capable of voluntarily organizing and providing the necessary/desired atmosphere in the arena.

How much this *actually* affects either team’s performance is up for debate (Barsky & Schwartz, 1977; Neave & Wolfson, 2003; Sutter & Kocher, 2004; Pettersson-Lidbom & Priks, 2010; Anderson et al, 2012; Braga & Guillén, 2012; McEwan et al, 2012; Jones, 2013), and I would say there are too many factors that affect player performance in sport to make a blanket statement that actively engaged crowds have a significant effect on enough athletes, in enough situations, across enough instances of play to claim an objective effect. What definitely matters is the *idea* that cheering *might* affect

the outcome. This possibility is enough to influence behavior (Amiot et al, 2013; Havard, 2013; Osborne & Coombs, 2013; Fulconis & Paché, 2014), driving crowds to cheer louder in particularly vital moments, and even causing visiting teams to factor in which end of the stadium the Student Section is on when deciding which end of the stadium to defend. Looking at performance in terms of social activity rather than sporting success, these ideas of how fans engage with games, engage with each other, and achieve particular types of fandom are what matter.

The focus of this work is still to understand how cheering is organized and executed in general. In service of that goal I have gathered the majority of the data and done the majority of the analysis on the particularly active, particularly unfettered, and particularly available sports crowd phenomena of Student Sections. The next question comes in how to wrangle such a seemingly unruly bunch. This requires a way to focus on the how of cheering while also respecting its spectacle. Also without becoming overly enamored with the spectacle and chasing the “WHY?” of the motivation to stand all game or the “WHO?” of the person camping out in freezing weather for a basketball game.

I believe that the intertwined discipline of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EM/CA), with its focus on practices of interaction over individual motivations or personalities, provides the conceptual framework to address the Student Section’s self-creation through collaboration and performance. Just as importantly, the analytical approach of EM/CA can help highlight the order in the seeming chaos of cheering, as well as unpack the thoughtful skill in a form of interaction that is too often presented as mindless imitation or simply mindless nonsense.

1.2 Finding the Extraordinary in the Everyday

“The doors open. I walk in. THE QUESTION is asked.

‘Garfinkel, what IS Ethnomethodology?’ The elevator doors close. We're on our way to the ninth floor. I'm only able to say,

'Ethnomethodology is working out some very preposterous problems.' The elevator doors open." (Garfinkel, 2002: 91)

As a constitutive (Rawls, 2009a) investigation of where sense and meaning come from, it's understandable that Harold Garfinkel fretted over the idea of encapsulating his discipline of Ethnomethodology (EM) within an elevator ride. Eventually he did leave us with the central question to be asked, "how do we make what passes for 'reality' together?" (Rawls, 2011). While EM seeks to answer that question in general, Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson addressed the inquiry to conversation in particular. Although they would eventually expand the investigation to the more general 'talk-in-interaction' (Maynard & Clayman, 2003), the name Conversation Analysis (CA) stuck for the investigation of how a mutually understandable reality is constructed via the ordering of interpersonal interaction.

When CA is described, the ordering aspect tends to take center stage. This is the concept of turn-taking: that participants in interaction have a limited space for talk to take place, and so to have an orderly and understandable interaction they share that conversation space by participating in alternating exchanges of individual turns at talk (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks et al., 1974). The sequencing of these individual turns forms interdependent pairs of turns - adjacency pairs - where the first turn suggests an appropriate next turn by a next speaker, and the next speaker's next turn either affirms or redefines the meaning of the prior turn based on what it treats the prior turn to be (Schegloff, 2007a). So first pair parts (FPPs) like questions get second pair parts (SPPs) like answers, invitations get acceptances, accusations get defenses; or, alternatively, an FPP that seems like a question ("do you have any gum?") may be treated as a request by the SPP, and rather than giving an answer ("yes, I do") the second speaker may wordlessly reach into their pocket, retrieve a stick of gum, and hand it to the first speaker. These alternate possibilities each make sense, not because they present a common, sensible situation but because

sense is *literally* made within the exchange. The first pair part isn't anything definite to start, only the suggestion of possible meanings (question, request, etc), until the treatment of the second pair part reveals its meaning by treating it in accordance with one of the possible meanings:

"So each turn...can be inspected by co-participants to see what action(s) may be being done through it. And all *series* of turns can be inspected or tracked (by the parties and by us) to see what course(s) of action may be progressively enacted through them, what possible responses may be being made relevant, what outcomes are being pursued, what 'sequences' are being constructed or enacted or projected. That is, sequences of turns are not haphazard but have a shape or structure, and can be tracked for where they came from, what is being done through them, and where they might be going" (Schegloff, 2007a: 3).

Of course, interaction is rarely a neatly constrained series of isolated pairs of turns. Adjacency pairs are merely the base unit of interaction and may feature in much longer sequences of interdependent turns. The importance of these sequences is not just their structural bearing on conversation as an accumulation of turns, but the implications of their construction of meaning. Namely, that they and the meaning they contain are *co-constructed* by co-participants who each have a hand in the meaning produced. Garfinkel suggests that definitions of meaning should never be applied to situations where such a definition cannot otherwise be found (Coulter, 2009), and adjusted for CA's focus on interaction we could say to never apply a particular meaning to an interaction where it was not visibly produced by the participants. So CA's answer to Garfinkel's question - how do we make what passes for 'reality' together? - is that we build it from the ground up, turn-by-turn, out of meaningful sequences of interdependent turns (Heritage, 2001).

The Primordial Site of Sociality

CA did not choose talk-in-interaction simply as *an* activity to address EM's central question to. The focus comes from another social researcher, Erving Goffman, who proposed the idea of a set of expectations and obligations underlying and defining social interaction (Goffman, 1983; Heritage, 2001). With this "Interaction Order" (Goffman, 1983) determining who/what people are, what they are doing, and the social situations they are in, Goffman suggests that talk-in-interaction is no longer a component of social life but rather the base process from which all of society springs (Heritage, 2001). While CA turns to Garfinkel for where meaning and definition come from, Goffman's primary placement of interaction in social life became the reasoning for CA's focus on interaction rather than society/reality in general:

"[Talk-in-interaction] is the fundamental resource through which the business of all societies is managed, their cultures are transmitted, the identities of their participants are affirmed, and their social structures are reproduced. In almost every imaginable particular, our ability to grasp the nature of the social world and to participate in it is dependent on our capacities, skill and resourcefulness as social interactants" (Heritage, 2001: 47).

That serves as a justification for why interaction deserves a discipline built around it specifically, but it also highlights the reality that so much of our everyday lives is a production. That we do not walk through a solid, reliable social reality; or, rather, that we do, but not as a result of any work by reality. We live in a reliable reality that manages to make sense in the face of tremendous change and variability because of the skills and effort of the co-participants working to construct it with us, and our skills and effort to construct it with them.

Even with an acceptance of the primacy of interaction in the production of social life there is still a possibility of missing the inherent validity that EM/CA considers interactions to have. That is, when Schegloff describes interaction as the “primordial site of sociality” (Schegloff, 1992: 1296 cited in Heritage, 2001) it’s possible to still think of society and its “important” features as the noteworthy creatures crawling out of the otherwise unremarkable ooze of interaction. It is important to remember that turn-taking is not a possible avenue for meaning to emerge through, or even *the* avenue that meaning emerges through. Instead, turn-taking is the machinery that makes meaning (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks et al., 1974) not a vessel to carry it outward from some other source. Thus, interaction can never be empty of meaning because the very accomplishment of interaction produces some sort of meaning. A key for EM/CA researchers is to be vigilant to not mistake the unavoidable relentlessness of interaction’s production as meaning or order ever merely “happening.” Meaning never occurs “naturally” through talk, and order never simply “happens” in talk on account of repetition. Instead, both are actively constructed accomplishments by those participating in the interaction.

"Sacks was seeking to overcome the deeply entrenched tendency to view the details of interaction as random or disorderly, or to dismiss them as mere 'manners of speaking.' By means of the 'conversational machinery' rubric, Sacks encouraged his students to assume the opposite, that is, to treat every interactional event, no matter how seemingly small or trivial, as a potentially orderly phenomenon" (Maynard & Clayman. 2003: 187).

For my purposes, it was finally grasping this idea of the constant necessity to accomplish structure and meaning that was most important. When I started my undergraduate studies and began sitting in an actual Student Section with hundreds of competent participants - rather than a half-dozen “superfans” imitating obnoxious behavior - I spent my first season

in awe, desperately trying to learn enough to become capable of fully participating. After getting a basic introduction to EM/CA I began to find it funny how the ridiculous interactions of the Student Section sometimes seemed to ape the structure of “real” conversation. Eventually I came to understand the key implication that EM/CA researchers strive to get across: that there is no “real” conversation that takes effort, and “lesser” conversation that just “occurs.” Every scrap of interaction takes skill and effort, even my now-embarrassing superfanning was a genuine accomplishment.

Rather than seeing cheering as a frivolous thing with quirky moments of “genuine” structure, my mind instead began to boggle with the scope of what I was seeing done as a hobby at my university’s ice hockey games. If seemingly rote interactions like answering a phone (Schegloff, 1968), standing in line, or sitting in a waiting room (Schegloff, 2004) proved to be such complex accomplishments, then how much work went into our cheering that featured several hundred people? How much precise sequence organization and constant, widespread co-construction was involved in producing our “crazy” and “out of control” Student Section?

1.3 Opening Up Cheering

The goal of this study is not to investigate cheering as a phenomena that happens, but as a practice that can be done. Not a wildness of youth exhibited by Student Sections, not a passion of faith shown by supporters, not another indecipherable “black box” (Heritage, 2001) of social reality to be left as people “losing their minds.”

Even though the commentator who thought of the Virginia Tech crowd as crazy said it with a smile and remarked at its beauty, the most beautiful thing about cheering is participation. That those thousands and thousands of strangers could do that beautiful thing *together*. They didn’t need someone to coach them, arrange them, or control them. They *knew how*.

As someone who has been a part of Student Sections I can say that *knowing how* is much the same as the skilled but indescribable knowledge of how to exist socially that everyday actors possess. Just as EM/CA unpacked everyday processes like conversation, discovering how we order the interpersonal interactions that make up our social lives and worlds, so too do I want to open cheering. Though cheering may not seem as “mundane” as mundane interaction tends to be thought of, that does not mean it requires skills that are beyond what any competent actor possesses.

This study of cheering is based around how the everyday skills of interaction - orderliness in turn-taking, recognition of relevant points for response, and projection of start-points for turns - are applied to sporting events, and some unique work that is achieved using them. What this work will do then is take familiar structures of turn-taking and discuss how they are used to accomplish an orderly cohesion in expression and response rather than an orderly exchange of expressions and responses.

This will not be a detailed exploration of the intricacies of the talk being produced for the sake of the talk itself. Recurring topics, interpersonal relationships, uses of gesture, and the doing of a social identity - including the doing of affiliation and support - only matter for this study in how they help the cheering become and remain organized. Currently the question is how do large groups of people *speak* as one during cheering and the general turn and sequence-forms that they can produce. Having that established will eventually enable more detailed investigation of what they *say*.

A result of that broader, base focus is that this study relies extensively on early work in EM/CA by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson. I did not want this to turn into a study of a particular feature of interaction within cheering and treat cheering as a funny place to find something that conversationalists do. I wanted to give cheering its chance to be orderly and co-produced like conversation had, without conversation looming over it as more than a model for investigating interaction. As Sacks said, “whatever humans can do can be examined to discover some way they do it.’ and that ‘whenever one

happens to attack the phenomenon one is going to find detailed order” (Jefferson, 1985: 25). Cheering will not be investigated here as a roundabout way of studying conversation, nor will cheering be steadfastly presented as totally alien to conversation. Instead, cheering is being investigated as something that humans can do in order to uncover how they do it.

As for the humans doing the cheering, this is not an in-depth study of their fandom, emotion, or social identity. They are considered as users of the structures being investigated, as the do-ers of cheering, and as exemplars of what can be achieved by social actors with the resources provided by sporting events. What they use those structures for (outside of collaboration and the production of more structures), what they do via their cheering, and how they become a certain “themselves” via cheering will be discussed in relation to considerations for anyone participating in cheering. Their particular courses of action are used for the instruction they may provide on how any course of action in cheering may be undertaken.

Again, the goal of all this is to enable greater participation to those who want to join in. It will be shown at various points that cheering can be used for many things, but it can only be accomplished via mass inclusion and collaboration. The participants observed for this study open up their performance for others to undertake, they help along other potential participants, and they train their own replacements to carry the doing of their Student Section forward. It is in that spirit of inclusion that my discussion and analysis will now be presented. Cheering is not just about telling a team that “you can do this.” It is a summons among the participants to collaborate. A message to each other that they can perform their role and participate in the proceedings. That *we can do this*. This study aims to reveal that *you can do this*. *Anyone can do this*.

Chapter 2: The Basis for Investigating Interaction

When we discuss capability it is important to define what type of capability we are discussing. This goes beyond simply choosing a particular capability. For instance, I could choose walking as my area of study: how does walking work? How do people walk? What are the limitations for a person walking? I cannot make any thoughtful process on any of those questions until I answer a second, all-encompassing question: do I mean walking as a physical act or a social act? By asking how walking “works” I am asking how it is performed within a reality, and the relevant governing factors are going to depend on the reality being investigated.

This is the question of physical reality or social reality that separates scientific inquiry into “science” and “social science.” I find this common terminology frustrating, so I will be clarifying slightly by referring to studies of physical reality as physical science. That should keep the distinction more plain, but it does not solve my frustration. That comes from the muddling of “science” as the term is crowded under like some awning of validity, protecting the huddled disciplines from being washed away in a torrent of dismissal.

2.1 A Plurality of Reality

One of my favorite defining quotes about science is from astrophysicist Neil deGrasse Tyson who said, “the good thing about science is that it's true whether or not you believe in it” (The Colbert Report, 2014). This became his common refrain when confronted with religious faith-based challenges to scientific research, particularly from new challengers like “Creation Science” which is an attempt to investigate physical reality without contradicting a literal interpretation of *The Bible*. Both approaches present competing claims on how existence works, but Tyson is pointing out that

physical reality predates humanity by billions of years, out-stretches us by immeasurable distances, and has never needed our permission for anything. Regardless of our opinion-of or engagement-with physical reality, its rules and structures will govern themselves.

A hard reading of this idea of science and reality would seem to immediately invalidate Harold Garfinkel's description of EM/CA's inquiry: "how do we make what passes for 'reality' together?" (Rawls, 2011). If reality manages itself and is ambivalent towards us then the simple answer to EM/CA's query would be, "we *don't* make 'reality' together, it is simply present around us." This is not the case though, there are aspects of reality that are produced by humanity (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Tar and gravel may be natural features, produced by natural processes, but the roads we combine them into are not. The lanes and traffic flow are not some instinctual migration pattern, they are design decisions arrived at by negotiation (Mars, 2016); the speed limit on the road is not a natural law, a physical limit like the speed of light, but a social convention (Coulter, 2009) that can be raised, lowered, instituted, eliminated, or ignored. As Garfinkel's question stresses, how do we make *what passes for 'reality'* together. It is a question regarding the human additions to the pre-existing physical reality we have been presented with, additions that have become suitably "real" to be treated as real when they occur, even if they are not similarly "real" to the ongoing reality Tyson is discussing.

Social science studies *social* reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). It deals with fleeting social situations rather than physical environments (Goffman, 1974), and fluctuating social identities (Goffman, 1959) rather than the genetic code or cellular composition of a human body. It is not a study of the universe's machinations, but our own. Thus, it does not pre-date us, out-stretch us, or operate in ambivalence towards us, and will continue to exist only so long as we keep producing it. This realm of activity requires a different investigative approach, because the hard determinism that Tyson and other physical scientists anchor themselves in is unavailable in social reality. While this would suggest an umbrella term of science for all

valid inquiries into reality, with the differing realities then split between the physical and the social, the trouble is that the distinction is rarely considered an equal partnership of valid approaches to different realities (Hayek, 1952).

F.A. Hayek (1952) argues there has been an over-encroachment of physical science into social science. In presenting the need for social science to embrace its own suitably designed methods, he points out the pendulum-like nature of the conflict as it was once science that had to fight for validity against more human-centric approaches:

“Although we live now in an atmosphere where the concepts and habits of thoughts of everyday life are to a high degree influenced by the ways of thinking of Science, we must not forget that the Sciences had in their beginning to fight their way in a world where most concepts had been formed from our relations to other men and in interpreting their actions. It is only natural that the momentum gained in that struggle should carry Science beyond the mark and create a situation where the danger is now the opposite one of the predominance of scientism impeding the progress of the understanding of society” (pg 17).

Science did not just win rule of its own suited realm though. It impressed others to the point of becoming a sort of accidental emperor of all investigation.

"The term science came more and more to be confined to the physical and biological disciplines which at the same time began to claim for themselves a special rigorousness and certainty which distinguished them from all others...[other disciplines] became increasingly concerned to vindicate their equal status by showing that their methods were the same as those of their brilliantly successful sisters rather than by

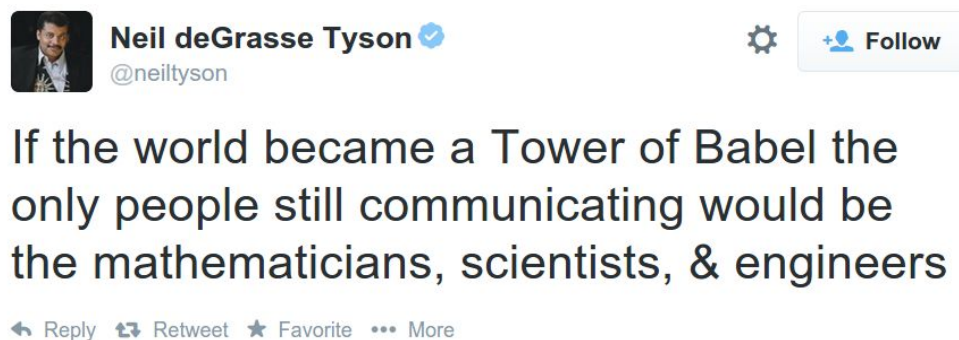
adapting their methods more and more to their own particular problems” (Hayek, 1952: 13-14).

Hayek’s explanation suggests that the issue is not with physical science’s victory in its right to study its topic, but that the victory resulted unnecessarily in a loss for social science. Rather than two perfectly apt approaches matched to two equally real but separately produced realities, the result was this hierarchy of rigor and reliability with physical science at the top and holding greater claim to the general term of science. The unintended consequences include issues like siding with a prior-proven but now-mismatched methodology over the reality of the data, as Thomas Scheff (2011) says of behavioral research into attitude: “the most common reaction is to blame the subjects for the 'inconsistency' between their attitude and their behavior, instead of the invalidity of the measurement instruments. Yet the same studies, because of the prestige of science, continue.” (pg 264). Probably the widest effect in social science is, what Rawls (2009a) refers to as, “the current almost mystical belief that numbers are more scientific than words” (pg 503).

I wish there were a clearer blanket term to put my work under, as every time I write “science” I feel its gravitational pull towards tools and expectations that are irrelevant for what I am trying to accomplish. I think to a pair of studies (Neda et al., 2000; Farkas & Vicsec, 2003) that investigate crowd behavior based on the physics of fluid dynamics - viewing the crowd as a viscous mass reacting to stimulation - and am bewildered how alien human interaction seems when held to hard determinism. Yet to break from science entirely would also muddle understanding, as it would undersell the rigor and legitimate grounding that EM/CA holds with its systematic focus on the sequential nature of interaction (Arminen, 2008). The only option left then is to take a moment to fight for EM/CA’s rightful home on the methodological map, and explain why the topic of this study is not in physical science’s domain nor even in the science-occupied lands of traditional sociology.

Sharing a Basis

An example of a border-violation between physical and social science can be found in a second quote from Neil deGrasse Tyson. Together the two quotes serve as a modern microcosm of Hayek's (1952) argument about science's original fight for validity. While the previous quote - *science is true whether or not you believe in it* - reiterates the scientific advantage over the belief-driven investigations it overtook, the second advocates for the *general* superiority of science's tools. This general supposition of superiority being what Hayek blamed for the over-adoption of scientific methods. In particular Tyson is praising the "universal language" of mathematics as a means for interaction:



He cites the biblical story of the Tower of Babel, where humanity was punished by God for their ambition by having their single language jumbled into many, preventing humans from collaborating any further on the titular tower. Tyson suggests that those fluent in mathematics - mathematicians, scientists, and engineers - could continue communicating, as their shared language of math is safely stored in the fabric of reality. That, unlike human language, math is governed by the inflexible laws of the universe. Just as gravity held us on the ground and managed celestial motion billions of years before Isaac Newton "discovered" it, so too is communication supposedly all around us, just waiting for humans to wise up and find it. Tyson and his peers will still be able to access this indestructible force of communication using the

indestructible universal feature of math. Meanwhile, others who merely talk with words will lose their comparatively-flimsy avenue to interaction.

Let's say something has just caused a Tower of Babel effect and all shared language has been taken from us. A mathematician looks toward an engineer and endeavors to strike up a conversation. They walk over, face the engineer, wave to gather their attention, and the engineer turns to face them, and returns their gaze and attention. All of this is necessary work for interaction (Kendon, 1990; Stivers & Sidnell, 2005; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007), and none requires knowledge of now-absent language, nor is informed by a grounding in mathematics. So in the Tower of Babel situation it presents two possibilities. The first is that the social process of attention escaped deletion, remains available to all competent users, and everyone can still communicate a mutual recognition and orientation - "I see you" and "I see you too.". The second possibility is that *all* our human social accomplishments are erased, attention no longer exists, we cannot "see" as a group activity, and thus communication - including via mathematics - no longer exists because its habitat of mutual orientation has been eliminated.

The misguided expectation expressed by Tyson - that he studies the universe, the universe contains everything, and thus whatever he needs he should be able to find in his study of the universe - is not just a cautionary tale for physical scientists. Social scientists needs to also be careful about overestimating what humans can provide for ourselves. An example would be Sanders (2005) discussion of a conversation between a mother and child during feeding time where the child's talk could be interpreted as rather complex, and in fact rather *too* complex for what cognitive science suggests a child that young is capable of. A simpler interpretation was also available, but Sanders points out the irresponsible temptation for a social scientist to choose the more complex, apparently visible, but dubiously-possible option because we tend not to have to deal with intricacies of physical possibility. This is just as Tyson and other mathematicians do not typically have to consider the intricacies of interaction, and thus we get "the universal language" of mathematics that still relies on the local accomplishment of

interaction (Coulter, 2009). Sanders (2005) recognizes this second issue, pointing out that, “the relationship between studies of discourse and of cognition runs in the other direction too. It is just as possible for our observations about what people do with words (and other modes of expression) to provide a check and corrective on what studies of cognition deem is possible” (pg 62).

In the interest of circling-back to that good and respectful relationship between the sciences, I present a portion of an interview with Mathematics Professor Edward Frenkel. Frenkel was asked about an idea very much related to this interrelation between physical and social science: the idea that if the universe is built on mathematical properties then shouldn't something like a person be perfectly expressible through math. Much like Tyson's quote about science separated belief from proof in physical reality, Frenkel addresses the separation of the cosmic feature of mathematics from the interpersonal process of *doing* math:

Edward Frenkel: There's no basis in reality, no pun intended, in saying that a vector is the same as a pair of numbers. It's not. A pair of numbers is obtained when we apply a certain algorithm to it. Which involves many choices. It involves the choice of coordinate system for one thing. So it involves my free will then.

Brady: Professor, is it not true though that if I gave you that pair of numbers, and told you the basis, you could make a perfect reproduction of that vector?

EF: That is correct. If you chose the basis and gave me a pair of numbers I would reconstruct the vector.

B: So why is it not true then that if we agreed on a basis, and we agreed on all the coordinates and vectors and all the things that

makes up the recipe of you. I couldn't make a perfect reproduction of you?

EF: (laughs) Well let's not, let's backtrack. Not so fast Brady. Let's first talk about the basis. If we agree on the basis, yes, but you see we have to create this basis ourselves. It takes two of us to do that. It's a process that we have to engage in. Because also it's important, not just we create it, but you and I speak about the same thing. So you and I have to both look at this sheet of paper and have to draw those lines...if you were to try to say that we are reconstructing that from the numbers, but what it is predicated on is that basis that you and I are creating. And that's the same kind of process which then needs to be, you know, included in this picture. And that process then is not uniquely represented by numbers." (Numberphile2, 2015: 2:18-4:30)

What Frenkel is recognizing, which Tyson did not, is that we orient to one another (Kendon, 1990; Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Stivers & Sidnell, 2005; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007; Mondada, 2007), understand one another (Heritage, 2001; Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Rawls, 2011), and *then* do math together. As he points out, there is a primary need for a shared understanding of what is being undertaken: what type of math will be done, what that work is meant to work out, what form (graph, numbers, diagram, etc.) it will be presented in, and even where it will be done (computer screen, whiteboard, sheet of paper, etc.). Each of these are choices that must be hashed out, and choice - free will, as he puts it - is an incompatible concept with the hard determinism of physical reality. None of this set-up can be "uniquely represented by numbers," therefore the social process of doing math is not entirely about numbers.

This goes beyond Wittgenstein's philosophical argument for the fundamental separation between the measurement and the measured, and the false appearance of empiricism if we forget that measures are inventions

(Grieffenhagen & Sharrock, 2009). It gets into the very process of ordering the world into an intelligible form. For instance, Super Bowl IV was played on January 11, 1970 between the Kansas City Chiefs and the Minnesota Vikings in front of 80,562 people. That sentence makes sense because we understand the systems of Roman numerals (and the cultural convention of numbering events with them), Arabic numerals, months, days, years, their meaning in the Gregorian calendar, and the various symbols and orderly conventions of the English language. All that information is needed to understand that the V in Vikings and the V in IV refer to wholly different things; that IV, 11, 1970, and 80,562 all refer to numbers (Coulter, 2009); and that 11, 1970 and 80,562 refer to different types of incompatible numbers. Meaning that subtracting the year 1970 from the attendance 80,562 would not reveal anything of logical sense. Not to mention the order the reader is meant to follow (left to right) and where it begins (the far-left "F") and ends (the "."). That's a sentence rather than a mathematical expression or equation, but functional requirements are the same. $21 + 39 = 60$ requires you know which are the numbers and which are the operators, what an = means, and that even though both sides of a "=" are equal there's still an order of left to right because $06 = 93 + 12$ is incorrect.

This is not unique to math. Maynard and Clayman (1991) discuss two studies of interaction that deal with scientific discovery. Garfinkel et al. (1981) investigated a tape recording of a team of astronomers discovering a pulsar, and noted how the objective factors - the instrument readings of a strange *something* - only came to make sense through "organized courses of inquiry...the pulsar's availability to competent astronomical observation, its objectivity and public verifiability - rested upon an array of situated natural language and bodily practices" (Maynard & Clayman, 1991: 410). Similarly, studies of biologists (Lynch, 1982; 1985; 1988) have looked at the choosing and evaluation of data, which is accomplished through "shop work and shop talk that accomplish specific tasks" (Maynard & Clayman, 1991: 410).

Frenkel's recognition that a central understanding, a basis, is required is one of the fundamental concepts of EM/CA. Especially that, "it takes two

of us to do that.” He is not even remaining in the physical science-tethered world of something like cognitive psychology and focusing on individual perception. Instead he recognizes that a whole layer of reality exists separate from the forces and factors that govern the universe:

“Well look, I’m a mathematician, so on the one hand I would like to say *yes, you know, glory to mathematics! Power to mathematics! Everything is mathematics!* Right? I could say that. And that would make me feel so good about myself. Right? Because then I become your guru, because you have to come to me, and, you know, to solve life’s problems. But I know better than that.” (Numberphile2, 2015: 4:55-5:20)

He is recognizing and vouching for the fact that despite the ubiquity of mathematics in physical reality - which is, itself, technically ubiquitous - humans do not experience reality through mathematics, and the process by which we do experience our reality is outside of mathematics.

In Social Science it is equally important to “know better.” It is important to recognize that the inability of the machinations of physical reality to explain the processes of social reality does not make social scientists the gurus either. Just as the experiencing of physical reality relies on social interaction and collaborative sense-making, so too does the performance of social reality rely on the space, features, and the one-way sequential progression (time) of physical reality. As Erving Goffman points out in a discussion of make-believe: “A cup can be filled from any realm, but the handle belongs to the realm that qualifies as reality” (1974: 249).

Finding Meaning

Taking up Tyson’s quote about science again, *science is true whether or not we believe in it*. Another way to put that would be that science deals with a realm of universal truths locked away in an eternal system of rigid outcomes. The natural world is not arrived at via negotiation, instead a regimented system of natural laws pre-determine the interactions of matter

and energy. The idealized vision of science follows a belief that, due to the deterministic factors being described, when a researcher follows the true and proper steps the true and proper result will be inevitably arrived at. This in turn determines what "right" and "correct" and "proper" are, as other researchers can replicate the path and affirm that it does lead to that same destination. Scientific truth then is a location within the machinery of the universe, where a scientist will always arrive if the cogs are arranged correctly, and the work of physical science is to map the components of the machinery.

Again, this is the idealized account of science as a discipline. As Lynch (1993) points out, the people participating in the doing of science negotiate what acceptably right, correct, and proper methods and descriptions are. Though the social process of doing science - as with the doing of math - may separate the discipline from the objective reality that it aims to describe, it has at least shown that a rigid physical reality exists as available for adequate description, if adequate description can/could be achieved.

The endlessly reliable machinery of the physical world cannot be similarly counted on in the social world. Hard determinism relies on the absence of choice, but social reality is formed out of the choices of its participating actors. When proper laboratory conditions for a chemical reaction are considered, there is no attention paid to making sure the chemicals *feel* like cooperating. Natural laws must be obeyed: the speed of light *cannot* be exceeded, an action *must* have an equal and opposite reaction, etc.. In social reality though, speed limits *can* be exceeded, crime will not always bring punishment, and violence will not always force revenge. Rather than the hard determinism that science relies on, social reality is non-deterministic (Coulter, 2009). People need not follow the laws of society, and so we cannot rely on laws of society to provide us intrinsic meaning as universal truths of behavior, the way the laws of nature can tell us exactly why physical reality is how it is and could be no other way.

The reason I bring up science's reliance on universal meaning, which is found externally and exists eternally, is to contrast science to social science one last time before contrasting social science with itself. For although the eternal and universal nature of scientific meaning definitively separates it from relevant investigations of social reality, the question of the determinate role of pre-established meaning separates social science - particularly sociology - from itself (Rawls, 2009a).

The traditional approach in sociology replaces the immutable laws of the universe with shifting, human manufactured norms. These are expectations for behavior that come to define and differentiate groups and cultures:

"Individuals can be described in terms of their orientations and dispositions, just as groups or entire societies can be described in terms of the prevailing social values and norms" (Blau, 1960: 178).

As well as defining the society, they also constrain the behavior of those within it (Heritage, 1984; Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Watson, 2009):

"people conform to prevailing norms partly because they would feel guilty if they did not and partly because they gain social approval and avoid disapproval by doing so" (Blau, 1960: 180).

The idea of norms solves the most immediate difference between the realities. Rather than an external control beyond humanity, there is now a controlling factor produced and enforced by humanity. Norms can also change over time, and different norms can be held by different groups. So the changes within and varieties of social reality are still governed by the same forces, but social forces are regional and emergent rather than universal and eternal.

The advantage of appointing an external force of control over social matters is that a sociological investigation can so clearly resemble scientific inquiry of physical reality. Like physical reality, social reality's meanings are

now also to be found in a ubiquitous morass, constantly around us but as untouchable and authorless as the machinations of the universe. Rawls (2012) cites an early 20th century debate within sociology which eventually determined that:

“the progress of science depended on a unity of general theory and method... they elevated abstract theory over detail and erected ‘generalizability’ as the standard by which to measure the relevance of detail...The scientific value of field observations and other qualitative field methods was undermined. As a consequence, studies that focus on details and constitutive practices came to be considered less important and ‘subjective.’ Today, even the so-called ‘case study method’ focuses primarily on what is common across cases, rather than on what is essential to particular cases. Abstract theory and generalization retain pride of place” (Rawls, 2012: 490)

With this abstraction and turning away from detail, societies and cultures become akin to temporary universes being stared up at. The research goal of the sociologist now able to align with that expected of a scientist: determining what encompassing rules and laws govern the universe/society/culture and shape the interactions of its matter/energy/inhabitants. The difference being that the sociologist’s realms are fleeting, so as Rawls mentions the goal becomes what is common across cases. These common threads may then be elevated to greater generalizability, gain greater permanence, and with it achieve some nature closer to scientific truth.

Along with the comparably momentary lifespans of social rules and laws, traditional sociology’s emulation of investigations of physical reality also loses the structural comfort of hard determinism. While an individual actor has a dubious amount of influence on a social norm, they at least have a say in whether to act in accordance with it or defy it (Rawls, 2012). This choice leaves norms more like cautionary forks in the road that try to orient

social actors toward a preferred course of action, rather than the impassable blockades of natural laws that bind the universe together and force its specific outcomes. A society is thus portrayed as holding together so long as enough of its members occupy the same social reality by acting in accordance with the same set of norms that defines it (Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Rawls, 2012) This “normative determinism” (Blake & Davis, 1968) may not be as reliable as hard determinism, but it at least provides a structural equivalent to natural laws as the force that holds social reality together.

A key proponent of traditional sociology’s norm-based model was Talcott Parsons, though he called himself a “cultural determinist” (1977) rather than a normative determinist. Parsons hoped to gain a measure of the solid footing and central agreement enjoyed by researchers in the physical sciences (Parsons, 1938), so he would put forth a concept of social structure that relies on interactors being enveloped in a dependable super-structure, with static features to draw upon - much like physical science can with the universe:

“For Parsons, every ordered communication between actors depends on a logically consistent use of symbols; this in turn seems to be possible only so long as the actors can refer to a commonly shared system of rules...as this common culture is in turn an inevitable precondition of any successful mutual adaptation of action orientations, social integration will result if and only if the necessary preconditions are realized” (Schmid, 1992: 99).

This concept of structure based on mutual access to collective external meaning represented what sociologist and philosopher Émile Durkheim considered “traditional society” (Rawls, 2011, 2012). Durkheim pointed out that society was undergoing a change to a modern society which featured increased division of labor and social diversity, and that the traditional view of normative determinism could not account for modern society’s perseverance (Schmid, 1992; Garfinkel, 2002; Rawls, 2012). That is, social

actors were now living more varied lives, with access to more specific and differentiated aspects of a culture, and in some cases access to conflicting or incompatible aspects of that culture (Schmid, 1992). Yet, these actors were still capable of interaction together. Society was becoming so diverse and complex that it was necessary for individuals to work out mutual understandings on their own, rather than expecting a single enveloping set of meanings to serve all these varied actors, and facilitate/support their varied interactions (Schmid, 1992; Rawls, 2012).

The truly important distinction to come out of the transition from “traditional” to “modern” was the recognition of two types of social order: top-down ordering based on external norms, and bottom-up construction based on local, constitutive practices of interaction (Coulter, 2009; Grieffenhagen & Sharrock, 2009; Rawls, 2009a, 2009b; Watson, 2009; Rawls 2011, 2012). Rawls (2012) refers to the “modern” localized view as *constitutive sociology*: “a completely different kind of sociology emerges when one begins with the idea that constitutive practices are necessary for the coordination of activity on the basis of mutually intelligible objects, meanings and subjects - in place of the more conventional aggregate, or summary rule, view of social orders” (365).

Constitutive Sociology

There are more thinkers whose ideas contributed to the development of constitutive sociology (Rawls, 2011) but Durkheim is the one most directly referenced by Harold Garfinkel (1996, 2002) in his explanations of his own contribution to the study of constitutive practices: Ethnomethodology (EM). He even goes so far as to say that Durkheim is often misread, and EM is meant as a proper interpretation of his ideas (Pollner, 2012). He speaks of Durkheim’s aphorism, that “the objective reality of social facts is sociology’s fundamental principle,” and explains that:

"ethnomethodology took this to mean the objective reality of social facts, in that and just how [it is] every society's locally,

endogenously produced, naturally organized, naturally accountable, ongoing, practical achievement, being everywhere, always, only, exactly and entirely members' work, with no time out, and with no possibility of evasion, hiding out, passing, postponement, or buyouts, is thereby sociology's fundamental phenomenon." (Garfinkel, 1996: 11)

Like Durkheim, Garfinkel presents social reality not as an ongoing mutual container where denizens are roped into cohesion with normative expectations, but as a local achievement by the participants. As Arminen (2008) puts it, "Garfinkel doomed the determinism of social sciences that neglected common sense and portrayed human beings as judgmental dopes with no semblance of (moral) choice" (pg 169). What Garfinkel stresses in that production of localized meaning is its relentlessness. He does not consider localized meaning a method for overcoming confusion - some loss of sense caused by a lack of access to shared cultural norms in the transition from traditional to modern society - instead Garfinkel considers the local setting as the very place sense itself originates from (Goffman, 1974; Heritage, 1984; Maynard & Clayman, 1991; Garfinkel, 1996; Garfinkel, 2002; Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Rawls, 2009b; Watson, 2009; Rawls, 2011).

The first, traditional interpretation presents sense-making as a process that *may* need to be called upon in the bewildering absence of normatively guided meaning. This is the suggestion of Parsons (1953) that access to the same predefined symbols was a prerequisite for smooth, reliable interactions (Schmid, 1992). Garfinkel's interpretation presents sense-making as the fundamental basis for any interaction (Garfinkel, 1996), both smooth and rocky. Hence the relentlessness that he is describing: that there are no ways to participate socially and yet evade, hide from, pass on, or postpone the effort of achieving mutual intelligibility. That sense must be built rather than followed, recognized, or incorporated from elsewhere, and must be built every time in every place (Pollner, 1991). This is the case no

matter how seemingly rote or mundane the interaction may appear on account of practiced participant competence.

The fact that traditional sociology, which purports to be the study of social reality, would center on aggregate, disembodied, “summary” (Coulter, 2009; Griefenhagen & Sharrock, 2009; Rawls, 2009a, 2012) meanings rather than this primary, inescapable, constitutive practice that produced them frustrated Garfinkel and other constitutive sociologists:

"understanding that meaning is a constitutive social process (that meanings are made as we interact and can change with each next move) and then not formulating that process in a sufficiently social, reflexive, and constitutive way (relying on the static notion of social institutions, words, Speech Acts, or other units of meaning) has been a problem. It would be something like trying to understand the game of football by reading the rulebook, or examining a football, and never playing the game or even looking at the play." (Rawls, 2011: 402)

The most significant issue again goes back to agency. The framework of normative and deviant behavior suggests that the central freedom and involvement of the denizens of social reality is that they can meet or defy expectations. The question should immediately be asked: *whose expectations?* The traditional sociological model, with its pocket realms held together by external normative forces presents actors as subjects of social reality, “often presented as though they were pushed around like billiard balls by higher-order forces beyond their ken” (Watson, 1994: 174). That the actor’s only options are to meet or defy the will of some unseen, unencounterable, nebulous authority. An authority presumably made up of human persons, but whose disembodied form is decidedly impersonal and inhuman.

Constitutive Sociology looks to attribute that authority for defining meaning and is more concerned about the activity of defining the meaning than any resulting definitions themselves (Rawls, 2011). EM/CA attributes

this authority for meaning to the local actors themselves (Heritage, 2001) and points out that norms may be disembodied and external, but the only way they make an appearance in the local space of an interaction is if a participant in that local interaction introduces it via their embodied performance (Heritage, 1984; Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Arminen, 2008). So meaning does not “seep” from a culture into the interactions steeped in it. If anything, it seeps out, or at least common meanings accumulate as a byproduct of interaction; a social steam/smoke that comes to hover above the relentlessly running sensemaking machinery within interaction.

Despite his frustrations with the focus of the sociology of his time (Heritage, 1984), Garfinkel did not utterly dismiss traditional sociology or the effect that norms can have on behavior (Coulter, 2009). His discipline of Ethnomethodology was not a replacement or ‘answer’ to traditional sociology, but an addition to social science necessary to make its goal of understanding social reality more complete. A clear example of this non-competition comes from Garfinkel’s ceding of the science-ness that traditional sociology seemed to covet:

“Flatly, none of EM’s questions are concerned with who is ahead in a contest between rival claims to adequate science in the social sciences. Instead, and just as flatly, the two disciplines, [Formal Analysis] and EM, are both and simultaneously incommensurably different and unavoidably related” (Garfinkel, 1996: 9).

So here, finally, we reach the core of constitutive sociology, particularly of Ethnomethodology. These investigations come from a greater interest in social reality over physical reality, and a differing priority in the primary research consideration within social reality. It is not a replacement for understandings of physical reality or social norms, but is rather a complement to the studies of those areas - just as research into those areas is a compliment to Ethnomethodology and other areas of constitutive sociology.

2.2 The Advantages of a Constitutive Approach

In transitioning from the aggregate to the local, and attributing the production of sense and meaning to the local participants, what Garfinkel added to the study of social reality was a social structure built on mutual accountability (Heritage, 1984; Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Arminen, 2008). Rather than social actors being held to account for disembodied norms - “authority’s” expectations for their behavior, the “natural order” decided by some external “someone” - they were accountable to their co-participants, and their co-participants to them in return:

“Ethnomethodology may be understood as investigating how social phenomena, whatever their character, are achieved and 'accountable'-that is, in ways that are, for members of the setting, 'seeable' or 'verifiably' or 'reportable' or 'objective' in local environments of action” (Maynard & Clayman, 2003: 186)

This accountability is not so much in the sense of acting responsible or owning up to punishment, those come after what EM is discussing (Watson, 2009). EM’s accountability relates to a more fundamental morality of good faith and best effort:

“persons in talking are responsible for hearing the constitutive implications of what others are saying: of anticipating what a turn at talk projects as an expected next thing in a sequence. If a person makes a pre-request it *should* be heard as such. There is a moral obligation involved. Competent participants are expected to hear it that way. If you don't...It threatens the fragile worlds of interaction we build together and conveys information to others about lack of attention, lack of competence, lack of regard for the feelings of others, etc.” (Rawls, 2011: 405).

Garfinkel used the term **trust** (Watson, 2009) to describe this need for co-participants to share a best good-faith effort at understanding and being understood. Rather than Parson's view of shared culture causing cohesion, Garfinkel saw this mutual accountability of performance as the glue that held social life together (Arminen, 2008; Pollner, 2012):

“When the trust condition is not in place, participants experience bewilderment, confusion, frustration, or indignation, or they attempt to make sense of or normalize the events in different terms - as a joke, or hoax, a deliberate provocation, obtuseness or whatever.” (Watson, 2009: 482)

The original way Garfinkel investigated trust was by purposefully breaking it. Like feeding a computer bad data in the hopes of causing it to crash, Garfinkel's “breaching experiments” (Garfinkel, 1990; Maynard & Clayman, 2003) were built around acting in discordance with social conventions and observing the *bewilderment, confusion, frustration, or indignation* that ensued. For example, having his students go out into the world and ask for clarification on even the most mundane, seemingly self-explanatory statements (Garfinkel, 1967; Maynard, 2012). One particular subject in that study, upon being asked what she meant by having gotten a flat tire on her way to work angrily responded, “What do you mean? What do you mean? A flat tire is a flat tire. That is what I meant. Nothing special. What a crazy question!” (Garfinkel, 1967: 42). Through these experiments Garfinkel hoped to discover the requirements for sensemaking in social reality by purposefully removing features and practices he expected would be necessary for sense to be made. His guiding observation was that, “[common sense methods] remain obscure and taken-for-granted only so long as they 'work’” (Maynard & Clayman, 2003: 178), and by being troublesome he and his students would get the subjects to reveal what was being left out (Maynard, 2011).

The breaching experiments are often highlighted for the anger that came in the chaos (Maynard & Clayman, 2003), and how actively impeding

trust (and thus sense) seemed to be taken as such a deep moral violation (Heritage, 1984). Far more important to Garfinkel, and EM/CA, was the depth and complexity that they revealed about even the most mundane social situations and interactions. As such, Garfinkel came to later stress the term “demonstrations” (Pollner, 2012) over experiments, putting the emphasis on what they were meant to show about everyday order rather than the unusual chaos created in the course of the experiment.

Indifference

As EM/CA's focus is on everyday order, and social actors are considered to be the ones producing that order, then the social actors being observed are the experts. At least in regards to each instance of interaction, it is the co-participants involved who know that interaction the best. For that reason, it is not up to the researcher to assign roles to the co-participants or judge the validity or appropriateness of the behaviors undertaken. Instead, EM/CA tells researchers to engage in a practiced ignorance of their own ability as social actors (Garfinkel, 2002), instead relying on the sensemaking apparatus of the co-participants being observed to handle the definitions of meaning and assessments of performance.

This is the practice of **Ethnomethodological Indifference** (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Garfinkel, 2002): the reservation of judgement on the strategic correctness or moral appropriateness of the words and actions being undertaken by the participants in the situation being observed. As social reality varies and fluctuates across populations and time, it makes sense for a social science approach to not judge words or actions as *inherently* right/wrong, valid/invalid, or acceptable/unacceptable, but EM/CA also eschews judgements on what is *generally* considered correct or even *currently* culturally acceptable. This is not a philosophical statement of some moral/academic nihilism in regards to social norms:

“From the day it was announced, Ethnomethodological indifference was commonly understood as naughty advice...We

insist, the policy has nothing to do with skepticism. It is a procedure of not *needing* to consult the corpus of classic methods and findings with which to carry out the tasks of EM research” (Garfinkel, 2002: 170).

EM indifference is a practical consideration. It is a reminder for researchers that they have their own skill as social actors, and they must mitigate the everyday inclination to rely on those skills to define what is happening by their own experience and judgement (de Montigny, 2016).

If meaning is locally produced by the co-participants in an interaction, mutually-shared among those participants, and confined to the local interaction that produced it, then the thoughts and actions of non-participants are irrelevant. This includes the judgements of the researcher analyzing the interaction (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970). When the interaction is finished, as all EM/CA data is when it is analyzed, then the co-participants involved, the contributions made to the turn-taking, and the meaning produced are all completed works. As data, that local interaction is now locked, it is read-only. No matter how skilled an analyst may be, there is no “edit” button available for them, no access port left open after the fact to interface with and become subsequently involved.

EM indifference then is not a claim on anyone else’s assumptions or ability, but rather a safeguard on one’s own assumptions on meaning and ability to make meaning (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Garfinkel, 2002). It is a reminder that the instance contains meaning, produced by the participants who were actually there and collaborated in its production, and the role of the researcher is to find it and show it, not to confirm it or deny it according to their own determination. As Garfinkel (2002) puts it, EM indifference is a research method in service of the researcher’s analysis and argument being based on “the practical objectivity and the practical observability of structures of practical action and practical reason” (pg 171) and “Not to decide in advance what the phenomenon consists of on the basis of prior formal analytic studies” (pg 171).”

By denying that social life runs on some pre-established set of rails, EM/CA eliminates the idea of derailments in social activity. Deviation from expected behavior becomes no more a “break from” or “mistake of” performance than acting in accordance with expectation, because EM/CA’s inquiry is examining the processes that take place before secondary assessments like deviation and accordance (Watson, 2009). What could have been accidents or breakdowns of expected railways of interaction instead become alternative paths when we let go of the idea that happenings that are familiar or expected to us as researchers are somehow more “correct” than what the participants choose to do.

The Outsider’s Perspective

EM indifference holds similar advantages to of Hall’s (1959) anthropological practice of “deep description.” This was the idea that rather than studying foreign cultures by comparing them to one’s own, researchers should simply study the foreign culture on its own terms and describe it on its own terms. For instance, why a tropical community may avoid clothing for practical purposes rather than applying the external, foreign idea of public nudity as a moral failing to explain it. By untethering anthropological inquiry from some central authority - which was only central to the researcher, and would be the weird “other” to another culture’s researcher - Hall aimed to improve the scope of what could be learned by removing the unnecessary step of judging and justifying the foreign “normal.” EM indifference provides a similar slant within societies, and even within cultures, and opens up the scope of what is worth studying by accepting whatever co-participants produce as an achievement, and thus worth investigating for how it was achieved.

Although Garfinkel was not an immigrant, he did have to undergo a cultural shift. Coming from a somewhat self-contained lower middle class Jewish neighborhood in 1920’s Newark, his pursuit of academia meant adapting to what Garfinkel’s family and neighbors called the “gentile world” (Pollner, 2012: 38). My immigration from Ireland to the United States

featured an even greater cultural shift, and took place at a time in my childhood when competence was becoming expected. I was entering an age when children no longer get to live in their own little world of quirks and preferences. Instead they must begin to express some grasp of the real world, i.e. the prevalent shared social reality. Shortly after I was presented with the “eternal natural order” as Ireland sees it, I was informed it was wrong. It was the American way that was truly eternal and natural. As Pollner says of Garfinkel’s transition, and outsider experience in general:

“The encounter with the strange ways of another community produces a distinctive ordeal. This new world is unintelligible and yet makes demands, shaping the inside of the outsider. Cuddihy suggests that the very content of intellectual frameworks were deeply shaped by the ordeal or the reaction to it.

One might conjecture...that Garfinkel's abiding analysis of rationalization-his recognition that it could be other than made out by formal requirements-is born of a sensibility cultivated between and betwixt Newark on the one hand and the more formal rationalized world on the other. The classic insider/outsider, Jewish trajectory provides the constitutive insight and incentive to see formalization and rationalization as distortions of, and distractions from, ‘the people’ as the real foundation.” (2012: 38)

It would be a lie of omission for me to give a dispassionate accounting of a perusal of the various approaches of social inquiry, and my logical reasoning for choosing ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. The truth of the matter is I was near-as-can-be *born* into EM/CA. Harold Garfinkel and I are from the same place. He is from New Jersey and I am from County Clare, but to our new co-participants we were both simply from a bewildered elsewhere. We were also both a particular kind of other. A classmate’s mother once, with slow and deliberate enunciation, complimented me on how well I spoke English, which is my first and only language. Had my

transition actually been to a place where I was a non-native speaker I am sure I would have encountered far more glaring and academically investigated problems in my interactions that may have driven me to inquiries about language in particular. Instead, like Garfinkel, I was simply a non-native *participant*, one who could speak the language fluently but was now faced with structuring my talk differently. Much like a childhood experience with illness may drive one to a career in medicine in hopes of curing it, I can understand how Garfinkel's experience of being unable to make sense could be the driving force behind his investigation into how sense is made.

Pollner (2012) goes on to question if Garfinkel's rejection of rationalization could be from a disillusion with authority figures. That he felt "betrayed" (pg 38) by their hypocrisy. I would expect such an inspiration for ethnomethodology to result in a dark tinge that I have not recognized in the approach. Instead of tearing down hypocrisy, EM focuses on creation and the achievement of creation. Rather than begrudging what people do, it gives them the benefit of the doubt that their concerns are of interpersonal practicality rather than selfish agenda. As Garfinkel himself says:

"EM's findings are described with the questions 'What did we do? What did we learn? More to the point, what did we learn, but only in and as lived doings, that we can teach? And how can we teach it?' EM's findings are tutorial problems...They were learned in settings in which teaching and learning being done in concert with others were locally and endogenously witnessable by and 'relevant to the parties.' In these respects they were essentially unavoidable and without remedy." (1996: 9)

The realization that social reality is constructed at a local level comes with it a realization that it was made *this way this time*, could have been made differently, and can be made differently in the next instance. The excitement of ethnomethodology is that this process of re-making is not a possibility but

rather a necessity. That we are not mere tenants in a static experience of bestowed meanings, but makers of meaning.

The upside of this is constant inclusion and agency for co-participants. It is thoroughly and repeatedly clear from society's ills that this primary level of inclusion and participant agency does not naturally equate to some preservation of happiness, comfort, or quality in interactions (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008). The chance is there though, as the social norms that influence us are merely aggregate features from individual interactions. Since everyone has a hand in their individual interactions, there is at least the potential for change compared to the idea of monolithic, disembodied social norms boxing us into an available set of practices based on propriety rather than usefulness, effectiveness, or desirability. As Rawls puts it, Garfinkel's intention beyond mere understanding was, "to bring sociology from the realm of conceptual theorizing into the hands of practitioners, in order that we may understand and improve upon the quality of individual human experience and the possibility of providing high-quality lives for all human beings" (2002: 19). In other words, to help them recognize their intrinsic involvement in the ordering of their own interactions and realities. That *the way things are* not a static, distant notion out-of-reach of the commoner who is relegated to the seemingly small and mundane, away from the high places where what is agreed upon gets formally agreed upon. Rather that social reality happens anew, right in front of people's faces, in the shared space we all make and participate in.

So as a practice for improving people's lives, EM/CA is not an approach that can rescue anyone. It does not directly provide aid, but rather simply highlights agency in social life. It has no real prescriptions for personal betterment, other than its refusal to accept that any competent participant is "naturally" resigned to anything. Should a change be desired then a change is fundamentally available. Each instance of social interaction is a new opportunity for any possible interaction to occur. It is not a guarantee that something mutually preferable will happen, but merely a

reassurance that the feared and dispreferred does not inevitably have to happen.

CA in Particular

Ethnomethodology looked at the normative definitions of actions and objects in traditional sociology and set out to find the underlying process by which recognizable actions and objects were produced the first place (Heritage, 1984). EM found the source of this meaning in the ordering of everyday local interactions between social actors (Maynard & Clayman, 2003). Conversation Analysis (CA) then asked the follow-up question to EM: the meanings in social reality come from the ordering of local interactions, so how are local interactions ordered (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Heritage 1984)?

CA then is concerned with the practical competencies of interaction (Heritage, 1984), the *doing* of sensemaking, while EM is more about the underlying basis of trust that meaningful performance operates within (Kendon, 1990). Of these practical competencies, the most core to CA's investigation is the sequential ordering of turns-at-talk (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

“two basic features of conversation are proposed to be: (1) at least, and no more than, one party speaks at a time in a single conversation; and (2) speaker change recurs. The achievement of these features singly, and especially the achievement of their cooccurrence, is accomplished by coconversationalists through the use of a 'machinery' for ordering speaker turns sequentially in conversation. The turn-taking machinery includes as one component a set of procedures for organizing the selection of 'next speakers' , and, as another, a set of procedures for locating the occasions on which transition to a next speaker may or should occur” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973: 293).

This back-and-forth of turn-taking explains the 'order' of the social order in the most basic sense. It describes how conversation space is shared, as control of 'the floor' in conversation is given and taken at what would come to be called "transition relevance places" (TRPs) (Schegloff, 2007a), where a prior-turn is considered completed and the next speaker begins the next-turn. From this rotary machinery springs all of the work of trust and reflexivity - the local co-production of meaning - that Garfinkel described as necessary for social order and interaction.

Garfinkel's focus on local interactions and actors moved the accountability for the definition of meanings from a disembodied cultural authority to a mutual accountability between the co-participants. CA further refined that accountability from an actor-level to a turn-level (Maynard & Clayman, 2003). Far more than the mere sequential mechanics of turn-taking as a method for alternating 'floor' control in conversation, the inter-relation of prior and subsequent turns provides a practical mechanic for doing and enforcing trust and accountable action (Heritage, 2001). The mutual effort in trust - of doing actions in an understandable way, and understanding the actions as they are presented to be (Watson, 2009) - is also found in the co-production of meaning in turn-taking (Heritage, 2001). In turn-taking, the basic unit of meaning is the adjacency pair, a set of turns with a first-pair part (FPP) that presents a conversational form/meaning and an ensuing second-pair part (SPP) that, based on how it treats the FPP, either confirms or changes the FPP's form/meaning (Schegloff, 2007a). So questions are questions when (and because) they are treated as questions, requests are requests when they are treated as requests. What may formally appear to be a question can become a request through treatment, such as asking if someone has anything to drink resulting in a drink being brought to fulfill the request rather than treating it as (and making it) a question with a yes/no answer.

EM's breaching demonstrations revealed the need for trust and accountable actions in interaction by showing the results of its absence. CA's turn-by-turn examinations of interaction then caught the process "on

film.” Literally in the sense that this hyper-detailed examination relies on video recordings (Mondada, 2006b), but also in the sense of an elusive creature who has finally been observed directly. The processes and activities of maintaining trust, doing accountable action, and co-producing meaning could now be observed through the interrelation of their component parts (turns, pairs, sequences, etc.) rather than the slightly more general investigation of actors’ sensemaking through “ordinary language” that became Garfinkel’s focus (Watson, 1994).

From the deeper EM side of EM/CA comes the criticism that CA manages this feat because it oversimplifies the components and over-constrains the original intent of EM with formal analysis (Atkinson, 1988; Coulter, 1983; Lynch, 1993). This is to be expected though as defined components are always going to be simpler and more constrained than an open-ended assessment of pure EM indifference (Pollner, 1991). Yet, CA’s defenders would point out that in order to say something meaningful about their data researchers must plant their feet and interpret the data for themselves (Arminen, 2008), even if it means constraining themselves it is not a needless constraint. The truly needless constraint may be the term “conversation” itself (Watson, 1994), and the expectations it raises for what CA values, what it investigates, and thus its limit for potential discovery.

The Chasm of Conversation

In discussions of Conversation Analysis, the first step is often to stress the transition from “conversation” to “talk-in-interaction” (Kendon, 1990). This is to avoid a limited picture of what is being discussed, but the result usually is a repeated drilling down of “we’re not *just* talking about x, y, z” as the variety of components, spaces, and outcomes of interaction are described. In fact, from the very outset of the discipline Schegloff and Sacks (1973) stress that the focus on conversation isn’t because of any special interest in language. The focus on spoken interaction was a practical consideration (Sacks, 1984; Kendon, 1990; Arminen, 2008) as, at the time,

the only unobtrusive way to collect properly detailed data of real interactions was via audio recordings:

“It was not from any large interest in language or from some theoretical formulation of what should be studied that I started with tape-recorded conversations, but simply because I could get my hands on it and I could study it again and again, and also, consequentially, because others could look at what I had studied and make of it what they could if, for example, they wanted to be able to disagree with me” (Sacks, 1984: 26).

So if CA is EM applied to conversation, but it's not actually about conversation, then what *are* we analyzing?

Again, the transition to 'talk-in-interaction' was meant to remove the emphasis on conversation as the central topic, but by then the impression was somewhat set. Although Paul Atkinson (1988) acknowledges Sack's distinction of the practical advantages for studying conversation rather than some theoretical necessity, he immediately notes as a critique that, “Despite this apparent treatment of conversation as having no more significance than an *objet trouvé*, subsequent practitioners have indeed attempted to invest transcribed conversational recordings with a special significance” (pg 448). When it comes to conversation's role in conversation analysis, it might be better to describe it as *useful* rather than significant. A scientist may turn to the ocean to study waves, not because the ocean has a special prominence for the waves, but because it is a conducive environment to their study because the water's mix of fluidity and visibility makes the waves easier to see than waves in less malleable rock or less visible air. So too did the practical virtues of conversation extend beyond their technical recordability and into the visibility of social reality's production in the realm of conversation:

"Sacks was concerned with culture and language as members' toolkits for everyday conduct. 'Knowledge how' rather than just

'knowledge that' was his focus - *how* interlocutors sequence their talk, *how* they actively make, display and share sense of ordinary settings, actions and identities...Sacks, then, relentlessly and empirically pursues the details of the culturally methodic ways members have of doing things and (generically) of actively making and sharing the sense of things. These activities are, for Sacks, incarnate in members' use and exchange of speech. At heart, his sociology is a sociology of action, of methodically based action and interaction. To be sure, his early concern with conversation was that he could treat it as a database sufficient to a methodological radicalization of the sociology of social action. For Sacks, 'saying things' and 'doing things' were not two distinct categories. Saying something *is* doing something" (Watson, 1994: 175-176).

Both conversation and talk-in-interaction can be interpreted as physical activities, and this leads to the fixation on definitions like "spoken interaction" (Atkinson, 1988: 443). For the purposes of describing CA it's better to think of conversation/interaction as a space: an *architecture of intersubjectivity* (Heritage, 1984; Watson, 1994).

The smallest-scale example of this idea would be Kendon's (1990) description of an F-formation:

"An F-formation arises whenever two or more people sustain a spatial and orientational relationship in which the space between them is one to which they have equal, direct, and exclusive access. Such a pattern can be seen in the circle of the free-standing conversational group. Here the participants stand so that they all face inwards to a small space which they cooperate together to sustain and which is not easily accessible to others who may be in the vicinity" (Kendon, 1990: 209).

The key is not simply as an arrangement of persons, but the resulting space. As Kendon points out, these spaces between participants become powerfully partitioned, interactionally-carving out defined space to hold and shelter interactions. This is true even if we loosen the space out further to multi-stage “encounters” (Heath, 1986) or what Goffman (1974) refers to as “frames,” ongoing social situations that can host multiple interactions. Think of a birthday party in a public park forming a private space that now requires some invitation or valid reason for access. If a park-goer’s frisbee ends up in the party area on account of an errant throw, they may enter to retrieve it, possibly even altering their gait - quickening the pace, or lightening to a tip-toe - and acknowledging the intrusion with a nod or wave as they pick up their disk and exit. For a stranger to saunter in and take a seat among the family at the (ostensibly public) picnic table would understandably raise many questions, and possibly even a call to the police.

In discussing these situations as frames, Goffman (1974) presented them as ongoing containers that participants would open, perform interactions within (interactions whose meaning was colored by the type of frame that had been opened), and then close the frame. According to CA though, there is no separate social container for interaction, there is just interaction as both activity and container for activity. To reuse the birthday party example, it is the interactions of the persons in the park - both negotiations of their physical arrangement and/or instances of talk - that produce and enforce the borders of the party. So the borders of the party are somewhere between where the frisbee thrower beings their performance of hesitation and uncomfortable intrusion and where a party goer may step in to enforce a need for such a performance. The frisbee thrower may perform “oops, sorry, I’ll be gone in a minute” with their gait, gestures, or talk but receive a “no, you’re fine” from a party goer, re-drawing the borders back from where the frisbee thrower suggested and placing the frisbee thrower safely in fair, public territory. Just as the frisbee thrower and their fellow players may “call time” on their game, pausing it and transforming their

playing area back into safe, public space so that an outsider can pass through.

This is why CA's specification and focus on interaction isn't a limitation, and why *what CA is* becomes so difficult to describe. When we bring it all together, accepting that each instance of interaction is a unique accomplishment co-produced by a particular set of actors using a particular set of resources, then conversations are both examples of an ongoing method for making reality (Watson, 1994) and each a unique instance of a particular reality constituted by "the recurrent details of ordinary everyday practices" (Garfinkel, 1996: 8). In investigating interaction, we have available for study both the process - the sequential organization that tends to be associated with CA - and the products of that process - the space, the roles, the entire fleeting and single-use reality constructed by the co-participants. As a result, CA can and must diversify into multiple sub-approaches and even sub-disciplines in order to begin to address its topic.

Investigating the physical borders and landscapes of social situations, encounters, and interactions can be a sort of conversational geography (Kendon, 1990). Focusing on the work accomplished across a series of sequences a sort of conversational history. Looking at how the participants categorize themselves (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2009) a sort of conversational anthropology. That's before even getting to the verbal and physical (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005) sequencing of interaction within conversation which is what CA tends to be given credit for investigating. Even that investigation can include how those interactions begin (Schegloff, 1968) and end (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), how they are entered, navigated, and exited, and how particular structures are deployed.

Essentially, CA is an investigation of one realm, conversation, that is actually countless realms. Because it is a realm that pops into existence, new each time even when styled to seem recurring, and then pops back out of existence never to return in *exactly* the same way again. Every interaction is its own momentary realm, with its own landscape to be mapped, denizens

to be censused, and a sequence of happenings to be recorded and recounted.

This is why it is so hard to summarize, because we drill down all this way. I have drilled down from science in general, to social science in particular, to sociology within social science, to constitutive sociology as a specific search for meaning, to EM/CA as a particular discipline for investigating constitutive processes, to the CA side of EM/CA as a focus on the achievement of mutual understanding in-and-through talk-in-interaction, and here, deep down in the depths of definition where we should be at a *pinpoint* we instead have cracked into a wide, bottomless chasm of conversational possibilities. We are back facing a subreality based on human choice and influence, and an ever-increasing variety of ways to study it.

Beyond the Chasm

It would be great to stop right here. EM/CA has this giant chasm of interaction - its processes and products - and now it's just a matter of choosing a shovel and rushing off to claim one's own section to dig in. First though, it's important to acknowledge that we have so much to investigate because each instance of interaction is respected as its own accomplishment, and thus valued, and thus worthy of investigation. What then about our interactions as researchers? Do we just *turn off* reflexivity before it hits our discipline and demands we study ourselves? If so, then it would be good to establish when and why we did.

Pollner (1991) names EM/CA's recognition of the "accomplished" character of *all* social activity" (pg 370) as **radical reflexivity**. This is the relentless character of social life that Garfinkel (1996) refers to: the idea that we must actively produce every scrap of the mutual understanding that underlies social life and social reality. Pollner laments that as EM/CA settles down in "the suburbs of sociology" (1991: 370) it has seemingly given up its focus on radical reflexivity as its central idea. Instead he suggests that EM/CA still discusses accomplishment, but no longer scares other

sociological disciplines with its tales of how in situ accomplishment is the edge of the world, and beyond that border of co-production there is nothing social; no sea of norms and social objects safely existing continually.

The truly radical aspect of this reflexivity is when it is allowed to continue out toward its inevitable limit, at which point even analyses themselves cannot escape the analysis:

“Referential reflexivity conceives of all analysis - ethnology included - as a constitutive process (cf. Lawson 1985). Not only are members deemed to be involved in endogenous constitution of accountable settings, but so are analysts. Thus, ethnology is referentially reflexive to the extent it appreciates its own analyses as constitutive and endogenous accomplishments” (Pollner, 1991: 372).

Returning to the research responsibility of needing to “know better,” it’s good for the guru-ego of EM/CA researchers to remember that if the string of “social reality is a co-production” is pulled to its full extent then our own hard-earned roles as experts are revealed as a momentary achievement of interaction. Just as Tyson, Frenkel, and other scientists are dependent on interaction to share their ideas about physical reality, so too are we dependent on interaction for our discussion of interaction. Is this an utterly vital realization? Garfinkel (1967) points out that the participants in interaction seem to find it “uninteresting” (pg 7) and Pollner (1991) recognizes that radical reflexivity as a main topic seems “pointless, groundless, or subversive” (pg 374). Still, it is good to recognize that the focus of the “sociological equivalent of the microscope” (Heritage, 1984: 311) can be cranked up to the point of becoming a death-ray, zapping away the preconceived notions of ontology itself (Pollner, 1991).

Pollner’s argument is that EM/CA should be sure to crank up the death-ray once in awhile, just to keep ourselves honest. To push the boundaries so we will be reminded of how far in towards the middle we settle when we accept the presuppositions necessary to participate in a “settled

discourse” (Pollner, 1991: 374). This is especially important in this work, as properly representing the Student Section participants’ definition of what they are doing requires skirting the difference between cheers as talk that repeats across multiple instances and cheering as uniquely accomplished talk that is simply treated as a repeated occurrence.

As I begin to describe the shared structures utilized to accomplish cheering it will likely be easy to see them as ongoing devices left in the Student Section’s cheering toolbox and pulled out as needed. This is in comparison to the unique instances of accomplishment they actually are. Cheers can appear that way because they are used and discussed that way by the participants. The Student Section at the University of New Hampshire (UNH) refer to chants of the school’s initials - “U!-N!-H! U!-N!-H!” - as “UNH chants” and at points will suggest to one another they “do a UNH chant” or that a certain point is where “that” chant is done. They do not say “let us engage in a sequence of talk that is recognizably similar to many other sequences of talk in our school’s history but at a micro-level is a thoroughly unique accomplishment.” I’m not trying to seem glib by putting that in tortured-but-EM/CA-sound terms, I simply *do not know* how to perfectly handle both sides of that. I cannot represent the complexity of the Student Section’s accomplishment by treating their interactions as the consistent, deployable tools they discuss them as, but I will misrepresent the practice of doing-being a Student Section by pursuing the reflexivity to some outskirts where precedent and inheritance don’t exist.

So yes, I will seemingly make concessions on radical reflexivity as I leave it as a background factor. This is to fight what I see as the more important battle for this work: getting across the skill and accomplishment necessary for these turns-at-cheering to be taken in the proper meaningful place in a recognizably shared way. Lost in that may be the idea that the repetition of the structures is not really repetition, as they are each their own unique accomplishment.

The implication of radical reflexivity means that EM/CA researchers need to choose a stop to get off the reflexivity train as it heads out past the

point where “communities of knowers” (Pollner, 1991: 376) cease to exist. Those of us more to the CA side may have our terminal station somewhat chosen for us on account of our reliance on sequence organization as a basis for analysis (Pollner, 1991; Arminen, 2008). For this work, my station needs to be a point that straddles the line between the unique structural requirements of each moment of the Student Section’s performance discussed and deployed as though already accomplished - after all, the Student Section does not “try a UNH chant,” they “do a UNH chant.”

2.3 Implications For This Work

EM/CA provides a molecular scope (Lynch, 1993) for investigating the co-production of social reality. It is separated from traditional inquiries into this process by its practiced devotion to the control and expertise of the local co-participants in that co-production. As established in the introduction to this work, the fundamental defining feature of Student Sections is that they co-produce themselves. The goal now is to examine the minute, turn-by-turn detail of instances of Student Section cheering to demonstrate how the work of the Student Section is *done*. How they differentiate themselves from the rest of the crowd, how they associate themselves with one another into a recognizably cohesive unit, and how they accomplish a performatively intense orientation to the game that earns them a heightened status as fans.

Accomplishing this goal will involve covering the full calling of CA, as laid out by Schegloff (2010):

“the two conceptions of the calling of conversation analysis (CA): One is centered on the organization of action in interaction, the organizations of practices for accomplishing these actions and courses of action, and the basic infrastructure for the whole domain - turns and their form and distribution; actions and their trajectories; troubles and their resolution;

language as an interface with the physical, social, cultural, emotional, and other worlds that humans live in, grasp and navigate, etc. The other conception is centered on embodied actors, bringing the elements of organization of human sociality just mentioned into being moment by moment in a particular place, with particular others, vying with or yielding to one another, etc.” (pg 38).

The necessity of covering both process and actors is particularly important for this study because I worry about what will be lost if I do not properly address both. Prior work on crowds has been quick to underestimate the mindful effort of the participants' organization (Kulmatycki, 2013) and the complexity of their turn-taking (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986; Goffman, 1981). The issue of focusing on one and accepting the underestimation of the other is that an underestimation of either will harm both. If “the mere fact that individuals form part of an organized crowd, a person descends several rungs down the ladder of civilization” (LeBon, 1895: 17 cited in Kulmatycki, 2013) then will the true complexity of their turns-at-cheering be restricted to negative assumptions of what a crowd is capable of? If the crowd's cheers are left seen as simplistic responses guided by a performer's skill (Atkinson, 1984) then how can the crowd receive full credit for their skill in performing them? The respect afforded the local actors in EM/CA usually negates this worry, but the unusual form and scale of Student Sections as conversational actors will surely require an extra effort in evidencing that they, like the local actors Garfinkel sought to highlight the skill of, are also not “dopes” (Garfinkel, 1967).

This is surely a noble reason for a slightly less hyper-detailed approach to the usage of conversational components than EM/CA may be known for. Still, paired with the aforementioned concessions on reflexivity leave me facing a sort of ethnomethodological guilt. First, the worry that my contribution to the highly detailed investigation of interaction may not be as highly detailed as typical and may fall far outside the boundaries of what

some would consider interaction - certainly *far* outside the traditional image of conversation. Secondly, there is the *radical* nature of EM/CA and the guilt of not pushing it to its limit. To take pride in drilling down further to what is *really* going on in the realm of social reality, then to find this new pocket reality of conversation, have the process of drilling to do again and yet decide that “up here will work fine.” To find the value in a higher, more abstract level after just having discussed the value of drilling past them. Yet, it is important to remember that this level of abstraction, within the bounds of conversation, is still exact and refined. What I am claiming is still answerable to the process and realities of interaction, even if I am not drilling down to investigate its tiniest components, even if the most precise I will go is to examine the gears rather than the teeth of the gears, or the edges of the teeth, or the notches of the edges.

The next chapter will deal with the solutions to those stresses. This will be an in-depth exploration of the practice of doing EM/CA. Via this exploration I will be able to explain the decisions behind the alterations made to the process and tools of EM/CA in order to handle the scale - and resulting overabundance of detail - that this work is attempting. Despite those surface-changes, this chapter represents the true practical concerns of this work: respect for the accomplishment of the local participants in the interactions, the mutual work involved in doing accountable actions, and the organization of those actions in meaningful sequences. All in service of the inherited, altered, but ongoing question: *how do we make what passes for Student Sections together?*

Chapter 3: Doing EM/CA for Large-Scale Cheering

When Conversation Analysis is described the first feature mentioned tends to be its focus on conversation/talk-in-interaction (Atkinson, 1988). As mentioned in the previous chapter this serves as a somewhat reductive way to differentiate it from the more general inquiry of Ethnomethodology, but the two are so difficult to delineate (McHoul, 2008) that even this flawed partition continues to be useful. While the ideologies that underlie EM/CA draw them together, it is the *doing* of CA that truly sets it apart (Jefferson, 1985; Lynch, 1993; Arminen, 2008).

In the previous chapter I separated physical science and social science as approaches based upon their orientation to the iron-clad, universal reality of the natural world or the ever-changing, locally co-produced collection of realities that make up social life. In terms of the doing of science, Harvey Sacks noted that all scientific disciplines utilized a practice of reporting observations and describing the methods employed (Lynch, 1993: 205). Rather than gaining scientific credibility from the use of a technology or adherence to a universal approach, Sacks instead saw the opportunity to use formal observation and description of interpersonal practices as the basis for a scientific study of social order. Lynch (1993) undercuts Sack's scientism by pointing out that the adequately scientific practice of observation and description, that Sacks hoped to transfer to sociology with its scientific credibility intact, may not have been scientific to begin with, because *doing* science may not be purely scientific to begin with (pg 213). Instead of the direct presentation of an objective reality usually associated with science, "the question of what counts as a replication of an experiment is bound together with local inquiries and arguments about what counts as 'the same' equipment, 'competent' use of that equipment, and 'comparable' results" (Lynch, 1993: 212). That while a measuring of

objective reality is being attempted, there is a social negotiation of the adequacy of that measuring and description of one's methods of measuring to achieve "adequately scientific."

Lynch (1993) presents the doing of CA not as an adapted scientific orientation, or even the utilization of a particular methodology, but that CA is undertaken as an analytic community. That, "what came to count as relevant topics, adequate data, adequate transcription, and adequate analysis was established conventionally in and through the exemplary shoptalk, literary strategies, and representational practices developed by the active participants in the community" (pg 254). Lynch, an ethnomethodologist, worries about how the professionalization of CA has created a hierarchy between the vernacular descriptions of the everyday participants in interaction and the professional analysis of the CA community analyzing those interactions (pg 232) in a way that distances it from EM. Still, he grants that, "for members who are competent and entitled to read them, accounts of findings can serve as adequate accounts of how to repeat those findings" (pg 255).

This community aspect - that the doing of CA is the description of recurring conversational structures as undertake-able methods in an adequately follow-able manner by another analyst - informs the sort of data required. In fact, that desire for exchangeable, reviewable, *replayable* data drove Sacks to verbal conversation as CA's original topic:

"I started to work with tape-recorded conversations, for the single virtue that I could replay them; that I could transcribe them somewhat and study them extendedly, however long it might take. The tape-recorded materials constituted a good enough record of what happened, to some extent...But my research is about conversation only in this incidental way, that conversation is something that we can get the actual happenings of on tape and transcribe them more or less; i.e.,

conversation is simply something to begin with” (Sacks, 1967: 7-9 cited in Jefferson. 1985: 26).

So rather than conversation, CA’s topic is whatever instances of everyday social interaction that can be captured and repeatedly reviewed in proper enough detail to describe as reproducible methods. For Sacks and his peers working in the early days of consumer recording technology that meant audio recordings. Since verbal conversation was really the only common interaction that could be captured in a usefully detailed state by audio alone, we end up with conversation as the classic topic and Conversation Analysis as the name.

Since those audio beginnings, the potential topics for CA inquiry have grown with technology. First video recordings added to the detail of conversation (Moore, 2015) to the point that physical resources like gestures (Schegloff, 1984), gaze (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007), and body-positioning (Kendon, 1990) became observable. This opened up the whole new realm of multi-modal analysis (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005; Mondada, 2007) which deals with the combination of verbal and physical performance in the production of meaning. The recent explosion of digital communication continues to add types of recordings that can be found in CA work like forum posts, text messages, social media statuses, multiplayer video gaming, and YouTube videos (Laurier, 2015).

For this study there is an opportunity to expand CA’s topic by again expanding the capabilities of CA recording. Rather than a new form of recording, my work deals with a new scale of recording. Rather than focusing on a few individuals, or on a small space occupied or passed through by a few individuals at a time, I am observing and analyzing the interactions of hundreds of individuals at once. The implication of this is a further and more detailed consideration by CA of crowds and large-scale interactions like sporting events, political rallies, and protests.

Now, that expansion of CA was not the goal of this study. The goal was to discover how large-scale cheering is done. EM/CA was the best way

to achieve that goal, and so the expansion and adjustment of the investigation to handle the exponential scale increase became a necessary process towards that end. A set of expansions and adjustments for doing large-scale CA is a helpful byproduct to have though, and such expansions will contribute toward that opportunity to expand CA's own scope beyond this particular study or even my particular topic of cheering.

Again, that is a useful benefit for CA, but first and foremost I must establish the doing of CA. This will help provide instruction on how to read the data in the chapters that follow, and will explain the variations taken from typical CA conventions, especially in relation to transcription detail. Now will also be a good time to establish in detail the participants and setting of the data I will be discussing. Finally, I will address a particular deviation of this work from typical CA studies when it comes to the consideration of intention and strategy.

3.1 EM/CA's Approach to Data

The most important feature of EM/CA data is that it must be real. This was established from the beginning (Jefferson, 1985) by Harvey Sacks. Sacks utilized conversations as they provide a readily available, capturable, and reviewable particle of real life as undertaken by social participants (Sacks, 1967). Along with being practically accessible and preservable, the mundane nature of everyday conversation insulates it from the observer/researcher's expectations in a vital way. Properly gathered video/audio data of an unencumbered, unassuming interaction can serve as a record of the unanticipated actuality of social life in a way that hypotheticals and contrived experiments may not.

As Sacks explains, "however rich a researcher's imagination is, if he uses hypotheticalized-typicalized versions of the world he is constrained by reference to what an audience, an audience of professionals, can accept as reasonable" (Sacks, 1967, cited in Jefferson, 1985: 26). Ironically, this is a similar problem that the physical sciences recognized in their replacement of

opinionated argument with the scientific method and reproducible experimentation (Hayek, 1952). The idea being that the realm of possibility is not confined to what we think or expect is possible but to what is actually possible.

Sacks's use of reviewable, reproducible audio/video recordings replicated the scientific review process (Arminen, 2008) by allowing multiple researchers to observe the same interactions and assess if what was claimed to be happening was actually happening. This way, much like in scientific studies, the plausibility of a finding did not matter compared to the presence of the finding in the data. So long as a move in interaction was agreed to be visible in the data meant it was achieved, and its achievement made it a possibility for co-participants in interaction whether it was a possibility we would have initially expected or not. To quote Sacks again, "from close looking at the world we can find things that we couldn't, by imagination, assert were there. One wouldn't know that they were 'typical'. One might not know that they ever occurred" (Sacks, 1967 cited in Jefferson, 1985: 27).

Of course this scientific parallel does not make EM/CA into a scientific methodology. The way findings are reproduced in scientific study is through replications of the original instance to see if it produces the same outcome. CA rejects any form of experimentation or laboratory setting (Kendon, 1990; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008) as no amount of contrived resources can replicate natural resources. The primacy of local factors and actors in the production of meaning creates a sort of inescapable social loop where the local situation will always be more itself than what we are trying to replicate. So replicating a dinner date in a laboratory setting would require filling the laboratory with all the detail of the natural setting, to the point that we would just be building the exact reality of a restaurant within a lab. So CA researchers just use the perfectly good reality that is already there - the actual actors in actual settings undertaking actual interactions without intervention (Mondada, 2006b) - and do our best to capture it as thoroughly as possible.

The final key to CA's treatment of data is that the recordings being reviewed and reproduced are not the actual data. The actual data was the instance of interaction, now lost to time, and the recordings are merely a reviewable impression of that data (Walker, 2014b). Mondada (2006b) cites Garfinkel's description that the advantage of the recordings is that they allow the organization of "another next first time" (Garfinkel, 2002: 98). For the sake of clarity the recordings inherit the title of "the data" after the real data passes away into history, but it is good to be mindful of the distinction. This mindfulness is important to avoid serving the recording at the expense of the actual data. That by moving or altering an interaction in the interest of "recording it more conveniently, with more sophisticated equipment or in absence of a certain noise or lighting problem" (Mondada, 2006b: 4) a researcher will have destroyed the local reality they were attempting to capture in the first place.

So EM/CA research involves becoming comfortable with challenging data. First there is the challenge to one's own expectations, as what observably (or, to be more specific, demonstrably) happened in the data takes precedence over what "should" have happened. Second there is the challenge of difficult recordings which are often made in non-ideal settings under non-ideal conditions and with non-ideal equipment. Thankfully this latter issue is becoming further resolved each day, as "action cameras" for recording extreme sports means video recorders are constantly increasing in quality and durability while decreasing in size. For instance, the most recent recordings used in this work only became possible in recent years with the development of cameras shallow enough to be mounted flat against the wall in front of the Student Section without being intrusive and with long enough battery life and large enough recording capacity that they could capture the full duration of games even without access to power or additional tapes.

Even with the benefit of this innovation, what this work will show overall is that CA data will always be difficult and imperfect. This is because once an innovation arrives that improves the settings we have imperfectly investigated before, CA researchers will simply take that more-ideal

equipment to even less ideal settings and conditions in the hopes that we will now manage to record something of use from those previously inaccessible spaces. This increasing scope and access is how CA's true topic - what about interaction is studyable, how it might be studyable, and how it may be explained once studied (Jefferson, 1985) - is served and thus how CA is done.

Transcription Conventions

The file format of true EM/CA data is units of daily life. Daily life is an unsaveable format, so instead we convert these units of daily life, via lenses and microphones, into the workable, reviewable but detail-reduced format of audio/video recordings (Walker, 2014b). Even with this reduction there is still an immense amount of detail in audio/video recordings, and so we reduce again into the further simplified format of transcription (Jefferson, 2004; Auer, 2014; Laurier, 2014).

Just as the audio/video recordings cannot hold all the data of daily life, neither can text capture every noise and movement in an audio/video recording. If we are hoping for a perfect, one-to-one conversion this is a problem, but, as a method for focusing attention and discussion, transcripts are an invaluable tool (Auer, 2014). They can serve as a highlighter applied over the text of the recording, drawing out specific features:

"I take it that when we talk about transcription we are talking about one way to pay attention to recordings of actually occurring events. While those of us who spend a lot of time making transcripts may be doing our best to get it right, what we might mean is utterly obscure and unstable. It depends a great deal on what we are paying attention to. It seems to me then that the issue is not transcription per se, but what it is we might want to transcribe, that is, attend to" (Jefferson, 1985: 25).

Jefferson is referring to the question of what "representing the data" actually means. Particularly, she is discussing an issue taken with her transcription

style and its movement away from the plain text of “standard orthography” (Jefferson, 1985) toward a more detailed representation.

Jefferson presents two transcripts to illustrate this transition to the transcription style that she developed. The first is written by her teacher and collaborator Harvey Sacks:

A. I started work at a buck thirty an hour and he said if I work a month you geta buck thirty five an hour and every month there be a raise-

T. Howd you get the job?

(Jefferson, 2004: 13)

Followed by the same instance of interaction later transcribed by Jefferson herself:

Ken: I started workin etta buck thirty en hour

(0.4)

Ken: en'e sid that if I work fer a month: yih getta buck,h h thi[rty ↓fi:ve=

(Dan): [((sniff))

Ken: ='n hour en (.) ev'ry month he uh () he rai[ses you]=

Dan: [How'dju]

Get th]e jo:b,

Ken: =°()°]

(Jefferson, 2004: 14)

She then says of the changes:

"Why put all that stuff in? Well, as they say, because it's there. Of course there's a whole lot of stuff 'there,' i.e, in the tapes, and it doesn't all show up in my transcripts; so it's because it's there, plus I think it's interesting. Things like overlap, laughter, and 'pronunciational particulars', (what others call 'comic book' and/or stereotyped renderings), for example. My transcripts pay

a lot of attention to those sorts of features" (Jefferson, 1985: 15).

As Jefferson points out, the advantage of this style of transcription is the detail. This is not merely in the idea of *more* detail, but of details of talk that standard orthography is not designed to capture. For instance the pause in Ken's first line, or Dan's sniff. While these features may not be vital to every study of interaction, their inclusion makes them at least available to be studied as features of interaction. This type of heavily detailed transcription then is not so much a claim on what *must* be included, but is instead an extension of what *can* be included in transcripts.

The companion question of *why put all that stuff in* is, of course, *why leave all that stuff out?* The first reason is the implication that standard orthography is used to indicate speech was "normal," and when that plain text is deviated from or elaborated upon it's in order to mark something about the talk that was wrong (Jefferson, 1983). Jefferson points out that this is an expectation that grows from American and British literature, where "pronunciational particulars are systematically used as indices of personality type, categorical membership, etcetera" (1983: 3). By including the particulars of a participant's talk the transcriber thus risks a distraction from those particulars by unintentionally calling attention to some particular social implication about the participant. Yet, if those particulars are left out then there will be no way to make them available to study or even recognize (Jefferson, 1983; Laurier, 2014; Walker, 2014a).

The "caricature problem" (Jefferson, 1983: 3) of deviating from standard orthography is at least a relatively superficial problem. It grows more from an unfamiliarity with CA's person-indifferent goals and methods than any fundamental issues with the transcription methodology as a representation of data. The more fundamental and serious issue with including *everything* in transcription is the problem of opaque transcripts (Auer, 2014; Laurier, 2014). This is where so much information is packed into a transcript or the turns are so stretched out by insertions of notation

that the transcript becomes unrecognizable as speech. Here a prohibitively high level of CA experience or a frustrating amount of instruction and interjection by the author is necessary to read any kind of voice from the page.

EM/CA transcription requires a balance then. The idealized presentation of standard orthography may miss valuable details, limiting the wider usefulness of the transcript in favor of clarity. Meanwhile, an inclusion of too much detail can obscure features and mangle speech to the point that the transcript is not much use anyway due to lack of clarity. Again, the key to remember is that the recordings of the data are the data - or at least the recordings inherit the authority of the original interaction as the actual data. The transcripts are excerpts, like the images used throughout this work that have been selected out from the actual data, and typically filtered or cropped to emphasize some features at the expense of others. Just as the choices involved in capturing the recordings serves as an initial analysis (Mondada, 2006) so too does combing through the data, considering each sound and movement for inclusion, and constructing a recreation of what happened serve as the bulk of analysis (Bolden, 2015; Ogden, 2015) rather than merely representation.

The transcripts I have created to share my data have been designed as representations of the most important features of my data, not as perfect representations of my data. A perfect representation of my data, at the scale of interaction I am analyzing, would be unreadable and probably even unwritable. So decisions were made about how to balance the textual representations of cheering, and I will now discuss the reasoning behind those decisions.

Preserving Detail by Avoiding Detail

For the purposes of this study, the exact precision of the pronunciation particulars that Jefferson's transcription is designed to preserve is less important than the achievement of having recognizable particulars at all. The pronunciation of the turns I am dealing with is

inherently imprecise, because they are an amalgam of hundreds of people saying the same thing in almost the same way at almost the same time. When I say almost, I mean in strict formal terms of CA transcription where timing may be measured down to tenths of a second. As a practical matter, the Student Section says things “at the same time” but as a matter of precision there is going to be some audible “smudge” from participants who begin/end a sound sooner than most and those who begin/end later than most. There is also the matter of pitch and inflection which represents a range no matter what the participants do, because the natural differences in their voices cause automatic variation.

An exact replication of what a crowd sounds like is rather impossible then. I can't even think of a cultural onomatopoeia for the “roar of the crowd.” When imitated in speech the practice is typically to simply perform a sustained out breath, and imitation of crowd speech thus takes on a whispered nature as the imitator needs to do this breathe-out “roar” during their speech to do “imitating crowd talk.” The replication of crowd-noise on the page therefore isn't going to look much like speech if it's done in service of total accuracy. Instead, the logical thing to do is to take the “mode” of the crowd-speech - the most commonly occurring speech - which will have accumulated into the loudest noise and emerge as the recognizable talk of the crowd, even if the nature of the collaborative performance naturally smudges it.

This “mode” of the crowd's speech can be presented in standard orthography because it is already an idealization of the smudged crowd speech. It wouldn't be “natural” to represent the idiosyncratic particulars of talk that didn't strictly *happen* so much as it was interpreted as happening, assembled in the mind as a collaborative social act rather than merely simultaneous individual acts. Additions of particular pronunciations would, after all, be fabrications as this is idealized speech that didn't actually sound this way - perhaps on an individual level it had particulars, but on this mass level the largest accumulation is being picked out and reconstituted as ideal speech.

Except Student Sections *do* perform these “pronunciation particulars” in their speech. They appear in the smudged accumulation that is striving towards a turn of ideal speech. Take the example I have been giving of the UNH Student Section’s interaction with the arena announcer:

Hey John

- 1 **Student Section:** Hey JOHN! How: much time is left?
- 2 **Announcer:** ONE minute left to PLAY in the period. ONE
- 3 minute.
- 4 **Student Section:** Thaaaank youuuu.

That elongated “Thaaaank Youuuu” is more than just saying “thank you” at the same time, it’s the saying of a very particular “thank you” at the same time. Even though the transcriptions in this work are made plainer than the smudged crowd-speech they originally sounded like, it would be terrible to lose those sorts of particulars.

As Jefferson might say, *they are there* and it is interesting that they are there. What is interesting about them is that they manage to avoid getting lost in the crowd-noise. For enough people to make that same particular choice so that it shows up as a clear feature despite the smudging of crowd-speech requires a group effort that elevates it from a mere choice into the realm of a practice. That the doing of some cheering must require these particular pronunciations, emphases, and pacing variations. So I will be using Jefferson’s transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004) to preserve the pronunciation particulars that Student Sections manage to push through the fog of the smudging, as they are clearly meant as a part of the cheer rather than an individual quirk of speech.

This final point is aided by the fact that the ice hockey Student Section data at the heart of this study all comes from the same geographic area. I bring this up quickly, because of an experience watching a tournament of American college ice hockey teams played in Belfast, Northern Ireland. The players had visited local primary (elementary) schools in the days prior to the tournament, and the visited classes then made banners and practiced basic

cheers to support them with. This resulted in Colgate University being supported with repeated, high-pitched chants of “cool-git” from the young Belfast students rather than the “coal-gait” pronunciation the players would be used to back on campus in upstate New York. A study of accent differences and their effect on cheering would benefit from Jefferson’s “comic book orthography” (Jefferson, 1983) of spelling words in a way that serves the sound - “for ‘what are you doing?’, ‘wutche doin’?” (Jefferson, 2004: 19) - rather than the idealized forms of standard orthography. This study will hopefully open up cheering to that kind of detailed inquiry, but in the interest of establishing cheering as a general practice I will be erring toward standard orthography.

Transcription Notation

Highlighting the particulars within the turns-at-cheering will require the use of specified notation. As mentioned, I will be using and adapting Gail Jefferson’s (2004) glossary of transcription symbols toward that purpose. I will now run through the symbols I will be using by going through three special considerations regarding transcription in this work. First is handling the near constant overlap of collaborative crowd-speech. Second is the handling of actions in conjunction with speech using a transcript feature I refer to as **motion variables**. Third is the particular importance that cadence takes on in cheering and how verbal emphasis is re-adapted to serve maintaining a reliable cadence. The result for the transcription being that some symbols related to emphasis must be similarly repurposed to properly represent the particulars of the cadence.

Overlap

As I am dealing primarily with synchronization, overlap would seemingly be the most important feature to highlight for discussion. Overlap is very important, but as I addressed in the previous section the Student Section’s turns will be treated as idealized speech. Part of this idealization involves treating the most common crowd-speech as a single turn rather

than a collection of turns. So when the Student Section is speaking it will not be treated as overlap unto itself. In her own discussion of purposeful overlap, Jefferson (1973) discusses the need to evidence that the overlap was purposeful and not just “trivially misplaced startings and stoppings” (pg 50). The precision of the overlap is a major part of this evidencing among one-on-one or small group interactions, but in the case of Student Section data the scale provides evidence based on how many participants can be seen attempting the same thing at the same place, even if not quite as precise a place as a smaller group of them could manage. So a constant attention to the minute detail of the Section’s overlap is not required here, and would be an undue hindrance to the readability of this data rather than the illumination of precise placement it provided in Jefferson’s investigation.

That only applies to the en masse Student Section turns unto themselves though. There are still instances of overlap that need to be recognizable as such, and for that reason brackets will be used around overlapping turns:

“Way Offsides” - UNH

1 ((UNH player steals puck near opposing goal))
 2 **Participants:** ((cheering and applause))
 3 **Referee:** ((blows whistle))
 4 **Pink Lei:** ((smiles)) Way off, way off. Way off[sides.]
 5 **White T-Shirt:** [wha:::t]
 6 **Pink Lei:** [((turns around to White T-Shirt))]
 7 **White T-Shirt:** [((holds hands up in confusion))]
 8 **Pink Lei:** No nah it was a good call, it was a good call.

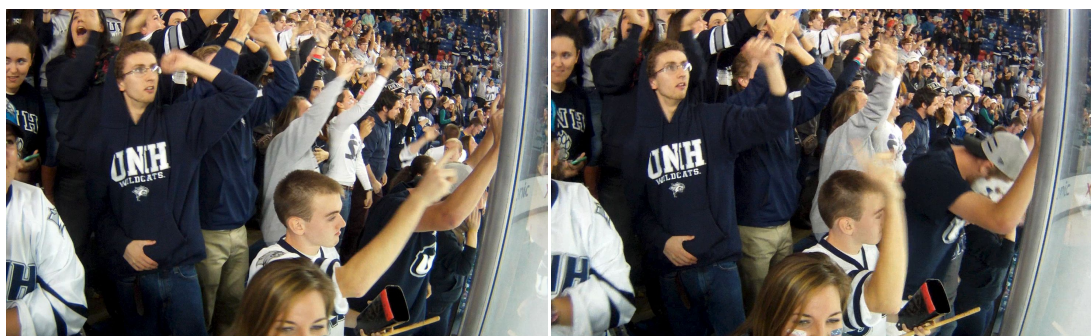
An effect the number of participants has on overlap in this data is that three or four participants can overlap at the same time, and next-turns can have a separate overlap - such as lines 4-7 in the example above. This necessitated the use of the extendable brackets rather than the more traditional “[]” square brackets, in order to keep it clear what was overlapping in these instances of common and complex overlap.

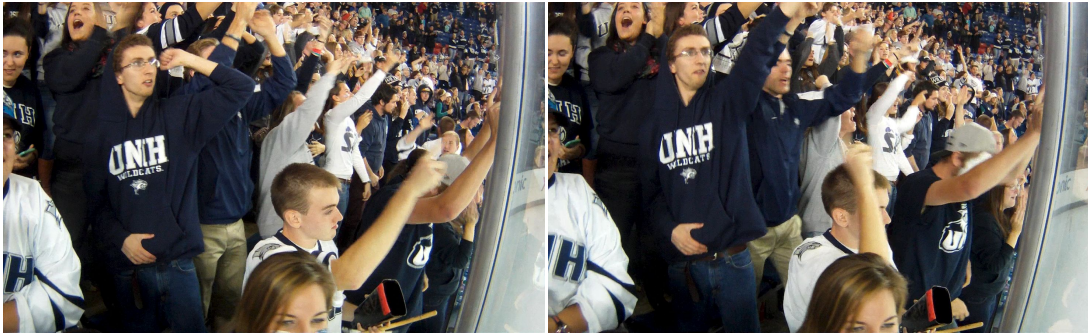
One of the reasons the data features so much overlap is the fact that concurrent streams of physical action and vocal performance need to be represented. Much like in the case of the idealized turns, this sort of overlap is so common and consistent that it's best not to treat it as overlap, which is typically momentary and avoided (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). So this concurrent performance was dealt with in its own way, separate from the bracketed overlap.

Motion Variables

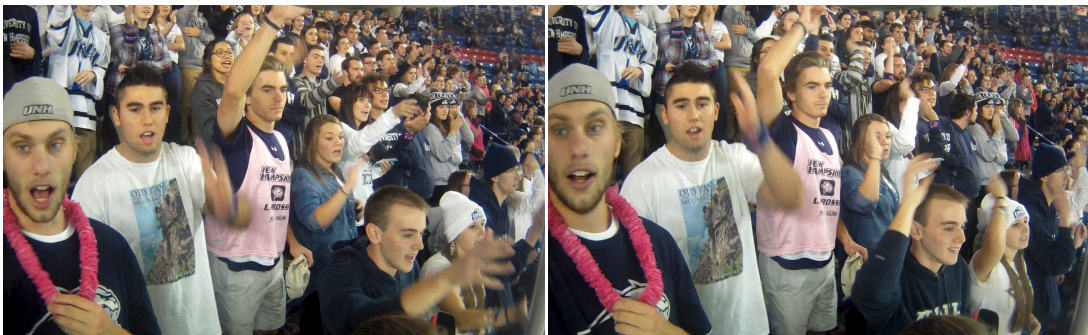
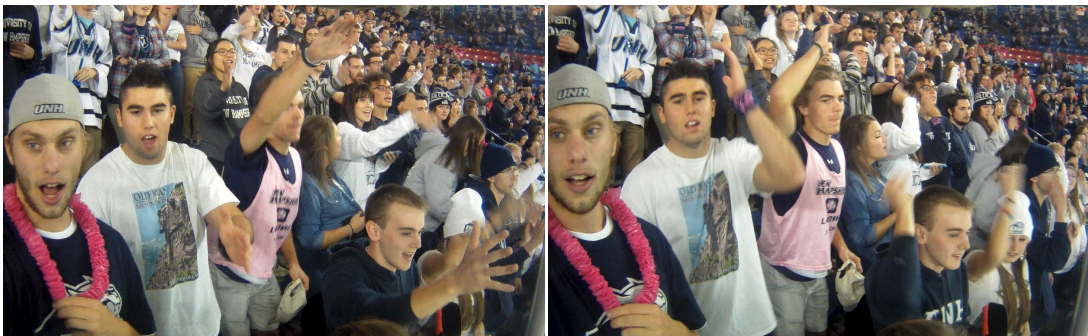
I should start by saying that there is an application of EM/CA that incorporates both vocal and physical performances. Multi-modal analysis (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005; Mondada, 2007) has been developed to deal with this, and has its own transcription conventions for dealing with physical performances. I hesitate to make any claims on this study being a multi-modal study, even though it is, because I will not be going into enough detail to satisfy what I would consider the proper depth of analysis to contribute as an investigation of multi-modality. Much like the idealization of the turns gives up some detail of turns-at-cheering in order to focus on cheering as an undertaking, so too is the physical performance being idealized in the name of clarity.

For instance, when UNH scores a goal part of the goal celebration is the Student Section participants holding up one arm, showing the number of UNH goals by holding up that number of fingers, and rotating that arm over their head in a sort of "lasso" motion.





As you can see, this isn't synchronized. Meaning, the "orbit" of their hands is not such that their hands are at the same relative position in each participant's orbit at the same time. But, like their "smudged" speech, this "smudged" action can be idealized into "the Student Section rotates their hand above their head in a lasso-like motion." What is lost in doing that is the differentiation from more precise and synchronized movements, like pointing where the participants hands do pass through the same relative position in their pointing arc at the same time.



What is the meaning of this difference in the precision of synchronization in their physical movements? I cannot say, nor was this study designed to be able to say. For this study's purposes it is enough to say that the earlier post-goal movement ends in a point toward the opposing goaltender (who

just gave up a goal) and a mocking shout of “SIEVE!” (because they’re full of holes), while this latter pointing is done toward the penalty box as an opposing player makes his way there, and each point is accompanied by an elongated “ska::::te.”

How these physical particulars relate to one another is something that latter studies can hopefully address. For my purposes, much like with the pronunciation particulars, what matters is that these movements are part of the doing of these turns in response to home goals and opponent penalties. As a result, they will be treated much like the pronunciation particulars and given enough detail to recognize their appearance and placement as idealized actions in an idealized turn-at-cheering, but not the level of detail expected of true multi-modal analysis.

Rather than the detailed and precise handling of multi-modal analysis, this work will handle the appearance and placement of these physical particulars using **motion variables**. At the beginning of transcript segments that feature particular actions - like the post-goal lasso movement - these movements will be described in a glossary on the top line of the transcript and associated with a letter:

Visiting Team Being Introduced - UNH

**(S = Introduced Opponent Begins Skating Out to Center Ice, C = Clap,
P = Point at Introduced Opponent)**

I’ve termed these variables because I have taken the concept from computer programming, where variables are similarly defined at the beginning of code to be used and reused throughout to insert their associated data. In this case to allow for particular movements to be included without stretching the transcript beyond readability. So if a description of a movement would be problematically invasive to the transcript, either due to length of description or how often/quickly it repeats, then it is given a motion variable which then represents it throughout the transcript segment. If a full description of a motion does not interfere with the formatting of the transcript then it is

included within the double parenthesis that denote a description (Jefferson, 2004) and its exact start position is marked with a caret:

Visiting Team Being Introduced - UNH

(S = Introduced Opponent Begins Skating Out to Center Ice, C = Clap, P = Point at Introduced Opponent)

```

1  Announcer:   ...First. For the Golden Knights. At left wing, a=
2  Section:           ((Begin raising hands))^
3                               =junior, from San Terese Quebec, number 28, Jordan=
4  Section:           ((All Hands Raised))^
5  Opponent:                S
6                               =Boucher.
7  Section:           You SUCK!
8                               C, P   P

```

While this method maintains readable formatting by avoiding the stretching of turns to fit in descriptions, it does lose information about attributes like duration. To take up the post-goal “lasso” motion again, the transcript will indicate that this movement is ongoing, but how long the “orbit” of any of the hands takes will not be indicated. Would/will this information reveal something about cheering? I do not know, but at this point in the analysis I am making the calculation that its inclusion would be more distracting and disruptive than illuminating.

Cadence and Emphasis

The final particulars in need of inclusion have to do with the cadence of turns. This is the pacing of the turns and includes the aforementioned elongations of sounds marked by colons (“:”) but also sped up speech within closed/open brackets (“> <”), and slowed down speech within open/closed brackets (“< >”). Also understandably important in the pacing of the crowd’s turns are pauses, both micropauses too quick to be timed (“(.)”) and pauses timed in tenths of seconds (“(0.4)”). While these are typically the most important symbols in relation to cadence, in the large-scale turns of cheering the emphasis on words within turns also becomes an important part of the

pacing. These particular emphases are marked by underlined talk. Unusually louder talk is marked by ALL CAPS talk (Jefferson, 2004) but I am using ALL CAPS to denote a stronger emphasis than underlined talk. This is because the Student Section is already yelling every word they say, so rather than repeatedly showing that constant feature I will be repurposing all caps to present a greater range of emphasis.

Emphasis needs some special attention in this work because there doesn't seem to be any sort of "normal", "easy", or "natural" cadence in crowd-speech. In one way this should be obvious, since the achievement of this widely synchronized speech is never easy, never effortless the way individual speech can appear. Turns by Student Sections are impressive achievements, but even when idealized they have this "herky-jerky" character of odd pacing and intonation. Part of this is likely due to the aggregate nature of the speech, where features don't necessarily emerge because of a logic behind them, but because they just happened to accumulate. Were it a single individual with full control over intonation they would surely manage the pacing and emphasis differently from how many collaborative turns come out sounding:

Saved by the Net - UNH

- 1 ((errant shot hits safety net above Student Section))
 2 **Section:** A::nd aNOTHER innocent LIFE, sa::ved by: the-net.

Odd-ness is not why I am including these details though. Far more important is their serving as potential markers for points where synchronization is being managed.

Bringing up "Hey John" again, look at the slightly elongated "How:" in their question toward the Announcer:

Hey John

- 1 **Student Section:** Hey JOHN! How: much time is left?
 2 **Announcer:** ONE minute left to PLAY: in the period. ONE
 3 minute.
 4 **Student Section:** Tha::nk you:::.

This slight elongation comes right after a dead-stop, as they really hit hard on the emphasis of “JOHN!” and do not flow into the next word at a “natural” pace. So the slight elongation of “How:” can serve as a wider target to be hit as the turn’s progressive momentum resumes rather than merely continues. Or the elongation of “How:” is simply a stronger smudge in the crowd-speech, as the need to restart after the hard stop on “JOHN!” leads to variation in the start point. Likely it is a combination of both, as those who arrive at “How:” first may hold the word as a pause in progression, making sure the late-starters have caught-up before continuing on to the more straightforward flow of “much time is left.” This is the pacing-work that allows the turns to hold together and to remain intelligible enough to be recognizable as talk and as turns-at-talk taken together. So the inclusion of these possible markers of it is vital.

This is especially true when it comes to rhythmic turns like chanting. Rather than the “herky jerky” cadence of one-time turns, the repetition of chanted turns results in a smoother flow to the talk. This is both because the repetition reinforces a reliable flow but also because it relies upon a particular flow. I will get more into the underlying practices of **chanting cadences** in a later chapter, but for now I will just mention that the presentation of chants in this work relies greatly on Jefferson’s (2004) symbols for expressing a turn’s flow in transcription. These include periods (“.”) marking hard stops, commas (“,”) marking slight stops in continuing speech, and an equals sign (“=”) linking immediately continuing speech. Equals signs will also be used for their secondary purpose of connecting two separate lines of a transcript as belonging to the same turn, even when another participant’s overlapping turn had to be inserted between them. Much like the adjusted use of all caps, I will also be using dashes (“-”) for a pace of continuing speech between that represented by commas and that represented by equals. This is because many chants don’t just repeat, but they speed up as they repeat, and it’s helpful to have multiple speeds of transition between words/turns in order to indicate that.

UNH Chant - UNH (X = Strike Cowbell, C = Clap)

1 **Cowbell Player:** U::! N::! H::!
 2 X X X
 3 **Student Section:** U! N! H! U!-N!-H! U!-N!-H! U-N-H! U-N-H! U=N=H!
 4 C C C. C C C. C C C. C-C-C C-C-C C=C=C
 5 U=N=H! U=N
 6 C=C=C C=C=C C=C=C C=C=C C=C=C.

The final cadence-related features are the up (“↑”) and down (“↓”) arrows that Jefferson (2004) uses to represent especially high-pitched and low-pitched tone of voice. As with other symbols I have repurposed, these will be used more as a pairing than as symbols unto themselves, as I will be using them to indicate “sing-song” cadence where speech alternates through this high-to-low pitch change. Either of these pitches on their own might be too subtle to worth pointing out, but in succession they become recognizable. Much like “herky-jerky” emphasis, “sing-song” cadence also seems to be vital to maintaining synchronized cadence on some chanted turns:

Let’s Go Huskies - Northeastern (C = Clap)

1 **Student Section:** ↑Let’s-↓go ↑Husk-↓ies! C, C, C-C-C.
 2 ↑Let’s-↓go ↑Husk-↓ies! C, C, C-C-C...

Though, it can still be used for evocative emphasis, such as in the final turn of “Hey John” which can now be fully represented with all the necessary symbols established:

4 **Student Section:** ↑Tha:::nk ↓you:::.

3.2 This Work’s Approach to Doing EM/CA

Now that the more general treatment of the data, and the necessities of the treatment of the data have been covered it’s time to talk about the application of EM/CA’s methodology. As I said at the beginning, the doing of EM/CA is very much in the application of a particular methodology for

capturing segments of everyday life to be reviewed and unpacked to discover how they were produced. The first step in that process is the capturing of the individual interaction, and as Mondada (2006b) points out this recording process represents the first analytical step rather than merely a procedural one.

Much like detail is lost in the transition to transcripts, so too is detail lost in the transition from real-life (Walker, 2014a). Life is omnidirectional and detailed down to the atom, while a camera's angle can only point in one direction at a time and the video's format generalizes matter into pixels. Advancements like 360-degree video and higher video resolutions will continue to improve the scope of the recordings, but a primary focus must still be chosen which means turning away from other subjects, locations, and segments of time. So in this section I will explain the choices that went into this first layer of analysis. This includes which features of the interaction needed to be captured, which subjects needed to be focused on to capture those features, and the effect the setting had on access to those necessary subjects.

“Any-mization”

A common feature found in CA transcripts is the anonymization of the co-participants' names. Numbered “Speaker” slots rather than proper names, or possibly pseudonyms assigned by the researcher to keep the identifiers more memorable for the discussion of the data. There is, of course, a public relations component to this as many CA studies involve asking subjects to take recording equipment into private spaces like their own homes. So the anonymization of data can offer reassurance to subjects that when the research is published their private lives won't be left on display. Thankfully, this is a very easy assurance for CA researchers to give, because in the vast majority of studies it simply *does not matter* who the co-participants are.

Outside of situations where the role of the participants are of special note - such as transcripts of American presidents on phone calls in the oval

office (Jefferson, 2004; Hopper, 2005) - the importance of the co-participants is not who they are but simply what they are. They are examples of co-participants, and their competencies are examples of what co-participants are capable of or would be capable of with the same interactional resources (Heritage, 2001). As Maynard and Clayman (2003) put it, "Conversation analytic inquiry...has a concern with generic social practices that are 'context-sensitive,' but also, importantly, 'context free'" (pg 186):

"Focusing on facts such as these, rather than on particular outcomes in particular settings, leads to an investigation of the organization of turn-taking per se, rather than to its application and consequences in particular contexts, although the more formal understanding of turn-taking illuminates more particular findings" (Sacks et al, 1974: 699).

The accomplishment of a particular set of co-participants belong to them. They are a result of the efforts and organizational decisions of that set of co-participants utilizing the resources of time, space, objects, and topics available to them (Maynard & Clayman, 1991; Heritage, 2001; Laurier, 2001). The *practices* they employ in that achievement are not especially theirs (Heritage, 2001), they are human social capabilities rather than patented singular talents of those being observed:

"These [ordinary interaction] practices were conceived as basically independent of the motivational, psychological or sociological characteristics of individuals: the institution of interaction largely antedates the characteristics of those who staff it. Just as important, Garfinkel's focus on the importance of contextuality, reflexivity and intersubjectivity primarily emerged in a focus on the sequential aspects of interaction." (Heritage, 2001: 51).

This is the context-dependence of how the practices came to be deployed in the instance of interaction being observed, and the context-independent

possibility of the practices as conversational features to be utilized in a variety of contexts.

Laurier (2015) provides the helpfully descriptive term “any-misation” (pg 4) as an alternative to “anonymization” in describing CA’s approach to data and participants. This is mentioned in relation to the use of public YouTube videos of private family Christmas celebrations as data, and the use of a video filter that gives the participants a less-defined appearance, cell-shading them to be more like drawings than perfect photographed representations:

“Our ethical response is, at a basic level, to respect a reproduce a certain level of privacy, the mark of which in this article is a certain level of anonymisation of the transcripts through the common practice of applying a filter of the frame-grab. The application of a filter is not a complete technical solution to preventing the recovery of the identity of the original participants. The filter serves as a reminder of how the family in the video ought to be understood, not personally but impersonally. It is perhaps better understood as 'any-misation' because the purpose is to analyze the actions as being of *any* family rather than the *some* family that it is" (Laurier, 2015: 4).

In terms of the physical aspect of any-mization - Laurier’s use of the filter to obscure the participant’s identities - I actually had the opposite problem from what he faced. To fit the entire Student Section into the frame requires a very wide shot. This wide framing costs a great deal of minute detail, so individual facial features are obscured simply by the pixelation caused by the limits of the image’s resolution. Even the movements of individuals can be difficult to see, especially when showing the data to someone unfamiliar with it. While Laurier used a filter to smooth out some of the participants’ details to avoid readers becoming too fixated on them, I had to use filters to sharpen edges, increase brightness, and increase contrast in the pursuit of readers being able to even see the details I was discussing.

Along with that somewhat unusual technical challenge, the underlying concept of any-mization is a major factor in understanding how Student Sections are organized. For whatever reason, whether because of “cheerleaders” being the iconic representatives of cheering or the idea that crowds almost always accept external organization (Atkinson, 1984) rather than self-organize (Clayman, 1991), people look for leadership when looking at this data. As soon as the crowd does something complex there comes a search for a director, someone “leading the cheer,” the call that the crowd’s turn must have been a response to - in the classic “call and response” structure that is the go-to pop culture cheering feature:

Cheerleader: “When I say C you say A! C!”

Crowd: “A!”

Cheerleader: “C!”

Crowd: “A!”

Or

Cheerleader: “gimme an *E!*”

Crowd: “*E!*”

Cheerleader: “Gimme a *T!*”

Crowd: “*T!*”

...

Cheerleader: “What’s that *spell?*”

Crowd: “*Ethnomethodology!*”

This would not be so bad if these call-and-response structures were a myth and didn’t appear in my data, but they do appear on a regular basis:

O-R-G-Y Call-and-Response - UNH

1	Pink Lei:	GIMME AN O::!
2	Student Section:	O::!
3	Pink Lei:	GIMME AN R::!
4	Student Section:	R::!
5	Pink Lei:	GIMME A >G<!

- 6 **Student Section:** >G<!
- 7 **Pink Lei:** GIMME A Y::!
- 8 **Student Section:** Y::!
- 9 **Pink Lei:** WHAT’S THAT SPELL?
- 10 **Student Section:** OR:GY!
- 11 **Pink Lei:** WHAT’S THAT SPELL?
- 12 **Student Section:** OR:GY!
- 13 **Pink Lei:** WHAT’S IT MEAN?
- 14 **Student Section:** TEAM-WORK! TEAM-WORK! TEAM-WORK!

Can you feel the question building already? “Who is the guy wearing the pink lei around his neck?”

I am sure there are those who would look at Laurier’s (2015) data and fixate on the *them*-ness of a particular family and try to suss out histories and relationships from their interactions rather than simply letting them anonymously (any-mously) contribute to an understanding of participant practices. As Laurier puts it another way, “*someones* that can be studied as *anyones*” (2015: 7). In a similar way, Student Sections will have these recognizable someones, whom it is tempting to imbue with the skill of the performance, to anoint them as the skillful leader whose talent maintains the crowd’s performance (Atkinson, 1984; Gates et al., 2006). UNH has a student with a cowbell who “leads” cheers, Northeastern University’s “leader” carries a bullhorn, the University of Maine has 5 shirtless “Maine-iacs” each painted with a letter of the state’s name. It would follow a certain logic that these are the people to study rather than an investigation of Student Sections, but not by the logic of EM/CA.

Despite their prominence, these someones are actually anyones. One of the factors that makes Student Sections so unique and their achievements so impressive is their turnover. As groups of university students, their participants have a “lifespan” in the Section during which to learn and perform the turns of the Student Section before they graduate, leave, and are replaced by an incoming class of unskilled freshmen. This includes the featured performers like the Cowbell Player. The replacement does not even

need to be generational, as if the currently regular Cowbell Player is absent or unable to perform then the cowbell will pass to another. If the student in the pink lei loses his voice before the game's end (a common issue) then another someone will take his place.

These positions in the Student Section do require skill at cheering and at the home institution's own unique arrangement of cheering practices - what I will be referring to as their **Tradition Canon** - but that is a skill level shared by many. Rather than leadership in the sense of special individual skill, what these positions provide is a person known-in-common (Pillet-Shore, 2011). A great deal of the work that Student Sections do is based around the very precise placement of their turns, both in the precise overlapping of synchronization among themselves and placement around turns by external parties. The beginning of a sequence like the "orgy" cheer mentioned above works a bit like an introduction in that, "For the parties involved, one of the most important factors in the doing of an introduction is the question of who launches it" (Pillet-Shore, 2011: 79). That cheer needs someone to start it, someone has to request that everyone else "gimme an O." The trouble is that dozens of participants are equally capable of doing so, and that equality has the strong potential to cause a delay as no one participant has a clear, confident claim on being the one to launch the routine. By appointing a recognizable "do-er" like the Cowbell Player or his helper in the pink lei, Student Sections can avoid this initiation paralysis and the imprecision it could cause:

"when a known-in-common person is present, parties treat *mediator*-initiated introductions as 'preferred' over *self*-initiated introductions....When mediators initiate introductions, they do so straightforwardly and without delay. In fact, they do so immediately, as close as possible to the moment that the two unacquainted parties enter into one another's presence" (Pillet-Shore, 2011: 80).

These visible “leaders” are also just one link in a chain of distributed work. Much like groups of tourists will have members “do reconnaissance” of the surrounding physical space while others focus on the map (Laurier et al., 2016), members of the Student Section will be tasked with monitoring factors that it would be detrimental for the whole Section to devote attention to. For instance, before the “o-r-g-y” sequence is performed a long announcement must be waited out to avoid overlap with the Announcer. A participant will take on the work of listening intently for the end of the announcement, sparing the rest of the Section the distraction, and will then inform the others the conversation space is clear. Sometimes this is done by the eventual “leader” or they may simply give an “okay, go” to the “leader” who will begin the sequence.



Announcement in Progress



Announcement Finishes



Rotates Around



Begins Sequence

Admittedly, this is a far stricter concept of any-mization than Laurier (2015) was discussing when he coined the term. This is because the primacy of the practices in Student Sections is so extreme compared to something like a family unit, where members are not going to “age out” and be replaced by a new class of freshmen. When it comes to Student Sections,

any-mization is a vital concept for understanding their workings, rather than a concern just for the proper interpretation of the scope of the data's implications.

Framing the Population

My work focuses on Student Sections and so, from my earliest studies as an undergraduate my data also focused on them. A single camera centered on the most active participants, with the shot framed in a way that attempts to balance capturing as many participants as possible with capturing the details of what the captured participants were doing. The original thinking behind this was that the Student Section's turns-at-cheering were collaborative performances and that by capturing the performers and the performance I had captured the essence of cheering. It quickly became clear that this was not the case, as I constantly found myself yearning to see what was outside of the frame, beyond the Student Section participants.

In retrospect this should have been obvious based on the general idea that cheering is a reaction. Logically a study of cheering would thus need to capture what was being reacted to. I had not actually missed this as much as I had over-corrected for this idea, because I was aware from my experience of participating in Student Sections that much of the cheering was proactive rather than reactive and wanted to highlight this underexplored aspect. In that desire to avoid reaction in favor of self-selected turns I had missed that both extremes were wrong. Cheering was not reaction, nor was it self-contained performance, it was interaction. I had been trying to study a multi-party interaction by training a camera on a single turn-taker and expecting to make sense of their turns without the turns of their co-participants. The first step of achieving the findings of this work was gathering proper data, and the first step of gathering proper data was to better understand the conversational participants in

sporting events and the structure of their giant, arena-wide conversation.

The Arena

First to be considered is the setting where the interaction will be taking place. In this study I will be focusing primarily on college Ice Hockey. While ice hockey and this particular level of ice hockey were chosen due to the presence of Student Sections, the type of arena involved actually ended up being beneficial for analysis. This was due to the size of the arenas involved, with the smallest seating around 4,000 spectators and the largest 6,500. These were large enough crowds for a significant and recognizable Student Section to be present, while still being on the manageable side of sports crowds. For instance, the University of New Hampshire's hockey arena was the largest at 6,500 seats but their outdoor stadium holds over 11,000 spectators. Even if the stadium isn't filled to capacity, the distances covered by the cameras increase, which means video data needs to be zoomed and enlarged. This would reduce the quality in my video data, which is already on the edge of being decipherable as it is. Eventually this research may be applied to the extremes of American college sports, with 30,000 seat basketball arenas and 100,000+ seat american football stadiums. For now, where what needs to be looked for and focused on is still being determined, a sporting situation that can be usefully covered by a single camera shot was hugely helpful.

Regardless of the size of an ice hockey arena, the general layout is going to be the same. This begins with the central playing area, a sheet of ice known as a "rink," or as it is more commonly referred to during the game, "the ice."



The ice is split into three areas, marked by two blue lines cutting across the width of the space. The areas at either end, containing the goals, are “defensive zones” separated by the “neutral ice” in the middle. These spaces enable all sort of rules in regards to player movement, but for our purposes the most important part is that each team takes a defensive zone for a period (the ice hockey equivalent of halves, quarters, sets, innings, etc., of which there are three in a game), the goal they are defending will be the one in that defensive zone, and thus that is where their goaltender will be and where the opposing team will be trying to get to with the puck. This switches with each period, so for example the home team first guards the zone on the left, then for the second period switches to the zone on the right, and then for the third switches back to the left. The uneven nature of this switch, that a team will defend one zone twice and the other one only once, means you always know where to find the Student Section in an ice hockey arena. They are always on the end of the ice that their team will be attacking twice.

This fact is very helpful for me as a researcher, because it gives the Student Section participants consistent placement rather than having to search them out, or having them be spread across different areas. As well as making them easy to locate, this consistent

placement means that from game-to-game they have a consistent spatial relationship to other actors and environmental factors. So, for instance, there won't be a game where they are suddenly at an unusual distance from the opposing goaltender. It could be interesting to see how'd they'd handle such a development, but for the purposes of developing an initial understanding of how they operate it's much more helpful to have so much comparably similar data to draw minute details and differences from.

The wall that rings the ice is "the boards." referring to the wooden wall-segments that "the glass" sits on top of. In discussing the social ramifications of modern stadium structure, John Bale (1993) laments the shift from , "unenclosed, multifunctional space with considerable spatial interaction among players and spectators (weak rules of exclusion) to enclosed, segmented and monofunctional space with impermeable boundaries" (pg 121), but in ice hockey these walls are doubly, fundamentally necessary. First they protect the spectators, and are essentially the reason there can *be* spectators. Pucks regularly travel at lethal speeds, and so the boards and glass protect spectators from injury or even death from errant shots. Having a physical barrier rather than an imaginary "sideline" simply painted on the boundaries also keeps the puck in play even on errant shots. This defines much of the play structure and strategy of ice hockey and allows it to maintain a fast and exciting pace. So it is an instance in sports where separation actually facilitates spectator involvement, as, for instance, the Student Section can focus on cheering instead of being constantly prepared to dive out of harm's way at a moment's notice.

Finally, beyond the boards are the stands, which is where the spectators, including the Student Section, sit:



All of the arenas observed had the traditional tiered seating found in modern stadiums and arenas, allowing everyone a clear view of the ice. This also means that all spectators are somewhat restricted into a forward-facing position by their seats being locked in a position facing the ice. Since the Student Section stands for most of the game - and are on bench seats rather than more restrictive full-seats with back and armrests - they aren't quite as limited in movement, but their attentiveness towards the game keeps them facing forward, which made capturing their movements and reactions possible even with just a single camera-angle. This is compared to a typical one-on-one or small-group interaction where the participants face one-another (Kendon, 1990) and a single camera angle may result in only capturing the backs of some participants' heads.

The Game Participants

The central interaction in sporting events is the sport itself. As mentioned, this affects the venue chosen and those involved must then work with the resources that setting provides. Along with necessitating a setting, the central sport also provides a provisional sequence structure to be progressed through. This includes both a large-scale sequence of game periods - the two halves in soccer and college basketball, the four quarters in american football and professional basketball, the three periods in ice

hockey, the nine innings in baseball, the laps of a race, etc. - and local sequences of play within those periods - american football teams have four “downs” to gain ten yards before they must surrender the ball to their opponent, a baseball batter is allowed three misses (“strikes”) before they are “out”, a basketball team has 24 seconds in which to attempt a shot or the ball will be taken away from them, and a racer must cover the distance of the course to complete a lap. I am remaining as general as possible with these depictions of the playing of sport in the hopes of expressing that at a basic level these the two things, an overall duration sequence and a within-duration play sequence, are what define cheering.

This work won't be getting into wider cultural factors like a sport's violence (Levy, 1989; Granström, 2012; Amiot et al., 2013) or regional locale and the effects they may have on the “civility” of language used or the form that cheering takes. For instance, European soccer and rugby feature much more sung cheering while American sports feature much more spoken cheering. As will be seen, Ice Hockey features repeated heckling of opponents while in more “cultured” sports like tennis and golf (and even Rugby) this may be considered unacceptable behavior. All of these add complexity to the doing of cheering, but no matter the form or appropriateness of the content of a turn there is a basic competence to the turn's meaningful placement. That placement depends on the local sequence of the game and the especially local sequences of play to provide openings for cheering to be deployed both in terms of post-happening spaces for reaction and open spaces for proaction.

I mention the sequences up front because it is these sequences of games and play within games that make their co-participants - players, referees, coaches, and support staff - important in an ongoing manner. They produce these sequences that are being interacted with. To treat them as centrally vital and go deep into the detail of their doing of sport would be misguided. First of all because several schools of EM/CA research could live off of just these in-game interactions, and so it would be easy to fall down

this hole and lose sight of the goal to unpack cheering. Secondly because the cheering will mark what needs to be understood further.

For instance, there is no reason to pay attention to the coaches on their respective benches, possibly for whole games at a time. Yet when a home coach animatedly argues a call they may get a chant of “kill coach kill” as he yells at the referee, and an opposing coach may get chants of “sit down, shut up” for any sort of ongoing discussion with the referee. The teams’ medical staffs are invisible until they come out to tend to a player, marking the injury as serious and pausing the Student Section’s performance and vitriol.

So these participants will be dealt with in more depth as needed, with one exception. The goaltender does hold an ongoing importance that the other players do not seem to, and there are a few reasons for that. The first is the exceptional level of importance that the goaltender holds, as they stay directly in front of the goal and do their best to prevent the puck from going in. So on the home side they are typically the most beloved player - even getting reverent bowing when near - and on the away side they receive the most heckling, and in both cases are typically the only player mentioned by name in support/heckling. Another factor is proximity and access, as Student Sections tend to be located behind goals and the goaltender almost never leaves the goal, while other players may only skate near the Student Section every few minutes.

Whatever the combination of factors is, goaltenders get consistent attention from the Student Section and turns are consistently taken that explicitly select them as recipient. So while the other actors in the game - players, coaches, referees - will be addressed more as happenings than co-participants, there will be more in-depth treatment of goaltenders as their special status and placement within the game tends to make them especially important within the cheering.

The Arena Production

The first co-participant outside of the game and the doing of the game is the Arena Announcer. This does not refer to commentators who narrate the action of the game for audiences elsewhere, but rather to an individual who relays information within the arena via the building's speaker system. Much of this is procedural information related to the game: the introductions of the starting players for each team before the game, post-goal announcements with information about the goal such as the player it was credited to, penalty announcements about what the foul was and which player committed it, and a warning when there is one minute remaining in each period. These announcements are typically responded to by the Student Section, such as the "Hey John" segment I keep referring to (pgs 12, 78, 85) where the Student Section asks how much time is left immediately before the scheduled announcement of how much time is left. A particularly important aspect of these game-related announcements is that they may occur during play. While Arena Announcers are "persons subject to the rules" whose turns are regulated by the rules of the game, they are the only person subject to the rules (besides those directly involved in the game) who is allowed to take turns during play. This makes them especially important for the Student Section as the Arena Announcer is the only co-participant they may have (or make it seem like they have) for long periods of play, as all the other persons subject to the rules are barred from taking turns.

Along with these game-related turns, the Arena Announcer also works in a more marketing-based capacity. During stoppages in play they will read advertisements and give schedules of upcoming events. Unlike the game-related announcements these stoppage-announcements are not responded to by the Student Section. Instead it is the opposite, as they will be actively waited-out if the Student Section is preparing to perform a turn but the Announcer is speaking.

Related to the Arena Announcer there is a whole series of factors and actors that I am going to address collectively as Arena Production. This

includes pre-recorded music played over the arena's speaker system, messages displayed on the arena's video screen, and lighting cues within the arena. There are aspects of Arena Production where various factors come into play, such as UNH's entrance where the main arena lights are shut off, a specific song is played over the arena's speakers, and a skater holding a giant "UNH" flag skates onto the ice ahead of the team. Each of these are reacted to by the Student Section: cheering and applause for the lights being shut off marking the imminent entrance, then clapping along to the beat of the song, and finally breaking the clapping for more cheering and applause for the flag-bearer's emergence and the team's entrance.

Beyond that elaborate combination of features for the team entrance, there are deployments of Arena Production throughout the game. Songs are played during some stoppages, "Kiss Cams" and "Dance Cams" are displayed to try and prompt displays by the crowd during stoppages, and the screen is sometimes employed to display messages like "GET LOUD" and "MAKE NOISE" before or during play. So while the Arena Announcer's turns often have a functional purpose related to the game or an understanding of the game, the Arena Production is much more about drawing the crowd into an interaction than presenting information.

The Crowd

Now we reach the tricky part of "everyone else." Rather than simply leave this description at "the crowd" or "the audience" or "the people over here" I will give some observable criteria for what binds these other actors together in a different way than the previous two groups discussed. This is not a full explanation of what a crowd is, as that will take up the whole next chapter. For now I will say that what binds the next few groups of actors together is mutual interaction.

The interactions within the game are products of the game and for the benefit of the contest, with exceptions that can be addressed in more detail, and as a result they are more external happenings than mutually oriented turns. The aspects of the game production are at least for the benefit of the

crowd, but the rigidity of their scheduling still gives them the essence of happenings. Even the “one minute left to play in the period, one minute” that forms the core of “Hey John” takes place whether the Student Section asks “Hey John, how much time is left?” And if the Arena Announcer forgets to make the announcement, the Student Section’s apparent question goes unanswered:

Missing One Minute Left - UNH

1 **Student Section:** He:y John! How much time is left?
 2 (2.8)
 3 **Members:** Aww::[::~::~:]::[::~::~!]]
 4 **Cowbell Player:** [C’mo~n!]
 5 **Front Row 1:** [they did it last week again?]

The Student Section continues half-heartedly pursuing a response in that instance, but they are never going to get one because they aren’t actually interacting with the Arena Announcer in a way that can prompt repair or select him for next turn.

That type of traditional mutual availability for interaction is present among the remaining turn-takers I will be mentioning. This includes our central focus of the Student Section and the participants within the performance of the Student Section. Seated next-to/within the Student Section - depending on whether you want to define it by participation or physical space - is the Pep Band or just “The Band.”

Pep Bands are typically subsets of the school’s much larger Marching Band or Orchestral Band and are made up of a dozen or so brass, woodwind, and percussion players. They are official student organizations often under the direction of a professional band director who conducts their performance. This official capacity is important as it makes them persons-subject-to-the-rules and they are specifically barred from playing music outside of stoppages in play. As mentioned, announcements are also made during stoppages, and the Student Section will also perform turns during stoppages. This creates a need to share the limited conversation

space, and it is here that the observability of mutual interaction comes into play. While announcements are scheduled, somewhat unstoppable, and thus simply waited out, the Student Section and Band actually engage in mutual-monitoring (Clayman, 1993) and actively share the space. If both groups are preparing a turn, as soon as one begins theirs the other will cancel theirs. This is done by the director of the Band via their movements as conductor, while the more informal Student Section will typically do it by frantically “waving off” the routine:

Hey DeSmith

```

1      ((Whistle stops play))
2      Sign Holder:      ((Quickly shuffles through a stack of signs,
3                          pulls one out that says “DeSmith”))
4                          [((holds “DeSmith” sign over their head,   ]
5                          pointed back toward the Section))
6      Cowbell Player:    ((turns completely around to face Section))
7      Band:              [♪ Sportscenter Theme ♪                ]
8      Sign Holder:      God DAMN it! ((turns and looks at band))
9                          ^ quickly pulls sign down

```

Typically the turn-taking does not cause this much frustration, this was simply a case where the Student Section had been trying to fit in a particular cheer for several minutes and were interrupted at the very last moment. What it hopefully illustrates is the direct effect that these two groups have on one another and how they respect (if sometimes begrudgingly) their mutual dependence on space for their performances.

This mutual interaction is not all competition either. The Student Section will typically develop some cheering component to go along with the Band’s songs, be it a dance, lyrics, or even just clapping along in rhythm. And as the Band are students themselves they will often join in with the Student Section’s performance, especially during play when they are barred from using their instruments and thus cannot perform as The Band anyway.

Most of the interactions observed between crowd participants (rather than around happenings) occurred between Student Sections and their

Bands. Beyond that interaction are less-common interactions between the Student Section and non-Student Section participants in the stands. The home fans who fit this description are typically referred to by the UNH Student Section as “the season ticket holders” or, oddly enough, “the fans.” The former when complaining about them, the latter when addressing them. For instance, there is a yell by the Student Section of “hey fans, here comes the overtime wave!” before the traditional attempt to start a Mexican Wave in the few minutes’ break between the end of a tied game and the start of an additional shortened period (“overtime”). At the end of close games, typically within the final minute, the Student Section will also implore these non-participants to become participants. This is done by chanting “stand up” until the rest of the crowd does indeed rise which earns cheering and applause from the Student Section. This is then followed up with one of the Student Section’s most user-friendly turns, a chant of “UNH”, which the new participants-at-standing will typically engage in, which they would not normally do otherwise.

So although these non-Student Section crowd members are typically non-participants, they are non-participants in a different way than those directly participating in the game or in the Arena Production. While those other actors are constrained from engaging in mutual interactions with the Student Section, these non-participants simply do not participate (outside of goal celebrations, with tend to be widely participated in). At least not until a situation with a high potential reward and low ongoing effort, such as standing and cheering for one final minute in a close game, and even then only when selected for participation by the Student Section. Even with all that, I have observed the UNH Student Section forced to change their chant from “stand up” to “please stand up” in order to coax the non-participants into participating.

Data Gathering

The primary data source for this work is a collection of video recordings of Student Sections at collegiate ice hockey games. These

recordings were gathered at multiple sites, and at some of the same sites over multiple years. All of the institutions included are located in the northeastern corner of the United States in the region known as New England, and all are members of the same collegiate hockey league: The Hockey East Association.

The oldest recordings in this data set are of the Student Sections at Northeastern University (NU) in Boston, Massachusetts and the University of Maine (UMaine) in Orono, Maine taken in January of 2007. Next was a set of recordings from February of 2013 covering Student Sections at the University of New Hampshire (UNH) in Durham, New Hampshire, the University of Vermont (UVM) in Burlington, Vermont, and again at Northeastern University. Each of these recordings was taken at a distance, framing the Student Section as a whole to capture the full scope of their collaborative performance.

While the arenas are public spaces in a social sense, they do feature some administrative restrictions. Consent for being recorded is explicitly required on the back of each game ticket as part of the conditions for entry, which is typical for sporting events since games are typically broadcast live and photographed for newspaper reports and promotional materials. But permission to make and use recordings is tightly controlled by the University as a result. Permission to make recordings for research purposes was secured with each university's Athletic Department, who provided a "Press Pass" granting access to the arena - including some otherwise-restricted vantage points - and permission to make video and audio recordings in the arena.



University of Maine - 2007



Northeastern University - 2007



Northeastern University - 2013



University of New Hampshire - 2013



University of Vermont - 2013

The original goal of this study was to investigate the Student Section's performance at that fully broad scope of collaboration. The idea was to hopefully avoid becoming too focused on the small-scale interactions within the Student Sections and having the study be less about Student Section cheering and more an investigation of conversations within the setting of a Student Section. After analyzing the Section-wide data, it became clear that

any accurate representation of how cheering was done could not focus just on the Section as a whole, nor could it focus on just the internal interaction of the participants. The effort to preserve the collaborative achievement had obscured the work that underlay it, and that would need to be remedied.

So while much of the conceptual work was done using those earlier recordings, the true core data was a set of recordings from October, 2015 at the University of New Hampshire. These recordings benefitted from the addition of a second camera within the Student Section, so now both the Arena-wide interactions of the Student Section as a whole could be analyzed along with the Section-internal interactions that underlay them.



Section-Wide View



Section-Internal View

Along getting the typical permission from the Athletic Department to make recordings and obtain a Press Pass, contact was also made with the “Cat Pack Captains”, a student organization that had recently formed to bolster Student Section participation and serve as formal representation for student fans. As the section-internal recordings would be more invasive I felt it was important to explain what I was investigating and what I would be using the footage for. They were supportive of the project, and verbal consent was also obtained from those in the immediate vicinity of the camera before it was mounted for each game.

The first four home games of UNH’s 2015-2016 season were recorded, which was another added benefit beyond the improved camera set-up. First, this allowed far more data to be collected for this particular Student Section which meant capturing multiple and varied instances of particular turns rather than a collection of general types of turns. So, for

instance, multiple instances of the Section chanting “U-N-H” could be compared rather than looking at chanting generally via a collection made up of smaller sets of “U-N-H” chants, “let’s go Maine” chants, and “let’s go husk-ies” chants.

Even better than simply being four games worth of data was it being the *first four games*. The collegiate ice hockey regular season is played from October to March, and all the previous data came from the end of the season. This had the benefit of getting to see each Student Section at their sharpest, as they’d had dozens of games to build up their skill and comfort, especially freshmen who were in their first season of cheering. The skill of interaction is often most visible through mistakes though (Kendon, 1990) and so these first games feature much more work at repair, clarification, and outright explanation of the Student Section’s performance as the skill is at its worst and the uninitiated new participants are at their least initiated. Heightening this learning curve, even for the experienced participants, was that the athletics department had installed a new video scoreboard hanging over the center of the ice surface.



This feature would be a significant change for the in-game presentation and thus how the Student Section would interact with and within the sequence of that presentation. For instance, replays of in-game happenings were now possible for the first time which affected where the Student Section’s attention went after goals and penalties, which affected how they were

reacted to. There were many instances of an indignant reaction to a penalty call against the home team, followed by a second, even more indignant reaction after getting a better view on the replay, which would never have happened prior. So, again, along with a better view of the Student Section's activity it was also especially interesting activity due to the skill acquisition by the new participants and performance adjustment by the experienced participants as they incorporated the new resources made available by the changes in the facility.

Data Analysis

Another change made necessary by the scale of the interaction came in the analysis of the data. Specifically, this change related to what constituted the working form of the data, which ended up being clips of interaction. While concerns with framing the data related to the spatial scale of the sporting event, in the case of analysis it was the similarly daunting time-scale that necessitated breaking the data up.

First there was the overall length of the recordings, with each event lasting 2 ½ to 3 hours. Naturally, not all of this is going to be vital, but the decision about what can be safely ignored is another analytic claim and choice. The first spaces immediately ignored were the intermissions. These are 20 minute periods between the game periods where the teams and referees return to their locker rooms to rest and strategize. During this time the ice surface is smoothed and repaired by the rink crew, the Arena Production participants engage in some promotional activities and contests, but the Student Section is "off." As in off-stage, off-the-clock. They sit down for the first time and break into individual and small-group interactions, devoting their attention towards one another in more traditionally investigated conversations rather than anything resembling the turns-at-cheering I am investigating. So the decision was made that each Student Section was considered to be "on" when they were standing, or at least when they oriented to a need to stand and began the process of getting in position.

Along with these formal periods of being “off” the Student Section also has long periods of non-cheering even during periods of active play in the game. Non-cheering does not mean inaction as the Student Section participants are still watching the game and having Section-internal discussions where individual members will comment to one another about what is happening. The key here is that the Student Section as an overall performer does not engage in ongoing talk the way individual co-participants may do. It is possible to think of periods of play as what Schegloff and Sacks (1973) call continuing states of talk:

“there can be silence after a speaker's utterance which is neither an attributable silence nor a termination, which is seen as neither the suspension nor the violation of the basic features. These are adjournments, and seem to be done in a manner different from closings. Persons in such a continuing state of incipient talk need not begin new segments of conversation with exchanges of greetings, and need not close segments with closing sections and terminal exchanges” (pg 325)

One of the differences with turns and sequences-at-cheering is they don't really feature traditional continuation like sequence expansion (Schegloff, 2007a). They are self-contained, and even when they occur in succession they do not form a new, meaningful sequence. At least, they do not form a sequence that alters the meaning or work-accomplished by any of the successive cheering practices.

With the self-contained nature of the turns/sequences-at-cheering the approach taken was to treat these turns/sequences as epicenters of performance. The video stream from the distance-camera was viewed in its entirety, with anything performed by the Student Section that was heard/seen by that distant camera marked. This was because what the distance-camera managed to pick up from half-way across the arena was available arena-wide and was thus a turn taken in the arena-wide interaction.

This avoided any erroneous elevating of small-scale interactions restricted to the Student Section into turns *by* the Student Section.

After the epicenters were marked the work became finding the limits of the turns/sequences. This involved analysis of the video stream from within the Student Section to look for when decisions were made to begin and end the turns/sequences, and what practices were used to begin and end them. In some cases the distant-camera's stream was returned to as it also featured a shot of the central contest. This was used to further expand the limits, as oftentimes the decision to begin or end was not due just to a decision by the Student Section participants but due to a happening within the central contest.

Taking this approach with earlier data was how the concept of tradition canons was developed. With that model established, the latter data was expanded to incorporate the Section-internal data to get the full picture of the relationship between this pre-existing canon of cheering practices and the emergent sequence of the game within which those practices are performed. With this expanded internal data I was able to investigate both the turns-at-cheering as practices within the arena-wide interaction as well as the Section-internal practices that produced those practices. From that two-level analysis came a complete picture of tradition canons not as a list of self-contained interactions to be done at games, but as collections of turns/sequences in need of proper placement. With that came a clearer picture of cheering as a practice that revolves around the recognition-of and capitalization-on meaningful slots in the sequence of a game.

3.3 The Consideration of Strategy

Along with an investigation of how the collaborative turns of a Student Section are constructed among the participants, this is also a study of how those turns are then mobilized into doing the participatory work of the

Student Section as a whole. This is the turn-taking that goes on, as the Student Section places their performance within other sequences of activity and interaction.

Some of this is the basic practicality of sharing conversational space among so many actors. In these cases the performance of certain turns and turn-structures in certain places is guided by basic turn-taking concerns like avoiding overlap (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks et al., 1974). For the Student Section this includes the previously mentioned avoiding of overlap with the Arena Announcer and the mutual management of shared conversation space with the Pep Band. The first is much like an avoidance of environmental factors (McKellin et al., 2007), which is why I cast the them more as happenings than turns to be engaged with. Though, the Student Section can and does treat some of these happenings as turns. “Hey John” being one example, as the Student Section turns the pre-scheduled announcement into a response by fitting a question before it and a sequence-closing third (Schegloff, 2007a) after it. There are a few others, but for most announcements and musical cues the Student Section’s response is more action than interaction as they simply wait out the happening until the conversation space clears. The mutual sharing of space between the Section and Pep band is at least an interaction, with each party having an influence on the other, but it is still at the most basic, procedural level of sharing space.

This fundamental dispreference for overlap is not the only determining factor for the placement of turns by Student Sections and the Pep Band though. I used a data excerpt earlier when discussing the active sharing of conversation space by the Student Section and Band, and I want to bring in the full piece now for what it reveals about other, more subtle turn-placement work being undertaken. To set this up again, the Student Section has been trying repeatedly to perform a cheer in support of their goaltender. This performance requires a very particular space, and the Section has been waiting for a proper situation to present itself. When one finally does and

they are a mere moment away from finally executing their turn the band suddenly begins playing and they need to stop:

Hey DeSmith

```

1    ((Whistle stops play))
2    Sign Holder:      ((Quickly shuffles through a stack of signs,
3                          pulls one out that says "DeSmith"))
4                          [((holds "DeSmith" sign over their head,   ]
5                          pointed back toward the Section))
6    Cowbell Player:   ((turns completely around to face Section))
7    Band:             [|♪ Sportscenter Theme ♪ ]
8    Sign Holder:     God DAMN it! ((turns and looks at band))
9                          ^ quickly pulls sign down
10   Sign Holder:     [((turns to face ice surface again))   ]
11   Cowbell Player:   ((also turns to face ice surface again))
12   Band:             [|♪ continues ♪ ]
13   ((Puck drop resumes play))
14   Band:             ♪ stops ♪
15   (9.8)
16   ((Whistle stops play))
17   Cowbell Player:   [((turns completely around to face Section)) ]
18   Sign Holder:     [((Holds up "DeSmith" sign)) ]
19   Cowbell Player:   HEY STUDENT SECTION! HEY DESMITH ON THREE! ONE!
20                          TWO! THREE!
21                          [((turns back to face the ice))]
22   Student Section: [|Hey DeSmith ] we're all behind
23                          you!
24   DeSmith:        ((holds up left hand))
25   Student Section: ((cheering and applause))

```

The first layer of this turn-taking is nice and clear. On lines 17-19 we see what the initiation of the collaborative turn looks like, and can see on lines 6 and 7 how the very beginning of that initiation overlapped with the band beginning to play a song. Helpfully we get the Sign Holder's expression of frustration with the interruption (line 8), the cancelling of the performance by

the immediate retraction of the sign (line 9), and a return to searching for a proper place to initiate the turn (lines 11 and 12) while the band continues taking their turn.

In order to truly understand the doing of cheering and not just the doing of cheers we need to understand the second, less overt layer of turn-taking that's going on. This is the question of what the Student Section was waiting for. I said they need a particular space to perform their turn-at-cheering, but what is that space? Why do they need it? What was it about this particular stoppage in play that made it precious enough space that the Sign Holder would yell in frustration over losing out on the use of it to their otherwise friendly co-participants in The Band?

The simple answer is that they don't want to distract their own goaltender. At least, they don't want to distract their own goaltender when it is risky to do so. This cheer is unique among those I have observed in that typically cheers directed at players do not require a response. Other turns may get a response on the odd occasion, but the Student Section will not pursue a response, which is what would mark the response as missing (Pomerantz, 1984b; Schegloff, 2007a). The "hey (goaltender)" instance at UNH gets a response regularly, the arm-raise on line 24 being DeSmith's response in this case.

While not recorded in this data, I have seen an instance of a UNH goaltender failing to respond. A first-year goaltender named Foster playing in his first game did not respond after a performance of "Hey Foster, we're all behind you." The Student Section was confused, waited for another opportunity, and performed the turn again. After failing to get a response the second time the Section began chanting "wave, Foster, wave!" until the opportune space ended, at which point they moved on, befuddled.

Since the wave from the goaltender is expected, and that wave requires him to shift his attention away from the game and toward the cheer, then the Student Section prepares as non-distracting a space as possible. They prefer stoppages in play, where there will be no chance of the goaltender facing an attack during the cheer. They prefer that the puck be at

the opposite end of the ice, meaning the goaltender will not be facing an imminent attack even if the play is ongoing, and he won't be preparing for the possibility of imminent attack when play resumes if in a stoppage. That was the criteria the Student Section was awaiting in the example above, but were repeatedly stymied by stoppages that didn't last long enough or where the puck was too close for comfort.

Again, this is the simple answer for why the Student Section held back their turn until that whistle on line 1, it is a different reason from why they then cancelled that turn when the band began playing on line 7, and is the same reason why they waited until the whistle on line 16 to try again. The trouble is that "they want to avoid overlap" is a much different claim than "they don't want to distract their goaltender."

The first is a practical matter of interaction, clearly visible in the data by their avoidance of overlap. The second enters the realm of intention and strategy, a realm EM/CA typically avoids (Heritage, 1990; Berard, 1998; Hopper, 2005; Potter & te Molder, 2005; Sanders, 2005). But again, it is a place that this study needs to go in order to express the Student Section's engagement with the sport they are watching beyond just avoiding overlap. First, let's discuss why EM/CA can't/doesn't/shouldn't make claims about intention and then I will explain why this study does and why the nature of sporting events as contests means that it can.

Avoiding the Head

The central issue with making claims about intention and strategy in EM/CA is that they are not found in the space that EM/CA is focused on. Intention and strategy are individual, unilateral, and, most importantly, internal concerns (Heritage, 1990; Hopper, 2005; Sanders, 2005) while EM/CA is interested in the multi-party, co-constructed, mutually-accessible realm of interaction.

"EM studies deliberately abstained from the use of mental mechanisms, psychologized actions, clinical psychological

biographies, signed objects, and hermeneutics. They are concerned with practices that are chiasmically chained embodiedly to the environment of ongoingly ordered phenomenal details” (Garfinkel, 1996: 19).

EM/CA focuses on expression, as in the mobilization of thought into outward, socially-accessible movement and sounds. For EM/CA, thoughts are only important as a related process that feeds into interaction and underlies individual decision-making. Cognition is, obviously, its own incredibly vital process for human beings as actors (Hutchins, 1995; Coulter, 2005), and interaction would be nothing without cognition, but interaction is about much more than individual cognition. The resulting treatment of cognition in EM/CA is similar to how interaction was treated in sociology prior to EM/CA, that of “an invisible and inscrutable ‘black box’” (Heritage, 2001: 47). Traditional sociology accepted that something was producing its social norms and objects (Heritage, 1984) but stayed above that local, constitutive level, and EM/CA accepts that cognition is a fundamental capacity that underlies competence and participation but stays above that individual, internal level.

While the mental construction of turns precedes and underlies their taking, the performance and placement of them is the important part for interactions (Schegloff, 1972; Heritage, 2001; Maynard & Clayman, 2003). A central point of EM/CA is that interaction must be *done* (Watson, 1994). Turns do not appear in or influence an interaction until they are performed within that interaction. Once they are done they become accessible to all of the co-participants, not just the individual who was thinking up the turn. Once a turn has been taken it is now “fitted” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) into the sequence of interaction, it now has placement and from that placement it gains meaning and also provides meaning to the turn(s) that came before it and to turns that may now be placed after it (Schegloff, 2007a). Those next-turns will alter/confirm the meaning of that now prior-turn, and thus is the interaction co-produced by all involved.

Building blocks are a good way to think about turn-taking in this case if only to make the point that buildings don't rely on blocks that never leave the builder's hands. Until they are added to the stack they are irrelevant, their existence meaningless to the structure, no matter how fully-formed or lovingly-crafted they may be. It is the same with thoughts. Analysis needs to be limited to the thoughts that mattered, and the thoughts that mattered were the ones performed as turns, not the ones that remained thoughts. As Garfinkel puts it, "[in EM/CA] there is no reason to look under the skull since nothing of interest is to be found there but brains" (1990: 6). EM/CA's topic is not there, and so the space inside a person's head and the work that goes on there is left to the disciplines whose central questions are about those mental structures and processes.

Now, a neurologist can put someone in an MRI machine to observe what is happening in their brain. For instance, a study of attraction (Chatterjee et al., 2009) where subjects were shown pictures of attractive faces to see which areas of the brain were most stimulated by them. This is fine as a method for observing the mechanics of the brain, but not the mechanics of social life. People don't carry MRI machines with them out in the world. We don't make sense of our everyday social reality by reading brain impulses. We do it by reading each other's external embodied actions:

"Social order is easy to find because it's put there to be found. When you go about your actions . . . you do them so that (or in ways that) other people can see what you're doing. You do your actions to have them recognized as the actions that they are. When you stand at the bus stop, you stand in such a way that you can be seen to be waiting for a bus. People across the street can see what you're doing, according to where and how you're standing. . . [Y]ou're standing at a bus stop and somebody comes and stands next to you and they stand in such a way that eventually you can see that these people are standing in a line and that one person's the first and another is

the second, and some person's at the end. People stand around at bus stops in ways they can be seen to be waiting for a bus" (Sharrock, 1995:4 cited in McHoul, 2008).

Our social actions are social because of our making them available for inspection by other social actors (Watson, 1994). So it is not just the fitting of turns in their effect on other turns, but in the presentation of actions in an accessible and accountable way and how that affects co-participants.

It is this availability for inspection to co-participants that makes turns available for inspection by EM/CA researchers. Although I said before that this work can treat intention and strategy somewhat differently, this availability for inspection remains vital here too. Picking back up the idea of "don't distract the goaltender," what makes this available for investigation is that "hey (goaltender)" is part of UNH's tradition canon. What makes the Student Section's pause recognizable as a pause - waiting rather than just watching - is that there is a turn at the end of that pause. If instead the UNH Student Section decided that interactions with their own goaltender were too risky and never undertook any then that pause would become invisible. Their purposeful doing of "nothing" to avoid distracting their goaltender would be performatively identical to their doing of nothing by virtue of having nothing to do (which is common).

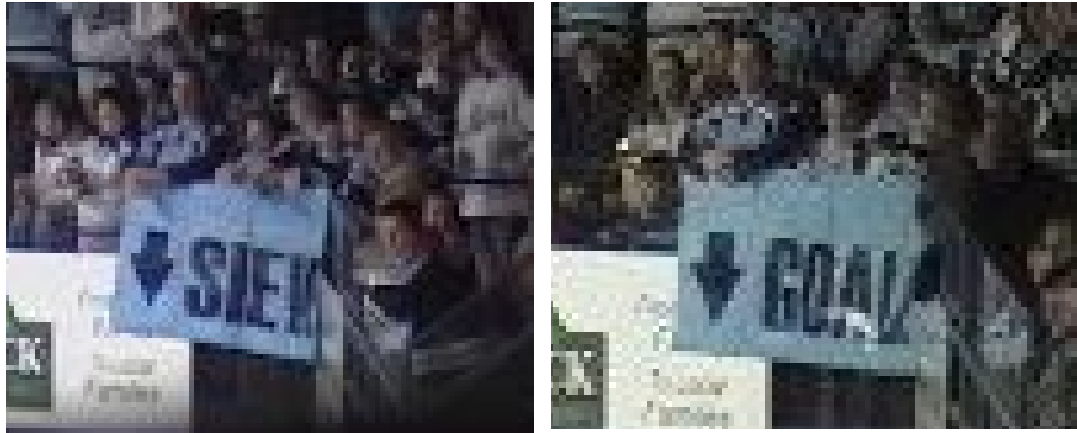
Heritage (1990) refers to the "'invisibility' problem" (pg 327) where the skill of the actor means, "intent may be designedly ambiguous or invisible" (pg 327). This is important to keep in mind for this work in terms of comparing Student Sections to one another. For example, other Student Sections studied did not perform a "we're all behind you" of their own, but that cannot be taken to automatically mean that they care less about their home goaltender. Nor can it be taken to mean that they care more about not distracting their goaltender and are more risk averse than the UNH Student Section. Without a turn to make the difference visible it is impossible to know whether they are actively pausing or simply being inactive, and so judgment

must be held because there is no difference to inspect and EM/CA does not analyze the invisible.

The Institution of Cheering

In his discussion of the invisibility problem, Heritage (1990) does mention how institutionalized settings, with their clearly defined roles and goals, provide enough information to make judgments on intent. Sporting events certainly meet this criteria with their teams locked in formalized opposition due to the rules and structure of the game. In looking at wide-open everyday conversation it can be a dangerous prospect to say “this person was trying to do *x*” if they never do *x*, but in sports a player doesn’t have to ask for the ball/puck for there to be a safe assessment that they wanted it and a team doesn’t have to come close to winning for it to be said that they wanted to win. These motivations are baked-in as requirements of the contest, and upheld by concepts like sportsmanship and genuine effort.

As “supporters,” crowd-members like Student Sections inherit that safe expectation of intent and motivation through their alignment with a team. This is further expressed by many Student Sections via a total rejection of the other team. A simple and widespread example of this is that the home goaltender is referred to as what they are - a “goalie” - while the opposing goaltender is only referred to as a “sieve” - as in an object designed to allow things to pass through, the opposite of a desirable goaltender. Some Student Sections even have Goalie/Sieve signs that are hung to mark what is in goal in front of the Student Section depending on who is in goal.



This supported/rejected, worthy/unworthy, talented/talentless dichotomy is a running theme for most of the Student Section's interactions. As a result there were times in this research that I considered utilizing Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) to discuss this practice of distinguishing one's Section and one's team from the opponents, and the defining of opponents as members of substandard categories of talent/morality from one's own players.

MCA is another discipline developed by Harvey Sacks (Schegloff, 2007b; Housley & Fitzgerald, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2012), this time related to, "categorial or 'topical' (e.g. gender, sexuality, ethnicity, identity), rather than sequential, issues" (Stokoe, 2012: 278). So rather than addressing the meaning of turns that comes from their placement in a sequence, MCA investigates the meaning produced by the deployment of categorizations of persons in what is being said (Schegloff, 2007b). These categories have associated expectations for actions and attributes, which can be relied upon via categorization - "he's their MVP [Most Valuable Player]" - or may require mitigation due to incongruity between formal category and its expectation - "she's only a freshman but has been playing well." The practice of using categorization to describe the world in a recognizable way displays members' "understanding of the world and of the commonsense routine workings of society" (Fitzgerald et al., 2009: 47 cited in Stokoe, 2012: 278).

Schegloff (2007b) warns about the overzealous use of membership categorization for analysis, stressing that "[Sacks's] assertion that some

activity is tied to some category is not an assertion about that activity and category; it is an assertion about common-sense knowledge” (pg 476). The association between behavior and category claimed by the researcher is not meant to apply judgement onto the member being categorized, or to define a situation outright. Instead the use of an association or the mitigation of an association by local participants are practices for creating meaning in interactions, and as such offer insight into how we go about describing what passes for reality together - harkening back to CA’s “ethnomethodological spirit” (Stokoe, 2012: 279). In particular, Schegloff reminds those looking to do MCA that it should adhere to the basic tenet of CA that assertions are to be shown via the data of the interaction, meaning the categorizations and their associated implications must be seen as oriented-to by the co-participants, not simply recognized by the researcher.

To return to the separation between goalies and “sieves”, we can look at how a Student Section utilizes their application of the categories to do some taunting:

That’s a Goalie, That’s a Sieve - UNH (H = Point at home goaltender, A = Point at Away goaltender)

1 ((Home Goaltender makes save and holds on, stopping play))
 2 **Student Section:** ((cheering and applause))
 3 **Section Member:** That’s a goalie. [That’s a sieve.]
 4 H A
 5 **Student Section:** That’s a sieve.
 6 [A]
 7 **Student Section:** Goalie. Sieve. Goalie Sieve. Goalie-Sieve.
 8 H A H A H A
 9 Goalie=Sieve Goalie=Sieve
 10 H A H A

What is happening here goes slightly deeper than the mere application of contrasting categories of goaltender quality. Successfully stopping a shot (line 1) is a category-bound activity (Schegloff, 2007b; Stokoe, 2012) linked to proper goaltenders/goalies. The subsequent categorization of “goalie” for

the home goaltender followed by the categorization of “sieve” for the opposing goaltender (line 3) calls to mind the latter category’s link to *not* stopping shots. This sequence is never performed “out of the blue” and though it does not follow every home save, every performance immediately follows the category-bound activity of catching the puck, and contrasts the catching “goalie” with the opposing goaltender as “sieve”. This even extends to rare instances of a spectator catching a puck that flies out of play, as the Student Section will jokingly do “that’s a goalie” to the spectator, and return to the opposing goaltender for “that’s a sieve.”

This sort of MCA analysis is certainly available throughout sports cheering. The approach even opens a channel between my work and prior interpretive sociology work on sport using hermeneutic analysis, in which researchers undertake “a 'reading' of the 'text' available to spectators and an attempt to explicate the meanings within that text” (Duncan & Brummett, 1987: 168). Schegloff (2007b) mentions that Sacks’s Economy Rule of Application - that, in principle, a single category term is enough to reference someone - provides an opening for hermeneutic interpretation, as more terms *can* be used and in practice they often are, opening the opportunity to investigate why a single reference wasn’t enough (pg 471). There are other unflattering categories of player - dirty hacks, goons, cheaters, whiners, choke-artists - which carry their own category-bound predicates (Stokoe, 2012), and tend to be taken up after category-bound activities. All of this representing part of the Student Section’s reading of what is taking place in the game, which can be addressed similarly to the readings of media coverage (Duncan, 1986), television presentation (Duncan & Brummett, 1987), and spectators more generally (Duncan, 1983).

Though that angle of analysis is available, I will not be fully pursuing it yet. Going back to the “that’s a goalie, that’s a sieve” sequence, an important feature of the save is not just that the shot was successfully stopped, but that the shot was held. This results in a stoppage in play, and during that stoppage is when the Student Section performs their sequence. While the category-bound nature of the save opens up the opportunity for their

taunting, the break in play provides a space where their categorization cannot be undermined by, say, their goaltender acting like a sieve by giving up a goal, or the opposing sieve acting like a goalie and making a save. That sort of sequential calculation is what I am interested in unpacking at this point, and what this work will remain focused on. With future research then better equipped to provide a complete picture when the categorization practices used by the Student Section to express support are paired with a thorough understanding of the collaborative cheering practices that underlie and facilitate their performance.

Even if the membership categorization devices used by the Student Section will not yet be investigated as such, the presence of that work by the Student Section is helpful in considering evidence of intent. As Schegloff (2007b) warns and Stokoe (2012) addresses, membership categorization must be introduced and oriented-to by local participants, not applied from the outside by researchers. This was a worry for me in addressing intent, even in the somewhat safe institutionalized setting of a competitive environment. What the Student Section's membership categorization work provides is data showing that their preference for their own team and disparaging attitude toward the opposing team are not just expected or implied by the competitive setting, they are actively done. The idea of "danger" for the Student Section's performance, and the resulting decisions to pause through dangerous spaces or act in safe ones, is not just a researcher's expectation about what a fan would want. Instead it relates to this characterization work, and the risks of undermining their work by having actions and characterizations conflict. With a perfect example again being the fact that "that's a goalie, that's a sieve" comes only after a save that caused a stoppage, so the sequence cannot coincide with another in-game action that may undermine it.

The institutional nature of the competitive setting certainly matters, and is revealed in the data. The Student Section does not arrive at these evaluations objectively, as the home goaltender cannot really perform poorly enough to become a sieve, nor can the opposing goaltender play well

enough to be named a goalie. What MCA's considerations offers is a link between that expected bias and the performed actions of the participants. This link allows them to announce and reiterate their own biases, thus shedding light on the wants and fears that can be expected to fuel their strategic thinking.

Tradition Canons

The relationship between cheering content and structure is very much wrapped up in the fundamental question of rules and rule-following in social interaction. John Rawls provides a helpful differentiation of rules with his distinction between *summary* rules and *constitutive* rules (Grieffenhagen & Sharrock, 2009), from which his daughter Anne developed the differentiating terms of aggregate/traditional sociology and constitutive sociology.

Summary rules come from experience (Coulter, 2009), an aggregation of prior instances (Grieffenhagen & Sharrock, 2009) to produce an expectation for behavior within similar instances. In contrast, constitutive rules exist prior to instances (Rawls, 2009a; Grieffenhagen & Sharrock, 2009; Watson, 2009) and provide the very capability to produce a shared instance of social reality and the setting, roles, and social objects that fill it (Rawls, 2009a). Constitutive rules describe actions and summary rules then regulate the implications of the usage of those actions (Grieffenhagen & Sharrock, 2009). The failure to align with constitutive rules will thus result in nonsense as it fails to provide for a shared understanding, while the breaking of a summary rule is still understandable as a meaningful deviation from expectation (Rawls, 2012). So on a dinner date it may be rude to have one's phone out and be texting continually, deviating from the summary expectations for attentive behavior on a date, but to bring in a third person and introduce them as "my date" undermines the constitutive sense of what a date is, means, and the roles it involves.

As the name implies, constitutive sociology tends to deal with constitutive rules. Though they are typically referred to as constitutive practices or preference orders to avoid the normative sense of rules as

influence and control since, "constitutive practices are not norms and they do not constrain participants. They are tools for persons to use in mutually coordinating the sense they make for one another" (Rawls, 2012: 482). A way to understand why a tool could be considered akin to a rule is to think of Garfinkel's eventual description of these practices as "instructions" (Watson, 2009). Instructions like recipes, driving directions, and manuals aren't binding, but they "self-sanction" (Rawls, 2012: 482) in that they bring practical consequences for deviating from the suggested practice. The cake may not rise, the destination may be driven past, the coffee table may wobble, the WIFI may not connect, and no one needs to enforce a sanction for these deviations, their deviation is its own punishment.

When it comes to collaborative cheering, there is a convergence of the practical concerns of constitutive practices and the expectations of summary rules. For a Student Section to do their goal celebration after a scoring play requires that there be a sequence of turns to be done after a goal, and that the Student Section meets that shared expectation by performing that expected sequence in that expected way. Acquiescing to this set of expectations - the Section's particular **Tradition Canon**¹, a concept explored in more detail in a later chapter - is thus a constitutive practice of Student Section participation. Meaningful accomplishment of participation in collaborative cheering is not possible without it.

This becomes a tricky distinction as it is not so much the following of *this* summary rule that is required for collaboration, but the collective following of *a* summary rule. The traditional turns and sequences-at-cheering hold not because *they* must be adhered to, but because *some* turn or sequence-at-cheering must be adhered to and the traditional ones are established and available for use. As Grieffenhagen and Sharrock (2009) put it, "a particular recipe for, for example, cooking a chicken is not constitutive

¹ This term is based on a later personal conversation with a UNH Student Section member where they revealed the eventual writing of a "Cheer Bible" as a written repository of performed practices for future reference, rather than relying purely on the memory of experienced members. So the term is meant to evoke a biblical/narrative canon of accepted works.

of what cooking a chicken consists of, but is rather a very good way of doing so” (pg 407), and so is the ‘recipe’ for cheering that a practice in the Section’s tradition canon represents. The difference here being that hundreds of people are “cooking a chicken” and they all need to end up with as identical a dish as possible, so the *very good way of doing so* comes closer to *the way of doing so*.

To pull back in the MCA considerations for a moment, this is why I chose not to go down that rabbit hole despite it being available. The categorization of the teams and players that is accomplished by the collaborative turns-at-cheering may be real, but can also be considered as a secondary outcome of acquiescence to the tradition canon rather than the purely active choice of an individual performing free of constraint. So it is more immediately pressing to understand the tradition canon and how it is performed, as that is what creates the turn-taking that accomplishes the work.

Even with this idea of constraint within the performance of cheering, I do not want to misrepresent Student Sections as passive drones or Garfinkel’s old “judgemental dopes” (Watson, 1994) powerless within some pre-built system. The turns and structures they participate in may be “on-rails” in the sense of having an expected path, but Student Section participants must still decide to get on the train, power the train, keep it on the tracks, and make sure it runs on-schedule. That is the primary work of large-scale cheering, and it is fully within the participants’ control, not in-control of the participants.

Sacks mentioned how rule-following can provide a certain type of freedom (Coulter, 2009) as it allows for the avoidance of negative outcomes like correction and sanction, and that is present here too. Rule-following in Student Sections is still a constitutive practice, a tool by which an actor can gain the freedom to participate. Student Section participants who make repeated mistakes are often cast as incompetent freshmen (first-year students) or performance-impaired drunks, and may be implored by others to “sit this one out” if they can’t properly contribute. Participants whose

performance becomes too belligerent or whose language crosses from irreverently unacceptable or momentarily over-aggressive to purposefully and consistently foul will be yelled at to “calm down” or security may even be fetched to remove them. This may even be enforced by citing a rival, as participants in UNH’s Student Section will often chide over-vulgar participants with the phrase “stay classy, not UMass-y” or simply “we’re not UMass!” referencing their southern border-rival the University of Massachusetts.

A Set of Assurances

Returning to the original question of this section, how can I be confident in saying what a Student Section meant to do or wanted to do as a strategy that may or may not come to pass in their activity? The clearest advantage is that a Student Section is a participant batch, not an individual. A Student Section’s internal dialogue is socially accessible, because it is accomplished via an interaction between the co-participants in the batch rather than an individual’s thoughts. This makes features like hesitation and “missing” an opportunity much more overt, because hesitation and cancellation must be negotiated between the co-participants. In the “Hey De Smith” example on pg 115, the Cowbell Player must share his intention to take a turn with the Sign Holder in order to get the proper sign held up. This accessible preparation also means the preparation must be actively cancelled when the band suddenly occupies the conversation space, which is done by retracting the sign. Even if they were never to get another chance to perform their sequence, the open negotiation of their “thought process” provides a backstage view of intention in a way that is not always available with individual social actors whose strategy may never be shared and may remain locked away from view in their head.

Another way to say this is that batch turn-construction, as a multi-party project, inherently includes some form of recruitment that often expresses strategic decisions even if the planned practices never come to pass. Many examples of batch turn-construction will feature overt requests,

but Kendrick & Drew (2016) point out recruitment for assistance or other joint-actions can also be done through less-direct verbal means or purely through physical movement:

“through an imprecation (such as 'oh god') that indicates to someone sitting beside us that we're having difficulty managing some task; we may combine a verbalization with a visible bodily action such as a gesture or even indicate need for some assistance entirely without language, for example by holding out a jar, the lid of which is screwed on too tightly, to someone who may be able to help" (pg 2).

Physical stance in Student Sections is an excellent example of the latter, as overt requests yelled back to the other participants - “gimme an S!”, “hex on three!”, etc. - are typically prefaced by a reorientation of stance. The upcoming speaker may put a foot up on their seat or make a partial turn toward facing back to the other participants and stay in that holding position before fully standing up on their seat, or fully turning to the other participants and performing their turn. These holding patterns also provide a visible course of action that is now visibly abandon-able, and a return to a typical both-feet-on-the-floor, facing-the-ice stance expresses some cancelled plan of recruitment.

Secondly, we know some of the supporters general desires by virtue of their role as declared supporters watching a contest. As part of their cheering they even overtly restate many of those desires and opinions related to those desires. They claim their team is great and want them to win, they claim the other team is terrible and want them to lose, and almost all of their work is in service of reiterating those dichotomies.

Finally, the set of collaborative practices used to accomplish that work provides further assurances. This is because the use of a particular tradition canon provides a series of safe expectations because the tradition canon is essentially a collection of required expectations. There is still plenty of work involved in the production of these expected turns, and I will explore that

going forward in this work, but confident statements about the Student Section's intentions can be made because we know what they are trying to do. Yes they are cheering, yes they are reacting, but at the most general and consistent level what that means is that they are attempting to properly place practices from their tradition canon; to properly place the turns and sequences in their proper expected places, and to perform them as expected to ensure that they are performed together.

As we progress from here on out, I will not be paying constant attention to this practice of acquiescence to collaboration. The willingness for participation is not the topic of this work, what comes after that step to participate has been taken, and the practices required to accomplish it are the topic. For that reason, willingness and engagement will be taken as inherent in the participants based on the presence of a tradition canon to be performed, the inherent recruitment that comes with batch turn-construction to produce the practices of the tradition canon, and the assistance provided by participation in those practices. The big result of those assumptions being that I will be describing some interactions as mistakes, the placement of some turns as misplacements, and some silences as involving missed turns. Deviation from the tradition canon has practical, as in constitutive, consequences for the Student Section's performance. So there will be instances where a turn-at-cheering will be a failed attempt at part of the tradition canon, and that will be based on the intention and responsibilities the Student Section sets for itself, not the imposition of an external expectation of "best practices."

Chapter 4: Opening Up Crowds

Achievement is a central concept in EM/CA. The idea that we do not make our way through a pre-existing social world, taking on pre-existing identities and utilizing social objects handed to us fully-formed by some external, omnipresent authority. Instead we achieve meaning locally (Garfinkel, 1996) through structures of interaction that we co-produce (Sacks et al, 1974; Schegloff, 2007a). This attribution of individual agency and mutual contribution for social actors gives a reason to investigate them in detail (Heritage, 2001). The mundane is easy to overlook if we expect it to just be a passive flow, reliably sorted through the pre-formed pipes of social norms. Recognizing it as a constant achievement gives us a reason to examine it, and that examination uncovers a whole world of nuanced structures and near-invisible cooperation that accomplishes a whole lot of work even just to make the mundane “clockwork” of daily life happen.

Agency is the vital aspect, as without an ability to affect the proceedings and participate in co-producing the outcome then there is no contribution. This is one of the keys of reflexivity in EM/CA, the idea that the local actors and local features are what are used to create meaning, not external norms and expectations (Garfinkel, 1996). This gives agency to the co-participants in interaction, acknowledging them as skilled social actors rather than “judgemental dopes” (Heritage, 1984). As a result, EM/CA holds a strict rule about what is present in interactions, what turns and resources are mutually-available among the local actors and thus can be considered relevant pieces of data which directly affected the interaction (Heritage, 1990; Maynard & Clayman, 1991).

The trouble with accepting reflexivity is that it cannot be contained to the data. EM/CA researchers and analysis are just as subject to the local nature of interactions as the interactions being viewed (Pollner, 1991). This is why the reviewability of Sack’s data was important to him both because he could repeatedly review it to catch all he could (Jefferson, 1985) but also so

others could review it, assess if what he had seen was really there, and add their own observations (Arminen, 2008). By searching out and at least considering as much detail as possible before settling into the focused-upon features presented in clips, screenshots, and transcripts, EM/CA recognizes the contribution of each actor in each interaction. This presents a discipline where individuals are not stepped over or edited out as irrelevant outliers. They are all protected as contributors by their agency, even if that agency is used to choose to stay quiet. What I intend to do is extend that same recognition of agency to another class of social actor that is often stepped around or edited out: social actors who are not individuals.

We have plenty of names for such actors, and that presents an illustrative problem of its own. We have audiences, crowds, “the crowd”, spectators, attendees, “those in attendance”, viewers, fans, etc. It’s not an issue of everyday terms being used, it’s the fact that no term has been grabbed by the collar and pressed into service as the encompassing term. This suggests that these sorts of social actors, even when they are recognized as such, are an ancillary consideration to be figured out later by someone else and a casual descriptor will do in the meantime.

The most commonly used term seems to be “audience,” which is likely because audiences are adjacent to performances, and performances receive study. The audience tends to be discussed in that stepped-around way, because what is really being considered is typically who or what they are watching. The audience is just an environmental feature, one too present to be edited out even as they are hidden off in the shadows away from the bright lights of the stage where the performing participants are doing work.

That is a fine and understandable problem. I am sure a structural engineer reading this work could get frustrated by my interchangeable use of arena and stadium. Architectural structure is one of the topics that this work will gingerly step over, recognizing it as a present factor but not developing some deep taxonomy of it while there is a central question to be focused on. The trouble with audience as a de facto umbrella term for what we will be discussing is that audiences are associated with a particular type of turn and

turn-taking. Audiences cede conversation space for long turns by another party (Goffman, 1981; Atkinson, 1984), with their rare turns being reactions (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986; Clayman, 1993). Basically, the audience listens and perhaps applauds while the speaker/performer is the one who takes the turns typically recognized as conversation.

Another way to look at this is that a collection of individuals isn't resigned to a lack of turns because they are an audience, they become an audience through a shared ceding of turns. An internal orientation to producing and maintaining mostly silence, but also when the time does come to take a turn that they take that turn together. So, more generally, an internal orientation to producing and maintaining a shared external orientation. Broth (2011) mentions how theatre audiences will stifle their laughter until there is a shared instance of laughter, then they will suppress their laughter as the others finish laughing. I mentioned in the previous chapter that in transcription I will be focusing on the most commonly performed talk in a crowd - the "mode" of the talk - as the crowd's talk, and now I am saying that's what the crowd does too. More than that though, this co-orientation is not a feature of a crowd, but is what makes them a crowd.

Crowd-talk like cheering is not simply individual interactions with more people. I have made that mistake in the past of trying to rationalize and normalize what is going on. To make others more comfortable with the data they are seeing, not so much as a way of explaining the situation but as a way of taking focus off the weirdness of the interaction by hand-waving it away as a normal interaction scaled-up. In some ways it is a normal interaction scaled up, it is a one-on-one or small group interaction over more space, but it is not an *individual* interaction. The entities involved in performing these recognizable structures are not of the type we in interaction are used to considering. They are not the individuals we, unfortunately, treat not only as a base unit of participants in interaction, but as *the* unit of participants in interaction.

4.1 Defining Audiences

An apparent preference for analysis of individuals is not confined to constitutive sociology. Elias and Dunning (1972) attempted to apply traditional small-group theories to teams during soccer games but found them wanting. Much like EM/CA researchers investigating interaction, they found the traditional sociological models often failed to address what actually happened in the here-and-now situation of playing a game. Games were discussed as somehow independent of those playing it, lending the impression that games can be considered separately from the actions of players (pg 67). Even when the discussion was focused on the participants, the pattern of play was ignored in favor of individual attitudes and values. Elias and Dunning found the discussion would then turn to either in-group tensions or harmony, not both, “because one has different words, it appears almost as if the phenomena themselves were different and interdependent of each other” (1972: pg 69).

Rather than focusing on the game being between separate teams, Elias and Dunning wanted to focus on how, in the playing of a game, they are inseparably bound.

“By stressing that the game is nothing but the changing configuration around a moving ball of the players themselves, one brings into focus at the same time that it is not the changing configuration of each of the two teams seen separately, but of the players of both teams together in their struggle with one another” (1972: pgs 68-69)

This concept of “configurations”, which was later shortened to figuration, was meant as an alternative to the bias in sociology toward reducing social patterns/groups/societies down to individual considerations. They chalk this bias up to an assumption in sociology that individuals are more real than figurations of individuals, “whatever that may mean” (pg 74). The result

being that the equally real and consequential figurations are overlooked in favor of the individuals within.

For example, a player's decision between team cooperation and individual glory would traditionally be conceptualized via "absolute alternatives such as 'egoism' and 'altruism'" (Elias & Dunning, 1972: 77). They point out that while the decision may be up to the individual player, the context for that decision is not. The current figuration of all the players will influence what they do, just as much as the rules of the game or the player's individual beliefs about teamwork or self-reliance. Passing the ball to a teammate may be linked with altruism, but for a player with a wide-open shot at goal to stop and pass to a heavily-covered teammate is inexplicable as such.

To translate this into the terminology of this work, Elias and Dunning argue that traditional sociology failed to account for the local contingencies that social actors actually have to deal with - just as EM/CA research has argued (Pollner, 1991; Rawls, 2011). One of those contingencies is the presence of non-individual social actors, and how their presence carries a validity and necessity to the participants that traditional analysis has struggled to properly preserve, choosing instead to consider them as merely "something abstracted from individual people" (Elias & Dunning, 1972: 74). Elias and Dunning's solution is what they call figurational (or process) sociology, which would view social groups from soccer games to entire nations as constantly changing, interdependent figurations of individuals - with emphasis on the figuration as a pattern rather than the individuals as components of that pattern.

CA would seem poised to handle the analytic issues raised by non-individuals/figurations in the realm of interaction. Unlike the traditional sociological models, CA does not overlook the contingencies that local actors face, nor is it inherently bound to the attitudes of individuals. In his comparison of traditional social sciences and conversation analysis, Lynch (1993) points out that "[CA's] basic unit of analysis is not an ideal-typical 'actor' or 'self' but a plurality of socially structured techniques" (pg 259).

While traditional sociology centers on the populations of social reality, the primary focus here is on the turns, adjacency pairs, and sequences, not the takers of those turns, exchangers of the pair's parts, or co-producers of the sequences. Fundamentally CA is better prepared to handle non-individual social actors, but avoiding a similar bias towards individuals is another matter of practice.

Conversation is a co-construction made by multiple co-participants taking turns. Core concepts of this exchange, like accountability, require a tracking of those co-participants as entities towards whom particular turns and sequences may be directed, and back-to-whom particular turns and sequences may be attributed. The analysis of the techniques used in interaction is inexorably linked to the form and capabilities of the co-participant undertaking those techniques. As a majority of CA research deals with conversations between individuals, the nature and capabilities of co-participants typically defaults to those of individuals. It can become easy then to consider co-participant to be a professionalized term for an individual, and that interaction is an exchange between individuals rather than an exchange of turns taken by accountable co-participants, whomever or whatever they may be.

It makes sense that individual persons are not typically problematic as a base unit for participants. A person is a reliable unit whose physical volume, shape, and edges come provided by the natural world. In a transcript of two people talking we know what a person is, their basic form, and how far they extend. We can track Speaker 1, or Presenter, or Paul, or whomever a turn is taken by. We can track them across the entire sequence and across the entire interaction because there isn't going to be a disassembly of a person. That person is not going to suddenly separate like an amoeba and give us Speaker 1A and Speaker 1B.

The trouble comes when an interaction involves non-individuals, like groups. Unlike individuals, the consistent existence of a group is neither a fact of physical reality nor a given in interaction. Their limits are not determined by an external membrane that separates in from out like a

person's skin passively preserves individuality in even the firmest handshake. Groups are free to swirl, meld, and come apart. We can see one as a unified entity one moment, and ascribe it a turn of “((applause))” in a way that makes as much sense as any singular, indivisible human co-participant applauding. The next moment that group can fracture into unrelated sub-groups, isolated individuals, and diametrically opposed factions. Groups don't always completely dissolve though, and some participants may continue acting as a group and remain accountable for the previous turns ascribed to them. This is true even though, going strictly by the group's changed composition/population, it is now a new thing, no longer the entity that took that prior turn.

Again, CA analysis of groups is possible, but it is not as immediately defined as when the participants are individuals. Lynch (1993) describes the doing of CA research as engagement in an analytic community rather than a particular methodology. He mentions that originally CA's aim to was rely on a purity of description, but points out that its “professional analysis” (pg 243) translates the situation from an everyday account that mundane participants would recognize into more exclusive terms the observing CA community created, defined, and uses. Except in the case of non-individuals this exchange doesn't seem to have happened in the same way, and crowds are glossed with loose, mundane description while individuals and their practices receive new and professionally-defined identities and resources. This creates a potential hurdle to doing CA analysis on large-scale, non-individual interactions in a way that will be recognized as adequately professional (Lynch, 1993: 254) by the analytic community.

The first key in discussing groups/crowds/audiences/etc. will be to adequately define what is being discussed. This is not to stamp the topic with some superficial professional adequacy, but because CA researchers must describe everyday structures of interaction in a way that mundane actors do not typically face (Lynch, 1993: 250). So while any individual may know a crowd when they see one, we need a more precise way to delineate one's form and evaluate one's capabilities if a non-individual co-participant is

to be analyzed on par with the typical individual ones. So first let us look at some ways this problem has been addressed and examine some ways audiences have been tracked and defined in other work.

The Event Model of Sports Audiences

In a study of American Football television broadcasts, Williams (1977) defines the audience not so much by what they are, but what they aren't. He refers to three "events" in a broadcast of a sporting event: the Game-Event, Stadium-Event, and Medium-Event. This represents a sort of nesting-doll with the medium-event as the outmost shell. Here by "medium" he is referring to broadcast medium, in this case a television presentation. The broadcast presented to television viewers includes shots of the surrounding geographical area, an off-site studio with analysts previewing the contest, and commentators providing description and analysis of the event. Williams did his study in the 1970s before the true heyday of statistics and on-screen graphics, but the modern medium-event includes constant on-screen information and even digitally superimposed lines on the field representing situationally-dependent goals and considerations. All of this information and graphical flash of the medium-event surrounds the stadium-event which is, "the total sequence of activities occurring in the stadium, both perceived and participated in by the fans" (Williams, 1977: pg 135). The stadium-event also includes the center-most event, the game-event, which is "the action taking place on the field plus directly related activities taking place on the sidelines" (pg 135).

Hocking (1982) and Levy (1989) used this framework but more as a way to describe what they *weren't* talking about than what they were. To set the scene that "a sporting event is a social happening, of which the contest itself is only a part" (Levy, 1989: pg 81) and that "an important component of the 'stadium event' is crowd behavior" (Hocking, 1982: pg 100). The "-event" distinctions set more of a physical layout than a social one, which is understandable since Williams was working with the single viewpoint of a broadcast camera and wanted to be able to distinguish between where it

was pointing. He was looking just at what ended up on-screen during a football broadcast and how often it was returned to. The limitation of using the Event Model in this work is it does not provide agency or variety in the audience if they are defined solely by *the people in the place in the stadium that isn't the field*. Though with the massive scope of sporting events and the fact they are often overwhelming to the point of seeming chaotic, the “-event” model provides some basic locations to draw attention to; an initial cut from which further dissection can be pursued.

A Recipient Model of Audiences

Expanding beyond sports audiences we find more detailed work on political audiences. This is found in very detailed work on political *speeches* which necessitates discussions of an audience since they are the co-participants of a speaker. Though in this approach it is not so much important that they are co-participants in a performance but rather that they are recipients of that performance.

The imbalance of attention is appropriate as the goal is to look at the speaker and consider the audience response merely as an evaluation of that speaker's performance. In his work on political speakers, Atkinson (1984) describes the audience experience as one “where there is little or no chance of getting a turn to speak at all” (pg 11). This seems to be the main justification for zeroing in on the political speaker, as their skill is credited as the force that must, “attract, sustain or upgrade the attentiveness of audience members who might otherwise be inclined to go to sleep” (pg 11). In the model Atkinson puts forth then, the audience is not a location but an entity held together by the speaker's skill at being (or at least doing-being) interesting. For Atkinson, part of the skillful maintenance of a rapt audience by an orator is providing moments of collective behavior like applause and booing as a “substitute mode of response by people who are deprived of any individual opportunities to speak” (pg 11) and thus some incentive to pay attention so as to properly participate.

Atkinson (1984) uses the word “claptrap” to refer to these prompts for response, and the suggestion of audience response as evaluation is twofold. An audience that is responding properly and on-time creates a suggestion of social approval for what is being said and indicates proper structural skill in how it is being said (Atkinson, 1984). As he puts it, “the challenge for the speaker is to make sure that as many as possible of his own supporters come in on cue with a suitably enthusiastic display of approval. If this is done successfully, it will then look as though there is strong backing for his assertions” (Atkinson, 1984: pg 94). This is accomplished by expressing which response is desired (cheering or booing) and projecting a completion point around which the audience members can time their response to have immediate, widespread participation (Atkinson, 1984: pg 48). A defining factor of this model is the level of primacy it gives to the speaker as the architect that wrenches an audience out of an otherwise formless mass. The speaker’s efforts are what matter as the audience follows their competent performance, and the speaker is the one that benefits with the audience just being a resource for presenting evidence of wide approval.

While Atkinson cites a lack of access to turns as part of the fundamental experience of being in an audience, he clearly means this as self-initiated turns. That turn-taking in crowds is so hampered that they must rely on turns packaged and provided to them in a speaker’s claptraps. Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) explore this further, looking in greater detail at the structural challenges that hamper audience members’ ability to organize their own collective behavior. They suggest that the typical position of an audience - mostly stuck in rows facing forward - makes it difficult to engage in mutual monitoring, which is typically a vital component in coordinating behavior (pg 112). In his discussion of booing, Clayman (1993) also cites this difficulty in mutual monitoring as a factor that at least delays and hinders the complexity of audience responses that do not follow the structure presented by the speaker. With the speaker’s suggestions of relevance and timing being widely accessible, supportive audience members can immediately respond with a burst of activity in accordance with what has

been provided by the speaker. Oppositional members, without that readily available structure, have to wait for a groundswell of individual disagreement (Clayman, 1993: 116). Clayman describes this as “audience members engaged in a variety of vocalizations -- whispering or talking among themselves, talking, shouting, or jeering at the speaker -- simultaneously. Depending on its loudness, the resulting sound can be characterized as a 'murmur,' 'buzz,' or 'roar'” (pg 117) which alerts dissenters to the amount of potential partners who might be ready and willing to join in an oppositional collective response to what the speaker pursued.

The speaker will only pause for response to the current point for so long, so time is short for the dissenters to organize (Clayman, 1993: pg 114). They are also still hampered by an inability to crisply communicate with one another, so dissenters' most realistic option becomes an elongated and overlapping collective behavior like booing. Atkinson (1984) and Clayman (1993) both point out that the elongated nature of cheering and booing easily allow for the incorporation of late-comers, which can make up for a lack of initial synchronization. Clayman goes further in pointing out that the higher degree of difficulty with collective response means that non-booing collective dissent is generally unlikely. For instance, “heckling is a manifestly public utterance, but it is intrinsically solitary. Because heckling (unlike clapping or booing) comprises complex remarks to which latecomers cannot easily contribute, it is by design an individual rather than a collective response” (Clayman, 1993: pg 119).

All this research also cites the social pressure to conform in public to show social competence (Atkinson, 1984: 18) and avoid the risk of isolation (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986: 111; Clayman, 1993: 111) as glue that helps keep the behavior collective. Rather than suggesting this factor as some sort of thought-control in favor of the speaker, they all point out it is merely another structural advantage for the speaker. The speaker's structure is ‘the only game in town’ as it were, and any structure hoping to compete for the participation of audience-members would need to overcome that. While the speaker had prior time to plan and perfect their speech, needing only to

maybe tweak and adjust based on how the audience is responding (Atkinson, 1984: 92), the dissenters have to organize on the fly. This problem for those hoping to dissent is exacerbated by the pre-described difficulties of mutual monitoring, which the speaker typically does not have to contend with. At least not if they have their speech at least partially memorized or utilize a transparent teleprompter known as the “sincerity machine” (Atkinson, 1984: 92). In such cases they can look out at the audience, typically with an unencumbered view, and can reach all the way across it with their voice, often bolstered by a microphone.

I refer to this frame of thought as a Recipient Model because the central figure of the story it tells is a speaker. Those in the audience are defined by their being in the presence of a speaker, drawn together by their being the recipients of a performance. Their expressions of approval are considered a feature of the structure assembled by the speaker, not of their own. While Clayman investigates a member-led structure in booing, they are still defined by the speaker as they are still considered in “the audience” and merely shift to being deviant members of that audience.

The recipient model works for political audiences as they are involved in what still resembles a mutually attentive interaction. As we transition to discussing sports audiences we cannot rely on a similar central, attentive speaker to provide structure. We need another way to define and support the unity of groups we will be treating as singular co-participants. The diversity of “audience” within a sports arena means we need a way to define an audience as a trackable entity beyond a monolithic “audience” as space. The fact that sports audience often must be self-reliant also means we need a model that provides more agency than dichotomous “adherents and deviants” to an attentive performance. For that purpose Erving Goffman’s concept of participation frameworks offers tremendous potential for tracking collaborative entities, allowing for collaborative turns, and providing reliable units of participant beyond individuals.

“Audience” as a Shared Status in a Participation Framework

“When a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it” (Goffman, 1981: 3). Think of Goffman’s concept of participation framework like a sonar reading of social interaction. Each utterance is a signal that sweeps outward and the statuses relative to it are the “blips” as the utterance strikes hearers within the limits of perception:

"Observe that if one starts with a particular individual in the act of speaking - a cross-sectional instantaneous view - one can describe the role or function of all the several members of the encompassing social gathering from this point of reference (whether they are ratified participants of the talk or not)...The relation of any one such member to this utterance can be called his "participation status" relative to it, and that of all the persons in the gathering the "participation framework" for that moment of speech" (Goffman, 1981: 137).

This may sound like another recipient-model, as a speaker’s utterance is seemingly the force that affects everything else. On the very next line Goffman expands the scope beyond speakers and recipients into something more ambitious:

“The same two terms can be employed when the point of reference is shifted from a given particular speaker to something wider: all the activity in the situation itself. The point of all this, of course, is that an utterance does not carve up the world beyond the speaker into precisely two parts, recipients and non-recipients, but rather opens up an array of structurally differentiated possibilities, establishing

the participation frame work in which the speaker will be guiding his delivery" (Goffman, 1981: 137).

As this is Goffman it's not enough to just deal with the complexity within an interaction, he is hoping to illustrate the landscape of entire social situations. He describes a social situation as any physical area within which two or more people can see and hear one another (Goffman, 1981: 84). This requirement for seeing and hearing doesn't mean a dark or noisy room can't be a social situation, it is simply a general attempt to set *some* sort of external limits. Particularly that a social situation can stretch as far as there is at least the possibility of mutual perception. So a participation framework presents a population of participants not held together by participation in a direct, mutually attentive interaction, but by the shared possibility of mutual perception. And it presents a layout of that social situation based on the participants' relation to those mutually perceptible undertakings.

Immediately, Goffman's definition of a social situation is hugely beneficial for examining sporting events. In interpersonal and small group interactions we do not tend to have to deal with issues of sprawl. Concepts like the sustained clusters of persons - F-Formations (Kendon, 1990) - that serve as containers for interaction, and evidence of attentiveness (Kendon, 1970; Stivers & Sidnell, 2005) that sustains those formations, allow us to draw lines between co-participants and around the interactions they are engaged in. Less clear is how we go about linking the audience member in the very back of the upper deck of one stand to the audience member on the opposite side, hundreds of feet away. Presumably mutual-gaze still counts through a telescope, but we shouldn't rely on it. While the top rows or sections of a stadium can be mere decoration to the overall event, too far from the game to see/hear in detail or be seen/heard in detail, they are still there, and the fact that the players cannot hear them specifically does not invalidate their performance as cheering or necessarily mean they cannot contribute.

An example of this extension of the sporting event beyond even the stadium's formal confines comes from a famous loss for the Chicago Cubs. The Cubs are a popular baseball team at the highest level of competition in the United States who are also famously "cursed" with bad luck. In 2003 they were within reach of a berth in the world championship series when one of their players bungled a fairly simple catch. He shouted into the stands at some audience members who had reached for the ball in flight (Baseball fans are allowed to catch and keep balls that go out of play) claiming they had interfered and were the reason for his dropping of the ball. This began an excruciating comeback by their opponents, and as the Cubs' control of the game spiraled out of control the audience's ire began to center on one particular audience member, a man named Steve Bartman. He became solely blamed for the bungled catch to the point that security had to escort him from the stands for his own safety, and to this day he is an infamous figure in American sports history.

The social situation aspect of this story is that the audience members inside the stadium had no reason to center their attention on Bartman in particular. The home television broadcast, unavailable to the audience inside the stadium, was what implicated Bartman by repeatedly replaying the bungled catch as the commentators singled him out as the inciting interference. It was audience members on the street outside the stadium who had access to the broadcast. They shouted those claims of fan villainy into the stadium, and as the apparent victory and championship berth fell apart their ire turned from the players doing the failing to Bartman who had "caused" their failure (ESPN 30 for 30: Catching Hell, 2011). Had the walls of the stadium truly been barriers to involvement then this never could have happened. Steve Bartman would not have been the pariah, the audience's anger would have been directed elsewhere, and the entire participation framework of that social situation would be different.

What binds the social situation of a sporting event together is the possibility of mutual perception of turns and happenings. These do not have to be direct - that is, every person in the Cubs' stadium did not have to have

a visual and audible connection to the audience in the street. Rather, participation can “daisy chain” through the audience. Yes, an individual audience member’s utterance can only extend so far and affect so many, but those hearing-members’ responses or replication of that utterance can extend further out and carry the perception of the original utterer to those beyond their range. Again, it is the *potential* for mutual perception that binds the overall environment of the social situation together. The physical layout and large populations of sporting events contain the potential for widespread mutual perception, and that is what maintains the wide-reaching social situation.

While social situations have this potential-based continuity, It’s important to stress Goffman’s idea of the participation framework within social situations being a *cross-sectional instantaneous view of a moment of speech*. A participation framework does not assign roles for co-participants to carry forward, but rather is a fleeting description of their current place in this snapshot of a social situation. This constantly refreshing view of the social situation and those within it provides an approach that can keep up with the shifting nature of collaborative entities in the interaction as easily as it does individuals. The surrender of individuality that creates collaborative entities can be recognized and described in the moments in which it is achieved, and should the next moment bring the re-emergence of individuals then that can be handled just as easily as the new moment brings a new consideration of the participation framework anyway.

What the discussion of audiences needs is a framework for “entity-ship” in interaction that can handle and explain the ability of many to be recognized and treated as one. Citing these entities as “groups” can carry an implication of ongoing commitment or association that does not apply to what are often informal assemblies born purely from interaction. Goffman’s concept of Participation Frameworks presents a physical space in the social situation which is defined by mutual access². Within that container everyone

² I will fully admit this definition of accessibility is able-normative as it is defined by an ability for sight and hearing that is not universal among potential co-participants. I would be

has the opportunity to change as the participation statuses achieved reshape the participation framework. This is the solution to our entity-permanence problem as we no longer need to track individuals through the interaction via some constant identifier (Speaker 1, Teacher, President Barack Obama, etc). We don't need to constantly dig out the margins around individuals to make sure they stay recognizable just to ascribe them turns that may no longer be considered particularly theirs by their co-participants. We have a recognizable entity recognizably participating in an ongoing interaction. Maybe its existence will continue, maybe it'll melt away, but for the moment of speech that produced it it's here. So we are going to talk about how these collective performances come to be, how they end, and how they persist in between.

4.2 Unity of Status

Much of Goffman's discussion of participation frameworks still gives more importance to the speaker, but it's a view tilting towards equality in co-production. Rather than the full side-on approach of EM/CA, where all parties must be kept in view as all parties are constantly important, Goffman's discussion of participation framework is like a $\frac{3}{4}$ view skewed towards the speaker. There is primacy given to speaker intention, particularly the idea that listener legitimacy is preliminary to the turn at talk rather than an outcome (Goffman, 1981: 132). So even before the moment of talk that generates the participation framework the available assemblage of the social situation has been divided into a general dichotomy of ratified participants and bystanders. Yet consideration is also given to the hearers' reactions as having an important role in creating the strata of statuses within that dichotomy that Goffman is stressing the existence of (Goffman, 1981: 133).

Since Goffman has never claimed to be doing EM/CA that speaker-centrism is not a sin. What I am going to do is take that $\frac{3}{4}$ view and nudge it slightly, rotating it until it is fully side-on. From this vantage point we

fascinated to read future studies of audiences with disabilities using the concepts I am setting out, but I am ill-prepared to handle such work.

can explore the co-production of the radar screen of the participation framework. How utterances can assign statuses to others and how uttering can define a status for one's self. How listening can maintain a shared status and produce a consistent participation framework, and how talking collaboratively can maintain a shared status that makes a new participation framework. Because while we might look at an audience as the recipients of a performance, we can equally define a performer as a recipient of the attention of an audience.

In discussing conversations with three or more members Goffman mentions how a speaker can address all the others at once, "encompassing all his hearers in his glance, according them something like equal status" (Goffman, 1981: 133). Stivers (2015 in Hoey, 2015) even suggests that conversation is biased toward this two-party set-up and participants in three-or-more party interactions will work - via marginalization or sub-division - to get back to two parties (Hoey, 2015). Goffman mentioned this unifying ability in passing to distinguish against his greater point that hearers across a social situation are not typically treated equally by speakers. Rather than focusing on singling out or dissolution back to two parties, I want to stay with the general implication of the practice that Goffman describes: that groups can be united in an equality of status by being addressed with one treatment.

The trouble with discussing the full potential of audiences is that attempts to define them tend to rely on perceived limitations. Atkinson (1984) discussed their lack of access to turns, Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) and Clayman (1993) all support the depiction of audiences as limited to evaluation by practical capability since so many obstacles lie in their way of doing anything else. Even Goffman says of audiences, "the role of the audience is to appreciate remarks made, not to reply in any direct way...They give the floor but (except during the question period) rarely get it" (Goffman, 1981: 138). Perhaps they all merely mean to say that "an audience" is specifically the term they give to a mass of persons who only have access to limited turns of evaluation. Still the obstacles to collaborative coordination that they cite apply to really any mass of persons. The

implication then isn't "here is how masses of persons go about achieving a specific, turn-limited way of acting called 'an audience'" and more that a lack of turns is a practical inevitability that all masses of persons are resigned to.

Broth (2011) offers us a way out of definition-by-restriction when he points out that the audience of a play is not *treated* as a potential next speaker, that a turn by them is never fully due and so they must self-select themselves for response (Broth, 2011: 114). Much like Goffman (1981) describes a speaker drawing all his hearers together by addressing them equally, Broth has described an audience being drawn together by periods of not being directly addressed. Here we have the first part of a more even and adaptable definition of an audience: they are a group encompassed by equal treatment from a speaker or performance. Whether they are Atkinson's (1984) political audience held together by a skillful orator's attempt to coax a proper response from each of them in equal measure, Goffman's (1981) persons "on-hold" while their conversational partner(s) engage in talk not meant for them (pg 134), or Broth's (2011) theater audience that all sit equally unlikely to be selected as next speaker by the performers on-stage.

The possibility of an audience being a single entity made of many people is suggested by their treatment as a single entity. They are equally selected/not-selected for response and receive equal attention/disattention. While a speaker/performer will obviously make considerations in their performance based on what they hope to achieve and who will be in the group they are speaking to, they have a speech or *an* act that they will be submitting uniformly to all in attendance. They cannot speak at a different rate tailored to each listener or have their content expressed in such a way that each listener will receive their own - outside of an assembly of the United Nations with its intermediary translators who are still supposed to strive for accuracy in replicating the speech. So they make a speech, a statement, a performance that is tailored not for an individual but for an amalgam, for a generalization of the many they will be speaking to. In this way they mark their co-participant as an amalgam, a many-as-one, an audience.

Unified external treatment is just half of being united. An audience is not simply assigned an equal status irrevocably, they must achieve their unity through the collaborative maintenance and preservation of that equality. For instance, rather than Goffman (1981) declaring those who are not ratified participants as bystanders and leaving it at that, he describes the difference between eavesdroppers, overhearers, and bystanders being based around their success in a performance of inattention (pg 132). While they are all treated equally as unintended recipients of what is being said, the variance comes from the ensuing turn at accomplishing “non-recipient.” This ranges from the unconvincing feigning of inattention by eavesdroppers, the valiant but unsuccessful effort at ignorance by overhearers, or the thorough - even if incidental - achievement of non-engagement by bystanders.

Broth (2011) describes the many ways the theater audience manages both shared silence and collective response as appropriate in order to interactionally maintain their collective performance as an audience. Broth focuses on examples of the successful maintenance of equality. He mentions how audience members will avoid potentially disruptive acts such as coughing until spaces between scenes, or pauses in dialogue that carry an expectation that they will be extended pauses - such as an actor turning fully away from the audience while, by all indications, they still have the next line. Also he describes how laughter will typically be stifled unless a large enough number laugh, and then an extended laugh break is performed together and as it begins to die down persons still laughing will again stifle in order to keep the performance together.

Now consider for a moment instances where equality of status is not maintained. If you'll remember in his discussion of booing, Clayman (1993) also mentioned heckling but says that it is “a manifestly public utterance, but it is intrinsically solitary...it is by design an individual rather than a collective response - hecklers cannot realistically expect others to join them” (pg 119). He cites the previously mentioned social constraints that are present with booing, but focuses on heckles as being particularly sunk by their

comparative complexity. The problem being that this complexity causes an exponential increase in the usual structural obstacles that hamper group collaboration. We will see that competence at collaboration can overcome this seemingly intractable complexity to make a collective heckle, but Clayman is right about heckling not carrying the same ease and/or likelihood of widespread collective participation.

Breaking Unity of Status

By heckling, a heckler chooses to break from the maintenance of the equal status made available by the speaker/performer's equal addressing of those assembled. They make themselves into an entity that must be treated differently from those who do not change with them. Since it is *highly* unlikely that the others will all suddenly decide to change their participation status in a perceivably identical way at a perceivably synchronous moment, then, as Clayman (1993) says, the heckler cannot realistically expect anything but their unilateral separation. It is a self-nomination for/achievement of a new status rather than a collaborative maintenance.

By being heckled the speaker/performer has now been addressed in a way that selects them for response to the heckler in particular (Sacks et al, 1974; Schegloff, 2007a; Modada, 2007). Both the speaker/performer and heckler are watched by an audience that is neither selected for response nor especially in pursuit of a response. So no matter what the speaker/performer does next they cannot attend to all equally and re-encompass the audience and heckler with a single treatment by their next turn.

If the speaker/performer responds with a turn directed to the heckler they are addressing them and leaving the audience as an unaddressed third party observing the newly formed one-on-one interaction. If the speaker/performer does negligence of the heckler by maintaining focus on the remaining audience they have not acted in accordance with their being selected for response. They have disattended the heckler's turn in a way that differentiates the heckler's treatment from that of the remaining audience who staked no particular claim on a response. If the heckle is addressed as

a topic to the remaining audience it is then the heckler that is the unaddressed outsider looking in on the on-going interaction between the speaker/performer and audience. Regardless of the ensuing participation framework, the heckler's achievement of a new status has ensured that it cannot not be a replication of the previous one.

Consider this instance of British comedian Jimmy Carr managing both an ongoing audience and a heckler during a show:

Jimmy Carr Heckler Response

1 **Jimmy Carr:** What is the worst gift you've ever got-birthday,
 2 anniversary, Christmas, Valentines, what is the
 3 worst piece of shit you ever got?
 4 **Heckler:** TICKETS TO THIS SHOW!
 5 **Audience:** ((laughter))
 6 **Jimmy Carr:** ((Turns head to the side of the audience away from
 7 the heckler and holds up hand)) aHEM. ((holds up
 8 finger towards audience)) we've had a heckle.
 9 **Audience:** ((light laughter and applause))
 10 **Jimmy Carr:** ((turns head back towards heckler and steps to edge
 11 of stage in his direction)) go wo-what was that sir
 12 a little bit louder.
 13 **Heckler:** TICKETS to THIS SHOW.
 14 **Audience:** [((laughter and "ooh"-ing))]
 15 **Jimmy Carr:** ((Holds right hand over heart, and fans face with
 16 left hand while stepping backward. Repeatedly opens
 17 and closes mouth))((holds left hand up to
 18 [audience))]
 20 ((steps forward)) no it was fine.
 21 ^((looks at audience))
 22 ^((crosses
 23 arms and sweeps them back outward))
 24 sir wh-what's your name?
 25 ^((turns and points back to heckler))
 26 **Heckler:** T0=
 27 **Jimmy Carr:** =Wha-what? Sorry?

28 **Heckler:** TOBY!

29 **Jimmy Carr:** Toby. Toby do you mind me sharing with the group?

30 **Heckler:** Go for it.

31 **Jimmy Carr:** Thank you very much Toby that makes it much easier.

32 Cause there's a heckle-↑quite a good heckle! Quite a

33 ^((holds up hand to heckler))

34 funny heckle. ↓But we have to do a heckle putdown

35 ^((holds up finger))

36 now. God. [((Rolls eyes))]

37 **Audience:** [((laughter))]

38 **Jimmy Carr:** I would love if I could just let it go but I can't.

39 **Audience:** ((laughter))

40 **Jimmy Carr:** There are ru:les.

41 **Audience:** ((laughter))

42 **Jimmy Carr:** But you don't mind me sharing with the group so that

43 makes it much easier, we can go OLD school.

44 **Heckler 2:** STOP STALLING!

45 **Jimmy Carr:** ((Turns to other side of audience where the new

46 heckler is seated)) What sorry?

47 **Heckler 2:** STOP STALLING!

48 **Jimmy Carr:** Stop stalling?

49 **Audience:** ((light laughter))

50 **Jimmy Carr:** Don't panic sir.

51 **Audience:** ((laughter))

52 **Jimmy Carr:** I've got this, I'll have to put you on asshole

53 ^((points to heckler))

54 ((points to heckler 2))^

55 waiting.

55 **Audience:** [((laughter)) ((applause))]

56 **Jimmy Carr:** [((turns to heckler))]

57 **Jimmy Carr:** huh=huh=huh=huh=huh=huh(.)Toby's mum.

58 ^((points to

59 heckler))

60 **Audience:** ((laughter))

(Jimmy Carr, 2013: 0:00-1:13)

Let's quickly address Carr's part in the heckle. While he addressed the audience equally, affording them an opportunity at equal status, his widespread nomination for individual responses (lines 1-3) made maintenance of the audience's equality of status prohibitively difficult. The only ways they could conceivably hold themselves together would be to all choose the same bad gift and describe it in the same way at the same time, or all choose to uniformly ignore the selection for response and stay quiet. The odds of the former are astronomical, but the latter is also unlikely in the heightened, loose environment of a comedy show. Conceivably there is also the third option of a din of overlapping individual responses where the lack of individual intelligibility is its own form of unity. Perhaps that is the type of response Carr was expecting as a sort of prelude to his joke, or maybe it was always the plan to hope for some particularly interesting individual shouts to cite and expand upon.

Introducing the opportunity for mis-maintenance of equality of status is one way for a speaker/performer to risk making the continued replication of a participation framework untenable. They can also break it themselves, such as if Carr had selected an individual from the audience and directed the question to them. This is a relatively common practice in comedy shows, where an audience member will be asked a question to break up the flow of the show, to keep everyone engaged as potential next-speakers, or to get a response that the comedian can then "riff" on. Some shows can feature periods of "audience participation" where members of the audience may be brought on stage to assist in a magic trick, join in a dance, or simply observe the performance in greater detail. Political speakers will sometimes point out a guest or family member in the crowd and tell a story about them, momentarily setting them apart as visual aid for the story rather than a recipient of it. Conceivably the subject already knows the events of their own life.

In all these instances a speaker/performer's different treatment of a particular person makes their maintenance of a unified status with the rest of the audience impossible. Goffman (1981) does not explore this concept from

quite the same angle but does mention various forms of “subordinate communication” which alter the participation framework by specially addressing a subset of participants (“byplay”), addressing bystanders as momentary participants (“crossplay”), and discussing someone present in the social situation while trying not to address them (“sideplay”) (Goffman, 1981: 134). Again, he is focused more on proving that social situations are carved up beyond speakers and listeners rather than exploring the implications of each status-generating, entity-separating slash across the participation framework.

While Carr may have seeded a fracture by asking the audience such an individual-level question, the heckler must still break it. On line 4 he does this by taking the opportunity to respond individually, thus breaking his equality of status. He achieves an instance of “heckling” and the status of “heckler” by re-purposing Carr’s question as an opportunity to insult him. We can see that he has recognizably heckled by the audience’s laughter and “ohhh”-ing at this response (lines 5 and 14) along with Carr’s responses to the response.

Immediately Carr re-orientes to the addition of a new status and the change in framework it creates. He even overtly announces the shift in situation with “we’ve had a heckle” (line 9) the same way a speaker might pause their speech (“we have someone with a question”) or a radio host might transition segments (“we have a caller”). There are now two distinctly different parties that he addresses: the heckler on his right and the audience on his left. Even though there are ongoing audience members on his “heckler side” when he addresses the audience (lines 6-8 and 15-20) he turns and gestures away from the heckler, which creates a clarity of who between the two parties (one party-of-one, and one party-of-many) is being addressed (Goodwin, 2000, 2007).

It’s telling that when another audience member breaks ranks (line 44) he doesn’t just come from the ongoing audience, but from Carr’s left side; the side he is directing his audience-asides to. At this point the left-right dichotomy goes from heckler-audience to original heckler-subsequent

heckler. Carr addresses the second heckler (lines 45-55) and explicitly puts him on hold (lines 52-55). After the audience's applause (line 56) Carr turns back to his right and sets up a string of insults towards the original heckler's mother (line 57). This is the "heckler putdown" that he said needed to be undertaken back on line 34. Picking up after the putdown:

76 **Jimmy Carr:** ((laughter)) ((applause))
 77 **Jimmy Carr:** true story. ((nod))
 78 **Audience:** ((light laughter))
 79 **Jimmy Carr:** ((turns to second heckler)) ah-HEM.
 80 ^((points))
 81 **Audience:** ((laughter))
 82 **Jimmy Carr:** You sir. ((laughs)) What did you say=what was it
 83 stop stalling? Yeah? ((nod)) wh=what's your name?
 84 **Heckler 2:** Gary.
 85 **Jimmy Carr:** Are you trying to say Gary?
 86 **Audience:** ((laughter))
 87 **Jimmy Carr:** Watch me. GA:RY:.
 88 ^((points to mouth))
 89 **Audience:** ((laughter))
 90 **Jimmy Carr:** Nyeh::! yeh::! Nyeh::! ((shrugs)) The fuck is thaI?
 91 **Audience:** ((laughter))
 (Jimmy Carr, 2013: 1:31-2:09)

After the laughter and applause that finishes the original heckler putdown (line 76) he turns back to his left (line 79) and begins a very similar interaction with the second heckler who has been on hold. First, the turning, pointing, and "ah-HEM" on line 79 which is a structural mirror to the turning, pointing and "Toby's mum" that began the first heckler putdown in earnest. Then asking his name (line 83) as he did with the original heckler (line 24). This time there is also a sequence of mockery of how the second heckler said his name (lines 85-90). After the laughter that completes that name-statement-mockery sequence (line 91) Carr goes on to do another mother-insult-based heckler putdown that also ends in audience laughter.

That is where the clip ends, but it would seem to be a safe expectation that the two hecklers were then able to re-attain unified status as audience members for subsequent jokes and routines. Now armed with their names, it would be within Carr's power to address them later in the show and separate them back out of the audience, but their breaking of unity of status does not result in permanent exile from the audience. If they are re-treated equally and return to maintaining that equality then there is no reason the previous two-party, performer-audience framework cannot be re-achieved. And what is the point of the heckler putdown (outside of an avenue for insult comedy) if not to reassemble the audience by enforcing sanctions for those who fail to maintain shared status?

Of course, this might be a bad example of "sanction" per-se as the camera cuts to the original heckler, Toby, laughing after he is put down. Part of this is the nature of "snaps", which is a term for the game of trading insults, as there is often an insulted party who is purely hypothetical. Carr has no way of knowing what Toby's mother is like, or even if Toby himself knows his mother. This is the joke of Carr's addition of "true story" (line 77) at the end of his insults, as the entire premise of him commenting on Toby's mother is farcical, never mind the truth of the commentary itself. A true sanction would be something like forcible removal from the venue, which does happen to unruly parties who insist on carving out a new status for themselves that proves too disruptive to the structure of the proceedings. And again there is the consideration of whether Carr's original question was structured the way it was as a sort of aspirational "heckler-bait." Especially considering that this clip is from a compilation of interactions between Carr and hecklers, featured on his YouTube page with the banner "Order Jimmy's New DVD Now!" superimposed on the bottom of the video.

Maintaining Unity of Status

Hecklers can seem like a bold splash of color across a blandly uniform canvas. To the speakers/performers whose work they interrupt that splash can be like soup spilled in their lap, but when viewing transcripts and

recordings they are eye-catching features. It's easy to let the majority fade into the background in favor of recognizably different individuals such as hecklers or the performers themselves. That is odd though, to treat giant groups of people working together as some stagnant, rote fog needing to be swirled by the performance. If the audience's work is considered work at all it is often treated as taking place in the margins of the speaker's work, in pockets where they are provided or allowed opportunities for activity. They get credit for applauding and cheering, but it's difficult to recognize them for their non-applause and their allowance for the speaker to speak (and hecklers to heckle).

Consider that in order for there to be the apparent three party interaction of Jimmy Carr, Heckler, and the Audience there needed to be hundreds of people in the theater continuing a collaborative performance of "audience." Without their performance holding their multitude within one status - one participation framework "radar blip" - we would need pages to merely describe the participants rather than a manageable trio of them. As for the effect on the interaction itself, multiple audience members breaking status would have hampered both Hecklers' widely recognizable emergence as their own entity. Their non-audienceship would have been muddled in with a variety of non-audience performances. Instead there is still room in the participation framework for their status to stand apart and thus stand out. This allowed Carr to select them as next speaker, recognizably gesture towards them, and divide his evidence of attention between Heckler 1 and Audience and eventually Heckler 1 and Heckler 2.

The trouble with this listening work in crowds is that crowds need to achieve a relatively high level of activity before what they do becomes recognizable as activity. In one-on-one interaction listening can be active in a way that makes it consistently present in video data and transcription, with particular gaze-work (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005), nodding, and "go-ahead" responses (Schegloff, 2007a) "doing listening" or indicating upcoming listening. For audiences though, this individual work gets washed out, as groups require collective action in order to act. An audience member can

gasp, another can nod, more can stare into space while others lock their eyes onto the speaker/performer, but we can't say "the audience" gasped, nodded, stared into space, and/or glared attentively. This higher threshold for what constitutes a turn/action by the audience makes their listening harder to transcribe, which likely went a ways toward the claims (Goffman, 1981; Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986; Clayman, 1993) that audiences take fewer turns.

To address unity of status then requires acknowledging the implicit nature of listening as half of the taking of a turn. That is, that the taking of a turn by a speaker requires a turn-at-listening by a listener (Kendon, 1970). This general sense of co-participation is difficult to transcribe, especially for crowds who may not recognizably, transcribably do the micro-level actions that typically mark listening (Kendon, 1970; Kendon, 1990; Goodwin, 2000; Stivers & Sidnell, 2005; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). For crowds then, the answer may not be to focus on transcribable actions but on the existence of a transcribable interaction itself. While a speaker who loses their active listener may become uncomfortable and seek to remedy the situation (Kendon, 1970) a speaker who loses a crowd may find the whole social situation smashed, the participation framework fractured into too many smaller pieces to be reconstituted as easily as a one-on-one interaction may be.

Maintaining unity of status is an achievement. Audiences in particular are so practiced at this undertaking and so dedicated to it that it is somewhat a given that they'll do it. It's very easy to think an audience is, for instance, sitting quietly because that is somehow their natural state. But replace the patrons of an orchestra with toddlers, perform a pro wrestling match to a coffee shop crowd awaiting acoustic jazz, or watch a first-timer attempt a Catholic mass and the necessity for competence in the response that "naturally follows" these performances will quickly reveal itself. In fact, just look at an audience before their event starts. Notice them wandering around, turning in their seats, talking amongst themselves and see that there is nothing inherent about their maintaining unity of status as quiet, seated,

forward-facing “audience.” Now, it could be said that *of course* they aren’t doing audience-y things before the show starts, they aren’t an audience yet. And *that* is the point of discussing the maintenance of unity of status when it could easily be construed as not really anything.

Accepting and maintaining unity of an equally applied status is vital to the production of a social situation that I can even approach for transcription. So if the situation is manageable enough to transcribe as an interaction, it can be assumed that work is being done to hold together without having to say “audience: ((holds together, stays quiet)).” Again, this may be implicit and obvious, but my goal here is to avoid the breaking of unity of status somehow being misconstrued as more active or more challenging than the maintaining of unity of status just because breaks will appear in transcripts and maintenance tends to invisibly facilitate transcribable interactions.

As an example of maintaining unity, here is a segment from the pre-game area of a University of New Hampshire ice hockey game:

Moment of Silence and National Anthem

1 **Announcer:** Fans. At this time we would please ask that you join
 2 us in honoring the memory. of Fred Kfoury who passed
 3 away this past week. Fred was a devoted supporter
 4 (unintelligible) a nineteen sixty four grad,
 5 longtime UNH hockey and football season ticket
 6 holder. And recipient of the two thousand and four
 7 alumni association meritorious award. Fred was a
 8 leader in business and his community. and will be
 9 greatly missed by the wildcat family.
 10 (10.6)
 11 Thank you. At this time we would ask you to remain
 12 standing and remove your caps as we honor America
 13 and all who defend her with the singing of our
 14 national anthem. Sung tonight by Off the Clef.
 15 **Singers:** Oh:: say:: can you see:::
 16 ...((anthem continues))...

17 oher the la:::and of the ↑free:::..
 18 **Person:** AMERICAAAA!
 19 **Audience:** [((some cheering))]
 20 **Singers:** [And the ho:::me:] of the::: br[a:::ve.]
 21 **Audience:** ((Applause and
 22 [cheering))]

Sporting contests progress through several stages from beginning to completion and this interaction comes from what could be referred to as the “pre-game presentation.” This game segment - running from slightly before the teams enter the playing area to the official start of play - tends to feature the most consistent and prolonged treatment of the assemblage as the type of audience cited by Recipient Model studies. The sort of audience that cedes its turns to the “central” figures of the situation, helping to create those central figures with their attentiveness and non-pursuit of turns. Turns are still taken by the audience, but they are the traditionally analyzed type taken within the margins provided by those figures. In this case the recipients/performers of central figure status are the Arena Announcer and a group of a cappella singers.

A feature that is thankfully uncommon in the pre-game presentation is the moment of silence that takes place on lines 1-11. It is quite similar to an introduction in content and structure but not in the resulting participation framework. Atkinson (1984) discusses how introductions often fit into the “on your marks, get set, go!” structure of the three part list (pg 49) and how part of that three part structure is usually spent justifying participation in the ensuing group action (pg 34). He speaks specifically about a collective expression of approval, typically through applause for the party about to speak or being recognized. In the instance above, the introduction to the moment of silence is about justifying the upcoming silence. Part of honoring the deceased involves listing their accomplishments, but the list of accomplishments presented here has a common thread of relevance to the current venue and persons present: this person is a graduate of our

institution (line 4), a fan of our sports teams (lines 5 and 6), and was continually dedicated to our institution (lines 6 and 7). Along with defying social norms regarding general respect for the dead, failure to participate is now also an affront to the institution, the institution's sports teams, and general dedication to one's community.

Although the moment of silence shares the aspect of encouraging appropriate participation with other honoring sequences, there is no verbal or physical crescendo of cheering or applause that it is organizing. Rather than organizing the collective performance of a new action and needing to project a start-point for that performance, here the request is for collective performance of inaction. That performance is already in progress as an aspect of listening to the announcement. So rather than an implication of "let's all do this thing...*now!*" it's more of a "normally you might start doing something else when I stop talking, but don't this time...okay thank you."

The moment of silence is defined by the unified dedication to a shared performance of silence. You couldn't call this silence a ceding of the space as for anyone to claim it would be a violation of the undertaking. No one talks. No one takes attention. Rather than a performance of silence as an unobtrusive companion piece to a central performance, here the silence *is* the performance. The arena announcer does not ask that those assembled *watch* as an alum is honored, he asks they *join* in honoring (lines 1 and 2). The power of a public moment of silence is that it is the accomplishment of a participation framework of one status despite the overwhelming potential for a multitude of statuses. It is a show of respect via the effort to generate and maintain a singular status as "honorers." Now, you could claim that "honoree" would then logically be a second status in the participation framework but I am assuming that Goffman's social situation being restricted to an audible and visible range means it does not extend to extra-physical realms such as a possible afterlife. So we couldn't directly equate the honoring of a person on-stage via collective applause and the honoring of a deceased person via a moment of collective silence at an ice hockey game.

There are other memorial sequences that also feature a widespread performance of silence, but the open space created is filled by a singular performance external to the respectful silence. While respect is paid in the moment of silence by wholly equal and unified participation in silence as *the* central happening, respect in these other sequences is shown by silence as non-participation in the central happening. The “ten bell salute” in boxing and pro wrestling for example where the ring bell is tolled ten times as all others engage in silence, or the firing rifles of the “21 gun salute” at a military funeral. These situations are much like a typical show performance with a recognizably active speaker/performer surrounded by a *en masse* performance of attentive unobtrusiveness. The major difference is perception rather than structure. We tend to consider the audience of a show or speech adjacent to the happening, while in these memorials the silence is acknowledged as much a part of the happening as the bell tolls or gunshots.

Here again we may run into a temptation to overlook the achievement by thinking of it as obvious. Well *of course* the audience is silent and respectful, who would want to be the one to *ruin* a moment of silence or salute to the deceased? The question of wanting to ruin it is a consideration for psychology, but the fact that it can be ruined and the choices for participation that would ruin it are an EM/CA consideration.

Beyond disattended, involuntary behavior like weeping (Goffman, 1974), breaking status in a moment of silence is fairly difficult to present as a reasonable act. The most commonly acceptable reasoning is interactional competence. So you might hear a baby cry or a child produce a question or comment, as neither can recognize the work being undertaken to join in the collaboration effectively. For older actors who may be expected to have general competence, a break in status may be considered a lapse in attention. In both cases these are likely to receive sanction or a resolution via a turn that does not break unity. So a talking adult may receive a harsh “shush,” tap, or glare to attempt to repair their apparent lack of attentiveness. Children meanwhile may get a silently raised finger to indicate delay on an answer, or a silent smile or nod to acknowledge their comment. Both of

10 [Mike Brown.]

11 **Member1:** [HOW DARE YOU!]

12 **Protester:** For four and a half minutes. >Which is

13 representative of the< four and a half hours his

14 body lay in the street.

15 **Members:** (booing) No!

16 **Protester:** And we'll start when everyone's silent.

17 **Members:** (shouting, grumbling)

18 **Member2:** You will NOT tell me what to do young lady.

19 **Member1:** How dare you.

20 **Protester:** ((reading off phone)) >We're doing a four and a half

21 minute< (.) moment of silence for Mike Brown. As

22 soon as everybody is silent.

23 **Members:** (grumbling, shouting)

24 **Protester:** ((turns to non-protestor next to her on stage)) You

25 can let us speak or he'll shut it down. ((turns

26 back)) >Get out of my face<.

27 **Member3:** Get out of our face!

28 **Protester:** We will begin the moment of silence for Mike Brown

29 now.

30 **Protesters:** ((lower heads and raise fists))

31 **Members:** (grumbling)

(Soaring Moments, 2015: 2:40-4:00)

This is obviously very different from the moment of silence from the UNH hockey example. Firstly, we never get a moment of silence that extends across the social situation. We eventually get one from the protesters, and some of them continue to attempt sanction on the crowd by pressing their fingers to their lips, shaking their heads, and raising and lowering their arms with their palms facing downwards in a “tamping down” maneuver. There is no collective maintenance of unified status though, and perhaps the nature of the sequence as hostile interruption made that untenable no matter the execution of the request.

I addressed breaking status while discussing heckling, and it's important to recognize how different the absence of unity is from the breaking of unity. A heckle may seem wild in comparison to maintained unity, but the interaction between Jimmy Carr and his hecklers is positively quiet and cordial compared to the chaos of an audience not oriented to staying together. While comedian Jimmy Carr was able to single out and address the individual hecklers, the only person directly addressed by the protester is the person on-stage (lines 24-26), who makes themselves particularly relevant by their unique physical proximity to her rather than via the unique individuality a heckler may achieve. This mass of individuals will not coalesce, and cannot even be managed through the subdivision Jimmy Carr's hecklers were corralled with. Instead the individuals in the crowd neither achieve a fully oppositional entity to the protesters nor are they merged with the protesters. Instead the central protesters abandon the audience and perform the moment of silence alone.

The protest shows that moments of silence aren't magic spells that entrance crowds into quiet introspection. They are sequences of interaction that rely on the competence and willingness of an audience to maintain unity of status and the competence of the sequence's initiator to apply a shared status that is preservable and a sequence that may preserve it.

A far less politically fraught and dramatic example of an oft doomed structure for maintenance of unified status can be found in the "In Memoriam" segments of awards shows and the handing out of diplomas in graduation ceremonies. In both these situations the organizers will often request that applause be held until after, but rarely see this achieved. Much like Jimmy Carr's widely and equally distributed personal question strained the unity of audience to an essentially untenable point, the format of acknowledging a long list of people is not particularly conducive to maintaining unified silence. Each deceased person shown in an In Memoriam reel and each graduate named during a ceremony is a new utterance, a new wave across the participation framework. The simple facts of human social relationships mean that the mentioning of each person is

going to strike the individuals in the audience differently. The read name may be a co-worker, friend, significant other, family member, classmate, personal hero, etc. and the odds of them equally holding that role for hundreds or thousands of people are basically impossible. So it's little wonder that these instances of requesting a maintained unity of non-response but presenting a structure that repeatedly strains and challenges that unity results in repeated breaks through smatterings of applause.

4.3 Batch Participation

So we have had hecklers breaking unity of status and altering the participation framework in Jimmy Carr's comedy performance. We have had audiences maintaining unity of status and perpetuating a participation framework in a moment of silence. We have had an application of shared status be rejected across a social situation in the failed attempt at a moment of silence, with the participation framework fracturing beyond the speaker's ability to repair. Now it is time to transition from discussing shared status as a phenomena to the sharing of status as a practice for accomplishing particular work. Namely, as a method for co-producing clear and meaningful interactions across vast and highly-populated social situations.

While much of the discussion in this chapter has relied on participation frameworks, I am not just advocating for an application of participation frameworks onto audience-type social situations. The exploration of participation frameworks and shared participation status was meant to provide a logic governing the existence of non-individual social actors. This achievement-oriented basis aims to move the definition of these entities away from situation-specific dependencies like having an external performer to define an audience as their recipients, or group boundaries being set by pre-existing and ongoing social compacts like formal membership. Instead the phenomenon of "many-as-one"-ness can be attributed to a participatory unity done by the many themselves, gained through an achievement and maintenance of a shared participation status.

Related ideas have been explored before, particularly by Lerner (2002) and McPhail (1991). McPhail's approach of **Collective Behavior** refers to multitude being produced when their actions are, "judged common or concerted on one or more dimension (e.g., direction, velocity, tempo, or substantive content)" (1991: 159 cited in Bassetti, 2016: 123). Lerner was interested specifically in how co-participants can join upcoming or in-progress TCU's to share them, a form of purposeful overlap he termed **Choral Co-Production**:

"at times a participant may speak in a fashion which reveals that they are not aiming to produce a separate turn at talk or even a distinct utterance among other simultaneous contributions, but are instead aiming to simultaneously co-produce part or all of a turn-constructive unit (henceforth TCU) more or less in unison with another participant, by recognizably attempting to do such things as match the words, voicing and tempo of the other speaker." (2002: 226)

Lerner was interested in how this TCU-matched/shared overlap differed from previously examinations of purposeful overlap, "in which a speaker aims at taking over or co-opting the voicing of the final part of a compound TCU" (2002, pg 227). The sharing in choral co-production refers to the intention of placement: that a second speaker's TCU is purposefully placed to overlap and match the current speaker's next TCU, to be performed with it rather than to replace it. He touches on this as a potential method for multiple individuals participating as one entity by discussing students responding en masse to a teacher's question (pg 241), but stresses that choral co-production, "does not necessarily mean achieving the same action as the other speaker through that utterance" (2002: 226).

Lerner refers to choral co-production as a method for turn-sharing and collective behavior is obviously meant to be collective, but their tolerance for varying turns creates an important distinction from a participation status-based approach. These current approaches treat turns mainly as

spaces, as periods of occupied conversation space that may be occupied by any number of speakers accomplishing any amount of work. Now, both approaches focus on instances where the work done within these periods is closely related, but this work can accomplish varying things, be directed to varying recipients, and can involve differing words/motions. This variation is problematic in non-individuals as shared participation status comes from affecting the participation framework as identically as possible and uniting under an equal relationship to the other co-participants. For the purpose of sharing status shared turns *must* achieve the same result and be directed to the same co-participant(s), along with being taken at the same time. Enough variation in the speaking - in what it accomplishes, whom it selects, when it occurs - creates speakers who are differently accountable, differently engaged, differently active and thus treatably-separate.

In order for there to be a non-individual to participate in an interaction, there must be a preliminary, mutual orientation of its participants to facilitating the unity of status that underlies its existence as an accountable entity. This necessity for co-produced presence is an overarching concern that shapes the practices involved in this distinct form of participation. Since a non-individual is simultaneously a product as well as a co-participant, I think it will be useful to have a term to differentiate non-individual participation which emphasizes the produced nature of the participant. For that reason I will be using **Batch Participation** to describe this method of acting as a co-produced entity.

While “batch” has many meanings that have association with this concept, my direct inspiration was from computer science. There the term comes from the early days of computing when data input was done by human operators feeding individual punch cards into the machines. As data-sets grew in size the operators would be stuck feeding in tediously large stacks of punch cards. Their solution was to arrange the cards into “batches” that the computer could interpret as one long input, allowing the operators to place the batch into the machine and let the computer take it from there.

The relation to non-individual social actors and their interactions is that **participant batches** also require a primary arrangement in order to facilitate a unity of status. This allows their multitude to be recognizable/accountable/treatable as one entity to those it will be interacting with. Though, there is still the less-specific metaphor that batch participation is the phenomena of the product of one co-production participating in another co-production.

These two sequences of co-production can now be differentiated for further exploration, while maintaining their clear relationship to existing practices in conversation. The primary co-production is represented by **Batch Turn-Construction (BTC)** which facilitates the necessary unity between the participants by developing a shared **Batch Turn** for them all to take together. The placement of that batch turn in a secondary interaction, an instance of **Batch Turn-Taking**, represents the second co-production. This is where the batch turn gains meaning beyond a method for batching a set of individual co-participants. Through its sequential relationship to other turns in the secondary interaction the batch turn becomes as legitimate as any individual turn, and the participant batch achieves non-individual co-participation through its relationship to its co-participants.

The Student Section as a Participant Batch

When I first described Student Sections I mentioned how they stand out from the rest of “the crowd.” This is much the same as hecklers, and, as Clayman (1993) pointed out, hecklers cannot typically count on anyone joining them. Student Sections are participant batches though, and so the unpredictable nature of heckling that usually leaves the heckler by themselves in the ensuing participation framework is overcome by the internal sequence of batch turn-construction that keeps the participants together for the batch turn that results. Student Sections both break a unity of status applied to them as part of “the crowd” and maintain a new, distinct unity of status as participants in the taking of a batch turn. The breaking of status from the rest of the audience alters the participation framework,

providing a new status to be occupied, and the Student Section shares that new status. They achieve external distinction through internal collaboration.

If Student Sections are produced by a shared breaking of a unity of applied status then what is the status they are breaking? As I mentioned back at the moment of silence (an arena-wide unity of status the Student Section did maintain) games feature various segments of game production (team entrances, introductions, between-period promotions), play (warm-ups and the actual, active contest), and stoppages (the space before team warm-ups, the space between team warm-ups and team introductions, momentary breaks in active play, and the intermissions between periods). Within these segments come a variety of treatments from a variety of actors, but they mostly break down into two classes of treatment: equally attended and equally disattended.

The “moment of silence” example would be an example of equal attention, which the pre-game segment is full of. This equal attention comes mostly from the Arena Announcer, as his announcements are made equally accessible and equally addressed to all in attendance. Rather than accept this equal address, Student Sections will respond to announcements and recast the impersonal announcements as first pair-parts (FPPs):

UMaine Opponent Introductions

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | Announcer: | ...Here are tonight’s starting lineups first the |
| 2 | | visitors from Merrimack. On Defense, from Irvine |
| 3 | | California, number five, Chris Kane. |
| 4 | Student Section: | So <u>WHAT</u> ? |
| 5 | Announcer: | On Defense. From Bloomington Illinois, number |
| 6 | | three, Joe Loprieno. |
| 7 | Student Section: | Who <u>CARES</u> ? |
| 8 | Announcer: | At left wing, from Framingham Massachusetts, |
| 9 | | number eighteen Patrick Kimball. |
| 10 | Student Section: | Big <u>DEAL</u> !... |

That’s Debateable, Always Were

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1 | ((UMass player exits penalty box)) |
|---|------------------------------------|

- 2 **Arena Announcer:** UMass at full strength!
 3 **Student Section:** That's debateable:.
 4 (2.4)
 5 ((UNH player exits penalty box))
 6 **Arena Announcer:** UNH at full strength!
 7 **Student Section:** Always WERE:.

The “Hey John” routine at UNH takes this even further. Rather than introducing an SPP to redefine an announcement as an FPP, here the Student Section inserts an FPP which turns the announcement into an SPP. Now they are not just responding in a personal way and performing a more direct involvement, but they are actually being responded to as a particular co-participant.

Hey John

- 1 **Student Section:** Hey JOHN! How: much time is left?
 2 **Announcer:** ONE minute left to PLAY: in the period. ONE
 3 minute.
 4 **Student Section:** ↑Tha:::nk ↓you:::.

Student Sections stand out in these situations partially because of their activity, but also because of the rest of the crowd’s inactivity. This is what allows the Student Section to cast themselves as particularly involved and having a particularly personal relationship to the Arena Announcer and a particular claim on their turns. The rest of the crowd cedes these aspects, and simply accept the announcements as inert announcements rather than FPPs in need of SPPs. What Student Sections would look like with more participant batches in the crowd (outside of the heavily-regulated Pep Band) is worth further investigation to see how particular crowd-separation and game/announcer-closeness is achieved. In this participation framework though, where most of the crowd is united in non-response, the Student Section stands apart by doing interaction work that the others leave undone, or simply do not consider as relevant.

Let me stick with “Hey John” for a moment to illustrate what is happening based on what *isn't* going on. “Hey John” is, on the one hand, a joke. The Student Section uses their knowledge of the mechanics of the Arena Announcer’s announcement schedule to place turns that reframe a cold, mechanical feature into a seemingly warm and friendly exchange. But on the other hand it is *not* a joke. It is a real turn, taken by a real entity, it produces a recognizable interaction. Compare it to, say, one Section member doing it on their own, never reaching the ear of the Arena Announcer or anyone else across the arena. That would not be an interaction, that would be a joke. The same if all the Section took their turns individually, making no attempt to coordinate into a recognizably shared turn. The Arena Announcer may be able to hear the commotion, they may know *something* is going on, as might the rest of the arena, but the meaning of what had just happened would be internal to the Student Section. These would be jokes at a fundamental level, disingenuous violations of notions of trust (Watson, 2009) and co-production (Sacks et al., 1974) in order to ape interaction.

What the Student Section achieves are actual interactions, engaged in by an actual social actor. To participate at an arena-wide level, to be heard across the vast space of an arena or stadium, cannot be done as individuals, so the Student Section participants give up individual autonomy for a chance at batch involvement. Thus do they create an arena-wide actor on par with the Arena Announcer, the players, the referees, The Pep Band, etc. That achievement of a batch nature is what makes them who they are in the social situation of the games, more than activity level, affiliation, or merely their seating location.

A United State of Disattention

Not yet covered in any of the previous examples is equal disattention. By disattention I am referring to Goffman’s (1974) concept of the performed ignorance of factors in a social situation. Goffman presents the example of an African leader whose government was deposed in a coup while he was

flying to China for a diplomatic trip. When he landed the state dinner went ahead as planned with none of the participants addressing the fact that the leader was no longer in control of the country he was representing (Goffman, 1974: 202). Goffman's point being that the successful performance of the state dinner required that this disastrous change in circumstances be tactfully ignored, as to acknowledge it would poison the performed reality of this being a meeting between the current leaders and representatives of their respective countries.

Examples in sports are not quite as dramatic and layered. Setting aside Goffman's focus on wider social roles, what athletes are typically attempting to preserve with disattention of off-field parties is evidence of proper attentiveness and orientation. That is, disattention of the spectators is part of maintaining focus on their primary engagement in the central contest (Birrell & Turowetz, 1979). While there may be some cognitive value to this in the scientific sense of performance as goal-accomplishment (Barsky & Schwartz, 1977; Anderson et al., 2012; Braga & Guillén, 2012; McEwan et al., 2012; Jones, 2013), for our purposes it is also true in terms of social performance and avoiding being considered "distracted." This is especially important in sports as it is a realm of interaction where one's participation may be formally revoked based on another's assessment. Whether or not a player is medically tired or psychologically distracted may affect their play, but if their Coach *considers* them to be tired or distracted they may be substituted with another player and no longer get to play.

As a result of this need to perform game focus, the crowd spends long periods of time as a disattended factor for the players, receiving neither selection for next-turn nor an expectation of response to their turns, especially compared to audiences (Reeves et al., 2010). This is typically during segments of play, due to some formal restrictions on turn-taking during play. When introducing Student Sections I mentioned one of the interesting things about them is they are informal groups and thus not persons subject to the rules (Piotrowski, 2014: 54; Redding, 2015: FR-94) that bars interactions during play like music and sound effects from the

Arena Production or songs from the Pep Band. This means that outside of the Arena Announcer's announcements the crowd will not be selected for response during the game - and, as discussed, even the announcements being selective is an invention of the Student Section. Left with just the players allowed to perform continually, and the players incentivized to perform ignorance of them, the crowd is left equally unaddressed, unrecruited for interaction, and not engaged with.

There are breaks in the players' disattention, as post-score celebrations will often involve gesturing towards the crowd. Also remember back to the very first example from this work of the Virginia Tech crowd cheering and jumping to "Enter Sandman", and how the defensive players waved their arms towards the crowd to egg them on. A commonality of these instances is they take place during stoppages in play, and also that they are exceptions rather than reliable occurrences around which an audience can collaborate. This abandonment of the crowd during play can be considered a hindrance. As Atkinson (1984) said, without an attentive entity to mold and energize them, an audience may simply fall asleep. As Coulter (1993) pointed out when discussing dissention in audiences though, one of the biggest challenges for dissenters to overcome is the presence of a structure for response that they must compete with. So for Student Sections, who already produce their own internal interactions to facilitate their batch participation even when interacting with an attentive co-participant, this empty space can provide a clear space for interaction rather than an absence of interaction or hindrance against interaction.

Exploring Batch Production

Now that the concept of a batch has been introduced, the remainder of this work will focus in detail on the production of one by exploring Student Section cheering. The next two chapters are devoted to exploring batch turn construction (BTC), as the primary co-production in batch participation this corresponds Section-internal interaction that produces the shared turns that are placed within the arena-wide interaction to produce a batch.

By exploring BTC in detail I will be able to fulfill the goal I presented at the beginning of this chapter, an ability to consider non-individual entities like batches as capable social actors. This is in contrast to the idea of “crowds” or “audiences” as less-capable states that individual co-participants may find themselves in. Exploring BTC will dissuade this notion by showing capabilities of cheering-as-interaction that are only available through batch participation. That being a crowd has plenty of practical challenges, but also provides opportunities for action unavailable to any individual or even smaller groups of individuals. The interaction work of batches like Student Sections shape the social situations of the sporting events they participate in, and by treating cheering as the turn-taking that it is I will begin to bring the detail to cheering and sporting events that EM/CA has brought to talk-in-interaction and conversation.

Chapter 5: Requirements For Collaboration

The idea of a batch offers a way to discuss “crowds”, “audiences” and other groups seen as expressing themselves together rather than expressing themselves to each other. Rather than defining these entities by general impressions of numbers of participants - where is the line between a few and a crowd? - or by what they can offer to speaker/performer that depends on them - “politicians in need of attention” as Atkinson (1984) titled one of his chapters - a treatment of participant batches focuses on the binding force that keeps turns shared-enough to be the concerted and equally-accountable work of all participants. This binding force is collaboration, performed via the internal interactions of **Batch Turn Construction (BTC)**.

Since EM/CA is concerned with, “the methods and practices whereby participants in talk, action, and social interaction...manage their joint affairs” (Maynard & Clayman, 2003: 174), and the joint affair of participant batches is their collaboration, then the first factor to be addressed is that management. The first step in discussing that management is what this chapter will be focused on, the resources being managed.

From Garfinkel came the notion that the practices and procedures with which parties produce and recognize talk are talk's 'ethnomethods.' They form the resources which the parties unavoidably must use and rely on to produce and recognize contributions to interaction that are mutually intelligible in specific ways, and which advance the situation of interaction in an incremental, step-by-step fashion. (Heritage, 2001: 51)

I am going to be using the general term “resources” to describe these used and relied upon factors of production and recognition, rather than practices and procedures.

While the actions of the in-game competitors certainly are practices and procedures of play, it will needlessly complicate discussions of cheering at this point to term or treat them as such. The interactions of in-game competitors are just one source that may facilitate BTC during sporting events. So, rather than having to categorize the various resources, it will be better to instead classify them generally under the term 'happenings.'

The idea behind this extra-generic term is to lessen focus on the local particulars of these external happenings, and to emphasize their importance to batch participants being that they occurred and what resources became available for BTC as a result. Sussing out which in-game events were designed and executed within the design of the game's rules and strategies - the successful slapping of a puck out of a team's defensive zone by a defender - and which were happenstance from the chaos of competition - two players colliding causing one of their limbs to hit the puck and drive it out of a team's defensive zone - is not vital. Both happenings will receive applause: the designed play for the defender's effort, and the lucky bounce for the helpful turn of events. At this point it is better to leave the discussion focused on how a happening is understood to be applause-worthy/needing applause, how applause is chosen as the shared course of action, and when that applause begins. The detail of particular responses to designed-turns vs. happenstance is not yet up for analysis.

In EM/CA it is understood that "turns at talk are overwhelmingly produced with an orientation to preceding talk, most commonly the immediately preceding talk" (Heritage, 2001: 51). Happenings - whether they are designed talk/actions or simply circumstances of happenstance - are the "immediately preceding talk" to which batch turns-at-cheering are "overwhelmingly produced with an orientation to." The goal of this chapter is to establish the resources that need to be drawn from immediately preceding happenings, why they are necessary for BTC, and some preliminary effects that different sorts of resources have on the types of batch responses that occur after particular types of happenings that provide resources in particular ways.

The examples throughout this chapter will cover both the preceding happenings that batch turns are oriented to as well as those subsequent batch turns or sequences of batch turns. I want to stress though that the focus of what I am exploring at the moment will be on the happenings that inform/facilitate the batch turns, with the batch turns themselves explored more in the next chapter. Atkinson (1984) provides a good way to look at it when he describes the requirements that audiences need to collaborate as a sort of “ready, set, go” of something to be done, what that something is, and when to do it. I will be using this structure to work through what I consider the requirements for collaboration in BTC: **Relevance**, **Practice Alignment**, and **Projectability**.

5.1 Tradition Canons

Before getting into resources I want to provide the conceptual container that the various ways of doing BTC will eventually be sorted into. When observing multiple Student Sections, what stands out is they each have their own way of doing things. Some of this is down to differences in Game Production by different teams. Think back to the Virginia Tech example in the introduction, the crowd’s reaction to “Enter Sandman” is due to its use as the team’s entrance song. Other teams have other songs they are associated with, and so while “Enter Sandman” may not prompt the same reaction, their associated song might. Most of the time though, the fact of watching the central contest operate under the same contrivances means Student Sections are often responding to the same circumstances.

From game-to-game, and even across decades, Student Sections will typically respond to particular circumstances with particular responses. That set of responses is unique to each Student Section, and comes to define what participation in that Student Section entails. I will be referring to these Section-specific collections of paired turns and sequences to particular happenings as **Tradition Canons**, and discussing much of Student Section participation as the execution of a particular tradition canon.

One of the ideas that Sacks et al. (1974) put forth as a reason for turn-taking's importance is the idea of turns as commodities in need of management:

“Turns are valued, sought, or avoided. The social organization of turn-taking distributes turns among parties. It must, at least partially, be shaped as an economy. As such, it is expectable that, like other economies, its organization will affect the relative distribution of that which it organizes” (pg 696).

Latching onto the metaphor of economics for a moment, let's consider the interaction space that Student Section participants find themselves in. The social situation of the game is vast, dwarfing most individuals, though some have particular inherited advantages that boost them to arena-wide participation. The Arena Announcer has a microphone linked to an Arena/Stadium-wide speaker system that carries their turns across the social situation. The players, coaches, and referees in the central contest have their central position in the playing area, which the entire arena/stadium structure - with seats faced/sloped toward the center - is designed to make as visibly and audibly accessible as possible. The others are left systematically disadvantaged in comparison, formally barred from access to both the arena-wide electronics to carry their turns and the central playing area and its more accessible positioning. Instead they must fend for themselves in a participation framework that their individual turns are too local to fully affect.

Considering this turn-economic landscape it makes sense that participants seeking heightened involvement and influence would unionize, as it were, into participant batches like Student Sections. While their individual turns can only affect local areas, by producing batch turns they can reach across the social situation. Through interpersonal work they can achieve the reach and volume that the Arena Announcer is provided through the mechanical work of the speaker system. Nowhere is this human-machine comparison more overt than the “human microphone” used during the

Occupy Wall Street protests. New York City permit laws meant use of artificial loudspeakers could result in 30 days in jail (Kim, 2011) so individual turns were boosted through batch repetition. A protester would request - “Mic check?” - receive a batch response - “MIC CHECK!” - and the crowd would work as a participant batch to repeat en masse the individual protester’s subsequent turns (Kim, 2011).

Human Microphone

- 1 **Instructor:** ((cups hands around mouth)) MIC CHECK!
- 2 **Protesters:** Mic check!
- 3 **Instructor:** MIC CHECK! ((takes hands away from mouth))
- 4 **Protesters:** Mic check!
- 5 **Instructor:** IN ORDER FOR THIS ALL TO WORK!
- 6 ((juts hands outward))^
- 7 **Protesters:** In order for this all to work!
- 8 **Instructor:** YOU NEED A ONE OH ONE CLASS
- 9 ((holds up one finger))^ ^((takes down finger))
- 10 **Protesters:** You need a one oh one class!
- 11 **Instructor:** IN WHAT THE OPEN-on WHAT THE HUMAN MIC IS!
- 12 **Protesters:** On what the human mic is!
- 13 **Instructor:** THE HUMAN MIC!
- 14 ^((holds out palms))
- 15 **Protesters:** The human mic!
- 16 **Instructor:** I:S!
- 17 **Protesters:** I:s!
- 18 **Instructor:** IF YOU HEAR ONE OF US TALK!
- 19 **Protesters:** If you hear one of us talk!
- 20 **Instructor:** YOU REPEAT IT!
- 21 ^((points at protesters))
- 22 **Protesters:** You repeat it!
- 23 **Instructor:** SO THAT EVERYBODY CAN HEAR IT!
- 24 ((sweeps arms out))^
- 25 **Protesters:** So everybody can hear it!

(GreaterNewYorkLiving, 2012: 0:00-0:31)

The “Human Mic” could be considered a rudimentary cheering practice, and part of the tradition canon of Occupy Wall Street. I say rudimentary because it is a single structure for managing a wide variety of BTC, which means it cannot be optimized for particular content. This is evident in the sequence of turn-by-turn provision and replication, as the completeness of the turns is determined by how manageable they are to replicate rather than a completeness of meaning. Since the sequence is open-ended it can theoretically say a lot, but can only say it one way, which has its limitations:

“The overall effect can be hypnotic, comic or exhilarating—often all at once. As with every media technology, to some degree the medium is the message. It’s hard to be a downer over the human mic when your words are enthusiastically shouted back at you by hundreds of fellow occupiers, so speakers are usually pretty upbeat (or at least sound that way). Likewise, the human mic is not so good for getting across complex points about, say, how the Federal Reserve’s practice of quantitative easing is inadequate to address the current shortage of global aggregate demand (although Joe Stiglitz valiantly tried on Sunday), so speakers tend to express their ideas in straightforward narrative or moral language.” (Kim, 2011)

The Human Mic was a basic solution to a basic problem, and the goals it was looking to further were the focus rather than the optimization of the tradition canon. But as a rudimentary canon based around one structure for batch interactions it serves as a simple illustration.

With Student Section tradition canons the goals and requirements tend to be reversed from that of the Human Microphone. Rather than a canon with one way to say a lot, Student Sections need to say basically the same thing many different ways. Our team is good and we want them to win, the other team is bad and we want them to lose. They end up saying more

than this, but that is the basic necessity in order to perform support. There are two reasons for going beyond this basic necessity.

The first is a need to separate from other Student Sections, especially rivals (Havard, 2013). As we will see there are many different ways to mock an opponent, celebrate a goal, or mark a recognizable game feature. The Student Section at this university may accomplish work in their particular way and another Student Section working under similar constraints may accomplish the same work in another way particular to them. This is how we get “traditions” and other differentiations that fans of institutions or even entire sports then identify, revere, and protect as “theirs” (Lock, et al., 2009; Osborne & Coombs, 2013; Fulconis & Paché, 2014). Just as individual actors can accomplish nuanced personality based on how they go about accomplishing the same work, so too can Student Sections express and share a particular cultural identity through the production of particular batch turns, even if they do identical work to turns used by other Student Sections. Classic examples would be the shaming of penalized opponents, the rejection of opposing players during their introductions, and the celebration of home goals. Every Student Section observed had a method for accomplishing these projects, but each had their own particular turns and sequences for doing so.

The second reason for so much variety and complexity in tradition canons is a need to stay involved. Individual social actors are able to deal with emergent circumstances (Heritage, 2001; Maynard & Clayman, 2003) and so to work as social actors participant batches need to be able to do the same. Having a selection of methods that can produce meaningful turns in many precise circumstances allows them to remain more consistently involved. This consistency of involvement is vital for being a “good crowd” in everyday terminology.

For sports this expectation comes from the idea that a good crowd can affect game outcomes by inspiring their team (Bassetti, 2016), influencing the referees (Sutter & Kocher, 2004; Pettersson-Lidbom & Priks, 2010; Anderson et al., 2012), or obstructing the opponents (Barsky &

Schwartz, 1977; Havard, 2013). Though this is visible in non-competitive contexts like concerts where a “live” (as in lively) crowd that is consistently active can elevate an event, and even receive thanks from the performers for “being such a good crowd” while “dead” crowds can be blamed for dragging an event down. So having a collection of methods that facilitate consistent involvement is good for both the event, and the reputation of a participant batch like a Student Section. In Broth’s (2011) analysis of theater audience involvement he credits their proper placement of response to their “ordinary and theatrical competence” (pg 131), and so the proper doing of response expresses a Student Section’s ordinary and sporting competence. In a competitive sphere like sports, with rivals ready to mock opposing fans at a moment’s notice, a robust tradition canon that is prepared for a wide variety of emergent circumstances, and can thus facilitate ongoing interaction, is key to being good supporters and a “good crowd.”

Novice and Expert Participants

Tradition canons share some similarities with the interactional routines that develop within cultures. These interactional routines are sequences like comings and goings (Ohta, 1999) where the first-turn sets a very particular expectation for response (Schegloff, 2007a) possibly down to there only being one culturally-acceptable response (Peters & Boggs, 1986). While Student Sections aren’t exactly cultures - at least not ones that significantly separate from the culture of their location, institution, and sport, - these expectations for “correct” courses of action in response to happenings is the basis of tradition canons.

The relationship between these two concepts will be addressed again in the next chapter, but for now what is interesting is the effect that interactional routines have on socialization. Basically, the learning of interactional routines, and in some ways tradition canons, depends on participation in them (Peters & Boggs, 1986; Ohta, 1999). At first this is “limited peripheral participation” (Ohta, 1999: 1496) where a novice mostly observes a routine, but participates in places where they are capable. As

they become more familiar with the routine novices engage in more and more of it, and as they participate more:

“the novice develops a basic understanding both of the function of the routine, as well as the resources needed to do the routine. Through repeated participation, the novice becomes able to anticipate how the routine is likely to unfold, and begins to participate more and more actively. The next step is expansion of participation in the routine to a wider variety of contexts, and with this broader participation comes understanding of the sociocultural importance of the roles played by different interlocutors, and the deeper meanings associated with the routine. Ultimately, the novice is able to use the routine more independently, finally expanding and transforming the routine and using it to meet individual goals. Through this process of social interaction which incorporates increasingly active participation by the novice, what was initially a routine used by others becomes a part of the novice's, the language learner's, own linguistic and cognitive repertoire” (Ohta, 1999: 1496).

While Student Sections are not learning another language, they are certainly learning a way of talking. This description of socialization via interactional routine is very similar to how competence at a tradition canon seems to be achieved.

Use of the tradition canon's practices can also package resources in a much more conspicuous way for novices to orient to. That is, they can orient to the familiar practice being performed and join with that, or recognize that as upcoming, without needing the detailed game-knowledge of the expert users to understand what prompted, necessitated, or allowed-for that performance. In this way the novice participants may be like continuous newcomers (Pillet-Shore, 2010) to the happenings of the game, having

sense of the game made for them by the conspicuous actions of the expert participants.

When discussing any-mization - the idea that the shared capabilities of social actors makes them “*someones* that can be studied as *anyones*” (Laurier, 2015: 7) - I mentioned how there are going to be a number of people who show up in my transcripts who are going to seem vital. These are participants like the Cowbell Player, who directs quite a lot of what happens in the Student Section. I also mentioned how they are not vital because of *the person* acting in that role, but because of the *execution* of that role. Student Sections can collaborate seamlessly enough to achieve batch participation because the participants know the tradition canon. The recognizable actors who will get names in the transcripts like “Cowbell Player” and “Initiator” are not the authors of what is happening the way a speaker/performer may be seen as the author of the audience’s response. This is because were that particular person not there, another could and would step into their facilitating role. The “book” of the tradition canon is already written, but at times it requires a reader.

I should discuss an important distinction here. Just as tradition canons are especially strict compared to things like cultural expectations for certain sequences, so too are batch turns especially strict as collaborative projects. This mostly relates to the use of synchronization as a method for sharing turns, and what I mean by synchronization. I do not mean synchronization as turns complementing one another, or acting harmoniously as parts of a sequence as it tends to be used in EM/CA (Kendon, 1970; Atkinson, 1984; Bull & Noordhuizen, 2000). I mean synchronization akin to the Human Microphone: all participants saying the exact same thing, in the exact same way, at the exact same time.

Returning to facilitators in the Student Section, and to the book metaphor, what is the best way to make sure everyone is not only on the same page, but the same word? To have one person read the book aloud. That is what facilitators like the Cowbell Player do, they are chosen as the observable, followable reader, a “person known-in-common” (Pillet-Shore,

2011: 80) to serve as an initiator of actions for all participants to avoid asynchrony due to the different rates individual participants may operate at if left to their own devices. This also serves as a boon to Student Section novices who do not yet know how to “read” but can learn by following the expert participants and their chosen representatives in the persons known-in-common. At times this results in a visible wave back through the section, as expert participants (who tend to arrive earlier and claim seats in the front of the section) do preparatory work for an upcoming turn, like spreading their arms apart and waiting to clap, and the preparation will flow backwards through the section as novice participants follow suit.

This idea of “cheering acquisition” was not one of the goals of this study, and has great potential for investigation. I just wanted to mention it here to avoid a misunderstanding of what is happening in the Student Section during BTC. Particularly the idea that a creative leader is holding the Section together with their unique charisma like one of Atkinson’s (1984) political audiences. I’m not disputing this to try and take away from the skill of the persons known-in-common, I simply want to highlight what that skill is actually in relation to providing, and that they have a number of other expert participants working with them to construct batch turns.

Just to give an example of this collaborative effort by expert participants, I will provide this snippet of interaction. The UNH goaltender has just given up a goal, and as the Student Section chants “U-N-H” in support of the team another expert participant (White Shirt) suggests to the Cowbell Player that would be a good time to perform a particular sequence from the UNH tradition canon that specifically supports the UNH goaltender. As he gets into position to start the sequence, he loses track of the goaltender, and it takes a group effort to get the sequence back on track:

Cowbell Player Loses Tirone (C = Clap, P = Point at Goaltender, T = Taps Cowbell Player on Shoulder, H = Holds up Number)

1	Student Section:	U! -N! -H! [U! -N! -H! U! -N! -H!]
2		C -C -C C -C -C C -C -C	=
3	Goaltender:	^((Skates out of goal and towards the	

4 boards))

5 **White Shirt:** ^((leans down and speaks to Cowbell
6 Player and points at goaltender))

7 **Cowbell Player:** [((nods))^]

8 **Student Section:** =C-C-C

9 **Cowbell Player:** ((turns halfway between ice and Student
10 Section and stands up on his seat)) ((looks
11 back towards ice))

12 **Goaltender:** ^((reaches boards and turns back towards
13 goal))

14 **Cowbell Player:** ((turns head around to participant to his
15 right, wearing a pink lei around his neck))

16 **Pink Lei:** He's right [there]
17 P

18 **Cowbell Player:** [Hang on] where is he? ((turns to
19 White Shirt))

20 **Pink Lei:** Right there.
21 P

22 **Cowbell Player:** ((looks back to ice)) He's gone.

23 **Participant:** [Come on.]

24 **Cowbell Player:** [((turns head to face Section))]

25 **Jean Jacket:** Right now.

26 **Cowbell Player:** ((turns head back to ice)) He's gone!
27 ^((Steps down))
28 ((turns back around to White Shirt))^

29 **Goaltender:** ((arrives back in goal))

30 **Pink Lei:** Right-here-right-here go-[go]
31 P T T P

32 **Cowbell Player:** ^((turns back to ice))

33 **White Shirt:** ((turns to Cow. P.
34 [and claps at him]))]

35 **Cowbell Player:** ((stands back up on seat and turns to fully
36 face Section)) HEY TIRONE ON THREE! =

37 **Pink Lei:** ^((turns to face Section))

38 **Cowbell Player:** [ONE! TWO! THREE!]

batches undergo also means that they need to manage self-selection and even self-production of relevance as well.

In the case of Atkinson's (1984) political speakers, part of being a charismatic speaker was an ability to properly emphasize particular opportunities for a turn as to-be-taken by the audience. As Atkinson and others (Goffman, 1981; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986; Clayman, 1993) cast audiences as lacking access to turns, this suggests a predisposition for audiences to consistently pass up opportunities for next-turn. This passivity allows the speaker to string together long turns at speech-making without having those turns broken-up, or having the topic expanded upon or changed by a next-turn by their audience. These turns eventually build to points where a response is desired, and the onus is on the speaker to break the audience's predisposition to ceding their opportunities (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986). So for a speaker/performer's audience, competent performance is less about recognizing openings where response is available, as those will be common - every 8 seconds by Heritage & Greatbatch's (1986) analysis. In order to avoid interfering with the speech's performance the audience must instead recognize the relevant points where they are meant to respond, selected for it by the speaker. These are the points where their response would be missing if they ceded it (Schegloff, 1968; Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986).

The most speaker-like entity the Student Section interacts with is the Arena Announcer. Though, when the Announcer is at their most speaker-like is also when the Student Section is at its least recognizable. By most speaker-like I mean when the Arena Announcer overtly selects the crowd for the next-turns:

Moment of Silence

1 **Announcer:** Ladies and gentlemen, at this time we ask that
2 you please join us in honoring...

National Anthem

1 **Announcer:** And now fans please rise and remove your caps

2 for the singing of our national anthem...

These instances of overt selection tend to occur during the pre-game festivities, and feature not just selection for next-turn but direction for what that next-turn should be. This last factor is what tends to melt the Student Section back into the regular crowd, as their accordance with the Announcer's request unites them with anyone else who accords with it. Since the Announcer's requests tend to be easily done - welcoming, standing, staying silent - and have social weight behind them - in the data the requests are to welcome the state's Governor, stand for the National Anthem, and stay silent in memory of a deceased alum - the general crowd tends to perform what is requested.

While I said in the previous chapters that Student Sections stand out via a skilled breaking of status, these are instances where the presence of an attentive speaker requesting a particular response restricts that. While Audiences are empowered - and Atkinson (1984) would even say formed - by selection for next-turn by a speaker, Student Sections are resigned to a performance far below their skill-level, constrained by the ceremony that the Arena Announcer is constructing via these requests, and they become hidden in the responses, subsumed by the rest of the crowd.

Conspicuous Happenings

Another reason Student Sections may submit to the constraints of being selected for next-turn - beyond the social pressure of respecting the resulting ceremony, or simply maintaining a respectful relationship with the Arena Announcer - is that there are very few of these instances during a game. So not much is being asked of the Student Section participants to limit themselves for a few sequences. The majority of relevant points where Student Section turns are taken are not on account of overt selection and do not carry an external request for a particular next-turn. Instead, most of the relevance in cheering comes from "some kind of prominence or

conspicuousness” (Schelling, 1963: 57 cited in Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986: 112).

That phrasing is used by Heritage & Greatbatch (1986) in reference to turns by political speakers that receive applause. This is a movement away from selection, as appearing charismatic can be hampered by a need for overt selection to garner a response (Atkinson, 1984). An example of this was American presidential candidate Jeb Bush’s much-mocked “please clap” request to a crowd during a campaign stop in the 2016 Republican Primary:

Please Clap

1 **Jeb Bush:** I won’t be out there blowhardin’. Talkin’ a big
2 sp- a big game without backing it up. I think the
3 next president needs to be a lot quieter but send
4 a signal that we’re prepared to act in the
5 national security interests of this country to
6 get back in the business of creating a more
7 peaceful world. (1.5) Please clap.
8 **Audience:** (laughter and applause)
(smurfparty, 2016: 0:11-0:33)

Instead Heritage & Greatbatch cite the content of the turn as an available mobilizing factor rather than any separate management of next-speaker:

“We propose to demonstrate that political speakers secure applause when their assertions, whether by accident or design, are prominent or conspicuous. Such assertions, we suggest, maximize the tacitly perceived payoffs of applauding for individual audience members and hence function to engender collective responses. This prominence, as we shall see, is very substantially a product of the constructional properties of speakers’ assertions” (1986: 112).

While they focus on assertions, the important point they make is that assertions that get response have a particularly recognizable completeness to them. Even a series of assertions that may be as applaudable will not get

response so long as there is an indication that the series is not yet complete. Atkinson (1984) came to the same conclusion, but focused instead on lists. Particularly he described three-part lists as the only recognizably complete length of list as list-length can always increase by one, but cannot decrease beyond three, and so three-parts is the only reliable terminal point provided in the structure of a list.

As far as structures in a sporting event that match this feature of relevance through prominence and completeness, announcements again serve as the clearest parallel. A strong example of the prominence factor can be found in the player introductions during the pre-game segment. Each introduction follows the same format, with a series of statements about the player - position, hometown, etc. - always ending in the player's name, and followed by a pause that leaves space for a response.

In the case of the home introductions, the completion of the series is emphasized via elongation, adding to the prominence and conspicuousness of both the introduction and its completion:

Home Team Introductions

- | | | |
|---|-------------------|--|
| 1 | Announcer: | And <u>now</u> the <u>starters:</u> for <u>YOUR WIL:DCA::::TS!</u> |
| 2 | Audience: | (cheering and applause) |
| 3 | Announcer: | At left wing a <u>senior</u> from West Millford New |
| 4 | | Jersey. Number twenty <u>four</u> , <u>Colin</u> |
| 5 | | <u>MacDonal::::d!</u> |
| 6 | Audience: | (cheering and applause) |

I have ascribed this turn to an Audience rather than the Student Section because, like in overt selection, this extra-prominent performance by the Announcer on lines 1 and 5 gets arena-wide responses on lines 2 and 6. Though, the Student Section does still remain distinguishably active during these sequences. There may not be room in the sequence for them to have their own turns, since the overall audience is responding at all the available points for response, but they can perform something alongside the Announcer's turns.

That idea might sound dubious. I mentioned in a previous chapter, and I'll mention again later, that Student Sections typically work to avoid overlap with the Announcer. This practice of performing a batch turn that's compatible with or complementary to an external turn is not a strange thing for the Student Section to do in general though. The Student Section also works to avoid overlap with the Pep Band, but once the Band has started a song the Student Section does not simply wait. They will typically join in by clapping along, dancing along, or singing along. They also develop sequences that are designed to rely on specific songs for, borrowing structure or lyrics, and thus only become relevant when the Pep Band plays those songs.

This designed compatibility seems to add some additional level of pride of participation, as even when the Band's performance is interrupted by the restart of play the Student Section will complete the sequence. Even going so far as to emulate and continue the Band's performance that the sequence complements (lines 25-29 in this upcoming segment):

Can Can (P = Point at Opposing Goaltender, C = Clap)

1 ((whistle stops play))
 2 (3.8)
 3 **Pep Band:** ♪ ((Can-Can)) DAH:: ↓dah-↑dah
 4 |↑dah-↓dah ↑DAH-↑dah ↑dah-↑dah=
 5 **Student Section:** |C C C C C C =
 6 **Pep Band:** =↓dah-↑dah ↓DAH-↓dah dah=
 7 **Student Section:** = C C C C C =
 8 **Pep Band:** =↑dah=dah=dah=dah=dah=dah=dah=dah:::=
 9 **Student Section:** = C C C C C C C =
 10 **Pep Band:** =↓dah-↑dah ↑dah-↓dah ↑DAH-↑dah=
 10 **Student Section:** = C C C C C C =
 11 **Pep Band:** =↑dah-↑dah ↓dah-↑dah ↓DAH-↓dah dah=
 12 **Student Section:** = C C C C C C C =
 13 **Pep Band:** =↓dah-↑dee ↓dah-↑dee ↓dah. ♪]
 14 **Student Section:** = C C C C C] SIEVE!
 15 P

16 **Pep Band:** [♩ Dah::: ↓dah-↑dah ↑dah-↓dah=
17 **Student Section:** | C C C C =
18 **Pep Band:** =↑DAH-↑dah ↓dah-↑dah ↓DAH-↓dah dah=
19 **Student Section:** = C C C C C C C =
20 **Pep Band:** =↑dah=dah=dah=dah=dah=dah=dah DAH:::=
21 **Student Section:** = C C C C C C C =
22 **Pep Band:** =↓dah-↑dah ↑dah-↓dah ↑DAH-↑dah=
23 **Student Section:** = C C C C C C =
25 **Pep Band:** =↑dah-↑dah ↓dah-↑dah ↓DAH-↓dah ♩]
26 ((play restarts))^
26 **Student Section:** = C C C C C C | dah
27 C
28 ↓dah-↑dee ↓dah-↑dee ↓dah. SIEVE!
29 C C C C C P

Compare that complementary performance with the Pep Band to the rhythmic “thump” that goes on during UMaine’s introductions of the home team’s players - a combination of the kick of a bass drum by the Band and claps by the Student Section:

Home Team Introductions at UMaine (D = Drum Kick, C = Clap)

1 **Announcer:** ...Merrimack is coached by [Mark Dennehy.=
2 **Band:** D D D=
3 **Student Section:** | C C=
4 **Announcer:** =Assisted by Marty Quarters. Darren Yopyk=
5 **Band:** =D D D D D D D =
6 **Student Section:** =C C C C C C C =
7 **Announcer:** =,and Dan Welby.]
8 **Band:** =D D D D [D D D=]
9 **Student Section:** =C C C C|[C C C=]
10 **Announcer:** [And now fans make some noise here is=
11 **Band:** = D D D D D D D=
12 **Student Section:** =[C C C C C C C=
13 =tonight’s starting lineups for your=
14 **Band:** =D D D D D D D=
15 **Student Section:** =C C C C C C C=

16 =university of MAINE:: black BEAR::::S!]
 17 **Band:** =D D D D D D D=
 18 **Student Section:** =C C C C C C C=]
 19 **Audience:** [(cheering)]
 20 **Band:** = D D
 21 **Student Section:** =[C C]
 22 **Announcer:** [On defense from Apple Valley Minnesota,=
 23 **Band:** = D D D D D D D D =
 24 **Student Section:** =[C C C C C C C C =
 25 =number two, Mike LunDI::::n!]
 26 **Band:** =D D D D D D
 27 **Student Section:** =C C C C C C]
 28 **Audience:** [(cheering)]
 29 **Band:** = D D
 30 **Student Section:** =[C C]
 31 **Announcer:** [On defense from Windham Maine...
 32 **Band:** = D D D D D D D...
 33 **Student Section:** =[C C C C C C C...

While the content differs between the Band’s song and the Announcer’s introductions, they are both lengthy sequences of ongoing turn-taking by someone other than the Student Section. Beyond the National Anthem - which, in America, is a period of silence for the crowd as the performer sings, while in other countries this is often a widespread batch sequence - introductions and band songs are the longest Section-external sequences performed. So that might provide an explanation for why the Student Section joins in rather than waits them out. In UNH’s case the Student Section’s complementary performance is a “slow clap” - a rhythmic clap that speeds up and crescendos into applause, in this case timed to become applause in the post-introduction space for response, when the audience is clapping too, which is why I decided not to separate them in the simplified transcript earlier. Northeastern goes a non-auditory route, by having a Section member wave a large “NU” flag for the duration of the

introductions while the other members applaud and cheer along with the general audience.

Again, it's not just the length of these sequences that makes joining-in relevant for the Student Section. It's that there is no response space that only they will take, which is something they typically rely on. In the home team introductions the response points after each introduction is engaged in by the general audience in one of the only widespread responses during the event, and in the band's songs there may not be breaks - though, when there are they are used, such as the shouting of "SIEVE" at the opposing goaltender in the momentary gaps after lines of the Can-Can played by the Band. Sequences that feature response places but less prominence, and thus less widespread participation, do not feature this same complementary performance and instead the Student Section uses responses to separate itself.

Even staying on introductions it's possible to see this in action. Prior to the home team's introductions are the much more understated visitor's introductions. These do not feature the same prominent elongation of the player names, nor a conspicuously long pause for response. Here the Student Section can distinguish themselves simply by producing their turn, as they are not socially beholden to giving the opponent's polite applause the same way they need to give their own players raucous applause. The turns they take are the opposite of polite, and that might be a reason for an official university representative like the Announcer not designing turns to seem like they are requesting the response:

Opponents Being Introduced - UNH (P = Point at introduced player)

1	Announcer:	Lay:::dies:: a:::nd gentlemen! <u>Welcome</u> to the
2		Towse Rink at the <u>Whittemore</u> Center Arena for
3		U:NIVERSITY:: of New <u>HAMPSHIRE</u> :: HOCKEY:::!
4	Audience:	(cheering and applause)
5	Announcer:	Tonight, your Wildcats take on the Clarkson
6		University <u>Golden</u> Knights. [(.) Now, for=
7	Student Section:	[Boo:::~::~=

8 **Announcer:** =tonights] starting lineups, first for the=
9 **Student Section:** =:::~::~:]
10 =Golden Knights. At left wing, a junior from=
11 **Section:** ((Begin raising hands))^
12 =San Terese Quebec, number 28, Jordan Boucher.
13 **Section:** ^((All hands raised))
14 **Opponent:** ((Begins skating))^
15 **Student Section:** (clap), You SUCK! [((raise hands))...
16 P P
17 **Announcer:** [At center...

To review, we have political audiences ceding turns and needing to be woken up to relevance through either direct selection for next-turn or an especially prominent completion of a current-turn (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986). This also seems to be the case for the general audience at the sporting events observed, as the little that they did produce levels of response on par with the Student Section was after direct selection or especially prominent completion points by the Announcer.

With Student Sections though, there seems to be a predisposition for response wherever a hint of relevance is to be found. So even with the downplaying of conspicuousness by the Announcer during visitor introductions, the Student Section takes those opportunities for next-turn. Even when an announcement is not designed for response at all, the Student Section searches out conspicuousness to respond to. Such as the announcement that a penalty has ended and the penalized player can rejoin play:

Always Were, That's Debateable

1 ((Penalty on UMass comes to an end))
2 **Announcer:** UMass at full strength.
3 **Section:** THat's debateable:
4 (2.4)
5 ((Penalty on UNH comes to an end))
6 **Announcer:** UNH at full strength.

7 **Section:** Always WER:e

On the opposite end of the spectrum, when opportunities for next-turn are so conspicuous that they are too widely engaged with, Student Sections still go a step beyond the general audience. If the general audience is going to start responding at the level of the Student Section, then the Student Section is going to join the performance to differentiate themselves. All of this likely based on the fact that in order to recognizably keep up their existence, Student Sections must be able to differentiate themselves, and so relevant points for action when no one else is acting are at a premium for Student Section participants to successfully achieve a distinct batch participation.

Self-Selection

While Student Sections use a hyper-sensitivity to relevance in order to generate opportunities for distinct batch turns, they are not entirely beholden to external happenings and actors to provide recognizable relevance. Just as an individual may self-select for the initiation of a sequence, so too can a batch's participants produce their own relevant happenings to orient to. These would be first-turns by the Student Section. Though, since I am still just talking about batch turn construction, the importance here is more the facilitation of batch first-turns than the taking of them.

While an individual may just decide for some invisible, internal reason to start a sequence with a first-turn the "decision" of a participant batch must be socially expressed. All the individuals participating in batch turns must be privy to this "decision." With external happenings and selection this understanding of relevance can be accomplished inconspicuously, as it is the external happening that provides the conspicuousness that highlights a relevance for response (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986). For participant batches to perform a first-turn means a conspicuous sharing of "the plan" so that all can orient to it:

Hex

1 **Cowbell Player:** ((rotates around to face back toward section

- 2 and cups hand next to mouth)) Hey student
 3 section! Hex on three! One! Two! Three!
 4 **Student Section:** Hey Mastalerz here comes the hex!...

Hey Tirone

- 1 **Cowbell Player:** ((leans back and cups hand next to mouth)) Hey
 2 Tirone on three! One! Two! Three!
 3 **Student Section:** Hey Tirone. Were all behind you!...

The importance of those shared plans will be discussed in the next section, it's merely difficult to discuss conspicuousness in isolation from what is being made conspicuous. What matters as far as relevance is concerned is that a next-turn is being made relevant by the proposal of the upcoming performance of some turn or sequence of turns. The reason this selection for next-turn differs from the previous discussion of selection by external actors and conspicuous external happenings is that this is an internal happening.

The fully-internal orientation of these instances of batch turn construction are why the resulting batch turns are first-turns. The performance of the Student Section turn in each of the examples above may structurally be a response to the Cowbell Player's selection of the Section, but the resulting batch turn is not a response. In the arena-wide interaction, in which the batch of the Student Section is participating, these turns take no meaning from being a second-pair part, because to the rest of the actors in the arena they aren't SPPs. For the participant batch and its arena-wide co-participants the internal machinations of BTC making a turn relevant to the batch's participants does not make it an SPP, any more than an individual's internal decision to start a turn makes their performance of the turn an SPP.

An example that does run into this problem would be call-and-response cheering. In this case, the turns of the facilitating participant *do* lend meaning to the batch turns that respond to it, but those individual turns aren't accessible arena-wide:

U-N-H Grunts

1 **Participant:** GIMME A U::!

2 **Student Section:** U::!

3 **Participant:** GIMME AN N::!

4 **Student Section:** N::!

5 **Participant:** GIMME AN H!

6 **Student Section:** H!

7 **Participant:** WHAT'S THAT SPELL?

8 **Student Section:** (GRUNT)!

9 **Participant:** WHAT'S THAT SPELL?

10 **Student Section:** (GRUNT)!

11 **Participant:** GIRLS ONLY!

12 **Female Participants:** (GRUNT!)

13 **Participant:** GUYS ONLY!

14 **Male Participants:** (GRUNT!)

15 **Participant:** WITH FEE::LING!

16 **Student Section:** (Elongated moan)!

Here, with both sides of the sequence, there is access to the joke as a play on UNH's initials spelling out a grunt. For the rest of the arena though, this is almost entirely a series of meaningless grunts, as the first-turns that define those grunts are inaccessible. Unlike the other instances where BTC's effect on the batch turn's meaning is impersistent, and thus the lack of access to BTC for the arena-wide participants is inconsequential, in call-and-response cheering the Student Section is conversing with itself.

To summarize relevance then, a key factor is widespread access to all the meaningful turns in the sequence the participant batch is involved in. This can be accomplished by responding to turns which are widely available because they are produced arena-wide by arena-wide actors, like the Announcer. In these cases, any conspicuous happening can be utilized as a relevant point for a performance - ranging from overt selection by an external actor or scavenging relevance from subdued but still recognizable happenings. The other option is to produce arena-wide first-turns to start sequences purely for the purpose of cheering. This requires that the internal BTC sequences are strictly about facilitating shared production of a turn, and

does not function as a necessary adjacency-pair part for understanding the batch turn.

5.3 Set: Practice Alignment

While relevance relates to the recognition and/or implication that there is something to be done, there is still the question of what *that something to be done* is. In conversation systems there is a structural consideration to this decision, as the current placement within a sequence presents a set of constraints and opportunities on what is to be done and can be done (Schegloff, 2007a). Within those considerations there is a selection of meaningful choices available, from preferred actions, alternative actions, and a variety of forms for accomplishing whichever course of action is chosen (Walker, 2014a):

"In greetings and farewell exchanges, for example, although there are various forms used to do a response - for example, such various return greetings to 'Hi' as 'Howarya,' 'Howyadoin,' 'Hi,' etc. - there is really only one *type* of second pair part, the return greeting.

But such sequence types are the exception, In the vast majority of sequence types, there are not only alternative responses which a first pair part makes relevant and a recipient of a first pair part may employ; there are alternative *types* of response, and these embody different alignments toward the project undertaken in the first pair part" (Schegloff, 2007a: 58).

These variations and personal choices are possible because an individual speaker works unilaterally within their allotted turn in the conversation. There are co-constructed constraints upon that turn based on its relation to other turns, the turn-length that co-participants will cede, and what mutual understanding is available to be achieved. The space within those

constraints, though, is the individual actor's personal domain, and they have the say over what action, of the available actions, they want to attempt.

Within participant batches all the actions are collective. Or, more specifically, collection is the only action in batch turn construction. Think of it like riding a train, the path of a batch turn needs to be laid out ahead of time in order to be followed, just as a train needs rails to ride on. Deviating from that path on a whim is not an option, because the path cannot change based on individual choice. So individual deviation in BTC isn't setting a new course for the BTC, or picking from a set of courses like in individual agreement/disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984a), instead the only individual choice available is to not participate or stop participating.

I want to be clear that the "on rails" aspect is not that a participant batch is resigned to a certain path just because it's laid out. In discussing booing and other disaffiliative response to political speakers, Clayman (1993) points out that dissenters are free to dissent, even if there is a social pressure to conform to the majority response (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986; Clayman, 1993), the difficulty they face is in producing collaborative dissent. This is because the speaker has laid the track for a supportive response to utilize by signaling in their prior turn or sequence whether applause or booing is desired (Atkinson, 1984). Dissenters must collaborate on the decision of an alternate path to be taken in order to take it together.

In that support/dissent dichotomy of response the decision on an alternate path is difficult to represent as much of a decision, since the path of agreement - be it cheering something designed to be cheered, or booing something designed to be booed - essentially creates the path of disagreement - booing the cheer-able, cheering the boo-able. Batch turns are not always locked into a dichotomy though, and with added complexity of the turn becomes a greater need to provide a mutually recognizable path to follow. To prepare for this complexity I am going to use a more descriptive term than "shared path," and I am going to describe this requirement for collaboration as a need for **Practice Alignment**. That the undertaking of the

batch turn, the practice undertaken, is properly similar across the participants in BTC.

Practice Type Alignment

I am calling this alignment rather than “equality” because there is a difference between batch turns that are identical and those that are aligned. All batch turns must be aligned, and for some cheering practices that rely on synchronization the required alignment is that the turn forms be identical. The looser, non-identical alignments are more compatible with the ideas of the audience responses in prior research (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986; Clayman, 1993), so I will begin with them.

I included Schegloff’s (2007a) description of SPP type-constraints versus SPP form-alternatives earlier, because practice alignment can be separated into alignments based on type and alignments based on form. A necessity for form-alignment is actually a requirement for an alignment on both, since forms fall within type (Schegloff, 2007a), but for the sake of differentiation I will be focusing on the particular necessity for just type or the added necessity for form as type-alignment and form-alignment respectively. This first distinction, practice type-alignment, features constraint much like he described with greetings:

“In greetings and farewell exchanges, for example, although there are various forms used to do a response - for example, such various return greetings to 'Hi' as 'Howarya,' 'Howyadoin,' 'Hi,' etc. - there is really only one *type* of second pair part, the return greeting” (Schegloff, 2007a: 58).

The more general crowd practices - applause, booing, “roar of the crowd”, etc. - are a variety of forms within a type. This is a bit tricky with applause and booing, as those are also particular actions of clapping and elongated sayings of “boo,” but in general description there hasn’t been much work done to separate applause and booing from cheering and jeering. So a crowd that boos may be a crowd booing, derisively whistling, and shouting

angrily, but we can describe that as “getting booed.” The point is that cheering and jeering are considered things that you can do, they are practices, but they are practices performed via varieties of turn-forms within the same type.

In discussing relevance I looked at the importance of conspicuous happenings, so let’s consider what happens after scoring plays, some of the most conspicuous happenings in sports. In response to goals we get expressions of elation: fans yelling, clapping, jumping, and clambering around the rows of seating to exchange hugs and high-fives with fellow fans. But, goals are also responded to with grunts, slumping, grimaces, hands on heads, and empty stares. Even with that variety, those responses can be easily categorized by type as celebration and despair. Participation in those responses can also provide a loose batch interaction. Celebrating a goal affiliates a person with the scoring team, despairing at a goal affiliates them with the scored-upon team, and their affiliation is actively achieved by which turn they are taking. This is such an important performance consideration that when a happening is especially complex or unclear novice participants can sometimes be heard to ask “was that good?” or simply “what happened?” Once they have the necessary classification they reiterate their desired affiliation by producing the correct yelp in response, even if the relevant point for response may be well-passed.

Beyond the celebration/despair dichotomy and its relationship to home/visitor affiliation there is also the necessity for an understanding of degrees of response. The binary of whether an in-game happening like a goal occurred or didn’t occur is not its only feature. Yes, goals are scored by members of different teams and that is clearly a determining factor in a supporter’s response, but within goals by the same team there are aspects like who scored it, how they scored it, and when they scored it that will affect proper response. Some saves by the home goaltender will be responded to with applause and some also get reverent bowing towards the goaltender. Some saves by the *opposing* goaltender will even get begrudging applause by particularly sportsmanlike fans. Some checks (the ice hockey equivalent

of tackles) by home players will receive silence and some will get standing ovations, while some opponent checks will get “oh”s of disappointment and others will get shouts of protest and arms stuck in the air to mimic the signal for a penalty. If a fan was to throw up their arm and call for a penalty on every check it would quickly call their competence at cheering into question, even though they would be navigating the general dichotomy of excitement and displeasure correctly.

The skill involved in these types of batch turns then rests in a reliable evaluation of a happening. An ability to decipher what happened, informing a performance of celebration or despair, and to what level one should celebrate or despair. The management of practice type-alignment revolves more around information and education about the happening than the response. So a supporter who celebrates a big hit by a home player may be admonished by others who grumbled because the hit was *too* big and resulted in an ill-timed penalty. Or an ornery reaction to a penalty may be contested by a claim that the referee’s decision was justified, managing the level of disagreement:

Way Offsides

```

1      ((UNH player steals puck near opposing goal))
2      Participants:      (cheering and applause)
3      Referee:          ((blows whistle))
4      Pink Lei:          ((smiles)) Way off, way off. Way off[sides. ]
5      White T-Shirt:                                     [wha:::t]
6      Pink Lei:          [((turns around to White T-Shirt))    ]
7      White T-Shirt:    [((looks at Pink Lei and raises arms))]
8      Pink Lei:          No nah it was a good call, it was a good call.

```

Practice Form Alignment

I referred to type-aligned practices producing a loose batch participation because while unity can be credited by type alignment, individuals can still be singled-out by form. So clambering up the seats of the section to high-five someone might be equally celebratory to those clapping

or those leaping or those hugging, but I can also describe that individual as the one who clambered up the seats to high-five someone. Compare this to the UNH Student Section’s “(clap) you suck!” response to opponent introductions, discussed back in the section on relevance:

Opposing Team is Introduced - UNH (S = Introduced Opponent Begins Skating Out to Center Ice, C = Clap, P = Point at Introduced Opponent)

1 **Announcer:** ...First. For the Golden Knights. At left wing, a=
 2 **Section:** ((Begin raising hands))^
 3 =junior, from San Terese Quebec, number 28, Jordan=
 4 **Section:** ((All Hands Raised))^
 5 **Opponent:** S
 6 =Boucher.
 7 **Section:** C, You SUCK!
 8 P P
 9 [((Re-Raise Hands))]
 10 **Announcer:** [At center] a forward from Corona
 11 California, number nineteen. Brett Gervais.
 12 **Opponent:** S
 13 **Section:** C, You SUCK!
 14 P P
 15 [((Re-Raise Hands))]
 16 **Announcer:** [At left wing] a sophomore from Georgetown
 17 Ontario. Number twenty, Nick Pierog.
 18 **Opponent:** S
 19 **Section:** C, You SUCK!...
 20 P P

Here no Section participant can be singled out as being particular in performance, because there is no particular performance within the participant batch. I can’t refer to someone as “the one” who did “(clap) you SUCK!” the way I could point out a particular celebrator. In the interest of unity of status, this means no one member in form-aligned practices can be more involved in the turn than the others, or accomplish the turn’s work to a greater degree; the way hugging may be more ecstatic than high-fiving, or

5 P
 6 **Announcer:** At left defense () number six Kenny
 7 S
 8 Macauley.
 9 **Section:** SUCKS!
 10 P
 11 **Announcer:** At right defense a junior () number
 12 S
 13 seventeen Mark Luntz.
 14 **Section:** SUCKS!...

Opposing Team is Introduced - UMaine

1 **Announcer:** ...Here are tonight's starting lineups first the
 2 visitors from Merrimack. On Defense, from Irvine
 3 California, number five, Chris Kane.
 4 **Section:** So WHAT?
 5 **Announcer:** On Defense. From Bloomington Illinois, number three,
 6 Joe Loprieno.
 7 **Section:** Who CARES?
 8 **Announcer:** At left wing, from Framingham Massachusetts, number
 9 eighteen Patrick Kimball.
 10 **Section:** Big DEAL!...

The relevance here is equally recognized. The opposing players are being introduced, and that is taken as an opportunity by these Student Sections to produce turns oriented to those happenings. The preferred type is also the same across each instance, as each Student Section takes the relevance opportunity to reject/dismiss the opposing players. The form used to do that work is distinct between Sections, distinguishing them from one another, but shared within each Section, uniting them together. Doing Northeastern's "SUCKS!" after each introduction at a UNH game instead of "(clap) you SUCK!" might accomplish the same rejection and place a participant on the same side of the "home vs. visitor" support dichotomy with the UNH Student

Section, but it wouldn't be co-participation in the batch performance of the Student Section.

Clarifications in type-alignment referred to the happening - "No nah it was a good call, it was a good call" - while clarifications in form-alignment relate to the participant batch's practice. In this next segment an attendee offscreen inquires about the sequence that the Student Section just performed, led by the participant wearing a pink lei around his neck, the same person who gave the "it was a good call" clarification earlier. Here he explains a call-and-response sequence the Section just performed where they spell out "o-r-g-y" are asked "what's that mean?" and respond "teamwork, teamwork, teamwork":

0-r-g-y Sequence Explanation

1	Pink Lei:	((turns to Offscreen behind him)) What?
2	Offscreen:	()
3	Pink Lei:	((leans toward Offscreen)) What?
4	Offscreen:	()
5	Pink Lei:	Oh it's ((turns back to ice)), so we spell out
6		orgy and then [((turns back to Offscreen))]
7	UNH Player:	^((blocks opponent shot))
8	Section:	[((cheering and applause))]
9	Pink Lei:	((turns to ice)) since we're short handed it
10		requires teamwork to ma:ke su:re >that doesn't
11		((opponent scores))^
12		hap[pen.]<
...		
29	Pink Lei:	It's just a-ah () ((shrugs)).
30	Offscreen:	()
31	Pink Lei:	Yeah. When we're on a power play we do sex.
32		Spell out sex and score, score, score.
33		((taps in the air on each beat))^ ^ ^

There is a slight discussion of the happening on lines 9 and 10, but this is more to explain the joke that being at a disadvantage due to the penalty demands teamwork. The key is that the explanation is a script for the

response, not just a justification or rationale for the response. General guidance in form-alignment will be of no help to someone looking to participate, they need access to what is specifically to be done, and the participant in the pink lei provides that. He even does a subdued version of the fist-raising that accompanies each “score” in “score, score, score” (line 32) with this air tapping on line 33.

5.4 Go: Projectability

So a turn is relevant: Ready. The practice to be undertaken during that turn is properly aligned: Set. The last requirement to be fulfilled is that everyone needs to know when to start that shared turn. We need the “Go” in Atkinson’s (1984) “Ready, set, go!” This is the requirement for **projectability**, the ability to reliably anticipate a future point as a potential start-point for a turn.

When it comes to turn-construction in conversation systems, turns are made up of turn construction units (TCUs) of which there are the various unit-types that contain general expectations/options for unit-forms (Sacks et al., 1974):

"Unit-types for English include sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions. Instances of the unit-types so usable allow a projection of the unit-type under way, and what, roughly, it will take for an instance of that unit-type to be completed" (Sacks et al, 1974: 702).

The expectation provided by forms is important for speech-exchange between co-participants, because a unit’s recognizable form gives it a recognizable progression, and thus a recognizable point of completion (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks et al., 1974; Mondada, 2006a; Schegloff, 2007a). Once a TCU is complete there is now a place where a next-unit can begin, and that next-unit may be the beginning of a next-turn by a next-speaker, or may be the next unit in an ongoing turn by the current

speaker. These transition relevance places (TRPs) help keep interactions orderly by cutting down on interruption and overlap by suggesting an upcoming point where a next-party will be selected to speak or able to self-select to speak (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007a). Having this repeatedly upcoming place for next-turns to start directs potential next-speakers toward those points to attempt their next-turns, cutting down on next-turns being attempted unexpectedly, mid-TCU and potentially causing disruption (Sacks et al, 1974).

I discussed the effect of this on relevance earlier, as Atkinson (1984) and Heritage & Greatbatch (1986) pointed out how crowds went a step further. Not just waiting for TRPs in general to produce responses, but until TRPs that were made particularly prominent and conspicuous. Back then I presented it as a matter of expressing completeness, which is important, but similarly important was expressing a projectable point that completion would be complete. Atkinson's (1984) discussion of three-part lists begins to get into the precision of TRPs that can be necessary to avoid interruption when dealing with so many responders:

“...speakers who embark on producing a list often get stuck after a second item, and only manage to continue as far as 'and uh'. Relatively long pauses frequently follow at such points, and what is particularly interesting is that these silences are seldom exploited by potential next speakers as an opportunity to start talking. If people are prepared to wait patiently until a speaker finds something to put into the third slot, it means that they must be acknowledging that the utterance has not yet been properly completed. However, if someone is foolhardy enough to try producing a list with four or more parts to it, there is a very high risk of his being interrupted. And the commonest place for such interruptions to occur is immediately after the completion of the *third* item in a list” (Atkinson, 1984: 58).

He goes on to propose that this lack of projectability in longer lists is because a three-part list is the only projectable length of list. This is because lists have a minimum length of three, as anything less would be a pair or just an item, but they have no maximum length. So with a three-part list the third item accomplishes “a list” and this accomplishment brings with it a completeness that can never be made more complete in its turn-ness by the adding of more items (Atkinson, 1984: 160). So the end of the third-part not only completes a list, but provides a reliable, projectable point for completion, compared to the end of less formally structured sentences.

The impetus for providing reliably projectable start-points to an audience is to avoid a delay in their response. Atkinson (1984) proposes that such a delay might suggest that an audience is responding to *selection* for response and applauding as a structural consideration - a situational courtesy - rather responding to the first *opportunity* for response - an enthusiastic desire. Just as implicit selection for next-turn through conspicuousness is superior to overt selection in political speeches - think the example of Jeb Bush’s “please clap” - an ability to downplay any selection is even better for the purposes of appearing charismatic (Atkinson, 1984). The ideal response is suggested to be a “burst” of applause, cheering, or whatever the pursued agreement is once a turn is complete (Atkinson, 1984; Clayman, 1993) to indicate listeners champing at the bit to show their appreciation.

Heritage & Greatbatch (1986) shift consideration of this idea way from reflection on the speaker and towards the effect on the audience’s own performance for their own sake:

"Projectability is needed because the problems and risks associated with the general coordination of response are also operative in the context of the precise initiation of response. Audience members must determine not only that they will applaud but also when they will applaud. A failure of coordination on this latter decision will generate a 'ragged' start to applause

that may, in turn result in a weakened and short-lived outbreak of clapping that leaves its initiators somewhat exposed" (pg 116)

Without a firmly established point/place for applause, the initial applause may fail to generate enough participation to swell into a strong shared-turn at applause.

This weak-start problem is even worse for Student Sections since so many of their turns rely on precise synchronization. Unlike applause, which builds up to a high-point anyway (Neda et al., 2000), the start-point of synchronized turns needs to be a collaborative high-point. All the rest of the synchrony across the turn progresses from this point, so asynchrony at the start-point will produce asynchrony across the turn - or at least require an inward reorientation to re-establishing synchrony elsewhere in the turn. That orientation to repair coming at the expense of focus on the outward performance of the turn. This can be a problem of appearance, with sloppy asynchrony reflecting poorly on the Student Section's skill much like Heritage & Greatbatch's "exposed" clapping initiators. More vital for my purposes are the structural problems that this can cause, as asynchrony in batch turn production can "smudge" words so much that the content of the turn becomes indecipherable, or important next-turns by other parties may be overlapped.

The most overt version of this start-point projectability in cheering manner would be the countdowns used in self-selected relevance by the Student Section:

Hex

1 **Cowbell Player:** ...Hex on three! One! Two! Three!...

Hey Tirone

1 **Cowbell Player:** ...Hey Tirone on three! One! Two! Three!...

These both follow the three-part expectation proposed by Atkinson (1984) and overtly state that's going to be the structure with the "on three!" in each instance. This overt management is not a necessity though, and other

examples like responses to the team introductions show that precisely shared points can be projected from happenings not necessarily designed just to provide them.

Projectability at All Points

The “Hey John” interaction between the UNH Student Section and Announcer showcases this necessity for pinpoint projectability. It also shows how the projectability goes in two directions. In order to keep their turns together and recognizably shared, the Student Section doesn’t just need projectable start-points for their turns, they need projectability throughout those turns.

EM/CA’s discussion of projectable points tends to relate to the borders of turns and TCUs, as these transitional points are where the coordinational work is taking place between individual co-participants. For co-participants in batch participation, the coordination may also need to continue throughout the unit, as synchronization demands all the concurrently performed turns line-up to a recognizable “sameness”, not just that the edges line-up to an orderly transition. Wiltermuth & Heath (2008) suggest that physical synchrony produces positive emotions, a “*collective effervescence*” (pg 1), that helps groups work together. A more practice-based explanation is that synchrony cannot lead to anything but cohesion, because it is pure, ongoing cohesion.

Rather than a turn-long performance space, synchronized turns could be thought of a series of performance spaces, each the length of a syllable, pause, or micropause. The shared rate of progression through the turn is a projectability consideration of its own, and relates to knowing both what to say and how to say it. This is why it is important for a UNH Student Section participant to know that “Hey John” does not just end in “thank you” but “tha:::nk you:::” so they do not progress through the elongations too quickly and cause asynchrony.

Form-aligned practices facilitate this sameness of progression by ensuring that the participants are all attempting the same sequence of

performance spaces. If that practice-internal progression can be reliably similar across the participants, then all that is left is to start that aligned practice form at the same time. Then the similar progression through the same turn at a same-enough rate will take care of the rest.

With “Hey John” the Student Section knows the Announcer will begin their turn when the game clock reads “1:00” and they use that knowledge to insert their turn before then. In order for this to work as a recognizable adjacency-pair their end-point needs to be in close proximity to the Announcer’s start-point. So to (at least) imitate a TRP the Student Section reverse engineers a start-point for their first turn (based on the clock reading “1:04”) and pace the turn to finish at 1:00 remaining, which is the Announcer’s start-point:

Hey John

- 1 **Student Section:** Hey JOHN! How: much time is left?
- 2 **Announcer:** ONE minute left to PLAY: in the period. ONE
- 3 minute.
- 4 **Student Section:** Tha::nk you:::.

The projectable structure of the Announcer’s turn provides the start point for the Student Section’s second turn, the sequence-closing third on line 4. Particularly the emphatic repetition of “one minute” is almost a piece of punctuation to orient to. The Student Section’s familiarity with this structure creates a specific expectation of announcement completeness and thus TRP availability (Sacks et al., 1974). So when the position of Announcer is filled by a different person for a few games and a new structure is introduced, there is some confusion over the completeness:

Hey John New Announcer

- 1 **Student Section:** Hey John! How much time is left?
- 2 **Announcer:** 0::ne minute remaining in the period.
- 3 (1.3)
- 4 **Student Section:** Tha::nk you:::.

This is not a disaster, but compared to how crisp the next-turns of the Student Section tend to be that 1.3 second pause is significant. The batch turn on line 4 also begins in a much more ragged and smudged fashion, working itself back into synchrony over the course of the elongated “Tha::nk.”

That’s an alteration in structure from the removal of an expected part of the turn, but there is something like Atkinson’s (1984) four-part list interruption issue with the lengthening of a turn. A similar interaction to “Hey John” between the Student Section and the Announcer comes when the Announcer marks the end of a penalty. The reliable structure of the announcement provides a very strongly projectable end point, which the Student Section orients to as the start-point for a synchronized turn. But when there is a different Announcer who changes the structure their expected start-point is no longer safely after the Announcer’s end-point:

End of UNH Penalty - Regular Announcer

- 1 ((Penalty on UNH comes to an end))
- 2 **Announcer:** U N H at full strength.
- 3 **Student Section:** Always WER:e

End of UNH Penalty - New Announcer

- 1 ((Penalty on UNH comes to an end))
- 2 **Announcer:** U N H is at full strength,[U N H at full]=
- 3 **Student Section:** [Alway:s WER::e]=
- 4 **Announcer:** =strength.

With audiences, a properly projected point is part of the pursuit of an ideal response that maximizes the appearance of appreciation (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986). For batch turns relying on synchronization, projectability is a structural necessity to properly accomplish anything. So while response-immediacy in audiences can act as a bonus, multiplying the impact of them performing a properly aligned practice in a relevant place, many of the batch turns I will be discussing require projectability as a pillar upon which the central execution rests.

Chapter 6: Cheering Conventions

In the previous chapter I discussed the general necessities that go into the performance of batch turns. Batch turns rely on collaboration, often precise collaboration down to each syllable and micropause due to the use of synchronization in many of their turns. That collaboration requires mutual understanding of a turn being relevant, a mutual alignment in the practice to be undertaken, and mutual recognition of a shared start-point for that practice. Without the resources for meeting these requirements, whether provided by an external actor/happening or by the batch's participants themselves, batch turn construction will fail to produce a properly shared turn.

I also discussed Tradition Canons. These are the collection of commonly-known and utilized turns and sequences of a particular Student Section, and represent their particular approach to providing/locating and utilizing the resources needed to meet the requirements for collaboration and produce batch turns. While these canons are unique collections of particular turns/sequences, those turns and sequences tend to be built upon a set of **Cheering Conventions**. These are generic structural approaches that solve many of the problems of collaboration, and are thus widely used across tradition canons and even repeatedly within individual tradition canons.

For example, the UNH Student Section's tradition canon includes a chant of "let's go 'cats" in reference to their mascot of the wildcat, while Northeastern's tradition canon has a chant of "let's go Huskies." Within UNH's tradition canon there are also several other chants, like "go 'cats go" and "U N H." What is important for this chapter is that these varied practices are all built on the same conventional structure of a chant. Much of the performative skill of cheering then is about mastering a set of cheering conventions that underlie the various practices that fill tradition canons.

This underlying expertise relates back to previously discussed ideas like any-mization (Laurier, 2015) and that, "the institution of interaction

largely antedates the characteristics of those who staff it” (Heritage, 2001: 51). There is an organizational skill to cheering that exists separate from any tradition canon or team affiliation. If the co-participants can manage the collaboration needed to produce batch turns, then they have the skills necessary to perform any batch turn for which they can encounter/muster the proper resources of relevance, practice alignment, and projectability. This shared core competence between sections allows for a great deal of adaptation, mocking imitation, and outright theft of another’s tradition canon practices, but within individual sections it also allows for the design and execution of novel practices as new needs arise. After all, a tradition canon’s practices had to be used a first time before they became available for reuse.

The cheering practices observed in this study can be categorized into 4 general structural forms. These cheering conventions will be explored in order of increasing precision, and thus increasing levels of complexity. In each case I will describe how these structures utilize/provide the necessary resources for collaboration to produce batch turns, the capabilities/limitations of these ways of handling resources, and some areas of games/events where practices based on these structures are used by Student Sections that maximize their capabilities and mitigate their limitations.

6.1 Response Cries

The first thing to address is that we can’t declare every loud noise made by those in the vicinity of a Student Section’s usual batch turn construction “an internally-oriented interaction that produces a participant batch.” Sometimes multiple individual responses are simply going to occur at the same point rather than be “done together.” Think of a gasp in a movie theater at a jump-scare in a horror film. The gasps do not rely on an interaction between the moviegoers where gasping is purposefully mutually aligned and a projectable start-point is oriented to. They are just immediately gasping at a sudden shocking happening. Arriving in the same spot on

account of identical immediacy does not always equate to synchronization, some process of BTC must be involved.

This is especially important to remember with sports because they are realms of loosened restraints on emotional expression where things happen suddenly. As reliable as it is that certain happenings will arrive somewhere in an instance of a game, not all their placements are going to be predictable. So important events will happen in surprising fashion and there is no sanction for yelling about it. After a post-happening eruption there is no “catching” one’s self or apologizing for the outbursts. Part of doing-being “normal” in other settings often involves stifling these outbursts or providing some accounting for them when they do occur (Goffman, 1978). The expectations and structures of sporting events provide an opportunity to do “fanaticism” and emotional investment rather than “normal.” So it’s no wonder that these now-allowed instances of unfettered expression flow so freely and frequently.

This can be considered what Goffman (1978, 1981) refers to as self-talk. While he thoroughly investigates social stigma attached to being caught doing it, he also cited several examples where it is allowed or even expected. He does not mention sports as one such place, but does state the rules are loosened around moments of emotion, relief, and failure. All these are present in sports and happenings are responded to with what Goffman terms **Response Cries** (Goffman, 1978). These are meaningful yells, cries, groans, growls and yelps directed at one’s own state or performance. An uttering of “oops” after an error in a personal undertaking is Goffman’s flagship example (Goffman. 1978: 800).

He goes on to list a whole series of categories, but the important part for the purposes of batch interactions is that he cites response cries as being self-talk. The interaction may be available for others to overhear as necessary, like a person stumbling and letting out a “whoops!” to indicate to any potential viewers that the trip was a mistake and disown it as a momentary slip of self rather than a representation of one’s self (Goffman, 1978). Even with that potential achievement of interpersonal work, the

interaction as an instance of co-participation is confined to the individual performing the response cry: “First speaker’s utterance does not officially establish a slot which second speaker is under some obligation to fill: there is no ratified speaker and recipient (not even imaginary ones), but merely actor and witness” (Goffman, 1978: 798-799). The production of response cries is unilateral rather than shared and mutually-oriented (Clayman, 1993).

This unilateral nature provides an opportunity to dismiss response cries as not what I am talking about with batch interaction, but there are two benefits to addressing them. First is that they are common occurrences during games, and this requires a consideration of them by Student Sections as occupied points and spaces that may delay the availability of collaborators, or suggests the presence of attentive/similarly-affiliated co-participants as potential collaborators (Clayman, 1993). The second benefit of including response cries as non-batch cheering practices is it demands that the batch practices be defined in contrast. With this need for distinction comes a pressing need to establish the difference between turn-concurrence, turn-sharing, and turn-synchronization.

This is important at this lower-end of complexity because the more basic and simplistic the turn being undertaken, the less evidence there is going to be for a mutual-orientation to its production. Complex turns present more complicating factors in the requirements for collaboration. Resources must be more overtly managed, and production of the turn can become so overt and drawn-out that the batch construction of a resulting turn is easily recognized. The looser the requirements for collaboration the less noticeable the management will be, and this can cause some murkiness in regards to the shared-nature, and thus batch participation, of turns.

If I was to use McPhail’s (1991) definition of collective behavior as the basis for batch participation and thus the structure behind cheering practices, then response cries would clearly be included. His definition is:

“Two or more persons engaged in one or more actions (e.g., locomotion, orientation, vocalization, verbalization, gesticulation,

and/or manipulation), judged common or concerted on one or more dimension (e.g., direction, velocity, tempo, or substantive content)” (pg 159 cited in Bassetti, 2016: 123).

There’s no disputing that as a definition of collective behavior. I have presented batch participation as something beyond just a collection of moves or sounds that can be seen as *done together*. Participant batches are a collective accomplishment of the participants, not merely an assessment of an onlooker. For that reason I prefer to think about collectiveness the way Gail Jefferson (1973) discusses “collective sentences” - by which she means undertakings like finishing one another’s sentences and other purposeful overlap:

“A first requirement for the analysis of overlapped address terms is to establish that conversationalists have a technical capacity to place their talk with precision. If that can be shown, there are grounds for admitting the possibility that overlapped address terms in tag position are more than trivially misplaced startings and stoppings” (pg 50).

In previous sections and chapters I have displayed that participants in batches can, and do, place their talk with precision. Not just a general precision, but a mutual precision where they place their turns in relation to external selection and conspicuous happenings and, at the same time, in relation to one another.

The trouble with response cries is that it can’t be shown that there is mutual orientation being done. They clearly occur in response to a happening, but there is no evidence that they also occur with consideration of practice alignment, or any other consideration of the other’s doing of the turn. This is because the performance space and organizational space of response cries are the same space. This is not an immediate performance with prior organization based around a projectable point, like the Northeastern Student Section following each opposing player’s name with

“SUCKS!” as a wicked “completion” of an Announcer’s turn at its reliably projectable completion point. The happenings that get response cries - goals, big hits, steals of the puck, saves, etc. - are unpredictable and thus unprojectable.

With no reliable lead-time to prepare for a happening’s completion point, and no delay in the performance, there is nowhere for batch turn construction to take place. The point of this chapter is that participant batches are produced by sequences of BTC, and so a lack of a BTC sequence would seem to disqualify response cries from inclusion in this work, which is a consideration of participant batches.

Of course, the point of this chapter is to display BTC, to accomplish Student Sections’ *technical capacity to place their talk with precision*. So it wouldn’t be right to dismiss response cries on a basis that I am still in the process of establishing. Especially when some of the most iconic and common forms of batch turns are as simple as response cries. These are response clusters, discussed in the next section, whose comparative looseness in regards to the requirements for collaboration can make it difficult to provide the evidence necessary to clearly separate them from response cries.

6.2 Response Clusters

I have already mentioned some instances of **Response Clusters**. Not just in the previous paragraph, but back in the discussion of practice alignment, and particularly in regards to practice type alignment. These were practice types like applause and booing as well as other practices for doing celebration and frustration. Basically the the iconic “crowd” responses, the roars of the crowd, are all examples of response clusters. They are not the definition of response clusters though.

Response clusters are turns as vicinities for aligned practices to be performed. A relevant space opens, aligned practices are performed within that space, and then the space closes. So, for instance, a speaker/performer

conspicuously completes a turn and makes relevant a response from the crowd (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986), the crowd takes the selection of what type of response should be provided (Atkinson, 1984; Clayman 1993), and provides that response in the area of a projectable start-point which creates a “burst” of response (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986; Clayman, 1993). The response swells, crescendos, and recedes (Atkinson, 1984; Neda et al., 2000; Lupyan & Rifkin, 2003; Broth, 2011), and eventually the number of active responders will fade to the point that the space is considered closed (Broth, 2011) and participation in the response cluster is no longer available.

Those descriptions relate to applause in particular, but can be seen in other types of response clusters like booing (Atkinson, 1984; Clayman, 1993) and laughter (Broth, 2011). I have already mentioned similar responses in regards to player introductions, particularly how there is a much larger space left between home team introductions to allow for a response cluster than between the visiting team introductions (though the Student Section makes due anyway by using other practices). Thinking of response clusters as a container then isn't very helpful, because EM/CA already has containers for units of interaction, they're called turns. And while response clusters are turns, and batch turns, they are a particular type of turn rather than just a turn in general. Their relative generalness compared to other, more particular batch turns is part of understanding what makes them special though, so it is the first thing to be understood. While the synchronized turns I have talked about and will talk about rely on stacking multiple individuals together, as seamlessly, neatly, consistently as possible, response clusters are *piles* of turns, scatterplots of performance that accumulate into a turn.

If enough participants slap their palms together, the resulting cacophony of the overlapping beats of their varied cadences produces what is known as applause. If enough participants make an elongated “boo” sound, their turns mingle into booing. If there is no recognizable majority undertaking we get a din of noise. In some cases, such as the murmur of

disagreement that suggests a collaborative turn of booing is available (Clayman, 1993), the noise may hold a recognizable meaning based on the sequence in which it appears, but is not traditionally associated with a particular practice-type the way applause and booing are.

The fact that response clusters accumulate, particularly that they accumulate over time, is why I consider them separately from response cries. The space in which they are performed is managed - by speakers (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986), by TV hosts and producers (Eriksson, 2009), and even audiences themselves (Broth, 2011) - and that is a level of coordination that is not present with response cries. As Clayman (1993) sums up response cries, they are, “conventionalized nonlexical utterances...that externalize immediate reactions to some passing event, but are addressed to no one in particular” (pg 119). He discounts them in his consideration of audience response because they are “not accountable as public utterances” (pg 119). Response cries “punch” a space into sequence based on their uncontrolled occurrence, which is why I describe their relation to cheering as a sort of delay. Any extension of that space loses that uncontrolled nature, because while the arrival of a surprised yelp after a goal may be an immediate, unconsidered action, the continuation of yelping beyond the moment of surprise would be an intentionally constructed turn.

Student Section participants tend toward batch participation, or at least some form of participation. So the continuation of a publicly unaccountable utterance just doesn't fit what a tradition canon seems geared towards accomplishing. This is likely why unexpected happenings like goals, penalties, big hits, etc., get an immediate response cry that is followed up with a response cluster, and possibly followed by a more complex cheering practice.

Obstructive “OH”-ing

Since many of these practices are so iconic I am going to step away from them to discuss a more novel response cluster that I haven't seen addressed generally. **Obstructive “oh”-ing** is the use of an ongoing yell of


```

10          ↑Oh↓h::  ↑Oh↓h::  ↑Oh↓h::  ↑Oh↓h::=
11          [   B   E   B   E   B   E   B   E ]
12          [((UMass takes its positions for the next play))]
13  Band:      ((stops playing))
14  Section:   =OH::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::
15              ^ (hold E position and wriggle their fingers)
16              ((Next play begins. UMass player throws the
17              [ ball to another who is tackled to stop play)) ]
18  Section:   ((cheering and applause))
19  Announcer: Havens pass complete to Anthony Nelson.
(hasanj89's channel, 2010: 0:00-0:51)

```

The reason the band stops playing on line 18 relates to their being “persons subject to the rules” which I have mentioned a few times. While in ice hockey the constraint on the Band involves making noise during play, meaning they stop when play restarts, in american football the immediate pre-play space is so organizationally important that Bands during those games also “shall not create any noise that prohibits a team from hearing its signals” (Redding, 2015: FR-94). “Signals” refer to their final adjustments to their plan for the upcoming play, and also their “count” which is the cadence they use to tell their teammates when to go - the iconic count being “down, set, hut!” but longer and shorter counts are used to try and keep the opponents guessing about when the play will start.

The Student Section, who is not a person subject to the rules, takes this place where it is relevant for the Band to stop, due to the potential for disruption, as a relevant place to start being disruptive. So they begin oh-ing, flooding the conversation space in the stadium during a period when their opponents will be trying to utilize it. When the play ends, and noise becomes less-intrusive again, the oh-ing stops. In this segment, the Student Section transitions to a new response cluster of cheering and applause (lines 4 and 24), because the outcomes of both plays were good for their team. When it comes to pre-play - the immediate space before the play where the opponent needs to communicate via signals because they are in formation -

and play itself, the “OH!” is elongated to cover every auditory inch of that space.

I may need to clarify here, that entire “OH!” that covers everything that happens from line 17-23 - about 13 seconds total - is not necessarily everyone in the Student Section doing a full 13 second yell of “OH!” Basketball Student Sections often do obstructive oh-ing the entire time their opponents have the ball, which can be upwards of 30 seconds, during which they are also usually jumping up and down. Boston College’s ice hockey Student Section does obstructive oh-ing when their team is down a player due to penalty, and that can last for 2 full minutes. A participant will likely need to stop and take a breath, but the Student Section can, thanks to a distribution of performance, keep up the performance continually. That is the true capability of response clusters as a cheering practice.

Utilizing “Smudge”

I have mentioned a few times about the overrun in batch turns - “smudge” - from slight inaccuracies in pacing. I have also mentioned how part of practice form alignment is an orientation to how a turn is to be said in order to reduce smudge during synchronized turns. When it comes to response clusters, smudge is the point. What response clusters do is use smudge as spackling, smoothing over gaps in the performance.

Applause is a constant cacophony, continually rewarding a speaker/performer/happening with approval, booing is the same structure but punishing its target with ongoing rejection. This is despite clapping being a practice that cannot be elongated, you can “clap slower” but that refers to an elongation of the pauses between claps, not the elongation of the claps. Similarly with booing, a truly loud, truly energetic boo can’t be kept up for long, since it requires the quick emptying of air from the lungs, and requires a deep breath to refuel and continue the performance. The same with obstructive ohs, in order to be truly effective in disruptively flooding the conversation space, the performers can’t hold back - though, an aside, “oh” is likely the prototypical sound for this because it can be sing-yelled rather

than just straight yelled, which spares the voice over the duration of a game, so there is some consideration of physical taxation.

The impressiveness of synchronization is the coordination in acting as one. Along with being impressive, this coordination produces batches who can produce turns with far greater reach than individuals are capable of. This requires a great deal of Section-internal coordination, which is why I have been using those instances throughout this chapter as illustrative examples of batch turn construction. Response clusters eschew synchronization, and so they appear much more simple and do not make coordination as blatant. But, response clusters use the mass of a participant batch to even greater effect than synchronization.

Tight synchronization works like a magic trick, hiding the many of the participant batch within a single actor. Response clusters harness that many-ness that synchronization works to hide. Utilizing smudge rather than hiding it, and allowing the elongation of units beyond what an individual could perform. They tend to be structurally simple though, as the content needs to be recognizable despite being smudged. So monosyllabic forms - "boo", "oh", *clap* (if you will allow me a physical syllable) - are really the only option, since a second syllable would require the end of the elongation in order to start the next performance and would break up the continual nature of the elongation. But, in terms of illustration, response clusters tend to show their power in batch turn-taking, rather than showing visible complexity in the batch turn construction I am discussing in this chapter.

Now, obviously it would be too far a step to say that *all* response clusters are similarly designed to pummel recipients the way obstructive oh-ing is, but the continual filling of an on-going performance space is definitely a universal feature of response clusters. Even if this is merely a result of not chasing synchronization rather than purposefully foregoing synchronization to utilize the capabilities of smudge. Now, I do not have data of a crowd performing applause, having it synchronize into simultaneous claps, and then having to de-synchronize back into applause. Still, the fact that applause is understood as having this scatterplot nature (Atkinson,

1984; Neda et al., 2000; Lupyan & Rifkin, 2003; Broth, 2011) at least shows a non-pursuit of synchronization. Considering how adept participant batches like Student Sections are at synchronization, this non-pursuit isn't because synchronization is impossible. Synchronization is actually typical in the cheering practices observed, so the asynchrony of response clusters leaves them as the odd-structure-out. This suggests there is some benefit to their asynchrony, and I am contending that it is the deployment of smudge that is unavailable with other cheering conventions.

6.3 Chanting

With **Chanting** comes two very important transitions. The first is a movement from batch turns as collections of asynchronous turns into them being singular-seeming synchronized turns performed via the precise stacking of multiple individual turns. This will bring with it structural changes and a tightening of the management of the requirements for collaboration. A more important transition made possible by this increase in complexity is that chanting is the first cheering convention that frees a participant batch from being resigned to response.

Response cries and response clusters are responses. This is made obvious by their names, but more specifically their meaning is derived from their secondary position to another turn with which they are paired. A yelping drop into the fetal position or a sudden burst of clapping is not typically the first-turn in a sequence. They prompt searches for prior happenings, their "causes." What has caused the pain - either personal or empathetic - expressed by the drop or the elation expressed by the clapping.

Obstructive oh-ing, which at least attempts to affect something in real-time rather than comment on it afterward, still needs the presence of pre-play organization to provide it with relevance. So far cheering conventions have only been capable of producing second-pair parts, which still allows participation, but that participation is at the mercy of the provision of prior-turns to be placed around to gain meaning (Sacks et al., 1974;

Schegloff, 2007a). That puts participation at the whims of the contest, which is not ideal since participation can be stymied by slow play or long stoppages, which are not unusual.

Chants are the simplest cheering practices where the resulting batch turns can function as first-pair parts. These are the the first turns by which a participant batch can nominate a new sequence to be participated in rather than merely participating in a sequence already provided by an external happening or co-participant. This allows batches like Student Sections to begin to provide commentary rather than just reaction, and with commentary they can begin to alter perception of the event (Comisky et al., 1977), making the game seem more exciting or their support seem more justified with claims about what is happening (Bryant et al., 1982). A practical implication of increased complexity and an opportunity to take first-turns is that Student Sections can now provide their own resources for collaboration and remain involved even if Section-external turns and happenings aren't providing them.

While Student Sections utilize plenty of chanting, I am going to introduce chanting by talking about a crowd at a professional wrestling show. These crowds share the activity level and coordinating complexity of Student Sections, but deal with a much more nuanced social situation. The typical presence of a binary between home and visitor in sports creates a relatively set dichotomy of support and rejection. This is repeatedly reaffirmed by the turns of Student Sections, but it is clear from the start and unlikely to change from game to game. A pro wrestling match is not home against away, it is character against character. Often there is some layer of good versus evil included (Stone, 1972a), but not always. Even in those situations it is not actual good versus evil, it is a pretend battle of *pretend* good versus *pretend* evil (Stone, 1972a). So rather than a clear, static dichotomy of "our familiar team vs. their visiting team" informing the response to every moment of every game, a wrestling crowd must actively choose and express an affiliation for each match. Unlike heavily partisan Student Sections, with

wrestling crowds that affiliation can sometimes be to everyone, resulting in chants of “both these guys/women.”

Along with the affiliation to the characters, there is added complexity from the fact that there are performers behind those characters. Wrestling fans are watching a pretend contest which they pretend to cheer for as though it were a true competition (Stone, 1972b; Birrell & Turowetz, 1979). Wrestling fans are also watching an underlying performance that creates the impression of that contest. So every happening in a pro wrestling match is actually two happenings: it’s the ostensible happening in the fabricated contest and it’s an actual happening in the performance. So while an ice hockey player missing a shot is simply them attempting a shot and being unsuccessful, a pro wrestler missing a move can either be the successful performance of a missed move or the unsuccessful performance of an intended move. That is, maybe their character was meant to miss and the performer did, or maybe their character was meant to succeed and the performer failed.

All this complexity in the sequence of wrestling means the fans’ ability to comment on it needs more nuance. This results in practices for commentary by wrestling crowds that can distinguish what they are enjoying/not enjoying, how much they are enjoying/not enjoying it, and whether that relates to the pretend contest in which they are performing as an audience, or the performance of a pretend contest to which they are an actual audience. They will chant “this is awesome” as commentary on their enjoyment of overall sequences, such as a match, and “that was awesome” for particularly good turns in a sequence. Though especially impressive achievements will garner a “holy shit.”

As a method of rejection, chanting is used in even more important ways. Since some professional wrestlers are portraying villains, they are trying to get booed. To be limited to booing as a way to show displeasure may not be very helpful when attempting to show displeasure with a wrestler’s attempt at getting their character booed rather than displeasure with the character’s actions. So rather than booing a poorly performed match

a wrestling crowd will chant “boring” during poor performances and “you fucked up” after poorly performed moves. This highlights their displeasure with the execution of a performance rather than just expressing general displeasure, as that displeasure may be misconstrued as a positive response at an attempt to garner hatred for a character.

Nakamura Entrance

The following piece of data is the entrance of a professional wrestler which features response clusters like applause and cheering as well as two chants. The first of these chants is the type of first-turn that the previous structures were incapable of and the second is a response to an action by the wrestler.

Nakamura Entrance (C = Clap)

1 ((Sami Zayn’s music fades out and he squats down in a corner
2 on the far-side of the ring from the entrance way))
3 **Fans:** ((Applause and cheering)) ↑Nahk-↓ah ↑mur-↓ah
4 C.C.C-C-C. ↑Nahk-↓ah ↑mur-↓ah C.C.C-C-C.
5 ((the arena lights fade to darkness))^
6 ↑Nahk-↓ah ↑mur-↓ah C.C.C-C-C. ↑Nahk-↓ah
7 ↑mur-↓ah C.C.C-C-C. ↑Nahk-↓ah ↑mur-↓ah
8 C.C.C-C-C. ↑Nahk-↓ah ↑mur-↓ah C.C.C-C-C.
9 ↑Nahk-↓ah ↑mur-↓ah C.C.C-C-C.
10 ((music starts playing and colored sound waves move in time
11 to it on the screens surrounding the entrance way))
12 **Fans:** ((Cheering and applause))
13 ((music and sound wave videos continue))
14 **Nakamura:** ((Walks out onto stage, silhouetted against
15 the rear screen))
16 **Fans:** ((cheering resumes and intensifies))
17 **Nakamura:** ((Stops in center of the stage and holds arms
18 out at sides))
19 **Fans:** ((cheering))
20 **Production:** ((Screens go black, there is a pause in the

21 music)) (.) [((music resumes as “SHINSUKE]
 22 NAKAMURA” displays across the
 23 rear screen))
 24 **Nakamura:** ((drops down almost to knees and
 25 [rises back up))]
 26 **Fans:** ((loud cheer))
 27 **Nakamura:** ((walks down entrance ramp, silhouetted against
 28 strobe light))
 29 **Fans:** ((cheering and applause))
 30 **Nakamura:** ((emerges into arena lights))
 31 **Fans:** ((loud cheer))
 32 **Announcer:** A:nd his opponent. From Kyoto Japan. Weighing two
 33 hundred and twenty pounds. Shin:skAY::-Nakamura!
 34 **Fans:** [((loud cheer))]
 35 **Nakamura:** [((smiles into camera))] ((dances to a transition
 36 in music and finishes with a broad arm swing))
 37 **Fans:** ((loud cheer))
 38 **Nakamura:** ((enters ring, walks towards and holds hand out
 39 to camera then turns, scrambles back to ring
 40 ropes away from camera and drops down into
 41 signature reclining pose))
 42 **Fans:** ((very loud cheer))
 43 **Nakamura:** ((walks to corner nearest to entrance ramp and
 44 begins stretching))
 45 **Fans:** HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT!
 46 HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT!
 47 HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT!=
 48 **Production:** ^ ((music fades out))
 49 =HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT!
 50 HO-ly-SHIT! HO-ly-SHIT! ((cheering and applause))
 51 **Production:** ^ ((arena lights return to full))
 (NXT Takeover: Dallas, 2016)

Some interesting features of this particular entrance come from this being Shinsuke Nakamura’s debut appearance. While he is a well-known

performer internationally, this instance represents his first appearance after joining this particular company. This means the indications of his upcoming entrance are not going to be recognizable yet (Stone, 1972b). That is, the musical cues and other features of the show have yet to be associated with him as they will all be new. This was overcome as much as possible by the fact that not only was his debut announced weeks in advance but his opponent was as well. So by having his opponent Sami Zayn make his entrance first the fans now know Nakamura is coming next.

Zayn finishes his entrance, his music fades, and he takes a very side-stage position (lines 1 and 2). This is literally the case, as he moves away from the center of the ring, and to a far-corner of the ring away from the side with the stage where the wrestlers enter. As well as his physical positioning he also takes an out-of-the-way posture by sitting down in the corner, somewhat obscuring himself from view. So by all impressions his performance is now on hold. This transition is not lost on the fans, as this point is when they begin cheering and chanting “Nakamura” (lines 3-9).

Nakamura will not appear, even in silhouette, until line 14. Again, this is his debut so none of the fans have heard the music before or seen the designs on the video screens to associate them with him. This means there is no formal indication it's even him until his name appears at lines 21 and 22. He won't be fully visible until line 30, and he won't be introduced by the announcer until line 33.

What the “Nakamura” chant way back on line 3 allows the fans to do is get ahead of the overt resources they are being provided. Yes announcing Zayn as his opponent and then having Zayn enter first has logically implied Nakamura is next, but it has not officially declared it. Using only cheering and applause they could indicate they are excited that *something* is happening when the music and screen designs start. When they see the silhouette they could indicate they are excited *someone* is coming. Then on line 20 with his name's appearance on the screen - definitely putting an identity to the entrance, music, and silhouette - they would finally have the resources to indicate they are excited for Shinsuke Nakamura specifically.

Chanting “Nakamura” beforehand associates their excited reactions - whatever they are about to be - with him and changes the meaning of their responses in a way that would be impossible were they resigned to a purely secondary position as dependent responders rather than fully-capable actors.

While chants are the first cheering convention capable of being first-pair parts, they can also serve as responses. The latter chant of “holy shit” does not accomplish anything all that fundamentally different from the cheering at various remarkable points in Nakamura’s entrance. It is still a positive response following something he did, so presumably another response cluster of cheering would still have sufficed. In this particular case remember the fact that the fans have no idea what Nakamura’s entrance is going to be.

Entrances in the sports tend to be ceremonial. In the very first example of this work I talked about Virginia Tech’s reaction to the song “Enter Sandman” and how the stadium began to cheer and leap up and down when it was played. This was because that is the song played during the Virginia Tech football team’s entrance, and the cheering and leaping is what the fans do during that entrance. Professional wrestling entrances are no different, and in fact much of the pageantry of modern sports entrances, with particular entrance themes and accompanying fireworks, are inherited from pro wrestling.

There are particular segments to wrestler entrances as their music will play, they will walk out on the stage, typically do a pose on the stage, walk down the entrance ramp to the ring in a particular way, pose on their way into the ring or enter the ring in a particular way, and finally will have some sort of pose to do inside the ring before taking their position for the start of the match. Nakamura’s entrance follows this structure: his entrance music and video signaling his upcoming entrance (line 10 and 11), his silhouette (lines 14-23) and swoon (lines 24 and 25) on the stage, his strobe-lit walk down the ramp (lines 27 and 28), his dance in front of the steps into the ring (lines 35 and 36), and finally his signature reclining pose (lines 38-41). Part

of the competence of the wrestling fans is knowledge of this entrance structure. They can expect something to happen at these points in Nakamura's progression to the ring, but as this is the first time they're seeing this entrance they don't know what that something is.

Their ability to project happenings and provide proper immediacy is hampered by novelty, rather than fully-informed by ceremony. Not knowing what is coming they respond to just about everything recognizable that does come, either just to be safe or because with no scale of reference to judge the importance of each happening on they all become important. Responding to everything doesn't solve all their problems though, because they can't possibly determine the proper volume to give what is happening. What if they cheer as loud as they can for the first happening and it turns out to be the least-impressive happening of a series? They can't rely on duration of response to make-up the difference when they don't know the space available between each happening and a potential next happening. The ability to chant provides a sort of safety net in this situation as it allows for that finite scale of immediacy, volume, and duration to be superseded by a shared production of meaningful turns.

There have been attempts to scientifically quantify audience response via devices like clap-o-meters that measure response volume in decibels (Barkhuus & Jergensen, 2008), or wristbands that measure the vigor of applause through hand movement (Tomitsch et al, 2007). While the relationship of decibel-level and movement-vigor to the meaning of a response is dubious, with chanting it becomes impossible. In a scientifically objective, quantifiable sense there is no way to determine whether a very loud cheer is a stronger reaction than a chant of "holy shit." From an interaction perspective there is though. as we can see that multiple points got cheers, some recognizably louder than others, but the cumulative entrance, when complete after the signature in-ring pose, got a "holy shit" chant.

Chanting Cadences

I have discussed capabilities that participant batches gain by forming shared turns through chanting. I have discussed that those capabilities are powered by a greater variety of content that can be chanted and how that provides the nuance to accomplish a wider variety of work. Now let's actually talk about why chants in particular enable that variety of content.

Chanting is the application of a generic structure to a turn. Specifically this is a structure for performance which I will refer to as a **chanting cadence**. A chanting cadence is a way of applying workable uniformity to a phrase so that its performance can meet the requirements of practice alignment relating to synchronized progress through a turn. This is the requirement that the series of points within a turn, both syllables and pauses, are progressed through at the same rate by the dividual participants. In the example of Nakamura's entrance, the crowd's chant of his name was not just "Nakamura" but "↑Nahk-↓ah ↑mur-↓ah", and not immediately restarted but restarted after a sequence of claps. This shared expectation for progression limits "smudge" that may muddle the unity of the performance and keeps each syllable and pause - particularly pauses between reiterations of the chanted phrase - crisply and recognizably shared.

An example of chanting being an application of cadence rather than a particular way of speaking specific turns is the fact that clapping can be chanted. It's called a "slow clap."

Slow Clap (C = Clap)

1	Cowbell Player:	X!(.)[X! X! X!X!X.X-XXXXXX.]
2	Student Section:	[C! C! C!C!C.C-CCCCCC.]

This cadenced-based management of unity is important because the most recognizable feature of a chant is that it repeats multiple times. So any difference in the pace and emphasis in a turn's performance is going to exponentially increase the difference in the performances as the repetitions

progress. Much like how repeated vibrations of an unstable object will shake it apart, so too will the shared aspect of a chant's turns crumble into a din of merely overlapping turns if the performances are allowed to stray too far from one another. Part of managing this is not relying on a single chanting cadence but having a few chanting cadences to select from.

Not having a "one size fits all" approach to the cadence is a major factor in the wide variety of content that can be chanted. Rather than needing to stuff ever-longer turns into the same limited space a cadence provides, more expansive chanting cadences are used for longer turns. This expansion is based on the number of syllables present in a turn. Now, just a moment ago we discussed the chanting of claps in slow claps and obviously claps are not words and do not have syllables. For our purposes though, the claps are actually what matters. The concept of syllables is typically taught by having students clap their way through words and phrases, with the claps marking the syllables in what they are reciting. This helps get across the idea of syllables as the beats of speech, just as claps are beats, and the beats of a drum in a drum cadence are beats. Like in a musical meter, with chanting cadences we are looking for a structure that can accommodate the number of beats our turn will contain. Working from a shared time signature helps keep an orchestra together, and so too does a properly selected chanting cadence help keep the participants in a chant together.

Presumably this relationship of syllables to beats may not be universally applicable across all languages and cultures, which may affect if and how chants are employed. Even within the anglophone world there's a difference as British sports cheering more often uses song rhythms as the structural basis for chant-like features as general practice, while in America song-like rhythms are typically only used when that music is being played, either by a Pep Band or over speakers. For example, in these instances below, which just happen to be two separate examples using the same song. In the American example, it's the UNH Pep Band playing Bruce Channel's "Hey Baby" that makes the singing towards the opposing goaltender relevant. In the British example, a wrestling crowd sing-chants for a women's

wrestler named Bayley using the same tune, but without any musical accompaniment making that rhythm relevant:

Hey Perry (P = Point at Opposing Goaltender)

1 **Band:** ♪ Hey Baby ♪
 2 **Student Section:** Hey:: ↑he:↓y: Per-↑ray:. You. Suck. I wanna
 3 P P
 4 ↑kno:-↓oh-oh-oh.↑oh-↓OHW. If you'll be our
 5 sieve. SIEVE! SIEVE!-SIEVE! SIEVE!
 6 P P P P
 7 **Cowbell Player:** X.X.X.X-X-X-X.
 8 **Student Section:** Hey:: ↑he:↓y: Per-↑ray:...

Hey Bayley (C = Clap)

1 **Wrestling Fans:** Hey:: ↑he:↓y: Bay-↑lay:. OO! AH! I wanna
 2 ↑kno:-↓oh-oh-oh.↑oh-↓OHW if you'll be my
 3 gir^l. C.C.C.C.C.C.C. Hey:: ↑he:↓y:
 4 Bay-lay:...

(NXT Takeover: London, 2015)

So there are other repetitive structures available. Whether such things can be described as “chants” or need another category is something worth thinking about.

Sticking with cadences that are the primary chanting cadences in American sports and society we end up with five that serve as generic structures for batch turns across various wordings and contexts:

One Syllable - Sieve (P = Point at opposing goaltender)

1 **Student Section:** S:IEVE! SIEVE! SIEVE!SIEVE!SIEVE-SIEVE-SIEVE!
 2 P P P P P P P

Two Syllable (Short) - (C = Clap)

1 **Wrestling Fans:** Sa:-mi! Sa-mi! Sa-mi! Sa-mi!
 2 C C C C C C C C

Two Syllable (Elongated) - (P = Point at ice, L = Lift Arm)

1 **Student Section:** ↑Bu::ll-↓shi::t. ↑Bu::ll-↓shi::t.
 2 P L P L
 3 ↑Bu::ll-↓shi::t. ↑Bu::ll-↓shi::t.
 4 P L P L

Just to put in a quick aside here as there won't really be a place to clarify this later. American chanting features these two separate two syllable structures: one with short beats emphasizing the second and one with long beats emphasizing the first. The short version is for chants of approval, support, or just general chanting. Elongated two-syllable chanting is reserved for negative instances, especially the mocking chanting of opposing player's names. From what I have observed in British and Irish chanting the elongated version is the more common version and does not hold any of this negative connotation.

Three Syllable - UNH (X = Strike Cowbell, C = Clap)

1 **Cowbell Player:** U::! N::! H::!
 2 X X X
 3 **Student Section:** U! -N! -H! U! -N! -H! U! -N! -H! U=N=H! U=N=H!
 4 C C C C C C C C C C-C-C C-C-C
 5 U=N=H! U=N=H! U=N.
 6 C-C-C C-C-C C-C-C. C=C=C.C=C=C.C=C=C.

While two and four syllable chanting cadences remain stable throughout, one and three syllable cadences speed up throughout their performance. This likely due to the uneven number of syllables making the cadence harder to keep balanced. While the verbal aspect of one syllable chanting cadences is performed throughout, in three syllable chanting the speed reaches a certain point where the verbal aspect is abandoned, but the claps that went along with it continue. The spaces for the reiterations simply seem to become so tight that syllables will no longer fit, but claps will.

Four Syllable - Let's Play Hockey (C = Clap)

1 **Participant:** ↑Le:ts. ↓Play:. ↑Ho:ck. ↓Ey:.
 2 **Student Section:** C.C.C-C-C. ↑Lets-↓play ↑hock-↓ey.

3 C.C.C-C-C. ↑Lets-↓p|ay ↑hock-↓ey.
 4 C.C.C-C-C. ↑Lets-↓p|ay ↑hock-↓ey.
 5 C.C.C-C-C.

Again, this is not an exhaustive list of every basic structure for repetitive batch turns. Some of the other examples in this work even feature some chant-like structures that use specialized cadences. That specialization is the important part though, as different structures can be negotiated among participants. For example, a group of wrestlers called “The New Day” began chanting for themselves with the uneven cadence “new day-rocks” rather than the even emphasis and even progression of the typical three syllable chanting cadence. Now, with wrestling fans properly familiar with that cadence, it is possible to perform a three syllable chant at a wrestling show with either normal or New Day cadence - though New Day cadence typically gives a chant the air of a joke, and for anything to be taken earnestly still requires normal cadence.

Presumably this is how all of these culturally recognizable, generic cadences came to be recognizable. While “New Day Rocks” and the cadence that grew of out of it are an interesting recent development, for the more general purposes of this study I wanted to present these more accepted structures for now. These are the five cadences that will be recognized and oriented to in any arena in the United States.

Initial Tutorial Turns

A common feature across all these cadences is the particular way the individual initiator takes the first turn. The syllables are elongated and the spaces between them made more distinct, emphasizing how many there are even while the cadence may have some syllables performed in quick succession. So in the three syllable example:

1	Cowbell Player:	U::! N::! H::!
2		X X X
3	Student Section:	U! -N! -H! U! -N! -H! U! -N! -H! U=N=H! U=N=H!
4		C C C C C C C C C C-C-C C-C-C

5 U=N=H!
6 C - C - C

The first turn is not “U! -N! -H!” but “U: :! N: :! H: :!”. I will be referring to this elongated, enunciated turn as the **Initial Tutorial Turn (ITT)** of the chant. This refers to its placement at the start of a sequence of chanting, and its role in facilitating the performance of the chant by making it clear how many syllables there are, and what cadence will be used to progress through those syllables.

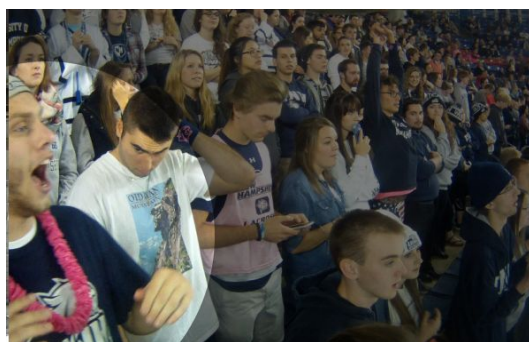
An important distinction with ITTs compared to other methods for Section self-selection is that they do two types of work, for two different recipients, at the same time. First, they are a first-turn directed at someone external to the participant batch (or, in this case, upcoming/potential batch). So in that last example of “let’s play hockey” the turn is a request made towards the referees, as this chant came during a several minute stoppage while the referees have been discussing a set of penalty calls from an on-ice fight that had occurred. From that very first turn by that lone participant, it is a request for the stoppage to end and the game to restart. The way he has structured his turn though, using a chanting cadence rather than simply yelling “let’s play hockey!” or “c’mon let’s go!”, also serves as a summons to action for potential participants in a batch.

The use of a chanting cadence in an initial tutorial turn serves as what Schegloff (1968) refers to as an “attention-getting device” (pg 1080). These are devices like telephone rings, named addressing of a co-participant, courtesy phrases (“pardon me”), and physical taps, waves, and hand-raises (Schegloff, 1968: 1080). In the case of an ITT the turn is not addressed to the rest of the Section to select them for next-turn (Sacks et al, 1974) the way other instances of self-provided relevance might:

Hex

1 **Cowbell Player:** ((rotates around to face back toward section
2 and cups hand next to mouth)) Hey student
3 section! Hex on three! One! Two! Three!

Those types of direct selection of the Section itself, even if they don't include an overt name address like this instance, will still involve the physical attention-getting device on line 1 where the speaker turns away from the game to face the rest of the Student Section. None of the ITTs observed involved this physical reorientation.



“Let’s Play Hockey” Stance



“Hex on three!” Stance

Instead, the use of a chanting cadence makes these turns conspicuous. Just as speakers can make turns conspicuously complete to prompt an audience to participate in a response (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986), the use of a chanting cadence in an individual turn can make it conspicuously incomplete. Chants repeat, and doing a single turn of one makes another turn of that chant relevant. Although the chant itself is addressed/oriented to an external party from the very beginning, the presence of a chant presents a batch turn in need of more individuals and available for widespread participation.

The structure of chants, as reiterations of the same turn-form, accomplishes all of the requirements for collaboration just through the noticeable performance of the initial turn. Since chants repeat, the existence of a first turn makes a next-turn reiteration of it relevant (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007a) and available for participation. The fact that chant turns reiterate provides the knowledge necessary for practice alignment as the prior turn provides the practice form to be performed in the next-turn. This is both in terms of the syllables involved and the cadence of those syllables.

Finally, the projectability is handled by the structure of the cadence, as that lays out the series of points/beats/syllables, how to hit them, and how long before the start-point reiterates.

This final point is most visible in 4 syllable chanting structures, like “let’s play hockey”, which have an especially particular cadence. There is emphasis on the first and third syllables - “↑Lets-↓play ↑hock-↓ey. c.c.c-c-c.” - and this emphasis marks the start of each pair of syllables as the four syllables are divided into two pairs. There is an immediate continuation between the syllables within the pairs, and then a break between the pairs. Even when one pair is one word - “hockey” - and the other is two words - “let’s play” - the pairs are progressed through with the same immediacy: “↑Lets-↓play ↑hock-↓ey. c.c.c-c-c.” The pairs are further tied together by the sing-song intonation of switching from a slightly higher pitch on the first syllable to a slightly lower pitch on the second: “↑Lets-↓play ↑hock-↓ey. c.c.c-c-c.” All this sets the pace of progression through the syllables within the turn, and then the pace of reiterating the turn is set by a five-clap sequence: “↑Lets-↓play ↑hock-↓ey. c.c.c-c-c.” With 4 syllable chants in the data, it’s not unusual for this first five-clap sequence to be where the participants join in:

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | Participant: | ↑ <u>L</u> e:ts. ↓P <u>l</u> ay:. ↑ <u>H</u> o:ck. ↓E <u>y</u> :. . |
| 2 | Student Section: | c.c.c-c-c. ↑ <u>L</u> ets- <u>↓</u> play <u>↑</u> hock- <u>↓</u> ey. |
| 3 | | c.c.c-c-c. |

This chant adoption rate is even faster with commonly used practices from the tradition canon, sometimes even allowing other participants to join in the ITT after the first syllable. While “let’s play hockey” was produced as commentary on an unusually long stoppage, and represents an unusual chant in UNH’s tradition canon, their “U-N-H” chant of the school’s initials is one of their most commonly used practices. A regular point for its performance is after goals by the opponent, as a re-statement of support for their team despite giving up a goal:

0-r-g-y Sequence Explanation (X = Strikes cowbell, C = Clap)

9 **Pink Lei:** ((turns to ice)) since we're short handed it
10 requires teamwork to make sure >that doesn't
11 ((opponent scores))^
12 hap [pen.]<
13 **Cowbell Player:** [U::]:!
14 X X X
15 **Student Section:** N:!
16 N:!
 U!N!H!
 U!N!H!
 U!N!H!
 U-N-H!
 [C C] C C C C C C C C C C C-C-C

This is from a segment of data I used earlier where the participant wearing a pink lei around his neck is explaining a routine to someone offscreen when UNH gives up a goal. On line 13 the Cowbell Player begins the ITT for the post-goal UNH chant, and after he finishes the first syllable the rest of the Student Section has already joined in for the “N:!” and “H:!”

It's important to note they don't skip the rest of the ITT. That is, even though the reasons I've given for the ITT's particular elongated, enunciated form aren't really relevant, since the Section knows what the practice form and cadence are just from familiarity with the “U:::!” they still perform the elongated “N:!” and “H:!” even though the next-turn after the ITT is performed without elongation: “U!N!H!” They don't skip to the shortened “N!” and “H!”, nor do they skip to the entire reiteration of “U!N!H!”, they perform the ITT to completion, then move on to the reiterations.

Two potential reasons for their ITT performance: (1) they are maintaining synchronization with the Cowbell Player, who is already mid-turn, rather than overlapping them, and (2) the possibility that ITTs are required parts of chants. I mentioned earlier how the ITT makes the turn particularly conspicuous, and the application of a cadence to a turn clearly separates it from purely individual, non-repeating comments that get shouted outside of batch turns. While I have stayed away from individual chatter in favor of batch turns and individual turns-at-BTC, I'll include some here to show how ITTs stand out:

Individual Chatter and Let's Go Cats (X = Strikes Cowbell, C = Clap)

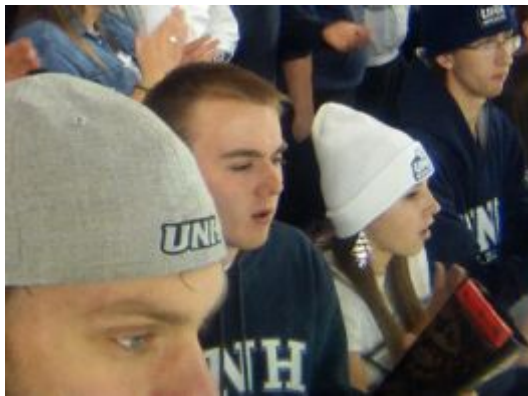
1 **Participant:** Woo:::!



ITT Wind-up



ITT Strike



Reiteration Wind-Up



Reiteration Strike

So there is a respect for the doing of ITTs, shown by the Student Section being sure to complete it even when they have already started participating. There is also a great deal of physical effort put into making them especially conspicuous. The conspicuousness of their form helps them stand out from the chatter and announce to the rest of the Section that a batch sequence is now relevant for participating in. And, unlike the individual chatter, the Student Section responds by engaging in the sequence of chant reiterations, properly informed of the requirements for collaboration by the ITT's example.

Chanting Length

Chants are highly extensible practices. As mentioned back when I introduced them, chants are the first practices that can produce clear meaning in batch first-turns. They are also the only practice I observed during this study where novel versions were designed in situ in response to

novel happenings, rather than all already existing in the tradition canon and being performed as needed.

For instance, the final game observed at UNH happened to be attended by a large enough contingent of students from the visiting team, Clarkson University, that a small Clarkson Student Section became active on the opposite side of the arena from the UNH Student Section. I say small because while they had enough participants to be noticeable arena-wide, they didn't have enough participation for their turns to be clearly understood arena-wide. While these turns unfortunately couldn't be captured in detail by my camera set-up, which was focused on the UNH Student Section, after their team took an early two goal lead they clearly began taunting the UNH Student Section. Even though it was unusual to have a competing Student Section to respond to, the UNH Student Section was still able to respond with chants of "we can't hear you", "still can't hear you", and finally, after UNH came back to tie the game and the Clarkson Student Section stopped their taunting, "awfully quiet" (done as "↑awf-↓ly ↑qui-↓et", to fit in the 4 syllable cadence).

So there are clear benefits to being able to chant, as chanting cadences can mould novel phrases into structured turns that meet all the requirements for collaboration and can be performed as a participant batch. That in situ adaptability and shareability is due to the ability of an initial tutorial turn to both start a sequence of chanting, and teach the next-turn (and all subsequent turns) to the other potential participants. This same structure though also creates the limitation in chanting. Chants are sequences, and as such they need an ongoing space in which to take place. In a fast-paced sequence of happenings like a sporting event, that space is not always going to be available.

Here is an instance where there is an opportunity to mock an opposing player for falling down. This is typically done with a chant of "learn to skate", but while the Cowbell Player manages to recognize the relevance and perform an initial tutorial turn, UNH scores a goal before any reiterations of the chant:

Learn to Skate Interrupted by Goal (X = Cowbell Strike)

1 ((Opposing defender slips and falls down))
 2 **Cowbell Player:** H-hey! LEAR:N! TO:! SKATE! LR-
 3 ((UNH player scores goal))^
 4 **Student Section:** [((cheering, yelling, applauding))]
 5 **Cowbell Player:** WOO:::::!!
 6 |XXXXXXXXXX |

The Cowbell Player's excited "WOO" shows he's not heartbroken about this interruption, as it was due to a goal for his team which is even better than an embarrassing moment for an opponent, but an opposing goal would have the same nullifying effect without transition to a joyful celebration. This possibility for interruption and problematic overlap is present with any cheering practice, but the longer the sequence the greater the risk is going to be.

The absolute minimum for a chant is two turns, and even that is a technical distinction rather than a practical reality. Along with a chanting cadence setting the format of each turn of the chant, they also seem to inform how many reiterations of the chant there will be. Taking all the chants from a UNH game, and counting the turns during each performance of each specific chant, this is what results:

Chant	Turns For Each Performance (including ITT)	Avg Time in Sec
Let's-Go-Cats	14, 10, 10, 10, 6, 10, 9, 12, 7, 11, 10, 10	11.9
Go-Cats-Go	13, 9, 7, 9, 9, 10	11.9
↑We-↓Can't ↑Hear-↓You	5	14.4
↑Sit-↓Down ↑Shut-↓Up	5	13.8
↑Still-↓Can't ↑Hear-↓You	6	14.7
Bu::::ll-shi::::t	11	14.5

U-N-H	15, 13, 13, 13, 10	13.9
↑Awf-↓ly ↑Qui-↓et	5	13.9
↑Let's-↓Play ↑Hock-↓ey	4	11

The numbers of turns are fairly regular across multiple performances of the same phrase, and also regular within particular cadences. This variation is clearly tied to length, with the quick chant of U-N-H repeating at double or triple the rate of the much longer four syllable cadences. And this becomes even more clear if we look at the average lengths in seconds. The average length across every chant was 12.6 seconds, the longest was 16.3 seconds and the shortest was 10.2 seconds.

What this all suggests is that in the UNH tradition canon a complete chant is about 13 seconds long, regardless of how many turns it takes to reach that length. A few of these are interrupted, such as “let’s play hockey” finishing a turn early because the teams had gotten in position to restart play, so the request for them to hurry up and return to play was no longer relevant. Mostly though, chants were stopped early on account of changes in the game. In the “learn to skate” example the chant never really gets going on account of a home goal, and here a chant is abandoned early in order to focus on and respond to a scoring chance by the opponent:

Go ‘Cats Go, Interrupted by Opposing Attack (X = Cowbell Strike, C = Clap)

```

1    ((UNH takes puck into Clarkson defensive zone on opposite end of
2    ice))
3    Cowbell Player:    GO::! CA::TS! GO::!
4                                X    X    X
5    Student Section:  Go!-Cats!-Go! Go!-Cats!-Go! Go!-Cats!-
6                                C  C    C  C  C    C  C  C
7    ((Clarkson player steals puck))^
8                                ((enters UNH defensive zone))^
9    Front Row:        Da[NNY::::::::::::::][:::      ]
10   Clarkson Player:  [((takes shot))]
11   UNH Goaltender:      [((makes save))] ((covers

```

12 puck))
 13 **Student Section:** ((cheering, applause, bowing))

While the need for multiple turns in chanting can create a problem of length, the reiterations at least provide clean exit points if an early exit is required. So a chant may not get the chance to be resolved on its own terms, but can at least achieve a sort of intermediary resolution rather than always resulting in full-on interruption.

This last point can make chants important features in the cheering convention I will be discussing in the next section: **Routines**. Routines have their own structures and considerations to be discussed, but there is some overlap between the two cheering conventions as some routines utilize chanting to extend the performance across unpredictable periods and to maintain projectable start-points for next-turn. A nice example of this is in the routine UNH performs when an opponent is being sent to the penalty box:

Opponent Sent to Penalty Box (P = Point at Penalty Box)

1 **SLU Player:** ((commits penalty))
 2 **Referee:** (blows whistle)
 3 **Student Section:** (applause)
 4 **SLU Player:** ((begins skating toward Penalty Box))
 5 **Student Section:** Ska:::te. Ska:::te. Ska:::te. Ska:::te.
 6 P:: P:: P:: P::
 7 Ska:::te. Ska:::te. Ska:::te. Ska:::te.
 8 P:: P:: P:: P::
 9 Ska:::te. Ska:::te. Siddown BITCH!
 10 P:: P:: P P
 11 **SLU Player:** ^((reaches box))

I hesitate to call this a chant for two reasons. First, there is no ITT, or at least the ITT doesn't work the way it does in every other chant observed. The relevance of this routine is set by the player going to the penalty box, it is not self-selected by a participant who thus needs to make the first-turn conspicuous like in an ITT. The second is that the ITT *does not* tell a participant everything they need to know, because the chant is only part of

this routine. The switch on line 9 between the chant and “Siddown BITCH!” has to be known already, and its relationship to the player reaching the box has to be known in a way that an ITT can’t provide.

Again, those extra complications of routines will be discussed in the next section. Here I want to expand on that switch on line 9 and the benefit that the utilization of chanting structure provides in a routine. There is no strict enforcement of the player’s transit to the penalty box, so there is no reliably projectable length of the transit - as they could be starting from anywhere on the ice - nor the pace they’ll travel at, nor a guarantee they won’t stop and ask a referee for an explanation of what they did wrong. The length of the “ska:::te.” section thus needs to be expandable. This is handled by the chant-like structure, as the turn of “skate” can reiterate as many times as are necessary to cover the transit. The really clever part is how the chant-like structure solves two issues of projectability at once. By filling this unpredictable transit-space with chant-like turns, the Student Section also provides itself a projectable start-point for the switch. Note where the player actually reaches the penalty box (line 11), it’s at the start of a reiteration of “ska:::te.” Rather than time the switch to that unpredictable point when the player reaches the box, the player reaching the box merely makes the switch relevant. Specifically, it makes it relevant at the end of the Student Section’s current turn of the chant, providing them with a projectable start-point for “Siddown BITCH!” A projectable point they’re already practiced at, since they’ve been using it to repeat “ska:::te.” in a synchronized manner all along.

One last interesting note about the chanting aspect of that routine. If it takes a long time for a player to reach the penalty box, the elongated “ska:::te.” will change to a sharper “SKATE.”, which is the traditional single-syllable chanting cadence. In the two instances in the data where that happens, it happens after 11 seconds of “ska:::te.”, putting it right in the range of chant completeness. Which is likely why the Student Section becomes impatient and changes from a somewhat narrative tone to a clearly imperative direction to the penalized player.

6.4 Routines

The final and most complex category are routines. While some of these do feature a complexity of length and intricacy, the universal complexity here is more that there is no shared structural “DNA” for routines. So the complexity is not necessarily a complexity of content, but of the lack of a central “key” whose mastery unlocks widespread competence at routines in general. While chanting structure is a small set of generic forms that can quickly and easily hold a wide variety of content, routines are bespoke containers whose structure and content are fitted together in a unique way. So while chants can be learned and engaged with during their first instance via the initial tutorial turn and a general understanding of chanting cadences, routines must be learned individually and prior to any competent performance.

The term “interactional routine” is used in EM/CA to refer to, “a *sequence of exchanges* in which one speaker's utterance, accompanied by appropriate nonverbal behavior, calls forth one of a limited set of responses by one or more other participants” (Peters & Boggs, 1986: 81). Peters and Boggs mention how these routines can vary from “nearly fixed content to those calling forth a series of speech acts whose content and form may be quite varied” (1986: 82). As with my using synchronization as a much tighter concept, the same is going to be true here with routines. What I am describing are exact prescriptions for sequences of responses, akin to comedy routines.

Comedy routines are sequences of interaction whose performance is not so much about the cumulative work being accomplished but of the proper provision of opportunities for turns. For instance, in *Monty Python's* “Dead Parrot” sketch the mentioning of the parrot being a Norwegian Blue enables the shopkeeper's excuse that the parrot's lethargy is a result of it “pining for the fjords.” This is all to set up the over-the-top scoffing exclamation of “PINING FOR THE FJORDS???” and the resulting rant on

the obviously deceased nature of the bird. Competence at the performance of the sequence requires getting the turns “right” in that they enable the important turns, in comedy’s case the jokes.

Another classic example is “who’s on first?” where one character’s questions regarding the players on a baseball team are complicated by the players having names like Who, I Don’t Know, and What. This leads to a series of comic misunderstandings:

Abbott and Costello Who’s on First?

1 **Abbott:** Well let’s see now we have on our team, Who’s on
2 first. What’s on second. I don’t know’s on third.
3 **Costello:** That’s what I wanna find out. The guy’s names.
4 **Abbott:** Ah, heh?
5 **Costello:** That’s what I wanna find out, the guy’s names.
6 **Abbott:** I’m telling ya the guy’s names. Who’s on first,
7 what’s on second, I don’t know’s on third.
8 **Costello:** Abbott, you wanna to be manager of the baseball
9 team?
10 **Abbott:** Ah, yes.
11 **Costello:** You know the guy’s names?
12 **Abbott:** Well I should.
13 **Costello:** Well then you tell me the name of the guys on the
14 baseball team.
15 **Abbott:** I say Who’s on first, What’s on second, I don’t
16 know’s on third.
17 **Costello:** You ain’t sayin’ nothin’ to me yet. Go ahead and
18 tell me!

(NYYGehrig, 2012: 1:29-1:48)

Of course the requirement of the routine is the competence to preserve the central misunderstanding. Resolving or repairing the misunderstanding negates the ability to perform the turns of the routine in any sensical way, and thus ruins the routine:

The Simpsons Who’s on First?

- 1 **Chalmers:** Well Seymour it seems we've put together a baseball
2 team. And I'm wondering who's on first? Eh?
- 3 **Skinner:** Not the pronoun but rather a player with the
4 unlikely name of Who is on first.
- 5 **Chalmers:** Well that's just great Seymour. We've been out here
6 six seconds and you've already managed to blow the
7 routine.

(Mostly Simpsons, 2016: 0:00-0:17).

Really, this is no different from the usual reflexive co-production of meaning in conversation via the orderly taking of inter-dependent turns (Sacks et al., 1974; Pomerantz, 1984a, 1984b; Schegloff, 2007a). What makes routines difficult is that all the co-participants' capability as social actors is still present. They can still drive the conversation in any direction and achieve a whole universe of sequences. The skill involved here is the strict management of turn-construction and turn-taking in order to produce one very specific sequence: "achievements arrived at out of a welter of possibilities for preemptive moves or claims, rather than a mechanical or automatic playing out of pre-scripted routines" (Schegloff, 1986:115). The achievement is in staying on track all the way to the desired destination when there are a million ways to go. While some of the routines undertaken by the Student Section are also done for the sake of comedy, the more important factor is simply the maintenance of unity in the turn-taking.

In the previous chapter I discussed the resources for collaboration in "Hey John" which is a routine in the UNH Ice Hockey tradition canon. Now that I am focusing on routines we can discuss the practicalities of its performance in detail:

Hey John With Lead-Up

- 1 ((Cowbell Player and Pink Lei are looking up at the clock))
- 2 **Pink Lei:** ((turns to Cowbell Player)) Alright (name)
3 do:: [start it like] on the tail=
4 ((looks at clock))^
- 5 **Cowbell Player:** ((points at clock and

6 [leans towards Pink Lei)]

7 **Pink Lei:** =end of four rather than before. So like-

8 **Cowbell Player:** Three.

9 **Participants:** Two. One.

10 **Student Section:** Hey John! How much time is left?

11 **Announcer:** [One minute left to play: in the period. One

12 minute.]

13 **Student Section:** [((hold up one finger))]

14 **Student Section:** ↑Tha:::nk ↓You:::.

15 **Pink Lei:** See?

Adding in the section-internal interaction we can quite plainly see what is being oriented to by the Student Section members is the game clock rather than the Announcer, who is the addressed recipient of the question on line 10. The Cowbell Player and the participant in the Pink Lei are watching the clock already on line 1, and Pink Lei's comments are in regards to the clock and when to start in relation to it (lines 3 and 7). When Pink Lei starts his comment on line 2, there is no indication he's talking about the upcoming routine that the Cowbell Player is preparing for, and so the Cowbell Player points up at the clock as he leans in to listen (lines 5 and 6), alerting Pink Lei to the fact he has a short period of time to make his comment because a Student Section turn is becoming relevant. Pink Lei is aware of the upcoming routine though, as he was already watching the clock and his comment is in regards to the clock, but he returns to watching the clock after the Cowbell Player's point (line 4), and pauses his comment before the countdown that's performed (lines 7 and 8). Though, this countdown is not made conspicuous like Initial Tutorial Turns and other organizing turns. The members merely say it, which is comparatively under their breath. Pink Lei's comments to the Cowbell player (lines 2-7) are even louder than the countdown.

The end of the countdown coincides with the game clock reaching 1:04, meaning one minute and four seconds remaining in the period - also the four Pink Lei was referring to (line 7). This is where the Student Section starts their turn (line 10), addressing the Announcer (who is named John)

and making their request for the time remaining. When their turn ends the clock is at 1:00 and the Announcer begins their announcement (lines 11 and 12) that there is one minute left to play. Though, the Student Section already knew that, as they hold up one finger for the duration of his turn (line 13). When that turn ends we get the exaggerated thank you (line 12) from the Student Section as a sequence-closing third (Schegloff, 2007a).

I could discuss this much more mechanically if taken just from a Section-internal perspective. Rather than an interaction with the announcer the routine is basically two projectable points. First, the projectable start-point of the announcement as it is actually mandated by the rule book: “The game timekeeper shall announce on the public-address system at the 19th minute in each period that there is one minute remaining to be played in the period” (Piotrowski, 2015: 41). This allows the Student Section to reverse-engineer a projectable start-point for their own turn. This is the 1:04 on the game clock that the Section members count down to before taking their turn on line 9. The second projectable point is the projectable end-point of the announcement which serves as a start-point for the Student Section’s thank you on line 12. The projectable nature of this end-point is due to the repetitive structure of the announcement. It is always “One minute left to play in the period. One minute.” This repetition makes the Announcer’s turn as reliable as the game clock the Student Section orients to earlier. Essentially, it allows both of the projectable points to function “like clockwork.”

There is a level to the turn-taking that goes beyond mechanics however. The Student Section’s turns do not rely on the Announcer as a mere organizational factor for some unrelated statement. The Announcer’s turn is part of their routine, even if unwittingly so. As such, the Student Section’s turns must facilitate the relevance of the Announcer’s turns and vice-versa. This is why the Student Section does not ask “Hey John, what’s the score?” or “Hey John, which period is it?” Just as Abbott needs to perform the correctly confusing description of the unfortunately-named baseball players to facilitate Costello’s turns at exasperation, the Student

Section needs to ask a question that the announcement will recognizably answer.

In a way this routine could be thought of as a “known-answer question” (Schegloff, 2007a). These are instances where known information is sought in service of doing some other work:

“In an exchange such as, ‘Do you know what time it is? Three o’clock. That’s right,’ it is not until the third turn that [the known-answer sequence in progress] is revealed, and with its revelation, that the sequence is being used to do some activity other than asking the time, such as cuing or triggering a departure or some other, previously unscheduled manner” (Schegloff, 2007a: 224).

Schegloff mentions how the difficulty in analysis in these instances is determining what the withholding of the known-ness is accomplishing, rather than the accomplishment of the known-ness. A feature he points to in known-answer questions though is a third-position evaluation, but “Hey John” has a sequence-closing third instead. It would seem then that revealing the known-ness isn’t the project, even with the single-finger raise as that movement isn’t clear arena-wide and is likely more a move of Section-internal solidarity with the Announcer than a taunting revelation. As Schegloff also points out, these sequences can be seen as “being demeaned or ‘put-down’ by such a questioner” (Schegloff, 2007a: 224), and that antagonism does not appear elsewhere in interactions between the Section and Announcer.

The Student Section has other options theoretically available. They could make a comment about the length of the period, like “Will this period ever end?” and then respond to the announcement of there being one minute left with an “oh good!” It would be structurally identical, with a reverse-engineered start-point off the Announcer’s formal start-point and a second start-point off of the Announcer’s projectable end-point. The greater

sequence of interaction between Student Section and Announcer would completely change though.

As was said in the introduction of Student Sections, their turns allow the members to break away into a shared status unique from the other spectators. They use this not only to differentiate themselves, but to place themselves closer to the central contest than the others. Particularly it was mentioned that “Hey John” turns this formal announcement to all in attendance into a response just to the Student Section. This does not just differentiate and involve the Student Section, but it is about as invasive as the Student Section can get via the Announcer’s turn. While my theoretical routine based around the rhetorical question would be structurally identical, it would not be nearly as invasive as the Announcer’s turn is no longer intercepted. The Student Section would be differentiated by its comment, but it would no longer be so especially close to the formal goings-on of the central contest that it “received a direct response” from an arena-wide participant, marking the Student Section as an arena-wide participant on par with other more formal and central figures.

This is more likely the project of “Hey John”, not a revelation of known-answer-ness. Rather than a special instance of withholding known-ness for some other purpose, known-ness is simply a practical requirement for the batch production of the Student Section. It provides the relevance, projectability, and practice alignment that the Student Section’s shared turns rely on. So rather than the use of a known-answer question to establish known-ness, it is the known-ness that facilitates the question, and thus the shared achievement of an “interaction” with the Announcer, and a closer participation-proximity to the game. That achievement requires hiding the mechanical nature of what is *actually* going on, and that is only possible via a routine as chanting makes its organizational foundations plain across every turn.

Section-External Orientation

The wide variety of resources and structures that routines use to resolve the requirements for collaboration makes them difficult to sum up as cleanly as other structures. There will be similarities found, but not with any sort of truly meaningful generalizability that would make it worthwhile to produce a thorough categorization of them. Rather than leaving them as a vague “grab bag” of leftovers from the other structures I can at least split them into two general groups based on where their collaboration-resolving resources come from.

The Student Section can either orient to Section-external resources - turns and happenings produced by the Announcer, the Players, the Band, etc - to provide relevance, agreement, and projectability or they can produce these resources internally. “Hey John” is already an example of this section-external orientation, with a turn by the Announcer being used as a resource for producing two batch turns, one before and one after, which form a routine. There are other instances of turns by the Announcer resolving the requirements for batch turns and serving as the basis for a routine. Looking at one of these we can see how even slight differences in the external resources can affect the routines, and how this contributes to their variety.

Always Were, That’s Debateable

- 1 ((Penalty on UMass comes to an end))
- 2 **Announcer:** UMass at full strength.
- 3 **Section:** THat’s debateable:
- 4 (2.4)
- 5 ((Penalty on UNH comes to an end))
- 6 **Announcer:** UNH at full strength.
- 7 **Section:** Always WER:e

In these instances the Announcer is marking the end of penalties assessed against the teams. The way rule infractions are enforced in Ice Hockey is that a player from the penalized team must leave the ice and may

not be replaced. So a penalized team will play “man-down” for a period of time, referring to how they only have 4 or even 3 players to their un-penalized opponent’s full 5. On line 2 the Announcer is saying that the penalty against the University of Massachusetts has come to an end and their player is allowed to return to action or be replaced. This means they may again field a full 5 players, their full strength. In this piece of data it just so happens that each team was penalized in close succession so shortly after UMass’s penalty ends, a penalty ends on UNH and they get the same announcement of their return to full strength.

Rather than getting out ahead of the Announcer and inserting a first-pair-part to make the announcement into a second-pair-part, here they simply respond to each announcement as a first-pair part. In particular they comment on the validity of the idea of “full strength,” claiming that their home team is too good to ever lose it and the opponent is too dismal to ever achieve it. There is a third practice in the UNH tradition canon for “matching” penalties, where both teams were penalized at the same time and return to full-strength at the same time. In these instances the announcement is “both teams at full strength.” This gets a response of “always debatable?” as a sort of back-formed joke from the dichotomous nature of the typical routine. Using an amalgam of the two typical responses to produce a third response that still manages to maintain the sense of the routine.

Getting back to general practicality of performance, there are a few reasons why full-strength announcements are responded to rather than oriented-around like “Hey John.” First, the announcement of there being one minute remaining is a fixed point in the game. A member can look at the scoreboard at any time and check where the game clock’s countdown is in relation to the relevant point for beginning the routine. The time remaining in penalties is marked by a separate clock that pops up on the scoreboard as needed as penalties are assessed. That clock could also be checked, but not at any time.

The vast majority of Ice Hockey penalties last for 2 minutes. So a player will be sent to the penalty box and a 2 minute clock will pop up on the

scoreboard. Compared to the 20 minute game clock that relates to “Hey John” the 2 minute penalty clock has a far narrower set of meaningful points. Each second that ticks off the clock on the scoreboard presents a new meaningful point that a Section member glancing at that clock can use to orient themselves to the projected start-point related to that clock. Glancing at the game clock and seeing there’s 10 minutes until the start-point for “Hey John” may not feature the organizational precision of being 10 seconds away, but the fact that it indicates the start-point is such a long way from being relevant is still meaningful and useful information. As there are 1,136 seconds between the 20:00 at the start of the period and the 1:04 that marks the start-point for “Hey John” this means the game clock displays 1,136 meaningful points with which a viewer can orient themselves and project that start-point. Let’s assume a hypothetical start-point ahead of the full strength announcements would also be 4 seconds ahead of the relevant time. This would leave 116 meaningful points with which to orient one’s self via the penalty clock before the 0:06 that would be the routine’s start point.

Granted, the factor of precision means that not all 1,136 points on the game clock are equally useful, nor are the 116 points on the penalty clock. In either case if you get down to 10 seconds before the start-point both clocks are equally useful for projecting the start-point. But to project those 10 seconds so you know to watch out for them requires another block of preceding time, perhaps 1 minute. To project that minute requires another block which will alert you to watch out for that minute, perhaps 5 minutes. The penalty clock does not have such a block of time, it already starts in the narrow range where checks of the clock need to be quite frequent to have any warning. It is this immediate demand for attention that actually makes the penalty clock less useful, and thus the start-point related to it less projectable.

The penalty clock demands more attention to be useful, but the state of play during a penalty also demands more attention. The competitive imbalance produced by penalties leads to many more opportunities to score and many more scores as a result. So if one’s team is man-down it’s too dire

to mess around, and if one's team is man-up it's too promising to look away. Devoting one's self to the penalty clock in such a heightened and important situation isn't really feasible. So while the lessened projectability afforded by the penalty clock can be overcome with increased attentiveness, the attention is already too precious to be spent elsewhere, never mind at an increased rate.

There is one final killer of "Hey John"-like projectability for penalty ends: the end of the penalty is not always marked by the end of the clock. If the unpenalized team manages to score then the penalty ends and the penalized team returns to full strength with no announcement. So not only is the penalty clock an untenable attention sink during a period of heightened attention cost, but it may not even prove relevant and the start-point being projected may never even happen!

All of these problems are avoided by simply letting the projectable end-point of the Announcer's turn serve as the start-point for the Student Section's turn. The vocal nature of the announcement versus the visual nature of the clocks means visual attention does not need to be shifted away from the heightened play and the turn can still be properly oriented to. And if the penalty clock never completes and the routine never becomes relevant then there simply won't be any announcement. Since there's no announcement there will be no end-point of the Announcer's turn, which means there will be no start-point of the Student Section's turn, and no work was wasted so the turns are not *missing* in the way they might be if work had been undertaken but not paid off.

Challenges of Section-External Orientation

Work not "paying off" is the most obvious risk associated with a routine that relies upon orientation to a section-external turn or happening. While the announcement of one minute remaining is in the NCAA Ice Hockey rulebook and thus has some value to the proceedings, for the Student Section its most important role is as the key organizational resource of the "Hey John" routine. So once the Student Section members undertake

“Hey John” that turn becomes precious and vital to them but is entirely outside of their control:

Missing One Minute Left

1 **Student Section:** He:y John! How much time is left?
2 (2.8)
3 **Members** Aww::[::~::~:]::[::~::~!]]
4 **Cowbell Player:** [C'mon!]
5 **Front Row 1:** [they did it last week again?]
6 **Face Paint:** John!
7 **Front Row 2:** JOH:::N!
8 **Face Paint:** John [where you at] son?
9 **Front Row 2:** [I need JOHN!]
10 **Front Row 1:** I miss John. [I miss John.]
11 **Cowbell Player:** [Here we go white!]
12 **Front Row 1:** What up John you suhhuk!
13 **Front Row 2:** John you suck!
14 **Face Paint:** John how much time's left. [C'mon man!]
15 **Front Row 1:** [he did it] last
16 time
17 **Front Row 2:** John I mihss ↓John.
18 **Front Row 1:** Do I tweet at Whittemore Center where the hell
19 is [John?]
20 **Second Row 1:** [ICE!] Ice.
21 (3.4)
22 **Face Paint:** It wasn't an ice.

So far I have discussed the power of a participant batch like the Student Section. How their ability to organize batch turns can boost them into the arena-wide interaction, separate them from the rest of the attendees, and provide them special recognition and closeness to the central contest. In this instance the Announcer fails to take their scheduled turn to announce that there is one minute remaining. As was mentioned before, routines rely on the proper performance of a very specific sequence of turns. The Student Section has performed their first turn (line 1) setting up the conceit that their

turn is a question, the Announcer's turn is a response, and this facilitates their sequence-closing third of "tha:::nk you:::." Instead there's only empty space, no turn by the Announcer. The routine is a bust.

In individual conversation we would expect to see repair or pursuit here. Perhaps our co-participant didn't *hear* the question so we attempt repair by repeating or rephrasing (Sacks et al., 1977; Pomerantz, 1984b). Instead what occurs post-pause on line 3 is resignation by the Student Section members. Many of them smile and laugh as they "aww." The game is up, their fabrication is revealed, and they face the slight embarrassment of their confident manipulation of shared status not quite working out. We do get individual members performing turns at repair and pursuit (lines 6-8) but these are done locally. They do not reach the arena-wide interaction and thus do not reach the Announcer. They also come after the resignation has already been acknowledged with the members' "aww"-ing, a shout of frustration by the Cowbell Player ("c'mon!"), and a reference to a previous failure like this ("they did it last week again?").

Much of that resignation and recognition by the Student Section members could also come from their knowledge that their tradition canon is not really equipped for repair or pursuit. Remember that the requirements for collaboration were resolved by the game clock reaching 1:04, that is what made the question relevant and served as the shared start-point for it. Repair in this case would require turning the game clock back to before 1:04 so it can hit 1:04 again and facilitate the question again, and that is not going to happen. That is the difficulty of operating in a state of disattention (Goffman, 1974): being left alone may give you freedom to self-select and self-construct, but you are still alone and without the support of a true, attentive co-participant. Though the Student Section utilizes the game clock and utilizes the Announcer's turn these resources are not for them. Thus they will not be reallocated to the Student Section to repair their routine at the expense of the progression of the game or the other responsibilities of the Announcer.

While that example was of the Announcer failing in his duties and missing a scheduled turn, the allocation of resources the Student Section requires does not have to be a misallocation to be problematic for their performance. Sometimes the machinations of the overall sequence of the game just happens to stymie them by altering the sequence in a way that no longer works for their purposes. Such as this instance where a “Hey John” routine is interrupted by a penalty:

Hey John Penalty

1 **Student Section:** Hey John! How much [time is] left?
2 **Opposing Player:** (penalty) ^
3 **Referee:** |((blows whistle))|
4 **Front Row 1:** Aww-
5 **Front Row 2:** Aww huhuhuh Joh-
6 **Opposing Player:** ((begins skating toward penalty box))
7 **Second Row 1:** Wow.
8 **Front Row 2:** Awwhuhw.
9 **Front Row 1:** [John!]
10 **Student Section:** |Ska::]te. Ska::te. Ska::te. Ska::te.
11 p:: p:: p:: p::
12 Ska::te. Ska::te. Ska::te. Ska::te. Ska::te.
13 p:: p:: p:: p:: p::
14 Ska::te. Ska::te. Ska::te. Ska::te. Ska::te.
15 p:: p:: p:: p:: p::
16 Ska::te. Ska::te Ska::te.=Siddown BITCH!
17 p:: p:: p:: p P
18 **Opposing Player:** ^(enters penalty box)
19 **Student Section:** |((applause)) |
20 **Band:** [♪ Stab of Dragnet Theme ♪]
21 **Band:** ♪ Play few notes of Imperial March ♪
22 ^ (puck is dropped to restart play)
23 **Announcer:** One minute remaining in the fi-second period
24 and attention=fans this is a unitil power
25 play: providing energy for life. Penalty on
26 number seventee:n of Saint Francis Xavier

framework. The disadvantage being that the external persons creating these resources are not doing so with an orientation toward the Student Section and the needs of their performance. So there is no guarantee, and indeed no real imperative, for these resources to arrive or arrive in a useful fashion or order. There is a very good chance, and the Student Section is relying purely on that chance since they have no method of repair or pursuit for when things go wrong.

Section-Internal Orientation

Considering the potential risk of relying on Section-external turns and happenings it might be wiser to keep routines “in-house.” That is, for the Section participants themselves to provide the resolutions to the requirements for collaboration. This is the case with routines that have a Section-Internal orientation. In these instances rather than using resources provided - or at least expected to be provided - by external turns and happenings the Student Section participants provide their own organizational resources.

I touched on this interaction between the Student Section and home goaltender back in chapter 3 when discussing strategy, but with all the resources and structures established since then I can finally address it in full:

Hey Tirone

1 ((Puck Drop is being organized at far end of ice))
 2 **Cowbell Player:** ((Half-turns away from the ice toward the
 3 other Student Section participants behind
 4 them. Turns head completely toward Student
 5 Section. Glances back to ice surface.
 6 Stands up on seat, then gets back down.
 7 Turns completely around to Student Section
 8 and cups hand next to mouth)) HEY TIRONE ON
 9 THREE! ONE! TWO! THREE!
 10 [((lowers hand and turns back to ice))]
 11 **Student Section:** Hey Tirone. We’re all behind you!

12 [^ ((play restarts))]
 13 **Tirone:** ((Makes half turn back towards Student
 14 Section and raises right hand))
 15 **Student Section:** (woeing and applause)

All of the requirements for collaboration are provided by the Cowbell Player on lines 8 and 9. Section-Internal Orientations are based around a mutually attentive interaction, and the relevance is provided by the Student Section being selected by the Cowbell Player rather than having to recognize a point for self-selection. The practice alignment comes from the naming of the routine to be performed (“Hey Tirone”). Finally the projectability is provided by the setting and execution of a count (“On three. One! Two! Three!”).

Again, there would seem to be an inherent safety and user friendliness in this structure for routines as the resources are reliably and clearly provided to the potential participants. Yet the usage seems to be driven more by practical necessity than ease of use. In the case of “Hey Tirone” consider the difficulty in performing it via a section-external orientation. It is an interaction with the home goaltender where the Student Section’s turn is *not* disattended, as the home goaltender actually shifts their attention away from the game and responds (lines 13 and 14).

Fundamentally this routine is a distraction played on the Student Section’s own goaltender, one far more distracting than the many levied on the opposing goaltender since the opposing goaltender has no expectation of response.

As the Student Section is purposefully and significantly distracting the most important player on their own team, the routine comes with a responsibility to lessen the danger this will put the team in. In the example above the routine is started before play resumes at the opposite end of the playing area, meaning the play is both safely distant from the goaltender and will remain so for the duration of the routine. The ideal space for this routine is a situation where nothing is happening and will continue to not happen, preferably as far away from the goaltender as possible. For a section-external organization then comes a troublesome question: how

uneventful is uneventful-enough to be widely recognized as conspicuously uneventful? Even if that can be answered, what makes one uneventful space recognizably for “Hey Tirone” compared to another uneventful space? Finally, if what’s needed is ongoing emptiness then where is the projectable point in emptiness?

To resolve the requirements for collaboration in “Hey Tirone” via a section-external orientation a few hundred people would need to equally recognize a point as particularly uneventful, would need to consider that uneventful point’s defining characteristic to be its safety for “Hey Tirone” to be performed versus any other routine, and would need to choose the same moment in that swath of equally uneventful space to start saying “Hey Tirone. We’re all behind you.” Or, as is the case here, one participant can be charged with marking a space as relevant, defining what it should be filled with, and setting a recognizable start point for everyone to orient to. And yet, as straight-forward as that section-internal organization sounds it can still result in unfortunate timing and dangerous misplacement of the routine:

Hey Tirone During Play

1 ((Puck Drop is being organized at the opposite end of the ice))
 2 **Face Paint:** ((Half turns between ice and Student Section
 3 and puts one leg up on the seat behind him))
 4 ((Players get into position for puck drop))
 5 **Face Paint:** ((Flinches as though he is going to turn but
 6 stops))
 7 **Cowbell Player:** Do it now.
 8 **Face Paint:** [((Turns fully toward Student Section and]
 9 steps onto seat)) HEY TIRONE ON THREE! ONE!=
 10 ^((play restarts))
 11 **Blue Cap:** [((covers face with hands))^]
 12 =TWO! THREE!
 13 **Student Section:** [Hey Tirone. We’re all behind you!]
 14 **Blue Cap:** ^((Lowers hands from face, grimaces, shakes
 15 head, juts right hand upwards, leans forward
 16 and puts hands on knees))

routine hasn't even started yet, never mind the routine itself. So she covers her face. Then as the Section performs its turn she spends the time performing a veritable overture of frustration (lines 14-16). Then once the debacle is complete she gets the attention of the Cowbell Player and has a coaching conversation with him as to what went wrong (lines 25-29). Again, the responsibility of the Student Section is to make that routine safe, and in a section-internal orientation that responsibility falls to the known-in-common participant doing the selecting of the others.

While the skill in Section-external oriented routines is in recognizing and utilizing points when a routine is to be done, the skill in Section-internal orientation is recognizing where routines should not be done. This is similar to Broth's (2011) concept of "hinges" in theater performances, where audiences will time inopportune actions - coughs, fidgeting, chatter, etc. - for moments in the performance where a lull is anticipated. Rather than being a dumping ground for actions in need of being disattended (Goffman, 1974) by others in the social situation, for Student Sections these clear spaces are utilized to perform purposefully conspicuous turns and sequences. The precision of the placement to avoid overlap with Announcer or Band turns making the Student Section's routines more clearly hearable, and the avoidance of potential overlap with embarrassing/dire happenings limits the chance of a loss of face from the introduction of "a definition of the situation - which is incompatible with the projected claims of the performers" (Goffman, 1959: 144) . In the example above, this unsafe space involves distracting the home goaltender when he is under threat and his attention is most valuable. The opposing goaltender does not get this same consideration of attention, as the Student Section actually would like to distract him if possible, but their placement of a routine directed at him still depends on what is happening in the game overall.

In this next instance the UNH Student Section is preparing to perform "the hex." This is a silly curse placed upon the opposing goaltender each period to jinx his performance, but just amounts to wriggling their fingers at him. Rather than distraction, the issue here is overlap with an embarrassing

happening. While heckling the opposing goaltender with farcical magic spells is innocuous, having it overlap with a goal by the opposing team would open the Student Section to mockery for how karmically ill-timed their heckling was. So, like in the “we’re all behind you” examples above, work is done by the initiator to track the puck’s location to make sure an opponent scoring opportunity is not going to be upcoming when the routine is initiated. This instance is from older UNH data and at that time signs with the name of the upcoming routine were held up along with the “(routine) on three!” shout. This is helpful for illustrating the management of the routine’s initiation, since the Cowbell Player and Sign Holder need to coordinate and thus the decision of when to initiate the turn becomes more visible:

First Period Hex

```

1      ((Puck enters UMass’s defensive zone))
2      Cowbell Player:    ((Turns left and says something to Sign Holder
3                          behind him))
4      Sign Holder:      [((Shuffles through deck of signs and pulls  ]
5                          out one that says “HEX”))
6      Cowbell Player:    ((adopts half-turned stance with rink on his
7                          [left and stands on his right))          ]
8      ((UMass gains possession and gets puck out of their defensive
9      zone into neutral ice))
10     Cowbell Player:    ((looks back toward Sign Holder)) (.) ((looks
11                          back toward rink))
12     ((UNH regains possession and sends puck back into UMass zone))
13     Cowbell Player:    ((looks back toward Sign Holder and makes a
14                          motion with arm))
15     Sign Holder:      ((raises sign that says “HEX”))
16     Cowbell Player:    ((looks back toward rink))
17     ((UMass enters neutral ice with puck))
18     Cowbell Player:    ((looks back toward Sign Holder)) ((looks back
19                          toward rink))
20     ((Puck enters UNH’s defensive zone))
21     Cowbell Player:    ((turns back to Sign Holder and waves downward

```

22 at him))
 23 **Sign Holder:** ((lowers sign))
 24 **Cowbell Player:** ((takes position three-quarters turned towards
 25 the rink))
 26 ((UNH regains possession in own zone))
 27 **Cowbell Player:** ((Rotates around left to Sign Holder))
 28 ((Puck returns to UMass zone))
 29 **Cowbell Player:** ((re-takes half-and-half stance, turns head
 30 towards Sign Holder and motions toward him))
 31 **Sign Holder:** ((raises sign))
 32 **Cowbell Player:** ((looks back toward rink)) (.) ((turns to
 33 fully face stands)) HEX on THREE::! ONE::
 34 TWO::! TH[REE::!]
 35 **Sign Holder:** |((lowers sign))|
 36 **Cowbell Player:** ((turns to fully face rink))
 37 **Student Section:** Hey Mastaler:z! Here comes the hex!
 38 oolooloolooloo!
 39 ^((wriggle fingers toward UMass Goaltender))

The key to safety seems to be in the puck entering UMass's defensive zone, the area around UMass's goal, which during this period is the goal adjacent to the Student Section. What this means is the puck is almost the entire length of the ice away from UNH's goal, and thus the least threatening position for UNH. On line 1 the puck's entry into this zone leads to the Cowbell Player turning and saying something to the Sign Holder. They both then begin preparations for an upcoming "hex", with the Cowbell Player adopting a halfway stance between facing the game and facing the rest of the Student Section. As mentioned in the discussion of relevance in the previous chapter, this stance of facing the Student Section is what is used when directly selecting them for response. The halfway stance allows the Cowbell Player to continue monitoring the game, while still having easy access to the Sign Holder with a turn of his head, and having a shorter turn to fully face the Student Section.

When UMass manages to knock the puck back out of their zone into neutral ice between the defensive zones (line 8), the Cowbell Player says something to the Sign Holder (line 10) - presumably a direction to wait - and then returns to observing the game (lines 10 and 11). When the puck returns to UMass's zone (line 12) the Cowbell Player turns back to the Sign Holder and puts the performance in motion by having him raise the sign (lines 13-15). The Cowbell Player looks toward the game again and here would see that UMass has gotten the puck out of their zone again (line 17), he turns back to the Sign Holder (line 18) - perhaps to prime them for a possible cancellation - then back to game (lines 18 and 19), sees UMass enter UNH's zone with the puck (line 20) and cancels the routine by waving for the Sign Holder to lower the sign (lines 21 and 22) , which the Sign Holder does (line 23).

The Cowbell Player then takes a game-dominant physical position by turning three-quarters of the way toward the rink (line 24) and monitors the puck position. Eventually UNH regains control (line 26) and the Cowbell Player checks back in with the Sign Holder (line 27). When the puck re-enters UMass's zone (line 28) the same half-stance/sign-raising pre-sequence begins, but this time the Cowbell Player's final game-check (line 32) shows the puck still in UMass's zone, at which point he turns to fully face the Student Section (lines 32-33) and initiate the routine (line 33).

While the volatility of play can causes pauses and reconsiderations of starting routines, even stoppages in play aren't necessarily clear. This is because persons subject to the rules become able to take turns during these periods, producing a potential scarcity of performance opportunity, rather than simply needing to gauge risk in placing a performance within the uncontested conversation space during play. So there is a similar cancellation and renewed attempt at performance to what is seen in the example above during play, but this time during a stoppage and due to the Pep Band performing a turn before the Student Section can organize theirs.

Hey DeSmith

1 ((Whistle stops play))

2 **Sign Holder:** ((Quickly shuffles through a stack of signs,
3 pulls one out that says “DeSmith”))
4 [((holds “DeSmith” sign over their head,]
5 pointed back toward the Section))

6 **Cowbell Player:** [((turns completely around to face Section))]

7 **Band:** [♪ Sportscenter Theme ♪]

8 **Sign Holder:** God DAMN it! ((turns and looks at band))
9 [^ quickly pulls sign down]

10 **Band:** [((Continues playing))]

11 **Sign Holder:** ((turns to face ice surface again))

12 **Cowbell Player:** [((also turns to face ice surface again))]

13 ((Puck drop resumes play))

14 **Band:** ((Stops playing))

15 (9.8)

16 ((Whistle stops play))

17 **Cowbell Player:** [((turns completely around to face Section))]

18 **Sign Holder:** [((Holds up “DeSmith” sign))]

19 **Cowbell Player:** HEY STUDENT SECTION! HEY DESMITH ON THREE!
20 ONE! TWO! THREE!
21 [((turns back to face the ice))]

22 **Student Section:** [Hey DeSmith] we’re all
23 behind you!

24 **DeSmith:** ((holds up left hand))

25 **Student Section:** (cheering and applause)

Section-internal orientation provides a greater level of control to the Student Section in that it allows them to make sure that their requirements for collaboration are provided for, as there is an attentive initiator making sure of it. Looking at the interactions of those initiators reveals that the greater level of control only extends to the Section-internal interaction. The Student Section’s turn-placement must still take into account a whole range of arena-wide turns and sequences, and potentially upcoming turns and sequences, even when those structures are not being utilized to provide resources like in Section-external orientations.

There are mechanics involved in cheering practices that relate directly to the management of resources for collaboration, and are dedicated simply to the production of batch turns. I have explored these mechanics throughout this chapter in detail, and those mechanics can be considered somewhat separately as interesting examples of collective effort toward a shared project, like a synchronized turn. It would be a mistake though to ever think of those Section-internal projects as the point of the Student Section's labors. Looking within the Section, at what the participants are oriented to, they are never satisfied just with their own collaboration. All of these practices, no matter how impressive, are in service of a particular level of interaction, the provision of a particular support, the insertion of a particular distraction. In a vacuum these tradition canon practices are near-foolproof, and each Student Section's practiced precision at them would be absolute. The true effort and challenge that they face is the orderly achievement of involvement in their sporting event via that tradition canon. All that I have covered in this study is a first step, a basis for truly investigating that achievement.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

“When I say ‘cheering’ then, I am not talking about the simple act of making noise.” That was a clarification I gave back in the introduction to this work. I stressed that the focus of this study of cheering was not so much the noise produced by batch turn construction but the work it took to make that noise possible. That the work and care made the resulting noise into more than noise, because noise was sound for sound’s sake. The work and care of Student Sections focused elsewhere, and while the thrilling, amusing, sometimes pummeling noise they could produce was an achievement, it was not their true achievement.

The sounds of Student Sections are the sound of sharing and unity. The sharing of participation status, and the accomplishment of a unified social actor, with all participants taking on equal responsibility in its actions and receiving equal benefit from its achievements. The sounds of Student Sections are the sound of resources for collaboration being managed properly, recognized widely, and deployed skillfully. The sounds of Student Sections are the products of precisely-chosen practices from a thorough and complex tradition canon. A shared set of expectations drawn from the skill and ingenuity of past and present Student Section staffs who contributed new solutions to circumstantial requirements and refined old ones.

In the introduction I gave the example of a Virginia Tech crowd going wild during a stoppage before the final play of a football game their team was leading. I mentioned that it was not the time left or the momentary safety of the stoppage that created the exciting reaction and moment. Nor was it the playing of “Enter Sandman” which is Virginia Tech’s beloved entrance theme. It was the Virginia Tech crowd’s skill at recognizing those factors and capitalizing on them that created that moment of atmosphere. *That* was the great interest of cheering, and that was the great interest of this work. If my analysis in the chapters between that example and now have been successful, then that description of cheering as a combination of finding and

maximizing opportunities should have a nervous laugh and pause after it. The laugh that comes with having accurately summarized something while not even beginning to describe it, and trying to decide where to start. The same laugh that may come after saying “conversation is about turn-taking” or “meaning is a co-production.”

I do not want to leave you with a nervous laugh and a pause, but this chapter needs to include one. I mentioned near the beginning of this work how arriving at EM/CA as a discipline can feel like digging down to a specific point only to have that point open up into a chasm, one seemingly as large as the wide-open realm of social science that was originally being dug into. In doing the thought and analysis that went into this study I achieved what I set out to do. I am here now with an understanding of how cheering is done, what it requires, and how those requirements are utilized to produce turns-at-cheering and the participant batches taking them. With that information comes an understanding of what can be achieved via batch turn construction. That capability is, much the same as with any social actor (Maynard & Clayman, 2003), whatever the emergent circumstances of a social situation can be used to do.

What this study has not done, and no study could do, is encompass all cheering. Cheering, like conversation, is a form of talk-in-interaction. And, like conversation, all that can be done is to describe instances of it. What this study provides is a language and structure to begin discussing cheering as a type of talk-in-interaction, with its own constraints of turn-construction compared to conversation, and its own practices of turn-taking as well. I know for a fact that I have not captured every possible structure of batch turn construction in the four types I explored in the previous chapter, but even with just those general structures the possibilities for turn-taking are beyond a life's work. So, I have dug down and found a chasm, which is to be expected but still elicits a nervous laugh and a pause before deciding the next course of action.

The Next Course of Action

What this study ended up exploring was batch turn construction. This was a consideration of the resources being oriented to and the use of those resources to produce a turn by a batch. While there is more work to be done in this area, the clear next step is to look at the placement of those turns within external sequences.

Some of this **Batch Turn-Taking** has received preliminary analysis in discussions of some cheering practices. For instance, the placement of batch turns around the Arena Announcer's "one minute remaining" announcement in "Hey John" is both a method of batch turn construction and an instance of batch turn-taking. The deployment of routines, and, indeed, all cheering conventions, is not just a practical problem of meeting requirements for collaboration. If that was the only consideration, then a Section-internal orientation would be superior in all instances of batch production. The complicating factor in cheering is that Student Sections are not just trying to produce batch turns, they are trying to *take* turns as a batch. Specifically, they are trying to take turns within an arena-wide interaction that includes in-game happenings and actions by in-game actors who are central to the sporting event; actors boosted to arena-wide interaction by technology, like the Arena Announcer and aspects of the Game/Event Production; and other participant batches boosted to arena-wide interaction by collaboration, like the Pep Band and potentially oppositional batches such as Student Sections from the visiting institution.

To properly understand this requires a detailed understanding of the larger sequence of interaction that is the game itself. This is not just a matter of understanding the "play" being responded to as an immediately preceding set of happenings. Proper cheering requires an understanding that "play" is not just *one* thing. Circumstances, resources, and meanings change in sport in ways that are not always communicated just by immediately preceding "talk" but by ongoing changes informed by knowledge of the machinations of the particular sport/event. For some spectators, like those at rally racing,

there is no opportunity for involvement, even via batch participation, and the enjoyment is constructing an understanding of what is happening overall via the snippets of racing they can see from their section of the course (Esbjörnsson et al., 2006). An understanding of that type of sports spectatorship is beyond my work thus far. For sports where Student Sections and other batches have full understanding and some influence on the event as a co-constructed progression through a predefined global agenda of action (Deppermann et al., 2010) some preliminary insights are available from the findings of this study.

The work already presented here can be built on as is. This would involve approaches like finding new sports/social situations where the requirements for and use of resources differ from those of the sports presented here, or discovering additional cheering conventions with new ways of utilizing the same resources. The step-further will be into batch turn-taking as more of a practice unto itself, and not simply considered as a product of batch turn construction. In the interest of expressing what this further study may look like, as well as showing how the knowledge from this study can be applied, I will be using this chapter as an opportunity to discuss some preliminary ideas about batch turn-taking that developed from this work.

5.1 Altered Game States

The first changes of “play” to be considered are those that are written into the rules of various sports. These altered game states include both momentary “set-pieces” and ongoing portions where the rules of a sport are changed. A major competence in cheering is an understanding of these altered states as the meanings of player actions will change and thus the responses to those actions must change as well.

An example of this would be during “Power Plays,” which is the term for when a player is serving a penalty in ice hockey. Since penalized ice hockey players have to leave the game and not be replaced for a section of play this

leaves their team “Man-Down” and the opposing team “Man-Up” resulting in a power play for the unpenalized team. This is what the various penalty routines mark the start of with their tracking of the penalized player’s path off the ice to the penalty box, such as UNH’s “Ska:::te. Ska:::te. Ska:::te.”.

It doesn’t end there though, as play styles change for the length of the power-play and thus support must change. The UNH Student Section marks this change in play expectations with a set of routines matched to different types of power-plays. The man-down (also known as short-handed) version is what a participant explained to a novice in a segment of data explored earlier:

```

5   Pink Lei:           Oh it’s ((turns back to ice)), so we spell out
6                               orgy and then [((turns back to Offscreen)) ( )]
7   UNH Player:           ^((blocks opponent shot))
8   Section:             [((cheering and applause))      ]
9   Pink Lei:           ((turns to ice)) since we’re short handed it
10                              requires teamwork to ma:ke su:re >that doesn’t
11                              ((opponent scores))^
12                              hap[pen. ]<

```

In reference to:

0-R-G-Y Call-and-Response - UNH

```

1   Pink Lei:           GIMME AN O::!
2   Student Section:   O::!
3   Pink Lei:           GIMME AN R::!
4   Student Section:   R::!
5   Pink Lei:           GIMME A >G<!
6   Student Section:   >G<!
7   Pink Lei:           GIMME A Y::!
8   Student Section:   Y::!
9   Pink Lei:           WHATS THAT SPELL?
10  Student Section:   OR:GY!
11  Pink Lei:           WHATS THAT SPELL?
12  Student Section:   OR:GY!
13  Pink Lei:           WHATS IT MEAN?

```

14 **Student Section:** TEAM-WORK! TEAM-WORK! TEAM-WORK!

Along with acknowledging the altered play state within the power play, the Student Section also responds to its end with another routine that has been explored in this study:

Always Were, That's Debateable

1 ((Penalty on UMass comes to an end))

2 **Announcer:** UMass at full strength.

3 **Section:** THat's debateable:

4 (2.4)

5 ((Penalty on UNH comes to an end))

6 **Announcer:** UNH at full strength.

7 **Section:** Always WER:e

Rather than simply being responses to preceding talk or happenings, these routines serve as a sub-suite of the overall tradition canon. They mark, acknowledge, and show understanding of the altered state of play that is an ice hockey power play.

Free Throws

While ice hockey power plays create this ongoing state of play to be adjusted to, basketball has its own iconic penalty treatment. When a basketball player is illegally interfered with in the act of shooting they will be granted a “free throw”, which is a shot at the basket from the “free throw line” which no defender is allowed to interfere with. Rather than an opportunity to show knowledge of the altered state of the game, these set-pieces completely alter the provision of resources and allow basketball Student Sections to pull off some of the most elaborate routines in sports cheering.

Like ice hockey, basketball is a free-flowing game where possession of the ball changes in an instant and scoring attempts are usually designed to be unpredictable. With a free throw though, the process of shooting completely changes. The shooter is known well in advance, because it's the player who was fouled. Where they'll be shooting from is also known, because there is a

pre-drawn line for them to shot from. Finally when the shot will take place is known, because the referee will hand the player the ball and blow a whistle to announce that the shot is imminent.

Along with the clear relevance and projectability this provides, all that arranging of players takes time. This gives Student Sections a great deal of open time to prepare. As a result, basketball Student Sections need not just have one practice alignment ready for opponent's foul shots, they can have several prepared and use this preparatory time to select one. Often this generically takes the form of yelling or an Obstructive Oh coupled with movement such as jumping around and waving arms, but there also truly elaborate routines like the "Curtain of Distraction" at Arizona State University. This is where a black curtain is set up in the Student Section while an opponent's foul shot is being prepared on the court. As the opposing player takes their position and prepares to shoot, the curtain is flung open and Section participants in odd costumes will jump through and perform distracting skits like a participant dressed as a lumberjack wrestling with a participant dressed as a bear (Arizona State University, 2014; CBS This Morning, 2015).

In this instance at Utah State University the stoppage while the free throw is arranged allows "Wild Bill" - a rotund, bearded Section participant in a large child's Teapot costume - to get into a highly visible position on the barricade under the basket.



Along with this more prominent placement, his costume is highlighted by the Student Section's ensuing turns as they sing the children's song "I'm a little teapot." Even his position on the barricade is a co-production of the Student Section, as not only do other participants move aside and help him up, but two Section participants stand on either side and brace him as he dances and tips in time with the singing of the other participants. All of this is in service of an attempt at distraction.

This elaborate attempt would be impossible during play without being constant, as shots can happen at any time. This would probably end up more distracting for the participants having to orient to its constant production than the athletes attempting to ignore it. But with the set-up time provided by the in-game housekeeping and the special relevance and projectability of the manufactured free-throws it becomes a sudden capability.

I'm a Little Teapot (P = Point at Opposing Player. "Wild Bill" is Dressed in a Disney Teapot costume)

```

1      ((players loosely stand around the free-throw area))
2      Wild Bill:          ((Stands up on the barricade between the court
3                          and the Student Section's area of the stands))
4      Student Section: ((singing)) Imma little tea ↑pot short ↑and
5                          stout, here-is my han-dle here-is my spout. When
6                          I get all steamed ↑up hear me shout. ↑IIP, me=
7      Wild Bill:          ((tips forward))^
8      Student Section: =over and pour, me, out.
9      Wild Bill:          ((stands back up straight))
10     Student Section: Imma little tea ↑pot short ↑and stout, here-is
11     my han-dle here-is my spout.=
12     Opposing Player:      ^((steps to foul line))
13     Student Section: =When I get all steamed ↑up hear me shout. =
14     ((players finish getting into position))^
15     Student Section: =↑IIP, me over and pour, me, out.
16     Wild Bill:          ^((tips forward))
17     Opposing Player:      ((takes shot))^          ^((shot misses))
18     Student Section: [((cheering and applause))          ]

```

19 **Wild Bill:** [((smiles and waves at opposing player))]
 20 **Student Section:** You-got-billed! You-got-billed! You-got-billed!
 21 P P P P P P P P P
 22 **Opposing Player:** ((takes shot))^
 23 ((shot goes in))^
 24 **Student Section:** Aww::
 (HaltPaltify, 2012: 0:31-1:23)

Again I return to the general capability of Student Sections as vigilantes not beholden to the rules of the game. Literally defined by the sport's handbook as persons *not* subject to the rules. So while the Referees can bar those subject to the rules, such as the Defenders, from interfering with the free-throw they have no such power over the Student Section. With their own team's hands tied by the rules, the Student Section utilizes whatever powers of indirect interference are available to them and brings them to bear to formulate *some* challenge to this uncontested shot.

Whether these efforts actually distract the shot takers to any significant degree is a debated topic in Sport Psychology (Neave & Wolfson, 2003; Anderson et al., 2012; Braga & Guillén, 2012; McEwan et al., 2012; Jones, 2013). In terms of interaction this simply does not matter. Whether the Student Section's routine had anything to do with the missed shot on line 17 the important part is that the Student Section *treats* it as such. They don't just cheer and applaud the miss as a beneficial happening for their team's fortunes. Wild Bill smiles and coyly waves at the opposing player, drawing his hand close to his face and wiggling just his fingers. He is doing a flirtatious appreciation of attention, implying that he received attention. That he broke the player's practiced disattention, and broke his focus enough to miss the shot. The rest of the Student Section verbalizes this with their chant of "you got Billed." This presents a term for the status of having been victimized by the Wild Bill-centered routine as being "Billed," and repeatedly mocks the player for holding that status.

That is another cheering benefit of altered game features like this. While a normal shot (and miss) is just one moment in this on-going and relatively

frantic sequence of play, altered game features are put into their own isolated sequences. This makes the foul-shot into a sort of mini-game, producing the potential for a little victory or little loss based upon success which can keep participants consistently involved (Maynes-Aminzade et al., 2002). With the miss of the first free-throw the Student Section gets their little victory and celebrates it. In fact, they orient to celebrating it so much that they continue the celebration rather than repeating the ostensibly “effective” distraction routine for the second free-throw. This is perhaps why these altered features and the elaborate distractions they are combated with are important enough to justify all the effort. The opportunity for this little victory, creditable only to them as their team is barred from becoming involved, presents a sort of referendum on the Student Section’s status as a true co-participant. The miss is evidence - however scientifically dubious - that their devotion to batch turn construction has accomplished its goal. Their collective efforts have boosted their turns to a range and recognizability that they have truly inserted themselves into the game sequence.

Now, perhaps they are still just operating in the gaps of the game sequence, and orientating to its structures and resources to produce closely placed but ultimately ineffectual turns. Again, the actual cognitive efficacy of the distraction can never be known on an individual-player basis. Though, as part of a sequence of interaction the distraction is absolutely valid. Whether the player’s miss was caused by the Student Section or not, their turn of a failed shot enables the ensuing celebration. Whether or not they were “Billed” in the sense of being distracted, they are definitively “Billed” in the sense of being a person who failed while being subjected to the Wild Bill-based distraction routine.

The implication here is one of possibility. With the same basic starting resources what can be produced? At first I had considered this a sport-to-sport or event-to-event question, but with the games-within-games that often occur there is a depth to the question within events rather than merely a (still immense) breadth across events.

Determining The Alteration

While alterations in play can provide opportunities, like those previously discussed, the changes can also create challenges for determining the proper batch course of action. Chaotic happenings like fights can muddle who the penalized parties are going to be. The delay in recognition in these instances provides a more drawn-out and visible instance of the Student Section's negotiation of practice alignment. Such as this case where a player from Clarkson has pushed a UNH player from behind, sending them head-first into the boards and causing a large fight to break out between the two teams. Afterwards the staggered and confused assessment of penalties causes some confusion about which version of UNH tradition canon's sub-suite of power play-related practices is becoming relevant:

UNH Post-Fight Penalties (P = Point at Penalty Box, E = Point at Exit to Locker Room Area)

```

1   Clarkson Player:   ((shoves UNH player head-first into boards))
2   Referee:          (blows whistle)
3   Participant:      [HEY:!! ]
4   Participants:     [Woah:::]
5   UNH Players:      [((rush over and grab Clarkson Player)) ]
6   Clarkson Players: ((rush over and grab UNH Players))
7   Participants:     (cheering and applause)
8   Cowbell Player:   (repeatedly strikes cowbell)
9   White T-shirt:    YEAH:::::!! Lets go! Lets go! Let's go!
10  [Let's GO::::!                                     ]=
11  =Lets GO::::! Fuck yeah bay::be::::!
12  Video Screen:    ((replays penalty))
13  Participants:    Oh::::!
14  Referee 1:       ((begins escorting UNH player across ice
15  towards UNH bench))
16  Pink Lei:        Fuck you! Fuck you!
17  Referee 2:       ((begins escorting Clarkson player towards
18  Penalty Box))

```

19 **Participant:** [Toss im! Toss im!]

20 **Participants:** [E E E E]

21 **Pink Lei:** Ska::-woa(h)h-woah wait.

22 P-

23 **UNH Player:** ^((skates past bench and enters Penalty
24 Box))

25 **Clarkson Player:** ((passes UNH Penalty Box))

26 **Student Section:** Ska:::te. Ska:::te-Ska:te. Siddown BITCH!

27 **Clarkson Player:** ^((arrives at Penalty Box))

28 **Band:** Dun, dun-dun-dun. Dun, dun-dun-dun DUN::

29 **UNH Player 2:** ((skates toward UNH bench/Penalty Box))

30 [((passes UNH bench))][((enters Box))]

31 **Participant:** [Wai-what?] [What?]

32 **Cowbell Player:** Bu::ll[-shi:::t! Bu::ll-shi:t!]

33 **Pink Lei:** [Wai-wai no, sto-hey]

34 ^((turns and extends arms in front of
35 Cowbell Player's face))

36 Wait to figure out [what the call.]

37 ((hangs head and throws hands up in air))^

38 **Clarkson 2:** ^((arrives in front of Box))

39 ((enters Box))^

40 **Student Section:** Ska:te. Ska:te. Ska:te]=

41 [P P]P =

42 =[Siddown BITCH!]

43 = P P

44 **Pink Lei:** bitch. Wait til we figure out what=
45 [P P]

46 =the call is.

47 **Video Screen:** ((shows replay))

48 **Pink Lei:** Alright ((points at screen)) so two right
49 there. ((takes hand down)) For the fuckin.

50 **Video Screen:** ((shows hit-from-behind))

51 **Cowbell Player:** (points at screen) OH:::!

52 **Participants:** (yelling)

53 **White Jersey:** REF! KICK HIM OUT!

54 E

55 **White T-Shirt:** ((cups hand next to mouth)) This ain't the
 56 streetsa New York ya IDIOT!

57 (1.9)

58 **Pink Lei:** Wow. (8.4) If we end up shorthanded out of this
 59 ((looks around)) I am, going: ((looks ahead))
 60 >to kill someone.<

61 (2.4)

62 **Cowbell Player:** ((turns away from a side conversation towards
 63 Pink Lei)) You get five minutes for that right?

64 **Pink Lei:** You should.

65 **Cowbell Player:** Yeah.

66 **Pink Lei:** You should get fuckin kicked out for that
 67 ((shrugs)) eah:, maybe ().

68 **Cowbell Player:** () ((holds up open hand)) you get five for that
 69 right?

70 ((Referees change decision, let a UNH Player out of Penalty Box))

71 **Student Section:** (cheering and applause)

72 **Cowbell Player:** That means we only have.

73 **Blue Sweatshirt:** It's three two, no we're even. We're even.

There are two understandings being worked out here. First we have the penalized parties, whom the Student Section is trying to determine based on the paths of various players. When I've discussed UNH's penalty box routine previously there was a single penalty on a single player. That player's trajectory was tracked to the Penalty Box and when they reached the box the routine was brought to a close. The fight introduces multiple possibilities for penalties and penalized players that make identifying and tracking them more difficult.

The Penalty Box routine is never done for one's own penalties and is typically not done for matching penalties - where a player from either team is penalized at the same time and no Man-Up/Man-Down imbalance occurs. Instead both teams simply play 4-on-4. The fight then seems to bring the expectation that Clarkson will end up with more penalized players based on the first reaction to a Clarkson player heading for the Penalty Box (line 26).

On line 21 the participant in the pink lei looks to have recognized that a Clarkson player is skating towards the penalty box:

17 **Referee 2:** ((begins escorting Clarkson player towards
18 Penalty Box))
19 **Participant:** [Toss im! Toss im!]
20 **Participants:** [E E E E]
21 **Pink Lei:** Ska::-woa(h)h-woah wait.
22 P-
23 **UNH Player:** ^((skates past bench and enters Penalty
24 Box))

He begins the “ska:::te” but quickly stops when he realizes a UNH player is on his way to the penalty box at that very moment. He laughs at the near mistake, and once the UNH player’s transit to the Penalty Box is clearly over the entire Section does a quick version of the routine for the Clarkson player’s short remaining path:

25 **Clarkson Player:** ((passes UNH Penalty Box))
26 **Student Section:** Ska:::te. Ska:::te-Ska:te. Siddown BITCH!
27 **Clarkson Player:** ^((arrives at Penalty Box))

At this moment the teams are even, each with a player in their respective Penalty Box. Again, the fact that the Student Section is performing the routine suggests that they are expecting more Clarkson players to make their way to the box and UNH to finish Man-Up. Instead a second UNH player makes their way into their Penalty Box:

29 **UNH Player 2:** ((skates toward UNH bench/Penalty Box))
30 [((passes UNH bench))][((enters Box))]
31 **Participant:** [Wai-what?] [What?]
32 **Cowbell Player:** Bu::ll[-shi:::t! Bu::ll-shi:t!]

This is where the true chaos begins as there is a shift from complexity in the projectability, based on the staggered transits of multiple penalized players, to a question of whether the routine was even relevant in the first place. The

unexpected 2nd UNH penalty leaves them Man-Down as it currently stands, and even if another Clarkson player is penalized that only gets them to even; neither of which is a relevant situation for the routine they produced.

The Cowbell Player orients to protesting the injustice of this unexpected penalty, executing an initial tutorial turn for a chant of “bullshit.” Before he has even reached the end of the first beat the participant in the pink lei tries to cut him off both verbally and physically (lines 33-34). The participant in the pink lei seems to be trying to hit pause on the entire sequence until they can figure out if this is even a proper place for this routine:

32 **Cowbell Player:** Bu::ll[-shi::t! Bu::ll-shi:t!]
 33 **Pink Lei:** [Wai-wai no, sto-hey]
 34 ^((turns and extends arms in front of
 35 Cowbell Player’s face))
 36 Wait to figure out [what the call.]

The participant in the pink lei obviously assumed that whatever the call was it would end up in UNH’s favor. After all, he begins “ska::te” back before anyone else (line 21) and laughs at his own over-eagerness when he has to pause for the UNH player to finish entering the Penalty Box. Now the Section participants’ assumption is proving false, and he is attempting to get them to orient to that instead of focusing on producing a practice like the Cowbell Player’s chant. We can see this in his frustration in his throwing up hands at the Section’s performance of the Penalty Box routine for the next penalized Clarkson player (line 37), when the question of who will be Man-Up (if anyone) is still very much in question:

33 **Pink Lei:** [Wai-wai no, sto-hey]
 34 ^((turns and extends arms in front of
 35 Cowbell Player’s face))
 36 Wait to figure out [what the call.]
 37 ((hangs head and throws hands up in air))^
 38 **Clarkson 2:** ^((arrives in front of Box))
 39 ((enters Box))^

the locker room, as ejected players are sent back to their locker room for the remainder of the game.

Things calm down again as participants break off into individual conversations, presumably about the proper ruling on what happened. The participant in the pink lei begins his assessment: “if we end up shorthanded out of this.” He then looks around during “I am going:,” stretching out the last syllable for last looks around. Finding everyone occupied in legal debates he looks forward and rushes through the consequence of them ending up shorthanded: “>to kill someone.<” Eventually the Cowbell Player turns back around from his side conversation to get Pink Lei’s input:

62 **Cowbell Player:** ((turns away from a side conversation towards
63 Pink Lei)) You get five minutes for that right?
64 **Pink Lei:** You should.
65 **Cowbell Player:** Yeah.
66 **Pink Lei:** You should get fuckin kicked out for that
67 ((shrugs)) eah:, maybe ().
68 **Cowbell Player:** () ((holds up open hand)) you get five for that
69 right?

The five they are referring to is the 5 minutes for a major penalty rather than the current 2 minute minor penalty. Again, all an attempt to make sense of this seemingly unjust decision by the Referee.

Eventually the Referees do reverse one of their decisions and release a UNH player from the Penalty Box (line 70). The Student Section applauds (line 71), and all is almost right with the world. The only thing left is to overly achieve understanding of what the situation is:

72 **Cowbell Player:** That means we only have.
73 **Blue Sweatshirt:** It’s three two, no we’re even. We’re even.

That would seem to settle it. There’s some more discussion, with the participant in the pink lei giving one last evaluation: “that was a cheap shot and a half.” The Band plays a song that the Student Section sings along to. The stoppage continues, leading pink lei to start a chant of “lets-play hock-ey!

(clap),(clap),(clap)-(clap)-(clap).” Then as the face-off to restart play is finally nearing readiness we get one last moment of management:

- 1 **Front Row:** Someone explain what’s happening, [please.]
 2 **Pink Lei:** [Alright],
 3 long story short they have a two minute
 4 penalty.
 5 **Front Row:** Thanks.
 6 **Pink Lei:** You’re welcome.

5.2 Resource Shifts

Along with those changes within periods of play there are also changes between periods of play that affect cheering. These relate to the re-positioning of players as the teams switch the ends of the ice they’ll be defending at the start of each period. While the the three periods of ice hockey result in an uneven number of switches, this gives the Student Section direct access to the opposing goaltender for two of the three periods. That still leaves that second period with their own goaltender and goal Section-adjacent and the opposing goaltender and goal down-ice, which changes their access to certain players and thus affects the performance of some parts of the tradition canon.

The movement of the opposing goaltender can actually be tracked via UNH’s “hex” which is actually a series of routines based on where the opposing goaltender is. While it’s common for the Student Section to refer to the players only by their last names, in the case of the opposing goaltender this is often the only information they know about them. This is thanks to it being on the back of the player’s jersey, which is pointed towards the Student Section, providing a way for them to address the player throughout the game. In this instance the University of Massachusetts goaltender’s last name is Mastalerz:

First Period Hex (Mastalerz is Section-adjacent. W = Wriggle fingers at Mastalerz)

1 **Student Section:** Hey Mastalerz! Here comes the hex!
 2 oolooloolooloo!
 3 W::::::::::::::::::

Second Period Hex (Mastalerz is Down-Ice. W = Wriggle fingers at Mastalerz, P = Pull hands back towards chest)

1 **Student Section:** Hey Mastalerz! Here comes the long distance
 2 hex! Looloolooloo-boogidyboogidy-boogidy
 3 W:::::::::::::::::: P::::::::::::::::::

Third Period Hex (Mastalerz is back Section-adjacent. W = Wriggle fingers at Mastalerz, P = Pull hands back towards chest)

1 **Student Section:** Hey Mastalerz! Here comes the hex!
 2 Loolooloo-boogidyboogidyboogidy-loolooloo!
 3 W:::::::::::: P:::::::::::::::::: W::::::::::::

This game just happened to feature an overtime period. This is where both teams are tied at the end of the three periods of regulation play and an extra five-minute period is added to provide one last chance for a team to score and define a winner (Easton & Rockerbie, 2005). This results in an extra switch, and its own routine:

Overtime Hex (Mastalerz is back Down-Ice. W = Wriggle fingers at Mastalerz, P = Pull hands back to chest)

1 **Student Section:** Hey Mastalerz! Here comes the overtime hex!
 2 looloo-boogidyboogidy-looloo-boogidyboogidy
 3 W::::: P:::::::::::::::::: W::::: P::::::::::::::::::

I should mention that all four of these routines are prompted by the same Section-internal turn: “Hex on three.” So participants don’t just need to know what Hex refers to, but *which* Hex it refers to based on where the goaltender is and where he has been.

The way Mastalerz’s position is tracked reveals his position seems to always be a concern, and beyond knowing which Hex to perform. When he is Section-adjacent the spoken phrase is the same: “Hey Mastalerz! Here

comes the hex!” The emphasis is also on the hex. When Mastalerz is down-ice in the far goal the phrase changes, and the emphasis is put on the unique alteration: “here comes the long distance hex!” and “here comes the overtime hex!” The naming of Mastalerz and the directing of the “hex” hand motions in his direction already make it clear who the routine is directed at. Every possible highlighting of Mastalerz not being Section-adjacent seems to be utilized though.

Even the home goaltender’s new position in the adjacent spot is referenced in the routine devoted to him. This is the “we’re all behind you” routine I’ve discussed in some previous chapters:

Hey Tirone

- 1 **Student Section:** Hey Tirone! We’re all behind you!
- 2 **UNH Goaltender:** ((rotates to face student section and raises
- 3 stick straight up into the air))
- 4 **Student Section:** (cheering and applause)
- 5 **UNH Goaltender:** ((rotates back to face out towards play))

While this is a pun on “behind” as both a location and a supportive alignment it is another instance of the goaltenders’ switched positions being noteworthy in the Student Section’s turns. The treatment of the switch in the second period could almost be thought of as an anxiety about the switch, and there is a reason for them to feel that way.

Section-Adjacent Goaltender Taunts

There are a number of chants and routines by the Student Section that aren’t explicitly addressed and simply default to the Section-adjacent goaltender. For two out of the three periods this is the opposing goaltender, so he gets the brunt of the treatment. For instance, if the opposition “pulls the goalie” meaning they substitute the goaltender with another attacker and leave the goal undefended in a last ditch effort to score at the end of a game, the Student Section will declare the empty net a superior goaltender:

Better Goalie (P = Point at adjacent goal, C = Clap)

4 (4.7)

5 **Pink Lei:** $\uparrow\text{U:G-}\downarrow\text{LY:},[\uparrow\text{GOA:L-}\downarrow\text{IE:}]$

6 **Student Section:** $[\uparrow\text{Goa:l-}\downarrow\text{ie!}] \text{ C.C.C-C-C.}$

7 $\uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly} \uparrow\text{Goal-}\downarrow\text{ie!} \text{ C.C.C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly}$

8 $\uparrow\text{Goal-}\downarrow\text{ie!} \text{ C.C.=}$

9 **Clarkson Goaltender:** $\wedge(\text{arrives back at goal})$

10 **Student Section:** $=\text{C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly} \uparrow\text{Goal-}\downarrow\text{ie!}=\text{}$

11 **Clarkson Goaltender:** $\wedge(\text{takes drink of water})$

12 $=\text{C.C.C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly} \uparrow\text{Goal-}\downarrow\text{ie.}$

13 $\text{C.C.C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly} \uparrow\text{Goal-}\downarrow\text{ie.}$

14 $\text{C.C.C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly} \uparrow\text{Goal-}\downarrow\text{ie.}=\text{}$

14 **Clarkson Goaltender:** $((\text{pulls mask back down}))\wedge$

15 **Student Section:** $=\text{C.C.C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Youre-}\downarrow\text{still}$

16 $\uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly.C.C.C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Youre-}\downarrow\text{still}$

17 $\uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly.} \text{ C.C.C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Youre-}\downarrow\text{still}$

18 $\uparrow\text{Ug-}\downarrow\text{ly!} \text{ C.C.C-C-C.}$

Again, these chants and routines aren't addressed to the opposing goaltender by default, they are addressed to the Section-adjacent goaltender. So when the home goaltender is the one with his mask up while Section-adjacent:

Sexy Goalie

1 **UNH Goaltender:** $((\text{lifts mask}))$

2 **Pink Lei:** $[\uparrow\text{SE:X-}\downarrow\text{Y}] [\uparrow\text{GOA:L-}\downarrow\text{IE:}]$

3 **Cowbell Player:** $[\uparrow\text{SE:X-}\downarrow\text{Y}] \uparrow\text{GOA:L-}\downarrow\text{IE:}!$

4 **UNH Goaltender:** $\wedge((\text{takes drink of water}))$

5 **Student Section:** $[\uparrow\text{Goa:l-}\downarrow\text{ie:}] \text{ C.C.C-C-C.}$

6 $\uparrow\text{Sex-}\downarrow\text{ly} \uparrow\text{Goal-}\downarrow\text{ie!} \text{ C.C.C-C-C.}=\text{}$

7 **UNH Goaltender:** $\wedge((\text{lowers mask}))$

8 **Student Section:** $=\uparrow\text{Youre-}\downarrow\text{still} \uparrow\text{Sex-}\downarrow\text{ly!}$

9 $\text{C.C.C-C-C.} \uparrow\text{Youre-}\downarrow\text{still} \uparrow\text{Sex-}\downarrow\text{ly!}$

10 C.C.C-C-C.

While "sexy goalie" is done as a counterpoint to "ugly goalie" none of the other goalie taunts have equivalents. More importantly, none of them are

performed while the home goaltender is Section-adjacent. So even if the opposing goaltender exits his goal or lifts his mask, if he is down-ice it is ignored. Part of this is likely that in his down-ice position he's harder to monitor, so a mask-lift wouldn't be as easy to orient to. In the example above the home goaltender lifting his mask is so clearly accessible that both the participant in the pink lei and the Cowbell Player start the initial tutorial turn at the same exact time. The Student Section even joins the chant before the ITT is over, which means they quickly recognized the relevance as well and were able to recognize the practice alignment without the complete ITT.

This "Section-adjacent is default" rule is completely unspoken in any of the Section-internal interactions, but is clear when looking at the treatment of the goaltenders. In thinking about expert participants and novice participants in a Student Section, it's easy to think of performance in terms of turn-content or sequence-structure and placement in terms of opportunity. That is, if the opposing goaltender exits the goal and "better goalie" or "empty net" are known then a performance might seem available without an understanding of the greater level of turn-taking that relates to the entire game itself as a sequence. Within that larger sequence resources shift to become accessible, inaccessible, or available with some extra work to make them accessible. Proper cheering requires users with the knowledge to not just mine resources for collaboration from any preceding happenings, but to know which locations are safe (Section-adjacent) and which take some extra-effort to access safely (down-ice).

Shifting resources add further complications to the questions of what can be accomplished in various game states. So not just what can be accomplished with the resources within particular events, or the ongoing sub-circumstances within those events, but how the layout of those resources limits or enables what can be achieved.

5.3 Garbage Time

Although they are on-going and go beyond immediately preceding happenings, altered game states and resource shifts are still relatively momentary compared to the overall sequence of a game. A sporting event can be thought of as an interaction, and as such has its opening sequences (Schegloff, 1968) and closing sequences (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). I touched very vaguely elsewhere on the idea of pre-game, and how it is a space of pageantry and consistent selection of the general audience for response. This includes sequences like the team entrances, player introductions, a moment of silence in two of the games in my data, the national anthem, and a particular lead-up to the first puck drop to start the game.

While that pre-game period is all about building excitement and eliciting heightened participation, closing sequences can be just as interesting. Thanks to sports highlights and dramatizations in film we can all easily conjure up images of the thrilling last-second ending in sports, but that's not the type of closing sequence I will be discussing. Those are more the realm of simple cheering conventions like response cries and response clusters, allowing the thrill of the sequence of play to do the work in producing interest. Instead I want to talk about over-long closing sequences in sports, when the winner and loser have essentially been decided but play has to continue until there is no time left. These periods where the work of the sequence of play in determining a winner concludes but game-time still remains to be progressed through creates a space often referred to as **garbage time**.

Only one of the games observed featured a segment of garbage time, as most had the final result still in doubt until the final moments. The garbage time instance saw a shift in attention away from play and featured an increase in non-BTC Section-internal interactions. For instance a sort of playground insults game developed, as individual participants shouted jokes

about the opposing goaltender, which then got various levels of laughter and applause from others in the Section. Batch routines were still performed, but slow play was not responded to with the usual chants of “Let’s-Go-Cats” and “Go-Cats-Go” as it was while the result was still in question. This is likely because in garbage time nearly all play is slow play, as the players are mostly trying to avoid injury or any disastrous mistakes. So to mark and try to overcome slow play with encouraging chants would actually show a lack of supporter competence, and the ceasing of encouraging chants during garbage time exhibits an understanding that the slow play is by design. With those chants removed there is less happening during play, which seems to open the space for more Section-internal interactions like the insult game.

The lack of imperative reaction extends beyond slow play in garbage time. While elsewhere opposing goals are responded to with despair, in garbage time they are re-cast as inconsequential since the result is already considered to be decided:

We’re Still Winning (X = Cowbell Strike, C = Clap)

1 ((AIC player scores a goal))
 2 **Wool Hat:** That go in?
 3 **Front Row:** That one lady’s like celebrating.
 4 **Cowbell Player:** U::: [N::: H:::]
 5 X X X
 6 **Student Section:** [N::: H!!!!] U! N! H!, U! N! H!,
 7 C C C C C C C
 8 U! N! H!, U! N! H!, U N H, U N H, U N H, U-N-H
 9 C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C-C-C
 10 U-N-H U-N-H U-N-H.
 11 C-C-C C-C-C C-C-C
 12 **Cowbell Player:** ((begins rotating around to Wool Hat)) That’s
 13 the worst [part ((stops and turns back))]
 14 **Participant:** [↑WE’RE:-↓STILL ↑WI:-↓NING!]
 15 C.C.C-C-C.
 16 **Student Section:** ↑We’re-↓still ↑wi-↓ning! C.C.C-C-C.
 17 ↑We’re-↓still ↑wi-↓ning! C.C.C-C-C.

Instead the threat of this particular opponent coming back from 5-3 down in under ten minutes just does not seem to phase the Section participants. In this case they turn out to be correct, as their team ends up winning 7-3 and that goal did end up as a statistical footnote rather than an important happening.

Despite the derisive name for this period of lowered risk and the apparent reduction in caring from the Student Section, there still seems to be some preference for garbage time in-stadium. The “uncertainty hypothesis” is that outcome uncertainty in sports is what drives interest in attending games (Zillmann, 1991; Forrest & Simmons, 2002; Coates & Humphreys, 2012), but some research shows that attendance is higher at games where the home team is vastly superior to the visiting team (Forrest et al., 2005; Buraimo & Simmons, 2008, 2009; Chung et al., 2014) which would be a recipe for garbage time. Though, for television viewers they are much more likely to tune in for a game of evenly matched teams (Forrest et al., 2005) and stop watching a game that has entered garbage time (Paul & Weinbach, 2007; Alavy et al., 2010; Salaga & Tainsky, 2015). Finally, for a sport like auto-racing with no home team attendance went down as a clear overall winner for the season emerged (Berkowitz et al., 2011). Gan et al. (1997) provide an alternate hypothesis than just game quality, as they take into account who might enjoy a lopsided game:

“it is to be expected that avid fans, whose team is in the process of destroying and humbling an opponent, will drink in every second of the game - the more so, the bigger the score differential...Dedication of this kind cannot be expected for fair-weather fans or spectators who are rather indifferent toward the teams involved in a contest. This type of fan, when watching a game on television, should be bored with a lopsided, prematurely decided game. Moreover, this type of fan should be inclined to move on to other simultaneously available games of the same sport or of alternative sports” (Gan et al., 1997: 54).

Student Sections would clearly match that first description of the avid fan. The effect of garbage time on Student Sections goes beyond an individual “drinking in” of victory though. Garbage time actually facilitates the performance of its own class of routines unavailable in competitive play, and thus garbage time allows an opportunity to perform some less-common practices of the tradition canon.

Early Celebrations

The lack of relevance for encouraging chants has opened up conversation space, and the rejection of in-game happenings having a significant effect on the competitive outcome has removed some of the embarrassment-risk from even the worst in-game happenings like opposing scores. Student Sections utilize these two factors to produce their longest, riskiest routines. These routines are early celebrations, performed in instances of garbage time to celebrate the contest being “over” before the game is over.

From the outset of each game the Student Section will tell their opponents that they are inferior to the home team in every way, but the idea of “winner” and “loser” is separately determined by the contest. Switching from telling a team that they “suck” to tell them that they “lost” is making a risky claim on the contest being concluded. For that reason, these routines do not start with garbage time or even come in the middle of garbage time. They are saved until the actual end of the game is upcoming, and the chance that an unexpected comeback might turn garbage time back into regularly competitive play.

Is That Not the Ice Down There? (H = Point at home team’s bench area, 0 = Point at opponent’s bench area)

- 1 **Participant:** IS THAT NOI THE ICE DOWN THERE?
- 2 ((points at playing area))
- 3 **Student Section:** Yes that is the ice down there!
- 4 ((point at playing area))
- 5 **Participant:** IS THAT NOI THE SCOREBOARD THERE?

6 ((points at scoreboard))
7 **Student Section:** Yes that is the scoreboard there!
8 ((point at scoreboard))
9 **Participant:** IS THAT NOT A GOALIE DOWN THERE?
10 ((points down-ice at home goaltender))
11 **Student Section:** Yes that is a goalie down there!
12 ((point down-ice at home goaltender))
13 **Participant:** IS THAT NOT A SIEVE RIGHT THERE?
14 ((points at opposing goaltender))
15 **Student Section:** Yes that is a sieve right there!
16 ((point at playing area))
17 **Participant:** IS THAT NOT THE WINNING TEAM?
18 ((points right towards home bench area))
19 **Student Section:** Yes that is the winning team!
20 ((point right towards home bench area))
21 **Participant:** IS THAT NOT THE LOSING TEAM?
22 ((points left towards visitor's bench area))
23 **Student Section:** Yes that is the losing team!
24 ((point left towards visitor's bench area))
25 Winning team! Losing team! Winning team! Losing
26 H O H O
27 team! Winning team!-Losing team!-Winning team!-
28 H O H
29 Losing team! (cheering and applause)
30 O

Along with the Student Section declaring the “winning team” and “losing team”, the length of this routine also shows the non-factor that risk has become. To perform this during regularly competitive play would leave the Student Section open to all sorts of problematic overlap. This includes overlap with positive plays by the opposing team, as what constitutes a positive play has shifted so much that even goals are brushed off, and happenings-in-need-of-response in general. As mentioned, the purposefully slow play opens up this space by reducing the chance of producing a happening that the Student Section will “miss” responding to. The end of garbage time

provides a relatively safe and open space, and so that is utilized to produce an especially long and risky routine.

The trouble with a very particular set of circumstances like this is that these routines may not be performed all that often. As mentioned, in the four games in the most recent data gathered at UNH, only one included a transition to garbage time. Considering these were the first four games of the season, that means this instance below of a different early celebration routine would be the very first performance for the novice participants in the Student Section. Likely sensing this potential problem, the participant in the facepaint provides some instruction on line 9.

If You're Winning and You Know It

1 **Student Section:** ♪ If you're winning and you know it clap your
2 hands. (clap) (clap). If you're winning and you
3 know it clap your hands. (clap) (clap). If you're
4 winning and you know it and the scoreboard surely
5 shows it if you're winning and you know it clap
6 your hands. [If you're losing and you know it=
7 **Facepaint:** |(turns around to face Section=
8 **Student Section:** =clap your hands. |=
9 **Facepaint:** =shakes head and waves hands above head)]
10 **Student Section:** ((point towards opposing team's bench)) (1.1)
11 ((stop pointing)) If you're losing and you know it
12 clap your hands ((point)) (1.0) ((stop pointing))
13 If you're losing and you know it and the
14 scoreboard surely shows it if you're losing and
15 you know it clap your hands. ♪ ((point)) (1.1).
16 **Participants:** (Some "woo"s and claps)

Since this is a routine any novice participants would be unable to join in on the entire sequence, the practice alignment and projectability of routines are too precise to be determined and performed "on the fly." Something they may be able to pick up on is the cadence, which is provided musically with this routine being based on the children's song "If you're happy and you know clap your

hands.” While they’re unable to know what the lyrics have been changed to until they hear the full routine, an enterprising novice could at least participate in the claps due to a pre-existing knowledge of the cadence being adopted.

The joke of the routine is the selection of the opposing team for response on lines 10 and 12 with the pointing and pausing. Specifically the selection for them to acknowledge themselves as the losing team by clapping. In order for the joke to work those pauses have to stay clear, and it *definitely* doesn’t work if any Student Section participants clap. In fact, the joke would then be on them for their incompetent performance. The lack of claps in that space goes against the original cadence, and a novice going off that original cadence wouldn’t know this, and would conceivably perform the claps and ruin the routine. So with the empty spaces upcoming the participant in the facepaint turns around to the rest of the Section (line 7) and waves his hands over his head to get attention while shaking his head “no” (line 9). The clapping space stays empty and the routine works.

What this adds up to is that garbage time is a lessening of risk and the constraints of responsibility for response, but not the elimination of it. The Student Section may have less risk of their performance overlapping with something that will undermine or embarrass them, but the risk from their own mistakes is as present as ever. With these early celebration routines, which are only present in the relatively rare space of garbage time, that risk of the Student Section’s own performance is actually heightened due to lack of user experience in this portion of the tradition canon. So the expert participants do their best to safeguard the performance.

Perilous Play

The antithesis of garbage time are periods of perilous play. This is where the result of the contest is still very much in question, but the end of the game is upcoming. Rather than the relevance for response being ignored or denied in garbage time, here every happening gets a response. Due to frantic play this tends to take the form of response cries, with every shot, whether doomed or promising, receiving gasps and yells, and every loss of

possession getting cries of frustration and despair previously reserved for opposing goals.

This frantic play and crowded conversation space is not conducive to the more complex cheering conventions that I have focused on. Still, there is something very interesting that happens that is also a rousing sequence to consider here at the very end of this work. Back at the very beginning when I first introduced Student Sections, I mentioned how one of the ways the continually distinguish themselves from the general audience is by standing up for the duration of the game while everyone else typically sits. If a period of perilous play is upcoming the UNH Student Section will typically chant at the general audience: “stand-up (clap)-(clap).”

This is one of those specialized chants I referenced in the previous chapter, as I have never seen it performed in any other circumstance, nor have I ever heard another two syllable chant with its cadence structure. To be more specific about the circumstances this chant is used in, it does not begin anywhere in perilous play. As mentioned perilous play is too frantic for much else beyond response cries and maybe short response clusters, but it also features an increase in stoppages due to increased rates of shots on goal and over-zealous players entering the opponent’s defensive zone too early and being declared offsides. When a goaltender holds a puck after making a save or a player is called offsides the game is stopped and a face-off is organized to restart play. This organizational period provides a respite within perilous play where more complex work can be done.

It is during these stoppages, particularly when a face-off will be done next to the opposing goal and means a likely attack by the home team, that the “stand up” chant is deployed. The altered cadence of the chant, with each turn spaced out by a pair of claps rather than reiterating immediately, accomplishes two useful things in this situation. First, it keeps the chant understandable throughout multiple reiterations. Typical two syllable chants (not the elongated, derisive style like “bull:::-shi:::t”) have a tendency to speed up because of the immediacy of their reiterations, making them harder and harder to understand as they pick up speed. Since the Student Section

is trying to really communicate a request to the general audience it makes sense to safeguard their chances of a response as much as possible (Pomerantz, 1984b) by keeping their turn clear over each iteration. The stretched out pace with the clap break also makes the request sound less imperative, as it provides a space for the general audience to fulfill the request rather than immediately reiterating the request.

I once observed an instance of “stand up” where the general audience refused the request and remained seated. The Student Section altered the chant to “please-stand-up” and, after a laugh, the general audience did stand. So despite the alterations already made to “stand up” sometimes even more recipient design (Sacks et al., 1974; Stivers & Rossano, 2010a, 2010b) is required to get the general audience to agree.

The point of this interaction is that standing up, and not just the standing up but what the standing up means. When the general audience does stand it is responded to with cheering and applause by the Student Section, who then typically perform a “U-N-H” chant as play restarts, and this chant is performed arena-wide. Since the Student Section’s heightened participation is first marked by their standing, their request for the general audience to stand up too is not about standing, but about participation. Once standing the general audience joins in with the batch turn of the UNH chant at a rate they never do otherwise. Their response cries also become more unbridled, and they participate more in response clusters. This typically lasts less than a minute due to the condensed nature of perilous play, which is also an implicit part of the request. It is not just “stand up and be like us” but rather “we’ve been standing for the whole game, there’s less than a minute left and our team needs to play as hard as possible, you can be us for less than a minute.”

5.4 The Promise of this Study

I wanted to finish with this example because I think it reveals something important about Student Sections, cheering, and interaction as

mutual participation. Over the course of this work I have centered on the collaborative skill and creativity of Student Sections. The complexity of what they can accomplish as a social actor via BTC is what is most interesting to me, as it provides the most to be unpacked structurally. The issue with focusing on this complexity and ideas like specialized tradition canons, expert participants and novice participants in those traditions, and the breaking and distinction of participation status is that it suggests an exclusivity to batch participation. “Stand up” is a reminder that cheering is not about exclusivity, not even when a Student Section is telling an opposing goaltender that they find him ugly. It is a reminder from the Student Section to their fellow (if less-active) supporters that *you can do this too. Anyone can do this too.*

What this study has sought to be is a first step in unpacking that implication that cheering as a practice, no matter how complicated, is an available achievement for any participants to co-construct. To take CA’s approach to interaction as an orderly practice and apply it to the controlled, co-constructed chaos of crowds:

“Sacks was concerned with culture and language as members’ toolkits for everyday conduct. ‘Knowledge how’ rather than just ‘knowledge that’ was his focus - *how* interlocutors sequence their talk, *how* they actively make, display and share sense of ordinary settings, actions and identities” (Watson, 2014: 175).

I have explained the *hows* of the Student Sections observed for this study: how they produce a recognizable collaborative entity through co-oriented sharing of participation status, how they locate and utilize resources to produce collaborative turns, and some of the interaction devices in their tradition canons and the types of turns and sequences each can produce. Naturally this knowledge is incomplete, as there are going to be resources in other sports and social situations that necessitate or enable other devices that can produce other types of turns and sequences. There are also deeper inquiries available, such as investigations into the particular differences in

turn-forms between tradition canons and the achievement of particular participant batches as a matter of institutional and regional culture. There is also the next-step as further step discussed in this chapter, using the placement of Student Section turns and sequences within the larger sequence of sporting events to better understand the participants' involvement as a batch social actor.

This study has provided a basis for all that work to come. Terminology has been provided for use when discussing large-scale interactions, allowing more focused analysis on both levels involved in batch interactions: the internal interactions of batch turn construction to the resulting external interactions of batch turn-taking. A model of collaborative response and performance has also been provided that does not rely on external selection and management to facilitate interaction, allowing crowds and other participant batches to be studied in all their instances, both attended and disattended, and to be further appreciated as thoughtful, active social actors.

Along with those implications for the expansion of detailed EM/CA work into larger-scale interactions, there are the implications for Student Sections themselves. A better understanding of how cheering is ordered and accomplished can allow for better accomplishment of cheering as an activity. A formal understanding of the resources required for collaboration and the design of practices to utilize them could allow for more precise management of tradition canons in both the addition of new practices for new circumstances and the adjustment of old practices. This practical application is in keeping with what use Garfinkel believed EM/CA could be to social actors in their everyday lives, not just as academic pursuit:

“Garfinkel asks us to build on that vision, in whatever we can, in order to bring sociology from the realm of conceptual theorizing into the hands of practitioners, in order that we may understand and improve upon the quality of individual human experience and the possibility of providing high-quality lives for all human beings” (Rawls, 2002: 19).

I hope work aided or inspired by this study will carry forward that idea. It has been central to my work from the beginning, and I would consider it the greatest success of this research if it can help further what is possible in cheering by participant batches and helps batch production become a more accessible practice for novices who wish to participate. To fulfill in the practice of cheering the promise that is explicit in EM/CA's understanding of interaction and implicit in the Student Section's request in "stand up": *You can do this too. Anyone can do this too.*

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