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ABSTRACT

Noting that one way to tap into organizational life involves examining the symbolic discourse occurring in the context, a study examined stories and metaphors, forms of symbolic discourse, in two Christian denominations in Southern Appalachia. Transcriptions from audiotapes of sermons and lay talks (e.g., Sunday School lessons) from Church of God and from Southern Baptist congregations in five counties were drawn from a larger data set in the Southern Appalachian Studies, collected in the late 1950s. These materials were analyzed for content. Findings revealed similarities and differences between the two organizations, and showed that stories and metaphors served to highlight themes consistent with organizational values in each church. Corresponding recurrent themes centered on three main areas: the Trinity, the individual, and the process of salvation, but differing thematic emphases underscored the fundamental differences in the belief structures of the two denominations. A total of 35 stories were identified. In both churches, biblical stories were employed the most, followed by collegial and then personal stories. Southern Baptists used stories more frequently than those in the Church of God, and used these stories to underscore a greater range of themes. Differences were notable in both the quantity and quality of the thematic contents. The study demonstrates the value of examining religious institutions as organizational cultures, and the utility of qualitative methods of examining churches. It has delineated the fundamental qualities of each organization, challenging the stereotypes usually associated with religion of the Appalachian region. (HTH)

God's Line is Never Busy: Stories and Metaphors in Two Southern Appalachian Churches

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Abstract

This study analyzes language use and storytelling in two religious denominations in Southern Appalachia. Interest centers upon recurrent themes, stories, and metaphors in church leader talk. Attention is given to the role such language plays in symbolizing organizational values. While study findings show some similarities between the two denominations, fundamental differences in church values are illustrated. This study emphasizes the importance of stories and metaphors in understanding organizational life and the usefulness of qualitative methods in organizational research

God's Line is Never Busy: Stories and Metaphors in Two Southern Appalachian Churches

> "In my mind there is a woven tapestry of aunts, uncles, and cousins; of holiday festivities and family traditions; and through it all, a winding ribbon encircling my memory, the richness of my grandfather's laugh.
>
> "My grandfather was a wise man. He knew that the key to our future lies in our past, and he used his delightful gift of storytelling to ensure that his children and his grandchildren would carry their history with them always" (Watts, 1986, p. H1).

In the above quotation, Debra Watts (1986), an Appalachian resident, highlights the importance of storytelling in her culture. Previous research has pointed to the importance of storytelling in organizations (e.g., Aldy, 1986; Brown, 1984, 1985; Hart, 1984) and also in the Appalachian culture (e.g., Ray, 1983). The purpose of this study is to examine stories and metaphors, forms of symbolic discourse, in two Southern Appalachian churches. The data gathered in this study illustrate the importance and significance of storytelling to the people of this region, as well as, in everyday life.

While historically folklorists and anthropologists have examined story usage and function (Georges, 1969), researchers in other disciplines, such as communication and sociology, are just beginning to examine their importance. Mitroff and Kilmann (1975) assert that "if accounting and finance are the backbone of organizations, then the stories which permeate all organizations of any size are their lifeblood" (p. 18). These researchers further argue

"that not only do organizations depend on them (stories), but stronger still, they couldn't function without them" (p. 18).

Although little actual research on organizational language has been conducted, several researchers call for a focus upon symbolic discourse and discuss its importance. For example, Martin (1982) asserts that implicit forms of communication, such as stories, language, and metaphors, function to help organizational members learn about the culture, philosophies, and policies of a particular organization. Siehl and Martin (1982) further argue that cultural norms and values are transmitted by indirect means such as organizational stories and recurrent themes. They contend that stories are a more "memorable and credible means of communicating the shared values of an organization" (Siehl & Martin, 1982, p. 30) than explicit forms of communication.

Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982) add that stories are used to "substantiate organizational knowledge or pass on the unrecorded traditions or customs of organizational life" (p. 126). They contend that organizational members share experiences through stories. Watts' (1986) description of her grandfather's storytelling exemplifies Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo's (1982) position.

Further, Hawes (1974) and Louis (1980) argue that stories assist organizational members in sense-making. In elaborating this position, Faules (1982) says that "participants use stories to determine what organizational events and activities mean" (p. 151). Brown (1984) also asserts "stories appear to have the power to take an incident, frame and freeze it, and transmit the incident to organizational members in a memorable, recognizable

package with implications for the present, past, and future of life within that organization" (p. 14). Cicourel (1972) also maintains that stories function to clarify past occurrences and to provide a framework for interpreting future incidents.

This call for a focus upon stories is embedded within a call emphasizing the importance of language. For example, Smircich (1983a) argues that "the analysis of language is important and represents an almost untapped area of investigation for the field of organizational studies" (p. 171).

Some attention has recently been given to language in religious settings. For example, in an examination of pentecostal Catholics, McGuire (1982) takes a strong focus on organizational member vocabularies. Through qualitative means, she identified recurrent themes and the metaphoric use of language. McGuire (1982) argues that analyses such as hers can provide information and understanding unavailable through quantitative methods. Another recent analysis of the pentecostal movement focused upon the power of language. Darrand and Shupe (1983) studied the tabernacle and other metaphors. They assert that such metaphors "are subtly interwoven in the fabric of daily life, members' worship, and congregational needs" (Darrand & Shupe, 1983, p. 119). Further, Darrand and Shupe (1983) demonstrated that language can be employed as a means of social control.

Through examining such facets of organizational life as language use and storytelling, researchers can glean a richer understanding of the culture unique to an organization. Such an understanding can greatly contribute to our overall understanding of organizations.

Studying Appalachian Religion

While "camp meetings, foot washings, snake handling, holy rollers, tongues speaking, tent revivals, loud preaching, and emotional exuberance" have come to symbolize religion in the Appalachian region (Gillespie, 1982, p. 15), these practices occur infrequently, if at all, in the majority of Appalachian churches. Through misconstruing religious traditions and practices, an inaccurate, and often unfavorable, picture of Appalachia has emerged. As Maurer (1978) argues, "to fit the popular stereotype of Appalachia, overexposure is frequently accorded by the mass media to the more unusual groups such as the serpent handlers. This tends to obscure the fact that since frontier times it has been the historic communions: Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Disciples, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and other major church groups that have laid the religious foundation and carried the bulk of religious mission in Appalachia" (p. 3). Religion in Appalachia is not simply revivals and snakes.

That religious institutions are a crucial aspect of Appalachian life is unquestionable (e.g., Brewer, 1962; Hooker, 1933; Photiadis, 1978; Photiadis & Maurer, 1974; Weatherford, 1955). Thus, understanding Appalachian culture requires an examination of the area's religious organizations, and more specifically, the local churches. "The church or parish is the religious unit closest to the people. Here persons participate i shared religious experiences through public worship, religious education, fellowships, and service projects" (Brewer, 1962, p. 210). One way of tapping into a church's organizational life and the shared experiences of members involves examining the symbolic discourse occurring in this context.

Interpreting Symbolic Discourse

The present analysis of stories and metaphors in the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) and Southern Baptist denominations in the Southern Appalachian region is grounded in an interpretive approach to organizational culture. Interest centers on the systems of symbols and meanings shared by organization members (Faules, 1982; Pettigrew, 1979). "The researcher is . . . concerned with articulating the recurrent themes that represent the patterns in symbolic discourse and that specify the links among values, beliefs, and action in a setting" (Smircich, 1983b, p. 351).

Several assumptions are implicit in an interpretive approach to studying organizations as cultures. First, culture as a metaphor for framing organizational phenomena posits culture as something an organization is, rather than as an organizational variable (Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, 1983; Smircich, 1983b, 1985; Sypher et al., 1985). Second, organizational reality is viewed as socially constructed through organizational members' joint actions (Putnam, 1982) and patterns of symbolic discourse (Smircich, 1983b). Third, "themes, expressed in various symbolic modes, represent the heart of a symbolic analysis of an organization as culture" (Smircich, 1983b, p. 351). Finally, an interpretive approach to organizational culture places communication at the center of analysis (Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982, 1983; Sypher et al., 1985).

Researching organizational culture from an interpretive approach, then, clearly requires examination of organizational members' patterns of symbolic discourse, such as the use of stories and metaphors in the construction of organizational life. Smircich (1985) suggests that analysts of organizational

culture need to ask: "What are the words, ideas, and constructs that impel, legitimate, coordinate, and realize organized activity in specific settings?" (p. 57). More specifically for this study, we pose the following research questions concerning organizational life in two Southern Appalachian religious denominations, Southern Baptist and Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee):

R1: What are the recurrent themes evidenced in organizational leaders' talk?

R2: How consistent are such themes with church doctrines?

R3: What themes are exemplified by the stories and metaphors used by church leaders in naturally-occurring talk?

R4: What similarities and differences exist in how stories and metaphors are used in these two organizations?

Methods

Religious Organizations Studied

The data used for this study consist of transcriptions from audiotapes of sermons and lay talks from two denominations, Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) and the Southern Baptist Convention, in five Southern Appalachian counties. These are two parts of a larger data set collected in the Southern Appalachian Studies (see Weatherford & Brewer, 1962, p. 67 for a description of the complete data set and/or Ford, 1962, for additional information). These two Evangelical denominations (Hunter, 1983) were chosen to provide a contrast between the Holiness-Pentecostal tradition of the Church of God

(Leonard, 1982; Mead, 1970) and the more dominant Baptist tradition of the Southern Baptist Convention (Mead, 1970; Weatherford & Brewer, 1962).

Specifically, data on the Church of God and the Southern Baptist churches contained three sermons by ministers and three talks by lay members for each denomination. The three sermons were recorded on different days and were given by various ministers. Lay talks were lessons or church proceedings directed by someone other than the church minister. For example, Sunday School classes would be considered lay talks. Each of the three lay talks came from a different church service and was led by a different person.

Procedures

A sample of Southern Baptist and Church of God activities (e.g., sermons and classes) were attended by fieldworkers and were recorded on audiotapes. Data were collected during the summers of 1958 and 1959 in the Southern Appalachian Mountain region. After the collection phase, the data were transcribed.

Analysis

From the transcripts of recordings, themes, stories, and metaphors were identified. Themes were defined as recurrent points of emphasis in discussions. Following Brown (1985), stories were defined as "narratives which recount sequences of events" (p. 28). As in most conceptualizations, metaphors were viewed as techniques for increasing understanding by comparing one item to another.

After identification of the language devices, the researchers performed a content analysis of each category. Based on recurrent patterns, a typology for each group emerged from the analysis. In addition, the researchers examined how these stories and metaphors symbolized organizational values. Stories were also examined according to Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo's (1983) three-part typology. The results of these analyses are discussed in the following section.

Findings

The content analysis of the minister sermons and lay talks revealed similarities and differences between the Southern Baptist and Church of God denominations. Stories and metaphors served to highlight themes consistent with organizational values in each church (see Abell, 1978; Hunter, 1983; Leonard, 1982; Mead, 1970, for a more complete discussion of the beliefs and values espoused by these two religious organizations).

Recurrent Themes

Recurrent themes detected in the analysis of the sermons and lay talks centered on three main areas: the Trinity, the individual, and the process of salvation. Although there was a high degree of correspondence between the churches, emphases on different themes underscore the fundamental differences in the belief structures of the churches (see Tables 1 and 2).

Southern Baptist. Speakers in the Southern Baptist churches stressed themes concerned with the Trinity itself and two figures in the triad, God and

Jesus Christ. The Holy Ghost was mentioned as a part of the Trinity, but seemed to play a minor role in comparison with God and Christ.

God was described as the truth, protecting, living everywhere, commanding, punishing, and having a plan. One Sunday school teacher told the class, "We know that the greatest thing is to find God's will for us, for each one of us, and to do that will, and He does have a place for every one of us in His wonderful plan of the ages."

Consistent with the Southern Baptist doctrine that Christ's life, crucifixion, and resurrection were necessary for human salvation (Hunter, 1983; Leonard, 1982), Jesus Christ is discussed in terms of helping people, dying for our sins, being without sin, and living everywhere. In addition, people must accept Christ, for Christ will judge people based on their acceptance or rejection of him, and punish those who reject him. Christ must be accepted as a "personal savior" who died for the sins of all people.

The process of salvation is the bridge between the Trinity and the individual. The individual is saved or born again by repenting for one's sins and accepting Christ into one's life. Those who are "saved" are baptized, as Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist. One Southern Baptist lay member explained, "Just as Jesus was dedicating his life, so baptism for us should be a time for dedication of our lives and resolution for walk in newness of life with Christ." Baptism is by immersion, symbolizing the death and resurrection of Christ. Salvation results in eternal life, as did Christ have everlasting life after resurrection. The Trinity is an integral part of the act of baptism in that it is God's will to be baptized, parallels Christ's resurrection, and is motivated by the Holy Spirit.

A number of themes focus on the responsibilities of the individual as a Christian. These include: attending church and church functions, proselytizing, cooperating with others, not sinning, praying, withstanding Satan, and avoiding "backsliding." Consistent with the theme of God in command, church members are to humble themselves and submit to God; not forsake Him; and serve, obey, and risk one's life for God. People are seen as either for or against God, and those who are for God must fulfill leadership roles in society to prevent undue influence by those who are against him.

Themes of church attendance and proselytizing recurred most frequently. Sermons and lay talks consistently opened with comments on attendance. This emphasis on attendance was closely linked with proselytizing. Further, not proselytizing was seen as a form of sin: "Yes, you are responsible for the saving of these souls (who have not been saved). You ought to tell them of the Lord Jesus who is able to forgive them of their sins, you that have failed in this revival to visit, you that have failed to go into some home that is lost, then you have sinned against God." Doing God's will or submitting to God, is another reason for proselytizing and encouraging others to attend.

The recurrent themes delineated in the Southern Baptist minister sermons and lay member talks were in line with church doctrines (Hunter, 1983; Leonard, 1982). The major themes centered on the Trinity, salvation, and the individual, and demonstrated the interrelationships among the three areas.

Church of God. The typology employed for the Southern Baptist sermons and lay talks was used for those in the Church of God. Using the same typology illuminates the themes which differentiate the two churches.

Although Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost were mentioned, only God was discussed in any detail, with no actual references to the three as the Trinity. God was seen as protecting, guiding, powerful, no respector of persons, providing comfort, and good. God rules, has a plan, and the Bible is God's word. At a revival meeting, one minister asserted: "When we come into this world, we have, of course, nothing to do with our being here. It's God's plan. God planned it that we should enter this world through His glory, to glorify Him . . . . To start with, we must believe the Word. We must believe the Word."

The term "Lord" was used to refer to both Jesus Christ and God, indicating a blending of the two figures. For example, one minister said, "Our Lord is soon coming again according to His word," in reference to Christ's second coming, yet earlier had stated, "And pray for them that the Lord comfort them," in reference to God.

The Holy Spirit or Ghost was coded under the general theme of salvation, rather than the Trinity, in that this was the way in which ministers and lay members talked about the Holy Ghost. Themes focused on salvation also included forgiveness, water baptism, and eternal life.

Several themes dealt with the individual, including attending church, witnessing, tithing, loving and helping others, not sinning, and being "ready for the end." Church members must also obey, serve, and humble themselves to God. As with the Southern Baptists, attendance and proselytizing were the most pervasive themes. Witnessing involves reaching out to others who do not know God's word. Proselytizing is done out of obedience to God and because of a Christian's love for others.

The theme of being "ready for the end" highlights a preoccupation with eternal life and other worldliness not found in the Southern Baptist church. This is tied to the importance of salvation and sanctification. "Certainly I'm thankful that we have the privilege of getting ready to leave this world," one Church of God minister stated. And a lay member ended his talk with, "I stand before you here in this little congregation from time to time prepared to meet Jesus."

The process of salvation, sanctification, and receiving the Holy Ghost was intricately linked with the individual's responsibilities and relationship with God in the church leaders' themes. The themes identified in the church leaders' talks were consistent with the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) doctrines (Mead, 1970).

Summary. Themes delineated in this analysis indicated similarities between the two denominations in conceptualizations of God, the individual, and the process of salvation. However, there were differences both in the quantity and quality of the thematic contents.

Southern Baptist ministers and lay leaders clearly differentiated between God and Christ. There was an emphasis on the responsibilities of the individual demonstrated by more themes in this area for the Southern Baptists than the Church of God. Ministers and lay leaders in the Church of God incorporated more themes related to God and fewer pertaining to the individual.

An analysis of how stories and metaphors were used by each group to exemplify these themes further clarifies the distinctions between these two churches.

Stories

Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1983) provide a useful typology for categorizing organizational stories. Personal stories involve the individual who tells the story. Collegial stories are about other individuals, typically organization members. Corporate stories, which we have labeled biblical stories for purposes of the present analysis, are "narratives which represent the management ideology and . . . . glorify organizational experience by weaving a particular historical texture into the organization" (Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1983, p. 139).

A total of 35 stories were identified. In both churches, biblical stories were employed the most, followed by collegial and then personal stories (see Table 3). Southern Baptist ministers and lay members used stories more frequently than those in the Church of God and used these stories to underscore a greater range of themes.

Southern Baptist. Stories in the Southern Baptist church were found to exemplify the following themes: 1) the Trinity, a) God protects, b) Christ died for our sins; 2) Process of salvation, a) importance of salvation, b) baptism in salvation; and 3) the Individual, a) the importance of attending church, b) proselytizing, c) submitting to God, d) avoiding sin, e) religious leadership, f) not forsaking God, g) risking one's life for God, h) serving God, i) obedience to God (see Table 1). The following examples indicate the types of stories employed by Southern Baptist speakers.

A Southern Baptist lay member related this collegial story in discussing the process of salvation:

> "During a recent revival a young adult came forward, accepting Christ as Savior, and when he talked to the pastor he said, 'When I was a lad of ten I joined the church and was baptized, but I have come to realize what salvation meant. And now I want to be baptized again.' The church heard the testimony of this young man and voted to accept him as a candidate for baptism. Do you think he should have been baptized again? . . . Well, certainly we know that the act of baptism has no salvation within itself. But we do know that baptism follows salvation, after we have Christ in our heart then we want to be baptized to show this picture of our burial of sin itself and resurrection of new life in Christ. So I think perhaps the man was right in requesting baptism the second time."

A minister's personal story underscores the theme of proselytizing in the Southern Baptist tradition:

> "You know that as I studied last night, even in the early hours this morning trying to study something to bring to you that would cause you to repent of your sins and come clean with God, I saw there a vision of Christ. He said to me, 'There is sin in your community, there is sin . . . in the community, and her churches is the reason.' We are responsible . . . . Yes, you are responsible for the saving of these souls. You ought to go tell them of the Lord Jesus."

A biblical story of Moses is used by a minister in the annual communion service to illustrate the theme of God as protector:

"And the last plague that was sent on them as the Lord spoke to him and told him that, 'in the night I will come and take the first-born of every family and of the beasts and all and I will kill them,' but He said, 'You tell the children of Israel, you talk to them and tell them to kill a lamb and to sprinkle the blood on the doorpost and on each side of the door . . . that when the angel passes through during the night that we'll know--we'll see the blood and pass through.' That was His statement. He told the children of Israel this and they prepared the lamb and they sprinkled the blood and they eat the lamb and every one of you Bible readers know the story well."

Church of God. Church of God ministers and lay members used fewer stories in their talks, and covered a narrower range of themes than the Southern Baptists (see Table 2). Almost one-half of the Church of God stories concentrated on the theme of individuals loving and helping each other. The following biblical story told by a Sunday school teacher exemplifies this theme:

"We think of the story of the Good Samaritan. I believe that here was maybe a Levite, maybe two or three preachers passed by this fellow that was stranded there, and they passed him on up. But then there came along this fellow, this Good Samaritan, and helped him. He had love for him, he had the love of Christ in there, in his heart to show something. Brother Johnson, if we don't have it in our heart, right? If we don't have the love of Christ in our heart then it's not going to come out. What's in there, that's exactly what's going to come out. That's exactly right. It doesn't necessarily mean the position that a

person holds in this world or the church, that makes him have that love and hospitality, but it's what's in the heart. It's got to be down there. The love of God has got to be in there, for us to show that true love. It's got to be down there, in the heart."

Additional themes exemplified in the Church of God minister sermons and lay talks include: 1) Process of salvation, a) being filled with the Holy Spirit, b) salvation; and 2) the Individual, a) proselytizing, b) serving God, c) avoiding sin. No stories addressed the general theme of the Trinity, or more specifically, themes about God.

For example, a minister's collegial story about another member of the Church of God highlights the theme of being filled with the Holy Ghost in the process of salvation:

"We were in Salem, North Carolina a few years ago on a broadcast, and when we came out of the broadcasting station there was a fellow met us, and he began to question the born again experience. He wanted to know how you know that you have a heartfelt salvation, how do you know that the Lord's . . . with you. How do you know that you've got the Holy Ghost, and that's a- the minister that was with us tried to explain how she knew. He looked her right square in the face and says, 'You haven't got any Holy Ghost. You don't have the Lord with you, you can't have Him with you. He's in Heaven. You can't have Him with you.' She looked at him and said, 'Look here, Mister, I don't know your name or where you come from, but,' she said, 'If you were to tell me that I didn't have chicken for dinner, then I'd tell you that you was a storyteller, because I know that I eat chicken, and I know that

> I'm full of chicken.' That's just the way she told him. She says, 'And you're just too late to tell me that I don't have the Holy Ghost. You're just too late to tell me that I don't have a heartfelt experience with God, because I was there when it started, and especially when it was over with, and I know what took place, Praise God . . . . and you can't make me deny it.' (Praise the Lord, etc.) Born again experiences are definite."

As with the Southern Baptists, the speakers in the Church of God also employed stories to emphasize the importance of proselytizing. One lay member told this personal story:

> "And since I was meditating and praying since we had our service and recording here with the visitors the other night, Tuesday night, that God revealed to me that we should witness unto Him and in being witness unto Him we should be obedient to declare the word of God as it is recorded in the Bible regardless of man's belief or opinions."

Summary. In addition to the previously discussed differences in the number of stories and themes covered in each church, there were structural differences in the stories. Those identified in the Church of God sermons and lay talks tended to be repetitious, longer, and lacking in a clear focus. Stories told by the Southern Baptists were more easily identified and were shorter in length. Also, the Southern Baptist speakers stressed the themes or points of the stories more clearly.

Over one-half of the stories delineated were biblical stories, consistent with the Evangelical belief in the inerrancy of the Bible and the Bible as

God's word (Hunter, 1983). The stories speakers told highlighted themes reflecting the doctrines of the two churches. As organizational symbolic discourse, the stories "breathed life" into the beliefs of the organizations.

Metaphors

Like storytelling, organizational metaphors "tend to signify the salient features of organizational experience and to enliven them" (Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1983, p. 139). While not as prevalent as stories, metaphors were identified in the talks by leaders of both churches (see Tables 1 and 2).

The seven metaphors used by Southern Baptist ministers and lay speakers focused primarily on the individual, exemplifying the themes of avoiding sin, withstanding Satan, serving God, not backsliding, leadership, risking one's life for God, and being either for or against God (see Table 1). Church members were described as "God's tools," "human instruments" of God, and "soldiers in combat" against sin and evil and for God. Two metaphors focused on the Trinity. One was the Holy Ghost being described as a dove. The other was Jesus Christ as judging people or a recorder. As a Sunday school teacher stated: "I believe that as this brother has recorded this morning that Jesus takes a recording of our lives and I believe every time we've ever failed to spend for God we're going to face it again. I believe that." No metaphors were used to describe God or themes of salvation.

Five metaphors were identified in the Church of God sermons and lay talks (see Table 2). Two centered on individual themes, with sin being punished by eternal life in hell, described as a "lake of fire," and attendance encouraged

by the church being pictured as "a light set on a hill." The theme of salvation was viewed as becoming a "new creature" in the born-again experience. The themes of God protecting and guiding church members were evident in the description of "the Lord is our Shepherd."

Probably the most technologically-advanced metaphor was one used by a visiting evangelist in a Church of God revival meeting to emphasize the individual's personal relationship with God:

> "We certainly know that there's a channel of prayer where everyone goes to contact God and a lot of times you can call on the telephone and the line is busy, and they'll say, 'I'll call you back later,' and something of that nature, but God's line is never busy. His ear is ever open to the cry of the righteous for which I'm very thankful. It doesn't matter how hard it's raining or how hard it's storming, the glory of God can fill our souls just anytime that we call up Heaven over this wonderful royal telephone that the Lord has given us the privilege to talk over in that prayer."

Summary. As with stories, metaphors were used by church speakers to visualize themes salient to the organization's culture. And as was the case with storytelling, Southern Baptist ministers and lay speakers used more metaphors and used them more frequently than Church of God speakers.

Discussion and Implications

The present study of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee) and Southern Baptist traditions in the Southern Appalachian Mountain Region has clearly

demonstrated the value of examining religious institutions as organizational cultures. Rather than focusing on the surface characteristics of each religion, such as footwashing and glossolalia, this analysis has delineated the more fundamental qualities of each organization. Further, this analysis has relied on the words of organization members themselves, providing a perspective on these two religious traditions which challenges the stereotypes associated with the Southern Appalachian region.

While data for this study were collected in the late 1950s, subsequent research has shown little change in Appalachian religious organizations. The conservatism and fundamentalism which characterized the religious beliefs of the first settlers in the Southern Appalachian region (Weatherford, 1955) persisted in the 1930s (Hooker, 1933), the 1950s (Ford, 1962), the 1970s (Photiadis & Maurer, 1974) and the 1980s (Gillispie, 1982). Photiadis (1978) argues that this retention of the basic religious values and beliefs lends stability to Appalachian culture in a rapidly changing world. This does not mean that Appalachian religion has remained frozen in time, but that "by retaining its old fundamentalist forms and the rigidity of certain parts, and by highly modernizing other parts, Appalachian religion has become highly flexible, and able to contribute to the proper function of the Appalachian society by reducing anxiety and increasing integration within this ... and the larger society" (Photiadis, 1978, p. 127).

The heuristic value of Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo's (1983) story typology was also demonstrated in this study. Providing a finer distinctions than what is usually found in analyses of organizational stories (Brown, 1985), the typology indicated important similarities and differences between

the two churches in the kinds of stories used by ministers and lay speakers Further, the typology detected not only thematic consistencies between the content of the stories and church doctrines, but also between types of stories told and basic organizational tenets.

In addition, this study demonstrated the utility of qualitative methods in examining religious organizations. Through qualitative methods, researchers can gain deeper understandings of the research foci and provide richer description of the phenomena under investigation (Morgan & Smircich, 1980; Van Maanen, 1983; Van Mannen, Dabbs, & Faulkner, 1982). The language used and stories told by organizational members in this study both increased researcher understanding and aided in explanation of each culture. For studies such as this one, qualitative methods are an invaluable tool.

Studying the language that people use when interacting seems of obvious importance. Such symbolic phenomena as storytelling and the metaphoric use of language reveal organizational members' world views. However, even in the discipline of communication, language choice and use have frequently been overlooked. In this paper, we have argued and demonstrated that the language choices made by organizational members reveal their alues and beliefs. We strongly believe that further analysis of symbolic discourse is essential to understanding organizational life.

The focus and findings of the present analysis have been largely descriptive in nature. As such, the authors were able to provide detailed descriptions of each organization under study. While such an analysis does not answer all useful questions about organizations, we believe that it does begin to shed light on interesting and frequently overlooked areas of

organizational activity. Further research examining language use in organizations is sorely needed.

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TABLE 1

THEMES

Southern Baptist

Trinity	Process of Salvation	Individual
God	salvation ***	attendance *
truth	repentance	proselytizing
*** plan	baptism **	cooperation
with others	water immersion	
everywhere/lives	eternal life	humble,
submit ** commands	Trinity and baptism	do not sin
*** + punishes		leadership
*** +		
protects **		do not
forsake God *		
		backsliding +
Jesus Christ		risk life for
God + helps		serve God **
++		
died for sins *		pray
will judge +		obedience *
without sin		either
for/against God + resurrection		withstand
Satan +		
Holy Ghost +		

* - denotes story; one story may exemplify multiple themes
+ - denotes metaphor; one metaphor may exemplify multiple themes

TABLE 2

THEMES

Church of God

Trinity	Process of Salvation	Individual
God +	filled with Holy Ghost **	attendance +
protects +	speaking in tongues	obedience
rules	baptism	tithing
guides +	salvation ** +	proselytizing
**		
plan	forgiveness for sins	humble self
God's Word (Bible)	eternal home in heaven	serve God *
good		love and
		help others
******		
power		ready for the
end		
no respector of persons		do not sin *
+		
comforts		
Jesus Christ		
Holy Ghost		

* - denotes story; one story may exemplify multiple themes
+ - denotes metaphor; one metaphor may exemplify multiple themes

TABLE 3

STORY TYPES

Stories	Southern Baptist	Church of God	Totals
Biblical	13	7	20
Collegial	6	4	10
Personal	3	2	5
Totals	22	13	35