EMOTIONS UNCORKED: INSPIRING EVANGELISM FOR THE EMERGING PRACTICE OF COOL-CLIMATE WINEMAKING IN ONTARIO

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This paper examines how organizations create evangelists, members of key audiences who build a critical mass of support for new ways of doing things. We conduct a longitudinal, inductive study of Ontario's cool-climate wineries and members of six external audience groups who evangelized on behalf of their emerging winemaking practice. We found that wineries drew from three institutionalized vinicultural templates— "provenance," "hedonic," and "glory"—to craft rituals designed to convert these audience members. These rituals led to inspiring emotional experiences among audience members with receptive gourmand and regional identities, driving them to engage in evangelistic behaviors. While a growing body of work on evangelists has emphasized their individual characteristics, the role of emotions in driving their activities, as well as how they advocate for organizations, our study demonstrates how evangelism can be built through ritualized interactions with organizations. Specifically, we reveal how organizations develop rituals that translate emerging practices into inspiring emotional experiences for particular members of audiences. This suggests that rituals can be used not only to incite dedication within organizational boundaries, but to inspire members of external audiences to act as social conduits through which emerging practices spread.

Scholars and practitioners are increasingly aware that organizations benefit from converting external audience members into evangelists dedicated to building support for emerging practices (Kawasaki, 2015; Stinchcombe, 2002). Whether they are advocating for disruptive technologies (Beatty & Gordon, 1991), new management techniques (Beu & Leonard, 2004), or controversial sources of entertainment (Helms &

Patterson, 2014), evangelists play a key role in spreading the word about and campaigning for the acceptance of unfamiliar ways of doing things within their communities (Scarpi, 2010). Accordingly, organizations ranging from giants such as Apple and Amazon to small wineries and fashion boutiques have committed resources to converting consumers, bloggers, and other external audience members into evangelists who voluntarily tout their message (Goldfayn, 2012). Yet, despite the growing importance of evangelism to these organizations and attention to the phenomenon from scholars, there has been no systematic investigation of how evangelists are created.

Organizational scholars have traditionally attended to how organizations meet audience expectations and garner their approval (e.g., Hargadon & Douglas, 2001; Vergne, 2012; Wry, Lounsbury, & Glynn, 2011) by modifying or reframing what they do (Deephouse, 1996; Suchman, 1995). By focusing on how organizations might change to conform to expectations, these

studies overlook the possibility that some audience members might be inspired to voluntarily and enthusiastically champion an organization's way of doing things (Helms & Patterson, 2014). Extant research on evangelists also points to this possibility by portraying audience members as persuasive consumers (Seeberger, Schwarting, & Meiners, 2010) and knowledge activists (Beu & Leonard, 2004), while capturing how they fervently "spread the word" by engaging in missionary work for organizations (Stinchcombe, 2002; Whittle, 2005). The process by which these audience members transition from spectatorship to evangelism and the role emotions play in how it takes place, however, has yet to be fully elaborated. While Jones and Massa (2013), for instance, found that audiences tend to evangelize for innovative buildings when they are designed to reflect their distinctive identities, they did not closely examine the process underlying how the conversion of audiences into evangelists and why the evangelists become emotionally engaged with building preservation and consecration. Without a fuller understanding of how the conversion process unfolds and a better sense of what actions generate fervor in otherwise disengaged audiences, organizations may bank on conjecture as they formulate strategies for disseminating practices.

To address this research gap, we conducted a longitudinal study of Ontario wineries and the external audience members that have come to evangelize on their behalf. Ontario's wineries developed and advanced an innovative practice that enabled them to produce fine wine in their cold climate (Bramble, 2009). With limited financial resources to promote this emerging practice, wineries relied on rituals to transform a subset of a diverse range of audience members into devoted evangelists. These efforts took on a somewhat religious dimension as members of the media, regulators, connoisseurs, representatives of vinicultural institutions, and restaurant operators reported being "converted" by their interactions with Ontario's wineries and "spreading the gospel" of Ontario cool-climate winemaking. One such evangelist noted:

> The neat thing is that they're out spreading the Ontario wine gospel, if you want to call it that, to their friends, right. So they're people that are telling other people about wines. They're sharing the wines that they find with their friends. And then I'm hoping that it's having that ripple-on effect, that we're creating more and more people who are trying Ontario wines or liking Ontario wines and telling their friends about Ontario wines.

To better understand this phenomenon, we adopted an institutional perspective that characterizes evangelism as revolving not only around a specific brand or single organization, but around an emerging practice (Stinchcombe, 2002). In doing so, we are able to shed new light on the origins of evangelism, as well as bridge and extend organizational research on audience engagement in management and marketing by elevating the roles of rituals and emotions. First, while scholars have theorized that evangelism can elicit broad-based advocacy for practices (Jones & Massa, 2013; Stinchcombe, 2002), we empirically capture the process through which the conversion to evangelism takes place and the mechanisms that drive it. Second, our model shows how organizations can use rituals that draw on institutionalized templates to not only foster support within their formal boundaries (Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010), but as means to convert and inspire external audiences. This finding points to new ways in which rituals might be deployed, and extends the palette of techniques available to organizations as they endeavor to create more meaningful connections with audiences. Third, our data reveal how emotional experiences can inspire evangelism from a subset of audience members with distinct and receptive identities, but fail to inspire others. We thereby clarify under what conditions evangelism might be engendered, and highlight the crucial yet underplayed role that emotional experiences play in the process. Ultimately, by crafting and deploying a vocabulary based on Stinchcombe's (2002) "missionary work" terminology, which leverages not only evangelism but also conversion, proselytization, devotion, belief, and other religious terms, we unlock new, more affect-inclusive ways to explain emerging-practice dissemination.

INSPIRING INSTITUTIONAL EVANGELISM

Institutional evangelism is a process involving broad audiences that explains the spread of not only products and services, but of "emerging practices," defined here as novel ways of doing things (Stinchcombe, 2002). These emerging practices are spread through the missionary work of audience members who have been inspired by organizations to not only believe in a practice and the institutions—the values, norms, rules, beliefs, and taken-for-granted assumptions (Barley & Tolbert, 1997)—that underlie it, but to spread these elements through the conversion of others (Stinchcombe, 2002). By adopting a process orientation and drawing on growing research on audiences who advocate for the emerging practices they monitor (Glynn, 2000; Helms, Oliver, & Webb,

2012), we are better able to understand evangelists and their creation.

Evangelist Activities

Studies of evangelists have largely focused on the work of organizational actors as advocates for their own practices (Beatty & Gordon, 1991) and consumer advocates for products and services (Ortiz, Reynolds, & Franke, 2013). Consumers, however, constitute only a small part of an organization's "key external audiences," a term that refers to "collections of agents with an interest in a domain and control over material and symbolic resources that affect the success and failure of claimants in the domain" (Hsu & Hannan, 2005: 476). Audiences who observe the development of and evaluate practices are broad in nature, ranging from regulators to critics to the media, with each possessing their own value systems, needs, and motivations (Giorgi & Weber, 2015; Hudson, 2008). In spite of growing evidence of the importance of audience advocacy for emerging and even contested practices (Helms & Patterson, 2014), little understanding exists of evangelist emergence or the types of behaviors they engage in to build critical masses of support important to the success of emerging practices.

To inspire evangelism, organizations need to understand what motivates particular audiences to engage with practices, as well as what activities they undertake while performing evangelism (Stinchcombe, 2002). The motivations of audiences have received substantially less attention than those of the organizations to which they attend (Giorgi & Weber, 2015). For example, audiences such as the media (Zavyalova, Pfarrer, Reger, & Shapiro, 2012) and regulators (Sitkin & Roth, 1993) have been portrayed by scholars as having well-defined activities from which they seldom deviate. Focus has been on a limited set of audience activities, including "hands-off" approval or disapproval (Sutton & Callahan, 1987) or the evaluation and the rubber-stamping of practices from afar (Anand & Watson, 2004).

In contrast, recent studies have pointed out that audience members may sidestep their duties as impartial observers because they feel compelled to see a practice they value become adopted widely (Jones, Maoret, Massa, & Svejenova, 2012). Research on affiliate marketers (Duffy, 2005), mavens (Feick & Price, 1987), and early adopters (Rogers, 1995) has found that, instead of engaging with brands passively, these audiences promote products and services they find compelling (Seeberger et al., 2010). Research also shows how customers interact with organizations by joining social movements or activist groups, formed to sanction, boycott, and protest organizations and their practices (King, 2008; King, Bentele, & Soule, 2007). While studies such as these portray audience members as interest-based marketing engines for an organization's products or vehicles for protest against an organization's activities, this constrained view does not address the case of evangelists who devote themselves to building support for an organization's way of doing things (Whittle, 2005). That is, although activists join movements fighting to address injustices they care about and consumers advocate for organizations whose products enhance their image (Feick & Price, 1987), scholars have not explained what drives advocacy for emerging practices that might, for instance, not reflect well on the evangelist or be based on something they believe in advancing before interacting with an organization.

An institutional perspective on evangelism, with an emphasis on organizations inspiring members from broad audiences to fervently spread their shared beliefs in practices, provides an opportunity to build theory on the origins and activities of evangelists. For example, Jones and Massa's (2013) study of institutional evangelism found that audiences of critics, conservationists, and historians cared deeply about and spread the beliefs, symbols, and identity markers that constituted Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture. In contrast, we build a more comprehensive theory of not only how evangelists work to advance practices they care about, but also who might become evangelists for organizations, how evangelists become devoted to an organization's way of doing things, and how members from these diverse audiences engage in different evangelistic behaviors.

Emotions and Identities that Drive Evangelism

While scholars have articulated that the advocacy of evangelists, as compared to other audience members (such as mavens or activists), is driven by emotions, to date, what emotions inspire evangelists as well as why particular audience members experience these emotions and others do not are unknown (Becerra & Badrinarayanan, 2013). Marketing scholars have adopted the term "devotion" to describe the state of passionate dedication to a product, brand, or experience demonstrated by evangelists (Ortiz et al., 2013: 7). Stinchcombe (2002: 421) favored the term "fervor" to describe the driving force behind evangelist engagement in "vigorous missionary work to recruit suitable people … to the corresponding community." Although he departed from entrenched emphases on

cognitive comprehensibility over emotion-driven processes common in institutionalism (Voronov & Vince, 2012), it is valuable to examine how specific emotions experienced by those audience members who are converted to evangelism lead them to advocate for emerging practices.

We join organizational theorists who have noted that "emotions"—defined here as experienced feeling states with identified causes that can be communicated verbally or behaviorally (Elfenbein, 2007)—are key to any comprehensive understanding of what motivates organizational actors (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Huy, 1999; Huy, Corley, & Kraatz, 2014) and those audiences that evaluate them (Jasper, 2011). At the micro level, leaders engage in symbolic management by "orchestrating, summarizing, and elaborating symbols to evoke emotion which can be generalized to organizational ends" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995: 111). At the macro level, studies on the advancement of emerging practices and the disruption of entrenched ones show how organizational actors use rhetoric that stirs the feelings and support of audiences (e.g., Jones et al., 2012; Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

Engendering emotions that spur evangelism among audience members can pose a challenge for organizations. First, the motives and identities of audience members are far more differentiated than typically acknowledged (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Giorgi & Weber, 2015; Hudson, 2008). Rather than internalizing a single, homogeneous "audience identity," members of key audiences relate to, and prioritize, many distinct cultural and professional subgroups (Ertug, Yogev, Lee, & Hedström, 2016; Kim & Jensen, 2011; Kim & Jensen, 2014). Kim and Jensen's (2011; 2014) research suggested that an organization's strategic decisions regarding how they engage in their genre-based practices should depend upon understanding and adjusting to these "divergences" within those key audiences they rely on, such as cultural differences and subgroup identities.

Second, because an audience's membership consists of members from identity groups with "different levels of knowledge, preferences, and specialization" (Kim & Jensen, 2014: 1361), they may experience interactions with organizations differently and judge practices based on different sets of lived experiences. Kozinets and Handelman (2004) found that the feeling-driven advocacy of consumer social movements was rooted in the religious and spiritual identities of their members. Subsequently, they argued that understanding such advocacy involves addressing the role of "evangelical" identities, but did not delineate the processes by which such identities manifested into devotion that drove action. Such evangelist audience members may identify with a practice when that person's self-concept contains similar attributes as those they perceive in the practice or organization (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). These attributes can be self-enhancing for audience members, yielding feelings of pride and happiness that support commitment, while misalignment can produce negative feelings that lead to disengagement (Albert et al., 1998).

Third, there is a significant difference between gaining the approval or acquiescence of audience members and inspiring their engagement in evangelistic behaviors. Evangelists feel strongly about and identify with the ways organizations do things (Scarpi, 2010; Whittle, 2005). Scarpi (2010) found, for instance, that evangelist consumers who utilize word of mouth online were driven by an interaction between their emotions and their identification with the brand's online community. While research has examined the role of emotions that create and sustain collective efforts (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001), and has identified collective emotional states that energize contention (Flam, 2005; Jasper, 2011), little is known about emotions experienced by audience members with differentiated identities during interactions with organizations.

By adopting an institutional perspective on evangelism that emphasizes the importance of emotional experiences to supporting the missionary work of a diverse set of actors and audiences, we join organizational theorists who have argued that actors' "desires are not reducible to the pursuit of rational interests" (Voronov & Vince, 2012: 59). In particular, by building affect-inclusive theory, we address why audiences might come to dedicate themselves to advocating and building support for novel ways of doing things.

Organizational Interactions Eliciting Evangelism

Studies on evangelists (e.g., Scarpi, 2010) and audience advocacy (e.g., Helms & Patterson, 2014) have highlighted the importance of organizations interacting with audiences to elicit advocacy behaviors, but most of what is known focuses on arm's-length interactions between organizations and audience members. To date, there has been no research on how organizations engage members from diverse audiences in interactive experiences that produce the emotional experiences that drive evangelism. In line with evangelism's religious roots, one manner in which organizations may elicit the engagement of audiences is through the use of rituals (Wellman, Corcoran, &

Stockly-Meyerdirk, 2014). "Rituals" are dramatic and emotional cultural performances by which actors display the meaning of their social situation for others (Alexander, 2004; Dacin et al., 2010) and "define the order of the world and one's position in it" (Friedland & Alford, 1991: 250). Durkheim (1915/1965) noted that ritualized activities can create an affective state of "collective effervescence," which he deemed crucial to the genesis of shared values and the "emotional charging" of artifacts representing the group.

When effective, the use of rituals by organizations lead participants to develop shared meanings, intensify the emotional connections between those involved, and develop a sense of community (Islam & Zyphur, 2009). An understanding of the power of rituals, and how they impart collective meaning, entails studying the accounts, ceremonies, and artifacts of which they are composed (Rosen, 1985; Trice & Beyer, 1984). In a relatively recent study, Dacin and colleagues (2010) advanced a ritual-centered theory (Greil & Rudy, 1984; Hallett, 2007) of how institutionalized beliefs are transmitted to members of organizations. This reflects the findings of scholars of religious organizations who argue that "the symbolic themes or beliefs expressed" within ritualized activities can strengthen the dedication, commitment, and fervor of those involved within such communities of practice (Knottnerus, 2014: 319). While some scholars (Gray, Purdy, & Ansari, 2015; Kovács & Sharkey, 2014) have acknowledged the influence of rituals beyond an organization's boundaries in bestowing new meaning and legitimacy for practices, we examine how rituals can influence external audiences.

In short, extant studies note that the ritualized interactions with organizations play a key role in the conversion of audiences from spectators to evangelists, but do not elaborate on why certain interactions lead to emotions that drive evangelism while others do not. To elucidate the interactive processes that inspire members of audiences to become evangelists devoted to an organization's way of doing things, we ask, "How do organizational actors engender institutional evangelism among audience members?"

METHODS

Research Context: The Emerging Practice of Fine Winemaking in Ontario
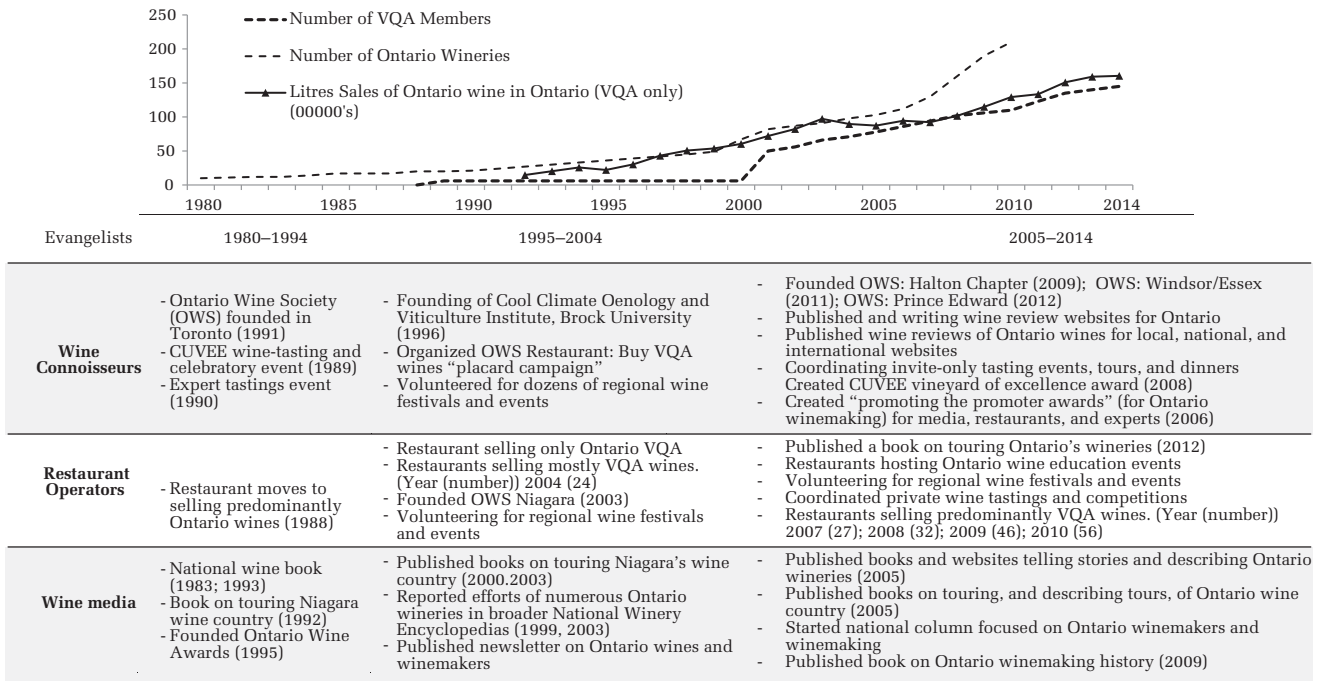
Over the 165-year-long history of winemaking in Ontario, Canada, wineries have developed and subsequently made strides to overcome a negative reputation for low-quality wine production and perceptions that cool-climate wine production is not viable among key audiences such as critics, restaurant operators, and connoisseurs. The origins of Ontario wine's poor reputation can be traced back to the 1860s, when Ontario's first wineries produced wine using indigenous grapes, such as Concord, that could survive the region's harsh winters, but that did not conform to "Old World" winemaking standards (Wang, Madhok, & Li, 2014). In the 1970s, Ontario winemakers engaged in large-scale production of low-quality, mass-market wines that further cemented the region's reputation for poor quality. In the 1980s, free trade agreements lifted protections that had shielded Ontario wineries from global competition, forcing Ontario wine producers to reinvent their practice. Inspired by the success of small local wineries that utilized internationally accepted, fine winemaking practices to win prestigious international awards for ice wine, Ontario winemakers began shaping their existing fine winemaking practices to fit their cold climate. Winery operators collaborated to establish rules of practice, codifying them through the creation of the Vintners Quality Alliance (VQA), an initially voluntary standard (1988) that later became mandatory (2001). VQA wineries emulated not only the vinicultural practices of well-established wine regions, but defined them in terms of "terroir"—that is, norms, beliefs, and rules regarding those aspects of a place that make it unique and shape its wine practices.

Despite these efforts, many local and global wine audiences of critics, restaurant operators, and connoisseurs, citing concerns over poor reputation, largely ignored or dismissed Ontario's fine winemakers in the 1990s and early 2000s (Bramble, 2009). Lacking in financial resources as well as channels to spread positive news of Ontario wine to audiences, VQA winemakers chose to engage those who dismissed their efforts directly and actively seek their support. They aggressively sought the support of external audience members in the wine media, restaurant industry, and wine expert groups (i.e., connoisseurs) for their emerging practice, successfully inspiring them to advocate for the inclusion of Ontario wines in wine competitions, media, and restaurant menus and to found events and organizations celebrating it. Figure 1 shows how VQA standards have taken hold in Ontario, paralleling growth in both total number of wineries founded as well as liters of wine sold. It also lists the evangelist activities that helped spread and gain greater acceptance for Ontario's practice of fine winemaking.

Ontario winemakers and audience members who have come to publicly advocate on behalf of Ontario winemaking provide an excellent context for building

FIGURE 1
Overview of Fine Winemaking Practice (VQA) Dissemination and Related Evangelist Activities

Evangelists	1980–1994	1995–2004	2005–2014
Wine Connoisseurs	- Ontario Wine Society (OWS) founded in Toronto (1991) - CUVEE wine-tasting and celebratory event (1989) - Expert tastings event (1990)	- Founding of Cool Climate Oenology and Viticulture Institute, Brock University (1996) - Organized OWS Restaurant: Buy VQA wines "placard campaign" - Volunteered for dozens of regional wine festivals and events	- Founded OWS: Halton Chapter (2009); OWS: Windsor/Essex (2011); OWS: Prince Edward (2012) - Published and writing wine review websites for Ontario - Published wine reviews of Ontario wines for local, national, and international websites - Coordinating invite-only tasting events, tours, and dinners - Created CUVEE vineyard of excellence award (2008) - Created "promoting the promoter awards" (for Ontario winemaking) for media, restaurants, and experts (2006)
Restaurant Operators	- Restaurant moves to selling predominantly Ontario wines (1988)	- Restaurant selling only Ontario VQA - Restaurants selling mostly VQA wines. (Year (number)) 2004 (24) - Founded OWS Niagara (2003) - Volunteering for regional wine festivals and events	- Published a book on touring Ontario's wineries (2012) - Restaurants hosting Ontario wine education events - Volunteering for regional wine festivals and events - Coordinated private wine tastings and competitions - Restaurants selling predominantly VQA wines. (Year (number)) 2007 (27); 2008 (32); 2009 (46); 2010 (56)
Wine media	- National wine book (1983; 1993) - Book on touring Niagara wine country (1992) - Founded Ontario Wine Awards (1995)	- Published books on touring Niagara's wine country (2000.2003) - Reported efforts of numerous Ontario wineries in broader National Winery Encyclopedias (1999, 2003) - Published newsletter on Ontario wines and winemakers	- Published books and websites telling stories and describing Ontario wineries (2005) - Published books on touring, and describing tours, of Ontario wine country (2005) - Started national column focused on Ontario winemakers and winemaking - Published book on Ontario winemaking history (2009)

theory on how institutional evangelism is engendered. A theoretically appropriate context for exploring institutional evangelism should include actors who advocate on behalf of a practice for reasons that are emotional and not just instrumental. That is, the evangelist's motives for disseminating a practice should extend beyond reputational benefits derived from advocating for a popular practice or from immediate financial benefits that are gained as a direct result of advocacy. Although progress has been made, the negative reputation associated with Ontario winemaking still remains (Vansickle, 2015). As such, advocating on the emerging practice's behalf can lead to reputational and financial risks. For example, a restaurateur-turned-evangelist expended time and resources convincing clients of the viability of Ontario wine, yet still reported that Ontario wine does not "financially make sense." Our initial interviews revealed that individuals taking these risks and using what little spare time they had to extol the virtues of Ontario wine were driven by devotion to the practice, and wanted to see it succeed despite personal costs. This devotion for the practice has to yield action for efforts to be reasonably designated as evangelism. We sought these evangelistic behaviors when selecting a context.

Ontario's fine winemaking context presented us with a case in which evangelists are not advocating for the advancement of a single winery or winemakers, but are voluntarily advocating for the winemaking practice itself (e.g., regional wine societies, UncorkOntario.com, 2015). Public events revealed that audience members voluntarily promoted the codification of rules systems (e.g., VQA), incorporation documents revealed that these members established organizations to advance Ontario winemakers (e.g., wine societies), as media archives revealed that audiences sought to "spread news" of a new way of doing things. It is the advancement of this new way of doing things that makes the story of Ontario winemaking an institutional one.

Data Sampling, Sources, and Collection

The research reported in this article was a part of the broader study of institutional change in the Ontario wine industry. In contrast to previously published work that examined the region's efforts to conform to global winemaking standards (Hills, Voronov, & Hinings, 2013; Voronov, De Clercq, & Hinings, 2013a, 2013b) or the geographic clustering of wineries in Ontario (Wang et al., 2014), the present article focuses on the creation of evangelists for Ontario cool-climate winemaking. To examine how institutional evangelism is engendered, we relied

upon a theoretical sampling strategy to select organizational actors and audience members who would help build a shared consensus on emerging constructs (Yin, 1994). We expanded our sampling of data sources iteratively, allowing the emerging theory and the saturation of our knowledge of subject areas and practices to guide data collection.

Our primary method of data collection involved semi-structured interviews with actors from wineries and audience members, coupled with in situ observations of interactions and ritualistic wine tastings and tours. Importantly, given that emotions are difficult to capture empirically with precision (Fineman, 2004), we wrote field notes of emotional experiences we observed and triangulated our observations with retrospective interviews in which we asked actors what they felt during and following rituals. Table 1 provides an overview of the data sources we relied upon for this study.

Semi-structured interviews. Eighty-six semi-structured interviews were conducted with organizational actors and audience members that ranged in length from 1 to 1.5 hours and included both open- and close-ended questions. These were recorded and transcribed verbatim. We modified the interview protocols after each interview to take advantage of emerging themes (Spradley, 1979). Consistent with inductive, grounded methodologies, we continued our interviews until they started adding little new to coding categories (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Our first interviewee sample consisted of audience members from six key audiences: restaurant operators (e.g., management, owners, and sommeliers); the wine media (e.g., newspaper and wine publications); regulators (from the provincial distributor); local vinicultural institutions; consumers and connoisseurs (e.g., experts with credentials); and wine society representatives. We selected interviewees based on public acts, the receipt of public awards for their service to the practice, or through interviewee referrals. To contrast these, we sought out interviews and engagement with audience members who were not evangelists for, or believers in, Ontario winemaking (e.g., often provincial regulators and consumers who were not engaged in wine societies or attending events). This allowed us to compare our evangelists with those who reported and demonstrated little devotion to the practice and were largely engaged for financial or reputational (e.g., career advancement) interests.

Interactions with many of our evangelist interviewees revealed that they were not simply benefiting from their activities, but that their experience with Ontario's winemakers had made them believers in the practice. We found that they used religious language to describe their devotion to the practice and its dissemination. Many expressed their willingness to take on financial and reputational risks that came with being associated with cool-climate winemaking. They also spoke at length, often unprompted, about the frequently voluntary nature of their work building support for the practice by "converting" others. For example, during an initial interview with a sommelier-turned-evangelistic writer and organizer, they reported having "converted" hundreds of others and "spread the gospel" of Ontario wine to thousands, leading us to realize that we were interviewing an evangelist:

> I don't even know if necessarily that's the word, "supporter." I'm just a believer, rather … I'm just trying to advocate and perhaps to, you know, emphasize, you know, what they do, and perhaps to, you know, scream and, you know, as much as I can, trying to make my voice heard that, "Hey, here we are and we are a region that, you know, is as good as any other classic grape-growing region in the world."

In situ observations. Two of the authors observed more than 250 hours of winery-based interactions with key audiences. Following Howell (1972), we began by establishing rapport with actors engaged in the Ontario wine region (e.g., winery staff and management, local critics, government regulators), immersing ourselves in the field and recording data and observations. These observations included viewing tours, tastings, and events with members from key audiences, as well as experiencing the winery buildings and artifacts. Unsurprisingly, given their strong propensity to share their craft, winery interviewees insisted vehemently that we see their activities, and support their efforts. Two authors did not engage in observations in order to balance observer insights with more reflective ones.

Archival texts. We collected several types of archival documents to help us understand the institutional context, the evolution of the practice of Ontario winemaking and the wineries and audiences that advanced it. We began by reviewing texts that documented the history, rules, and norms of the global practice of making wine (Clarke, 1999; Colman, 2008; Johnson & Robinson, 2007; Kramer, 2004; Robinson, 2006; Van Leeuwen & Seguin, 2006; Zhao, 2005). We also collected books and articles that reported on the history of Ontario wine specifically and revealed its blemished history in detail (e.g., Bramble, 2009). Texts documenting audience members' experience with Ontario winemaking were gathered as well. These included writings of professional wine and food writers in newspapers, books, social media,

TABLE 1
Overview of Data Sources: Audience Members and Ontario Winery Operators (Organizations)

Audience Members

Sources	Interviewees (no.)	Additional Data Sources	Description
Wine media	Local (2), national (6)	websites; 36 newsletters; 9 press items	writers and reporters working for local and national media outlets
Wine society representatives	Local (6)	websites; 4 email interviews with follow-up	founders, leaders, and other connoisseurs running organizations dedicated to the appreciation of Ontario wines
Restaurant operators	Local (8)	15 hours' observation; website; 22 newsletters	employees, owners, and sommeliers operating local establishments
Ontario viticultural institution representatives	Local (4)	supplemental texts	members founding and leading organizations that conduct viticultural research on Ontario wine
Wine retailers	Regional liquor retailer (4)	n/a	managers
Consumers/ Connoisseurs	Local (3), broader (3)	15 hours' observation; 12 websites; 28 blogs; 33 newsletters; 25 press items; 58 online reviews.	attendees of wine tours and reviewers of wineries in both wine review sites and general rating sites (e.g., Yelp)

Ontario Winery Operators

Sources (pseudonyms)	Interviewees (no.)	Additional Data Sources	Primary Template(s)
Countryside Winery	President (3), Marketing manager (3), Viticulturist (1), Winemaker (1), Sales agent (2)	15 hours' observation; website; blog; 33 newsletters; 25 press items	Provenance
Niagara Estate	Proprietor/Viticulturist (7), Winemaker (2), Marketing manager (2), Sales agent (2), Assistant winemaker (1), Ops manager (1)	20 hours' observation; website; 36 newsletters; 9 press items	Provenance
Old World Winery	Director of marketing (1)	website; 8 newsletters; 5 press items	Provenance
Future Vineyards	Director of marketing (2)	20 hours' observation; website; 68 newsletters; 11 press items	Provenance
Heritage Estate	Proprietor (1)	5 hours' observation; website; 2 newsletters; 2 press items	Provenance
Orchard Estate	Proprietor (1)	10 hours' observation; website; 44 newsletters; 8 press items; 2 interview transcripts	Provenance
Glamour Vineyard	n/a	15 hours' observation; website; 62 newsletters; 9 press items; 1 transcript of a media interview	Provenance and Glory
John Smith Winery	Proprietor (1)	website; 5 press items; 2 transcripts of media interviews	Provenance and Glory
Old Vines Estate	Winemaker (1)	10 hours' observation; website; 13 newsletters; 9 press items	Provenance and Glory
Pinnacle Vineyards	Winemaker (1)	website; 11 newsletters; 56 press items; 1 transcript of a media interview	Provenance and Glory
Pioneer Estate	Director of marketing (1), Founder (2)	website; 39 press items	Provenance and Glory
Terroir Vineyards	Winemaker (1), Retail manager (1)	20 hours' observation; website; 63 newsletters; 7 press items	Provenance and Glory
Breakthrough Winery	Winemaker (1), Retail manager (1)	15 hours' observation; website; 52 newsletters; 14 press items; 2 transcripts media interviews	Hedonic
Cool Vineyards	President (1)	website; 12 press items	Hedonic

TABLE 1
(Continued)

Ontario Winery Operators			
Sources (pseudonyms)	Interviewees (no.)	Additional Data Sources	Primary Template(s)
Thomas Winery	Proprietor (1), Winemaker (1), Marketing manager (1)	15 hours' observation; website; 22 newsletters	Hedonic
Scenic Vineyard	Proprietor (1)	website	Hedonic
One-with-Nature Winery	Proprietor (2)	5 hours' observation; website; 56 newsletters; 13 press items; 1 transcript of a media interview	Hedonic and Provenance
Distinction Estate	President (1), Winemaker (1), Directors (2)	15 hours' observation; website; 13 newsletters; 14 press items	Hedonic and Provenance
Rural Vineyards	Proprietor (1)	3 press items	Hedonic and Provenance
Falls Vineyard	VP marketing (4), Head winemaker (2)	15 hours' observation; website; 76 newsletters; 15 press items	Glory

and other industry publications; public documents from Ontario's winemaking institutions regarding awards and events; and social media from connoisseurs and visitors.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

We analyzed our interview, observational and archival data in an iterative fashion, traveling back and forth between the raw data and the emerging theory using a constant comparison technique (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Corley & Gioia, 2004; Locke, 2001). Over multiple iterations, several key theoretical categories emerged based on "open coding." Each author noted the nature of particular interactions (e.g., re-telling the history of a particular vintage) as well as any motives (e.g., admiration of the winemaker for staying connected with legacy) present and/or the action brought about by the experience (e.g., sharing behaviors with third parties). These open codes were aggregated into themes that allowed us to link broad categories (e.g., different ritual themes, positive emotional reactions) to emerging data. As we began to reduce the complexity through the elimination of non-recurring themes, three key patterns began to emerge: (1) winemakers reported trying to inspire audience members to become advocates of Ontario wine, hoping that they would share positive experiences with others and, in turn, inspire more advocates; (2) audience members reported experiencing intense and positive emotions that drove them to share Ontario wine with others; (3) audiences pairing the experience of these emotions with their identification with particular groups.
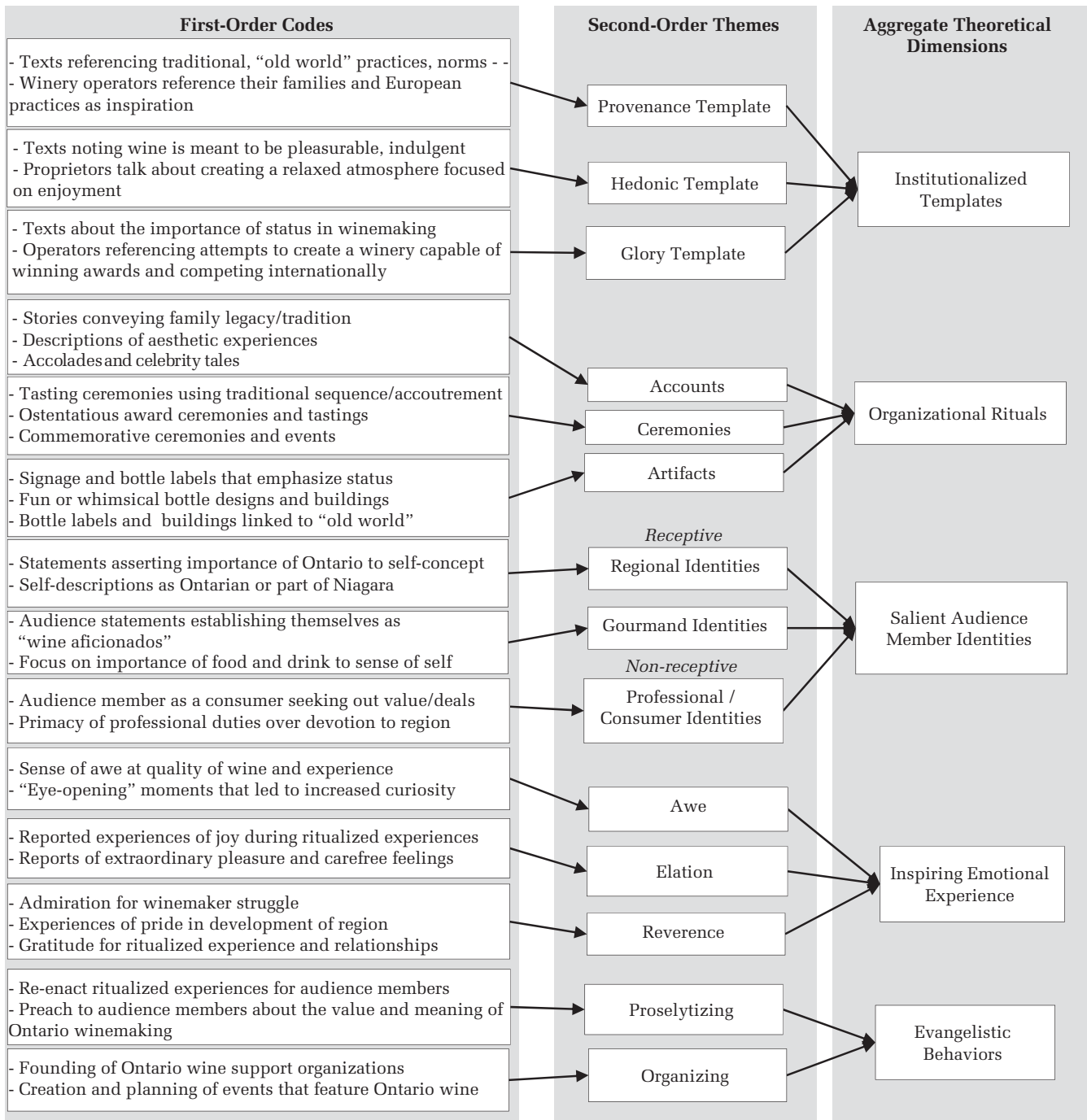
Our coding of audience emotion was guided initially by the language used by audience members as they described their experiences and our observations of interactions. To help us code emotions, we relied on a two-dimensional "circumplex" model of emotions (Larsen & Diener, 1992) that categorizes emotions across valence and activation spectra. For instance, the pleasant, intense reactions reported as soaring and joyful by some tour participants in hedonic rituals were categorized as elation. Ultimately, by examining the language used by interviewees to describe their emotions and contrasting them with the circumplex model, we identified three recurring emotion categories that reflected our observations and that were salient to the genesis of institutional evangelism: (1) "reverence," (2) "elation," and (3) "awe." Each of these categories is inclusive of more discrete emotions (e.g., reverence includes admiration and awe includes surprise), but are presented in aggregate for the sake not only of concision, but because discrete emotions occur in sequences that are difficult to parse (Larsen & Diener, 1992). In addition, our coding of ritualized descriptions as well as feelings of reverence, elation, and awe revealed identity statements associated with food culture as well as their province. Comparative coding of non-evangelist's experiences of ritualized encounters revealed that they prioritized different identities (professional as well as consumer) during these interactions. These themes led to our categorization of "receptive" and "non-receptive" identities.

Once each author had a tentative data structure prepared, we compared coding schemes to verify that they accurately reflected the data. We discussed

differences in coding, until we reached a consensus. When we could not reach a consensus, we consulted our interviewees to determine the most appropriate course of action and to ascertain if additional data collection was necessary, thereby increasing the

"trustworthiness" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of our analysis. Figure 2 provides an overview data structure, illustrating the first-order codes, second-order themes, and aggregate theoretical dimensions that guided our theorizing.

FIGURE 2
Overview of Data Coding Structure

First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Theoretical Dimensions
- Texts referencing traditional, "old world" practices, norms - - Winery operators reference their families and European practices as inspiration	Provenance Template	
- Texts noting wine is meant to be pleasurable, indulgent - Proprietors talk about creating a relaxed atmosphere focused on enjoyment	Hedonic Template	Institutionalized Templates
- Texts about the importance of status in winemaking - Operators referencing attempts to create a winery capable of winning awards and competing internationally	Glory Template	
- Stories conveying family legacy/tradition - Descriptions of aesthetic experiences - Accolades and celebrity tales	Accounts	
- Tasting ceremonies using traditional sequence/accoutrement - Ostentatious award ceremonies and tastings - Commemorative ceremonies and events	Ceremonies	Organizational Rituals
- Signage and bottle labels that emphasize status - Fun or whimsical bottle designs and buildings - Bottle labels and buildings linked to "old world"	Artifacts	
- Statements asserting importance of Ontario to self-concept - Self-descriptions as Ontarian or part of Niagara	*Receptive* Regional Identities	
- Audience statements establishing themselves as "wine aficionados" - Focus on importance of food and drink to sense of self	Gourmand Identities	Salient Audience Member Identities
- Audience member as a consumer seeking out value/deals - Primacy of professional duties over devotion to region	*Non-receptive* Professional / Consumer Identities	
- Sense of awe at quality of wine and experience - "Eye-opening" moments that led to increased curiosity	Awe	
- Reported experiences of joy during ritualized experiences - Reports of extraordinary pleasure and carefree feelings	Elation	Inspiring Emotional Experience
- Admiration for winemaker struggle - Experiences of pride in development of region - Gratitude for ritualized experience and relationships	Reverence	
- Re-enact ritualized experiences for audience members - Preach to audience members about the value and meaning of Ontario winemaking	Proselytizing	Evangelistic Behaviors
- Founding of Ontario wine support organizations - Creation and planning of events that feature Ontario wine	Organizing	

ENGENDERING INSTITUTIONAL EVANGELISM FOR ONTARIO COOL-CLIMATE WINEMAKING

To present our findings on what drove evangelism on behalf of Ontario winemaking, we examined how the deployment of institutionalized templates either led to evangelism on behalf of Ontario winemaking or to failed conversion of certain audience members ("non-believers"). We did so by highlighting representative audience-member experiences of three distinct institutionally themed rituals. *Provenance*, *hedonism*, and *glory* institutional templates, which arrayed important values, beliefs, and norms of behavior, shaped the performances of rituals by winery operators for external audience members. Our operators reported using one or more of these templates (see Table 1) to note how their work was inspired by "Old World" and "New World" winemaking traditions.

Our analysis revealed that these organization-curated rituals involved three principal components that worked in concert to create a cohesive experience. First, *ceremonies* encompassed "staged" interactions between winery operators and audience members that were conducted during wine tastings, tours, and winemaker dinners and provided occasions for the sharing of template elements. Second, *artifacts* such as unique wine glasses and decor with symbolic value were used during ceremonies as a means to introduce sensory experiences to the sharing of templates. Third, *accounts*, including descriptive language and stories, guided the sensory experience of these artifacts and set the tone for the ceremonies. A winery operator reported that he/she was asked by an audience member at the end of a tour why they perform these rituals. The response: "Why? I want to create an emotional connection with you and that's why we're doing this. I want you to love us. I want you to love this place." Table 2a displays archival data on institutionalized vinicultural templates and interview data of winery operators discussing the elements and importance of templates to their practice. Table 2b provides evidence of the deployment of institutionalized templates via accounts, ceremonies, and artifacts.

Drawing from three evangelist exemplars, we then describe how these rituals elicited emotional experiences of *reverence*, *elation*, and *awe* from our evangelists (see Table 2c). When contrasted with audience members that never became evangelists, our evangelist interviewees reported how *gourmand* and *regional identities* shaped and enabled these particular emotions during rituals (see Table 2d). Finally, we report how the experience of these emotions drove, and sustained, their engagement in two evangelist behaviors: *proselytizing* and *organizing* (see Table 2e). In order to demonstrate the important role of identity in enabling emotions that led to evangelism, we provide an exemplar audience "non-believer" that experienced rituals but did not engage in evangelism, citing how their prioritization of *professional* and *consumer* identities disrupted the emotional experience of the ritual encounter.

Provenance-Themed Rituals

Our review of archival texts and winery data revealed that several winery operators adopted a provenance template. The template highlights the chronology of ownership, stewardship, or custody of the winery or winemaking techniques. Provenance themes are present in numerous texts on winemaking (Clarke, 1999; Colman, 2008; Johnson & Robinson, 2007; Kramer, 2004) that focus on the characteristics of the land (Van Leeuwen & Seguin, 2006), how family histories shaped a region's practice, and the importance of adhering to tradition in making wine (Ulin, 1995, 1996). They are also dominant in so-called "Old World" regions (e.g., Bordeaux, Burgundy) where a producer's legacy and connection to the history of a region often correlates with the value assigned to the wine they produce (Ulin, 1995, 1996, 2002).

During provenance-themed rituals, winery operators pointed to their family histories, their European roots and experiences, or highlighted the lineage of particular winemaking techniques. Ontario winery operators revealed that, much like their European counterparts, they believed in preserving, honoring, and sharing a legacy. They reported valuing being faithful stewards to their families, their family's history in farming or winemaking, sustaining Ontario's natural and historical characteristics, as well as keeping stories of past vintages and growing seasons alive. A winery staff member conveyed this sentiment in an interview:

> It's about stewardship, ultimately, you know, [the owners'] family traces their family history back to the 1700s on this piece of land. They feel really tied to this land and also it's a family business. This is not run for quarterly profits. This is run by the quarter century and by the generations so, you know, they want to hand over this property to their children in a healthy way as well.

Rituals that predominantly adhered to provenance themes had distinct ceremonies, artifacts, and

TABLE 2a
Data Display for Institutionalized Templates

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
Archival support for template institutionalization:	**Provenance Template**	**Institutionalized Templates**
"What made wine great one hundred years ago, or even five hundred years ago, is still what makes for great wine today: complexity, originality, and that certain something that used to be called 'magic,' which the French long ago called terroir. I call it somewhereness." (Kramer, 2004: 9)		
"Tradition, defined by oenologist Émile Peynaud as an experiment that has worked, is an extremely important ingredient in viticulture and winemaking in many Old World regions. A significant proportion of older small-scale producers . . . do things in the vineyard and cellar precisely because their fathers did, even if their own children are likely to have been exposed to science through some sort of formal training." (Robinson, 2006: 706)		
"In the Old World, the people running wineries usually come from families that have been doing the same thing for 300 years, give or take a century" (Schreiner, 2007: 9)		
Interview support for template adoption:		
"We're posting our family tree, been proud of it. If someone had a chip on their shoulder, we're sorry. That's their problem. But we know one thing that extra high percentage will endorse that, admire that." (Owner of Heritage Estate on emphasizing family legacy despite potentially offending certain audience members)		
"So since we don't have much of a history, we have very little history, you have to know where you came from to know where you're going to end up. But we haven't come from anywhere yet. We have to build that, right." (The winemaker from Old Vine Estate on the importance of establishing a history for his winery and the broader region)		
"I think that the fact that the three brothers and, you know, it started with and by their parents. . . . I think that all of that figures together to make that fairly evident. We have it on our back labels, the history of the fact that this is a family property." (An owner of Countryside Winery on the importance of family history for their winemaking)		
"It's not the average farmer that's putting up wineries. There's a lot of money that's come in. And it's sort of, like, I have had people come and talk to me about buying vineyards and opening a winery and so on. And it's people that have a dream. They have a dream of—they think it's—the most romantic thing in the world to do is to have a vineyard. They don't have a clue about what's involved. And I'm very straight with them in saying, 'No, I don't think—it's not like that. It's like this.' And then you put your \$2 million building up and then you sit and wait for someone to come and buy your wine." (A manager from Niagara Estate who cites the importance of her family's history growing grapes over the hedonic (romantic) perspectives of winemaking)		
Archival support for template institutionalization:	**Hedonic Template**	
"Why should anyone seek to be a connoisseur? Simply put, because it enhances one's pleasure, whether it be wine or automobiles or furniture. One can become a connoisseur of anything that offers gradations of quality." (Kramer, 2004: 24)		
"The most common sort of conscious wine tasting . . . is the most admirable one, tasting for the purposes of pure pleasure." (Robinson, 1999: 63)		
"Wine was part of an essential 'ritual of pleasure' that symbolized the superiority of the French people, blessed with a 'land of treasures.'" (Belasco & Scranton, 2014: 44)		
"Thus wine gives pleasure—perhaps aesthetic pleasure—but unlike works of art it is consumed and only a memory remains; it thus conveys an idea of the transience of life." (Charters, 2006: 185)		
Interview support for template adoption:		
"They're drinking and having fun. What else do you want your customers to do, right? (Owner of One-with-Nature Winery on creating pleasurable experiences at his winery)		
"They all go to Niagara Falls, and I'd bring them to my winery. 'Cause when they come here they experience it. First of all they go, 'Jesus, you guys really do grow grapes here.' And it's beautiful, and there are peaches—and then they go home and they tell		

TABLE 2a
(Continued)

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
people." (The founder of Pioneer Estate on how he uses the region and his winery to create a fun and beautiful experience for audience members)		
"You're selling something that's a little bit sinful: alcohol. You're selling enjoyment to somebody. They're taking it home, they enjoy what you've produced. We get to meet many, many people. But the goal at the end of each year is to make the best way that you can possibly make." (A winemaker from Niagara Estate who does not compromise on creativity and claims to love the hands-on, uncompromising nature of their "artisan" winemaking)		
"I run through the basics, you know, look, smell, taste, and all that stuff in a light-hearted way. And I talk about a lot of this stuff but ultimately at the end of the day I say, 'You can talk about all the technical stuff in the world, it doesn't really matter. It comes down to do you like what it tastes like? Do you enjoy the wine? Then it's good wine.'" (A winery owner from Future Vineyards on the point of winemaking and wine experience over as being fun for him and his clients over trying to "prove" highest quality through awards)		
Archival data in support of template institutionalization:	**Glory Template**	
"Now a universal phenomenon . . . The trophies and medals awarded to the more successful exhibitors are used extensively in marketing and promotion, and are accepted as reliable indicators of quality by retailers and consumers alike." (Robinson, 2006: 628)		
"The key to identifying trophy wines is their international fame (often determined by a particularly high score, notably from the American wine critic Robert Parker) and, especially, price." (Robinson, 2006: 713)		
"The trick was to sound noble and traditional without using a blatantly false or potentially dangerous title. Château fit the bill perfectly." (Colman, 2008: 13, on how the French came to use the term "chateau" for the elite wineries)		
Interview support for template adoption:		
"And the more international acclaim we get . . . and we certainly use it at the tasting bar, is, if your wines—if you get international acclaim from outside of the country or if you sell your wines, you know, Japan buys from you or Hong Kong and Beijing buys—then, all of a sudden, people go, 'God, your wine must be very good.'" (A winemaker from John Smith Winery expressing goals of acclaim and producing world-class wines)		
"Thomas Winery winemaker Kevin announces our newest honour. The 2007 Reserve Cabernet Franc was presented Gold at this year's esteemed [award name]. . . . award-winning wines are eagerly sought after by consumers and quantities are limited. This small-batch wine is only available through the winery." (Thomas Winery newsletter, recounting their win)		
"But you got to think about how you need to describe it, and, what I mean by that, is you don't have to say, 'We're like Burgundy.' What I would say is, and particularly on the bench, the best wine regions in the world are limestone based. We're limestone based." (An owner of Countryside Winery on how he chooses to communicate how his region as one of the best in the world)		
"So I just don't know. I don't think that we're naive. I think we could—there's a lot of things going on. Definitely a lack of sophistication by some. And I think still quite a few—even the smaller ones, who really don't understand this whole concept of symbolic value. I don't think they understand what it's about and how it's so important to, you know, to the success of your own business." (A winemaker from Old Vine Estate on certain wineries not conforming to norms of presenting symbolic awards and marketing terroir success and instead following trends or their creative interests)		
"We put wine on a pedestal. We try and position it as this high-end luxury item that needs to be revered and is something special. And I think it's a load of crap. I think it's the biggest mistake we make in the wine industry is—and this goes probably against the whole symbolic value of wine. But we sit there and, you know, we talk about		

TABLE 2a
(Continued)

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
price, we talk about all the other stuff. And so many wineries force wine upon people. 'Oh, you've got to like this 'cause it won this award,' or whatever it is." (Owner of One-with-Nature Winery railing against his need to use glory templates while reporting a preference for hedonism)		

TABLE 2b
Data Display Illustrating Institutional Template Deployment through Ritual

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
Interview data:	**Ceremonies**	**Organizational Rituals**
"And it's just great giving people ammunition for the 'ah-hah' moment with their clients where they can go, 'Oh, try this wine,' and they go, 'Oh, it's really lovely. Where is it from?' 'It's from Canada. It's from Ontario. It's from so and so.' And just giving the people that shock effect." (A winery employee from Orchard Estate talks about the goal of creating awe through ceremonial wine-tasting routines of comparing wines)		
"And that was for me the biggest thing, was the stage and the opportunity to compare it . . . I didn't even realize that I was going to discover . . . these crazy realizations that, 'Oh, my God, I had no idea...'" (A wine-appreciation club founder describing how hedonic wine-tasting routines inspire feelings of awe through ceremonial comparisons and interactions)		
"There are safety concerns for tours and so on. So the world has changed a little bit on us there and that's why we're doing things differently, too. But one of the main reasons as well is that we want to maintain an impression with people that we're not a factory. And we're not. But it's easy to make that assumption, when you come in, you see a bottling line like this with a number of people and a lot of activity and tow motors running around, that, 'Oh, well, you know, human hands, human hearts don't go into this stuff.' But it does." (A Countryside Winery operator discussing the importance of tours in sharing the provenance elements of the farm and connecting to audiences.)		
"Well, I think there's one thing, it is getting people down to see the grapes on the ground, is the most important thing. Because people want experiences. And, if they have a good time going around a winery, they'll remember that. And they'll want to have that wine again to remember the occasion." (A wine reporter on what he/she feels is the most important aspect of building support for Ontario wineries, tours of Ontario's wineries)		
In situ observations of ceremonial components of rituals:		
Provenance-themed ceremonies used to engage audiences: Routinized and staged tours of historical buildings, showing familial homes with accounts of the regional and natural history of vineyards. For example, at Countryside Winery, the tasting room and tour focuses on routinized stops to discuss a historical family house, family and regional historical artifacts, and highlighted family/historical stories.		
Hedonic-themed ceremonies used to engage audiences: Wine tastings, wine dinners, tours, and community events with music, food, and other pleasurable social interactions. Dozens of food, music, and community-based events in which families are invited and encouraged to enjoy and engage with the fun activities at the event. For example, Old Vines Estate's annual open house where stations are staged with gourmet food and a large number of wines available for tasting and discussion.		
Glory-themed ceremonies used to engage audiences: Wine tastings routinized through stories of how wines won medals or awards, followed by consumption.		

TABLE 2b
(Continued)

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
Wine tours involving stops followed by overviews of awards or stories of winery success. For example, events held at Glamour Vineyard to celebrate and unveil awards.		
Interview data:	**Artifacts**	
"Sometimes we'll tell the story behind the 2012 vintage, or our new optical sorter, or all these things. And say, 'Here, let's have a look at the results of that.' Oh, and then sometimes we'll introduce a cheese or some sort of food with the wine and you see the person going, 'You know, that isn't bad.' But as you're ratcheting them up, starting with the classics elevation and then the reserves. So when you get to the elevations they are, like, they're kind of—you can see their eyes kind of flipping back and so you know they're thinking, 'Right.' Then when you finally get into the reserves they are, like, 'Wow. I had no idea.'" (An employee from Distinction Estate describing how he uses artifacts of food and glasses to create pleasurable experiences during tastings)		
"So we do utilize it with how we sell our tours, the content of our tours, and with any presentation at any event. I guess because we've embedded the milestones in our piazza, so when people come to an event they see we're proud of our history because they're actually on milestones within the piazza." (An employee of Pioneer Estate, on displaying their award winning history through award plaques when audiences enter the winery's opulent main building)		
In situ observations of artifacts used during rituals:		
Hedonic-themed artifacts used to engage audiences: Great emphasis on the use of wine and its consumption, the use of different glasses to bring out enjoyment of wine, using the context (building and vineyards) for enjoyment and aesthetic reflection/enjoyment, strategically placed furniture on the vineyard. The authors observed audience members reporting that the winemaker's or employee's "sex" appeal "made" the wine tasting or touring experience.		
Provenance-themed artifacts used to engage audiences: Emphasis placed upon the historical and traditional values of artifacts such as buildings and equipment as well as the natural significance of aspects of the property. At several wineries, during tastings and tours, the authors found that employees were introduced as members of the founding family.		
Glory-themed artifacts used to engage audiences: Emphasis on awards, award cases, and award symbols on bottles, as well as modern buildings designed to reflect material wealth. At Glamour Vineyard, we observed staff dressed in more "uniform"-oriented clothing (white shirt, dark pants) during tasting, tours, and events. Bottles emphasize medals and awards won by wine and winery.		
Interview data:	**Accounts**	
"And people love the fact that it's a family story, that it's got some roots to the area. And so by, you know, sort of leveraging that, it puts a personality to the wine, it puts a personality to the product above and beyond quality." (A winery founder from Old Vines Estate explaining how conveying provenance stories during tours elicits positive feelings in audience members)		
"… he referred to a Gamay from Countryside Winery, which was 'gulpable' he said. And, you know, and so I tasted it and, in fact, it was gulpable." (A restaurant operator describes how he is impacted by hedonic, pleasure-driven descriptions of wine during tastings)		
"I think it's stories of the people who sort of, you know, have a struggle and sort of made their way from a small winery to something substantial, or made their, you know, struggled and just, even if they didn't become a very big winery, became a pretty good winery. And I kind of like the idea of people working at something." (A wine reporter from a national newspaper displaying how stories of provenance rituals resonate for him/her)		
"And that's what you need there, and she's gone even further to use lovely descriptions of experiences or 'interpretations,' if I were to call it … And honestly, you know, they've given her the license to do all of this, so that's a wonderful		

TABLE 2b
(Continued)

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
experience." (A wine reporter reflecting on the awe he/she experiences from the descriptions written by a winemaker that relies upon hedonic scripts)		
***In situ* observations of themed accounts used during rituals:**		
Hedonic-themed accounts expressed and experienced during ritual observations: Dramatic and aesthetic stories drawing from aesthetic accounts of why wine tastes the way it does during consumption, amusing or incredible accounts about buildings/land during tours. In Distinction Estate, we heard descriptions of natural vistas, beautiful buildings, and romantic visual settings (wedding services) during tasting, tours, and events.		
Provenance-themed accounts expressed and experienced during ritual observations: Stories about family history (parents, grandparents, and children) and evocation of "stewardship," "responsibility," "preservation," "connections/roots." For example, Niagara Estate staff relied on accounts of the family winemaking legacy and land ownership during tasting, tours, and events.		
Glory-themed accounts expressed and experienced during ritual observations: Success stories emphasizing how and why winemakers are "winning awards," "emphasizing growth," "focusing on credibility." At Old Vines Estate, we heard accounts emphasizing awards won and status by employees and staff during tasting, tours, and events.		

TABLE 2c
Data Display Illustrating Reported Emotional Experiences

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
Descriptions of emotions experienced during and from rituals:	**Awe**	**Inspiring Emotional Experiences**
"It was during that SWOVA vintage tasting that I tasted wines from all of the local wineries . . . I remember being blown away by just how good [winery]'s wines were. This was one of those moments that changed everything for me." (A wine education society founder describes a wine-tasting event and the experience of shock/awe from tasting Ontario wines, and that they could be as good as those from other regions)		
"It was the wine that was most intriguing, fruity but not a grape like, I was expecting acid like juice, heat that I now know is the alcohol, and pungent aromas, all coming together in a very sensual way. I was in awe. It started a lifelong quest to find that 'awe in a glass' again." (An Ontario wine media evangelist describing how a tasting experience created an experience of awe that drove his/her love of wine)		
"And the wonderful thing I would interpret as being full of wonder and answering so many questions that you were really amazed you didn't even know that you had, right!" (A wine education society founder from the restaurant industry directly reporting how his/her experiences of amazement from participating in rituals motivated her to learn more about Ontario winemaking)		
"It was not just the taste of the wine that made me have to sit down and reconsider Ontario as my new favorite place for wine, it was the . . . the abrupt realization that this was one of those happy moments you can hold on to." (A wine writer evangelist discussing the feeling of shock during a tour that transformed and inspired him/her to evangelize for her/his new favorite wine region)		
"I didn't really like Riesling before. I always thought it was supposed to be sweet. It's just once you find out afterwards, oh, that was the winemaker. Oh, that was the winery owner. It kind of touches you in a—and you have that connection that's really kind of special and kind of changes people's minds." (A wine reporter evangelist on his/her journey from tour/tasting to ending up, surprisingly, meeting the winemaker and how his/her ritual changed his/her perception of Ontario winemaking)		

TABLE 2c
(Continued)

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
Descriptions of emotions experienced during and from rituals:	**Elation**	
"I enjoy that . . . So I mean, it was just a little bit funny and ironic. But, yeah, and of course I would have a baby with me. I remember when my youngest was born, I was out at a [winery] tasting, and I was kind of—I had her on one hip as I was swaying and talking to the crowd [laughs]." (A regional wine society founder from the food industry describing how she enjoyed rituals so much that she would go to tastings (not to drink) with her child)		
"It's all how it makes us feel … and it might not be just the pleasure of the tasting of it. It's the pleasure of the association. The pleasure of the status. The pleasure of building a cellar. The pleasure of having more information about something that you didn't have before and how much fun that is to learn. And then to tell friends." (An evangelist member of the wine media reporting the experience of pleasure from his/her ritual experiences and why he/she enjoys it)		
"We took like daytrips out to Niagara there and terrorized the tasting bar staff into letting us taste whatever they had and maybe something else that they had behind there. And, you know, just kind of picking people's brains about what they liked, what they disliked, and that kind of thing … That was always kind of a fun experience." (An evangelist wine reporter reporting the pleasure he/she experienced and experiences learning from interactions during rituals)		
"So my main interest is in drinking wine rather than making wine or the winemaking side of it. The technical side of it doesn't interest me that much. My interest really starts with once the wine's put on the table and the whole experience, whole emotional experience, of drinking wine and all of the things that go with it such as the circumstances, the company, the sociability, the enjoyment." (An evangelist wine media member on how he/she did, and others should, get to know Ontario wine, emphasizing his/her experience of the exciting and fun ritualized activities)		
"And I couldn't—I just—sometimes when I have that wine, I can't believe how good it is. It's—unbelievable bottle of wine!" (An evangelist restaurant owner reporting the experience of enjoyment from a particular tasting, and how he/she enjoys the quality of a particular winery's wines)		
Descriptions of emotions experienced during and from rituals:	**Reverence**	
"I mean, very quickly, my rock stars were—have now—are now winemakers. The people I look up to and who I—I get more star-struck meeting, you know, [winemaker] than I would Bono, because to me that, you know, he's more remarkable, you know?" (A wine society founder evangelist describing the experience of respect he feels around Ontario's winemakers during events)		
"That was a heart-touching moment of my career, because the other award was given to [winemaker] so I was put in the same category as—I was biting my tongue, believe it or not, I'm 37 years old and I was biding my time—tongue, not to cry, not to make a moron out of myself in front of all those people whom I knew on a personal level." (An evangelist sommelier reporting his/her experience of pride and respect from sharing the stage with an important winemaker)		
"Because sometimes, you know, support, support, support, like, it comes across, you know, with a double-angled meaning, you know, that, I mean, these guys, look around here, right here where we're sitting and all that. I mean, these guys do support themselves. These guys believe in themselves. They do the right thing for themselves. They, you know, I'm a believer." (An evangelist wine sommelier discussing his/her experience of frustration when people have closed minds to tasting, and his/her being completely devoted to Ontario winemaking)		
"They are great people who are doing so many good things for Lake Erie North Shore . . . share my passion and commitment towards our region and Ontario wines … can't say enough good about them." (A wine society evangelist reporting the respect he/she has from all of the positive ritualized events shared with winemakers)		
"I'm part of this now. And without acknowledging that, they don't have that sense of being part of something larger than themselves." (An evangelist wine writer describing his/her experience of reverence in learning from his/her experience with Ontario winemakers)		

TABLE 2d
Data Display Illustrating Receptive and Non-Receptive, Salient Audience Identities

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
"And, you know, I've always kind of been into the whole food and wine thing and kind of learning, liking to learn about things kind of on a nerdy level. And kind of liking to try and master that. You never really quite master it. It's a lifelong journey but you try and learn as much as you can. And so I just started taking trips down that way, you know, as soon as I could." (A wine reporter addressing how he/she became interested in Ontario winemaking)	**Gourmand Identity** *(Receptive)*	**Salient Audience Member Identities**
"And I ended up working in quite a few restaurants here in Ontario and then over in Europe and [specifically in] France [*inaudible*] and all the while I was increasingly interested in wine, because you're eating well you tend to want to drink well, too, and to drink well you need to know a little bit about what you're drinking. So I carried on doing studies on the side and eventually by sort of coincidence I returned to Canada." (A sommelier reporting how his/her experience in taste cultures shaped the pleasure he/she experiences from Ontario winemaking)		
"And my family background is partially Italian so, you know, it's—wine's just another food. It's not a special occasion thing. It's what you have with dinner. So that's how I kind of came to wine. So I've always maintained an interest, was—had some, you know, and, you know, did some reading and just had—I had kind of a good basic general knowledge about wine." (A restaurant owner reporting how immersion in Italy's wine culture enabled his/her engagement with Ontario winemaking)		
"Well, I was raised in this area, been down here since 1995. My father is a chef, British born, British trained. So I've always grown up with the influences of food and wine." (A restaurateur who experiences great joy with winemakers (and has a predominantly Ontario-oriented wine list) and working with Ontario wine commenting on his/her professional family background as the source of his/her interests)		
"If the Italians are taught to appreciate, the young Italian Canadians, second-, third-generation, are taught to appreciate the wines of their parents', their grandparents' country, regions in Italy, it's not a big leap for them then to appreciate the local, the indigenous, the wines of their country of birth: Ontario, Canada." (A wine media member on his/her experience as an Italian assists him/her in appreciating the origins of wine and connecting with Ontario's winemakers)		
"Yeah, additional excitement, additional everything. Stratus where? In Niagara, Ontario. It's good for everybody [*inaudible*] affect them, too, whatever they want. It's good. It's good. It's adding a little [*inaudible*] and pieces to the thing. Like, it's a positive." (A wine reporter discussing his/her history and pride in his/her adopted Niagara identity and his/her role in supporting Ontario winemaking)	**Regional Identity** *(Receptive)*	
"Ontario citizens, [we] tend to sell ourselves short. And I think that—and I don't know if it's, again, it could be a societal thing but we always seem to—when it's our own, we tend to say, 'Oh, you know,' shrug and say, 'Meh, you know, there's always something better out there.' I think that we don't tend to be very supportive of our domestic industries." (A restaurateur on the importance of supporting wineries that, due to their being from Ontario, are hesitant to brag about themselves)		
"And I think it boils down to this, somehow, we're insecure for some reason. I don't know. And I don't know where that comes from. Where generally, like, an Ontario wine is—I mean, you know, there, obviously a lot of people are, but, you know, generally we're not—we		

TABLE 2d
(Continued)

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
don't seem proud of our industry. Proud of this or proud of, you know." (A wine society founder on becoming proud of being from Ontario)		
"When Ontario wineries focus on the varieties of grapes that grow best in our climate, they can produce results comparable to any cool-climate wineries anywhere in the world. Several of the people I have met over the years in the Ontario amateur winemakers groups have gone on to become winemakers in Ontario wineries. Having seen them determinedly labor over the years to develop their winemaking skills, I admire what they achieved." (A wine society member discussing his/her admiration for Ontario's winemakers and their ability to produce high-quality wines)		
"And I represent the [organization] on many committees and industry-related groups. Sit on an advisory board for the Niagara Culinary Institute for their hospitality and tourism programming. I sit on an advisory board for Brock University for CCOVI. And I sit on an advisory committee for the Ministry of Tourism to help develop agritourism products to that industry in Ontario." (A wine retailer)	**Professional/Consumer Non-Believer Identity** *(Non-Receptive)*	
"The tour went quickly and the tour guide did a good job of explaining the work the family is doing in the field and how the whole process works. But, by the time I got to the tasting, the bottles were so expensive that I just couldn't wrap my hands around it. I thought Canadian wine would be a deal." (A consumer reviewing a wine tour on an online review site for tourists did not connect emotionally to the practice)		
"As a person just at the bottom, the job's fairly routine and boring. I started doing things just to get more interest for myself. So I started, oh, working on different aspects within the [wine retail organization] to find things that were more interesting, more exciting. So I started developing things like how to sell wine from sales sections. Nobody had ever thought to do that before. I did it." (A wine writer who originally started in a provincial distributor describing how he/she came to be involved in Ontario winemaking and feels that the majority of wineries offer poor marketing)		
"Really great wine, but I never really felt like going back even though it is only a few kilometers from me. It was a beautiful tour and the tour guide was pleasant but I didn't understand half of the things he said about the wine, probably because it was my first time at a tour. Drinking wine just isn't something you do all the time." (A blogger describing an Ontario wine tour experience and noting lack of engagement with the practice)		

TABLE 2e
Data Display of Evangelistic Behaviors

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
"So I've been writing about wine. My focus has been the consumer and helping the consumer have as much fun as possible with wine. So my main interest is in drinking wine rather than making wine or the winemaking side of it. The technical side of it doesn't interest me that much." (A wine media member that experiences delight from Ontario wineries on how he preaches hedonic experience to broad connoisseurs and consumers)	**Proselytizing**	**Evangelistic Behaviors**
"You know, just getting out and about and keep saying and keep, you know, bringing awareness to the quality aspect of these locally produced wines. That's		

TABLE 2e
(Continued)

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions

how you achieve your goal ultimately. As many people you can tell the story to, is better for us ultimately. As many people we can tell the story—and it doesn't matter even if you'll end up sounding the same, saying the same thing. As long as we keep doing it all over again." (A sommelier who experiences great reverence and fellowship for the practice describing how he/she shares glory attained by wineries)

"So that's kind of where I see my role is a little bit or a lot different than that. It's a little bit more of trying to be kind of the storyteller there. And kind of trying to give the story and the voice for that kind of wine and person and winery and—that I kind of find a little bit special and kind of different and interesting and sort of trying to convey a little bit of that experience. It's kind of—I kind of see it as—I'm trying to do basically a road trip with the audience there to wine country with them. And so we can kind of riff off each other and talk a little bit about what we think of the wines there. But ultimately it doesn't really matter. It's kind of guiding them on that interesting experience. Like, it could be, like, 'Wow, you know, we can go here,' and, you know, '[winemaker] at [Winery]'s got this really cool wine. He actually does wine in Canadian oak a lot. He was the first person to do that,' and can kind of guide that interesting story towards people who are, you know, this person's, you know, [hypothetical term] had made this special wine this year. It's a little bit of a tribute to a family member who died there. And, you know, the money is kind of going for this kind of cause there. So there's sort of that personal connection there and it's kind of just telling that story." (A wine reporter communicating how his/her role is to retell Ontario winemakers' stories (a provenance theme and hedonic theme in the quote) to a broader audience)

"And that my job in part would be to educate the clientele about the terrific wine being produced in our country. And I, therefore, designed a wine list in which I write a story about each wine. The story contains, always, the background of the winery, who the winemakers are or who the winemaker is, and information about the wine itself. But the wine list is a much more comprehensive and educational document that is normally the case. And that is because it is my belief that the public needs educating about its own wines." (A restaurateur with great delight in the taste of wines commenting on how he/she writes stories for each wine)

"And it changes while it's open and became better and better, so much so that, by the time that bottle's done, the only reason why you're not going to open up another bottle is because it's not going to be the same for an hour later. So those are great, great experiences and I need to have those both here in the restaurant." (A restaurant staff member reporting recreating the pleasure experience he/she has within wineries of how wine changes in taste after being opened, creating an ongoing fun, social, and interesting experience)

"One of those is [wine media writer], a great guy who shares my same passion for Ontario wines. I had been trying to get him to visit Lake Erie North Shore ever since we met at the first 'Tastecamp' in Ontario in Niagara. I finally convinced him to visit last fall during the Shores of Erie International Wine Festival. I wanted him to meet the people and taste the wines. He did, and he loved it and plans to visit again soon. Wine is about so much more than what is in the glass. It's about the stories, and the people. (A founder of a wine society describing how he/she experienced elation and found fellowship in the Ontario winemaking community. Now, he/she tours with other connoisseurs and media figures)

| | **Organizing** | |

"A 'wonderful' experience at a Niagara Chapter event is one that is unique, non-repetitive, educational to a certain degree, entertaining, and has a social component. We try to incorporate most of these components in our events." (A founder of regional wine society describing what he/she means by "wonderful," documenting what causes it, and how he/she attempts to create it for their members)

TABLE 2e
(Continued)

Illustrative Data: First-Order Codes	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
"The Toronto Chapter had quite an impact on the industry when they held a preview tasting of wines just prior to a delegation going over to London, England, to showcase Ontario wines to the media overseas. This tasting was received quite well and got a lot of publicity from wine writers and others in the UK." (A wine society leader discussing an important event that he/she held for wine experts and the media)		
"So my vision for the tourism side of it is that every consumer that visits an Ontario winery, the winery will exceed their expectations. So then, you know, if we get that vision, then we can start to sort of introduce speakers or opportunities for them to learn of why that's—how to go about doing that." (The president of a local wine association on his/her goals of getting as many people through rituals as possible through his/her organization as well as working with wineries to perfect their core rituals)		
"One success story is our initiative (again, without outside funding) to develop a tent card that someone could leave on the table at a restaurant if they felt there was a very small or no representation of Ontario VQA wines on the menu. It said, basically, 'We enjoyed the meal, but where are the fine VQA wines?'" (A founder of a wine society on how he/she organized a campaign to influence restaurants)		
"But I do all kinds of things. I definitely want to see this region succeed. I mean, there's no question in my mind that we started producing world-class wines. I mean, there was a tasting that I organized for [wine critic] and you'll recall her January 13 article in *The Financial Times* twice throughout the 900-word article, she twice stated the fact that we are producing world-class wines." (A sommelier interviewee on how he/she organizes winemaker dinners for wine writers)		
"People attend [regional wine society] events because they like wine, want to learn more about wine, and feel welcomed into the group. Personal wine knowledge is not important for many attending. They are surrounded by many other master tasters from my class who share their knowledge with others in the group." (A wine society founder describing how he/she recreates fellowship at their events)		
"Our Chapter has really grown over the past few years. We have always had the cooperation from the wineries when looking for a place to host an event, and now restaurants have been calling asking to host the group for an evening. This has been a great way to introduce some local restaurant owners to local Ontario wines to add to their wine list." (A wine connoisseur on how wine societies events can open restaurants to Ontario winemaking)		

accounts. Tastings ceremonies involved interactions between organizational actors and audience members following traditional tasting protocols that reflected European conventions. Artifacts that were present and referred to during tastings included family members as servers, family portraits and symbols (such as family trees or actual family members working), as well as the old buildings in which tastings were held. The Countryside Winery proprietor's description of the tasting room in the historic home that had been in his family for over 150 years exemplifies this:

> Our tasting room when you walk down into—you walk down the steps to our tasting room, you're in a [historic building] . . . built in the 1800s. So that's one way of conferring that extra value.

Wine tours combined ceremonies, artifacts, and accounts to communicate provenance themes. Winery staff took visitors on tours of the land and facilities, stopping to interact around historically preserved or important buildings (e.g., centuries-old barns, family homes) and offered inspirational family stories.

Many of our interviewees reported that the experience of provenance rituals influenced their advocacy. Evangelist 1, a wine connoisseur who founded and coordinated a regional wine society that put on dozens of events for hundreds of people, reported that, before interacting with Ontario's wineries, "I can tell you that not many of us liked it. I have to admit that I thought this region could not produce good wine." When asked about how he/she came to work on behalf of Ontario's wineries, he/she offered accounts of the powerful impact that provenance rituals had on him/her:

> I remember walking into [winery name] and watching their young son, maybe 6 years old, applying the

labels. Everyone has a job and everyone makes a difference. He was very proud to be helping.

The most frequent emotional experience reported during observations of provenance-themed rituals and our interviews was reverence—a feeling of deep respect and veneration tinged many of the emotions reported by our interviewees. They reported "respect," "admiration," and "pride" from the hard work, achievements, and skills of Ontario's winemakers, as well as feeling like they were engaged with "something bigger" than just wine. Drawing from the prior ritualized encounter with the young boy, Evangelist 1 described how provenance themes of family endurance elicited emotions that made wine feel like more than the product:

> We were so touched at the bonding moment that we had to buy a few bottles. The wine industry is a labor of love for family-run wineries. We shared that particular wine with friends as well as our observations with the labeling. We all enjoyed it so much that we met at the winery and cheered our glasses to the young boy! Wine is the experience and memories you create.

We found that these inspiring emotional experiences of reverence during, and from, provenance rituals were enabled and made more resonant by the regional identities of audience members. Across many of our interviews, it was apparent that they identified with Ontario's long winters, the struggles of Ontario's local farmers, and their being "overlooked" due to their small nature and competition from larger, more renowned regions. When asked why he/she played such a key role in organizing and spreading Ontario wine, Evangelist 1 continually referred to Ontario as "their" region:

> I think that everyone in our area has an advocacy role. If people don't know we make such amazing wine and have such beautiful wineries, it is my job to tell them. We are a "best-kept secret."

Provenance-themed rituals' connection with strong regional identities elicited reverence, which, in turn, drove proselytizing behaviors; activities to "convert" others by sharing ritualized experiences, and bringing them to share rituals. Evangelist 1, who reported earlier how the prior ritualized experience drove him/her to bring others to wineries, reported the experience of reverence inspiring them to organizing and proselytizing:

> I bring local wines to parties and give local wines as gifts. [Name] and I also visit other wine regions and spread the word about how our region is producing amazing wines.

Our interview, observations, and media reports revealed the sway that evangelists had in spreading news of the practices valued by Ontario's hardworking and historical family wineries. These evangelists spread stories of these families to consumers and restaurants through their society events, retelling stories through local newspapers, as well as playing a role in converting others into advocates by bringing them to their favorite family wineries. As Evangelist 1 noted:

> I love the "Mom and Pop" wineries … wine is so much more than what is in the glass. It is the story behind it. The story of the family struggles and accomplishments.

Hedonic-Themed Rituals

Our analysis of texts and winery interviews revealed that several wineries deployed a hedonic ritual template. This template focused on enhancing the enjoyment and on communicating the indulgence associated with winemaking and wine-consumption experiences. The archival texts we consulted often refer to the winemaking and tasting experience as primarily a fun activity that enhances the quality of life of its participants (Kramer, 2004). Accounts of the creation of wine as a labor of love (Ulin, 2002), and on the "sinful" nature of winemaking and its value as a social lubricant (Colman, 2008; Groves, Charters, & Reynolds, 2000; Merrett, 1997) were prevalent.

Our organizational actors reported that winemaking was about love for what one does, that wine is a pleasurable creation, and that the region should be focused on winemaking that is indulgent and exciting, not on upholding legacies and traditions. The owner of One-with-Nature Winery described how he was inspired by Australian wine's sense of fun rather than the more serious French traditions:

> And what's Australia? Well, it's casual, it's fun, it's approachable, it's—you know. When you look at those countries, very, you know, France is, you know, a little bit snobby, a little bit pretentious, the best, you know what I mean? It is. That's how they—that's France, right.

Drawing on the hedonic template, winery newsletters offered a range of festive events for the public, colorful descriptions of vintages, as well as aesthetically pleasing and whimsical labels on bottles. Winery staff actively wanted to share the positive feelings they felt toward their winemaking with visitors. A winery representative, reflecting upon how he/she engaged with audiences, noted:

> It's not this pristine, revered, you know, place where, you know, everybody's—it's—you know, it should be opera

and it should be very exclusive, right. But that's what they think—I'm, like, "No, no, no. I want people to go there, have a great time, buy—get a bottle of wine, go sit out on the bench. Pour it into plastic cups, drink it and enjoy."

While provenance-themed tasting rituals focused on more structured interactions, hedonic tasting ceremonies involved audience interactions focused on finding wines that enhanced pleasure and appreciation. They relied on accounts describing tastes, lessons on how glasses shape their enjoyment of wine, accounts of how to enjoy and differentiate between the tasted wines, and ceremonies that allowed for freedom to roam the grounds during stops. Winery operators reported eliciting positive audience responses to their descriptions and pouring of small-batch wines during tastings. Some of these ceremonies were built around glasses as artifacts. Black glasses, for instance, obscured the wine and forced individuals to rely on their sense of smell and taste to identify flavor. Distinctly shaped glasses were used by winery actors to create different sensory experiences and ultimately create a more pleasurable, fun, and surprising tasting.

Before his/her experience of hedonic-themed rituals, Evangelist 2, a founder of a regional wine society from the restaurant industry, reported the following attitude toward Ontario wine and its winemakers: "You know, like, I mean, I didn't drink it, like, it was—you know, it was planned that way." Hedonic rituals created a powerful, transformative emotional experience of elation for evangelists. Elation is a joyfulness or happiness during rituals indicated by "romantic," "fun," and "enjoyable" experiences. When asked how he/she became involved with Ontario wine and its makers, Evangelist 2 reported that ritualized tastings were romantic fun:

> I just enjoyed what I would have considered being in a story, you know what I mean. I feel like—you know, I'm out trying grapes for the day. I'm chatting with the actual winemaker for the day. That's so—I feel like I'm in a book. And so for me it was very—it was a very romantic experience.

While these moments were highly pleasurable (positive valence), unlike awe (reported below), the experience of elation was not marked by punctuated arousal. Evangelist stories revealed feelings of elation through bucolic, romantic ritual experiences. Evangelist 2 explained how the act of uncorking (versus unscrewing) during events created elation:

> I like corking—popping a cork out of my wine. I don't like Stelvin closure because it loses the romanticism

for me . . . But how can you beat taking a corkscrew and shoving it in that wine and deciding whether or not you have the cork taint and whether or not to proceed. I don't know. Like, that whole thing is, like—it's just right out of a Charles Dickens' book or something, you know. And that was what I loved.

We consistently found that evangelists' elation during hedonistic rituals was shaped by their gourmand identities, cast by a background with gastronomic taste cultures (Gans, 2008), such as "foodie" culture. These individuals valued sensory experiences. Evangelist 2 was always "attracted to fine dining," and, in addition to valuing taste, identification with food cultures provided knowledge of sensory techniques (oxidizing wine) during hedonist rituals that enabled him/her to enjoy the experience fully:

> And as soon as you do that, you're going to smell it again and you're going to notice it. And so basically it's just getting the science across to the people in this sort of romantic way, right. I mean, people who appreciate wine are usually in fine dining.

The pursuit of these joyful experiences drove audience members and Evangelist 2 to engage in organizing, voluntarily producing events and organizations to support Ontario winemaking. These organizations enabled the re-enactment of rituals for broader audiences and afforded Evangelist 2 the opportunity to continue to experience the fun of tasting rituals: "The thing that kept me going . . . was the romanticism of it." The desire to re-experience elation from these rituals drove him/her to organize dozens of events that recreated these ritualized interactions for hundreds of people:

> . . . being out for the night, you know what I mean. You're out. You're doing it. You're out for the night. It's a good night out. You're drinking wine. You're with people. You're talking to the owners of wineries. It's just fun.

Analysis of evangelists impacted by hedonistic rituals revealed that they described their "fun" experiences at wineries on social media, would bring others to wineries to recreate experiences, and recreate tasting experiences for friends at their homes.

Glory-Themed Rituals

Our wineries also deployed, and our audience member interviewees reported, that the experience of rituals based on glory templates focused on praise, honors, or distinctions bestowed by status-granting audiences, as well as ostentatious displays of wealth

or grandeur. The pursuit of glory has been an intrinsic part of fine winemaking for centuries (Colman, 2008), and this pursuit is often facilitated by enrolling various audiences, such as critics or acclaimed restaurateurs, in the cause. Unlike accounts of provenance that highlight legacies of stewardship, glory accounts tout external recognition. Many of the wine media texts (e.g., wine magazines, blogs) attended to the accomplishments of high-status wineries that won medals in competitions, had wines rated by well-known critics, and attained point scores for quality. Mentions and awards were reflected in Ontario winery newsletters and in plaques prominently displayed in tasting rooms. Glamour Vineyard's newsletter, for instance, proudly announced: "All of us at Glamour Vineyard are proud and honored to be named Canada's 'Winery of the Year.'" In our interviews, several winery operators discussed how they were focused on "not being the biggest, but the best" and of the "highest quality compared to others." One winery owner noted:

> I would do what it takes to be the best grape—among the best grape grower in the region. You know, what it takes I will do to be there. But then after that, I decided to open the winery. When I decided to open the winery, my prime goal is to become a shining star.

Unlike rituals associated with other templates, glory-focused tours mainly featured stops that displayed modern technology or ostentatious buildings. Guides stopped (often at displayed awards throughout the buildings) to boast of the prestige of the awards and competitions won, the costs of facilities, and their commitment to quality at any cost. The less interactive nature of these ceremonies was particularly evident in tasting ceremonies; wine was frequently poured, briefly described, and consumed with fewer stories or descriptions.

Although observed frequently during our in situ interactions, glory rituals were the least reported by our interviewees as drivers of evangelism. Evangelist 3 was a restaurant owner who organized events and developed an Ontario wine list emphasizing Ontario's wineries even though it often "doesn't make financial sense." This individual's pre-evangelist perspective was that "Ontario wines were not very good. But that has changed." Evangelist 3 describes how wine-tasting competitions sponsored by wineries and including high-status wine figures have a demonstrated commitment to the highest quality:

> They had the top wine writers and sommeliers in the country here. We had 20-odd people or 18 doing blind tests of the 40 wines. The person sitting next to you did not have them in the same order. In other words, you couldn't sort of look over and be influenced by what they were doing. The results were quite incredible.

Glory rituals during which Ontario wines "competed" with wines from other regions created a sense of awe for Evangelist 3 and many others. Awe entails being aroused by something astounding, or surprising. Upon being exposed to rituals at wineries, several audience members reported being in awe of the experience and surprised by Ontario wines. We made note of words uttered by audiences during tastings and during interviews such as "wow," "dumbfounded," "shocked," "amazed," and "wonder," all of which indicated positive valence and intense, punctuated arousal. Although awe was also associated with the quality or a new taste, it was often expressed from the experience that Ontario wines were as "good" as other regions' wines. In describing how the prior wine competition was a catalyst to his/her advocacy, Evangelist 3 described his/her surprise as follows:

> There was no discernible difference between the two of them, in quality, okay. And that's really the interesting part. So inasmuch as that, so the result comes down to, is like, you know what, you don't have to be ashamed about drinking Ontario wines anymore.

Many evangelists reported that their regional identities shaped their awe during glory rituals. Evangelist 3 assumed that his/her region had produced lower quality wines of which he/she should be ashamed. Exposed to ritualized competitions in which Ontario wines were "proven" comparable to those from established regions elicited punctuated feelings of shock that Ontario wines were great. Rituals provided an experience that contradicted feelings of shame linked to their regional identity: "The Australians are proud … The Californians are proud of the Californian wine. The Ontarians are ashamed of Ontario wine. And they have no reason to be."

The experience of awe led many evangelists to actively proselytize on behalf of apologetic Ontarian winemakers and to be flag bearers that converted others. Evangelist 3's amazement led them to break their own price rules and proselytize to their customers by creating a predominantly Ontario wine list and organizing tasting events at their restaurant: "It was done to support Ontario. I broke those rules. I made the changes to support Ontario wines." He/she

was also driven to spread awe by recreating rituals for his/her customers:

> And when I showed him the bottle, that it was Ontario, he almost fell backwards. He has completely become converted to Ontario wines . . . Just recently, actually, it was arranged for him to go to Niagara Falls, they did some tours.

Glory-focused evangelists, like Evangelist 3, would proselytize by announcing awards as well as celebrate medals by organizing events and tastings to show off their victories within their own, and broader, communities.

Rituals and Non-Believers

Those who we found did not believe in Ontario winemaking, termed *non-believers*, often reported that rituals did not resonate with them emotionally. Rather than experiencing awe, reverence, or elation from rituals, they rationalized them away as being nothing more than savvy marketing. They noted that, when it came to wine, their professional or consumer identities were more salient. For instance, while none of the themes performed by wineries resonated with these audience members, several emphasized the disingenuous and overly fabricated nature of glory-themed rituals. Non-believer 1, a wine writer, questioned whether Ontario winemaking would ever be good: "Some of them do well; some of them taste like shit. But we're slowly learning. So is it becoming a wine area?"

When asked how he/she came to be a wine writer, Non-believer 1 stressed their professional identity developed from being in sales at the local provincial distributor: "I worked for the [regional distributor] . . . I started doing things just to get more interest for myself . . . I started developing things like how to sell wine from sales sections." This professional identification with sales and marketing shaped his/her experience of ritualized interactions with winemakers. For example, in his/her response to a provenance-themed tasting at a small, family owned winery, he/she remarked:

> These people are just as down to earth as you could ever want anybody to be. And so are many of the ones in these little wineries out in the middle of nowhere. They're unsophisticated in the ways of marketing.

Displays of success and opulence through glory rituals were dismissed as poor attempts at marketing and as futile attempts to demonstrate status. When reflecting upon a glory-themed tour of a winery demonstrating top-of-the-line winemaking equipment, he/she noted:

> There's a great way for rich people to spend their money; they want to create something of value. And they're going to get their social kicks out of doing it . . . This way, you know, if this is how a rich person wants to measure their dick.

Importantly, his/her attitude toward Ontario wine was far from unique among non-believer interviewees, particularly those who had extensive sales or professional experience in the industry and had become hardened to the effects of rituals they had seen performed many times.

While salient identities in evangelist audience members enabled the experience of positive emotions, salient non-believer identities impeded this experience. Instead, we found that non-believers emphasized consumer value as being dictated by a price-to-quality ratio. Non-believer 1 reported the following from the experience of hedonic wineries:

> I could make horrible wine, but, with my label on it, that stupid [winery logo] picture, and the way it's known, I'd be able to get $30 a bottle . . . They don't have a marketing plan or whatever.

Like our consumer non-believers, when describing an interaction with a winemaker, Non-believer 1 reported a primacy of reasonable pricing:

> I had a long argument with [winemaker] about prices one day. I finally won him over, I said, "The right price is the price you charge to sell your last bottle on the day you want it gone."

Ultimately, as in the case of Non-believer 1, Ontario wineries faced resistance to rituals or found that they resonated based not only on the quality of their product or performance, but based on salient identities of their audience members.

A MODEL OF AUDIENCE ENGAGEMENT IN INSTITUTIONAL EVANGELISM

In this section, we summarize the results of our analysis, blend findings with existing theory, and clarify the connections between our aggregate theoretical dimensions (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993) to develop an inductive, multilevel process model of how institutional evangelism is engendered in audience members. In doing so, we bring to light how organizational actors stimulate, through rituals that produce positive, inspiring emotional experiences,

the transition of audience members from spectatorship to committed advocacy. The model (Figure 3) allows for the elaboration and extension of existing theory on audience member engagement, emphasizing the role this process plays in the dissemination of emerging practices.

Sequence 1: Institutional Template Performance in Rituals

Our analysis revealed that audience members became emotionally inspired to evangelize on behalf of emerging practice following participation in rituals led by organizational actors (see Table 2a). These interactions were shaped by institutionalized templates (Greenwood & Hinings, 1993) that codified behaviors of established exemplars and connoted the proper ways of sharing the practice. Organizational actors relied on these templates to craft and arrange ceremonies, artifacts, and accounts that were delivered in concert to audience members (Rosen, 1985; Trice & Beyer, 1984). In doing so, they materialized fine winemaking ideals and norms, translating them into social, rhetorical, and sensory experiences. The deployment of distinct templates was variegated across our sample (see Table 1), as some organizational actors adopted certain templates as primary, emphasizing them as themes in their performances, while others leveraged more than one. This diversity allowed

audience members to participate in distinct rituals that emphasized different interpretations of the emerging practice.

The first sequence of the model captures not only the work of organizational actors drawing from templates and crafting experiences, but also the interactions between organizational actors and audience members that ensue thereafter. Audience member participation in and repeated exposure to these performances set the stage for a sequential process in which progressive immersion produced more inspiring emotional experiences (Lofland & Stark, 1965). Interestingly, rituals were used not to reinforce the commitment of formal members of organizations to its practices and boundaries as is emphasized in extant studies (e.g., Dacin et al., 2010; Islam & Zyphur, 2009), but to link a practice and external audience members that value it and entice deeper and persistent engagement. Intensive, "eye-opening" moments ensured continued involvement from external others (Stinchcombe, 2002). The rituals, as such, were an invitation into a community of actors seeking to advance compelling new ways of doing things (Stinchcombe, 2002). Importantly, rituals were "received" differently by audience members with different backgrounds, creating two paths: one leading to advocacy and one that did not produce a change in behavior.

FIGURE 3
Process Model of Audience Member Conversion into Evangelism
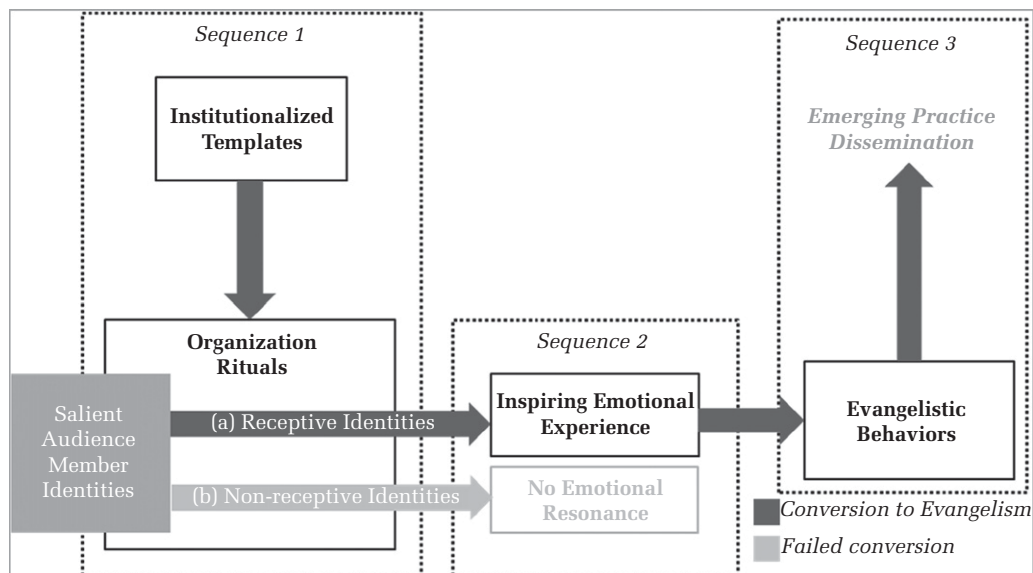
Sequence 2: Salient Identities and Audience Emotional Inspiration from an Emerging Practice

Audiences are composed of members who identify not only with the professions and organizations of which they are a part, but also with other, less formal subgroups (Kim & Jensen, 2014) and broader collectives (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). These identities are often layered (Brown, Dacin, Pratt, & Whetten, 2006), becoming salient in different situations. For example, members of the wine media in our context often transcended their professional identities, noting that gourmand and Ontarian identities were more salient than their professional identities during interactions with winery representatives. Our findings suggest that audience members who were inspired by rituals had internalized salient, social identities that predisposed them to being amenable and responsive to some ceremonies, artifacts, and accounts. That is, they judged elements less austerely and were more open to experiencing emotions (Forgas, 1995). We term these "receptive" identities in Figure 3. Our data revealed that rituals, by and large, did not resonate emotionally with those who did not report receptive identities, hereafter referring to these as "non-receptive" identities. We describe the two alternate paths below:

Receptive identities and the inspiring emotional experiences. Not all identities leave audience members equally receptive to performances of institutionalized ritual templates. Our context revealed that two types of identities internalized by our audience members were integral in whether they reported an inspiring emotional experience in response to a ritual. *Regional identities* made audience members more susceptible, for instance, to provenance-themed elements that emphasized Ontario heritage (see Appendix A). Similarly, glory accounts and artifacts signifying Ontarian achievements resonated with those who saw themselves as Ontarian. A wish to support organizational actors with whom audience members built relationships and who they revered (e.g., pride, admiration) for their work advancing the practice was noted repeatedly in our interviews as a driver for continued interest and involvement by Ontarian audience members. In fact, reverence, a composite of "other-praising" emotions (Algoe & Haidt, 2009) such as gratitude and admiration, compelled audience members to seek out ways to praise organizational actors' achievements and reciprocate.

Audience members who had internalized a *gourmand identity* also reported being more responsive to rituals. They were receptive to hedonic elements that emphasized sensory aspects of the consumption process and social aspects related to the discussion of varietals (see Appendix B). Gourmands reported being in awe (Keltner & Haidt, 2003) of the vistas and tastes of Ontario and were curious to experience more of what the region had in store. Given this identity, cognitive barriers associated with negative reputation were lowered, and they became more open to seeing Ontario winemaking through the eyes of organizational actors. They were open to experiencing transformative moments similar to those experienced in rites of passage or induction rituals (Islam & Zyphur, 2009). Once audience members found themselves immersed in the rituals, they also reported experiencing elation, a highly pleasurable feeling of arousal that can lead to greater curiosity and support sustained attention (De Rivera, Possell, Verette, & Weiner, 1989). In several cases, we found that liminal moments of awe opened audience members with receptive identities to an immersive experience with the emerging practice. The actual ritual performance that transpired once audience members were immersed produced more lasting elation that, in several cases, led to more sustained curiosity about and involvement with the practice. Importantly, however, the ordering and intensity of this emotion sequence varied, as some audience members reported, for instance, never losing their sense of awe at the practice.

Non-receptive identities and the absence of inspiring emotions. Members of key audiences who had identities that precluded them from experiencing emotions during rituals retained an arm's-length association with the practice. In our context, we found that those who reported *consumer* or *professional* (such as regulator) *identities* as more salient than gourmand or regional identities did not experience inspiring emotions. For example, professional identities supported the objective enforcement of distribution norms or quality assurance over the advancement of fine winemaking. Those audience members who self-identified as consumers sought to "find the best deal" and were keen on avoiding salesmanship, rather than seeking out meaningful experiences. Both groups viewed interactions with organizational actors as purely commercial transactions, and, thus, were not receptive to inspiring emotional experiences that outdid these expectations (Louis, 1980).

Our findings do not suggest that the values inherent in professional, gourmand, and regional identities cannot overlap (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). For example, the sommeliers in our sample who had internalized a gourmand identity reported that their profession was appreciation-oriented, and noted that their

pursuit of their profession was compatible with their gourmand identities. We found, however, that several gourmand restaurateurs were not evangelists, as they prioritized professional (manager) identities over their gourmand identities. For example, three of the non-believer restaurant owners in our sample chose to sell Ontario wine to create a marketing buzz around their restaurant rather than to reflect their emotional connection to Ontario winemaking. As such, we caution that the presence of receptive identities alone does not necessarily lead to emotional experiences. Instead, these identities appear necessary for the experiences to become viable. Therefore, it is important to understand identities and the role they might play in coloring individuals' experiences prior to examining the process of "becoming" (Louis, 1980; Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006) described here.

Sequence 3: Inspired Evangelistic Behaviors and Practice Dissemination

Rituals can lead members of key audiences to adopt new roles and expand existing ones (Stets & Burke, 2000). As our data shows, the emotions that audience members experience associated with a practice stemmed from rituals that preceded their engagement in evangelistic behaviors. Engagement in these behaviors reflected the acceptance of a unique role. In contrast to audience members who maintain a distant relationship with the practices, this deeply involved audience member role is highly active but largely voluntary, and crucial to the advancement of an emerging practice. By and large, audience members in our context who evangelized stopped short of becoming practitioners in all but five cases, where individuals eventually joined wineries or became amateur winemakers. Importantly, they did not see themselves as winemakers, industry stakeholders, or part of a profession (Michel, 2011), claiming instead to be facilitators, believers, and advocates. Ultimately, audience members experienced emotions that made them invested in the practice and led them to seek out opportunities for contribution—even at the risk to their own reputation or financial well-being. Evangelism encompasses behaviors that are driven by this devotion.

Our interviews also revealed that involvement in these activities could be an emotionally rewarding experience. Those proselytizing or organizing on behalf of Ontario winemaking often found themselves working with other evangelists who shared similar identities, and that validated their roles in the advancement of the practice. They reported finding a sense of purpose and deeper meaning in

their shared activities as they proselytized and organized for a practice in which they believed. As evangelists spent more and more time seeking the advancement of the practice, more aspects of their lives (e.g., friendships, routines) became enmeshed in the practice and its evangelism—which sustained their engagement (Voronov & Weber, 2015). Evangelists bought into the shared "dream" (Pratt, 2000) of making a practice—in this case, Ontario fine winemaking—vibrant and successful.

These behaviors not only spread news of Ontario winemaking's turn to quality but inspired other audience members to become stalwart advocates for the emerging practice. Some of our evangelists reported that they initially became aware of the practice, and were introduced to Ontario's winemakers, not through a ritualized experience performed by a representative of a winery but through the proselytizing and organizing activities of already-converted evangelist audience members who had never worked for a winery or wine industry group. This suggests that audience evangelism can be engendered through a virtuous cycle of emotional investment that serves as a sustained mechanism for practice dissemination. Figure 1, referred to earlier, supports this assertion.

DISCUSSION

Organizational Rituals and the Origins of Evangelists

The model we develop in this paper emphasizes the key role of organizational rituals in inspiring the emergence of evangelists from key audiences that devotedly build critical masses of support for organizations. While evangelism scholars have touted the importance of organizational interactions and experiences in engendering consumer (Ortiz et al., 2013) and organizational actor (Beatty & Gordon, 1991) evangelism, we extend this work by providing a process-driven model that theorizes *how* these interactions lead to evangelism via the use of institutionalized artifacts, accounts, and ceremonies by organizations that constitute emotionally resonant rituals.

Second, we inform social movement scholarship on the emergence of audience advocacy that has predominantly emphasized the role of framing (Benford & Snow, 2000) by organizational actors to galvanize particular audiences with shared identities rooted in common grievances. This work has emphasized linguistic and symbolically driven cognitive framing processes to communicate practices that

elicit either identity enhancing emotional reactions or anger through reminders of injustice and inequity. Our emphasis on organizational rituals and the performance of institutional templates focuses on the interactions between organizations and audience members involving the experience of artifacts and engagement in ceremonies as well as accounts. The transformational nature of our context's interactions along with our model echo and extend Alexander's (2004) as well as Gray et al.'s (2015) arguments on the importance of rituals by showing how the interactive and relational nature of rituals play a key role in determining whether an organization's frames will create shared systems of meaning for external audiences.

Finally, our model informs research on the socialization tactics of organizations by showing how evangelism might emerge in the course of shorter-term rituals, even when the target of conversion (audience members, in our case) may enter and exit the rituals freely, and actors are unable to reinforce norms. Prior organizational studies tended to focus on individuals who have undergone some form of socialization as part of joining a particular organization (Pratt, 2000) or profession (Michel, 2011). Key to such socialization is continuous exposure to and reinforcement of norms and sanctioning for deviations (Sanchez-Burks & Huy, 2009). In contrast, in our context, long-term exposure to socialization mechanisms or encapsulation (Pratt, 2000) of audience members was not a viable path to creating evangelists. For instance, unlike Jones and Massa's (2013) study of institutional evangelism, in which evangelists were found to build support by cultivating long-term relationships, we observed that devotion to emerging practices was built through smaller-scale, ritualistic experiences (Knottnerus, 2014).

The Role of Emotions and Identities in Evangelism

Prior studies have noted that "fervor" (Stinchcombe, 2002), "devotion" (Ortiz et al., 2013), or "effervescence" (Durkheim, 1915/1965) toward an organization's way of doing things plays an important role in promoting evangelical behaviors (see also Scarpi, 2010). We advance theory on how organizational actors elicit evangelistic behaviors from members of key audiences in two ways. First, we propose three specific emotion categories—reverence, elation, and awe—that organizations can inspire in evangelists to drive their support of an emerging practice. Second, we provide insights into when and how these emotions will surface by theorizing the role of receptive and non-receptive identities in their emergence. In doing so,

we join scholars who acknowledge the importance of emotions in organizing and call for increasing specificity when discussing emotion states (Creed et al., 2014; Huy et al., 2014).

While scholars of collective action focus on how social movement organizations are able to frame arguments that target injustices and inflame already-felt emotions (e.g., anger, shame) among audiences and direct them to a cause, our study focuses on how organizations use rituals to create emotion experiences for particular members of audiences with internalized receptive identities. By acknowledging the fact that audiences can have layered identities (Brown et al., 2006; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997) that become more or less salient during ritualized interactions with actors, we describe why certain audience members retain a "hands off" spectator role or, alternatively, become more deeply involved with practice advancement. Thus, we explain why some audience members might, or might not, be amenable to emotional experiences during organizational interactions. In particular, we reveal how some identities make them more "receptive" to emotional experiences that drive evangelism (Elsbach, 2014). Consequently, we elaborate the connection between cognitive identification processes and emotions that is often implicit in the work of scholars who have entwined institutionalism and identity research to understand change and stability (Navis & Glynn, 2010; Wry et al., 2011). Ultimately, we both support and extend the notion that, prior to designing and implementing any conversion or transformation process, it is important to clearly understand the background and salient identities of those inside an organization, but also those outside (Louis, 1980).

Lastly, we inform growing work on the role that emotions play in the institutionalization of practices (Voronov & Vince, 2012). While institutionalists have predominantly addressed emotions that maintain institutions such as shame (Creed et al., 2014) or adopted social movement perspectives to explain how emotions such as anger (Jasper, 2011; Voronov & Yorks, 2015) disrupt them, we emphasize those positive emotions that inspire audience members to engage in work that disseminates a practice. Evangelist activities captured in our longitudinal study demonstrate that positive emotions (Nilsson, 2015) drive not only short-term contributions by audience members, but drive members of audiences to sustain their evangelism over years.

How Audiences Extend Organizational Influence

Our finding that numerous organizations used rituals to inspire evangelistic behaviors from a

broad range of audiences empirically demonstrates Stinchcombe's (2002) assertion that evangelists, and evangelism more broadly, may have potent implications for how organizations can extend their influence and spread their ways of doing things. Our work also advances the study of how organizations spread emerging practices in three ways. First, by adopting a process-oriented perspective on institutional evangelism with an emphasis on the role of external audiences in evangelizing practices, our paper expands upon who (or members from which audiences) organizations may convert to evangelize on behalf of their emerging practice. While preliminary research on evangelism has focused on consumers and organizational actors, our findings that members of the media, regulators, experts (connoisseurs), and critics can have receptive subgroup identities (Kim & Jensen, 2014) that enable conversion to evangelism. This informs growing research on the role of audiences (Helms & Patterson, 2014; Jones et al., 2012) in practice advancement by including more heterogeneous actors.

Second, our model of institutional evangelism expands upon the behaviors of evangelists. Although prior research on evangelism and activism has emphasized "word of mouth" (Scarpi, 2010), "preaching" (Beatty & Gordon, 1991), and other means of spreading information within and across communities (Whittle, 2005), the behaviors we capture more fully demonstrate the conversion activities that constitute evangelism. Furthermore, while prior researchers suggested that the work of evangelists can be varied (Jones & Massa, 2013; Stinchcombe, 2002), we identify and explain the genesis of two new evangelist behaviors that advance emerging practices: proselytizing and organizing. Thus, evangelists work to convert others by sharing institutional templates, recreating rituals and emotional experiences, as well as by holding events and founding organizations.

Third, in contrast to prior research, we found that, rather than all evangelists being converted by a common individual or single organization, a "viral" spread of ritual re-enactment supports emerging practice dissemination (see Appendix C). That is, organizational actors converted evangelists, who, in turn, proselytized and created support organizations tasked with encouraging other audience members to experience the practice through rituals and become "believers." That is, by actively recruiting stalwart believers who subsequently convert others who are several degrees apart, organizations engaged in emerging practices may find themselves having to devote fewer resources to re-energizing and convincing audiences of the worth of a practice. Without organizing—creating structures that facilitate encounters and interactions with potential converts and reinforce devotion to a practice in believers—the drive behind dissemination efforts may stall or lack dependability.

Future Research on Evangelism

We believe that there are many opportunities to build and expand upon the model and constructs proposed herein. In this paper, we do not systematically explore the behavioral differences in how members from particular audiences evangelize. Future studies might examine the differences in how evangelists from audiences such as regulators, media, or connoisseurs engage in evangelistic behaviors. Advocacy has distinct implications for audiences governed by different professional norms and rules (Muzio, Brock, & Suddaby, 2013). For example, regulators are expected to maintain greater distance from those organizations they monitor, as compared to a connoisseur. This distance should shape the overt or covert nature of the evangelist behaviors we introduce as well as potentially introduce new ones. In addition to the type of audience having an influence on evangelism behaviors, the degree of contestation related to a practice should also influence them (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001; Vergne, 2012). Future work on evangelists building support for not only emerging but stigmatized practices could broaden the types of evangelist behaviors that can emerge.

This single-context study of an emerging practice provides an initial typology of three emotions that inspire evangelistic behaviors. Although we believe that our emotion categories are generalizable across contexts, different rituals might produce different emotions altogether. In order to broaden understandings of those emotions that drive evangelism, we would encourage research on a broad range of evangelists for particular practices. For example, the emotions that foster evangelism for new technology practice (Beatty & Gordon, 1991) might be different from those for an artisanal practice (e.g., Jones et al., 2012). Furthermore, while our context revealed positive valence emotions that inspired evangelism, other organizations engaged in practices of social issue awareness (such as human rights and environmental practices) could find that evangelists might be devoted to emerging practices based upon anger associated with ideologically deviant practices (such as pollution) they oppose (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004).

This paper's emphasis on rituals in the form of tours, tastings, and other ceremonial events points to an

interesting and underexplored empirical phenomena for future studies to examine. Universities and not-for-profits as well as corporations regularly use tours, dinners, and social events to engage with audiences and garner their support (Dacin et al., 2010). Although the institutional templates, along with the artifacts, accounts, and ceremonies performed in rituals, will vary based upon the practice, the use of ritualized events provides an excellent context for further exploring those organizational interactions that engender or fail to engender audience engagement or even evangelism. Cross-sector studies on how actors use such ritualized events can extend theory on how diverse organizations craft interactions that garner evangelical support from a wide range of audiences.

Finally, perhaps the most generative element elaborated in this study is a renewed vocabulary, built on Stinchcombe's (2002) "missionary work" terminology, but also evocative of Pratt's (2000) work on Amway or Ashforth and Vaidyanath's (2002) work on organizations as secular religions. It leverages not only evangelism, but conversion, proselytization, devotion, belief, and other religious terms with underexplored theoretical potential and explanatory power to explain emerging practice dissemination. Scholars might deploy and extend these concepts in novel contexts, or even apply them to previously observed phenomena that may have, for instance, been examined through physical metaphors (e.g., forces, diffusion).

CONCLUSION

We build a process model that casts institutional evangelism as an important lens for understanding how organizations can inspire the spread of emerging practices. We theorize how organizations garner the support and advocacy of audiences through the creation of rituals that, through emotional experiences, drive certain audience members to behaviors that build critical masses of support for emerging practices. Rather than treating organizational actors, audience members, and their interactions as non-emotive and "arm's-length" pieces of the dissemination process, we re-conceptualize them as interactive and emotional protagonists whose ritualized encounters can turn those audience members into evangelical extensions of those organizations they monitor. In doing so, we highlight the importance of carefully crafted, ritualized interactions with audiences outside one's formal organizations, and of considering the lasting effect that inspiring emotional experiences can have for the organizations and practices around us.

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APPENDIX A
Illustration of Sequence: Rituals, Regional Identity, and Emotions Driving Evangelist Behaviors

Evangelists	Rituals and Emotional Experiences	Reflections on Influence of Regional Identity	Evangelistic Behaviors
A **wine writer** who helped found a local research organization, volunteered to coordinate numerous events, and authored several books on Ontario winemaking	"But if you don't acknowledge that, you know, like many producers don't realize the struggles, the struggles that [winemaker] went through, for instance, just to bring an appellation system to Ontario. And the terrible resistance that was in the industry . . . I'm part of this now. And without acknowledging that, they don't have that sense of being part of something larger than themselves." *Discussing the role of history during rituals in creating reverence. Refers to the provenance templates communicated through rituals*	"You remain a child as far as a historical memory goes, and you miss that wonderful pride that says, 'I am part of an industry that knows how to struggle.'" *Describing the importance of the region's history in winery interactions (provenance themes) and how he/she reveres the industry*	". . . that knows how to persist, that knows how to collaborate. . . . I've joined this institution. I'm part of this now." *Emphatically describing how feeling of reverence for the accomplishments for the practice drives his/her organizing and proselytizing through writing historical books*
Restaurateur who has persistently promoted Ontario wine in spite of loss and its negative reputation with particular clients	"It was followed up, you know, they were constantly out there doing tastings and winemakers' dinners. And so they made—they gave a personality, a persona, to the winery." "I mean—and so I think, you know, Ontario wine is an example for us to be proud and flex our muscle, not at the exclusivity of anyone else, with the exception of anyone else, or the exclusion of anyone else." *Recounting the "surprises" associated with visits to Ontario winemakers (wineries emphasizing glory rituals) and the quality of Ontario wine*	"Sometimes some of the false sophisticates who can't, you know, who think that you have to drink big, blockbuster Napa Valley wine. And I think that's kind of a—there's kind of an insecurity there, a case of low self-esteem." *Reporting how he/she and other Ontarians must overcome the low self-esteem associated with false notions regarding the quality of Ontario wine*	"But at the same time wherever possible, let's promote Ontario: wine, culture, everything. Yeah. I mean [*inaudible*] this morning, we just read in the paper about this proposed music festival taking place down in Niagara. Be, like, kind of a summer season with the Toronto symphony, et cetera. I mean, that sort of thing, you know, will go a long way to encourage people to drink, to appreciate Ontario wine." *Discussing how he/she is continually looking to proselytize for Ontario wine from his/her restaurant (events and wine list)*
Wine writer who reported on Ontario wines for more than eight years and developed an Ontario-focused column	"I would say the people who want to get to know them, who want to get—have to come down here, see where they're made, see what they're doing in our wineries here. Everyone is unique. We have great exciting winemakers doing wonderful exciting things." *Discussing his/her elation and awe from different events within the region. Reflected hedonic, provenance, and glory templates*	"Well, you know, I've always been a supporter of Canadian wines whether it's the Okanagan or Niagara. When I lived in Calgary for 10 years, I visited the Okanagan a lot, got to know those wines. It wasn't until maybe 8 years ago that I truly got interested in Niagara wines." *Describing the emergence of Ontario his/her identification with the wine region*	"I feel as a Canadian that I should support the industry and have come to love the wines of Niagara. Now circumstances, we've been living here for over 3 years, circumstances brought us here so I'm really in tune to the Niagara scene and, in fact, write a weekly column just about—the only one in Canada just about Niagara wines specifically and the industry around it." *A passage on how his/her development of a regional identity has led to a love of wines*

APPENDIX B
Illustration of Sequence: Rituals, Gourmand Identity, and Emotions Driving Evangelist Behaviors

Evangelists	Rituals and Emotional Experiences	Reflections on Influence of Gourmand Identity	Evangelistic Behaviors
A **restaurateur** who has used his/her high-profile restaurant to promote Ontario wines through a themed wine list in spite of financial losses	"Well, from my point of view, when they come here they, you know, we'll try the wines. I'll try my best to go to the winery and see the operation and meet the winemaker or the proprietor, that sort of thing ... For me, that's a lot of the fun." *Discussing the pleasures of wine rituals. Reflected strong hedonic themes and provenance themes throughout*	"I bet you that if you two gentlemen go to Toronto or if you go to anywhere and you ask a sommelier what wines they enjoy the most, nine times out of ten those will be wines based more on acidity. And, you know, whether it be Riesling from Germany or Austria or wherever, or it would be pinot noir from Burgundy or it would be Syrah from Rome. It could be all these things. They enjoy those wines because they're wines that make you think." *Reporting the importance of gourmand identities and background as a professional sommelier in the experience of awe and elation*	"For every [large wine producer], there's several small wines that nobody's ever heard of, right, that are producing [inaudible] not only charming, but they're also producing wonderful wines. So that's really what we're trying to do here. I think, yeah, maybe I made a few enemies in doing so but I think that's really truly right." *Demonstrating a willingness to alienate some clients in order to proselytize on behalf of Ontario fine wineries to create positive experiences of elation and awe for his/her clients*
A **restaurant manager** who went on to found a wine education society and create dozens of events for hundreds of participants	"Yeah, it's very comparative. And the wine industry, as much as you can drink the wine and say that you love it, you can't really identify much to it until you compare it against the others. And that was for me the biggest thing, was the stage and the opportunity to compare it, which was the wonder for me, was I didn't even realize that I was going to discover that." *Discussing the hedonic nature of wine-tasting rituals and the experience of awe*	"And people who are in fine dining are very concerned about appearances and manners and proper etiquette, right ... Well, the glass, the glass does make a difference, and that's—again, it's all science, right." *Describing how his/her experience in fine dining enabled him/her to use glasses to enhance elation during different tasting during rituals*	"And so one day I said to them, 'Why don't you open up a branch in [region]?' It would make sense.' And they said, 'Well, we would love to. But we don't have anyone to run it.' And so I said, 'Well, then I'm your [woman/man].'" *A description of how he/she came to organize on behalf of a wine education society and host dozens of "romantic" and "fun" wine tasting events on behalf of wineries*

APPENDIX B
(Continued)

Evangelists	Rituals and Emotional Experiences	Reflections on Influence of Gourmand Identity	Evangelistic Behaviors
A local **wine writer** who has published newsletters and books promoting Ontario wine, transmitting experiences at wineries, and speaking publicly on the industry	"My interest starts with once the wine's put on the table and the whole experience, whole emotional experience, of drinking wine and all of the things that go with it, such as the circumstances, the company, the sociability, the enjoyment of food." *Discussing the importance of elation with wineries and the importance of hedonic rituals*	"So I come from a food–restaurant–hotel background. And then, about 20 years ago, I decided to get out of that and just work in wine as a writer and consultant to the restaurant industry, in terms of constructing wine lists and training staff and that. Because I still enjoy that side of the business, you know, the restaurant side of the business." *Discussing how his/her identification with food culture shaped his/her elation with Ontario's wineries*	"… interests me almost in a spiritual sense of what happens when people sit down and start to drink wine … And I've always tried to incorporate those in my writings rather than an analysis of what the wine is. I try and tell people about what the experience might be like for you with this wine, and how you might enhance the experience by connecting it to specific circumstances and moods and things." *Discussing how he/she proselytizes to share his/her reverence, elation, and love for hedonic rituals through his/her writing, speaking, and other events he/she organizes*

APPENDIX C
Illustration of the Spread of Evangelism through Proselytization: From Organizational Actor to Sommelier to Restauranteur

Audience Member	Rituals and Emotional Connection	Reflections on Evangelists	Evangelistic Behaviors
A **winemaker** who is known as a "founder" of Ontario cool-climate winemaking. He/she worked, converted, and collaborated with key audience members to evangelize the practice	"[Former employee] who's a teacher who worked with me forever. I used to watch her. First thing she would do before she started talking, she'd ask the people, 'Where are you from, how did you come to learn about us, do you like wine, what type of wine do you like?' So all of a sudden she's now got pieces of information like a fortune teller." *Reflecting on the goal of wine rituals in disseminating the notion that wine is "inspired by tradition." Emphasis on sharing the history (provenance) and "romance of wine" (hedonic)*	"So the emotional connection is absolutely fundamental and listening. Got to listen to the person. Or, when the person asks a question—my partner [name] is the best at this, they'd ask a question. You know, he's a highly emotional winemaker and they'd say something. And he'd say, 'What are you, stupid? You don't know that chardonnay is a white grape?' It's not a good way to respond to the question. But he can 'cause he's the winemaker and people respect that, the artist." *Noting the importance of regional and gourmand identities. Quotation above stresses the importance of these preconditions to emotional experience and production of reverence*	"You got to get out there in the marketplace and build the advocates. I mean, I picked sommeliers because they were an easy target 'cause they're always interested in knowing about the wine so that they can be better educated for their customer, right." *Discussing the importance of going out and converting sommeliers (restaurants) as key audiences*

APPENDIX C
(Continued)

Audience Member	Rituals and Emotional Connection	Reflections on Evangelists	Evangelistic Behaviors
Sommelier evangelist strongly inspired by his/her interactions and reverence for the aforementioned winemaker	"They should create that intimate, familiar, nice, cozy, warm feeling there. And then, trust me, throughout that, creating that ambiance, if I might call it that way, wine even tastes better. It's unbelievable, trust me. Wine even tastes better because it's about state of mind, it's about people, it's about, you know, the conversation, it's everything else. It all of a sudden tastes better." *Describing how audiences can be inspired to become involved. Provided themes of glory (awards and Ontario wines being of the highest quality), provenance (the efforts of Ontario's family-run wineries) and hedonic elements (reflected in prior quote)*	"I mean, old-timers I call, you know, [winery] or [aforementioned winery founder], [from winery], the [name] family. [Winery], [winemaker] like just unbelievable. The [family] boys, [winery], despite that, you know, their father passed away at the fairly, you know, early stage. They took over that winery and they even further developed it and made it a success story." *Describing the cause of his/her reverence for the prior winemaker and other winemaking families with whom he/she has "developed love," friendships, and rapport*	"I'm, you know, somewhat a voice of the local wine industry, or face, or whatever you want to call it. I'm a big advocate so around me they have to, you know, believe what I'm saying. But then I have my, as I told you, my methods to convert them into believing me, you know. I've been around too many people that told me that they hate local wine, and now that's all they drink. It's a little bit of a—touching their heart when it comes to [inaudible] the thing and, you know, stimulating their interest a little bit by, 'Come on,' you know, 'try.'" *Describing how he/she wants to share the elation he/she feels when he/she has local wine and spread his/her reverence with those restaurants and connoisseurs he/she comes into contact with. Has trained hundreds of restaurant employees and professional sommeliers on appreciating Ontario wines for more than a decade, and has voluntarily coordinated tasting events and competitions*
A restaurateur who attributed his/her feelings of fellowship with Ontario winemakers and evangelical conversion to Ontario winemaking to the sommelier above	"So, in other words, there was really no discernible difference between the Bordeaux wines and the Ontario wines, at a huge price difference because the Bordeaux wines were a lot more expensive. At a huge perceptual difference, and, you know, the Bordeaux wines obviously were more highly regarded without really—without any reason . . . So, I mean, that was extremely, extremely interesting for me." *Providing themes of glory and hedonism. In the above quote, he/she is describing a comparative wine-tasting event with the prior sommelier*	"Well, I mean, there wasn't really any stories that sort of convinced me to do it, or a strategy. I think it became more of a belief and a trust in his abilities. We became friends before we did any work together." *Showing strong regional identification with Ontario culture and the importance of sharing reverence for its winemakers and the abilities of the aforementioned sommelier that shaped his/her emerging evangelism on behalf of Ontario winemaking*	"So he came in and I gave it to him blind. He just completely loved it. When I asked him to guess what the price point would be, he probably guessed about twice what the actual price was. And when I showed him the bottle, that it was Ontario, he almost fell backwards. He has completely become converted to Ontario wines." *Conveying a story of independently conducting a wine tasting to create awe in one of his/her wine connoisseur clients. Has developed a strong Ontario-themed wine list*