SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Contemporary Perspectives

Edited by

Dianne Dentice
&
James L. Williams

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To Hunter and Keller for all the sacrifices they have made throughout the years having me as their mother

To Robert, brother and friend

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PREFACE

This reader on social movements is an attempt to provide students and select lay readers with fresh contributions to a field that is obsessed with progressive social movements. The volume is introductory. It is not intended to tell the entire history of social movement development in the United States. Instead, it is aimed at providing general readers and college students with an overview of specific movements that are part of the broad social landscape that has helped shape twenty-first century America, sometimes for the better; sometimes for the worse.

The purpose of this volume is to present readings that focus on both classical and contemporary social movements. Some movements, such as the immigrant workers' movement are mobilizing now while others such as the Oneida utopian movement faded away many years ago. The book has three primary objectives: 1) to investigate the mobilization efforts of various collectives that became or are in the process of becoming bona fide social movements; 2) to expand social movement literature to include under-researched movements such as the church-growth movement, and 3) to provide a new supplement to existing social movement texts.

Social Movements: Contemporary Perspectives draws on the expertise of thirteen specialists to highlight this saga. One value of this work is that it presents original and fresh research on a variety of social movements, some of which have been under-represented in scholarly work in social movement literature. We acknowledge that the field of social movement scholarship is expanding and new ways of interpreting collective action occur in the literature regularly. These contributions have been chronicled in other volumes. Important writers and contributors to the literature are included in the bibliography.

We would like to express gratitude to each of the contributors to this text for sharing their expertise. Special thanks are also extended to Dr. Andy Nercessian and the staff of Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their interest in and support of this project.

D. D. and J. L. W.
Nacogdoches, Texas
January 2008

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

DIANNE DENTICE

One of the most common early explanations of the rise of social movements concerned deprivation or disadvantages by a group or groups.[1] Prior to McCarthy and Zald's development of resource mobilization theory (1977), sociological analysis of social movement phenomena dealt primarily with problem situations, discontent, strain, frustration, anomie, isolation, hopelessness, and status reassertion. As years passed and one theory replaced another, the study of social movements within the discipline of sociology became a cottage industry. Different theoretical camps emerged that included collective behavior, resource mobilization, political process, and more recently a new social movement theoretical approach developed by Alberto Melucci (1980).

How exactly does one define a social movement? Melucci started a whole new dialogue about social movements when he dissected earlier theories and suggested that, in effect, a social movement is a system of social relationships and all future analysis should be carried out with this fact in mind. Diani (1992, 2003) and Diani and Bison (2004) found that social movements are social processes that consist of specific mechanisms through which actors engage in collective action. According to American sociologists, Eitzen and Stewart, the formal definition of a social movement is the collective attempt to promote, resist, or reverse change (2007: 3). They support the idea that social movements arise when people are discontented and angry enough with the status quo to mobilize.[2]

No society can function equally well for all citizens all of the time. Social systems succumb to pressure and strain brought on by the inevitability of change especially in complex, post-industrial societies such as the United States. The authors featured in this book explore various types of social movement actors and collectives from different historical periods. Not all of the movements in this text are structurally alike. Progressive movements such as the American civil rights movement, the

[1] Roberts and Kloss 1974, 11.
[2] Ibid., 3.

environmental movement, and the women's movement are democratic in their appeal. They are popular among social movement theorists because they challenge power and effect positive social change. Dissent can also be anti-democratic and anti-humanitarian. The essays in this text are thought provoking because of the diversity of ideas about social change which they represent.

Not all goals of the social actors represented here benefit the common good and not all outcomes have been or will be positive. This volume is not an academic primer restating theoretical approaches to social movement analysis. Nor is it an attempt to provide solutions to social problems such as racism, immigrant workers' rights, or the tragic events of Peoples Temple. Instead it is a collection of essays written by people who bring unique insights to collective phenomena such as the church-growth movement and the contemporary migrant workers' movement. Each chapter consists of original research that is written with students and select lay readers in mind. The movements span hundreds of years. We begin with the Oneida utopian community and end with a transnational network society connected by the Internet.

The Oneida utopian communal movement was an attempt by John Humphrey Noyes to combine the holiness movement with Adventism. Holiness proponents strived to become perfect believers. Adventists longed for a perfect world. Noyes developed his doctrine of perfectionism and presented it in a series of journal articles which attracted a core group of followers. The group then formed a commune that dissolved in 1879. Thomason and Williams examine the success of the Oneida community which lasted three decades. Weathering storms of controversy and criticism from outsiders, the powerful personality and leadership style of Noyes created a second order-taken-for-grantedness that formed a buffer against the outside world. The higher calling of human perfectionism and heaven on earth sustained members and enabled the community to grow and achieve stability until Noyes himself questioned the order his group successfully established.

What happens when a social movement self-destructs? Gardner, Williams, and Sadri argue that Peoples Temple was a social movement even though it is often referred to as a cult. The movement emerged during the 1960s under the charismatic leadership of Jim Jones. Fueled by a sense of social justice and political activism, a group formed and eventually grew to more than 1000 followers. As Jones' mind and body deteriorated so did the movement which, according to the authors, institutionalized into a destructive group in its final stages of existence. Following years of training to build group solidarity, Jones and his inner circle perpetrated the

largest mass murder-suicide in U. S. history. The self-mortification process identified by Goffman (1961) worked.

Applying a model developed by Lofland and Stark (1965) to explain why people join religious movements, Aguilar explores the contemporary communal movement in the United States. As the two previous chapters illustrate, members of the Oneida utopian movement and Peoples Temple were seeking alternatives to mainstream life. Bolstered by the energy of charismatic leaders, both Oneida and Jonestown exemplify two very different communal environments. For many egalitarian intentional communities an umbrella organization, not an individual leader, oversees operations. A series of interviews with members of four intentional communities along with participant observation reveals reasons why some people collectively seek living arrangements offering options outside mainstream society.

People searching for alternative ways to live and worship are key themes in the preceding chapters. The desire to create a better health system through herbal medicine has resulted in a revitalization movement according to Chandler-Ezell. She argues that people who turn to herbal medicine as an alternative health option are reacting to a perceived failure of mainstream allopathic medical practice. By tracing the roots of western medicine, a series of revitalization phases emerge which helps explain competition between domestic and professional medicine. Alternative models of health care compete for dollars in a market that is rapidly changing and garnering support from consumers along with some progressive traditional medical providers.

For the past twenty years, the United States has witnessed a revitalization religious movement also known as the church-growth movement. Part of the revitalization occurs when churches restructure according to a corporate business model. Motivated by a desire to grow membership and become more fiscally solvent, proponents of the movement argue that standardization of religious institutions results in organizational excellence and guarantees better management of church resources. Opponents of the movement charge that church leaders have lost their sense of moral purpose by replacing fundamental evangelical doctrines with a mass consumer religious orientation. Watson and Scalen explore the global scope of the movement under the charismatic leadership of Rick Warren, pastor of Saddleback Community Church in California.

The migrant workers' movement combines race and class politics with migrant labor militancy. Demanding legalization of all migrant workers, the movement is poised to politicize and mobilize Latinos throughout the United States. Morales gathered ethnographic data on immigrant

mobilization efforts in Las Vegas, Nevada. Her investigation revealed how varying conceptualizations of citizenship shape mobilization strategies within the movement. She discusses how globalization blurs political and social boundaries for activists in the movement.

The final three chapters deal with groups that operate outside the polity and comprise the white supremacist movement in the United States. The Ku Klux Klan continues to be a fixture in American society even into the twenty-first century. It has been labeled a nativist movement, a reactionary movement, and a countermovement. Fragmented in recent years by internecine struggles between Klan groups and infiltration by law enforcement, the Klan persists. Using Young's (1970) hypothesis, Dentice and Williams argue that the contemporary Ku Klux Klan, when analyzed apart from the broader white supremacist movement, has devolved into a reactive subsystem.

Vysotsky and Dentice investigate the contemporary white supremacist movement utilizing a new social movement theoretical perspective. Although the movement still has reactionary elements, it is also expressive and actors have a strong sense of identity that is defined by cultural aspects of the movement. By expanding Melucci's (1980, 1984, 1994) three dimensional model, the white supremacist movement is analyzed within the framework of culture, identity, and direct responses by actors to post-materialist social conditions.

Grounding their argument in Castells' (1997) research, Bugg and Williams suggest that contemporary hate groups are part of a transnational social movement that is fueled by global informational capitalism. A key aspect of the white supremacist movement is the backlash among marginalized white workers who feel the capitalist system has failed them while favoring minorities. Instead of directing frustrations at the source, ethnic out-groups become the collective target of blame. Integrating the work of Blazak (2001) on the role of strain and recruitment to extremist groups, the authors suggest that racist ideology is spread through technology across borders making the movement itself increasingly global.

In what follows, we have tried to balance different viewpoints and ideas about a range of collective phenomena. Given the variety and conflict within the field of social movement analysis, emphasis is placed on under-researched movements and others that could be considered to be modern revitalization movements. We present a broad selection of studies by researchers at different stages in their careers. We hope to provide our readers with an informed and critical introduction to the study of social movements. We also hope to stimulate interest in the field which is wide

open to new ideas and different interpretations of the human factor in collective behavior and social movement mobilization.

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CHAPTER TWO

COMMUNAL SUCCESS AND THE ONEIDA MOVEMENT: THE ROLE OF FIRST AND SECOND ORDER TAKEN-FOR-GRANTEDNESS

BURKE THOMASON AND JERRY WILLIAMS

> "The central and most cunning feature of the taken for granted everyday world is that it is taken for granted."[1]

The Oneida utopian movement began with John Humphrey Noyes, a preacher whose style was reminiscent of religious revivals associated with the Great Awakening. In 1848 he became the leader of a small group of Christian Perfectionists who settled near Oneida Creek in central New York. They later became known as the Oneida Perfectionists who practiced common ownership of property, complex marriage (all men married to all women, all women married to all men), and stirpiculture or selective breeding (Richards 2004). With a commitment to spiritual conversion for individual members, Noyes was a proponent of the utopian beliefs of his day. An idealist who believed in heaven on earth, Noyes planned his small reform society on a working communist model. The Oneida community ranged in size from 87 followers in 1848 to around 300 followers in 1877, the year John Humphrey Noyes officially stepped down as its leader. Oneidans also engaged in several manufacturing endeavors, the most successful of which was the production of silverware. When the community dissolved in 1880 it was reformed into a commercial venture, Oneida Ltd.[2]

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[1] Natanson 1962, xxvi

[2] The company now imports silverware rather than manufacturing it.

Utopian social movements in nineteenth century America were attempting to recapture something lost due to rapid social change associated with the early days of modernity. Leaders such as Noyes wanted to create new social institutions to transform social relationships. The principle suggestion of this chapter is that Oneida's ability to resolve conflict and to survive as a viable social movement for three decades was due to the taken-for-grantedness of its everyday reality. Two different types of taken-for-grantedness characterized Oneidan life. First order taken-for-grantedness is achieved whenever some specific content of social reality is unquestioned. An example is the Oneida community's commitment to perfect communism. Second order taken-for-grantedness is achieved when what is unquestioned, John Humphrey Noyes' grasp of higher truth for example, is regarded as a concrete, material thing by his followers. The key to second order taken-for-grantedness lay in the faith that Oneidans had in their leader. This is a clear and central indicator of the charismatic authority of John Humphrey Noyes. While second order taken-for-grantedness helped enable the success of Oneida, it was also a contributing factor to its eventual decline and collapse.

The Fundamental Need for Social Order

The success of the Oneida movement requires explanation. Few would argue as to the need for order in human life. Some degree of regularity, predictability, and at least partial consensus seems indispensable to both collective and individual survival and sanity. The disagreement arises over questions of which order is best, how that order is to be determined, and what degrees of flexibility and autonomy are to be allowed or encouraged. Daily life in the Oneida community lacked traditional or routine regularity. Noyes urged his followers not to let their activities become mere habits. His philosophy dictated that both good and bad habits should be avoided. More generally, Oneidan daily life exhibited a vibrant unpredictability typical of orders when leaders are most effectively and fully maintaining their charismatic leadership.

The most fundamental basis of the need for order in human life, according to one important school of thought, is biological.[3] The organism confronts its environment in a way that allows survival and ultimately reproduction. Many organisms act in ordered ways because of genetically provided patterns or instincts with which they are endowed.

[3] For a central presentation of this point of view see the work of Peter Berger (1963, 87).

Humans stand out in this respect because they are relatively ill equipped genetically with such ordering patterns. Humans have few and flexible instincts when compared with other animals.[4] Human order is a constructed social order rather than an imposed genetic order.

What is particularly interesting is that human order has its own virtually imposed character. One of the most famous sociological discussions of this point surrounds the classical notion of anomie as originally developed by Emile Durkheim ([1897] 1951). The Greek word nomos is equivalent to the English word law so that anomic conditions are, by definition, lawless or "normless" conditions. A society characterized by anomie is one that leaves its members undirected and disoriented.

Total anomie and imposed human order are hypothetical endpoints on a continuum describing the most basic dimension of human life. All societies and communities have varying degrees of social order which fall somewhere near the center of the hypothetical anomie-order continuum. Important to Durkheim's analysis of social order is that order obtains not as a natural consequence of innate human orderliness, but as a social fact; an outcome of a complex social process. A society's institutions are patterned solutions to the problem of social order. Alfred Schutz (1964) suggests that culture provides a pattern for group life. Not only do people shape social institutions, social institutions also shape people. Let us examine how social institutions serve this purpose.

Extending the work of Arnold Gehlen (1940), Berger (1963) and Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue that humans exist in a state of world-openness. Born with little natural instinct, humans are confronted by a world that is not predetermined. Lower animals live in a world without choices; they do what they do because they follow a genetic pattern. The human world is one of possibility. World-openness exposes humans to anomie on a grand scale or a world of potential chaos. Life would not be possible without some way to limit or restrict world-openness. Berger and Luckmann (1966) suggest that humans construct social institutions in three stages: 1) habit; 2) mutual typification; and 3) institutionalization.

Confronted with a bewildering number of choices, humans form habits that allow them to take an unthinking approach to daily life. Habit is repetition that allows us to do what we have always done. Human habits

[4] If one insists on using the term "instinct" at all, one must admit that human instincts do exist. Their immense variability across cultures makes it very clear that "instincts" relating to sexuality are very flexible. That flexibility is in large measure biological and related to the reliance among human primates on large brains and on language and culture which are made possible by an advanced nervous system.

are mutually reinforcing. Mutual typification occurs when habits are pursued in the presence of others who are actively pursuing their own habits. Mutual typification provides a durable sense of taken-for-grantedness. Alone I can change my habits. In the presence of others it becomes more difficult to do so because we do what others expect us to do. However, mutual typification is not a perfect solution for world-openness. While performing our mutually typified habits, we recall that our habits were once choices that were also possibilities. It is not until the next step of the process, institutionalization, that world-openness finds an effective remedy.

Institutionalization provides a sense of taken-for-grantedness; the most effective antidote to the precarious position of world-openness. Following habit and mutual typification, institutionalization occurs when people are born into an existing social situation. Subsequent generations are socialized into a mutually typified behavior. Because children know no other reality, the present state of affairs becomes taken-for-granted.

It is important to point out that the last step is more able to limit world-openness than the first two because subsequent generations do not have direct knowledge that the existing social order was constructed by those who came before. At some point, social institutions become the instruments of social order. For social order to be obtained, the social habits of others must be transferred to those who follow without the knowledge that these habits were social constructions. True social institutions always transcend their constructedness.[5] They take on a degree of fixedness or objectivity which is crucial to their capacity to control human life. The social world takes on a kind of reality which is opaque with respect to its constructedness.[6]

A sense of orderliness and taken-for-grantedness in a social setting does not equate to or depend upon a shared social stock of knowledge that is consistent or even logical. It is quite possible for groups and the individuals who compose them to take-for-granted contradictory perspectives. Alfred Schutz (1964) provides a useful way to understand how socially shared knowledge can provide order and also contain incompatible elements. Instead of an accumulation of homogenously consistent ideas, he suggests that what we know is often contradictory and highly stratified. We may acquire our ideas in tangible and specific circumstances or in specific horizons of reality. The present contains only those aspects of reality necessary for meeting our specific and immediate

[5] This is a key reason that the whole stages account of institutionalization is so important.

[6] Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 59.

needs. Potentially contradictory elements are invisible and do not exist in the unfolding moment of the present. Similarly, when we draw upon our stock of knowledge it is in real circumstances with certain practical requirements. Inconsistencies in our stock of knowledge are rarely apparent and do not interfere with the taken-for-granted perception of social order. The ability to take-for-granted contradictory notions was an important feature of life at Oneida.

Taken-For-Grantedness as a Quality of Life at Oneida

As a first illustration of matters taken-for-granted within the world view of the Oneidan community, let us consider the question of human competiveness as a quality which might be innate in human beings. Oneida is famous for the thoroughness and depth of its commitment to perfect communism. Not only were all material goods communal but all personal relationships were carefully nurtured in directions that would avoid temptations of exclusivity. Pierrepont Noyes (1937, 127) notes there was no effort to "…take measures against the competitive spirit." The elders of the Oneida Children's House never "frowned on competitive games…ball games, foot races….all kinds of athletic contests were encouraged, not to mention spelling bees, cards and dominoes."[7]

What is interesting is Pierrepont Noyes' explanation as to why the Oneidans might have been permissive with respect to competition.

> We are all born with competitive instincts. I remember a story my aunt Cornelia was fond of telling, of how, when I was a very small boy, she interfered in a quarrel between Dick and me. She insists that I burst out crying and wailed passionately, "I want to be headest!" It seems to me probable that the craving to be "headest" in some department of activity will be the last passion suppressed; perhaps never profitably suppressed.[8]

He reveals his acceptance of the larger culture's views about the naturalness of competition. By comparing Oneida communism to Russian communism in 1930 the question of competition arises quite explicitly and consciously. It seems odd to claim that the alleged natural competitiveness of human beings is something that was simply taken-for-granted. This is a general problem when documenting taken-for-grantedness. The things people take-for-granted are precisely the things they do not notice explicitly, comment upon or defend. It is clear that the

[7] Ibid., 127.
[8] Noyes, *My Father's House, an Oneida Boyhood*, 129

younger Noyes is suggesting that competitiveness was taken-for-granted by his father and other Oneidans. We would only add that this taken-for-grantedness would give extra stability to the social reality of life in Oneida. Matters that go unquestioned and unchallenged are clearly not going to be matters that become contentious or divisive.

The quality of taken-for-grantedness under discussion is revealed more typically by indirection. The following example regarding the role of women shows another way in which Oneida borrowed an attitude and a piece of social knowledge which was taken-for-granted at the time. The Oneida community was famous for what Noyes called complex marriage where no exclusive sexual and marital relations were allowed. Oneida is also known for having granted women more freedoms and responsibilities compared to their counterparts in the outside world. Examples range from unorthodox female dress to the fact that women were allowed to take on leadership roles within the Oneida community.

What is not so well known is the ways in which Oneida women were regarded in much the same way as women in general. They were taken-for-granted to have subordinate status to men. The following section of Pierrepont Noyes' reminiscences might be considered in this light to illustrate the point. He is not actually discussing the role of women but rather the topic of selfishness and competition. Noyes recalls the children's meetings that took place every evening at five o'clock. He remembers that adults occasionally attended the meetings to say a few words. Mr. Hamilton gave a talk on unselfishness which ended with the following story:

> A certain man determined that no one should share any of his belongings. He kept his wife in his pocket. She, being like-minded, kept her children in her pockets; the children kept their playthings in their pockets so that no other children might touch them.[9]

The moral of this story concerned the futility of selfishness. Underneath is the complete taken-for-grantedness of the status of women and of children and their playthings which the story implicitly suggests. All of which are, in effect, property. A man's selfishness regarding his wife, even as that selfishness is being criticized, is regarded as identical to the selfishness of women with respect to their children and of children with respect to their playthings.

It is easier to notice such things now since our present culture attempts not to take-for-granted the status of women. The intent here is not

[9] Ibid., 105.

political. We are not criticizing Oneida for going along with the prevailing cultural conception of women.[10] Nor are we praising Oneida on this basis. We are suggesting that many things were left unquestioned within the Oneidan world view. We would add that such taken-for-grantedness allowed for added stability and security within Oneida. This was not because of what they took for granted or did not take-for-granted but because there were elements of Oneidan social realities that were taken-for-granted.

If large portions of the social world were not taken-for-granted the world's inhabitants would have little stability and there would be a constant state of collective and individual confusion and exhaustion. The intrinsic world-openness of human beings must be relatively closed by the social institutions that organize human life. Stable social institutions can provide a base of operations for various experiments and temporary instabilities. Institutions provide the collective equivalent of what habits provide for individuals. The innovations of Oneida are the famous foreground that is opened up by the less recognized background of taken-for-granted values, attitudes, and ways of life. So far we have looked at this in terms of values Oneida borrowed from the surrounding culture. We will turn now to a consideration of elements specific to Oneida which were taken-for-granted within the community.

Internal Taken-for-Grantedness

The previous section dealt with elements of the Oneida way of life which were drawn from the larger culture's world view and then taken-for-granted within Oneida. We mentioned assumptions about the natural competitive instincts of humans and then discussed the prevailing conception of women as property. Many other elements of the Oneidan's social reality could have been discussed in this connection from mundane presumptions about the role of childhood play to the community's endorsement of the larger society's praise for hard work and diligence. One of the most central of all elements of Oneidan social reality, Christianity, was something they had in common with the majority of outsiders in their day. This is true despite the special and controversial details of Noyes' perfectionist doctrine. The revolutionary beliefs of the Oneidans made up only a small portion of their outlook. Most of their views were basic and fundamental tenets of standard Christianity.

[10] There were explicit rejections of the idea of treating women or any other persons as property in the Oneida community.

Religion provides a firm grounding of taken-for-granted social belief and was pivotal for the Oneida community. It also provides both individual and collective security and constitutes what Berger (1967) referred to as a "sacred canopy" of legitimizations for the various details of social life.

There is a very nice passage in Pierrepont Noyes' musings which illustrates this point effectively while once again showing how a firm foundation of taken-for-granted beliefs can enable and render meaningful whatever is innovative, challenging and even rebellious. Noyes recalls a time when he was outside early in the morning and the sunrise stretched across the sky. An elder of the group gestured toward the sunrise and called out: "Lucifer, Son of the Morning!" This exclamation made a great impression on the young boy.

> Always God had been in the sky, but it was an everyday blue sky, without form or romance. God was everywhere…He could not seem magnificent; *only an undo-withoutable element in our daily lives* (emphasis added). But now there was a striking new power, "…a charioteer, a gorgeous, reckless, irresistible driver of cloud horses…." Given the solid background of God's all pervasive presence, this new force in the universe could be at least contemplated without any ultimately disruptive influence.[11]

Pierrepont Noyes learned that Lucifer was "not a good god." Without abandoning the firm foundations of his faith he had a vehicle for imagining some alternative, new world.

> I longed to ride in the chariot with Lucifer and I suspected that in the great outside, now immensely greater than I had ever dreamed, there were realms of grandeur and opportunities for adventure quite beyond experience in the Children's House and perhaps beyond the knowledge of our grown folks.[12]

Ironically, even the meaningfulness of rebellion depends upon the firmness of those taken-for-granted realities which it challenges. This is true for people of every age even though it is especially evident in children. Parents have to be the clear representatives of an adult reality

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[11] Ibid., 86-87.

[12] The word adventure is aptly chosen in this passage. Adventure is exciting but manageable; an excursion into new territory but not without knowledge of where one came from and how to get back. Adventure is not a matter of anomic terror. The difference lies in the secure groundedness of reality that is provided by the solid structure of its most deeply taken-for-granted elements.

within which children can find comfort even as they find adventure and test themselves through disobedience and rebellion. Parents who lack any deep grounding in the reality they represent are ill equipped to pass that reality on to their children. Oneida had very little difficulty in this respect partly because of its communal system of child care. We suggest that it might also be due to the fact that Oneida values were so deeply and firmly taken-for-granted.

An example of the way that background remained unquestioned is provided by Pierrepont Noyes' discussion of the absence of monogamous marriage within Oneida. Everyone, even the children were aware of Oneida's system of complex marriage. "There was never any concealment from us of the universality of marriage outside the Community…nor do I remember any attempt to explain or defend our social variant."[13] The stability of the Oneida marriage arrangement like so many of the other very unusual features of Oneida's way of life, rested on its being unquestionably a given and therefore clearly not in any need of being explained or defended.

This last point is made very effectively in a more general context when Pierrepont Noyes relates the following:

> During the winter of 1885 something happened which temporarily jolted me…Mr. Pitt gave a lecture in the Hall on the subject of Christian evidences. Until that moment I had never suspected that doubt existed as to the truth of religion or that the story of Jesus Christ required any bolstering evidence. I was shocked and disconcerted. My mother tried to lessen the effect of Mr. Pitt's lecture. She said: He likes to parade his learning. You and I know that the Bible is true without any of his miserable evidences. Mr. Pitt did not destroy my belief, but he altered permanently my relation to the heavenly powers. He changed that which had seemed an unquestioned reality into a less stable object of faith.[14]

John Humphrey Noyes passed his leadership on to Theodore Noyes between 1876 and 1877. In the years following, Oneida all but dissolved as a community. The preceding passage reveals that the basic structures of Oneidan life had lost their firm taken-for-grantedness. The younger Noyes was noting, on a personal level, what happened to the community when his father was no longer in charge.

[13]Ibid., 141.
[14]Ibid., 266.

Second Order Taken-For-Grantedness

Oneida depended on a pervasive taken-for-grantedness of a great many of its ordinary (yet quite extraordinary) practices and realities. Such a picture might seem to imply rigidness and predictability and strongly ingrained habit. That was not the case.

> Noyes constantly exhorted his brethren against the tendency to settle into permanent schedules, for he believed that, should life there become habitual, it would lose its inspiration and become a source of evil…He encouraged his community to entertain all sorts of odd notions and experiments, for any change, he thought, is a source of growth among people who are searching for newness of life.[15]

This passage does not sound consistent with claims about the central role of taken-for-grantedness as a kind of background or secure foundation out of which Oneida's more experimental and extraordinary characteristics grew. The explanation may partially lie with the apparent constant change in surface arrangements and routines rather than in the deep, religious underpinnings of Oneidan life. Contradictions in knowledge and practice are quite normal for human experience. Oneidans did not see the disjunction between their rejection of habits and actually having habits because the demands of each unfolding moment required a selective and intentional sampling of what they knew as truth. Selective attention helps to explain why everyday life in general is laden with contradictions. Some level of habit in social life is typically considered by sociologists as necessary for social stability and survival. Noyes; however, was adamant in his condemnation of habit of any kind.

> The great mistake…is in distinguishing between different kinds of habits, calling some good and others bad, and considering it a merit to have what are termed good habits; whereas in truth, and in the sight of God, all habits are bad, and in some senses, "good habits" are the worst of all.[16]

How does one account for the long life and great success of a community in which habit of all kinds was so vigorously condemned? The answer, we contend, lies in another level of taken-for-grantedness which we refer to as second order taken-for-grantedness. This amounts to the kind of unquestionableness which Noyes enjoyed above and beyond any details of his leadership. He was a classic charismatic leader whose ideas

[15] Demaria, *Communal Love at Oneida,* 10.
[16] Ibid., 10.

were almost universally unchallenged, unquestioned, and taken-for-granted as truth.

> Old members of the Community have said to me that those who got within the effective area of Father Noyes' personality were reluctant to lose him; that life seemed brighter and more worthwhile when he was about. Another of his long-time associates tried to analyze for me his unquestioned power to attract and hold the loyalty of both men and women. He accounted for it thus: "Most people subconsciously fear life just a little or have become disillusioned by its futility. Mr. Noyes had no doubts regarding life or himself. He plowed through difficulties, disappointments and dangers with an inextinguishable faith in an Edenic world plan and the ultimate triumph of righteousness. He was a source of light and power for all about him.[17]

It is worth noting that the second order taken-for-grantedness implicit here is based on the leader's own ability to project his views and personality. What is involved is a reification which might be deemed a prerequisite for long-term communal survival and success. By reification we mean a forgetfulness as to our own agency as constructors of reality (Thomason 1982). When we live in a world of reified truth we grasp its meanings as thing-like givens to which we simply submit. The meanings form an unquestioned foundation and a taken-for-granted basis for security.

Conclusion

We suggest that taken-for-grantedness is the key to assuring success of utopian movements. The special case of Oneida was used to illustrate and support this general claim. Oneida was a remarkable experiment in intentional community because it consisted of a great number of highly unconventional beliefs and practices. That these unconventional ways could have persisted so successfully for so long is in our view a solid testament to the ability of Oneida to construct for itself a social order that allowed members, in very fundamental ways, to take their world for granted.

Oneida's success was a testament to the charismatic leadership of John Humphrey Noyes. Noyes had the special ability to provide his followers with a confidence in the ultimate truth of the Oneida way. His leadership, by extension, gives us new reason to marvel at the power of charismatic authority as a force for the organization of collective life. Most social

[17] Ibid., 127.

orders, since they are not guided by charismatic inspiration, have to rely almost exclusively on what has been referred to in this paper as first order taken-for-grantedness. The special advantage of charismatic leadership is that it enables a potent second order taken-for-grantedness.

The notion of second order taken-for-grantedness offers a better explanation of the precarious position of social movements whose legitimacy depends upon charismatic authority. The potential of second order taken-for-grantedness to provide an antidote for world-openness and anomie is strictly limited to the abilities and life-span of the charismatic leader. As Max Weber pointed out, "the succession of charismatic authority involves a certain institutionalization of that charisma" and by inference from the present analysis a second order taken-for-grantedness. [18]

Institutionalization involves the reification of social relationships making them appear independent of the social processes that created them. People forget that they are the creators of their own social world. It is such forgetfulness that gives institutions their ability to order the inherent disorder of the human world. Second order taken-for-grantedness obtained from charismatic leadership is partly successful because it is not burdened by the strictures of institutionalization. Aware that the world outside was a changing and often hostile place, Oneidans were shielded from anomic terror by their leader's ability to filter and interpret these changes in ways that led to second order taken-for-grantedness. In the absence of the charismatic leader, institutionalized charisma could not adequately produce the second order taken-for-grantedness that was such a successful element in the Oneida experience.

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CHAPTER THREE

PEOPLES TEMPLE: FROM SOCIAL MOVEMENT TO DESTRUCTIVE GROUP

PHYLLIS ABEL GARDNER, JAMES L. WILLIAMS, AND MAHMOUD SADRI

Peoples Temple will be forever linked to its charismatic and troubled leader, Jim Jones. On November 18, 1978 more than 900 of Jones' followers died in their jungle compound in Guyana after drinking liquid tainted with poison. The long strange journey of Peoples Temple from social movement to a destructive and deadly group takes many unexpected twists and turns. Considered a cult by some and a religious movement by others, we believe Peoples Temple was initially a utopian social movement that bureaucratized into a total institution and declined as a destructive group in its final stages of existence. In its early days, Peoples Temple was recognized as a Protestant Christian denominational group (Reiterman and Jacobs 1982). Jim Jones, its founder, was ordained a Protestant minister while living in Indiana during the 1960s. He used his influence to gain popular support for his church which he eventually moved to California.

Political and social activism, so typical of new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, was a tactic Jones used effectively to bring people into the movement while in California. Jim Jones used socialist ideas laced with Marxism to gain momentum for the movement in its early stages. He gained consensus among his followers through his interpretation of a world free from capitalist exploitation and racial inequality. In the beginning, at least, Jones attempted to build a collective identity based on shared commitment to a cause that was a product of this particular time in American history. Jones' early followers believed in joint ownership of property. They pooled their economic resources with the goal of establishing a communal, egalitarian society.

From California to Guyana, a series of unexpected events culminated in the deaths of nearly all Temple members. Conflicting stories about the conditions at Jonestown, goals of the organization, the mental stability of the leaders (most significantly Jim Jones), and outside interference have

fueled nearly thirty years of debate over the actual reasons behind the deaths. What caused the failure of Peoples Temple? What can we learn about the emergence and course of social movements that have destructive outcomes? These are some of the questions that we will attempt to answer. First of all, we will look at two classic definitions of total institutions and destructive groups.

Total Institutions

Goffman (1961) made an influential argument for analyzing some settings as total institutions. One of his key findings was that obedience and conformity are often achieved through complex patterns of manipulation by people in authority. According to Goffman:

> A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life.[1]

A process Goffman refers to as self-mortification occurs when an individual voluntarily enters or is recruited into a total institution. This process is fairly standard and essentially produces radical shifts in a person's moral career.[2] As individuals, we are generally defined by a collection of roles we routinely perform. Total institutions relieve individuals from the performance of those routine roles. Within a total institution, admission procedures are instrumental in conversion of individuals to units who follow orders. Goffman characterizes the admission process as leaving off and taking on with a mid-point of physical nakedness. The concept of leaving off refers to dispossession of the individual's personal property. Individuals are stripped of their "identity kit" which consists of makeup and other toiletry items for females and shaving essentials for males. Loss of identity equipment, according to Goffman, may inhibit a person from presenting her or his usual public image.

The imposition of degrading postures or deference patterns is also a part of the self-mortification process. Previously free individuals are forced to ask permission to do basic things such as taking a bathroom break, smoking, or watching television. In some cases, they are required to

[1] See the Introduction of *Asylums* 1961, xiii
[2] Ibid., 14 – 28

defer to those in authority by using “sir” or “ma’am” while not having the same deference shown to them. In extreme cases, individuals may be asked to perform degrading tasks such as standing at attention for prolonged periods of time or serving their master over and above the call of duty. Contaminate exposure occurs through strip searches, cavity searches, or forced disclosure of personal information. Self-expression is discouraged and may be punished. This signifies removal of any semblance of individual self-will.

Goffman described the experience of inmates, mental patients, and some cloistered religious sects. These experiences are used to coerce conformity and obedience. Characteristics of destructive groups are complimentary to the tactics employed by total institutions as well. Authoritarianism and secrecy delineate people with power from those in subordinate roles. As the Utopian vision of creating a better society was displaced by Jones’ desire for control of his followers, the movement deteriorated into a total institution. This was a kind of inverted bureaucratization compared to the institutional stage of progressive social movements.

Destructive Groups

Goldhammer (1996) suggests that destructive groups exhibit dangerous characteristics such as mind control, excessive propaganda, hypnotic influence, and loss of identity for individual members. In some cases, the group becomes more important than any individual member. People give up freedom, autonomy, and a sense of self in order to function as part of the group. Goldhammer uses the concept of heaven to refer to illusions of superiority and exclusivity that the group reinforces. Those who conform to group norms gain security and protection. They are respected and have power, prestige, and status. The concept of hell represents isolation and failure. While conformity reaps great rewards, failing to conform may result in ostracism and even expulsion from the group.

Goldhammer’s typology consists of characteristics, traits, and attitudes that destructive groups have in common. There is usually a centralized power structure with secrecy between levels. Followers never question their leaders, who tend to have authoritarian personalities. Peer pressure may be exhibited by excessive coolness, ridicule, and public humiliation. Information about the group is controlled and testimonials are public and positive with effusive praise and flattery for leaders. Dissenters may be assigned negative labels and used as scapegoats. There is a strong in-group versus out-group bias that is reinforced by leaders. Outsiders are seen as

threatening. Group members who become disenchanted may be made to feel guilty about their doubts. Every act and thought is controlled by the leader who has an aura of superiority. There is a strong feeling of exclusiveness for group members as well. Plural pronouns such as we and us are overused to reinforce a sense of solidarity.

The two forces essential to the success of destructive groups are obedience and conformity. According to Milgram (1974) obedience refers to carrying out the will of an individual in authority. Conformity, on the other hand, refers to individual perceptions (real or imagined) that result in copying the behavior or beliefs of other people in the group. Both processes involve some actual or implied threat of force or punishment. Obedience amounts to acting alone under another person's authority while conformity involves acting in concert with others. According to personal accounts from people who had been involved with Peoples Temple, Jim Jones demanded conformity. He also expected all of his followers to obey his orders with no questions asked.

Obedience occurs within a structure where the actor feels that the authority figure has the right to expect compliance. It is the hierarchical link between people of unequal status. The group often models behavior for the individual who is expected to conform while authority figures do not model. They simply make demands. For obedience to occur, the leader must make a specific order or demand. Conformity can be implicit or involve unwritten rules. People may deny conformity while embracing obedience, especially if the authority figure can back up his or her demands with punishment for non-compliance.

Obedience is something that can override personal emotions such as guilt, sympathy, or even a strong belief in moral conduct. The act of disobeying; however, is what average people generally consider wrong. In other words, the act of not obeying is deviant. Milgram believed that people who obey an authority figure without question have lost self-will and they often become mere tools or extensions of the authority figure. Essentially, this dynamic occurred in the later stages of Peoples Temple and eventually precipitated its demise.[3]

The following sections offer a picture of life in Jonestown from the perspective of several followers of Jim Jones. It will become clear that Goffman's concept of total institution and Goldhammer's description of destructive groups are evident in recollections shared by survivors. The steps involved in mortification of self were clearly present in Jonestown

[3] Refer to *The Jonestown Institute* online for a comprehensive look at events leading to the mass suicide. http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/ (accessed October 14, 2007).

and suggest a possible explanation for the "surrender" of so many lives in the final days.

Growing up in Peoples Temple

Bobby Stroud (interview with first author, December 13, 1996) grew up in Northern California during the 1960s where his mother and step-father joined a non-denominational church known as Peoples Temple. Stroud spent the night with the Jones family nearly every weekend and eventually considered Jim Jones a second father. He also became good friends with Jones' biological son, Stephan. Peoples Temple ultimately became involved in every facet of Stroud's family life. His step-father was required to provide free mechanic service for church members' cars and his mother worked long hours cooking and performing other chores for the church. According to Goldhammer's hypothesis, pressure to support your group beyond normal standards is an indication that something is amiss.

Eventually, Stroud's parents became disillusioned with the church's intrusion into their lives and they attempted to withdraw. Angry with his parents for wanting to leave the church, the younger Stroud fought with them regularly. Church leaders intervened and used the boy to get his parents to come back to the church. Stroud's parents once again embraced Jones and Peoples Temple, at least for awhile. The reconciliation did not last and the family eventually moved in an effort to gain physical distance from the church.

Stroud grew up and joined the Navy. When he wanted out of military service, he called Jim Jones, who wrote letters for him to facilitate his discharge. Stroud joined Peoples Temple once again as an adult, without his parents. According to Stroud (interview with first author, December 13, 1996) he always knew that Jim Jones represented the highest truth and joining the movement again when he became an adult was clearly his only choice.

The Mortification of Self in Peoples Temple

Stroud (interviews with first author, May 28, 1995 and December 13, 1996) and Layton (1998) chronicled their experiences as residents of the compound in Jonestown, Guyana. They both report having their entire day dictated by authority figures from early morning until late at night. Daily life for everyone in Jonestown was regimented. Tasks were assigned to each individual by a specific crew leader or committee. Even intimate relationships were governed by committee. Couples were required to

apply for permission to have a romantic relationship. Some relationships were sanctioned, others were not.[4]

Upon his arrival to the compound, all of Stroud's belongings were searched. He was assigned a place to sleep and instructed what his job would be. Residents were allowed only specific items of clothing. Confiscated items were assigned to other people. Makeup was confiscated and only given out to female members who were sent on public relations assignments with Guyanese government officials. According to Jones, makeup was a luxury item that had no place in a socialist society except for staged events orchestrated by Temple leadership. Passports were turned over to intake personnel and no communications were allowed from the outside. All of the aforementioned examples are indicators of a destructive group process and self-mortification.

Residents were expected to "write up" their peers for minor infractions such as taking too long in the shower, pilfering extra food, or stealing a taste of sugarcane. Jones was known to put people up to misbehaving or saying things to elicit responses that might require a "write up." For example, if a conversation ensued and a negative remark was made about some aspect of life in Jonestown, even though both parties engaging in the conversation might agree, it was implicitly understood that a report must be filed. This meant that individuals never knew what was real or a test conjured by Jones to gauge loyalty to him over friends and even relatives. The whole process triggered lengthy and degrading "counseling" sessions. Group members were encouraged by Jones and his lieutenants to shout obscenities and declare their hatred for individuals who had been cited in writing. Jones observed the ritual and in some cases consoled the individual(s) later in private. On one occasion, people were ordered by Jones to perform a phony religious demonstration known as the "Holy Ghost fit."[5] After being humiliated, each individual was dismissed to the sounds of laughter from observers. Transcripts also reveal Jones discussing the size of a particular Temple member's penis following the ritual.

The Jonestown operation did not allow for any deviation from Jones' rules. Followers who complained were sent to a "secret" barracks and were sedated or forced to work double duty in silence. A structure was firmly in place to deal with anyone who strayed from goals outlined by Jones and his inner circle. Other examples can be traced back to the days

[4] Seeking approval from a leader for personal life choices is indicative of a destructive group.

[5] Jonestown, "Tape Number: Q597," *The Jonestown Institute*, http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/ (accessed October 14, 2007)

before moving Peoples Temple to Guyana. Stroud (interview with first author, December 13, 1996) recalled church meetings where Jones chastised individual members for various transgressions. Guilty church members sat silently with bowed heads as other members publicly criticized them and sometimes even exposed private family matters to the entire congregation. This indicates that the movement was beginning to show signs of deterioration prior to relocation to Guyana.

In *Seductive Poison: A Jonestown Survivor's Story of Life and Death in Peoples Temple*, Layton (1998) describes toilet facilities in Jonestown. Jones insisted that bathroom matters were simply bodily functions that no one should be ashamed of. Open facilities for both sexes seated as many as sixteen people side by side. Jones, on the other hand, had private, single-seat facilities outside his own cabin. He also had real toilet paper instead of rationed magazine pages available to his followers.

Jones also used sex to exploit his flock. He insisted that all men were secretly homosexual; Jones, of course, being the exception. Jones allegedly had sex with numerous men and women and then publicly accused them of demanding sexual favors from him.[6] Not all contaminative exposure in Jonestown was related to sex or bodily functions, however. Jones went to extreme lengths to damage the reputations of any defectors. Dissenters were intimidated into submission. He used gunfire outside the compound to convince members they were under attack by unknown forces. Demeaning anyone who attempts to leave the group, intimidating people with fear techniques such as random gun shots, and adhering to a totalitarian hierarchical structure with a strict, top-down centralized control is typical of Goldhammer's description of a destructive group. Jonestown clearly resembled a destructive group in the months prior to the mass suicide.

The Final Days

Stroud (interview with first author, December 13, 1996) observed that in the days immediately prior to the mass suicide, Jones was becoming increasingly paranoid. The morning before the suicide, Jones' wife informed Stroud that a truck would be leaving in an hour and he needed to be on it. He ended up in a house in Georgetown, Guyana that was owned by Peoples Temple. Sharon Amos, caretaker of the house lived there with her three children. The morning of the mass suicide, she killed her two

[6] Jonestown, "Sex in the City? Make That, The Commune," *The Jonestown Institute,* http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/ (accessed October 14, 2007)

youngest children. With the help of her teen-aged daughter, she then cut her own throat. Finally, the teenager cut her throat. All four died and were discovered in the bathroom by Stroud and some other residents of the house.

Alarmed by the scene, Stroud made his way to the radio room to contact Jones. No one answered. Soon after, Guyanese agents raided the house and took Stroud and several other people into custody. It was then that he learned what happened to Jones and the rest of the Temple followers in Jonestown. There are some unanswered questions about the transcript of the final hours before the mass suicide. Two individuals left written "last words" that made clear the vision they had for their community.[7] They believed that Jonestown was being destroyed from without, not from within. Survivor accounts, on the other hand, paint a picture that includes disgruntled followers who feared for their personal safety. Numerous second hand accounts of the mass suicide suggest that not all participants drank the poison willingly and Layton (1998) believes that many of Jones' followers were mentally exhausted and drank the poison out of a desire for relief.

Conclusion

Goffman's work indicates that life in a total institution makes people susceptible to manipulation by those in control. Goldhammer found that destructive groups are very similar to total institutions. While Goldhammer's definition includes a variety of organizations or social institutions, Goffman restricted his analysis to institutional settings that include prisons and mental hospitals. The central features remain the same: control through denial of basic privileges. What occurred in Peoples Temple when the social movement deteriorated into a total institution and finally a destructive group was the systematic erasure of personal identity and degradation of self that in the end may have made death more appealing than what life had become.

Jim Jones founded his utopian social movement during a time of major social upheavals. Student groups were demonstrating against the Vietnam War. The civil rights movement had come with huge personal costs for people who lost their lives during the struggle for equal rights for American blacks. The second wave of the women's movement was occurring during the same time and this added to the instability of social

[7] Jonestown, "Last words – Richard Tropp," *The Jonestown Institute*, http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/ (accessed October 14, 2007)

relations between the sexes. John F. Kennedy's assassination was followed by the deaths of Malcolm X, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King. Jones' initial vision was one of hope for a better, more egalitarian society. His charismatic personality enabled him to articulate his ideas in a way that attracted people from all walks of life.

Once Jones moved his group to Guyana, his focus was on communalism and the work necessary to keep the agricultural project afloat. He stopped the pretense of worship and his utopian social movement entered its final stage. As Goldhammer's destructive group thesis pointed out, the group became more important than the individual members. Jones demanded total control and implemented many of the practices characteristic of a total institution. The story of Peoples Temple is an important one and it illustrates what can happen when organizational survival comes down to a handful of impassioned zealots and one delusional leader.

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CHAPTER FOUR

A DISCUSSION OF CONVERSION PROCESSES: FROM CULTS TO COMMUNALISM

JADE AGUILAR

Social researchers have long been fascinated with the emergence of cults and religious sects in western industrial countries such as the United States. Early theories focused on psychological reasons for why individuals joined non-mainstream groups such as the Unification Church and Hare Krishna. Social scientists employed the term 'new religious movement' to identify a diverse set of alternative religious entities that experienced rapid growth during the 1960s and exhibited social movement characteristics. The general population, however, continued to associate negative images of disaffected young people and 'Honk if you love Jesus' bumper stickers with cults and marginal religious movements. Brainwashing theories gained popularity during this time as well and created animosity toward both religious and secular movements and the people who joined them (Anthony and Robbins 2003).

In 1965, John Lofland and Rodney Stark developed a conversion model based on observations of a small, millenarian cult called Divine Precepts. Acknowledging the minor status of the group, they hoped that the conversion conditions they assessed could be generalizable to larger secular and religious groups. Known as the world-saver model, it is an influential and frequently used guide for research on the sociology of conversion. The model consists of a series of three basic elements along with four situational factors that are necessary for a person to successfully have a religious conversion. The first condition occurs when a person experiences long term strain and tension in his or her life. Next, the individual believes that the best way to solve deep personal problems is through religion. If religion fails to solve a person's problems, the third step is self-definition as a religious seeker.

This chapter supplements research available on conversions and applies the world-saver model to communal groups also known as intentional communities. These groups are part of a social movement known as the North American communal movement that has its roots in

the ideas of early European utopian socialists such as Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen.[1]

Intentional Communities

Intentional communities are planned residential environments where residents generally seek formal membership. These communities have a high degree of social interaction between members because they typically hold a common social, political or spiritual vision. Residents also share responsibilities and resources. Intentional community is a term that includes eco-villages, co-housing, residential land trusts, communes, student co-ops, and urban housing cooperatives. The *2007 Communities Directory*[2], a reference guide listing communities all over the world, includes over 900 intentional communities in the United States. Since egalitarianism is a core value of many intentional communities, hierarchical structures are usually absent. Groups sometimes live in rural environments and may rely on a cottage industry to meet their economic needs.[3]

The Federation of Egalitarian Communities (FEC) is a network of communal groups that cooperate on publications, conferences, recruitment, and community support systems that includes health care services.[4] The organization was founded in 1976 by a core group of intentional communities that had a strong commitment to economic, political, and social equality. I conducted forty open-ended, recorded interviews with members of four FEC intentional communities ranging in size from five to 100 members. These specific communities were chosen because of differences in size and location, as well as their willingness to participate. Data for this study is drawn from interviews beginning in August, 2005 and ending in February, 2007. Participants include current full members, long-term visitors, and ex-members who visit the communities regularly. All names are pseudonyms. Ages of participants ranged from eighteen to eighty. Most participants had at least some college training and they could be classified as middle-class.

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[1]For a discussion of the Utopian mentality, see Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 245.

[2]*Communities Directory 2007: A Comprehensive Guide to Intentional Communities and Cooperative Living*. Rutledge, MO: The Fellowship for Intentional Community.

[3]For a comprehensive discussion of the North American communal movement, refer to Intentional Communities online at http://www.ic.org/.

[4]There are 16 groups that have been full members of FEC since 1976. See The Federation of Egalitarian Communities online at http://www.thefec.org/.

Discontent: A Motivational Factor for Conversion

Lofland and Stark (1965) found that converts in their study of Divine Precepts perceived tension and stress in their lives that created disposition for action. Similarly, more than eighty percent of the members of the communities interviewed for this study reported some type of stress in their lives prior to joining an intentional community. Most respondents felt dissatisfied with the organization of society and voiced concerns about the environment and quality of life in general. Amanda, a long term member and visitor liaison for one of the four communities said that dissatisfaction among applicants for community membership is a common theme.

> You hear the word dissatisfied an awful lot. I'm dissatisfied in my life. I'm dissatisfied polluting the world. Dissatisfied with the job that I do. You see that kind of thing all the time.

There were also expressions of dissatisfaction with the western capitalistic economic system. Luke, a former computer programmer, expressed frustration about not benefiting from the profits of his labor:

> I grew increasingly dissatisfied to work for somebody who was taking the profit of my work. It was a fun job and I liked my coworkers but the idea that I was the one at the bottom being imaginative and creative and really making something interesting and someone else who just happened to be in a position of power was making much more money than I was drove me crazy.

The second area of discontent, alienation from people, was a source of outside tension that drove members to these communities. Stephen worked in a corporate office before joining the community. He addressed his dissatisfaction with interpersonal relationships that, in his opinion, the corporate structure reinforces.

> Everyone's trying to knife each other in the back to climb up the corporate ladder. I can't even imagine living or working in that kind of workplace again myself. It's just unacceptable to me. Personally, I would rather work at a gas station pumping gas than to work in one of those corporate situations where everyone's knifing each other in the back. Because, at least with the gas, no one's trying to get your job.

Jillian, a college drop-out, could not fully integrate her social life with her school and work life. This created a situation where relationships were all but impossible and she was unable to reconcile the unhappiness of her day to day existence.

> I know I've always been dissatisfied with the idea of having to go to college, get a job, and work for the rest of my life. That doesn't appeal to me. Everyone seems like a slave when they do that, a slave to society and everything. When I heard about [communities], I thought, "That's kind of a different twist on it. You have all these different people you work with. You build all these relationships." As opposed to where I work, I only see about three people during the day constantly, and I eat, sleep, and work. That's all I do, basically, and I see only a couple people each day. And on the weekends I don't really do much. So finding a place where I can interact with more than just two people on a given day is great.

There is a clear connection between economic structure and ensuing social relationships. Both Jillian and Stephen mention that the organization of work creates situations that make social relationships difficult. Stephen found that the corporate institutional structure created a competitive culture where trust between co-workers was impossible. Jillian also felt isolated at work and lacked much needed social interaction.

The third area of discontent, alienation from the natural environment, was a prominent theme among community members. Each participant, at some point in the interview, spoke about environmental advocacy. A recurring theme was the desire to work "in-step" with nature. Rich felt alienated from the products that we consume. He wanted to learn how to grow his own food, build a habitable structure, and to live harmoniously with nature.

> I have some concerns about sustainability, about alienation, an interest in learning how to do things oneself and becoming more connected to things that sustain you. Like an interest in cooking, craftsmanship, farming, and self-sustainability, this is definitely a part of the community movement.

Unlike converts to Divine Precepts, members of intentional communities do not long for unrealized wealth or have the desire to know God intimately. Instead, they want deep personal relationships with others and a connection to the natural world.

Problem Solving

Even though there are many ways to resolve problems, Lofland and Stark discuss ways that individuals deal with difficulties in their lives:

> In the first, the origin of problems is typically traced to the psyche, and manipulation of the self is advocated as a solution. [The second,] political solutions, mainly radical, locate the sources of problems in the social structure and advocate the reorganization of the system as a solution. [The

> third,] religious perspective, tends to see both sources and solutions as emanating from an unseen, and in principle, unseeable realm.[5]

The primary method Divine Precepts converts used to analyze their problems was religious. The initial research revealed that since many pre-converts were poor and uneducated, they "retained a general propensity to impose religious meaning on external events."[6]

People who participated in this research study do not view religion either as a source of or an answer to their problems. Problems described in the previous section are related to broader social structures. This requires a different type of solution. All but two respondents reported that they were personally active in political social movement groups prior to moving to an intentional community. Most became activists while still in high school. Brian, a visitor to the community, recently dropped out of a graduate program in ecology because he felt his courses were not adequately addressing the human impact on the environment. He remembers his introduction to activist groups in this way:

> It started in high school. We had an environmental club at my high school. And then I began to ramp it up, you know, more and more in the following years in terms of my involvement in activities and also my own understanding of what might be happening with any kind of environmental movement.

Several members mentioned an interest in spirituality, including such practices such as meditation, yoga, and tarot card readings. None of the interviewees were members of any organized religion. It was clear that they were not seeking "religious solutions" to the tensions they felt in their lives before joining an intentional community. Similarly, for the community participants, problems have an institutional base rather than an individual base. This finding is significantly different from Lofland and Stark's findings relating to Divine Precepts.

Seeking Better Solutions

Lofland and Stark suggest that the third step in conversion occurs when people seek alternative solutions to their problems. Participants spoke about rejecting "traditional" political solutions because of what they

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[5]Lofland and Stark, "Becoming a World Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective." *American Sociological Review* 30 (1965): 867.
[6]Ibid., 867.

perceive as its inadequacy in creating social change.[7] Luke, an animal rights advocate, spoke about his views on traditional activism.

> Look at one of the biggest examples of activism in the past 100 years, the civil rights movement. Sure it was huge, massive numbers of people being active for many years, all over the country, and there is still segregation and racism. I mean, it's changed a little bit, so there's a token black woman in government. But black people still get paid much less, they still go to crappier schools, live in poor neighborhoods, get shitty health care. They are still second class citizens and that was a *huge* activist movement. So a couple hundred people protesting against Bush is useless. There was an impeach Bush protest in [a nearby town] and I was like "that's not going to do a damn thing." It's a waste of time.

Other members talked about the disappointment they felt when their activism failed to produce social change. The perceived ineffectiveness of traditional activism led members to reassess their involvement in protest movements. Liz shared the following experience:

> I was in the anti-war movement, and I really wholeheartedly—like, I believed in it so much. I would go to every single protest. I would go out and grab people off the street and be like, "You gotta come with us! Come on!" And I really believed in it so much. I went to that protest in New York City and there was, like, five million people, and they were saying it was the biggest worldwide protest ever in the history of the world. I was like, "Wow, they're not going to bomb Iraq!" And then they bombed Iraq, and I was really devastated. I couldn't believe it. Then, the next protest they had, I went, and there was, like, 12,000 people there. So it went from a million people to 12,000 in two weeks. I was just so upset and disheartened. I was like, "Oh!" And I realized that it really was a bunch of crap. People aren't really going do anything to save some strangers in Iraq. So what's the point?

The feeling of disappointment with effecting change resulted in members of the intentional communities included in this study searching for new ways to make a personal statement. They felt that dropping into communities where there is a collective commitment to change makes more sense. Richard's comments reflect the attitudes of many communitarians:

> After being having been an activist in the traditional sense for like two years before I came here, I had started and am still questioning the effect of

[7] Traditional political solutions are defined as letter writing, protests, petitions, and lobbying.

> standard activist practices of marches, rallies, petitions, letter writing campaigns, street theater, whatever, giant puppets. And so moving here is perhaps because I don't feel it is particularly effective and I can do much more effective activism within the communities' movement paradigm.

Despite negative feelings about traditional activism, members continued to place high value on social and environmental justice. Traditional activists who live in a city usually drive a car and work at paid jobs outside of their unpaid activist work. These behaviors, according to community members, betray the true activist cause of dismantling capitalist society. Michael said he felt personal conflict while protesting the war in Iraq because he had to drive his car to and from which used oil from the Middle East.

> I don't feel like it does enough for me to spend my time walking around the streets raising a sign [protesting] when everything else about my life is still highly consumptive and I'm still using a car driving around a bunch, which uses the products from these countries that we're bombing. I'm just seeking a more ground-level way of effecting change.

The Turning Point

The fourth step in the world-saver model dealt with a turning point in the life of a pre-convert. More than sixty percent of the people interviewed in this study mentioned some form of life change that led to a move to an intentional community. Josh spoke about life after the relationship with his girlfriend ended.

> We had a really intense relationship, and when that ended I was devastated and bordering on suicidal. I just got to the point where I didn't want to put off my dreams anymore and I thought I had to get serious about getting my life together, and I started delving into me, like what's wrong with me? Anyway, I decided to do something that made me happy and quit that lifestyle that didn't make me happy, and I didn't want my priority to be making money anymore.

Most members' turning points were more benign and included graduating from college or high-school or changing careers. When Lisa graduated from college she decided to join an intentional community.

> For a long time, I would just look at the [community] web site and daydream. At the time, I was sure that I would go to graduate school. Then I was on the web site and I saw that [the community] had a pottery studio and I thought, "Oh, what that hell, I'll just go during the summer after I

> finish college and then I can go back to grad school after that." I'll take 6 months off after college. They always say not to take any time off or you'll never go back.

The significance of turning points is that they increase awareness of and desire to take some action and create change. Some members see living in community as a break from an oppressive culture, rather than a permanent life change. Lisa initially planned on staying six months. College graduation gave her a chance to reflect upon choosing a new direction in her life and new paths of action become both sought after and achievable.

Contact Influence (Cult Affective Bonds)

Once pre-converts have reached a turning point, they are open to the possibility of a significant life change. Lofland and Stark found that friendships or other close relationships must form between members and potential members in order for conversion to occur. In all four communities, any person interested in joining must live in the community for three weeks and go through an interview process before being accepted as a provisional member. During the three week "visitor period," guests are expected to engage in work and social activities with members. The idea is for friendships to develop between visitors and members. From there, affective bonds will aid in the conversion process.

During the visitor period it is frowned upon for members to engage in intimate relationships with visitors. While not strictly forbidden, the goal is for visitors to spend their time getting to know all the members, not just one or two. Despite being discouraged, intimate relations between visitors and members are relatively common. In communities, the dating pool can be quite small and visitors are a welcome diversion. Visitors are often interested in intentional communities because they are seeking meaningful relationships and romantic interest from a community member comes at a perfect time. While these affective bonds may or may not last, they do aid in the conversion process.

Following the visitor period, potential members leave the community for at least two weeks and sometimes up to a year. During this time the community discusses whether or not the visitor would be a welcome member. The visitor also has time to reflect on whether or not he or she wants to become a permanent member.

Outside Influence (Extra-Cult Affective Bonds)

Pre-converts in Divine Precepts were documented as having few close relationships outside of the group that would have interfered with conversion. Having no close personal friends or family enabled the pre-convert to join without intervention from those who might disagree. Intentional communities, while not fully sanctioned as "normal," are not as reviled as some religious or other types of cults. Parents of intentional community members do not seem overly concerned about brainwashing or emotional and financial exploitation of their children. When asked about what their parents and friends thought of their decision to join a community, members' answers ranged from "They would love to live here too if they could!" to "They think I'm wasting my life." While parents' feelings ranged from positive to negative, no members reported that their parents actively tried to intervene in the joining process. While the previous five steps of conversion have been similar to the Lofland and Stark model, there is a departure when it comes to extra-cult affective bonds. Even though most intentional community members are seeking closer interpersonal relationships than they had in mainstream society, they do not have to break existing social ties with family and friends.

Intensive Interaction

Lofland and Stark (1965) distinguish between verbal conversion and total conversion. Verbal conversion occurs when a convert only vocalizes the opinion of the group. Total conversion occurs when the person fully espouses the beliefs of the group. In order for one to reach the final stage of total conversion, intensive interaction must occur between the joiner and the established members of the community. In the case of Devine Precepts, "members gave highest priority to attempts to persuade verbal converts to move into the cult's communal dwellings."[8] They knew intensive interaction with full members would solidify the conversion process. Total conversion only occurred when members moved into communal living quarters where they could be indoctrinated on a daily basis.

In the instance of intentional communities, new members already live and work in the community. Intensive interaction with other members is understood and accepted or taken for granted. While it is probable that the proximity to other members strengthens commitment to the group, it is

[8] Ibid., 873

difficult to measure. Lisa, who had planned on living in the community for a short time, feels that she is constantly learning from her peers about the benefits of community living.

> Like for me it was just a slow process, living here [for 2 years]. You know, it was like a series of tiny epiphanies and small realizations of how fortunate I am to live here. Even though there are lots of things I'm dissatisfied with, there is no where I'd rather live right now.

While members do not intentionally indoctrinate each other about the advantages of community living, it is not uncommon for group discussions to focus on the 'ills" of mainstream society and the benefits of communal group living. Constant encouragement by other group members and reminders that this is a "better" way to live help keep new members committed to their decision to join.

Conclusion

The findings in this chapter supplement the research done on conversion to cults and certain 'religious movements' by applying the world-saver model to secular communal groups. Conversion commonalities do exist. Members joining an intentional community largely followed the same steps posited by Lofland and Stark. They were dissatisfied with some aspect of their lives and were not content with the solutions available to them in the outside world. While searching for solutions to perceived problems, participants found intentional communities. By establishing personal relationships with established members of the communities, they began the conversion process.

The first major departure from Lofland and Stark's thesis was members' choice of political versus religious or self-improvement solutions to their problems. This is not surprising given that members of intentional communities showed very little interest in religion, whereas Divine Precepts converts were singularly focused on religion. The second departure from the original model is in step six, breaking of ties to friends and loved ones outside of the community. While Lofland and Stark found this to be an important step towards conversion, members of intentional communities do not break ties with friends and family.

Technology has made communication easier and more affordable than in 1965 when Lofland and Stark developed their model. All four intentional communities provided telephones and computers for members to keep in touch with friends and family. Additionally, each community has its own Internet site where postings show recent events, news, and

photos. This allows friends and family to keep up with what is happening in the community. Perhaps even more important, intentional communities are not as stigmatized as cults and 'new religious movements.' They are coming to be viewed as viable alternatives to mainstream living arrangements.

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CHAPTER FIVE

HERBAL MEDICINE IN THE UNITED STATES: A REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT

KAROL CHANDLER-EZELL

Revitalization movements are social movements that produce structural change within a culture. Often revitalization focuses on a cultural subsystem such as religion. Some of the more famous revitalization movements, the Ghost Dance and Handsome Lake church and religion, occurred among indigenous tribes in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. A more contemporary revitalization movement occurred in the 1960s when Black Muslims advocated forming a nation of their own in an attempt to alleviate racial discrimination and oppression.

Revitalization movements often reject all elements of old cultural systems. In other instances they combine new and old customs to form a more acceptable cultural mix. Sometimes these movements look to a real or imagined past when times were perceived to be better and others look forward to a utopian future. When a critical mass of society's members becomes dissatisfied with the economy, cultural loss, or the healthcare system, revitalization becomes possible. In an effort to construct a culture that better satisfies their needs, collectives mobilize and consciously and deliberately construct an alternate paradigm.

Based on extensive interviews with fifty-eight herbal medicine consumers and practitioners from Missouri, Kansas, and Arkansas from 2000 to 2002, the utilization of herbal medicine appears to be an adaptive behavior designed to fulfill perceived needs of a segment of the population. It is also an attempt to alleviate gaps in provision and distribution of health services in the contemporary United States. I propose that the American healthcare system is currently undergoing a revitalization process with the herbal medicine revival at its core.

The Botanico-medical Movement

Allopathic medicine or biomedicine has been generally accepted as the

conventional, dominant form of health care in American culture for the past seventy-five years (Berman and Flannery 2001).[1] Why are more and more Americans now choosing an herbal medicine alternative? A previous herbal movement provides important clues to this phenomenon. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, a movement called Thomsonianism or the botanico-medical movement emerged in the United States. It all began when a farmer named Samuel Thomson rebelled against "the excesses of medicine's emphasis on minerals" and urged a return to more natural medical therapies.

Some historians have claimed that the movement was simply a reaction to the ruralism of colonial America where most settlers, far removed from professional health care, were forced to revert to earlier, folk-based medicine (Kett 1968; Berman and Flannery 2001). There is some validity to this reversion argument because distances between towns in colonial America were much greater than in Europe. Additionally, many colonists were non-professionals who had migrated in search of increased economic and social opportunities. Professional physicians were scarce and those who settled in newly colonized areas were frequently leaving less than successful practices. Available physicians were expensive for a colonial economy with little excess cash. A move to a healthcare system that was more generally accessible makes sense as a cultural adaptation for the colonial population of the time.

Berman and Flannery (2001) suggest that although helpful in explaining the botanico-medical movement, the reversion argument leaves some questions unanswered. Why was botanico-medicine prevalent in eastern U.S. cities and Canada where ruralism and lack of professional healthcare providers were not factors? The reversion argument also fails to account for exportation of Thomsonianism and other botanico-medical movements to Great Britain where they became established and even more popular than in the United States.

The answer may lie in the culture of allopathy. Heroic, allopathic medicine was popularized by Paracelsus who proposed direct, detailed observation and scientific experimentation in medicine. By supporting this method, he revolutionized western medicine and sparked the development of chemical medications. By 1700 metallic poisons became popular with professional physicians in order to produce dramatic results. Partially in response to the need to demonstrate that the potions were worth the expense, physicians practiced heroic medicine, which was characterized

[1] Berman and Flannery (2001) give an extensive history of the botanical medicine movement in the U.S., paying particular attention to the competition between botanico-medicine and allopathic medicine.

by the use of large doses of calomel (mercurous chloride), arsenic, mercury, and antimony (Chevallier 1996). Patients were sometimes purged with excessive vomiting, diarrhea, and sweating. Others were sedated after blood loss from cupping or leaching (Griggs 1981; Berman and Flannery 2001).

The dominant theorist in heroic medicine was Dr. Benjamin Rush, who held that metallic salts and bleeding were the only tools necessary to physicians of the time. The side effects of these treatments were mostly violent reactions to poisoning rather than dramatic returns to health for the unfortunate patient. Even though heroic medicine cured little and often killed the patient, it remained popular among physicians until the late nineteenth century (Berman and Flannery 2001).

Thomsonianism became a widespread popular and professional movement during this time. Correspondence courses in Thomsonian medicine for individuals and professional schools for physicians flourished throughout the nineteenth century in the United States. Thomsonian physicians and allopathic physicians were often in direct competition for patients. With the establishment of the American Medical Association (AMA) at the turn of the twentieth century, botanico-medicine was doomed. The AMA established itself as the official agency regulating healthcare in the United States. Mineral-based and chemically derived preparations were established as the standard for proprietary medicines that could easily be regulated and most importantly, patented. Without the power of governmental authority and professional licensing behind it, the last professional school of the botanico-medical movement, Cincinnati's Eclectic Medical College, closed in 1939. By 1960, the movement was officially dead, with no publications, no schools, and no practitioners (Berman and Flannery 2001).

Though allopathic medicine continued to emphasize the chemical paradigm for therapies, it incorporated the botanical medicines of Thomsonianism into its toolkit with great success. Early botanico-medical movements demanded an alternative to a single health care system, options for personal or domestic remedies, and a different delivery approach than allopathic methods provided. Similar themes appear in current herbal texts. The popularity of herbal medicines today may also be a response to patient dissatisfaction with the treatment options offered by conventional medicine. Even though the Thomsonian movement ended, it affected western medicine and was at least partially assimilated into a more balanced medical system.

Herbalism Today

The classic age of western herbalism is thought to have ended in the seventeenth century (Wheelwright 1935; Arber 1938). What remains of the European tradition is contained in historical documents known as herbals. Many domestic remedies were passed on orally or in unpublished personal recipe books. As a result, much folk knowledge has been lost across generations. What remains is a set of fragmentary documents with hefty transfusions of revitalized folk medicine from the last few centuries. Repeated reactions to conventional western medicine have spawned alternative medical systems based on plant remedies such as Thomsonian Physiomedicalism, Eclecticism, and Coffinism: a mix of European, Native American, and other traditions (Griggs 1981; Ody 1993; Chevallier 1996).

Remnants of reactionary alternative movements, written records of more classic western herbal lore, and surviving folk practices were merged into the United Kingdom's National Association of Medical Herbalists in 1864, now known as the National Institute of Medical Herbalists (Ody 1993; Chevallier 1996). Germany's Commission E, a continuation of a slow development of medicine and phytomedicines since the 1500s, is united by a modern medicinal philosophy which treats phytomedicines as yet another form of pharmaceuticals without the European folklore. German herbalism is often given as an example of the type of integration possible between alternative herbal medicines and the allopathic medical establishment (Marwick 1998; Small and Catling 1999). [2] By contrast, it is important to note that English and North American herbalism was reconstructed primarily from written sources, not consultation with the few extant oral sources.

Some scholars suggest that the current system of herbal medicine in the United States is a newly emerging synthesis derived from material including herbs, treatments, philosophies and medical research from a variety of sources (Leyel 1973; Weiss and Weiss 1985; Ody 1993; Mowrey 1993; Bremness 1994; Hoffman 1996, Chevallier 1996; Hey 1996; Mills 1998). Much of the material in medicinal plant texts is drawn from the classic European herbal tradition. More recently, modern herbal texts include synopses, histories, philosophies, and uses from traditional

[2] Germany is an example of a medical system that integrates herbal medicine with modern biomedicine. Herbal medical traditions and professional medicine never split in Germany as they did in the U.K. and U.S. It is most likely due to the scientific quality of the Leonard Fuchs herbal. By comparison, popular herbals in the U.K. were filled with mythological creatures, astrology, inaccuracies, and other elements that helped to discredit herbal medicine.

Chinese medicine, Native American plant lore, and other traditional ethnopharmacologies. These texts also include modern biological and biochemical explanations for mechanisms of disease, actions of phytochemicals, and the functioning of the human body. They frequently include a mix of allopathic, homeopathic, and Ayurvedic approaches to treating and preventing illness. Clinical evidence from allopathic medical literature is incorporated as additional support for recommended use of herbal remedies. Multiple approaches to understanding and treating illness are being integrated into a single, unified approach with the combined authority of all the source traditions. Much like Thomsonianism, modern herbal medicine is a synthesis of biomedical knowledge with older, revived herbal knowledge.

Herbal medicine, as an alternative form of healthcare, requires validation and authority to counter its historically lower status in American society. The perception of herbal medicine as unconventional and unscientific has caused American allopathic practitioners and their established institutions to question the safety, efficacy, and validity of herbal medicines (Cirigliano and Sun 1998; Delbanco 1998; Fontanarosa and Lundberg 1998; Garges et al. 1998; Grush et al. 1998). Additionally, allopathic medical practitioners have strived to maintain their dominant position in American healthcare.

While herbal medicine has not been recognized as a valid form of professional healthcare in America for much of the past century, this is not the case in other countries. Herbal medicines have retained their importance in many traditional medical systems despite the spread of modern western medicine (Ody 1993; Cotton 1996; Berlin and Berlin 1996). In the United Kingdom, the descendants of Thomsonianism and classic European herbalism are found in the National Institute of Medical Herbalists, which regulates herbal practitioners and provides accredited educational programs. Similarly, traditional Chinese medicine has been recognized for over 2300 years and is currently acknowledged and supported by the Chinese government as an official form of healthcare (Ody 1993).

Why do some contemporary patients choose herbal medicine when it is not supported by the dominant medical paradigm? The health belief model holds that patients choose health behaviors they believe will prevent or ameliorate illness (Strecher and Rosenstock 1997). Choosing an herbal remedy would seem to indicate either an acceptance of the efficacy of alternative medicine or a rejection of conventional or allopathic medicine. In either case, practitioners and patients who choose herbal medicine support the alternate paradigm and participate in revitalization within the

American healthcare system. Reasons for the current alternative renaissance range from disillusionment with allopathic medicine to a general shift in American values and world view (Griggs 1981; Ody 1993; Foster 1996; Hoffman 1996).

Revitalization and Modern Herbalism

Wallace's model of the revitalization process includes four distinct stages (1956). Stage one is the steady stage when cultural change is relatively slow. Stage two refers to a period of increased individual stress. During this stage, individuals may collectively feel that the dominant system fails to meet their needs for a variety of reasons. Evidence of this in the American healthcare system can be seen in the form of complaints recorded in herbal literature about dissatisfaction with mainstream healthcare practitioners, medications, treatments, and institutions. The most common specific complaints point out failures or "gaps" in the conventional healthcare system. Complaints include dissatisfaction with the side-effects from drugs and conventional treatments as well as inattention to individual needs (Hoffman 1996).

Complaints about inattention to patient concerns include a perceived lack of consideration for individual or subcultural needs due to limited physician to patient interaction, inadequate communication between physician and patient, and a lack of understanding or recognition of patient psychological needs (Chandler-Ezell 2003). Consultants complained that allopathic medicine failed to provide holistic care that is appropriate to their subculture (ethnicity, spiritual beliefs, or lifestyle choices) or psychologically appropriate (providing personal choice and self-determination, comfort, holistic healthcare, and consideration of psychological aspects of health).

Consultant needs include a desire for therapies that maintain wellness, minimize side-effects, and prevent perceived health vulnerabilities such as cancer, chronic illness, the results of chronic stress, and age-related health problems.[3] More specific complaints arise from failure to identify, recognize, and provide curative treatment for many illnesses that are chronic or incurable as well as a failure to consider the individual as a whole person with mental and physical needs. The rise in public

[3]Reasons for seeking out herbal medicine included "Want[ing] alternative healthcare" (26%), "Avoiding doctors" (21%), wanting "balanced, more holistic care" (17%), wanting "more personal care" (12%), and even "distrust[ing] doctors and 'the system'" (9%)

awareness of the HIV/AIDS virus, a variety of cancers, and Alzheimer's disease, as well as, concern about health problems from environmental pollution, chemical hypersensitivity, allergies, and ozone depletion provide additional stressors to the dominant healthcare system (Chandler-Ezell 2003).

When the revitalization process advances to stage three or the period of cultural distortion, individuals within the stressed system attempt to patch and adapt the system with alternative strategies. A national survey on consumer trends from 1990 to 1997 shows that Americans increased their consumption of alternative treatments for a variety of chronic illnesses to include back troubles, cardiovascular disease, depression, cancer, and allergies along with a number of acute illnesses like viruses and injuries (Eisenberg et al. 1998). Practitioners and texts on alternative medicines claim to offer dissatisfied patients complementary treatments for conditions not resolved by visits to allopathic physicians (van Haselen and Fisher 1998; Ezzo et al. 1998; Berman et al. 1998). Finally, societies undergoing stage three are characterized by high intracultural variation within the subsystem undergoing stress. One can expect to see competing versions of the system and inconsistency in behavior across the subsystem and in some cases across the entire culture.

During stage four, revitalization occurs. A standard phenomenon observed during the revitalization process is the use of invented traditions to stabilize the new, alternative model. Inventions of tradition differ from revitalization movements in several ways. The dominant paradigm or institution uses invented traditions to cope with cultural fracturing that emerges when people become dissatisfied with the current system. The competing paradigm uses invented traditions to give the appearance of consistency, validity, and continuity with an idealized past in order to attract more people away from the dominant paradigm. Inventions of tradition are actually the tools used by proponents of competing dominant and alternative factions in the first four stages of revitalization movements.

Although invented traditions may occur singly, they frequently appear in clusters of several closely-related practices. This is particularly true of institutions under great pressure to establish validity (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Sometimes smaller movements that fulfill only one cultural subsystem form close associations with other small movements with similar belief systems. An example of such an alliance is the relationship between modern pagan witchcraft and modern eclectic herbalism (Hutton 1999). Both countercultural movements trace their roots to pre-Christian or at least pre-industrialized Northwestern Europe. Both movements seek a closer connection with nature, domestic healthcare, and a more female-

centered view of history. Both are inconsistent with other elements of western culture. By forming an alliance, the two movements offer greater stability across cultural subsystems and become more sustainable and comfortable for their practitioners.

Revitalization movements and inventions of tradition are methods by which cultures adapt under selective pressure to better meet the needs of individuals within a culture. For people participating in an alternative social movement, the entry into an alternative subculture and adoption of its practices is a culturally adaptive behavior. Inventions of tradition in the U.S. healthcare system point to adaptive behaviors on both sides of the competition. Both physicians and patients are attempting to stabilize and preserve the dominant system by repairing its problematic structures (Berman et al. 1998; Burg et al. 1998; Cirigliano and Sun 1998; Eisenberg et al. 1998, Ezzo et al. 1998; van Haselen and Fisher 1998). Proponents of the competing alternative medical systems such as herbal medicine; however, are also using inventions of tradition to stabilize and provide authority to their paradigm (Mowrey 1993; Ody 1993). At the same time, both sides attempt to discredit the competition by debunking their methods along with their invented traditions.

Conclusions and Implications

Modern herbalism includes living traditional herbal systems as well as a newly emergent, eclectic, modern herbalism referred to as the modern herbal synthesis. Eclectic practitioners and consumers of modern herbalism sample treatments and knowledge from a variety of source traditions. The theoretical and knowledge elements are historically related to and descended from classic European herbalism, but have been combined with other paradigms to form a new subcultural structure. The scientific paradigm of disease theory, biochemistry, and evolutionary adaptation has been used to reframe this new subcultural structure. In order to replace "traditional" herbal elements, items, ideas, and practices have been borrowed from other traditional systems of herbalism such as traditional Chinese medicine and Native American plant medicine. From this diversity has emerged the modern herbal synthesis, a healthcare alternative to conventional medicine.

In addition to being a recent synthesis of an alternative healthcare subsystem, modern herbal synthesis is a revitalization movement of the American medical cultural subsystem in progress. It utilizes inventions of tradition in order to validate and stabilize the cultural structure. The movement appears to be in stage two and moving into stage three of

Wallace's model of cultural revitalization. American consumers continue to voice dissatisfaction with certain allopathic healthcare options. In reaction, a variety of attempts to adapt or repair the system is leading to stage three. The data suggests that consumers and select practitioners are responding to stress and perceived unmet healthcare needs by attempting a variety of "repairs" and "reforms" of the healthcare system. These attempts at adaptation also distort the system. Herbalism is being used to patch the system while at the same time forming the core of a competing alternative system. Wallace's model allows us to make a few predictions about the future of herbal medicine in this context.

To ask the question again: Why are Americans choosing herbal remedies? The short answer is that contemporary herbalism is a social movement based on adaptive behavior designed to find a better way to meet healthcare needs. Some Americans are rejecting portions of allopathic medicine in favor of herbalism because of perceptions that it is better suited to holistic health needs (Chandler-Ezell 2003; Burg et al. 1998; Kessler 1998; Barnes et al. 2004). The National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine (CAM) national survey found that 50% of respondents were interested in trying complementary and alternative medicine, including herbal remedies. Fifty-five percent believed that CAM would improve health when used in combination with conventional medical treatments while 28% believed that biomedical treatments would not help and the best option was CAM (Barnes et al. 2004). If healthcare consumers believe that allopathic healthcare is failing them, the alternative system may eventually become a viable option.

The theory of cultural change through revitalization predicts change, but this does not necessarily signify the end of allopathy. Indeed, allopathic medicine could remake itself as it did in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when it absorbed key elements of botanico-medicine. It is conceivable that allopathy might successfully assimilate elements from modern herbal synthesis or even another alternative movement and expand its ability to meet contemporary healthcare consumer needs.

Attitudes and strategies of people choosing herbal therapies are characteristic of those seen in people choosing an alternative paradigm in revitalization movements. The desire to create a better version of a past system, feelings of betrayal or broken faith with the dominant paradigm, and liberal use of invented tradition are typical patterns associated with revitalization movements. The evolution of herbalism in the western medical tradition and the function of herbal medicines as part of a social movement for alternative forms of healthcare is an adaptive response to consumer dissatisfaction with conventional healthcare options.

Collectively, supporters of the herbal medicine movement are attempting to effect change in the dominant system of western healthcare to improve patient outcomes and increase personal satisfaction with medical services.

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CHAPTER SIX

A PURPOSE-DRIVEN WORLD: FROM CHURCH-GROWTH MOVEMENT TO GLOBAL P.E.A.C.E. PLAN

WALTER H. SCALEN, JR.
AND J. B. WATSON, JR.

Social movements vary in their origin and goals. To accomplish their purposes, they generally transition from unplanned and spontaneous acts of collective behavior to organized, scheduled, highly visible, and focused activities. They often become associated with a cause and forge a distinct identity. Members may have a distinctive appearance, display identifiable, recognizable signs and symbols, and become associated with a dynamic leader. Revitalization movements constitute deliberate, organized attempts by some members of society to create a more satisfying culture.[1] They seek to undermine existing institutions with the intent of bringing about a new and meaningful integration through manipulation of the world. According to Wallace (1956), all religions evolve out of revitalization movements. Whenever conditions of individual or social stress exist, a prophet or some type of charismatic leader emerges calling for radical social change which results in a new cultural paradigm. Due to the personality of the leader he or she gains enthusiastic followers. If the paradigm is accepted by enough people, a new social order forms. We propose that the American church-growth phenomenon is an emerging revitalization movement that promises to create a new religious culture on a global scale.

The contemporary face of the church-growth movement is Rick Warren, founder of Saddleback Community Church in Southern California. His leadership has been pivotal in advancing the movement. His relaxed personal style belies the boundless energy of a masterful

[1] Glazier, Stephen D., "Revitalization Movements," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Society* on-line, http://hirr.hartsem.edu/ency/Revitalization.htm; accessed January 10, 2008.

organizer whose ideas may not be original, but whose methods of reframing those ideas and implementing them effectively is a key factor in the movement's success and sustainability. Warren has been a speaker at the United Nations, the World Economic Forum, the African Union, the Council on Foreign Relations, Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, *Time's* Global Health Summit, and numerous other conferences around the world. His book, *The Purpose Driven Life*, has sold more than 25 million copies (Abanes 2005).

The purpose-driven or church-growth movement is making rapid and extensive progress towards its goals with little national attention. Its resources in terms of leadership, organizational networks, and finances are growing rapidly. The movement's religious, social, political, and economic goals are increasingly global in scope. Opponents of the movement claim that it is redefining historic religious and cultural realities. We suggest that the movement is poorly understood, greatly underestimated, and, like most social movements, represents a challenge to existing social arrangements. The social goals of the movement need to be more fully understood due to its international focus and recent successes in implementing a new business-based model of organization for churches in the United States.

How the church-growth movement began is a matter of debate. A number of significant subgroups included under the larger umbrella organization are linked to people other than Rick Warren (McIntosh and Engle 2004). The movement also generates media labels such as the purpose-driven church and the new paradigm church. Following an extensive review of articles, books, and church-growth web sites along with observations of several churches in East Texas undergoing the purpose-driven paradigm shift advocated by Rick Warren, we are convinced that the movement has evolved through three major stages: 1) the church-growth movement; 2) the purpose-driven movement; and 3) the global P.E.A.C.E. plan. The third stage represents a culmination of a variety of alternate models that have been created through each stage. We will examine each of the stages leading to revitalization separately.

A Brief History of the Church-growth Movement

Most observers of the church-growth movement agree that its roots can be found in the work and writings of a missionary named Donald McGavran (Elliott 1981; Costella 1998). In 1955, McGavran introduced a concept called cultural contextualism. He noted that church buildings built by foreign missionaries in Africa were constructed in the style of the

missionary's home country rather than the architecture of the host country. For McGavran, such practices presented a problem for advancement of missionary work. He proposed that some measure of local cultural accommodation should become part of the missionary effort in order to better connect with target populations. He emphasized practicality, quantitative measures of ministerial success, and total parishioner involvement in church activities. In 1965 he was invited to Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California to establish the School of World Missions in hopes of putting his plans into action. In 1970, McGavran and C. Peter Wagner wrote a classic text in church-growth movement literature, *Understanding Church Growth*.

The central idea in McGavran's work is that historic Christian doctrines must be reframed in cultural metaphors that native cultures can more fully understand. Every religion has distinctive ideas, beliefs, values, standards, and practices, as well as, unique language, art forms, and symbols. These characteristics serve as boundaries that distinguish those who practice a particular religion from those who do not (Wolfe 2003). The modern and post-modern applications of McGavran's ideas potentially go much further. Every religion, including Christianity, can be construed as a culture within itself. According to McGavran (1955) some measure of local cultural accommodation should become part of all efforts to advance the missionary cause.

Early critics of the church-growth movement believed that this new model represented a distortion of traditional church organization, drawing from an outmoded consumer capitalist mentality (Elliott 1981). According to more recent observers, contemporary church-growth advocates have both misinterpreted and misapplied McGavran's original ideas (Guinness 1993). McGavran and Wagner (1970) suggested that cultural accommodation might serve as a bridge to find common ground between missionaries and native populations. It is not likely that either of them envisioned a superhighway of cultural exchange. They most certainly did not anticipate the replacement of one religious culture for another. Contemporary advocates of church growth appear to have embraced American popular culture's abhorrence of all things historical and traditional. Imitation appears to be the order of the day.

Proponents of the contemporary church-growth model have adopted a corporate business model as their *modus operandi* for reforming churches. This phenomenon has produced outcomes antithetical to and inconsistent with traditional religious doctrines and practices. Before discussing the current state of the movement, the work of two individuals whose ideas

and practices either preceded or ran parallel to McGavran deserve mention.

Some key church-growth ideas are believed to have originated with the famous Pentecostal evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson in the early 1900's (Sutton 2007). McPherson was one of the first evangelists to use modern technology as a tool for promoting her ministry. Known for elaborate costumes and high drama, she mysteriously disappeared in 1926 only to reappear in Mexico later that same year. Allegedly she had been kidnapped although some people believed that her disappearance was connected to a romantic tryst. The rumors enhanced her celebrity status and she returned to lead her church until her death in 1944 (Blumhofer 1993). McPherson's attempts to modernize the "faith" foreshadowed things to come.

Another contributor to the church-growth movement is television evangelist, Robert Schuller. After being ordained as a minister in Michigan, Schuller moved to Garden Grove, California in 1955 with the dream of starting a church. He rented the Orange Drive Inn Theater and conducted a door to door survey of potential church members. As Schuller's notoriety grew, so did his multi-million dollar radio and television ministry. By 1980, Schuller's Crystal Cathedral, the largest glass structure in the world, became a reality (Dart 2002). Schuller, who was influenced by Norman Vincent Peale, further developed the philosophy of "possibility thinking." He has pursued his course of "positivizing" religion by consistently avoiding preaching key doctrines of historic Christianity such as sin, repentance, hell, and blood atonement (Nason and Nason 1983). Instead, his ministry is entertainment-oriented and program-driven, a prototype of the modern megachurch. While speaking at Willow Creek Church in Chicago in 1998 Robert Schuller made the following statement:

> An undisputed historical fact is that I am the founder, really, of the church-growth movement in this country...I advocated and launched what has become known as the marketing approach in Christianity.[2]

Seeker-Sensitive and Purpose-driven Models: Hybels and Warren

Inspired by one of Robert Schuller's church growth seminars, Bill Hybels founded Chicago's Willow Creek Community Church in 1975.

[2] Pritchard, *Willow Creek Seeker Services: Evaluating a New Way of Doing Church*, 51.

Like Schuller before him, Hybels started his church in a movie theater. Utilizing Schuller's canvassing method, Hybels surveyed neighborhoods to determine what prospective members liked and disliked about churches and organized religion. Starting with a core group of 125 people, the church has grown to a membership of around 20,000. Willow Creek Community Church is now one of the largest megachurches in the world.[3]

Hybels has maintained a public connection to Schuller's ministry by serving as a board member, speaking at Schuller's church-growth seminars, and making periodic appearances at Crystal Cathedral services. Hybels is most closely associated with the seeker-sensitive model of church-growth which means the church building and the church service format are non-traditional. Pews, stained glass, and crosses are conspicuously absent from Willow Creek's 7200-seat, $72 million sanctuary.[4]

In 1979, Rick Warren and his wife traveled from Texas to Saddleback Valley, California to start their own church. They began their venture by hosting a small Bible study group in their home. Like Schuller and Hybels before him, Warren surveyed the surrounding neighborhoods to discover what approach to church programs and activities would be favorably received by the community. Once again, the decision was made to eschew traditional symbols and music. The culmination of the Warren's work is Saddleback Valley Community Church. From an initial congregation of 205 people in 1980, church membership has grown to over 20,000.[5]

Warren is attempting to expand his influence to churches and organizations around the world. Warren appears to have surpassed the formidable accomplishments of Hybels and the Willow Creek Association (Abanes 2005). Warren claims that he has trained over 400,000 pastors worldwide and thousands of churches have "transitioned" into his purpose-driven model, representing many different denominations including Jewish congregations.[6] While Warren's basic ideas about church growth are very similar to those of Schuller and Hybels, his publishing successes

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[3] Ibid., 52.

[4] Symonds, Grow, and Cady, "Earthly Empires: How Evangelical Churches are Borrowing from the Business Playbook, in *Business Week* online, http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_21/b3934001_mz001.htm?chan=search (accessed August 15, 2007)

[5] Ibid., 3.

[6] Sataline, "Veneration Gap: A Popular Strategy for Church Growth Splits Congregants," in the *Wall Street Journal* online, http://www.apprising.org/archives/2006/09/veneration_gap_1.html (accessed August 15, 2007)

have made him an international celebrity. His premise is that churches can be marketed successfully if pastors follow a traditional business model. The end result is that attendance and offerings will increase and younger people will be drawn into the congregation. Once "transitioned" into a purpose-driven church model, participating congregations then become part of a massive network which markets training materials, conferences, and related products (Gilley 2005).

Schuller, Hybels, and Warren do not view business and worldly success as inherently evil. Biblical references are cited to bolster their position. According to their interpretation of the Bible, Jesus himself grew up in a family carpentry business. He also blessed the Apostle Peter's fishing business with abundant catches. The Apostle Paul continued his work as a tent maker while doing missionary work on the side. Critics of the church-growth movement cite the words of Jesus:

> "It is written, my house shall be called a house of prayer, but you are making it a robber's den" (Matthew 21:12).[7]

Inconsistencies between traditional Christian tenets such as spiritual over material wealth versus the business and marketing focus of church-growth proponents are troublesome to some (Gilley 2005; Costella 2004; Costella 1998). The central idea behind the church-growth movement is that the church product can be marketed profitably as long as pastors and other church leaders follow the methods, techniques, and formulas advocated by Schuller, Hybels, and Warren. Even though the original goals of the church-growth movement articulated by McGavran during the 1950s did not include the promotion of consumerism, the applied approach has culminated in a revitalization of traditional religious practice along business lines.

The Global P.E.A.C.E. Plan: The Sky is the Limit

On April 17, 2005, to observe the church's twenty-fifth anniversary, Rick Warren's Saddleback congregation met at Angels Stadium in Anaheim, California. Approximately 30,000 people attended and the crowd received video greetings from President George W. Bush and evangelist Billy Graham. Though not mentioned in Saddleback's official publication about the conference, Warren began the meeting by singing Jimmy Hendrix's "Purple Haze" in a kind of strange juxtaposition to the

[7] *New American Standard Bible* online, http://unbound.biola.edu (accessed August 15, 2007.

gravity of his message. Warren then announced his global plan to eradicate five problems that negatively affect billions of people. He identified these problems as spiritual emptiness, selfish leadership, poverty, disease, and illiteracy.

The official name for the plan is the global P.E.A.C.E. plan. Warren explained that the acronym P.E.A.C.E. stands for plant churches, equip servant leaders, assist the poor, care for the sick, and educate the next generation. Warren claims that the purpose-driven movement is the ideal vehicle for launching such an effort because of the successes of the movement over the past twenty-five years. Warren revealed that P.E.A.C.E. will initially focus on the small country of Rwanda in eastern Africa where a million people were killed in 1994. He ended his presentation by stating:

> I stand before you confidently right now and say to you that God is going to use you to change the world. I'm looking at a stadium full of people who are telling God they will do whatever it takes to establish God's kingdom on earth as it is in heaven - what kind of spiritual awakening will occur?[8]

Warren believes that religious institutions are more powerful forces than governments for solving the world's problems. He has also made the following statement, "I would trust any imam or priest or rabbi to know what is going on in a community before I would any government agency followed by "Muslim fundamentalism, Christian fundamentalism, Jewish fundamentalism, secular fundamentalism. They're all motivated by fear….fear of each other."[9]

Applying the P.E.A.C.E. Plan

A year after Warren's team visited Rwanda, the realities on the ground might prove to be more challenging than initially anticipated.[10] A

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[8] Kelly, "P.E.A.C.E. Plan a Worldwide Revolution," http://www.purposedrivenlife.com/absolutenm3/templates/articles.aspx?articleid=25 (accessed August 12, 2007)

[9] Nussbaum, "The Purpose Driven Pastor" in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* online, http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-religion/1555425/posts (accessed August 8, 2007).

[10] Driskell, "Field Testing Pastor Rick Warren's Peace Plan: Missionaries Raise Spirits and Expectations, but can their Methods Cross Cultures?" The Orange County Register online,

Rwandan pastor and translator noted that the purpose-driven concept is difficult to translate into his native language. He suggested that in materialistic and individualistic cultures a "purpose-driven life" more likely resonates than in a collectivist country such as Rwanda. He was grateful; however, for Warren's interest in his country because he said that Rwandans felt abandoned by the West. In particular, American missionaries are welcomed by the pastor and his congregation who were seeking funding for a new church building, roads, and other infrastructure needs.

A Baptist missionary who has lived in Rwanda since 1979 expressed concerns about temporary missionary teams that are part of the initial P.E.A.C.E. plan. Although he regards them as well-intentioned, he believes they may be doing more harm than good. He said that people flock to such groups in the beginning because they have money, but the moment they are gone, everything collapses. Some observers suggest that building relationships in Rwanda will take years and short term missionary junkets are unlikely to find long-term solutions (Driskell 2006).

According to Dennis Costella (1998) if the purpose-driven church model is followed, fidelity to traditional Christian beliefs will be sacrificed in order to gain numerical increases in church participation that reach beyond the United States. He gives Warren credit for his knowledge of the Bible but warns that his methods may comprise the "Biblical purpose" of the church. Since the goal of revitalization movements is to produce structural change in a culture, the P.E.A.C.E. plan appears to be focused on that end. Rwanda has recently experienced extreme stress and environmental changes that destabilized social structures including religion. Wallace (1956) hypothesized that revitalization movements may be revolutionary in scope, especially when the promise is a return to a more stable and harmonious society. Warren's plan, although controversial, promises radical social change for countries like Rwanda with the help of American business ingenuity.

Conclusions and Implications

Both the church-growth movement and Rick Warren's P.E.A.C.E. plan represent a paradigm shift from one set of religious cultural practices to new ones with a global orientation. Warren and others have modeled their new social construction of religious practice on corporate business

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http://www.ocregister.com/ocregister/homepage/abox/article_1378818.php (accessed August 1, 2007).

structures. They are bringing about a fundamental cultural shift, the effects of which may take decades to fully determine.

It is clear that Warren intends to pursue the global P.E.A.C.E. plan initiative which includes mobilizing ten million churches and 100 million small groups to tackle global social issues such as poverty, disease, spiritual emptiness, egocentric leadership, and illiteracy (Henderson 2005).

What exactly does he have in mind over the long term? Does his working definition of world peace include remaking every church, temple, and mosque in the purpose-driven model? Does he intend to Christianize the world by focusing on felt needs, self-fulfillment, and personal success? Is Warren pursuing the creation of a "new spirituality," a pluralistic alternative to what he now calls fundamentalism? Is the ultimate goal to create a new religious culture on a global scale? These are all questions that have yet to be answered.

Comments by Warren to the Time Global Health Summit lend some credibility to the idea of a new spirituality.

> The church is bigger than any government in the world…then you add in Muslims, you add in Hindus, you add in all the different religions, and you use those houses of worship as distribution centers not just for spiritual care, but health care – what could be done?[11]

Unquestionably, Rick Warren is the contemporary and public face of a burgeoning religious revitalization movement, but where he is taking the "new version" of that movement is open for debate. After saving the world, there may be little left to do.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMMIGRANT RIGHTS MOVEMENT: A STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

MARIA CRISTINA MORALES

Anti-immigrant sentiments became a political reality in American immigrant reform proposals such as the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 otherwise known as HR 4437. The bill, introduced by Republican Representative James Sensenbrenner from Wisconsin, severely restricts entry of immigrants into the United States. A secondary focus is to criminalize current residents who are undocumented. The bill also proposes to detain or deport millions of undocumented immigrants. Additionally, anyone caught harboring a person without legal immigrant status risks imprisonment.

This growing anti-immigrant social and political climate in the United States manifested by legal acts such as HR 4437 ignited a social movement advocating for immigrant rights. The pro-immigration movement[1] gained momentum initially with the National Day of Immigrants followed by National Boycott Day. Immigrant supporters demonstrated in major American cities including New York, Las Vegas, Miami, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Atlanta, Denver, Phoenix, New Orleans, Milwaukee, and Dallas.[2] Particularly visible were marches in Chicago and Los Angeles with 300,000 and 400,000 demonstrators respectively. Although it is likely that local variations existed, both of these political demonstrations first on April 10, 2006 followed by the national boycott on May 1, 2006 reflect the force of local immigrant movements to spearhead a national movement.

Beginning in August 2004 and ending in August 2006, I observed twenty organizational meetings, three student protest marches, and the national mobilization events mentioned previously in Las Vegas, Nevada.

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[1] From now on the movement will be referred to simply as the immigrant rights movement.

[2] Coverage of these events was documented by the Cable News Network in 2006: "Immigrant Day," http://www.cnn.com/2006/US/05/01/immigrant.day/index.html (August 31, 2007)

The Las Vegas based United Coalition for Immigrant Rights (UCIR) formed in the aftermath of the Immigrant Workers Freedom Rides (IWFR) in 2004. The group is illustrative of grassroots organizational efforts that are occurring within the contemporary immigrant rights movement in the United States. This chapter describes mobilization efforts by each of the groups mentioned above. I discuss some of the conflicts experienced by student and adult activists that may be potentially damaging to a full-fledged national immigrant rights movement. I also provide a framework for the dialogue between different factions of the movement regarding key citizen-ship issues.

The Rise of the Grassroots Movement

In 2003, the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) spearheaded the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride (IWFR), an attempted replication of the 1961 freedom rides associated with the civil rights movement. Approximately 1,000 immigrants and 125,000 union and community organizers were bused from cities throughout the U.S. to Boston and Washington, D.C. The freedom ride ended with a demonstration in New York City on October 4, 2004.[3]

A spin-off coalition called Nevada Immigrant Coalition (NIC) consisting largely of organizations that supported the IWRF began to form in January 2006. The mission of NIC was threefold. It hoped to unite organizations and communities to advocate for immigrant and refugee issues, to provide necessary resources and support, and to work toward comprehensive immigration reform. Several of the meetings resulted in the emergence of a core group of coalition members including the Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada (PLAN), American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA), American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees Union (HERE), Carpenters Union, and African Refugee Community Services.

Despite the presence of NIC, the most important events leading up to the grassroots mobilization events of April 10 and May 1, 2006 were student walk outs to protest HR 4437 (Flores Rangel 2007; Revilla 2006a, 2006b). The walk outs began on March 21, 2006 and included elementary, junior high, and high school students. Young people mobilized using technology such as text messaging and My Space. The result was three key political protests with approximately 3,000 youth representing twenty-

[3] For more information about this event see "The Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride," http://www.iwfr.org/.

two Las Vegas schools (Ritter 2006). A fourth student protest was held the following Saturday to debunk media perceptions that students just wanted an excuse to cut class. These protests mirrored the student walk outs in East Los Angeles in 1968 where thousands of students, largely of Mexican descent, walked out of school to protest the unequal treatment they were receiving in the educational system.

Following the first student walk out, University of Nevada Las Vegas students joined the youth in their mobilization efforts. The students formed a coalition called Students Stand Up (SSU). Participants held mixed citizenship statuses: 1) undocumented; 2) documented; and 3) native born. A few of the youth leaders did not have any affiliation with an educational institution.

During mobilization meetings, SSU reached out to established community organizations such as the United Coalition for Immigrant Rights (UCIR) whose active membership included several Mexican hometown associations, church leaders, and the Laborers Union. During the formation of this alliance, SSU faced some opposition from other community leaders who chose not to become part of the grassroots movement. For example, NIC organizers did not believe that the students were empowered enough to mobilize effectively and they did not support student walk outs. Other established community organizations, such as the Mexican American Political Association, did not respond favorably either. The perception was that the young people were not representing community interests. Regardless of the opposition, SSU remained part of the immigrant movement and strengthened their mobilizations through alliances formed with several specific organizations mentioned previously.

Citizenship Issues in the Immigrant Movement

What was behind the political rifts? I argue that the problems emerged from differential conceptualizations and representations of citizenship. The issue that best illustrates this controversy is the use of flags. The media frequently portrays the immigrant movement as a separatist movement because of presence of non-U.S. flags during the student walk outs. The flag issue was much deeper and even more controversial among the adult leaders of the immigrant rights movement. The debate about the flag symbolized identity issues and varying conceptions of citizenship. The U.S. flag represents the nation-state. Waving the U.S. flag at immigrant marches represents advocacy for legalization or nation-state citizenship. The display of Latin American flags is symbolic of cultural pride and the struggle for citizenship as social inclusion.

Young activists waved Latin American flags along with other cultural icons and symbols during the protest. The students used cultural citizenship tools and cultural pride as a mobilization strategy. The display of non-U.S. flags was symbolic of the struggle for cultural pluralism and recognition, even though the primary aim was nation- state citizenship.

Some community leaders did not join the UCIR largely because they disapproved of the display of Latin American flags during demonstrations. A community leader who did not join UCIR had this to say:

> Mira, yo llevo a México aquí en mi corazón, pero allá estamos pidiendo por legalización, le-gal-i-za-ción. Y tenemos que enseñarles que queremos ser parte de este país. (Look, I have Mexico in my heart, but out there we are struggling for legalization, and we need to show them that we want to be a part of this country).[4]

Other community leaders focus on legal citizenship above all else, even at the cost of cultural assimilation. Although retaining an emotional connection to Mexico, they downplay this connection because they want to be American. Many non-UCIR community leaders believe claiming cultural legitimacy will jeopardize legalization.

How did this generational divide over different conceptualizations of citizenship arise? The youth of the movement are expected to acculturate at much more intense rates than their parents and other members of the Latino community. For example, the Latino workforce is largely reliant on niche employment because of ethnic networks for gaining employment (Elliott 2001; Green et. al. 1999; Falcon and Melendez 2001). In this type of atmosphere, the push for acculturation is not so strong because the majority of the workforce is Latino, there are few if any mobility ladders, and there are limited English requirements. Latino youth are in educational settings where achievement is strongly correlated with English proficiency on the one hand (Morales and Saenz 2007) and erasure of their cultural history on the other hand (Leyva 2002). The alienation they experience in their schools surfaced in the aftermath of the student walk outs when many faced suspension or were not given the opportunity to make-up standardized tests and other exams. A high school teacher explained how some of her colleagues intentionally gave tests on the days of the marches as a way to punish the students. Flores Rangel (2007) and Revilla (2006a, 2006b) found that mobilizations occurred in response to institutionalized multidimensional struggles and student consciousness of xenophobia, homophobia, nativism, classism, sexism, ageism, and racism.

[4] Translations are by the author.

The young people waved their Latin American flags at immigrant rights marches despite having limited experiences with Latin America. The display of Latin American flags was representative of a broader vision of citizenship that included legalization along with a sense of belonging. Young protesters question the value of legal citizenship in the nation-state for people of color. They use cultural forms of expression that keep the Latino identity intact and acknowledge their contributions and those of their parents (Flores and Benmayor 1997). They do not see cultural claims as distinct from claims to legalization. The youthful protesters are on a quest for the freedom to be both Latino and American (Silvestrini 1997).

Nation-State and Social Citizenship

Citizenship is essential for creating equality and is one of the motivating forces behind immigrant rights movements in general (Glenn 2000). Two specific dimensions of citizenship are important to supporters of the immigrant rights movement in the United States. The first dimension is advocacy for legal citizenship in the nation-state. The second dimension is advocacy for social citizenship. Rather than tracing the entire evolution of the concept of citizenship, the subsequent discussion centers on the dialectic between nation-state and social citizenship among Latino Americans and Latino immigrants.

The most common conceptualization of citizenship is legal recognition of an individual in the nation-state: a person is native-born or naturalized. Marshall (1964) coined the term social citizenship to describe the right to live according to the prevailing standards set by society. Nation-state citizenship entails having legal status that distinguishes members of society from non-members (Gordon and Lenhardt 2007). One of the most disputed aspects of immigrant reform revolves around whether undocumented immigrants should be granted legal status, not to be confused with citizenship. Legal status refers to conversion from undocumented to documented status for immigrants. Documented workers have the right to work and are protected from deportation.

While legal status is important, it does not provide full social integration. A different conceptualization of citizenship extends beyond membership in the nation-state to social inclusion. The U.S. Constitution declared that all citizens are equal, yet at the time of its implementation only white male property owners were declared citizens (Rosaldo 1997). Exclusion based on class, gender, and race inspired struggles for full citizenship such as the women's suffrage movement, the anti-slavery movement, and the civil rights movement (Rosaldo 1997). The

controversy surrounding citizenship has to do with the fact that its denial occurred in a republic committed to political equality and a free and just society (Sklar 1991, 17). Despite designation as a democratic society, freedom in the United States does not extend to everyone. This makes U. S. citizenship a historically disputed subject that continues to be paradoxical.

Critical race theory (CRT) scholars have questioned the value of formal citizenship for people of color. Lopez (1994, 2006) stresses how laws construct racial identity and support racial subordination. Derrick Bell (1992) identified a second tier citizenship reserved for racial minorities especially African Americans. Deriving from CRT, Latino critical race theorists (LATCRT) similarly analyze the struggles for identity, recognition, and legitimacy among Latinos (Delgado and Stefancic 1998). Although citizenship in the nation-state may not accompany the equal treatment or inclusion of people of color, some critical race theorists argued that citizenship is an important prerequisite to social citizenship (Gordon and Lenhardt 2007).

Advocating citizenship as social inclusion, cultural citizenship examines the relationship between cultural identity and citizenship. By adding the dimension of human agency, emphasis is placed on how social movements expand citizenship rights to include class, gender, race, sexuality, and age (Rosaldo 1997). First coined by Rosaldo (1994), the term cultural citizenship stresses the importance of culture for marginalized groups as a tool to claim citizenship rights in society. Additionally, it provides a theoretical apparatus to examine dynamics of social change that extend beyond citizenship and social rights while explaining some of the processes of cultural production occurring within Latino and other minority communities (Flores and Benmayor 1997). The state also establishes criteria for cultural belonging through laws which require careful navigation by immigrant populations (Ong et al. 1996). Cultural citizenship is a dual process in which culture is shaped both by groups desiring parity and by the power of the nation- state and civil society.

Dimensions of Citizenship

The complexity of citizenship is particularly evident in the case of immigrants and globalization. The traditional meaning of citizenship as connected to nation-states becomes questionable when international boundaries blur with rapidly shifting geographic territories (Sassen 1998; Ohmae 1999; Giddens 2000; Glenn 2000, 2002). In the case of U.S.

immigrants, they are physically present within state borders and they are governed by national laws; however, nearly all undocumented immigrants and others who do not meet citizenship requirements are ineligible for citizenship (Bosniak 2006). Transnational European immigrants, on the other hand, move from one country to another and live and work in multiple national contexts. The significance of geography is decreasing which allows immigrant groups to emancipate themselves from citizenship that is defined by national boundaries (Brubaker 1989). Technically, nation-state boundaries do not have to be directly connected to citizenship.

Most recent U.S. immigrants do not fully possess social citizenship. This is especially true for immigrants of color. The history of U. S. immigration policy reflects national origin, race, class, and gender biases (Saenz et al. 2004; Lee 2005). Although the history of immigration and nationalization is different from the history of exclusion of indigenous Americans from citizenship, both historical processes reflect struggles of racial minorities for inclusion (Sklar 1991). A growing concern centers on redefining distribution of rights, privileges, and institutional access based on citizenship issues and to group positioning within U. S. racial hierarchies (Saenz et.al 2004).

Some responses to demographic and cultural shifts that accompany Asian and Latin American immigrants represent attempts to clarify the national culture. Huntington (2004) expressed fear that Latinos are not acculturating. He contends that this is a threat to the national culture of the United States. Huntington's assessment is not surprising because of renewed efforts to constrict definitions of Americanism through border control, English only policies, the denial of welfare to immigrants, and attempts to eliminate birthright citizenship for children of immigrants (Glenn 2000). Denial of social citizenship can fuel ethnic retention which will further inhibit acculturation. Limited access to occupational and social structures influences immigrants to retain their language and cultural ties in the hope that they will be able to engage in transnational entrepreneurial activity (Portes et al. 1999).

The exact relationship between types of citizenship and immigration is not clear. Questioning the value of nation-states for the distribution of rights, Sassen (1996) noted that immigrants in western countries are accorded the same social and civil rights as citizens through international conventions and legal regimes. Yet, the defense of these international and universal rights remains in the hands of the nation-state (Glenn 2000). Perhaps more importantly, an individual cannot fully enjoy social citizenship without nation-state citizenship if they have to live with the

threat of deportation, as is the case of undocumented immigrants in the U.S.

The lack of social citizenship becomes problematic within the context of democratic principles when considering that immigrants are not reaping the benefits from their societal investments. For instance, immigrants contribute to society through their labor and by paying taxes (Eitzen and Baca-Zinn 2004) and through political participation in governmental decisions at the local and state levels (Bosniak 2006; Gordon and Lenhardt 2007; Wells 2004). Despite these contributions, immigrants do not enjoy full citizenship. What is occurring is the existence of subpopulations that contribute to the broader society without reciprocal benefits. Peter Spiro (1999) coined the term citizenship dilemma to describe the quandary between a contributing immigrant population and dominant expansionist fears relating to perceived misappropriation of benefits and deconstruction of the national identity. The question of citizenship is at the core of the contemporary immigrant rights movement.

Discussion and Conclusion

Mobilization efforts for immigrant rights represent an ideal environment to examine claims for multiple forms and representations of citizenship. A major finding was the various conceptualizations and representations of citizenship among the leaders of the immigrant rights movements. The leadership all shared the struggles for nation-state citizenship. Specifically, they shared the quest for legalization of undocumented immigrants or advocacy for nation-state citizenship. The point of contestation among the leadership involves the use of cultural affirmations versus the promotion of acculturation in mobilization efforts. Young Latino activists used various cultural symbols, such as Latin American flags, as reminders of historical incidents involving Latino contributions to the United States. They walked out of their classrooms to acquire cultural citizenship tools to mobilize and instill cultural pride. To illustrate this point the flag was used as an example of how cultural citizenship became a tool to establish claims to social citizenship (Rosaldo 1997).

For the youth of the movement, nation-state citizenship does not ensure social citizenship. They envision a much broader sense of citizenship that involves both nation-state membership and equal treatment or social inclusion. The community leaders opposed the display of cultural affirmations because they fear it will impede the larger goal of attaining nation-state citizenship. For other community leaders, displaying U.S.

flags represented the struggle against xenophobic fears that "aliens" do not want to Americanize. They want to be Americans and this means becoming part of the "melting pot" by letting go of cultural distinctions. Glenn (2002) argues that citizenship tied to the nation-states has diminished in significance. This is not the case for undocumented immigrants in the United States. Citizenship in the nation-state is central to mobilization efforts and is directly connected to legal residence in the country where they live and work. Even though some immigrants navigate back and forth socially, economically, and politically as transnational migrants, citizenship in the nation-state has not lost its significance. Citizenship is the driving force behind mass mobilization efforts for immigrant rights despite the controversies over different representations of citizenship.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY KU KLUX KLAN: SOCIAL MOVEMENT OR REACTIVE SUBSYSTEM?

DIANNE DENTICE AND JAMES L. WILLIAMS

The contemporary Ku Klux Klan is a hodgepodge of loosely organized groups located throughout the United States and connected by the Internet. The original Klan was born in post-Reconstruction Tennessee sometime between 1865 and 1866 and re-born on Stone Mountain, Georgia in 1915. The group has been the subject of books, documentaries, scholarly articles, and movies and Klan history includes violence, intimidation, and vigilantism. During its heyday from 1915 to somewhere around 1930, the Klan was labeled either a reactionary or nativist social movement (Roberts and Kloss, 1974) and garnered support from regions outside the South (Alexander 1965; Wade 1987; Jackson 1992; MacLean 1994).

Currently, the Klan can rightfully claim to be the oldest extremist group in the United States at 142 years of age. It still attracts members and groups congregate for rallies every year. Beck (2000) mapped white supremacist activity from 1980 to 1990 and found a distribution of 895 public gatherings, many by Klan groups throughout the South. Although the Klan has changed over time and the Southern Poverty Law Center (2007) estimates total national membership figures at between 5,000 and 8,000, the organization is still part of the rural and urban landscape of twenty-first century America. What makes the Ku Klux Klan especially interesting is its persistence after long periods of conflict with law enforcement, mainstream society, and within the white supremacist movement itself.

When analyzed within the parameters of the white supremacist movement of which it is a part, the Klan resembles a persistent subculture. When analyzed outside of the white supremacist movement, we suggest that the Klan consists of opposition groups that comprise a reactive

subsystem.[1] Reactive subsystems oppose progressive policies such as affirmative action, equal rights for women, and immigrant worker rights. They do not necessarily form a social movement or a countermovement. Although Young's hypothesis is somewhat dated, we argue that his definition of reactive subsystem is the most effective way to explain the status of contemporary Klan groups because of the devolution[2] of the Klan as a social movement. The goal of this chapter is to employ the concept of reactive subsystem to describe the nature and current status of the oldest and most colorful white supremacist group in the United States. Our intent is to illustrate how the Klan has changed over time and why the contemporary Klan is neither a social movement nor a countermovement.

Our discussion is based on formal interviews with twenty current and former Klansmen and Klanswomen from May 2005 through June 2007.[3] Klansmen numbered fifteen and Klanswomen numbered five. Discussion posts from Stormfront.org, an online forum for white nationalists are also included.[4] Interviews and discussion posts are supplemented with e-mail exchanges, observations, and casual conversations with twenty additional people who attended four Klan rallies and one Klan congress. Observations of Klan events began in September 2006 and ended in May 2007 in the following states: Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi.[5] Klan group representation includes the Bayou Knights, Imperial Klans of America, Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and Dixie Rangers Ku Klux Klan. Attendance at Klan events ranged from 35 at a rally in Arkansas to over 120 at a rally in Louisiana. Men outnumbered women at the events by a ratio of three to one (estimated). Interviews, casual conversations, and observations are supplemented with extensive reviews of Klan literature and Internet Web Sites.

The Good Ole' Days: 1915 through 1930

After the first formal leader of the post-Reconstruction Klan, Nathan Bedford Forrest, decided to disband the organization in 1869, violence

[1] This concept is based on a theory proposed by Frank Young (1970).
[2] We define devolution as passing down or descent through stages, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Devolution (accessed December 5, 2007).
[3] No participant names are used to provide anonymity.
[4] Dianne Dentice, "Group Interaction and Activism in the American 'Nationalist' Movement" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Woman's University, 2006).
[5] Fieldwork was funded by a grant from the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches,Texas.

toward southern blacks continued unabated and eventually Plessy v. Ferguson and the Jim Crow system institutionalized racism and legitimized segregation (Wade 1987: 112-113). Although the Klan never went away, groups were disorganized and there was no leader to oversee activities and coordinate recruitment efforts. In November, 1915, Colonel William Simmons decided to change all that with an organized rally on Stone Mountain in Georgia. With the help of an Atlanta public relations firm and the popularity of D. W. Griffith's movie, *The Birth of a Nation*, Simmons managed to mobilize fragmented groups that constituted the existing Klan. Some scholars estimate that from 1920 to 1925, membership numbered between two and five million and included the governors of Texas, Indiana, and Oregon (Jackson 1992).

By 1930, the Klan was once again in disarray. The Great Depression left klaverns[6] throughout the country struggling to recruit new members and retain current members (Alexander: 232). By 1944, the Second World War and a federal law suit for $685,000 in back taxes drove the final nail in the coffin of the "Invisible Empire" headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia.[7] After the larger parent organization disbanded, scattered Klan groups continued to harass southern blacks along with the occasional communist during the postwar years. Not until 1954 and the threat of integration would the Klan renew mobilization efforts.

Klan Revival: 1955 through 1990

The post-World War II revival of the Klan was short-lived and suppressed quickly by the federal government (Wade 1987; Ridgeway 1990). With the 1950s came a push for equal rights through integration of schools and public facilities for American blacks. Southern whites were threatened by legal action of Brown v. Board of Education. Imminent social change resulted in a resurgence of Klan activity beginning around 1955 (Vander Zanden 1960). In 1961, Robert Shelton's Alabama Knights merged with the United Klans of America (UKA). Shelton provided effective leadership and the UKA became the dominant group in Klan resurgence during the 1960s.[8] The UKA was active until 1987 when a lawsuit on behalf of the family of a young man who was killed by some of

[6] Klavern is Klan vernacular for group.

[7] The Klan is sometimes referred to in historical literature as the 'Invisible Empire'.

[8] Anti-Defamation League, "The Rise of the United Klans of America," http://www.adl.org/issue_combating_hate/uka/rise.asp (accessed December 28, 2007).

Shelton's Klan members bankrupted the group and prompted Shelton to proclaim that the Klan was officially dead.

During the 1970s, David Duke, Bill Wilkinson, Tom Metzger, and Don Black mobilized Klan groups throughout the South and in California. In 1976, Duke organized a Louisiana Klan rally that attracted an estimated 2700 people.[9] He went on to become politically active in Louisiana during the 1980s.[10] Although Duke distanced himself from the Klan and is no longer an active member, it is interesting to note that his name was mentioned in speeches at each of the Klan events represented in this study. One of the rallies displayed vintage Klan robes which included one formerly owned by David Duke. Following Duke's exit from Klan organizing, Thomas Robb, a Christian Identity minister from Arkansas, tried to establish himself as a credible Klan leader. His goal was to build a network of Klan groups under the umbrella of his organization the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. His attempts met with temporary success.[11]

Acknowledging the Klan has changed, the people who discussed their respective groups for this study agreed that the changes are not all bad. Most of the organizers of the rallies represented in this study want to attract more women and families in order to provide stability and change the negative Klan image. They still value the old traditions and rituals such as "cross lightings" and want to keep them alive for the next generation, however. They also agree that even though Klan groups are united by the idea that whites are superior to people of color and specific ethnic groups such as Latinos and Asians, groups differ on other issues such as religion.[12] An active Louisiana Klansman made the following statement (interview with first author, July 6, 2005):

> Anyone who thinks the Klan will ever go away is wrong. They may not have the membership they once had and their rallies may be small but they have plenty of support…their ideals and values are actually very similar to those of mainstream America.

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[9] For an in-depth journalistic assessment of the Klan during the 1970s, see *The Klan* by Patsy Sims.

[10] For a detailed account of Duke's early political career see *The Emergence of David Duke and the Politics of Race*, edited by Douglas Rose.

[11] Dobratz, Betty A. and Stephanie Shanks-Meile. "Historical Overview." In *"White Power, White Pride!" The White Separatist Movement in the United States*, 34-88. New York: Twayne, 1997.

[12] Dobratz and Shanks-Meile, "Conflict in the White Supremacist/Racialist Movement in the United States," *International Journal of Group Tensions* 25 (1995): 57.

Devolution of the Klan as a Social Movement

Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997: 13) questioned whether disparate white resistance groups they observed can be called a social movement. They found that even though the Klan has been in existence for many years, there does not appear to be a great deal of coherence between Klan groups and other groups that are considered part of what they refer to as the white separatist movement. They suggest that fragmentation and general disorganization makes analysis of the entire movement problematic. They do not offer an opinion about the Klan as a distinct entity apart from other groups in the movement.

Rory McVeigh (1999, 2001) has done several comprehensive historical analyses of the Klan. More recently he looked at racism in the United States and used the theory of structured ignorance to explain contemporary racist organizing and activities. The Klan was not analyzed separately, but rather as one element of the white supremacist movement. Even though key scholars have looked at the Klan within the context of the white supremacist movement and offered insights into the role of women (Blee 1991) and how the racist mind works (Ezekiel 1995), we suggest that it is important to take a closer look at the contemporary Klan phenomenon on its own.

Since 1980, the concept of social movement has changed with contributions by Melucci (1980, 1984, 1985, 1988, 1994, 2000), Diani (1992),[13] and Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield (1994). Even though the literature is filled with concepts and theories about what constitutes a social movement, we adopt the following definition: social movements are distinct social processes, consisting of the mechanisms through which actors engaged in collective action are involved in conflictual relations with clearly defined opponents; are linked by dense formal networks; and share a distinct collective identity (della Porta and Diani 2006, 20-27).

According to Diani (2006), one of the key characteristics of a social movement is the sense of involvement in a collective endeavor without automatically belonging to a specific group or organization. An example would be the environmental movement. Not all people who support the movement and identify as environmentalists are members of a specific group. Social movements do not have members, they have participants and membership can never be reduced to a single act of adherence, such as paying annual dues. Instead, participation in a social movement consists of

[13] For a comprehensive discussion of social movement theoretical approaches refer to *Social Movements: An Introduction* by Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani.

a series of differentiated acts which when taken together reinforce the feeling of belonging and collective identity. A social movement "burns out" when organizational identities dominate or when "feeling part of it" refers primarily to one's group and its components rather than the broader collective with its blurred boundaries (della Porta and Diani 2006, 21).

Employing the analytical framework mentioned above, the twenty-first century Klan is not a social movement. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997) suggested that the contemporary Ku Klux Klan is actually a loose configuration of groups utilizing the Klan name. Recruitment to separate Klan groups is a goal and actors share a sense of belonging based on race and some historical rituals and traditions such as the "cross lighting" ceremony. Klan groups are connected by the Internet which provides a networking opportunity to build community and create identity (Bostdorff 2004). The idea of being a Klansman or a Klanswoman dominates and is closely related to belonging to a particular group.

Because Klan groups have different goals and religious ideologies even though linked by the Klan name, group membership prevails over involvement in a broader movement. Klan dues and membership are very important to group sustainability. Recruitment to the group is a focus of modern-day Klan rallies and Klan Internet web sites. Attendance at rallies, demonstrations, and conferences reinforces belonging; however, non-payment of dues and criminal activity are both reasons for loss of membership status in most Klan groups. Given the dominance of group membership and Klan identity over collective endeavors such as the populist movement of the Klan of the 1920s (McVeigh 1999) and Klan anti-integration mobilization during the 1950s, we argue that contemporary Klan groups are not a social movement.

Can the contemporary Klan be considered a countermovement? Lo (1982) hypothesized that a countermovement must also be a social movement with its own mobilized membership, organization, and leadership. His focus was on interaction between a pair of diametrically opposed movements such as the Klan of the 1950s and 1960s and the civil rights movement of that same era. More recently Meyer and Staggeborg (1996) posit that movement and countermovement engage in sustained interaction with one another and the emergence of countermovements is dependent on three conditions. The first condition is that the movement being opposed shows signs of success. Second, the movement that is opposed is a threat to a segment of the population. Finally, there must be political allies available to aid the opposition (countermovement).

Early Klan resurgences occurred to counter civil rights initiatives. The Klan of the 1950s was able to gain support from a cross-section of the

white population because of the threat posed by government legislation for equal rights. Even though historically the Klan was an underground organization, Wade (1987), Ridgeway (1990), and Jackson (1992) suggest that political allies and key law enforcement officers often lent support and even endorsed Klan activities. Because of the successes of the civil rights movement and its ultimate bureaucratization along with the lack of public support for Klan ideology, we argue that the contemporary Klan is not a countermovement but rather a reactive subsystem.

The Klan: A Reactive Subsystem

As was previously mentioned, infiltration by law enforcement, law suits bankrupting large groups such as the UKA, along with successes of the civil rights movement, worked against continued efforts by the Klan to mobilize large numbers of people into a cohesive movement. Today the Klan still exhibits some reactionary elements and favors the interests of whites over minority groups. Contemporary Klan attitudes reflect opposition to policies such as immigrant rights and affirmative action. These attitudes indicate that nativism is still largely associated with Klan ideology linking groups together and forming the boundary of the reactive subsystem.

Fragmentation of Klan groups belies the tendency of Klan members to be dominated by the idea of "Klannishness."[14] Members of a solidary group such as the Klan create or adapt symbols of identity in order to facilitate social perception of the group. Some of these symbols include the Confederate flag, burning crosses, robes, hoods, and replicas of Civil War cannons. They are prominent on Klan Internet web sites, in Klan literature, and at rallies. These identity markers link other symbolic activities such as preparation of the cross for the ceremony, induction of new members, and recruitment strategies.

The Klan is at odds with mainstream culture and with other groups in the broader white supremacist movement. On Stormfront.org the following discussion post reflects a prevailing attitude about the Klan:

> NO ONE is EVER going to take groups like the kkk….seriously and many moderate, would be WN's (white nationalists) are scared away by them (and who can blame them). [Post 6][15]

[14] Klannishness is Klan vernacular for solidarity with other Klansmen and Klanswomen.

[15] "Problems with the movement,"

A member of a group associated with the southern movement and an active survivalist commented (interview with first author, July 26, 2005):

> The Klan is hurting the image of patriotism that many of us are trying to cultivate. I already think that southern culture is misunderstood and maligned…anytime a southern group forms it is feared and dreaded. People always think…Klan.

The uniqueness of the Klan experience pits Klan members against the world. Many of the speeches made at rallies touch on how important it is for Klan members to "stick together" no matter what. This uniqueness increases solidarity within Klan groups and forges a common identity across Klan groups. The fact that the Ku Klux Klan has 142 years behind it does nothing to hurt solidarity within.

The third point to be discussed refers to the tendency of solidary groups such as the Klan to control group activities and adhere to strict guidelines. Leaders are singularly focused on racial purity. They encourage members to home school children in an effort to co-opt diversity. Even though they stress solidarity, speeches at rallies also warn that whites are not safe and the federal government is giving away the birthright of their children to immigrants and others who are undeserving.

The Klan is also highly gendered and hierarchical (Blee 1995, 1996, 2002; Ferber 1998; Kimmel 2007). This is another way that groups attempt to maintain autonomy especially for males. Feminism and diversity are threats to the subsystem and are to be avoided. Traditional Klan groups also pride themselves as white Christian organizations. Many Klan groups do not tolerate anti-Christian ideologies such as Odinism or Paganism (Dobratz 2001: 297-298). A Klan leader of a group from Mississippi made the following comment (interview with author, November 11, 2007):

> We don't like Nazis and skinheads. They represent Paganism. They don't believe in God. We will let them come to our rallies but we make them cover up any swastikas or Nazi tattoos before we let them into the rally site.

Dramatization is a very important part of Klan culture within and across groups. Preparing the cross for lighting, firing the cannon replica, donning robes and hoods, and participating in the evening ceremony are standardized across rallies. Symbols, language, and signs have salient

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http://www.storfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=214003 (Accessed December 29, 2007)

meanings for members of the Klan.[16] The message that is conveyed to members, visitors, and potential recruits is that whites are superior and that the Klan is the greatest symbol of white supremacy.

The Klan is aware of its negative image, historical connection with violence and lynching, and fragmentation of contemporary groups. They have adopted the fourteen words of white supremacist David Lane as one of their mottoes.[17] When asked about the future of the Klan, a Klansman from Texas remarked (conversation with first author, May 15, 2007):

> This is the year of the Klan. More and more white people are waking up to the fact that we are losing control of our country. Our membership will continue to grow…so I'm not worried about the future of the Klan.

Speeches at rallies dealt with how recruiting efforts must result in bringing more educated "like-minded" whites to the Klan. Speeches also mirrored discussions on Stormfront.org regarding white birth rates. One of the yardsticks for success is to have more white babies. The Klan, along with other groups in the white supremacist movement, is worried about whites becoming outnumbered by other groups in the future. One of the most significant findings regarding group progress is the fact that political representation is a key concern and Ron Paul's name was mentioned as an acceptable candidate for U. S. president at each rally. He has also been endorsed by Stormfront.org.

Klan members of groups observed for this study are clear about who the enemy is. One of the key points made by at least one and often more speakers at every rally was that the federal government has failed to meet the needs of American white people. The general contention is that Jews control many major institutions including banking, the media, and the government. Jews are at the top of the Klan enemy list. The following post from Stormfront.org is illustrative of attitudes both within the broader white supremacist movement and in contemporary Klan groups about the federal government:

> The politicians of both parties, are only interested in one thing, and that is themselves. They are all race traders (sic) and in the end, have nothing to help their own race with, in order for us to survive. They have all deceived us in one way or another. Just look at the problems going on in this country with immigration, it's a shame. They don't care one bit about the white man, nothing, if they did, we would have all of our jobs back; or not

[16] Phrases such as "KIGY" and "AKIA" translate into Klansman, I greet you and A Klansman I am.

[17] "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children."

> have lost them in the beginning! Voting only keeps them in power and in money, nothing else. [Post 7][18]

Racially enlightened whites are considered the most acceptable in-group although whites in general are highly regarded with the exception of pedophiles and child molesters. Homosexuals are clearly an out-group and there are no distinctions made between gays and pedophiles in Klan rhetoric. Other enemies to the future interest of whites are feminists, race traitors (people who date or marry outside their race), Muslims, non-white immigrants, non-English speaking immigrants, and people of color.

Conclusion

We presented our discussion of the Klan based on Young's reactive subsystem hypothesis (1970). Even though the Klan is part of the broader white supremacist movement, we argue that Klan groups form neither a social movement nor a countermovement but rather a reactive subsystem. They have specific boundary maintaining activities such as vocal opposition to governmental policies that benefit immigrants and other minority groups. They also manipulate symbols and adhere to rituals such as "cross lightings" to set them apart from other groups. Klan groups are aware of their distinct culture and leaders use that group awareness to promote solidarity and reinforce Klan norms. Klan leaders also follow strict guidelines for ceremony, induction of new members, and group hierarchy.

More traditional Klan leadership is particularly strict about display of Nazi symbols and they do not allow non-Christians to join their groups. Dramatization is very important to contemporary Klan groups. Preparation of the cross for lighting and participating in the ceremony maintains a link to the past. Leaders and rank and file members are concerned with changing the image of the Klan and gaining new members. They are aware of the fragmentation of contemporary Klan groups and the more traditional Klan groups are concerned about Pagans and neo-Nazi skinheads joining their ranks. They appear to want to keep old traditions and rituals alive while distancing themselves from illegal activities and people they consider to be too radical to join their groups. Finally, definition of out-groups and enemies is very clear. Klan members feel they

[18] "American Politics," http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=279922 (accessed December 29, 2007).

have to maintain solidarity to protect themselves and their children from harm.

What does the future hold for the Ku Klux Klan? Will traditions and rituals survive another one hundred years? We acknowledge that our sample does not represent the Klan in its entirety although we believe the findings are generalizable to other Klan groups. The issue of generations appears to be a factor in the future of the Klan. Conversations with people who attended rallies and others who shared their knowledge of Klan culture indicate that there is a legacy from grand-father to father to son or daughter. One of the goals of Klan rallies is to socialize young people into the culture. Children were present at every rally. Conversations with several parents revealed how important they feel Klan values are for future generations of white children. The ability to shield children from diversity is a goal and speakers at every rally made clear statements to that effect. The Klan rally is a way to pass on rituals and traditions from one generation to the next. The Klan has its own set of symbols and language and this tends to create insider status which in turn creates solidarity. Participants in rallies spend time and money keeping the Klan legacy alive. In view of the Klan's surprisingly resilient past, we would suggest that no one should underestimate its future.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE CONTINUING EVOLUTION OF THE WHITE SUPREMACIST MOVEMENT: A NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT ANALYSIS

STANISLAV VYSOTSKY AND DIANNE DENTICE

Complex societies involve systems where production of goods depends increasingly upon the production of signs and social relations. Melucci (1984, 1985, and 1994) acknowledges that contemporary social movements both affect and are affected by the political system; however, he stresses that cultural phenomena increase in importance to the analysis of movements in post-industrial societies. For new social movement theorists such as Melucci (1989, 1995) and Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield (1994) collective identity guides aspects of contemporary social movements that includes both cultural and political activism.

By implementing a new social movement theoretical orientation, success can be measured at both the mobilization and the latent phases of collective action. Mobilization success usually occurs when actors feel they have achieved their primary goals. Some movements may achieve latent successes even if primary goals are not reached. When analyzing the white supremacist movement, scrutiny of latent goals may be the only way to determine any degree of success. In many ways the movement is reactionary and since actors do not strive for positive social change, traditional models such as resource mobilization and political process fail to address factors such as culture and identity construction which may better explain the longevity and impact of the movement.

The ideological bases and organizational component of the white supremacist movement in the United States go back more than 140 years with the formation of the original Ku Klux Klan. Although the Klan is still part of the broader movement, any resemblance to early Klan movements is non-existent. The contemporary white supremacist movement has developed a style and identity that is unique to post-materialist social conditions. Some characteristics of the movement that can be analyzed from a new social movements perspective include: 1) focus on collective and personal identity; 2) cross-class social base defined by post-materialist

demands and global issues; 3) rejection of the left versus right political dichotomy; 4) decentralized, diffuse forms of organization; 5) political activity through cultural construction; and 6) an imagined future society based on spaces separated by race.

White Supremacy and Identity Construction

The white supremacist movement is singularly focused on racial identity. By racializing every social interaction, a world emerges where collective racial identity becomes the ultimate marker of individual identity. According to Berlet (2004), white supremacists have developed a dualistic frame which divides the world into good and evil with no middle ground. Whites are labeled "good" and other races are labeled "evil." Out-groups also include homosexuals and Jews. A perceived threat of multiculturalism and racial diversity contributes to the search for an acceptable white identity by the white supremacist community.

Robert Agnew (2001) suggests that when identities significant to an individual become threatened, anomie and strain follow. White supremacists as a group feel threatened by what many participants view as unfair social relationships that block whites from achieving desirable societal goals (Ezekiel 1995; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997; Blazak 2001). Affirmative action, globalization, and the increase in societal diversity are seen as attacks against white culture. As a result, white supremacists feel that white people are all victims of reverse racial prejudice (Ferber 1999). Discussions of collective identity dominate conferences, rallies, and online forums and ongoing dialogue about the value of white racial identity maintains members' acceptance of the dualistic master frame. The conceptualization of whiteness has become a way for groups that are part of a fragmented movement to find common ground and reach consensus on the critical issue that links all of them, race.

Post-Materialist Demands and Global Issues

Because race is the primary issue around which white supremacists organize, in the past, materialist concerns such as social class were viewed as secondary to the organization of the supremacist movement. Although it has been observed that many leaders and new recruits are from the working and lower classes (Ezekiel 1995; Daniels 1997; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997; Blazak 2001), actors might be better classified as belonging to decommodified or peripheral economic groups or even the

old middle class (Laraña et. al. 1994). Threatened by advances made by women and other minority groups, individuals who align with the contemporary white supremacist movement worry about opportunities for social advancement for themselves and their children (Ezekiel 1995; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997; Blazak 2001; Blee 2002).

Berlet and Vysotsky (2006) found that many of the issues that concern white supremacists are post-materialist and include the environment, economic and political globalization, government surveillance and repression, and government deregulation of the media. The National Alliance site posts a report about continuing governmental deregulation of the telecommunications industry called "Who Rules America?"[1] Writers of the report are concerned that uncontrolled mergers and acquisitions have resulted in Jewish control of Time Warner, American Online (AOL), and Disney. They conclude that since Jews support multiculturalism and diversity, the mainstream news media is biased and no longer represents white interests. The writers of the report conclude that Jewish control of the mass media is not only a problem for America but for the entire world.

The National Alliance site links to the British National Party (BNP) known for its anti-immigration, anti-Muslim political stance. Chairman Nick Griffin discusses the importance of specific environmental issues such as alternative energy source development and animal welfare. The environment is also included in the BNP policy statement:

> Our ideal for Britain is that of a clean, beautiful country, free of pollution in all its forms. We will enforce standards to curb those practices, whether by business or the individual, which cause environmental damage. The polluter pays to clean up the mess must become a fact of life, not an electioneering slogan.[2]

Among other things, the BNP supports a tax break for bio-diesel fuel. A public statement promotes the use of "green fuel" and warns about using the fuel in diesel specified vehicles only. A Stormfront.org discussant posted a link to BBS News regarding frog deformities in lakes and ponds throughout North America.[3] The discussion on this topic is located on the Science, Technology, and Race forum.

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[1] Who Rules America? at http://www.natall.com/who-rules-america/wra.pdf (accessed November 11, 2007).

[2] British National Party at http://www.bnp.org.uk/?page_id=51 (accessed December 26, 2007).

[3] " Environmental causes of frog deformities finally identified" at http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/environmental-causes-frog-deformities-finally-447514.html (accessed December 26, 2007).

Volksfront, another white supremacist Internet site, bills itself as "The Independent Voice of the White Working Class."[4] One of the statements of activist values is that Volksfront supports and protects the rights of all workers from capitalist and communist manipulation and exploitation. They also hope to create white owned businesses and land ownership projects to ensure economic and social freedom. In a recent thread on Stormfront.org, an online forum for white nationalists, members voiced concerns about government surveillance of individuals and possible online monitoring of discussions. Discussant number four posted the following response:

> In one sense, I think they "watch" everything on the net; everything is scanned and harvested based on something like keywords although it's actually more sophisticated than that. Also, I would think that some domestic government security agencies like the FBI look at some of the things here with the idea of sniffing out violent activities, although I think the policy of booting out anyone who suggests anything of that nature, should more or less keep the board safe. As far as our politics, our likes or dislikes, I think the government and the two political parties as a whole could scarcely care less…….[5]

Each of these examples illustrates emergent issues that are post-materialist in nature and permeate the discourse of people who align with the white supremacist movement.

The 'Third Position'

Often placed on the far right of the classical political spectrum, the political agenda of many contemporary white supremacist organizations reflects opposition to post-industrial social and economic relations. Some movement adherents accuse democratic nation-states of being too liberal (Vysotsky 2004). While rejecting capitalist economic structures, white supremacists generally do not accept either socialist or communist alternatives. Instead they argue for a 'third position' which rejects both capitalism and communism, both considered conspiracies created by Jewish bankers and academics. Although the white supremacist movement still has reactionary views about the social status of minority groups,

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[4] Volksfront at http://www.volksfrontinternational.com/index1.html (accessed December 26, 2007).

[5] "Someone tell me, are they watching us?" at http://www.stormfront.org/forum/printthread.php?t=443563 (accessed December 26, 2007).

contemporary ideologues argue for rejection of the traditional left versus right dichotomy in favor of the 'third position' which calls for organic, localized, cooperative economic systems based on traditional Aryan lifestyles (Gardell 2003; Berlet and Lyons 2000).

The popularity of this philosophy has led to acceptance of the ideology by many contemporary white supremacist groups both nationally and internationally. The 'third position' is essentially a collection of radical anti-capitalist, anti-globalist, and anti-imperialist views that reject the corporate state, social democracy, Marxism, and Zionism. North American white supremacists often refer to the government as ZOG, which stands for Zionist Occupied Government. A post from Stormfront.org synthesizes 'third position' philosophy:

> .....Three nations (black, white and brown) under ZOG, very divisible, with liberty and justice for the super rich Elite.....[6]

Forms of Organization

White supremacist movements have historically been hierarchical movements. Authoritarian ideologies and patriarchal structures place pressure on leaders to create strong organizations. The result; however, has been just the opposite due to factionalism and internal conflict which some observers attribute to infiltration by law enforcement (Ridgeway 1990; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997). In recent years, Louis Beam became the champion of a new organizational strategy commonly referred to as "leaderless resistance." This position urges acts of violence against the state and marginalized subordinate groups such as homosexuals in hopes that intergroup hostility will trigger a race war and eventually white supremacist groups will claim victory (Ezekiel 1995; Shanks-Meile 2001). Individuals referred to as lone wolves operate outside organized groups and may have underground support to help shield them from law enforcement.

With the advent of Internet technology, individuals are no longer forced to join formal organizations even though some groups such as the Ku Klux Klan encourage dues paying membership. Any interested party needs online access and the willingness to engage in dialogue on numerous discussion forums that adhere to white racialist ideologies. The first and one of the most sophisticated online sites is Stormfront.org that

[6] http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/environmental-causes-frog-deformities-finally-447514.html (accessed December 26, 2007).

now claims 20,883 active members.[7] Extremist Web sites sell music, clothing, books, and other cultural markers of membership. Interested persons can listen to speeches made by leaders of the movement or read propaganda materials that are posted online (Futrell and Simi 2004).

Youth subcultures have also helped facilitate the diffuse structure of contemporary white supremacist movements. Young affiliates often share similar taste in music, aesthetics, and the socio-political ideology of white supremacy. They may or may not belong to a formal organization yet their commitment to the subculture sometimes carries a virtual requirement for violent acts (Hamm 1994). This segment of the movement can best be understood as a virtual network of organizations, youth subcultures, and individual sympathizers.

Political Activity Supremacist Style

White supremacists have developed a complex language of symbols, codes, and signs that discern sympathizers and organization members from non-members. A partial result of the dualism frame that was mentioned earlier is the importance of distinctions between good versus evil and ally versus enemy. The system of symbols includes swastikas, the Confederate flag, and Klan crosses. These symbols are reminders of underlying social standards adhered to by members of various white supremacist groups. There is also a series of numeric codes such as 88,[8] 14,[9] and 33[10] that are used to demonstrate sympathy with white supremacist ideology and organizational membership.

Neo-Nazi skinhead groups use clothing, tattoos, and shaven heads as markers of group affiliation. These signs allow members to identify fellow travelers from potential enemies who may look very similar but adhere to anti-racist ideology. Futrell and Simi (2004) found that tattooing is a permanent symbolic commitment to the movement and its political ideology as well as an outward sign that the individual is in fact a participant in movement activities. Even though some Klan members have tattoos, they do not condone swastikas and other neo-Nazi symbols. When

[7] Stormfront.org on-line at http://www.stormfront.org (accessed December 26, 2007).

[8] In this code, the number 8 represents the letter of the alphabet H which refers to Heil Hitler.

[9] The number 14 represents the 14 word slogan coined by David Lane: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children."

[10] The number 33 is based on the eleventh letter of the alphabet, K, which is multiplied by 3 to symbolize the Ku Klux Klan.

neo-Nazis or skinheads attend Klan rallies, they are asked to cover any tattoos that symbolize anti-Christian views.[11]

White supremacist literature and Web sites produce cartoons and other images that reinforce racist ideology as well. Region may also play a role in how various groups establish collective identity and thus make a political statement. Klan groups are cognizant of their southern roots and Klan members actively support flying the Confederate flag over state buildings. The Confederate flag also has a prominent place at Klan rallies and in meetings for groups such as the League of the South. Speakers at Klan rallies often talk about the responsibility of southerners to honor those who fought and died for southern rights (Dentice 2006). The best way to do this, according to various leaders in the movement, is to keep the Confederate flag as a symbol of the South.

Stormfront.org is openly supporting Ron Paul for his views on the war in Iraq and immigration reform.[12] A person who describes himself as a European American civil rights activist who recently ran for public office in Idaho had the following comment:

> We are all fighting the same people Ron Paul is fighting, the equivalent of the Pharisees during the days of Christ. America has become an imperialist country. Making war on the world is not the way to go. Ron Paul is the only politician who stood his ground on this issue from the very beginning.

Even though the movement is fragmented and separated by regional ties and affiliations, Web sites such as Stormfront.org, Volksfront, and National Alliance articulate political ideals that appeal to a broad segment of white racial activists.

Communalism and White Space

Like many of its progressive counterparts described in new social movement literature, the white supremacist movement uses 'pre-figurative spaces' as a means for social change. Futrell and Simi (2004) point out a number of spaces that include family, informal gatherings, intentional communities, music events, and the Internet. White supremacists place a great deal of emphasis on the importance of family and traditional gender roles. Leaders acknowledge that families are pivotal to the future of the

[11] Field work on the Klan by Dentice in 2006 and 2007 funded by Stephen F. Austin Office of Research and Sponsored programs.
[12] Stormfront.org on-line at http/www.stormfront.org (accessed December 26, 2007).

movement and provide a space within which white supremacist ideology may be freely expressed. White supremacists from the Klan to neo-Nazi groups to secessionist groups such as League of the South socialize children into the movement from a very young age. Socialization practices vary from dressing children in clothing that has significance to the movement to home schooling children in order to control information and assure homogeneity rather than diversity in the classroom. The desired result is creation of a model for future white supremacist communities.

Informal gatherings take many forms from white power music festivals to Klan rallies to Christian Identity reading groups. Some gatherings occur in symbolic places such as German restaurants or Pulaski, Tennessee, the home of the original Ku Klux Klan. Gatherings serve as 'safe' spaces where members express their ideas, reinforce white supremacist ideology, and celebrate the past. These spaces provide a place where collective identity is reinforced through association and ritual display of group membership such as 'seig heils' to honor Hitler, lighting the cross to honor Jesus, and 'white power' chants to honor the concept of whiteness.

The homes of individual white supremacists serve as gathering places for groups within the movement. A phenomenon discovered by Dentice (2006) is Christian Identity (CI) prayer meetings to facilitate interaction between white racial activists many of whom are affiliated with various Klan groups. One itinerant CI minister, relieved of his church ministerial position in 2005, hosts prayer meetings at his home. He also travels to other homes to preach the CI version of the gospel. Potluck dinners and collections to defray travel expenses for the minister are part of the Sunday evening ritual.

A number of intentional communities have been created by organized white supremacists that serve as larger scale 'safe' spaces where members can live free from the social conditions that lead to strain. These communities are referred to as Pioneer Little Europes (PLEs) on Stormfront.org.[13] Some are imagined future communities and some are already formed. A Klansman in Texas referred to his neighborhood as an all white community with very strict guidelines for real estate agents who happened to be selling property in the area (Dentice 2006). For white inhabitants of these types of communities, the race war has been won and "a white world is possible."

White power music festivals provide space for youth of the movement. Concerts are tightly controlled events where young people who may or

[13] "What are Pioneer Little Europes For?" at http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/pioneer-little-europes-58217.html (accessed November 11, 2007).

may not be affiliated with groups come together to experience the youth culture aspect of the movement that is linked by heavy metal style musical groups. White power music web sites such as Resistance Records provide a mechanism by which young people can purchase compact disks, stickers, posters, and other white power paraphernalia. These web sites also promote future events and festivals.

The Internet is a virtual pre-figurative space where physically distant members organize events, sell merchandise, and distribute propaganda for future recruitment purposes. Likeminded people participate in discussions on web sites such as Stormfront.org. They post messages online and communicate privately through email and instant messaging programs. This type of activity allows white supremacists to exchange ideas and vent discontent without the fear of public scrutiny. The Internet also provides a vital link to the cultural expression of the movement through streaming radio stations. Images and texts online provide a virtual manual for how to be an effective white supremacist. Through the construction of these pre-figurative spaces, the white supremacist movement is attempting to overcome its marginalized status and employ many of the same types of development mechanisms that other movements utilize to attract new members and retain current members.

More Than a Countermovement

The countermovement analysis of white supremacist groups views them as reactionary and results from the rationalist bias within this perspective that is derived from resource mobilization theory (Ferree and Miller 1985; Ferree 1992). Assumptions have been made by social movement analysts that the white supremacist movement is a rational response by individuals who are threatened by gains of progressive movements such as the American civil rights movement and women's movement. This explanation ignores the role of ideology and culture in a movement that is directly influenced by fascist, Nazi, and racist ideas.

An alternative analysis of the white supremacist movement was based on social strain (Hamm 1993; Ezekiel 1995; and Blazak 2001). This perspective suggests that individual show join white supremacist groups are likely to be people who are unable to achieve goals in mainstream society. They are likely to be socially, politically, or economically marginalized. They join groups associated with the movement as a means of coping with strain. The movement creates a sense of personal empowerment and gives individuals a group identity. This experience may build self esteem through the development of social networks.

Although both analytical perspectives have value, the new social movements approach synthesizes many preceding analyses. By doing that, we are able to gain a broader understanding of movement objectives and individual incentives. Our approach helps place the white supremacist movement in a larger framework that discusses how conditions of contemporary society influence social actors. The result is direct responses rather than reactions to the advances of progressive social movements.

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CHAPTER TEN

HATE GROUPS IN THE NETWORK SOCIETY: A TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENT

DAVID BUGG AND JAMES L. WILLIAMS

Drawing on the work of Castells (1997, 2000) and Blazak (2001), we will attempt to explain the persistence and expansion of various reactionary groups in advanced industrial societies. We suggest that specific groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, Volksfront, the British National Party, National Alliance and others like them are part of an emerging transnational social movement. Our goal is to explain significant features of these groups, some of their common roots, and possible reasons for similarities between extremist groups across developed societies. Next, we outline the role of communication networks in group formation and expansion while integrating the role strain plays in recruitment efforts. Finally, we discuss the impact of changes in global informational capitalism that affects extremist groups at both the micro and macro levels.

An effective theoretical and empirical understanding of hate groups must be situated within a cross-national perspective that encompasses an understanding of the impact of globalization and the "network society."[1] For the purposes of this discussion, we define a hate group as an organized group of like-minded people that advocates hate, hostility or violence towards one or more other groups based upon spurious grounds, despite a wider general consensus that these people or groups are not necessarily better or worse than any others.[2]

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[1] Castells, M. 1997. "The Other Face of the Earth: Social Movements Against the New Global Order." Pp. 68-109 in *Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

[2] Based on Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Definitions, http://www.umes.edu/police/CrimeDefs.html (accessed September 22, 2007).

Hate Groups: Organization and Recruitment

Organizational issues and recruitment of individuals into hate groups illustrates the persistence of white supremacist movements at both the national level within the United States as well as internationally. The organization of U.S. hate groups reflects the varied landscape in which these groups operate. While William Pierce of National Alliance and Louis Beam, a former Klansman from Texas, both advocated "leaderless resistance," most hate groups are still organized and continue to recruit new members (Levin 2002). Examination of the organization of hate groups by social scientists suggests that the movement as a whole is divided by numerous ideologies with possible cooperation between some groups (Blee 2002; McVeigh and Sikkink 2005). The variation between groups is in part due to regional characteristics.

Many contemporary hate groups lack formal leadership structures although certain groups do possess a hierarchical system that reflects a level of sophistication (Schafer and Navarro 2003). Higher levels of education are one possible explanation for the amount of organization and formal structure in specific groups. Leadership positions within certain hate groups are occupied by educated individuals of the middle and upper classes, most notably David Duke, William L. Pierce, and Jared Taylor (Swain 2002; Turpin-Petrosino 2002). In conjunction with increased levels of organization, more sophisticated means of recruitment are also employed.

Understanding how hate groups maintain their membership is a social concern as is addressing the problem of organized racism in post-industrial societies. In order to recruit members, the organization must first have an ideology that is both attractive and meaningful (McVeigh and Sikkink 2005). Potential recruits are often drawn from the larger society using conservative values and current social issues which recruiters manipulate to promote their cause (Blee 2002). For example, economic hardship and loss of jobs have been cited by many researchers as a potential recruiting tool for disenfranchised individuals (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997; Berbrier 2000; Blazak 2001).

Recruiting also occurs in both secondary and higher educational institutions (Turpin-Petrosino 2002). Recruiters may identify specific students for recruitment with information gained from public records or by blanketing local communities with literature. Alienated youth are often targeted for their increased susceptibility (Blazak 2001). Currently, with the expansion of access to the Internet, new avenues have been created for hate groups to exploit in both their organizing and recruiting efforts (Back

2002). In an examination of the four largest white supremacist Internet web sites, Weatherby and Scoggins (2005-2006) noted attempts by extremist groups to appeal to a more middle-class, educated audience than otherwise noted.

Scholars who study hate groups have seen that the ability to connect to networks associated with white supremacists is easily facilitated by the wide availability of computers and access to the Internet (Burris et al. 2000; Schafer 2002; Gerstenfeld et al. 2003). Exploration of white supremacist Web sites revealed some of the ways they were organized into a network (Burris et al. 2000). While findings showed that there was no central leadership within the network, Web sites operated by different hate groups were linked regardless of their specific beliefs. Many of these links were to sites in countries outside of the United States. Through these links, a network is established that allows for connection of geographically isolated individuals into a community of on-line hate. The result is a virtual network of hate groups and organizations that form a global resistance movement similar to organized progressive social movements such as the environmental movement (McLaughlin and Khawaja 2000).

Current Theoretical Perspectives on Hate Groups

The application of theory to our understanding of hate groups has been based on two key theoretical traditions: 1) conflict and 2) strain or anomie. When examining hate groups from a conflict perspective, the literature focuses on economic and political struggles between racial and ethnic groups (Tolnay and Beck 1995; McVeigh et al. 2004). A related avenue of research has focused on ethnic competition theory which is also concerned with competition for resources between race and ethnic groups (Olzak 1989, 1990, 1992; Soule 1992; Beck 2000). The strain or anomie perspective has been used to examine and explain the growth of the early Ku Klux Klan specifically in response to societal changes (Lipset and Raab 1978; Moore 1991). It has also been used by Blazak (2001) to explain recruiting for skinhead groups. While conflict and strain contribute to our understanding of hate groups, neither perspective accounts for other motivations that result in continued existence of contemporary hate groups within the United States and across the globe.

In an effort to move beyond these perspectives, McVeigh and Sikkink (2005) utilized Simmel's concept of "the stranger" to examine racial activism. The findings of their study show that the isolation of whites from large non-white populations contributes to active hate groups at the county level. While this approach is innovative it continues to rely on psycho-

social explanations for hate groups that do not consider the growing connections between groups at a global level.

Various studies have utilized interpersonal bond theory and deprivation theory to explain why people join hate groups. Interpersonal bond theory explores the process of recruiting members into hate groups by establishment of a relationship between group members and non-members (Stark and Bainbridge 1985). This perspective has expanded our understanding of the recruiting process by hate groups and has suggested the importance of interpersonal relationships as a focus of study for hate group researchers. Deprivation theory assesses what causes an individual to feel that his or her needs are not being met. The discontent arising from relative deprivation has been used to explain the rise of social movements, criminal deviance, and individual affiliation with extremist groups (Aho 1994). Again the focus is on micro-level processes which do not effectively account for the impact of larger trends taking place at the national and international level.

Globalization, Strain, and Hate Groups

Globalization is a force for change in the modern world, most often linked with the decline of Fordism. Deindustrialization is a by-product of globalization with immediate links to fueling hate group membership. Importantly, this phenomenon has been evidenced across a number of post-industrial societies such as the United States and western Europe. Events that led to significant changes in the American economy can be traced to a post World War II global economy that was devastated by armed conflict (Braun 1997). While playing an integral role in the Cold War against communism, the United States paid a price when foreign industry began competing for American dollars. As dependence on foreign goods rose, American jobs suffered as the industries that fed the newly emergent middle classes closed or moved abroad. With a decline in manufacturing jobs, service sector jobs increased, particularly in the area of retail. During the 1990s downsizing became the modus operandi for many U.S. corporations eliminating traditional white collar jobs coupled with lost jobs in the manufacturing sector. Included in these white collar professions were many middle management jobs held by women who suddenly found themselves out of work (Reskin and Padavic 1994).

In Europe, the end of Communism and the fall of the Soviet Union followed by immigration from Eastern Bloc countries to the West contributed to feelings of bitterness and racial intolerance. The decline of the "traditional" family as well as decreased confidence in government

added to the feeling of social strain among the citizenry of many nations. The drop in the birth rate among whites and the growth of minority and immigrant populations in countries like France served to fuel feelings of uncertainty and growing anomie in western countries as well as in the United States. Combined with economic factors, globalization contributed to a series of hate crimes in various countries throughout the 1990s. For example, anti-Semitism fueled a variety of attacks including bombings of synagogues in Germany and Russia. In addition, attacks against immigrants have been linked to fear of crime and economic woes that are blamed on immigrants throughout Europe. Violent demonstrations have even been conducted against immigrants in Germany with planning facilitated by use of the Internet (Whine 1999).

In the United States, economic problems continue into the twenty-first century. The result of deindustrialization and societal restructuring has left many Americans with a sense of confusion and uncertainty about their economic future. When we begin to place hate groups within the context of globalization, we see that hate is one possible response to the phenomenon. Researchers such as Batur-VanderLippe and Feagin (1996) have noted that hate groups and hate speech often attribute economic hardship to immigrant and other minority groups. The structure of inequality within the United States and the shift to a post-industrial economy has resulted in threats to the status of whites thus serving as a push factor for individuals who may seek out the hate movement and possibly a hate group to affiliate with as a solution.

When confusion and frustration manifest themselves in malaise and minority groups become a threat on numerous fronts, the appeal of a social movement advocating resistance to social change becomes a possible outlet to correct perceived wrongs. Blazak (2001) proposed the use of strain theory to understand why white adolescent males become involved in hate groups. This theory can also be applied to older disenfranchised whites. He listed specific sources of strain which include: 1) threats to ethnic or racial status; 2) threats to gender status; 3) threats to heterosexual status; and 4) threats to economic status. His findings indicate that at least one of these types of strain was reported by each of the members of hate groups he studied. Specifically relating to economic strain were testimonials that discussed job losses to labor markets overseas. These threats help us understand the role strain plays for individuals who seek out hate groups and the sense of community offered by them. The dual nature of strain encompassing both economic pressures and threats to status, needs to be further examined to explain what draws people into resistance movements such as networks that focus on hate.

The Network Society and Hate Groups

Castells' (1997) term "network society" is particularly useful in understanding current hate groups. In a network society, relationships can be formed between individuals with similar ideologies regardless of geographical location or social group membership. By gaining access to computer mediated communication networks a community forms which in turn provides information and social support as well as other important resources. The result is an individual with the virtual equivalent of a twenty-four hour convenience store. The Internet is a key factor in connecting racist individuals with hate groups. The outcome is a powerful recruiting tool for extremist groups across societies as well as a means of expanding the hate movement as a whole.

The appearance of Web sites sponsored by hate groups on the Internet serves a calculated purpose that is linked to the idea of the network society. The goals of these sites are to organize, communicate and recruit with no regard to geographic boundaries (Capitanchik and Whine 1996). The opportunities provided by the network society in terms of connecting individuals with similar beliefs have special significance for hate groups. Since the end of World War II, Germany has had problems with criminal behavior motivated by ethnic bias. This has led to legislation banning Nazi symbols and other forms of hate speech (Watts 2001). The German network society has manifested itself in skinhead groups whose members are linked to groups in Britain and the United States by the Internet. As a result, contact with like-minded others contributes to sharing knowledge and forming alliances beyond skinhead connections with both neo-Nazi and Klan groups. The result is a network operating at an international level and pushing the problem of hate from the local to the global.

The growing sophistication and organization of hate groups in a networked world creates a variety of problems, one of the most significant of which is increased ease of access to information that hate groups can use to circumvent legal action against their organizations. The legal restriction of hate speech in Germany specifically and in Europe in general means little in a world where a network society exists (Whine 1999). The Internet allows hate groups in Europe access to a loophole in hate speech legislation by granting them access to other countries without hate speech laws. Internet content in America is censored by the provider as opposed to Germany where content is censored by law (Tantum 1998). Therefore, the Internet allows German hate groups access to a venue free from the censorship laws of their own country.

Blazak (2001) mentions the consolidation of small hate groups into larger groups, many of which are becoming part of larger, more sophisticated national groups. Of particular interest is his example of Hammerskin Nation which started in Texas and has managed to recruit skinheads from as far away as Russia. The Ku Klux Klan has also formed groups in New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. Holocaust denial appears to be spreading around the globe with the appearance of international conferences devoted to this topic. Connected to the increasing ease of global travel is the appearance of international individuals who attend meetings of hate groups in the United States. Another point of concern is the growing international ties between Muslim extremist groups and neo-Nazis as well as other white supremacists (Gerstenfeld 2004; Whine 1999).

A final method of unification at the international level appears to be

(Gerstenfeld 2004). Often sold over the Internet by U.S. based hate organizations, this genre of music is finding an audience overseas in various international markets. Cognizant of the law enforcement efforts of other countries, white power music suppliers are taking a page from Napster's book and offering the music as downloadable files to avoid problems with shipping packages through international customs. White power concerts are also used as recruiting opportunities for hate groups (Gerstenfeld 2004; Schafer 2002).

Castells argues that hate groups may be viewed as part of a series of social movements against the New Global Order.[3]

> With the exception of a small elite of *globalpolitans* (half beings, half flows), people all over the world resent loss of control over their lives, over their environment, over their jobs, over their economies, over their governments, over their countries, and, ultimately, over the fate of the Earth.[4]

With the world in a state of anomie, a sense of meaning is needed for the individual.[5] Hate groups view the export of jobs typically held by whites as part of a global conspiracy perpetrated by the New Global Order. Lower wages and competition for employment within the United States and countries like Germany are blamed upon immigrants and other minorities. Castells (1997) cited examples of hate speech and other activities in the American Militia and Patriot Movement as a response to perceived actions

[3] Some Klan and neo-Nazi groups refer to this as the New World Order.
[4] Ibid., 69.
[5] Emile Durkheim, Suicide (New York: The Free Press, 1951), 285.

of the New Global Order. Members of militia or hate groups claim that whites are under siege by a changing society that promotes racial diversity and multiculturalism. Increase in equality for traditional minority groups, particularly racial and ethnic groups, women, and homosexuals, results in sources of strain that fall within Blazak's four categories (2001). In a sense, membership in hate groups allows assumed preservation of the natural order of society.

Conclusions

In this discussion we have examined the effects that globalization and the growth of the Internet within the network society have had upon the existence and expansion of contemporary hate groups globally. When viewing hate groups in the broader context of the network society we can see the role that strain produced by globalization plays in heightening racial and ethnic tensions as well as connecting racist individuals with hate groups. While many of these concepts are alluded to in contemporary research, there has not been an extensive application of the specific concepts discussed here with respect to hate groups. We believe it is necessary to examine hate groups at the global level in order to better understand the outcomes of global trends and their contributions to the existence and proliferation of contemporary hate groups.

Labor market restructuring in western capitalist societies and the concomitant loss of lower-skilled jobs should lead to increases in numbers of economically marginal young males. Numerous cross-national examples illustrate that this population is particularly susceptible to the recruiting efforts of hate groups (Blazak 2001). The outcomes of these changes in the United States and Great Britain should be compared with other western nations in conjunction with the manifestation of hate groups in those societies. It is reasonable to expect that attempts to recruit non-traditional members such as women and teens will increase as economic conditions worsen among socially and economically marginal members of the dominant ethnic group.

With increases in economic restructuring and job losses in various western societies, we expect increases in attacks on multiculturalism, combined with increased incidents of attacks on "outsiders" such as guest workers and other minorities. These groups are perceived to pose a threat to national identity and economic security of the dominant group.[6]

[6] For a controversial look at multiculturalism, refer to Samuel Huntington's book *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*.

Consequently, we expect that perceived threats to the status and identity of dominant ethnic groups in different societies will increase the number of individuals more likely to express agreement with hate group messages and recruitment efforts. It is quite possible that these societies will witness increasing attempts by groups experiencing strains to restore traditional social order. This may lead to rhetoric that attempts to emphasize the threats to national identity posed by "outsiders" and ethnic minorities (Huntington 2004: 188-189).

Hate groups across societies should demonstrate increasing similarity in the grievances expressed by their members. The presence of formal and informal ties between hate groups may be examined through a network analysis of Internet sites. Ethnographic research such as case studies may help to document formal ties between groups. Some formal ties already exist between the American Klan and counterparts in parts of Europe. We argue that there will be an increase in the formation of European Klan branches as well as an increase in formal ties between organizations. Clearly informal networking is already occurring through the frequent travels of prominent individuals such as David Duke to Europe and the Ukraine.

It is no longer sufficient to examine hate groups solely through the lens of older perspectives, which tend to be social-psychological and intra-national in nature. As we have attempted to show, a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of hate groups requires situating theory and research within a framework that incorporates the impact of globalization and the changes brought about by the network society. These insights can be combined with existing work on the importance of strain and perceived threats to produce a more sophisticated understanding of an increasingly important transnational phenomenon.

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EPILOGUE

DIANNE DENTICE

In this book, we presented a variety of social actors from the past and present that collectively sought or are seeking change in their social worlds, for better or for worse. Remarkably, the utopian vision of John Humphrey Noyes appears to be manifesting itself in the contemporary North American communal movement. Advocating cooperation and resource sharing, supporters of the movement envision a better way of living. Some of the communities are linked by a networking organization and others are freestanding. The behavior of communitarians, no matter what intentional community they live in, is to bring about a change in the way things have always been done in relation to the economy of living conditions.

Traditional religious and health care practices in the United States are undergoing revitalization. Do revitalization movements really ever accomplish their goals? Can the purpose-driven movement restore declining church membership rosters in America and invigorate religious worship on a global scale? Can the herbal medicine revitalization movement fix the gaps in delivery of traditional allopathic medical services in the U.S.? There is no way to answer these questions right now; however, as both of these movements move forward and pass into the revitalization stage, we will see.

One of the most interesting movements of the twentieth century was Peoples Temple. It was also one of the most disturbing. Fueled by the charismatic energy of Jim Jones, his utopian vision of an egalitarian society free from capitalist oppression created hope for many of our less fortunate members of society. Although the authors posit Peoples Temple was a utopian socialist movement in the beginning, it could also be classified a revitalization movement. Jones advocated economic cooperation, communal organization, and wiping out of social categories. The promise to his followers was heaven on earth and deliverance from deprivation. Many had a sense of their own economic marginalization and they had lost faith in the political system. Jones provided them with a meaningful alternative, at least for a time.

The emerging immigrant workers' movement resembles the anti-authoritarian stance of student mobilizations of the 1960s. There appears to be an internal crisis based on how the various factions define

citizenship. It is also not clear about who the leaders of the movement are. Aspects of this movement reveal the changing nature of collective nature in the new millennium. The youth of the movement mobilized with cell phones and MySpace. They used symbols such as the Mexican flag to create an aura of separatism which alienated elders of the movement and established community adult leaders. Unified by resistance to nativistic attitudes in the general population, the movement may be able to heal internal fractures and promote social change to benefit immigrant workers. Action for immigrant worker advocates is political and may lend itself to more traditional social movement analysis over time.

The contemporary Ku Klux Klan is an enigma when compared to the Klan of the past. David Duke (interview with author, May 16, 2005) stated that the Klan is a relic, although in his opinion, it is a very important part of our nation's history. Sputtering from years of infiltration by law enforcement and law suits by various legal entities such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, Klan groups still remain active but are fragmented. The natural history of the Klan indicates a series of resurgences during the 1920s and 1950s producing social movement-countermovement status respectively. The Klan of today still has members and some groups have rallies, congresses, and meetings, but there is no resemblance to a full blown Klan movement when analyzed outside of the broader white supremacist movement.

The complex society of which the Klan is now a part, presents new challenges and opportunities to all groups that operate outside the polity. The Internet is one of the most enabling forces available to people who are searching for likeminded others who offer community. Internet Web sites give groups an appearance of cohesion and unity. Sites such as Stormfront.org provide a place for interaction and discussions twenty-four hours a day, 365 days a year. Because of hate speech laws in countries such as Germany and England, hate groups in the United States are attracting an international following.

Melucci (2000: 92) states that participation in any type of collective action has no value for the individual unless it provides a direct response to personal needs. The individuals' control of action is a condition for mobilization and ultimate change in social structures such as religion, health care, and the economy. He also concludes that empirical testing of his or any hypothesis regarding the social movement phenomenon is difficult due to the nebulous nature between the orientation of individuals toward collective goals versus security and enjoyment found in the group experience. As we have seen from the diversity of social actors and collectives represented in this reader, students of emerging and dynamic

social movements in post-industrial societies such as the United States have a vast ever-changing landscape with which to continue their work.

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