THE SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT:

VOCABULARIES OF MOTIVE

AND SOCIAL CHANGE

By

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[Signatures]

Dean of the Graduate College
I undertook this study never realizing it would develop into two and one half years of intensive participant observation and envelope my life in the way that it did. Much too far into the research to reconsider, I discovered that field research is not something to be entered into lightly. This study both reaffirms my philosophical beliefs in qualitative research and bolsters my respect for those who venture forth into it. In addition to the substantive aspect of this study which is the obvious focus of this thesis, this inquiry was perhaps, for myself, as much methodological and theoretical. A number of issues for exploration elsewhere were raised.

The reader will find that rather than the egalitarian pronominal form "he/she," I have used only the female form in this study. Many feminist writers, and even some male writers, have adopted this style. As Perinbanayagam writes in Signifying Acts,

This seemed to be a splendid solution to the problem of establishing hegemony by pronouns. Male writers should use the masculine form as the generalizing pronoun and female writers should use the feminine form. Politics, style, form, and the elimination of wasteful labor are all served fully in this manner (1985:xv).

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my family and teachers without whom I could not have completed this
degree.

Many thanks go to the members of my committee: first and foremost, to each of them for giving me their trust; to my adviser, Dr. George E. Arquitt, for igniting many years ago my interest in social change; to Dr. Larry Perkins for his approach to the world and to teaching; to Dr. Charles Edgley who has been a friend and an inspiration. These three people have had a much greater impact on my life and studies than they may realize.

Most importantly, I am grateful to my son, Chad. His help and understanding were at times mature beyond his years. With the wisdom of a child he helped me keep it all in perspective.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study examines what will be called here the social justice movement. For purposes of this research social justice movements will be defined as those formed in response to "such global realities as massive poverty and widespread hunger, repression and economic injustice" and "in the face of unconscionable U.S. government policies toward the poorer nations both within and outside our hemisphere" (Nelson-Pallmeyer 1986). While some of these groups have non-religious orientations, most claim religious philosophies, and all are grounded in the values of social action and voluntarily simplistic lifestyles. This research is the result of two and one half years of participant observation in a local metropolitan area in several organizations whose focus was on the areas of justice, hunger, poverty and human rights. What began as an interest in those persons active in these organizations, has grown into an analysis of this movement within the context of a much broader cultural transformation that is taking place in today's world.
Nature of the Study

We must be very circumspect about the uncritical designation of sociological analysis as "micro" or "macro". We must never confuse sheer numbers of bodies with complexity of organization. At the meetings of SSSI in Chicago this year, my wife and I used the bus for transportation. On our first trip to the loop, we were questioning one another about landmarks. A passenger in front of us laid out our entire route, together with possible side excursions, and brought us up to date about changes in various areas of the city. The passenger, a retired motel doorman, had Chicago in his head. Some individuals are more macro-sociological than some small town populations (Stone 1979:17).

As this research progressed, it became increasingly clear that this movement could not be understood "in and of itself." What emerged with clarity was that there was no clarity in the distinction being made between macro and micro, social and personal. It becomes impossible to understand social change or paradigm shifts without considering the "instances" and the individuals that are their creators and equally impossible to make sense of instances, individuals and movements outside the context of the social change and paradigm shifts that have created them.

Within this research is a constant movement--between the social justice movement and social movements in general, between what is taking place within the social justice movement and the larger cultural context and paradigm shifts discussed here and between the individual and the social. As this "movement" back and forth in the process of the research became more frequent and more
diffuse, the meaningfulness of the distinctions between macro and micro became less clear.

This study attempts an in-depth examination of a local social justice movement. In many respects this is similar to listening for and picking out the melody in an elaborate musical arrangement. While the melody is enjoyable to listen to, much of the richness of the piece is missing until the harmony is added. At the same time, without the melody there is really no music as we know it. This study attempts also to listen to the "harmony" or background which will include a discussion of social movements in general and the larger sociocultural context within which the social justice movement is taking place.

Finally, the subject matter of this inquiry is as much theoretical and methodological as it is substantive. Remaining true to the qualitative methodology and naturalistic paradigm employed in the exploration of the "social justice movement" implies a certain difficulty in talking about one aspect of the inquiry without acknowledging the interdependence of each. As the social justice movement is researched, so too the methodology used, the paradigm guiding the research, and how they impact one another will be discussed.

Findings

Several findings have emerged from what grew to be an almost constant movement back and forth between foreground
and background in this research. The most pervasive literally provides the basis upon which the rest of the study is built:

(1) The social justice movement as it is discussed here can be seen as both an example of a larger paradigm shift or cultural change and also as a microcosm of the conditions propelling this social change. This shift can be noted in areas as diverse as physics, ecology, mathematics, feminism, holistic health, peace, business and the economy. The social justice movement is one means through which this paradigm shift emphasizing personalization, connectedness and involvement can be studied.

(2) The typical approaches to the study of social movements have been concerned with the psychological mechanisms underlying movement participation and the resources necessary for movement organization and mobilization. Nowhere, however, is the ongoing dialectic between the individual and society more apparent than in social movements. The concept of vocabularies of motive as socially defined and executed rhetorics offers a way of analyzing the linkage between structural concerns and personal behavior. The way in which vocabularies of motive are critically and practically involved
in social change is suggested.

(3) There is currently a large body of literature dealing with self-centered individualism in our society (Bellah 1985; Lasch 1978; Slater 1970; Schur 1976; Reiner 1979). One group of participants that emerged out of this study of the social justice movement would have to be described as highly individualistic. They, however, would also have to be described as almost the antithesis of the "radical individualist" or "narcissistic personality" in the literature. They suggest the emergence of a form of "cooperative individualism" consistent with the transformation of consciousness inherent in the paradigm shift being examined (and suggestive of the hybridized identity written about in the feminist literature.) When translated from the personal to the social a new pattern of social change seems to emerge.

(4) This group of "individualists" that emerged out of this research seem to indicate a new form of social movement involvement that differs notably from typical social movement characteristics as currently defined in the literature. These individuals did not join as a result of personal ties with others involved in the movement. Nor do they fit the deprivation theory or
psychological maladjustment theory prototype.

(5) The social justice movement encounters fundamental contradiction intrinsic to what is frequently the religious aspect in its appeal. While its appeal is based in the "Christian" concerns for the poor, possessions, hunger and justice, in the broad analysis of myth structures Christianity is most aptly described as a patriarchal, particularly dualistic monotheism (Phillips 1979). This contradiction as a factor to be explored in the growth of "fundamental" churches and the decline of "mainline" denominations is suggested.

These movements today to one degree or another lament their lack of effectiveness, lack of growth, marginal existence and the general direction in the U.S. of foreign policy and political climate. This research attempts to examine these concerns within the context of broader paradigms and myth structures using the concept of vocabularies of motives as a means of analyzing the linkage between these personal concerns and societal structures.

Organization of This Study

This study is organized into seven chapters. Chapter I provides a description of the nature and a synopsis of the findings of this study. In Chapter II, a broad overview of the social justice movement will be attempted.
through a survey of the typical analyses of social movements in general and of the literature which has been written to advocate the social justice movement specifically. Chapter III will describe the research methods of participant observation which were employed in this study. Chapter IV will move to a foreground look at the social justice movement through an ethnographic presentation of the several groups comprising the local social justice movement. In particular, the group that suggests the emergence of "cooperative individualism" will be discussed. Chapter V will move once again to the background and will seek to place the local social justice movement within a broader cultural context. This chapter will look at the paradigms within which we live and the shifts that it can be argued are taking place as constructors of our reality. Chapter VI will analyze the social justice movement and will look at the linkage between structural concerns and personal behavior through vocabularies of motive. Fundamental contradictions intrinsic to its placement within the broader cultural context and specifically to the religious aspect in its appeal will be explored. The final chapter contains a summary and will discuss the implications of this research.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Typical Analyses

Social psychological and sociological analyses of social movements have typically been concerned with questions about movement participation and with movement organization and mobilization (Zurcher and Snow 1981). Movements have been analyzed in terms of their change-oriented objectives and ideologies, the conditions underlying their emergence and in terms of their differential appeal to various aggregates of individuals (Snow 1979). In addition, considerable attention has been paid to the development of typologies of social movements (Blumer 1951; Asch 1952; Garner 1977; Aberle 1967), as well as to their stages (Hopper 1951; Mauss 1975).

Social-Psychological Approach

In the traditional social-psychological approach on the collective behavior aspects of social movements an individual is seen as a psychological mechanism. Although works in this area differ markedly in scope ranging from movement-specific to general and inclusive (Turner and Killian 1972; Leites and Wolf 1970; Almond 1954; Fromm
1941; Davies 1962; Gurr 1970; Toch 1965; Cantril 1941; Smelser 1963), almost exclusive attention is paid to the psychological effects of problematic structural conditions or to the role of attitudinal and personality factors. An individual's collective behavior is seen as a reflection of her individualistic, socially unadulterated components (Brissett 1968). However cognitive states or motives are conceptualized, and whether it is theorized that different kinds of motivations predispose people to different movements or that all movements provide similar avenues of need fulfillment, movement joining is seen predominantly as a function of social psychological attributes.

Response to Social Psychological: Resource Mobilization and Identity Oriented Approaches

The theoretical response to the traditional social psychological approach was twofold—in the U.S. it took the form of the "resource mobilization" paradigm and in Western Europe, the "identity-oriented" paradigm. Resource mobilization "examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements" (McCarthy and Zald 1977:1216). A great deal of work is currently being done in this area drawing from economic theory, behavioral psychology and exchange theory (Gamson 1968, 1975; Jenkins and Perrow
Resource mobilization shifts the analysis of social movements from attributes of individual participants to the structure and operation of movement organizations. Rather than emphasizing recruitment and conversion, it focuses on outcomes. Little attention, however, is given to the role of ideology, symbolization, and passion in relation to the emergence, operation, and decline of movement organizations (Zurcher and Snow 1981).

The European theorists, on the other hand, have approached social movements from what could be described as an "identity-oriented" paradigm (Touraine 1971, 1981, 1985; Melucci 1980; Pizzorno 1985). The identity-oriented paradigm purports to examine the processes by which collective actors create the identities and solidarities they defend, to assess the relations between adversaries and the stakes of their conflicts and to analyze the structural and cultural developments that contribute to such heightened reflexivity. A pure identity-oriented paradigm has been criticized as too restrictive from within tending to reproduce the tendency of contemporary collective actors to "retreat to autonomy" and turn in on themselves.

Both the resource mobilization and identity-oriented approaches assume social movements involve organized groups and sophisticated forms of communication. Touraine (1985) suggests both as opposite sides of the same coin. Both look at social conflicts in terms of the response to long-term
changes (modernization) rather than in relational terms of social structure. The pure identity model corresponds to the defensive behavior of actors who resist their reduction to the status of powerless dependent consumers of imposed change through withdrawal into countercultures or through refusal of innovations. The purely strategic analysis of collective action corresponds to the standpoint of managerial or state elites, even when it is meant to take the part of "ordinary people" and offer the view from below (Touraine 1982). When the stake of collective action is construed as membership among elites who control developmental resources, then collective action appears as offensive, proactive struggles of interest groups competing for power and privilege in those areas that development, or modernization, opens up.

"New Social Movements"?

The term "new social movements" is being applied in some of the most recent literature to movements such as the feminist, ecological, peace and local autonomy movements that have been proliferating in the West since the mid-seventies (Cohen 1983, 1985; Arato and Cohen 1984; Offe 1985; Habermas 1981). These movements are described as distinctive because they strive for a "postbourgeois, post patriarchal" society, practice "self-limiting radicalism," focus on grass-roots politics, create loosely federated horizontal associations and emphasize "post material"
values (Cohen 1985). They differ in form from the Old Left unions and political parties and in scope from the revolutionary and totalizing character of the New Left. Whether there is really anything significantly new about these movements is debated, however.

A historical look at collective action reveals a shift from routine assembly by communal groups and local markets in the eighteenth century to deliberately called meetings by formally organized groups in the nineteenth century. The food riots, tax rebellions, and appeals aimed at the paternalistic authorities of the eighteenth century world of communities and small groups were replaced with the demonstrations and strikes of the nineteenth century world of "big structures," urbanization and mass media (Tilly 1978). The most common grievance for mass movements of the 60's was one of identity or dissatisfaction with the symbols proffered to provide a sense of self and of one's place in society, and it has been suggested that these "shortcomings of meaning" are what stimulated these movements (Wilson 1973). These movements of the 60's took place in a fully developed media system--an unprecedented rhetorical context (Turner 1980). As Mills (1959) has observed,

very little of what we think we know of the social realities of the world have we found out first hand. Most of 'the pictures in our heads' we have gained from these media--even to the point where we often do not really believe what we see before us until we read about it in the paper or hear about it on the radio. The media not only give us
information; they guide our very experiences. Our standards of credulity, our standards of reality, tend to be set by the media rather than by our own fragmentary experience.

And as Berg (1972) has suggested, "because mass media, particularly television, tend to expand and intensify man's [sic] insights into the imperfections of his [sic] society, they often play a primary role in shaping the character of his [sic] rhetorical responses." Seeing media as a major source of deficient and ego-damaging images, social movements of the 60's appealed to those same media as channels through which to extol "the virtues of the ego sought after" (Gregg 1971). In an attempt to create new meanings and identities these movements sought to gain access to the media through the media gatekeepers (White 1950) and thus faced a real dilemma. As Berg (1972) observed, "on the one hand, access to the media is essential if their message is to be widely disseminated; on the other hand, the kind of behavior necessary to gain such access may obscure or even contradict the intended message." The contradiction of the rhetoric of ego-defense and the rhetoric of media access in some cases resulted in publications and interpersonal channels aimed at a more select audience (Turner 1980).

This transformation of the locuses of power and change in the form of collective action presupposes the creation of new meanings, new organizations, and new identities (Cohen 1985). While it can be argued that the "new social movements" have an increased awareness of their capacity to
create new identities and new meanings, they are still meeting, demonstrating, striking and attempting to gain media access through means often contradictory to their purposes. And in their quest for personal and communal identity, their advocacy of expressive as opposed to strategic action and their focus on direct participation they can be argued to often have "retreated to autonomy" as Touraine has suggested (1985).

Current Directions of Analysis: Networks, Ideology and Commitment

In analyzing these movements more work in recent years has focused on (and is suggested in) preexisting relations and social networks, ideology and commitment (Gerlach and Hine 1970; Petras and Zeitlin 1967; Zurcher and Kirkpatrick 1976; Oberschall 1973; Wilson and Orum 1976; Bolton 1972). It has been argued that movement interconnections and the interpersonal associations of potential movement participants are more important than psychological attributes (Snow et al. 1980). And Zurcher and Snow (1981) feel the realization of the tenets of the movement ideology is contingent on intellectual and emotional exposure along the lines of social networks.

Studies of participation and conversion (Lofland 1977; Gerlach and Hine 1970; Snow 1976; Lofland and Stark 1965) suggest that movements function not merely as vehicles for the expression and amelioration of prestructured
dispositions and strains, but they also function as important agitational, problem-defining, need-arousal, and motive-producing agencies (Zurcher and Snow 1981). Commitment links self-interest to social requirements (Kanter 1972) and many argue the degree of involvement is dependent on the level of commitment. Commitment to paraphrase Becker (1960) is an all-encompassing "side bet" or in Goffman's (1961) words, indicates the absence of role distance and the existence of role embracement. Membership in some movements can be scheduled into a fairly normal life pattern (Aberle 1966; Smelser 1962) and involves little more than the coordination of "roles inside and outside the movement" (Turner and Killian 1972:334). Kanter's (1972) work suggests that individuals may participate not only in different ways and for different reasons, but without having internalized the movement's value orientations.

Zurcher and Snow (1981) suggest ideology and the extent to which it links the prospective participant's life situation to the goals of the movement as an important factor in recruitment and mobilization. Ideology refers to that component of a movement's "universe of discourse" (Mead 1962:88-90) that supports and justifies movement objectives. Ideology provides the cognitive map articulating the problem, focusing blame, and justifying action. Works focusing on resource mobilization have emphasized the importance of people and money, but it can
be argued that some of the most important movement-related resources are those that function primarily in a symbolic manner. Ideology, phrases and slogans, and patterns of rhetoric symbolize the nature and causes of discontent, and provide justification for action (Fanon 1965; Lerner et al. 1975; Sorel 1941; Walster et al. 1978). Strategic patterns of action (Snow 1979), terrorism (Schreiber 1978; Thornton 1964; Trotsky 1961), and the mobilization for collective violence (Turner and Surace 1956) can be viewed as resources that function in a symbolic manner. Beyond the expansion of the conceptualization of resources to include symbols and symbolism, Zurcher and Snow (1981) suggest that the concept of mobilization should include symbolization, defining this as the process through which objects, whether physical, social or abstract take on particular meanings.

Direction of This Study

In the almost constant move between data-gathering and analysis in this study, instances congruent with existing theory developed as did instances which seemed to deviate from current social movement theory. Instances and data emerged at one point or another to which each of the social movement theories perused could have been appropriately applied. It may well be that the theoretical perspective employed depends not only on the values of the researcher and the larger society, or even on the particular movement
under study, but also on the aspects of and the categories of individuals within the movement focused upon. While not the stated purpose of this study, the thought processes and findings generated seem to inform the more current directions of analysis of social movements in the areas of networking, ideology and commitment as proposed by Zurcher and Snow (1981).

While categories of individuals within this study emerged that supported the networking theories, such as those of Gerlach and Hine (1970), and even the earlier deprivation and psychological theories, "cooperative individualism" that emerged within the study indicated a new form of social movement involvement. Participation in the case of this category of individuals did not seem to be contingent upon interpersonal associations nor upon psychological attributes. This individualism will be discussed in Chapter IV. In addition the analysis of the social justice movement in terms of Burke's (1950) ultimate or Peribanayagam's (1967) transcendentental vocabularies of motive and Goffman's (1974) frames, suggest avenues for exploring the area of commitment and the role of social movements as motive-producing agencies. Examination of the social justice movement here also suggests directions for the further study of ideology, rhetoric and symbolization through these same concepts of vocabularies of motive and framing. This will be explored further in Chapter VI.
Advocacy and Resource Literature

As suggested by Turner (1980), much of the publishing in the area of the social justice movement is aimed at a select audience. These publications are usually religious in their nature. All basically are responding in one manner or another to as Nelson-Pallmeyer (1986) puts it, "such global realities as massive poverty and widespread hunger, repression and economic injustice" and "unconscionable U.S. government policies toward the poorer nations both within and outside our hemisphere."

The beliefs of adherents of the social justice movement are probably best represented by the Shakertown Pledge which grew out of a meeting of religious retreat center directors in 1973. Outlined by Finnerty (1977) it says:

Recognizing that the earth and the fulness thereof is a gift from our gracious God, and that we are called to cherish, nurture, and provide loving stewardship for the earth's resources, and recognizing that life itself is a gift, and a call to responsibility, joy, and celebration, I make the following declarations:

1. I declare myself to be a world citizen.

2. I commit myself to lead an ecologically sound life.

3. I commit myself to lead a life of creative simplicity and to share my personal wealth with the world's poor.

4. I commit myself to join with others in the reshaping of institutions in order to bring about a more just global society in which all people have full access to the needed resources for their
physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual growth.

5. I commit myself to occupational accountability, and in doing I will seek to avoid the creation of products which cause harm to others.

6. I affirm the gift of my body and commit myself to its proper nourishment and physical well-being.

7. I commit myself to examine continually my relations with others, and to attempt to relate honestly, morally, and lovingly to those around me.

8. I commit myself to personal renewal through prayer, meditation, and study.

9. I commit myself to responsible participation in a community of faith (97).

As the Shakertown Pledge does, much of the literature in the social justice movement in North America finds its basis in biblical texts (Bennett 1975; Finnerty 1977; Corson-Finnerty 1982; Sider 1977, 1980; Fuller 1986; Nelson 1981; Nelson-Pallmeyer 1986). These books give a systematic, theological analysis of biblical material in terms of God's concern for the poor, possessions, hunger and justice. Frequently they draw from Latin American liberation theology. Whether of a religious or nonreligious orientation they typically give an overview of world poverty and the affluence of the Northern Hemisphere. Many times this is accompanied by historical scholarship outlining the roots of the North/South conflicts in the world today in colonialism and neocolonialism. The writing in the social justice movement usually adopts a dependency theory approach seeing the world's nations linked into a
global economic system with the core nations of the North
prospering at the expense of the poorer peripheral nations
of the South. The underdevelopment of these countries is
seen as occurring through narrow, export-oriented
economies, multinational corporations, internal
stratification and foreign debt. Almost always these books
suggest avenues for citizen action and further resources
for those who wish to respond to the message of the book.
The direct clash of the messages of the social justice
movement with the more dominant paradigm out of which at
least the Western world operates will be explored in the
analysis in Chapter VI.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study was participant observation, intensive interviewing and content analysis, also referred to as field research or, more broadly, as qualitative research. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) make clear that "field method is not an exclusive method .... [It] is more like an umbrella of activity beneath which any technique may be used for gaining the desired information, and for processes of thinking about this information." Before the more specific experiences of the present research project, the general nature of field research will be discussed.

In qualitative research theory, epistemology and methodology are inextricably related. Dilthey perceived understanding as a hermeneutic process in which there was constant movement between parts and whole with no absolute beginning and ending points. Such a hermeneutic perspective meant that human experience was context-bound. Much like Dilthey, Weber argued that verstehen was necessary to understand the meanings another assigned to her actions, it required that these meanings be placed within a context. According to epistemological idealism,
what is to be considered true is a matter of agreement within a socially and historically bounded context. Agreement is reached not through an external referent but through a process of justification that is inescapably bound up with values and interests. Investigating the social world is a process that is socially and historically bounded; that is, our values and interests will shape how we study and discuss reality.

"The purpose of ethnographic description is not to determine the frequencies and correlations of predetermined variables, but to present or represent the local meanings and contexts of complex human actions (Emerson 1983:26)."

Denzin (1970) suggests that the interactionist's conception of human behavior assumes that behavior is self-directed and observable at two distinct levels—the symbolic and the interactional. In the investigative act symbols and interaction must be combined, the investigator must take the perspective or "role of the acting other" and view the world from her subjects' point of view, she must link her subjects' symbols and definitions with the social relationships and groups that provide those conceptions, and research methods must be capable of reflecting process or change.

Not only does field research advocate the use of many methods and emphasize the interrelationship of method, theory and epistemology, but it also is a very complex process. In qualitative research there is a shift away
from the more traditional pattern in social science research of formulation of hypotheses, conceptualization, sampling, data collection and analysis. Field research is not such a linear process. Data collection, analysis and theorizing are intimately related. Large amounts of field data are collected. During field research, it is necessary to climb a very tall tree and gain a broad perspective on how far you have come, what tasks lie ahead, and which direction you should take from time to time. New questions arise from the data and patterns develop. "The research process ... is not a clear cut sequence of procedures following a neat pattern but a messy interaction between the conceptual and empirical world, deduction and induction occurring at the same time (Bechhofer 1974:73)".

Qualitative research is especially suited to the study of process and change. The advantages of observation over an extended period of time are particularly great. The researcher can observe changes in the social environment and transformations of perspective over a period of time. Attention can be focused both on what has happened and on what the person says about what has happened (Becker and Geer 1975). "The researcher may come to see social relations not as structures that 'perform' a limited number of functions, nor as structures which change from time to time, but as processes which from time to time may be dealt with as structures and which will exhibit a multitude of consequences (Schatzman and Strauss 1973:6)."
Limitations and Possibilities

Ethnographic descriptions are pictures, "richly textured and accurate descriptions of events and activities in the lives of those studied (Emerson 1983:20)." With attention on the socially constructed meanings of the individuals and the group being studied, it is possible that broader patterns and linkages and interrelationships with the larger social world may be overlooked. It is also possible for the richness and depth of understanding of qualitative research to go beyond observation and description, however. The task is "to grasp concepts which, for another people, are experience-near, and to do so well enough to place them in illuminating connection with experience-distant concepts theorists have fashioned to capture the general features of social life" (Geertz 1976:224). While contextual and experience-near, "thick descriptions" are neither totally devoid of theoretical significance, nor totally emic in character. There are, in fact, unique possibilities for the refinement and generation of theory in qualitative research.

The Nature of Grounded Theory

Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that overemphasis on the testing of propositions with logical movement to conclusions has resulted in a deemphasis on discovery and the generation of theory, that a division between theory
and method have occurred. They stress that the unstructured nature of field research techniques allows for the flexibility, intuition and detailed description necessary for hypotheses and themes to emerge from the data. Concepts and patterns grounded in direct fieldwork emerge, are checked against further data and begin to coalesce into theory. The gap between theory and method is narrowed.

As Woods (1985) has suggested,

Theory does not simply 'emerge' or 'come into being'. Though it has been argued that it is grounded in the facts of the situation, it is not immediately revealed. However detailed and perspicacious the observations, at some state there must be a "leap of imagination" as the researcher conceptualizes from raw field notes (52).

Mills (1959) speaks to this interplay of the individual and the social when he says that it is "by means of the sociological imagination that ... [people] understand what is happening in themselves as minute points of the intersection of biography and history within society" (7).

The sociological imagination ... in considerable part consists of the capacity to shift from one perspective to another, and in the process to build up an adequate view of a total society and of its components. It is this imagination, of course, that sets off the social scientist from the mere technician. Adequate technicians can be trained in a few years. The sociological imagination can also be cultivated; certainly it seldom occurs without a great deal of often routine work. Yet there is an unexpected quality about it, perhaps because its essence is the combination of ideas that no one expected were combinable—say, a mess of ideas from German philosophy and British economics. There is a playfulness of mind back of such
combining as well as a truly fierce drive to make sense of the world, which the technician as such usually lacks. Perhaps he [sic] is too well trained, too precisely trained. Since one can be trained only in what is already known, training sometimes incapacitates one from learning new ways; it makes one rebel against what is bound to be at first loose and even sloppy. But you must cling to such vague images and notions, if they are yours, and you must work them out. For it is in such forms that original ideas, if any, almost always first appear (211-212).

Agar (1985) uses "tradition" as a shorthand term for the resources available to make sense out of experience. He states that ethnographies emerge out of a relationship among the traditions of ethnographer, group and intended audience. Based on Giddens conception of ethnography as, at its core, a process of "mediating frames of meaning", Agar suggests that the nature of a particular mediation will depend on the nature of the traditions that are in contact during fieldwork. The nature of field research is one of an open-ended beginning, a subsequent unfolding process, a "mediation of frames of meaning", and the application of sociological imagination. This nature permits findings to be viewed in a light that allows a greater grasp of the interplay between these various "traditions" or between biography, history and society.

The Local Social Justice Movement

Entry into the local social justice movement was achieved in the Fall of 1986 through several key people that the researcher had established contact with during a
study trip to Central America. These individuals were members of organizations that are being described here as part of the social justice movement. In addition, the researcher had been a member of a regional committee through involvement in broader peace and international issues that also had some involvement with the social justice issues being researched here. In all, ten different local organizations were involved in the study. These organizations will be described individually in Chapter IV. Early in the process of the research it became clear that there was a great deal of overlap between the organizations in terms of membership and/or participation. It was through this overlap and with the establishment of contact in the first organizations that entry into the remaining organizations was made possible. The researcher was accepted with few problems into each organization through an introduction from the individual making entry possible and an explanation of the nature of the research being conducted. The few problems that were encountered were a result of recent press coverage of reports by two employees of the CIA regarding their infiltration in another metropolitan area into branches of two of the organizations being studied. This raised some questions initially about the wisdom of any kind of study of their organizations and activities. These questions were resolved fairly quickly, however, with the reassurances of the individuals that knew the researcher and with some
discussion of the nature of the study.

Interestingly, the only exception to the easy entry and acceptance was the organization in which the researcher had been a member at one time. The researcher's experience in this study is that field research within an organization in which the researcher is already known presents unique and special problems. These problems center around the change in the role of the researcher and the resulting changes in relationships between the researcher and others within the organization. The researcher experienced a distancing within herself in an attempt to observe the organization as objectively and as completely as possible. This distancing resulted in alienation from and suspicion within the remaining members of the organization.

Questions asked or notes made by the researcher which previously had been done routinely were regarded watchfully after the issue of research had been broached. This period eventually passed and the researcher was able to observe fairly unobtrusively, but the adjustment was a more difficult one when dealing with a change in relationship.

Several months of informal participant observation were conducted after the initial entry was gained. This participant observation continued throughout the two and one half years of the study through Spring of 1989. Meetings of the various organizations were attended and numerous activities were participated in or observed. Learning fairs or festivals typically set up in a local
church or public building and sponsored by one or more organizations were attended. These events usually had booths or tables set up with information regarding their organization(s) available, sometimes involved speakers (either local or brought in from out of town) or workshops, and at times involved some kind of fund-raising, e.g., selling of ethnic foods or crafts from coops within developing countries. Some of these events were large and well-planned, others were small and informal. Demonstrations and vigils held both on a regular basis and in response to specific incidents and circumstances were observed. During this time period extensive field notes were recorded.

The Importance of Long-term Study

The importance of the unfolding process possible in long-term study became evident when early analyses were compared with final analyses. Going into the research, the main focus of interest was those persons active in these organizations. One focus that immediately emerged was the discrepancy between the values upon which the social justice movement is in many ways based and the lifestyles of many of the participants in the movement. As the research progressed, however, this aspect of the analysis became only a small part of much broader findings. The initial focus of the study grew into an analysis of this movement within the context of a much broader cultural
transformation. The initial focus on the individual organizations gave way to categories of individuals that spanned the organizations. Initially two categories of individuals within these organizations emerged, one including the leadership. Eventually, through this unfolding, the social justice movement revealed itself to be an extremely complex and dynamic entity. Over the research process, five different groups with distinctive characteristics manifested themselves within one of the initial categories. (For the remainder of this study, groups will be used in reference to those categories that emerged within the research and organizations will be used in reference to the ten organizations being studied.) Over time, different kinds of responses and action and different forms of interaction between the groups were observed that would have been missed had the study not been long term. Some of the actions taken, especially the vigils and acts of civil disobedience, took place only under special circumstances and could be observed only over a prolonged period of time. And the categories of participants that took part at the different levels of involvement could be understood only through long-term study. The distinctions between these groups would not have been evident otherwise.

Triangulation

Formal open-ended interviews were conducted with individuals in each of the categories that emerged, as well
as telephone interviews with individuals involved at the national levels of the organizations being studied. Sporadic interviewing at an informal level was conducted throughout the period of study. Activities and meetings of all of the organizations involved in the study were attended. Interaction among the different categories of participants, including some national figures brought in for local events, were observed at general meetings and activities. Attitudes and perceptions of those in leadership roles toward other participants were observed in smaller executive meetings and planning sessions. Some of the same members were seen in both the expert role when conducting workshops or planning events and as participants taking part in other events. The response of the general public toward the social justice movement was seen in different kinds of circumstances ranging from situations in which participants had been invited into the general public as experts to demonstrations and vigils in which they were in many ways "forcing themselves" onto the general public. Especially fruitful was a summer spent living at a "peace house," a house operated by two sisters of the Benedictine order of the Catholic church which is used both formally for meetings of the organizations being studied and informally as a meeting place for many of the people, especially the leadership, within these organizations. This living arrangement allowed observation of the informal coming together of members of the social justice movement
that would not have been possible otherwise. This is where much of the data related to one of the categories including the upper level leadership was gathered.

Direction of This Study

Through the initial participant observation it quickly became clear the focus of this study was not psychological characteristics of the participants nor was it formulas for the mobilization of their resources to overcome their perceived ineffectiveness. The social movement as a source for the study of the dialectic between the individual and society, as the meeting place of different—even opposing—perspectives or paradigms out of which one lives quickly emerged as a substantive concept to be explored theoretically. This led to the examination of theories of social change in terms of paradigms and paradigm shifts and existing theories of social movements and utilization of the concepts of vocabularies of motive and framing as a means of analysis. As Becker and Geer suggest,

Participant observation provides ... a rich experiential context which causes [the researcher] to become aware of incongruous or unexplained facts, makes him [sic] sensitive to their possible implications and connections with other observed facts, and thus pushes him [sic] continually to revise and adapt his [sic] theoretical orientation and specific problems in the direction of greater relevance to the phenomena under study (331).

These analyses developed over time and were constantly compared and contrasted with field notes from interviews and observations, as well as with existing theories.
CHAPTER IV

LOCAL SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

Consistent with the nature of qualitative research was the emergent nature of this study. This is one of the advantages of a long-term participant study. Several fairly distinct groups within the local social justice movement emerged in the research process. In the almost constant move between data-gathering and analysis, instances congruent with existing theory developed as did instances which seemed to deviate from current social movement theory.

In all ten different local organizations were involved in the study. All had regular meetings or activities in which they were involved, some had executive committees that met, approximately half had national affiliations. The primary concerns of these groups were the issues of human rights, global poverty and hunger, and economic injustice. The form of their involvement varied from lobbying for legislative change to direct interventions, e.g., letter-writing to foreign governments, sending of supplies and contributions to groups in other countries, building of homes, and sending of individuals or groups to carry out work in other countries; from education, e.g.,
speakers, workshops, and fairs to public involvement, e.g., demonstrations and civil disobedience. They ranged from relatively passive to extremely active in the form of their response, from very narrow with concerns limited to one issue or one area of the world to very broad in their scope.

One of the organizations studied had as its emphasis lobbying for legislative change regarding issues related to world hunger. It was a national organization with a national staff and local branches organized by a volunteer coordinator. The local membership that was actively involved lived in the metro area studied, although membership was actually statewide. It had a regular national newsletter and a sporadic local newsletter. Some fund-raising and awareness-building took place, but it concentrated largely on letter-writing on a local level in support of its national lobbying efforts.

Another of the organizations was an international organization with national and local branches whose sole emphasis was letter-writing on behalf of political prisoners in countries in which human rights abuses occur. This letter-writing takes place at a grassroots level by individuals in response to specific, individual cases. It had a local membership that met regularly.

Another was a national organization again with local branches, which refurbishes and/or builds houses for low-income families or individuals both locally and
internationally. It involved both collection of funds and provision of materials and person-power for this purpose. It had a local board that met regularly and was active, but the local membership was basically a mailing list for the purposes of contributions and dissemination of information regarding its activities.

Three of the organizations were strictly local organizations. One was for women only with its emphasis on education and awareness-building and marketing of crafts of women from a Central American country. It had an active membership that met regularly and was involved in local fairs and festivals. One was an organization with its emphasis on a broad range of peace issues, but with a special emphasis on the issues of justice and poverty being studied here. It had an active membership that met regularly. Its methods and purposes were also broad, including publication of a newsletter that served as a clearinghouse of sorts for the other organizations, participation in local fairs and festivals, organizing of vigils and demonstrations, and sponsoring of workshops and speakers. Another had as its emphasis poverty and human rights issues related exclusively to Central America. It used all of the methods and purposes listed above. While it had an active membership, it rarely met on its own usually meeting in conjunction with another of these organizations.

Another of the organizations studied was a national
organization with local representatives and membership that had been organized in response to the U.S. government policies toward a single Central American country. Activities centered around collection of contributions and awareness-building. Its membership was rather diffuse, but came together for the planning of specific events.

The organization in which the researcher had been a member was a statewide task force organized by a number of organizations involved in a broad range of peace and international issues for the purpose of evaluating and making recommendations regarding their effectiveness in their stated missions. It had a statewide membership that met regularly for the duration of the task force in the metro area being studied.

While all of the organizations studied relied on biblical material to support their statements of mission and goals and had ties to one degree or another to the more liberal Christian denominations in North America, two of the organizations were tied directly to specific Christian denominations. One was an organization related to a relatively liberal Protestant denomination with an interest in a broad range of peace issues, but with its emphasis specifically on the issues being studied here. It had an active local membership with regular meetings, educational events, fund-raising activities and took part in local activities related to these issues. Another was a broader-based group related to the Catholic church, which again had
an active local membership that met regularly. It, more than any of the other groups, had members that were involved in all of the other groups and was frequently a clearinghouse for the activities of the other groups and a coordinator of events.

Importance of Long-Term Study

Initially

Over the two and one half year research period, what became evident was that the social justice movement is a complex and dynamic entity which defies easy explanation. Through the period of participation in the meetings and activities of these organizations that make up the social justice movement at the local level it first became clear that there was a group which might be called a fringe or non-committed group in which there was a great deal of turnover in terms of the particular individuals involved. These individuals participated only sporadically, usually in only one specific organization. They were usually friends or had ties of some kind with one or more persons who were more deeply involved. Distinct from this latter group were the remainder of the individuals whose faces became familiar as they reappeared at various activities and meetings. There were within this group those that could be identified as leaders within the organizations.
Later

It was only after more than a year of participation in the local movement and the beginning of the interviewing process that it became clear that the movement could not be so easily and distinctly categorized into these two groups. What began to appear were several distinctions in terms of activities and level of commitment among those actively involved in the movement. Perhaps more importantly there emerged a group which did not conform to any of the current social movement theories. Several groups manifested themselves among those actively involved and could probably best be described as constituting a continuum in terms of activities, commitment and ideology.

Entry Level Participants. A category of participants that will be called "entry level participants" here were regularly involved in some kind of organization, usually only one specific organization. The term "entry-level" is frequently employed within the movement when referring to these people. They tend to have a superficial level of awareness of the underlying philosophy of the social justice movement. Their involvement is mainly large-group, planned activities including such things as dinners, fairs, and walk-a-thons. They frequently make monetary contributions in some form or another to the movement. Many people do not move beyond this level in terms of the
continuum being described here. This group is frequently targeted by those more involved as the group that must be taken into account in the planning of workshops or activities. In the dilemma of how to best get their message across one long-time activist confided,

We don't want to overwhelm them (entry-level participants) or scare them away. And that's so easy to do. It's important that they've chosen to be here (at the workshop) and is a big step for them. It's funny that an issue like justice can be so controversial, but it is. And these ideas have to be presented very carefully. You don't walk up to a first-time participant and talk about tax evasion!

Most of the people labeled here as entry level participants would not describe themselves as members of the social justice movement. Many of these organizations are church-related to some degree and often members of this group are involved in whatever activity they are pursuing as a result of their larger church relationship rather than an involvement with the social justice movement per se.

Typical reasons for being involved are:

Our minister showed a film on South Africa and I wanted to learn more about it.

Sarah has been trying to get me to come to one of these for a long time now and I finally decided to.

When I can do something to help those less fortunate I want to do it.

"Regulars". With growing involvement another group emerges distinct in several ways from the entry-level participants just described. Within this group there is an expanded awareness of the philosophical stance of the
social justice movement with more personal study and action taking place, i.e., reading and letter-writing to legislators regarding issues related to the social justice movement. Most of those who consider themselves participants in the social justice movement are found within this group and they make up the largest population of membership in any single organization. They typically are involved in several different groups. Participants within this category describe feeling good regarding the work they are doing in the movement and the organizations in which they participate. They tend to be optimistic about what they are doing and to feel answers to the problems of hunger and injustice in the world lie directly within the kinds of activities they are participating in.

At a dinner meeting of one of the church-related groups, one woman made the following report:

Our meeting with our representative was a good one. We took the petitions in and we simply can't be ignored any longer. We're on the verge of a new day.

On another occasion, another report typical of this thinking was made:

We took in over $400.00 last week at our walk-a-thon. We are making a difference.

They are usually part of the middle-class socioeconomically and subscribe to stereotypical middle class values. Typically they do not describe existential dilemmas or express concerns about any incongruence between their own lifestyles and the basic philosophies underlying the
organizations in which they participate.

Involved. A fourth group emerged that will be referred to as the "involved." This group could largely be described on a continuum with the previous group. They are distinctive, however, in that they usually fill leadership roles in the groups in which they participate. Their personal searches that have grown out of their earlier involvement have lead them to "branch out" into groups in which membership is less commonplace. They frequently feel a degree of alienation from their communities and families because of their involvement and concerns. One woman confided that,

If not for my husband and son, my life would be very different now. I am ready to make some major changes. But I can't ask them to give up their home and way of life. My husband has worked hard to be where he is.

These individuals experience some struggle with what they see as a contradiction between the values inherent in their usually middle class lifestyles and a growing sense of the part that they see their lifestyles playing in a global picture of injustice and inequity. Another woman commented at a planning session of one group,

I feel very hypocritical much of the time. I look around my home and feel guilty. But I like what I have and don't want to give it up.

They are active in recruitment of potential participants and could be described as "gung ho". They are the planners on the local level and are present in many events.
Dedicated. The "dedicated" tends to be a very small group in terms of numbers. They become totally involved in the issues of injustice, at the extreme literally dedicating their lives frequently through study or work to their concerns. They almost always practice voluntary simplicity to one degree or another and often live unorthodox lifestyles according to middle class U.S. standards. They may hold positions of leadership at the national level of the organizations and often hold paid positions usually consisting of income at a subsistence level within these organizations. They often speak and write regarding issues within the social justice movement, sometimes have traveled to developing countries and may actively lobby on legislative matters within their area of interest. Often these individuals spend much of their time traveling and meeting with many different groups of people. If they remain at the local level they are involved in almost all of the organizations related to these issues. These are the individuals that practice civil disobedience. These individuals reported feeling "out of sinc" with the larger population and are insulated to a large degree from the larger population in roles of leadership and as speakers. They have learned to be protective of themselves sharing radical views cautiously and tempering their message to fit their audience. Their communication with the general population or the "rank and file" of the
movement tends to be sharing of their experiences and/or instructive in nature. One man, while here as a speaker, remarked

I don't try to misrepresent myself, but I try to temper what I have to say according to my perception of what a given group is ready to hear. I do try to challenge, but without alienating.

Many express a desire to visit developing countries, or if they have, a desire to return. They report an easier experience in living out their values through their lifestyles outside of a country where wealth and consumption are highly valued. The leader of a group to Central America stated

I need to make these trips periodically. They are my only source of rejuvenation.

And from another speaker at a local event who had not been back in the United States long after spending two years in Central America:

I find it much easier to live in Central America. It's much harder to live here in the United States, but I feel I'm needed here more. I can do more good here.

They are not as active on a day to day basis in the local groups. Their role could almost be described as one of "making appearances" at events and meetings. They have come into the movement after having reached their perspectives through personal searches, and were not influenced directly by the movement, specific organizations, or individuals within it. And they remain actively involved in their country and their communities in
spite of the differences they experience with them.

Withdrawal. A portion within this group withdraw to a great degree into their own world. While actively participating in the organizations related to these issues in some ways, they usually are not organizers and have immersed themselves deeply into the pursuit of self-awareness. Their appearance, both physical and in terms of lifestyle, is radical with such things as "60's" style dress and communal living. They often hold revolutionary views in terms of social change and are most active in such activities as vigils, demonstrations and civil disobedience. One local woman who participates in communal living on a small farm divulged her frustration during an educational event:

Revolution is really the only way to bring about any real change. People in this country are not going to give up all their precious things until they're forced to!

A man from the same group added:

I'm sick of the people in this country. What they're [the organization] trying to do here is basically futile.

Theoretical Analysis

As has been noted instances congruent with existing theory developed in the process of this research as did instances which seemed to deviate from current social movement theory. It is through the categorizations developed here that two important observations were made.
One was that the theoretical perspective employed depends not only on the values of the researcher and (in the case of social movements) on the particular movement being studied, but also even on the aspects of and the groups within a particular movement. Possible originations of, and evidence for, the many different theoretical perspectives can be observed in a single social movement. The second was the observation of the emergence of a form of individualism that stands in contradistinction with the current conceptualization of individualism (as well as evidence of the current conceptualization of individualism) contrasted within the same research project. The analysis of existing theories made in Chapter II is drawn upon here.

Within the category named here "entry level participants" is evidenced support for the theories focusing upon movement interconnections and interpersonal associations. The category called "regulars" (like the previous category) is fertile ground for application of the networking theories of social movements, but it can also have easily applied to it those theories dealing with commitment and the possibility of coordinating roles inside and outside the movement without internalizing the movement's values. This category also offers itself rather obviously to the social psychological theories that look at psychological attributes of the participants. Perhaps most importantly, if one accepts the claims of the French school/critical sociologists these would be the social
movement participants they refer to when speaking of commodification. It could easily be argued from this perspective that the social justice movement has become commodified with concerns regarding justice issues being sidetracked into negligible efforts and contributions which have little impact in the area of social change. It is this category (and ones similar in other movements), it would seem, that is the origination of and the data base for much of the theoretical work done in the area of social movements. The "involved" group is also obvious food for the newer studies looking at conversion and commitment, as well as networking and psychological deprivation.

Of special interest are the final two categories -- the "dedicated" and the "withdrawn." It is in the comparison of these two categories that an interesting contrast occurs. The withdrawn are a good example of one element that comes out in the criticism of the identity-oriented paradigm, i.e., the tendency of contemporary collective actors to "retreat to autonomy" and turn in on themselves. While it can be said that the dedicated seem to distance themselves to a degree and employ Habermas' purposive-rational form of communication when dealing with the larger membership in the social justice movement, they do remain amazingly involved in their communities and their country. The involvement of the dedicated cannot be explained by the theories that look at intellectual and emotional exposure along the lines of social networks nor
by the theories that look at the psychological attributes of the participants. This group does not fit either of these theoretical perspectives. It is in contrast with the withdrawn (and the other categories also to a degree) that the dedicated seemed to emerge as a form of individualism that stands in contradistinction to the self-centered individualism in our society currently dealt with in the literature.

**Individualism**

To examine the implications of the form of individualism that emerged within the "dedicated" group in this study, it is necessary to look at the current emphasis on individualism as conceptualized in the literature. The current interest in awareness strongly reflects our culture's long-standing emphasis on individualism and self-help. It has much in common with a variety of earlier self-reliance philosophies and "popular religions"--ranging from the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson to those of Norman Vincent Peale. What Schur (1976) describes as "promoters of self-awareness" see "personal growth" as the key to social progress. Becoming "aware" is the path to good interpersonal relations, and the solution to numerous social problems--national, and even international, in scope. According to these "promoters" health, education, and welfare; family, work, and government--all will miraculously grow and change for the better as we get more
in tune with ourselves and the people around us.

Schur argues that the stress on continuously exploring one's feelings represents a clear invitation to self-absorption. He points out the latent political implication: complacency for those who have succeeded; resignation or self-blame for those who have not. He suggests that from the standpoint of seriously disadvantaged segments of our population—the poor, racial and ethnic minorities, women, people labeled "deviant"—the awareness movement offers a particularly inadequate type of "liberation."

The awareness movement's appeal for Americans today is not hard to fathom. When confronted by external confusion, threat, or crisis, people are tempted to withdraw into themselves. And there is also a deeper appeal. Awareness outlooks have struck basic notes in the American character. The new self-exploration meshes well with our cultural proclivity for seeking the easy path. The belief that individual growth will automatically produce major social change jibes nicely with this society's typically apolitical and ahistorical ways of viewing the world. Schur suggests that far from inciting a break with our dominant patterns of competitive consumption, this "new consciousness" has itself become a commodity. Being heavily promoted, packaged, and marketed, much like any other commercial item, he argues that the movement provides middle-class consumers with an attractive new
product, attention is diverted from the more serious social problems that plague our society. Already weak feelings of social responsibility are diluted by preoccupation with our "selves" and our sensations.

In another approach to this self-centered individualism, Bellah suggests in *Habits of the Heart* (1985), that one of the reasons it is hard to envision a way out of the impasse of modernity is the degree to which modernity conditions our consciousness. He terms it the culture of separation quoting Donne when characterizing it, "Tis all in peeces, all cohaerence gone." Much in our world is based on the contrast between human decency and brutal competitiveness for economic success. A world dominated by economic competition, where the only haven is a very small circle of warm personal relationships, is portrayed.

Human beings and their societies are deeply interrelated, and the actions taken by them have enormous ramifications for the lives of others. Social ecology is damaged not only by war, genocide, and political repression, but also by the destruction of the subtle ties that bind human beings to one another. Bellah suggests that unless we begin to repair the damage to our social ecology, we will destroy ourselves long before natural ecological disaster has time to be realized. He quotes John Winthrop, saying we have failed to remember "our community as members of the same body." We have put our
own good, as individuals, as groups, as a nation, ahead of the common good.

The group within the social justice movement seems to represent the emergence of a form of individualism that can be argued to be other than Schur's or Bellah's self-centered individual or Lasch's narcissistic personality. While the movement in general has problems with recognition of the dialectic between the individual or their movement and society, this small group of individuals seems to be crossing the line between the subjective and the objective. They do not seem to have been drawn to the movement either through networks of social relationships or through the usual psychological attributes. They seem to maintain a strong sense of individualism while their participation seems to be based in an active concern for conditions addressed by the movement. Robert Crawford who writes about medicalization can be borrowed from here. He writes:

Political activists...are most often singular in their focus on factors external to the individual—objective factors...while...self-care movements are preoccupied with the subjective, behavioral area. Both take fundamental truths and turn them into half truths through an exclusive attention. One takes the individual as the problem; the other takes the society as the problem. Both fail to understand what Marx understood (quoted in 34:104-5): 'Above all we must avoid postulating Society, again, as an abstraction vis-a-vis the individual. The individual is the social being' (1980:384).

He continues, quoting Russell Jacoby:

The prevailing subjectivity is no oasis in a barren and dehumanized society; rather it is structured down to its core by the very society it fantasizes
it left behind. To accept subjectivity as it exists today, or better, as it does not exist today, is implicitly to accept the social order that mutilates it. The point, however, is not merely to reject subjectivity, it is to delve into subjectivity seriously. This seriousness entails understanding to what extent the prevailing subjectivity is wounded and maimed; such understanding means sinking into subjectivity not so as to praise its depths and profundity, but to appraise the damage; it means searching out the objective social configurations that suppress and oppress the subject. Only in this way can subjectivity every be realized; by understanding to what extent today it is objectively stunted.

And Crawford concludes:

Pure subjectivity... cannot help but to promote a misunderstanding of both the subjective and objective conditions... It misses the dialectical essence of social existence. The isolation imposed on the two realms--subjective and objective--is a political and ideological one. It serves the interests of domination. The failure... to treat individual behavior, attitudes, and emotions as socially constructed reproduces... the ideology of individualism in general. Instead of approaching the complex interrelationship of individual characteristics, choices and larger social structure, [it] promotes a new moralism (385).

Pure subjectivity, in the form of self-centered individualism, falls short of its goals by missing the dialectical nature of this world and the interrelationship of the social and the personal. Pure objectivity, in the form of concentrating solely on the external economic, social and political conditions in the world does the same thing. The emergence of the "cooperative individual" described here, to the extent that she crosses the line between the subjective and the objective, has implications for the cultural transformation and the dialectical nature of the world and social movements as they are discussed here.
CHAPTER V

PARADIGMS AS CONSTRUCTORS OF REALITY

"And as we think, so do we act."
(Schwartz and Ogilvy 1979)

Paradigms represent a distillation of what we think about the world. Our actions in the world cannot occur without reference to those paradigms. While paradigms are thus enabling, they are also constraining:

A paradigm is a world view, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. As such, paradigms are deeply embedded in the socialization of adherents and practitioners: paradigms tell them what is important, legitimate, and reasonable. Paradigms are also normative, telling the practitioner what to do without the necessity of long existential or epistemological consideration. But it is this aspect of paradigms that constitutes both their strength and their weakness—their strength in that it makes action possible, their weakness in that the very reason for action is hidden in the unquestioned assumptions of the paradigm (Patton 1978:203).

Thomas S. Kuhn (1970) defines scientific revolutions as "noncumulative developmental episodes in which an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one". He defines paradigm as a "universally recognized scientific achievement that for a time provides model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners." Kuhn sharpens the challenge to the immutability of scientific truth, posed earlier by Einstein's theory of
relativity and Heisenberg's uncertainty principle. Paradigms are founded in the social and political conditions that either liberate or restrain new ideas. They influence not only preconceptions about models of the universe and goals, but also the correct and acceptable methods for uncovering the truth. Mannheim (1971), in a similar vein, has argued for "relativism", i.e., that knowledge is a social product and is a reflection of the age in which it arose. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that inquiry has passed through a number of "paradigm eras," which they describe as periods in which certain sets of basic beliefs guided inquiry in quite different ways.

Cultural Transformation

The argument has been made that as the world is moving from an industrial age into a postindustrial age, that science is moving from a positivistic into a postpositivistic era. It has been described by Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979) as the move from a dominant paradigm to an emergent paradigm. They have abstracted seven major characteristics of this emergent paradigm which are diametrically opposed to those of the old paradigm. The dominant paradigm is characterized as simple, hierarchical, mechanical, determinate, linearly causal, assemblical and objective and the emergent paradigm as complex, heterarchic, holographic, indeterminate, mutually causal, morphogenetic and perspectival. These concepts are
emerging in a variety of areas including physics, chemistry, brain theory, ecology, evolution, mathematics, philosophy, politics, psychology, linguistics, religion, consciousness, and the arts.

John Naisbitt (1984) has summarized as restructurings what can be observed by any who read major newspapers, news magazines and periodicals. He examines the shift from an industrial society to one based on the creation and distribution of information; the move from an isolated, self-sufficient national economic system to a global economy; the shift from institutional help to more self-reliance; the change from dependence on hierarchical structures in favor of informal networks; the move from an either/or society to a multiple-option society; the move from North to South, from centralization to decentralization. His analysis of the "new directions transforming our lives" based upon content analysis of local newspapers is remarkably compatible with Schwartz's and Ogilvy's "new" paradigm drawn from an analysis of a wide variety of substantive fields.

A strong argument can be made theoretically and historically for emphasizing the "feminine" aspects of the shift being described and for the use of the term "feminization". Lincoln and Guba state that feminists have dealt for a long time with the ideas they explore in their examination of naturalistic inquiry. Two major "models" for human relatedness have been observed by anthropologist
Victor Turner (1977). "The first is of society as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions...The second...is of society as an undifferentiated comitatus, community or even communion of equal individuals." He observed the affinity between structure and masculinity, communitas and femininity. Joseph Campbell (1987) has traced the feminine principle based in mythology. The feminine is nurturing, creative, collaborative, the giver of life. The masculine is aggressive, warlike, competitive, the disciplinarian. He and feminists that want to reintroduce the goddess into our myth structure argue that in western civilization when the goddesses of the agricultural societies were replaced with the gods of the nomads and hunters, a different psychology and cultural bias emerged.

Feminization has been defined in the literature as a social revolution resulting as women gain hands-on power in America's mainstream cultural institutions (Lenz & Myerhoff 1985). These authors see women bringing with them expressiveness and a responsibility for matters dealing with "the quality of life, with relationship and relatedness; with emotions and diffuse, universal concerns—the whole human being." "The feminine style is egalitarian, accepting, and compassionate. The underlying impulse is toward integration rather than separation: mind and body are a unity, the political and personal are one (7)." Psychologists such as Ginny Mullin and Jean Baker
Miller (1976) redefine power based on "feminine" traits as an ability and affinity for emotion/relational matters, acceptance of one's vulnerability, skill in and attraction for cooperative work and pleasure in helping others learn and develop. Ann Belford Ulanov (1971) writes about the feminine in Jungian psychology and a great deal of work is being done in the areas of theology and spirituality with the goal of recapturing the feminine (Russell 1974; Adler 1979; Gray 1981; Daly 1969). Work by Carol Gilligan (1977) on developmental stages suggests in decision-making that "the moral imperative that emerges with women is an injunction to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the 'real and recognizable trouble' of this world. For men, the moral imperative appears rather as an injunction to respect the rights of others and thus to protect from interference the rights to life and self-fulfillment." Lenz and Myerhoff describe a feminized America as centralized corporate hierarchies giving way to smaller, flexible networks, job-sharing and flex-time, "blended" families, single-parent families and communal living, organized religion giving way to a more personal spirituality, power becoming empowerment.

Contemporary feminist theory which is now routinely included in professional conferences and is beginning to appear in some textbooks (e.g., Ritzer's 1988 *Sociological Theory*), is described by sociologist Jessie Bernard (1987) as a demonstration of "the feminist enlightenment."
Lengermann and Niegrugge-Brantley (1988) identify feminist sociology with a distinctive dialectical thinking, a distinctive model of the organization of society at the macro level, a relational approach that alters the traditional micro understanding, and a revision of sociology's model of subjectivity. They see women propelling a restructuring emphasizing balancing and maintaining, responsiveness and role-merging as opposed to role conflict. Women have been seen as bringing a different vision to the social construction of reality in areas as diverse as basic values and interests (Ruddick 1980), their construction of achievement motives (Kaufman and Richardson 1982), their literary creativity (Gilbert and Gubar 1979), their sense of identity (Laws and Schwartz 1977), and their general processes of consciousness and selfhood (Baker Miller 1976; Kasper 1986). A feminine approach to inquiry has been characterized by naturalistic observation, sensitivity to intrinsic and qualitative patterning of phenomena and greater personal participation of the investigator (Carlson and Baker, Farnham). Phyllis Mack (1986) has suggested a feminist model of social activism based on the "feminine" aspects of the first Franciscans, the early Quakers and the followers of Gandhi.

This same kind of paradigm shift can be seen politically and economically. We are currently operating in a nation-state system seen as largely bipolar and out of paradigms, mainly positivistic or dominant and
quantitative, based on this world. At the same time a growing case can be made for an emerging interdependent world of loosening polarity or even multipolarity and what has been described as post-positivistic, naturalistic or even feminine paradigms. Indicative of the emerging global nature of our world is the establishment of organizations and projects dealing with world order and futures research (Lagos 1977; Boulding 1968). One of these, the World Order Models Project, has advanced the idea that three major historical processes have propelled humankind toward global community and even global governance. These processes are the ideological revolution of egalitarianism, the technological and scientific revolution and the closely allied economic-interdependent revolution (Lagos 1977). They suggest that the egalitarian revolution has been least appreciated in recent times, but in fact may account for much of the disorder, dislocation, and social tensions throughout the globe. The basic impact can be summed up as a contradiction between the need to participate in world-encompassing institutions, limiting the exercise of national sovereignty; and defensive tendencies, involving exalted nationalistic feelings. Although the nation-state is currently undergoing a period of profound crisis and lacks the necessary instruments to achieve its major national, international and world objectives, it remains the basic unit of political power and the point of reference for diplomatic and international relations.
The many international organizations that have emerged since the end of World War II both reinforce the structure of the stratified system of nations and mitigate its effects. The United Nations, founded in the need to overcome, or supersede, war, is the most significant of these organizations. Its statues lend the U.N. the appearance of an agency of reconciliation. However, while the U.N. derives from an ideology rooted in concepts of peace, economic and social well-being, and equality of all member states, we encounter the reality of the stratified system, characterized by relationships of superiority and inferiority, of domination and dependency, which is in turn rooted in the real power structure. Thus, the great powers have exclusive veto rights in the Security Council, in direct contrast to the principle of the equality of states. Similarly, with respect to the principle of universality, there exists a very real control over the right to membership, which can be blocked by a veto in the Security Council. The General Assembly, embodying the principle of universality, is kept to a merely deliberative function, while the Security Council (an expression of the stratified system of nations) reflects the real structure of the concentrated power.

Importance of Paradigm Shift

As noted in the introduction, the social justice movement can be interpreted precisely as one of those
processes described here as underlying the transformation described—the ideological revolution of egalitarianism—and as emerging from this transformation. Whether conceptualized as feminization, as a move from a positivistic into a post-positivistic era, from a dominant to an emergent paradigm, from a scientific to a naturalistic way of thinking, as restructurings, or as the move to multipolarity and global interdependence politically, this shift is important to the present research at two levels. First and foremost, it is necessary to delineate the major (and contradictory) paradigms out of which the world today can be described as living for the analysis through frames and vocabularies of motive. (The two forms of individualism described here can be seen as indicative and reflective of these contradictory paradigms.) But also of importance are the principles underlying this shift as they have shaped and been applied specifically within this study. First, it is emphasized that systems and organisms cannot be separated from their environments because their meanings and even their existence depends upon their interactions with other systems and organisms. Knowledge emerges in engagement with a system or organism in its environment, so that it can be seen in its meaning-defining context. Thus the social justice movement can be understood only within the context of the larger society and world with its present and emerging paradigms and within the context of its own
unique history. This also has obvious implications for the method of study used. Second, while there may be vertical orderings at some point in time, many exist on a comparable level; centralization is giving way to decentralization. Structures of systems and organisms operate heterarchically, creating a net of mutual constraints and influences. This is important on several levels—in terms of understanding the social justice movement within larger world paradigms, in terms of understanding the organization of some new social movements and in terms of implications for the approach taken here of looking at social movements, social change and vocabularies of motives. Third, information about the whole is contained in the part. Not only can the entire reality be found in the part, but the part can be found in the whole—everything is interconnected. Study of the social justice movement and its impact simply cannot be done without looking at larger trends and paradigms within which it is occurring. And the social justice movement can be studied as a microcosm of the changes taking place on a more global level. Fourth, ambiguity about the future as a condition of nature is another principle inherent to this emergent paradigm. Predictability is replaced by probability; not everything is possible, but among the possibilities choices do affect outcomes. This again has obvious implications for the method of study used here, as well as the use of symbolic interactionism, dramaturgy and vocabularies of motives as a
perspective within which to approach social movements. And lastly, evolution (change) is seen as less mediated by the conquest (or replacement) of one variant by another than by their ability to adapt together; mutual adaptation is the basis for mutual evolution; mutual causality leads to co-evolution. New and different systems and organisms arise out of old through a complex process that amplifies deviation through reciprocal (mutual) causality and through interactions with the surrounding environment. Differences produce changes. Publicly shared reality is not unchanging (objective); what counts as reality shifts as shared paradigms shift. This has significance for understanding the social justice movement, what impact it does or does not have and how that impact is made.
CHAPTER VI

VOCABULARIES OF MOTIVE

The Struggle for Definition

"The struggle for definition is veritably the struggle for life itself. In the typical Western two men fight desperately for the possession of a gun that has been thrown to the ground; whoever reaches the weapon first, shoots and lives; his adversary is shot and dies. In ordinary life, the struggle is not for guns, but for words; whoever first defines the situation is the victor; his adversary, the victim (Szasz 1973:21-22).

Early work in symbolic interactionism stressed the inherent activity of human beings. With "man [sic] acts anyway, he [sic] can't help acting," Dewey (1920:119) shifted the problem of motivation from the purely psychological to the social by showing how motives are used as a form of social control. In the dramaturgical orientation it is not how activity originates but how it is directed that is stressed. Human beings are rationalizers who engage in motive behavior during the course of their ongoing activities. As purposes, reasons, justifications, and excuses, motives offer a powerful way of linking individual acts to social processes and are a key to understanding social organization (Brissett and Edgley 1975).

Theories of social change have sought to deal with the
question of how societies change by pointing to transformations in various structural conditions such as technology, the economic factor, ideology and many others. These theories suffer from a common problem, however. They do not sufficiently show how some structural condition becomes involved in people's interpersonal behavior. The concepts of motive vocabularies and frames offer a way of providing this linkage (Allen, Guy and Edgley 1980:209-10).

According to Mills what is needed is a characterization of motive in denotable terms and an explanatory paradigm of why certain motives are verbalized rather than others. Then, mechanisms linking vocabularies of motive to systems of action must be indicated (1940:209). Similarly for Scott and Lyman the most immediate task for research in this area is to specify the background expectations that determine the range of alternative accounts deemed culturally appropriate to a variety of recurrent situations (1968:52-3). Both the account offered by ego and the honoring or nonhonoring of the account on the part of alter will ultimately depend on the background expectancies of the interactants. (By background expectancies they refer to those sets of taken-for-granted ideas that permit the interactants to interpret remarks as accounts in the first place).

Societal Frames

Mills (1940) argues that motives are best understood
as socially-approved vocabularies that function theoretically in an encounter. When the "real attitude" rather than the "opinion," the "real motive" rather than the "rationalization" is asked for all one can meaningfully be asking for is the controlling speech form which was incipiently or overtly presented in the performed act or series of acts. The existence of various vocabularies makes it clear that reasons for one are rationalizations for another. The variable is the accepted vocabulary of motives, the ultimates of discourse, of each one's dominant group. Motives as social constructs differ from time to time and from place to place (Brissett and Edgley 1975). Institutionally different situations have different vocabularies of motive appropriate to their respective behaviors. The motivational structures of individuals and the patterns of their purposes are relative to societal frames (Mills 1940:905). Thus motives vary in content and character with historical epochs and societal structures (Mills 1940:912).

We can see the rise and fall of various motive currency (Allen, Guy and Edgley 1980). Items in vocabularies of motives vary in their meaning, character and dominance from society to society and from generation to generation. Even as recently as the 1960s college students rejected economic vocabularies of motive in favor of humanistic ones (Reich 1970). In the United States during the 1950s "apathy" was a popular explanatory
vocabulary item for withdrawal behavior which was contrary to the normally expected "achievement" pattern. During the 1960s "alienation" was popular explanatory item and during the 1970s the most popular explanatory item seemed to be "narcissism" (Zurcher 1979:51). In a broader sense, religious vocabularies of explanation and of motives have lapsed in the Western world and other motives have become "ultimate" and operative. In a society in which religious motives have been debunked on a rather wide scale, people are skeptical of those who proclaim them. (This is important to the analysis in the current study.) Individualistic, sexual, hedonistic, and pecuniary vocabularies of motives are apparently now dominant in the Western world. Under such an ethos, verbalization of alternative conduct in these terms is least likely to be challenged among dominant groups. (And conversely expression of motives outside of these terms is most likely to be challenged.) Mills notes that hedonism as a psychological and an ethical doctrine gained impetus in the modern world at about the time when older moral-religious motives were being debunked and simply discarded by "middle class" thinkers. Back of the hedonistic terminology lay an emergent social pattern and a new vocabulary of motives. The shift of unchallenged motives which gripped the communities of Europe was climaxed when, in reconciliation, the older religious and the hedonistic terminologies were identified: the "good" is the "pleasant" (Mills 1940:908-
Learned and Determinant

An individual's motives generally appear to her as peculiarly personal and private, although many of them are in fact learned from others and are in a sense furnished her tailor-made by the society or the groups in which she lives (Lindesmith and Strauss 1956). Not only does the child learn what to do, what not to do, but she is given standardized motives which promote prescribed actions and dissuade those proscribed. Along with rules and norms of action for various situations, are learned vocabularies of motives appropriate to them. These are the motives used, since they are a part of our language and components of our behavior (Mills 1940:907). When one joins a group of long standing, she finds that the proper codes of conduct, including the ends and means of group activity, have been spelled out in considerable detail. They may even be formalized and embodied in written documents such as the Hippocratic Oath, an oath of allegiance, or in constitutions, contracts, codes and the like. When persons leave groups and join new ones, they must learn new motivations (Lindesmith and Strauss 1956). Weber has pointed out in connection with work, for instance, "...that in a free society the motives which induce people to work vary with...different social classes....There is normally a graduated scale of motives by which men [sic] from
different social classes are driven to work. When a man [sic] changes ranks, he [sic] switches from one set of motives to another." One of the components of a "generalized other," as a mechanism of societal control, is vocabularies of acceptable motives. The long acting out of a role, with its appropriate motives, will often induce one to become what at first she merely sought to appear (Brissett and Edgley 1975). The societally sustained motive-surrogates of situations are both constraints and inducements. Mills (1940) suggested that it is a hypothesis worthy and capable of test that typal vocabularies of motives for different situations are significant determinants of conduct. As lingual segments of social action, motives orient actions by enabling discrimination between their objects. Adjectives such as "good," "pleasant," and "bad" promote action or deter it. When they constitute components of a vocabulary of motives, i.e., are typical and relatively unquestioned accompaniments of typal situations, such words often function as directives and incentives by virtue of their being the judgments of others as anticipated by the actor. In this sense motives are "social instruments, i.e., data by modifying which the agent will be able to influence himself [sic] or others" (Mills 1940:907). We influence a person by naming her acts or imputing motives to them—-or to "her." The motive accompanying institutions of war, e.g., are not "the causes of war, but they do promote
continued integrated participation, and they vary from one war to the next. Working vocabularies of motive have careers that are woven through changing institutional fabrics. The lingual ties which hold them together react on persons to constitute frameworks of disposition and motive (Mills 909-10).

Mills (1940) argued that motives exist as situated vocabularies held in some social circles and Stone (1970) observed that "every social change requires a convincing rationale". Max Weber in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (Perinbanayagam 1967) has shown Protestantism provided a new vocabulary of motives, a fresh rhetoric for existence and, especially, of wealth. Motives do not compel people to act. They enable them to act by giving them a reason for what they do. Their function is to repair disruptions in social relationships by putting others in communication with them about the sense of why they are doing what they are doing (Allen, Guy and Edgley 1980). People discern situations with particular vocabularies, and it is in terms of some delimited vocabulary that they anticipate consequences of conduct (Mills 1940:905-6). Vocabularies of motives ordered to different situations stabilize and guide behavior and expectation of the reaction of others (Mills 1940:909). Purposes, or motives...are formulated. This means that they arise in communication and are either partially or fully stated in words (Lindesmith and Strauss 1956). The
postulate underlying modern study of language is the simple one that we must approach linguistic behavior, not by referring it to private states in individuals, but by observing its social function of coordinating diverse action (Mills 1940:904). An individual cannot express purposes or rationalize behavior in terms which she has not learned. One cannot motivate a person to act by using terms outside her comprehension: one must appeal to purposes which she understands and which make sense to her (Lindesmith and Strauss 1956). There is almost always a tendency to explain other people's behavior in terms of one's own vocabulary of motives. Background expectancies are the means not only for the honoring, but also for the nonhonoring of accounts. The incapacity to invoke situationally appropriate accounts, i.e., accounts that are anchored to the background expectations of the situation, will often be taken as a sign of incompetency or worse. The person who is labeled incompetent has been behaving "stupidly" in terms of her culture and society: she offers accounts not situationally appropriate according to culturally defined background expectation. An account is deemed unreasonable when the stated grounds for action cannot be "normalized" in terms of the background expectancies of what "everybody knows." Accounts are presented in a variety of idioms. The idiomatic form of an account is expected to be socially suited to the circle into which it is introduced, according to norms of culture,
subculture, and situation. The acceptance or refusal of an offered account in part depends on the appropriateness of the idiom employed (Scott and Lyman 1968:52-57).

**Strategies for Change**

People live in immediate acts of experience and their attentions are directed outside themselves until acts are in some way frustrated. It is then that awareness of self and of motive occur. The "question" is a lingual index of such conditions. The avowal and imputation of motives are features of such conversations as arise in "question" situations. Motives stand for anticipated situational consequences of questioned conduct. Intention or purpose is awareness of anticipated consequence; motives are names for consequential situations, and surrogates for actions leading to them. In a societal situation, implicit in the names of consequences is the social dimension of motives. Through such vocabularies, types of societal controls operate. As a word, a motive tends to be one which is to the actor and to the other members of a situation an unquestioned answer to questions concerning social and lingual conduct. A reason is a mediating condition of the act, a proxomate and controlling condition. It may strengthen the act of the actor. It may win new allies for one's act. When they appeal to others involved in one's act, motives are strategies of action. In many social actions, others must agree, tacitly or explicitly. Thus,
acts often will be abandoned if no reason can be found that others will accept. When one vocalizes or imputes motives, one is not trying to describe an experienced social action. She is not merely stating "reasons." She is influencing others—and herself. Often she is finding new "reasons" which will mediate action (Mills 1940). By resolving conflicts, motives are efficacious. Often, if "reasons" were not given, an act would not occur, nor would diverse actions be integrated (Scott and Lyman 1968).

**Identities**

"Their doing is taken as their being."

(Burke 1965)

In an account situation there is a further complication. Once identities have been established and an account offered, the individual has committed herself to an identity and thus seemingly assumed the assets and liabilities of that role for the duration of the encounter. The fact that individuals have multiple identities makes them both capable of strategic identity change and vulnerable to involuntary identity imputations (Scott and Lyman 1968:59-69). Since individuals are aware that appearances may serve to credit or discredit accounts, efforts are understandably made to control these appearances through a vast repertoire of "impression management" activities (Scott and Lyman 1968:53). As forms of communication motives may be verbal, apparent, or—
usually--some combination of both. The negotiation of identities ("Who are you?") is really the basic problem motives seek to deal with. There are very few questions about behavior that cannot be answered with the appropriate identity (Allen, Guy and Edgley 1980). And there are, conversely, very few acts that will be correct and proper for all identities (Poote, 1951).

Gregory Stone (1962) suggests that the term identity implies what and where a person is in social terms—that when one has an identity one is situated. Stone offers us a typology of identities including human identity, structural identity, interpersonal identity and existential identity. One's existential identity is usually established by a system of inherited beliefs and definitions of the universe, as well as one's place in it, whereas the other identities are provided by such things as sex, age, occupation, and nicknames. Building on this as well as Mills (1940) notion that individuals utilize standard vocabularies of motive for standard situations Perinbanayagam (1967) has formulated a typology of motives: transient motives and transcendental motives. Transient motives are situationally determined whereas transcendental motives are somewhat stable and more permanent. "In one's dialogue with the self, it is the latter that is dominant and hence one's sense of identity and conception of self are intimately related to such transcendental motives...Such motives are not necessarily related to
religion; they are transcendental in the sense they transcend the immediate interpersonal or structural situation (1967:69)." It could be argued that they are the myths by which we live. Mills suggests that back of "mixed motives" and "motivational conflicts" are competing or discrepant situational patterns and their respective vocabularies of motive. With shifting and interstitial situations, each of several alternatives may belong to disparate systems of action which have differing vocabularies of motives appropriate to them. Such conflicts manifest vocabulary patterns that have overlapped in a marginal individual and are not easily compartmentalized in clear-cut situations. (This would be qualified by informing with the contrasting conceptualizations of compartmentalization and role conflict in the dominant, masculine paradigm and responsiveness and role merging in the emergent, feminine paradigm.)

The Social Justice Movement

The difficulties faced by the social justice movement are elucidated when vocabularies of motive are looked at through Goffman's use of frames or Burke's "positive," "dialectical," and "ultimate" terms (1950). Goffman (1974) points out that the answer to the question "What is it that's going on here?" will differ according to whether the event is described in terms of a focus that includes a wide swath or a narrow one and in terms of a focus that is
close-up or distant. And that different interests will—in Schütz's phrasing—generate different motivational relevancies. Basic frameworks of understanding in our society for making sense out of events can be isolated and the special vulnerabilities to which these frames of reference are subject can be analyzed. A primary framework allows its user to locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms. The user is likely to be unaware of such organized features as the framework has and unable to describe the framework with any completeness if asked, yet these handicaps are no bar to its being easily and fully applied.

Ultimate Vocabularies of Motive

When one is dealing with means and ends, with what Burke calls "motion and perception", one is dealing with a rhetoric of identification. The positive ideal is a "physicalist" vocabulary that reduces reference to terms of motion, that names a visible and tangible thing. When one operates in an area of principle and essence, on the other hand, one is dealing in a rhetoric of confrontation. Conflict is escalated to a dialectical level when terms require an understanding of their opposites. With the ethical-dramatic-dialectical vocabulary, dialectic in itself may remain on the level of conflict, leading to compromise. The difference between a "dialectical"
confronting of conflict and an "ultimate" treatment of it is that the "ultimate" order would place competing voices in a hierarchy or evaluative series with the members of the group being arranged developmentally with relation to one another. This results in dialectic "resolution" instead of "compromise," i.e., other voices can be recognized as genuine, but inferior.

When competing views of the world escalate conflict to a dialectical level, it can be dealt with through punishment or delegitimization if one view is interpreted as "ultimate". When the dominant positivistic paradigm as described in this research is treated as an "ultimate" or "transcendental" (as described by Perinbanayagam) vocabulary of motives or in Goffman's terms a "primary framework (1974)," any ambiguity created by interpretation of events through the naturalistic paradigm described here is quickly resolved. Frames can be easily disrupted by discrediting and frames which can be labeled as "incompetent" or which are based on a small amount of information or which can be treated as "games" are especially vulnerable. When speaking of games, Goffman says "the whole domain is considered to be cut off from the ongoing world, an 'artificial' universe, neither make-believe nor real (1974)."

The social justice movement, then, is vulnerable on at least three levels. It can be seen as operating largely out of a naturalistic paradigm (or at least attempting and
professing to) and thus as frequently dealt with by delegitimization, i.e., recognition as "genuine, but inferior." In a society where individualistic, hedonistic, sexual and pecuniary vocabularies of motive are predominant and in a world dominated by religions based in hierarchical and dualistic vocabularies of motive, a movement operating out of a paradigm based in heterarchical, perspectival, morphogenetic vocabularies of motive is going to be vulnerable to disruption due to discrediting. Secondly, the social justice movement, as has been discussed, remains closely tied dramaturgically to the radical movements and the "hippies" of the 1960's. The movement, through its dramaturgical appearance in the media and in public, has reinforced this and is especially vulnerable to degradation, stigmatization and labeling as deviant in this sense (as in the reports by participants in local demonstrations of being called "commies.") As Goffman points out,

a given social front tends to become institutionalized in terms of the abstract stereotyped expectations to which it gives rise, and tends to take on a meaning and stability apart from the specific tasks which happen at the time to be performed in its name. The front becomes a "collective representation" and a fact in its own right (1959:27).

And finally, by definition, the social justice movement is intimately linked to the "Third World." The "Third World", as described by Shiva Naipaul, is

a term of bloodless universality which robs individuals and societies of their particularity....
[It] is an artificial construction of the West, an ideological empire on which the sun is always setting. What images come to mind when we think of it? Sunburned relief workers telling television interviewers how civilly they have been treated by their guerrilla captors, tempestuous confrontations with the International Monetary Fund, here a modest irrigation scheme, over there a windmill, down the road a tiny medical dispensary of unplastered brick hailed as a triumph for the principle of self-help, and, subliminally, those slow-moving files of refugees in stony landscapes, those immobile babes-in-arms with flies clustered round closed eyes.... They simultaneously arouse our compassion and debase our conception of the victim, who is seen as passive, dependent—the skeletal receptacle of what our charity can provide (1988).

If ever there were a world in which there is only a "small amount of information" available or one readily labeled "incompetent," it is this "Third World" in the eyes of most of the "First World."

In addition to being extremely vulnerable in the more common sense of Garfinkel's and Goffman's degradation and stigmatization, issues related to the "Third World" (and those involved in issues related to the "Third World") are also vulnerable to delegitimization in what could be described as more subtle uses of these methods of dealing with the world. When Goffman described games as a "domain cut off from the ongoing world, an 'artificial' universe, neither make-believe nor real," he could be also giving a very apt description of the "Third World" from the Western point of view. A very subtle transformation seems to take place here and the "Third World," issues related to it and those involved with it are frequently framed as a "game" of sorts, as not quite "real" in the eyes of the larger
society. (Of growing popularity even in the official arena of international relations is use of game theory.) And thus, those who frame it in a very different way, i.e., the social justice movement, are very vulnerable to discredititation. Also another even more subtle use of delegitimization seems to be taking place. When dealing with those groups whose status is changing or is highly questionable in the public eye, it seems that rather than the more obvious degradation, deference can be shown, but in such a way that the end result is a rather twisted status of non-person. This can be seen in the reduction of "feminization" to "sentimentalization" in the first wave of feminism in the 19th century and in the traditional treatment of women by placement on a pedestal. This is done more subtly today with women and with blacks. A good example of this is the recent case of a racist joke being circulated around state agencies. It culminated in the governor of the state making a statement denouncing it, in the head of an institution being terminated from employment and in a great deal of media coverage. However, prior to its being brought into Goffman's front stage region, this joke had passed for months through various state agencies, had been reproduced on government copiers and stationery, and had even been faxed between agencies. What seems to be a key factor in this phenomenon is not only the difference between front and back stage activity, but universal public awareness of it and tolerance of it and the need to respond
to it only when it crosses into a front stage region. It is easy to see that this artificially constructed "Third World" and those linked to it are especially vulnerable to this stigmatization through what might be called "psuedo-deference."

In addition, as Goffman says, the person (or group) "who sees as part of the same scene what others see as part of different ones, he [sic] who places brackets around a long strip of activity, locating in the same frame what others have divided up for changes in framing," (1974:492) is vulnerable. The social justice movement places events and conditions in developing countries today in a frame of economic underdevelopment that is a result of exploitation by developed countries. The social justice movement sees revolutionary movements, human rights, widespread hunger and poverty, and environmental issues as a long strip of intimately interconnected activity. At the same time, these events in each country are seen by the social justice movement as based in their own unique histories and contexts and are divided up for changes in framing depending upon their history and context. Conversely, the larger society places these events--revolution, human rights, hunger and poverty, and environmental issues--in smaller, unconnected frames. Hunger is not seen as related to environmental issues which are not related to revolution. Simultaneously, world hunger is traditionally placed in a broad frame that arouses our compassion and
charity, and is interpreted as the same whether in Ethiopia or El Salvador. Revolution is cut on a broad swath engendering either support or intervention depending on the political leanings of the revolutionary group. The unique histories and contexts of a particular revolution are imperceptible.

**Context of the Situation**

According to Burke (1950), persuasion is based on "identification with." And Goffman has suggested that "to say that a frame is clear is not only to say that each participant has a workably correct view of what is going on, but also, usually, a tolerably correct view of the others' views, which includes their view of his [sic] view" (1974:338). The social justice movement has lamented its lack of success in bringing about social change. In understanding this, Malinowski's term, "context of situation" by which he meant "on the one hand that the conception of context had to be broadened and on the other that the situation in which words are uttered can never be passed over as irrelevant to the linguistic expression," will be helpful.

The social justice movement is for the most part directly linked to religious bodies and/or has a religious orientation. Of the ten organizations that were involved in this study, only one was directly tied to a specific religious denomination, but all had Christian philosophies,
most using biblical verses in the statements of mission or goals. The denominations that were represented in these organizations, in terms of participants' religious affiliations, official church/organization links and informal relationships, e.g., provision of meeting places, publicity for upcoming events, etc., were those that would be considered the more liberal Christian denominations based on a liberal/fundamental continuum. These churches at the level of national bodies, regional or state bodies, and even many of the local ministers are officially and usually to some degree personally supportive of the social justice movement's concerns and philosophies. Within the local congregations, however, support is usually limited to a very small proportion of the membership. These churches are usually made up of the middle and upper classes socioeconomically. "Peace and justice" issues in these churches are considered extremely controversial. At regional and national level committee meetings much of the discussion centers around how to present these issues in a light that will be acceptable, to the point even of considering alternative terms for "peace" and "justice" because they have become so value-laden. Most have only a small proportion of their budget that goes to "mission" or "outreach."

It is not only within the larger positivistic paradigm that the social justice movement exists, but also within this more specific religious context that it directs most
of its energy in terms of recruitment and dissemination of
its message. If religion is looked at historically, as
proposed by Campbell or the proponents of women's
spirituality, the social justice movement is pursuing their
issues in the strongholds of hierarchical, dualistic
mythologies. Concerns based in the gospel messages of the
New Testament of the Bible run headlong into the deeper,
subtler messages of the Hebraic-Greco traditions that the
Christian religions of today are based in.

Public/Private Orders of Motivation

The influence of the positivistic paradigm and
Christianity and its deeper traditions are so pervasive
that it extends directly into the social justice movement.
This becomes very evident if looked at through Burke's
public and private orders of motivation (1950) or what is
frequently called the ideal/real gap. Within the social
justice movement different categories of individuals, as
identified as having emerged in the research, can be
described as having incorporated contradictory vocabularies
of motive in their lives in different ways.

For some, specifically the "entry-level participants"
and some of the "regulars", the more dominant societal
paradigm and traditions underlying Christianity are
operated out of both within and outside the movement.
Their interpretation of the social justice movement and
their vocabulary of motive is basically a dualistic one of
charity and compassion from the more advantaged of the world directed toward the unfortunates of the world.

For others, some of the "regulars" and some of the "involved", the naturalistic paradigm and the more feminine aspects of Christianity that were introduced into the religion in the New Testament of the Bible that are associated with the social justice movement, are operated out of when working in the movement. When outside the movement, the more dominant paradigm and traditions and the underlying vocabulary of motive are operated out of without any existential dilemmas. This is understandable in light of Goffman's suggestion that individuals have the capacity to sustain a main story line of activity managing other channels or tracks of subordinated activity in a "dissociated" way (1974). When you have contradictory frames of reference, a subordinated activity that is out of frame can be systematically disattended because of the assumed unconnectedness of the events at hand and those being disattended. Personal lifestyle can be easily disconnected from world hunger and revolution. What this implies is the even this latter group of individuals are operating largely out of the positivistic paradigm to be able to manage this separation (compartmentalization).

For yet another group, some of the "involved" and even some of the "dedicated", which operates out of one paradigm within and the other outside of the movement, an existential dilemma is experienced. As Goffman states, if
the team is to sustain the impression that it is fostering, then there must be some assurance that no individual will be allowed to join both team and audience (1959:93). Frequently the same individual, in the case of movement participants, will be on the team and in the audience simultaneously. That is, as audience she will be a part of middle-income America and as team-performer will question the contribution that participation in that audience makes toward the injustice and poverty in the world.

Only a small group of those in the social justice movement, some of the "dedicated", seem to be incorporating the values of the movement into their lives both within and outside of the movement. And this group does not seem to have developed these values as a result of contact with the movement, but seems to have become involved in the movement as a result of values held.

**Individual Responsibility**

Inherent to the frame (or naturalistic paradigm) out of which the social justice movement purports to be operating is the individual's responsibility in the injustice in the world; the direct link between one's own lifestyle and the condition of others in the world. It can be argued that it is within the positivistic paradigm with its structural emphasis that individual responsibility is lost. Defects in competency, i.e., drugged or impassioned states, intoxication, or mental disorders, are routinely
used in our society for forgiving responsibility. In an increasingly specialized world in which authority is given over more and more to institutionalized responses to world problems, the arena in which defects in competency (and the accompanying forgiveness of responsibility) can be argued grows wider and wider. Goffman suggests that the liability of an individual for a deed performed while actively engaged in a particular role and performed by virtue of that role is questionable in times and places in which he [sic] is no longer active in that particular role (1974:271). He also suggests that parties with opposing versions of events may dispute with one another over how to define what has been or is happening resulting in a frame dispute. Pleas about misframing can be introduced to avoid responsibility for an act. Frame debates can also arise in connection with claims of inadvertance—claims of an innocent loss of control rather than blameworthy action. Pleas of essential innocence can be pressed, then, grounded in unconnectedness, misframing and inadvertance. Thus, the social justice movement operates in a world in which its underlying premise of individual responsibility is easily and directly challenged in a number of ways. Even the participant in the social justice movement when faced with the dilemma created by the two paradigms out of which she lives is provided a variety of ways to easily forgive herself of liability for the lifestyle she lives in one frame when she enters another frame with its accompanying
values. As Sartre said,

There are indeed many precautions to imprison a man [sic] in what he [sic] is, as if we lived in perpetual fear that he [sic] might escape from it, that he [sic] might break away and suddenly elude his [sic] condition (1956:59).

Change at the Rim

The social justice movement seems to aim its message, whether by accident or intention, toward groups, e.g., the local mainline Protestant denominations, which are strongly entrenched in frames that are the most diametrically opposed to the frame out of which it is operating. And the form of its message, when directed toward broader circles, is typically, as Berg (1972) has observed, the kind of behavior that obscures or even contradicts its intended message. Movement participants who take part in demonstrations and vigils in front of public buildings or alongside highways both reported and were observed to be heckled by the passers-by and frequently called names such as "commie." Televised coverage is frequently only of the most outlandish behavior and the most bizarre dress depicting a radical movement reminiscent of the 60's. Those active in the social justice movement are in essence committing either one dramaturgical faux pax or another. Those who make a sincere attempt to live a voluntarily simplistic lifestyle in adherence to the premise on which the movement is based are frequently invisible to all but those who know them intimately. Fairs, workshops and
educational events that are put on are largely attended by those who are involved in the movement to some degree. To stay in one's room away from the place where the party is given, or away from where the practitioner attends his [sic] client, is to stay away from where reality is being performed (Goffman 1959:36). The others either violate the expected coherence between what they "practice" and what they "preach" or in practicing what they preach they present themselves as different and radical reminiscent of the radicals of the 60's. "And so individuals often find themselves with the dilemma of expression versus action" (Goffman 1959:32). Hence, what the larger public sees as the visible part of the social justice movement are vigils and demonstrations held in public places and media coverage of these events and the movement in general. The social justice movement of today has not been wholly separated from the movements of the 60's. And as Scott and Lyman (1968) have indicated once an individual has committed herself to an identity, she has assumed the assets and liabilities of that role and is vulnerable to involuntary identity imputations.

Stone (1970) observed that "every social change requires a convincing rationale." And Goffman stated that "if an audience can be jarred from protective psychological distance by threats to frame," it can lead, perhaps, "to a permanent change in the conventions for a frame (1974:420)." According to Mills (1940) motives arise in
"question" situations; they are unquestioned answers to questions concerning social conduct. With motives one may influence others—and oneself, may integrate diverse actions, and may win new allies for one's act. They enable people to act by giving them a reason for what they do (Perinbanayagam 1967). Likewise, acts may have to be abandoned if no reason can be found that others will accept. Allen, Guy, and Edgley (1980) suggest that motives put people in communication with others about the sense of why they are doing what they are doing. Motives arise in communication and can only motivate a person to act when purposes are appealed to which are understood and which make sense to the person (Lindesmith and Strauss 1956). As Scott and Lyman (1968) stated, background expectancies can be the means not only for the honoring, but also for the nonhonoring of accounts.

When James asked, "Under what circumstances do we think things real?" he raised the question about how our sense of ordinary reality is produced, how strips of activity are geared into the world. Goffman suggests that activity framed in a particular way—especially collectively organized social activity—is often marked off from the ongoing flow of surrounding events by a special set of boundary markers or brackets (1974:251). Bracketing becomes an obvious matter when the activity that is to occur, such as that of the social justice movement, is itself fragile or vulnerable in regard to definition and
likely to produce framework tension. The rim of the frame, the point at which internal activity leaves off and external activity takes over is nebulous. Goffman (1974:37) quotes Mary Douglas as saying "all margins are dangerous. If they are pulled this way or that the shape of fundamental experience is altered. Any structure of ideas is vulnerable at its margins." And Gerlach and Hine argue that

Those who are neither committed to a movement nor definitely opposed to it, who have escaped the so-called polarization, occupy what might be called the interface between the movement and the established...accelerated social change occurs at the interfaces of the human world - just as geological shifts occur along the fault line (1970:216).

The social justice movement would probably do well to listen to Goffman's words about the manufacture of negative experience in this light.

When an individual is lodged in a stream of framed activity, he [sic] sustains some check upon his [sic] immediate, spontaneous involvement in it...There is likely to be a measure of cognitive reserve, a wisp of doubt concerning framework and transformations, a slight readiness to accept the possible need to reframe what is occurring....

When, for what ever reason, the individual breaks frame and perceives he [sic] has done so, the nature of his [sic] engrossment and belief suddenly changes.... Expecting to take up a position in a well-framed realm, he [sic] finds that no particular frame is immediately applicable, or the frame that he [sic] thought was applicable no longer seems to be, or he [sic] cannot bind himself [sic] within the frame that does apparently apply....Reality anomalically flutters. He [sic] has a "negative experience"....

If the whole frame can be shaken, rendered problematic, then this, too, can ensure that prior involvements--and prior distances--can be broken
up and that, whatever else happens, a dramatic change can occur in what it is that is being experienced. What then is experienced is hard, of course, to specify in a positive way; but it can be said what isn't experienced, namely, easy acceptance of the prior conception of what is going on (1974:270).

When the movement did achieve approaching those who are "neither committed to the movement nor definitely opposed to it" and did so without alienating behavior, some success in their goals was observed. One participant interviewed stated he had been withholding the portion of his federal income tax that he calculated went toward defense for the past three years. He had been hand delivering his return to his local IRS office throughout this time period. His explanation when submitting it had been presented in such a way that he had received more and more questions from the staff in the local IRS office regarding his beliefs. Two persons in the office had began coming to meetings of one of the local social justice movement organizations. On another occasion a meeting between a legislator, several members of his staff and several members of the local social justice movement was observed. At this meeting there was no arguing, name-calling or banner-waving (as there had been at other similar meetings). This meeting resulted in several follow-up calls from his staff members for more information and his actually changing his position on an issue of importance to the movement. Another individual indicated that she had introduced material regarding these issues
into two groups, one in a professional arena and one in a school setting. Each of these groups, over time, had become actively involved in the issues. This seemed to occur on a small scale and infrequently, but may be indicative of methods beyond the typical "meeting, demonstrating, and attempting to gain media access"—methods that take into account "convincing rationales," "dangerous margins," and "the manufacture of negative experience."
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The Social Justice Movement

The World in Which It Exists

There are more than 3.8 billion human beings inhabiting this planet we call earth. They are spread over 5 continents, divided into 150 independent countries and some 50 non-self-governing territories. There are sharp differences between them with regard to area, population, dominant ethnic elements, cultural traditions, levels of economic and social development, and political and juridical systems. Despite these vast contrasts, these people have many of the same basic needs, face similar dangers, and share fundamental aspirations. Common dangers include the arms race, which endangers world peace; pollution of the environment, which endangers the continuity of human life; uncontrolled population explosion, which threatens the existence of adequate food supplies; and underdevelopment. Violence and terrorism have lately become rampant in the world, intensifying the insecurity of the human condition. The scientific and technological revolutions have made a world of instant
communication, rapid transport of persons and goods, and intercontinental ballistic missiles. The human sense of distance has been radically altered, thereby dwarfing the world's relative size and nearly transforming it into a single integrated unit. There is a real diversity strengthened by the system of sovereign states and the equally real existence of needs, problems, and threats on a worldwide scale. This is a complex world in which these differences and distances, or in which this proximity and sameness can be emphasized. In ideal-typical terms, the social justice movement finds its basis in a world of "common basic needs, similar dangers and shared aspirations." The world to which they are addressing their message is a world in which "sharp differences and vast contrasts" are emphasized.

It is suggested here that the social justice movement and its "lack of effectiveness" can only be understood as it exists within the context of contradictory and shifting paradigms. It is intimately tied to the more liberal mainline denominations in which it can be argued these contradictory paradigms are most poignantly embodied. To further complicate an understanding of the social justice movement, it cannot be understood simplistically as a singular unit. Several differing groups emerged across the various organizations making up the social justice movement resulting in these contradictory paradigms being found embodied within the social justice movement itself.
As a Tracer Element

The social justice movement can possibly best be interpreted as a "tracer element." Gerlach and Hine write:

Social movements are like tracer elements coursing through a social system, illuminating its deficiencies and weaknesses. They serve to identify the points at which radical social change must and will take place. Members of the established order who genuinely want to create a social system free of those particular flaws can use the same mechanism for mobilizing energy as the protesters use to reveal the flaws (1970:217).

Not only can the social justice movement be understood only within the context of contradictory paradigms, but the social justice movement has provided the instrument through which a paradigm shift has been informed. With its controversial message and its link to the church is illuminates the contradictory paradigms out of which we operate today. With its complexity it is a microcosm of the conditions propelling a shift in paradigms. And with the content of its vision and its networking structure it elucidates the nature of this paradigm shift.

Contradictory Paradigms. Two-thirds of the world's inhabitants are underfed, largely illiterate, unemployed, homeless, and live in dangerously unsanitary conditions. The widespread arousal of political energy in the impoverished and suppressed sections of world society as a result of the collapse of the colonial system and the spread of a determination to achieve rapid economic and
Social development have created a series of national situations in which the foundations of traditional government have been badly shaken.

In response to this, the social justice movement looks to these poor of the world for leadership in addressing the universal human problems. In *The Politics of Compassion*, Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer writes:

> Christians in North America, particularly those who are relatively affluent or comfortable, will understand the message of Jesus only if we let the poor be our teachers....We can seriously hope for a world with more justice and less hunger only if we understand history, economics, and theology from the vantage point of the poor (1986:4).

Throughout the social justice movement literature God's advocacy of the poor in the form of biblical messages is expounded and can be contrasted with a second aspect of the biblical message—wealth as a sign of God's blessing. The broader and less explicit mythology of wealth as a verification of divine blessing in the Western world is juxtaposed against a reading of scripture in the social justice movement that considers wealth the result of economic exploitation of the poor and an obstacle to both compassion and spiritual health. The common image of God as an "otherworldly entity who helps us pass from this life to the next" in the church today is contrasted with a God in the social justice movement "who looks for, longs for, works and suffers for justice and reconciliation."

Joseph Campbell argued that in western civilization when the nurturing, creative goddesses of the agricultural
societies were replaced with the aggressive, competitive
gods of the nomads and hunters, a different psychology and
cultural bias emerged. This patriarchal myth structure has
been refined into the Judaeo-Christian-Islamic monotheisms
that cover a large portion of the world today. In a
similar vein, those that write about feminist spirituality
would argue, much of the earth--rocks, territory, entire
groups of other human beings--are dehumanized or
subhumanized within this patriarchal myth structure. The
social justice movement argues that the poor, especially
with the images we have of underdeveloped countries, can be
readily dehumanized appearing as statistics more often than
as living, breathing persons.

Monotheism, it can be argued though not uniquely so,
is particularly dualistic. There is a tendency in
monotheism to divide the human race between believers and
unbelievers, between the virtuous and the sinful, between
good and evil, between 'us' and 'them'. (Phillips [1979]
suggests today the dichotomy takes many forms--the native
vs. the foreigner, the friend vs. the foe, the familiar vs.
the strange, the Orient vs. the Occident, the East vs. the
West, the North vs. the South, the developed vs. the
developing countries, and so on.) There is only one god,
with no rival. He should command all loyalty and all
obedience. God was conceived in the image of the king,
often complete with a throne. The link between the
powerful idea of one universal God, on one side, and the
dangerous dualism of "us" and "them" is hard to overlook. This contradiction is recognized by some of the social justice movement writers.

Theology informs the conduct of Christians in ways that encourage either liberation or subjugation, caring or indifference, compassionate action or disengagement....Numerous biblical passages condemn hunger and see it as a sign of spiritual brokenness, whereas the theology of many Christians ignores or reinforces the causes of world hunger....Hunger is a direct result of the distorted theology and economy of the colonial period. These distortions live on today in the international economy and in Western theology. The reality of mass hunger, which forces me to question the values, assumptions, and efficacy of the international economy, also challenges the dominant theology of Western churches (Nelson-Pallmeyer 1986:19-20).

The dominant paradigm is exemplified by comments made by American statesmen over the years:

You come here speaking of Latin America, but this is not important. Nothing important can come from the South. History has never been produced in the South. The axis of history starts in Moscow, goes to Bonn, crosses over to Washington, and then goes to Tokyo. What happens in the South is of no importance (Henry Kissinger to Gabriel Valdes, Foreign Minister of Chile, in June 1969 as quoted in Nelson-Pallmeyer 1986).

The final answer might be an unpleasant one, but... we should not hesitate before police repression by the local government. It is better to have a strong regime in power than a liberal government if it is indulgent and relaxed and penetrated by Communists (State Department's expert on Soviet Affairs, George Kennan as quoted in Lefebre 1984).

If the United States has received but little gratitude, this is only to be expected in a world where gratitude is rarely accorded to the teacher, the doctor, or the policeman, and we have been all three. But as these young nations grow and develop a greater capacity for self-government, and finally take their places upon an equal footing with the mature, older nations of the world, it may be that in time they will come to see the United States
with different eyes, and to have for her something of the respect and affection with which a man regards the instructor of his youth and a child looks upon the parent who has molded his character (Stokely W. Morgan, assistant chief of the Division of Latin American Affairs in the State Department, 1926 as quoted in Lefeber 1984).

This can be contrasted with the message held up by the social justice movement.

But God chose what is foolish in the world to shame the wise, God chose what is weak in the world to shame the strong, God chose what is low and despised in the world...to bring to nothing things that are, so that no human being might boast in the presence of God (1 Corinthians 1:27–29 in Sider 1980).

A treasure lies hidden in the soul of Latin America, a spiritual treasure to be recognized as a gift for us who live in the illusion of power and self-control. It is the treasure of gratitude that can help us to break through the walls of our individual and collective self-righteousness and can prevent us from destroying ourselves and our planet in the futile attempt to hold onto what we consider our own. If I have any vocation in Latin America, it is the vocation to receive from the people the gifts they have to offer us and to bring these gifts back up north for our own conversion and healing...a gift that calls us to make our life into an unceasing act of gratitude (Nouwen 1983:188).

The social justice movement exists in a world which operates largely out of the positivistic paradigm that has been described. Of import is that whichever vocabulary of motives--"apathy," "alienation," or "narcissism"--is used to explain the "withdrawal behavior contrary to the normally expected achievement pattern" described by Zurcher and referred to in Chapter VI, the "normally expected achievement pattern" continues to exist as a standard against which behavior is measured. The social justice movement is operating out of a frame that is frequently
unintelligible to those operating out of the primary frame of the Western world. It is using a vocabulary of motives that is not only foreign, but is a direct challenge to the ultimate vocabulary used by most. A movement emphasizing the naturalistic paradigm, which it can be argued the social justice movement is, will have difficulties affecting, having ideas accepted, even being understood in a world in which the predominant paradigm operating is positivistic. The social justice movement is not asking simply for a change in a given institution or country or group of people. It is, in essence, requesting global change, seeking a complete paradigm shift, a different way of seeing and understanding the world. Goffman writes:

In many cases, what the individual does in serious life, he does in relationship to cultural standards established for the doing and for the social role that is built up out of such doings. Some of these standards are addressed to the maximally approved, some to the maximally disapproved. The associated lore itself draws from the moral traditions of the community as found in folk tales, characters in novels, advertisements, myth, movie stars and their famous roles, the Bible, and other sources of exemplary representation. Moreover, what people understand to be the organization of their experience, they buttress, and perforce, self-fulfillingly. They develop a corpus of cautionary tales, games, riddles, experiments, newsy stories, and other scenarios which elegantly confirm a frame-relevant view of the workings of the world. (The young especially are caused to dwell on these manufactured clarities, and it comes to pass that they will later have a natural way to figure the scenes around them.) And the human nature that fits with this view of viewing does so in part because its possessors have learned to comport themselves so as to render this analysis true of them. Indeed, in countless ways and ceaselessly, social life takes up and freezes into itself the understandings we have of it (1974:154).
As a Microcosm. Within its complexity, the social justice movement can be seen as a microcosm of the problems propelling the paradigm shift talked about here. In spite of its embodiment of much that is illustrative of the naturalistic paradigm, the social justice movement itself has been found to contain many hierarchical and dualistic elements. Withdrawal and pursuit of self awareness have been noted as a major focus of the "withdrawn" group. As Marcuse (1964) suggests, many of its creative actions or imagined possibilities can be interpreted as being quickly reduced to commodity relationships and integrated into the presently existing system within the group of "regulars". And for many of the "regulars" the social justice movement can be argued to be only a potential source for restoration of their psychological equilibrium as suggested by Zygmunt (1972). The self-centered or narcissistic individualism described in the literature today and all of Hoffer's (1951) fanatical "true believers" can also be found.

The Paradigm Shift. Hoffer (1951) suggests that the milieu most favorable for social change is one in which a once compact corporate structure is in a state of disintegration; that as the pattern of corporate cohesion weakens, people rise not against the wickedness of a society but its weakness. And Elizabeth Janeway is quoted
in *The Feminization of America* (Lenz and Myerhoff 1985) as reminding us that

Any existing culture can only reach and develop a certain amount of human creativity. The rest is suppressed because the terms of life don't demand its use, or are even hostile. In times of change, however, the old repertory of action will turn out to be insufficient; then the untapped reservoir of creativity belonging to hitherto overlooked groups and classes of society may be called on (5).

Kenniston points out that the recognition between credal values and actual practices in any society is a powerful motor for social change. He shows that in most societies where social change is slow and social institutions are relatively unchanging, there occurs what he calls the "institutionalization of hypocrisy." During times of rapid social change there is a breakdown in the institutionalization of hypocrisy. Values shift, and "new" values have not existed long enough for situational exceptions to their rules to be defined. As Kenniston puts it, "the universal gap between principle and practice appears in all its nakedness" (Gerlach and Hine 1970:323).

The phenomenon of the "hundredth monkey" provides insight into how radical shifts in awareness are achieved. An explanation of the phenomena is recounted by Watson (1980):

The Japanese monkey, Macaca fuscata has been observed in the wild for a period of over 30 years. In 1952 on the island of Koshima scientists were providing monkeys with sweet potatoes dropped in the sand. The monkeys liked the taste of the raw sweet potatoes, but they found the dirt unpleasant.

An 18 month old female named Imo found she could
solve the problem by washing the potatoes in a nearby stream. She taught this trick to her mother. Her playmates also learned this new way and they taught their mothers, too.

This cultural innovation was gradually picked up by various monkeys before the eyes of scientists. Between 1952 and 1958, all the young monkeys learned to wash the sandy sweet potatoes to make them more palatable.

Only the adults who imitated their children learned this social improvement. Other adults kept eating the dirty sweet potatoes.

Then something startling took place. In the autumn of 1958, a certain number of Koshima monkeys were washing sweet potatoes - the exact number is not known. Let us suppose that when the sun rose one morning there were 99 monkeys on Koshima Island who had learned to wash their sweet potatoes. Let's further suppose that later that morning, the hundredth monkey learned to wash potatoes. Then it happened.

By evening almost everyone in the tribe was washing sweet potatoes before eating them. The added energy of this hundredth monkey somehow created an ideological breakthrough. But the most surprising thing observed by these scientists was the habit of washing sweet potatoes then spontaneously jumped over the sea - colonies of monkeys on other islands and the mainland troop of monkeys at Takasakiyama began washing their sweet potatoes (147-8).

And Kuhn (1970:149) says that "like the gestalt switch, it must occur all at once."

The shift that has been described has been called variously feminization, a move from a positivistic into a postpositivistic era, from a dominant to an emergent paradigm (Schwartz and Ogilvy 1979), from a scientific to a naturalistic way of thinking (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Schwartz and Ogilvy characterize the dominant paradigm as simple, hierarchical, mechanical, determinate, linearly
causal, assemblical and objective and the emergent paradigm as complex, heterarchic, holographic, indeterminate, mutually causal, morphogenetic and perspectival. Lincoln and Guba (1985) contrast the positivistic and naturalistic paradigms in terms of the nature of reality, the relationship of knower to the known, the possibility of generalization, the possibility of causal linkages, and the role of values. Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979) document these concepts emerging in a variety of areas including physics, chemistry, brain theory, ecology, evolution, mathematics, philosophy, politics, psychology, linguistics, religion, consciousness and the arts. John Naisbitt (1984) has summarized as restructurings (based on content analysis of local newspapers) what is remarkably compatible with Schwartz's and Ogilvy's "new" paradigm drawn from an analysis of a wide variety of substantive fields. This same kind of shift can be argued economically and politically (Lagos 1977; Boulding 1968) in the form of multipolarity and global interdependence.

Within the social justice movement evidence can be found for a slow branching networking of those groups that support the same underlying paradigm shift. It can be argued that the underlying goal of a number of movements is the same and goes beyond the more specific goals of each. Review of the literature related to this subject reveals that something has been happening that is consistent with the larger paradigm shift being discussed here. The social
justice movement is part of a heterarchical structure; it exists within a net of mutual constraints and influences. It is difficult to draw clear lines in the literature among the writings being done in the different areas of concern being addressed by what was discussed earlier as the "new social movements." The feminist movement is more and more incorporating the views of women in developing nations, and thereby incorporating the concerns and issues of these nations, into the areas being addressed. Increasingly parallels are being drawn, by those involved and by those who study them, between the discrimination described by feminists, by those active in civil rights movement, and by activists in developing nations.

Writers within the peace movement address directly issues of the social justice movement. David Cortright of SANE/FREEZE (1989) suggests the peace movement is suffering a drain of members and money because it has directed its efforts at public concerns about nuclear weapons and has relied primarily on fear and the threat of war to attract public support. He quotes Martin Luther King Jr. reminding his audience that peace is not merely the absence of war, but the presence of justice and states "peace can only exist where there is genuine security and justice for all people, where the resources now squandered on armaments are redirected to solving the urgent social, environmental, and economic challenges of the modern world" (emphasis added). He suggests that an organizing program focused exclusively
on nuclear issues is unlikely to succeed, that an emphasis on the economy with a new political drive to transfer the vast economic resources from the arms race and toward human needs must be launched. Pam Solo, co-director of the Institute for Peace and International Security (1989) suggests that the peace movement has made the mistake of focusing narrowly on arms control and weapons, that its political power lies in fighting to give legitimacy to a new concept of a safer world called Common Security as drafted by Olof Palme, the late Prime Minister of Sweden. Common Security requires not only real steps toward nuclear and conventional disarmament, but also economic and social development, recognition of international environmental challenges and active conflict resolution (emphasis added). Michael T. Klare, director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies, (1989) outlines his view that the peace movement needs to redirect its attention from the risk of nuclear conflict toward "'low intensity conflict', or war against the hungry and angry and frustrated peoples of the Third World" (emphasis added). Issues of the social justice movement are becoming inseparable from those of the other "new social movements."

Recent commercials created by the Campaign to End Hunger do not center around the proverbial emaciated child, but emphasize our global interdependence and the complexity of our relationships. A scene of a barren, dry piece of land is accompanied by:
Did you know the earth is turning to dust because people are hungry? When people are hungry they use poor land to try to grow food and pull up plants and trees for fuel. We cannot save the world from drought, soil erosion and flood on a hungry planet. Let's end hunger, America.

Or a picture of a man in a jungle with a rifle over his shoulder is shown with:

When people are hungry they do many things including taking up arms. Let's give a hungry planet a fighting chance. Let's end hunger, America.

Or there is simply the scene of the actor, Mike Farrell, holding a small rabbit and the words:

Perhaps we're all in the world, each with our role to play.

Implications

The social justice movement, while so poignantly illuminating contradictory paradigms, has not seemed to take the full implications of this contradiction into consideration as they have disseminated their message and carried out their mission. The analysis of their failure (for the most part) to do so, however, has resulted in a number of findings that can inform not only the movement but several other substantive and theoretical issues today. The lack of clarity in the distinction between macro and micro alluded to early in this study it is felt has been clearly established. The study of and for one level cannot be meaningfully separated out from the study of and findings for the other—and one cannot be done without the other. The movement back and forth in this study has been
and continues to be in this final section constant and frequent.

Two insights are provided by looking at the form of social movement involvement found within the various ideal-typical groups that emerged in the study. All of these groups obviously ultimately come from the general population. The "fringe" group generally came directly from the general population and was introduced into the social justice movement by a friend or acquaintance. This group constituted a small proportion of the movement and there was rapid turnover among their ranks. The "entry level participants" and the "regulars" made up by far the largest proportion of the movement. Their route into the movement was mainly via the church. An interesting permutation takes place when involvement is looked at in relationship to the "involved" group. The "involved" may have come into the movement through either a friend or through the church and was a relatively small group within the movement. They, however, become the vehicle through which friends and churches are introduced to and become involved in the movement. The "dedicated" and the "withdrawn", a very small portion of the movement, became involved not through networks of any kind, but through their own individual study and beliefs.

**Social Movement Involvement.** The first insight provided through this look at involvement is through the
"dedicated." They carry the message of the social justice movement to churches, within the social justice movement, to friends and to the general population, at times almost independently of the social justice movement. This "cooperative individual" bridges Crawford's objective and subjective with the realization of the inseparability of individual self awareness and interest, and of economic, social and political conditions. The "cooperative individual" came into the movement through her own personal study and joined others with whom she shares an interest (and usually in spite of differences.) She did not join as a result of personal ties and does not fit the deprivation theory or psychological maladjustment theory prototype. She maintains a great deal of individualism, but it is directed toward not only self awareness and interest, but also economic, social and political conditions. While it has been noted that the social justice movement has within it the basis for and evidence supporting many of the current social movement theories, it is felt it is most closely described by the networking theories, i.e., that of Gerlach and Hine. It suggests further investigation into possible modification of the theory, however, which would take into consideration the "cooperative individual" as indicative of a new form of social movement involvement.

Decline of Mainline Denominations. The second insight related to the issue of involvement is provided by the
"entry level participants" and the "regulars." They share in common the same route into the movement via the church. This is especially significant in that they make up by far the largest proportion of the movement. It is through these groups, especially, that insights have been provided in this study into the social justice movement as a microcosm of propelling conditions for social change and as encompassing contradictory paradigms. These groups also provide insight into the more liberal, mainline denominations from which they come, however. The members of these churches come largely from the professional, upper-middle, upper ranks of society socioeconomically. Those within these churches that become involved in the social justice movement are usually national and regional bodies, women's groups, some ministers and a small number of others. If Campbell and the feminist writers are considered again, the social justice movement points out that within these more liberal, mainline denominations the epitome of positivistic dualism is found, along with the embodiment of the naturalistic paradigm in groups such as those supportive of the social justice movement. The more fundamental denominations (which answer world poverty and human rights issues with evangelism emphasizing the "hereafter" and direct aid) have grown in numbers in recent years. Contradictory paradigms, in the sense discussed here, are not a part of their experience. The size of the liberal, mainline denominations with which the social
justice movement is intimately linked, has been diminishing. The embodiment of these two contradictory paradigms or belief systems with such intensity within these denominations would be an area for further exploration as at least a factor in this phenomenon.

Harbinger of Social Change. The social justice movement illuminates and encompasses not only contradictory paradigms, but also conditions underlying change and the nature of change. As has been suggested it is a microcosm of the problems propelling a shift in paradigms—in Hoffer's terms the "weakness of our society"—and simultaneously is the harbinger of the change "arising against that weakness." It looks to the poor of the world, to Janeway's "hitherto overlooked groups and classes of society", for direction. It contains the slow branching networking of those groups and ideas that are the preconditions for the radical shifts in awareness described in the phenomenon of the "hundredth monkey" or by Kuhn's "gestalt switch." It attempts to lay bare in its message Kenniston's gap between principle and practice. It suggests these approaches as viable avenues for continuing exploration in the attempt to understand the conditions for and the nature of social change.

Vocabularies of Motive and Social Change. It was suggested at the beginning of this study that the ongoing dialectic between the individual and society is nowhere
more apparent than in social movements. It was also suggested that vocabularies of motive as socially defined and executed rhetorics offer a way of analyzing the linkage between structural concerns and personal behavior. It has been concluded that the vocabulary of motives typically used by the social justice movement will not be effective in the present way of understanding the world, i.e., through the dominant, positivistic paradigm. Burke and Meade both address this. In the *Grammar of Motives* (1945) Burke suggests that our motivational frames have been reduced from "God's law" to "natural law" to "market law." The move has been made from "consistent" religious humanism (God's personality, therefore human personality) to the "compensatory" secular humanitarianism of science and money (nature's or the market's impersonality, nevertheless human personality.) The gap between these two is becoming more and more of an issue in an increasingly small and interdependent world. And it is the gap between these two that the social justice movement has encountered head on.

The way to bridge the gap between the two is edified by Meade in *Mind, Self and Society*. The abstract and social "universe of discourse" is a system of common or social meanings. The widest community is represented in this universe of discourse. Fundamental, minute changes take place in this universe steadily through reactions of different individuals which are not simply those of "me", but of an "I." As we pass from one historical period to
another, it is only the ultimate effects of these fundamental changes that we tend to recognize. Some of these changes are due to the reaction of one person, e.g., Aristotle or Einstein, but these are only the extreme expression of the sort of changes that take place steadily. The taking by individuals of the attitude of the most inclusive and extensive generalized other renders this universe of discourse possible.

It is in terms of universally significant symbols by means of which thinking operates, that the individual transcends the local social group to which he [sic] immediately belongs, and that this social group accordingly (through its individual members) transcends itself, and relates itself to the whole larger context or environment of organized social relations and interactions which surrounds it and of which it is only one part (269).

The analysis of the social justice movement suggests the way in which vocabularies of motive are critically and practically involved in this social change. When present vocabularies are disrupted, when the interruption is made and the question is forced, when Goffman's "negative experience" is manufactured "at the rim," the motives given can serve the function of bridging the old and the new—in dialectical terms, the thesis and the antithesis. In this way the vocabulary of motives, by appealing to and emerging from the synthesis rather than the thesis or the antithesis, helps bridge the old and new further bringing about the synthesis. The social justice movement has done this when their appeals have been based in what might be called a vocabulary of interdependence. This was seen in
the final examples cited in this study when discussing vocabularies of motive and was seen when responses were observed to the commercials based on interdependence cited above. This is when the social justice movement has been its most effective. A vocabulary of interdependence are based in a practicality which is interpreted in different ways and appeals to different values depending upon the perspective. When a vocabulary of "interdependence" has been used, the appeal is made to the widest community for cooperation. This vocabulary can make sense in ultimate vocabularies based in "God's law", "natural law" or "market law." Bellah (1985) quotes Matther Arnold as asserting that we are "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born." And Bellah (1985) says that:

We can no longer view the world as Descartes and Laplace would have us do, as 'rational onlookers,' from outside. Our place is within the same world we are studying, and whatever scientific understanding we achieve must be a kind of understanding that is available to participants within the processes of nature, i.e., from inside.

The social justice movement has pointed to the critical role of vocabularies of motive and framing in bridging the old and the new in a dialectical process and bringing about social change. And it has pointed to the "universal meaning" of interdependence as possibly the most effective bridge in the current time period between the thesis and the antithesis for bringing about that change.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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