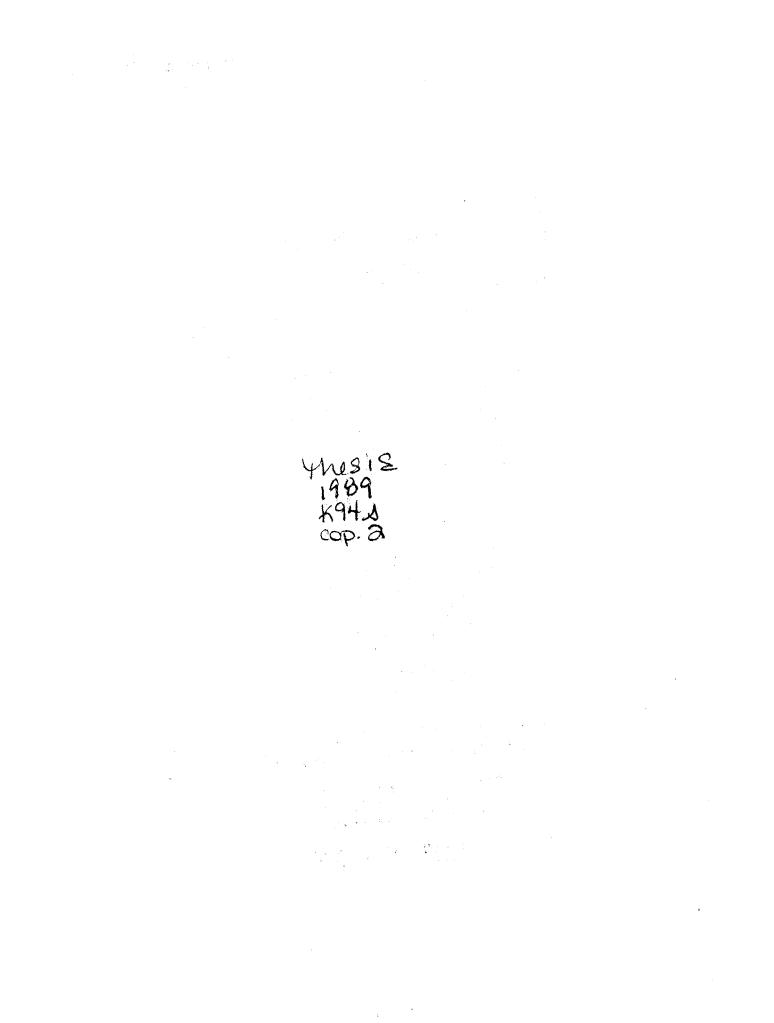THE SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT:

VOCABULARIES OF MOTIVE

AND SOCIAL CHANGE

By

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PREFACE

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 <u>Signifying Acts</u>,

> This seemed to be a spendid 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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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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 lifesytles.
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
> desgination 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

1977; McCarthy and Zald 1973, 1977; Oberschall 1973, 1978; Tilly 1978). 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 move-

ments 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) transcendental 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 epistomological 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 econo-
mics. 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 invovlement 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 speci-
> fic 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.

<u>Later</u>

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.

<u>Entry Level Participants</u>. 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 continnum 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 percep-
> tion 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 individualsim (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 individualsim 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 muti-
lates it. The point, however, is not merely to
reject subjectivity,...it is to delve into subjec-
tivity seriously. This seriousness entails under-
standing 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 configu-
rations 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 objec-
tive 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 char-
acteristics, choices and larger social structure,
[it] promotes a new moralism (385).

Pure subjectivity, in the form of self-centered individual-

ism, 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 assump-
> tions 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 tranformation 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; who-
ever 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-

12).

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 Lymon 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 (Foote, 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 compartmental-
ized 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
Schutz'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 dialectial 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 institution-
> alized 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 artifical 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
discreditation. 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 artifically 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 sud-
> denly 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 him-
> self [sic] within the frame that does apparently
> apply....Reality anomically flutters. He [sic]
> has a "negative experience"....
>
> If the whole frame can be shaken, rendered pro-
> blematic, 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 defi-
> ciencies 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 mecha-
> nism 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 illerate, 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 grat-
> itude, 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 re-
gards the instructor of his youth and a child looks
upon the parent who has molded his character
(Stokely W. Morgan, assistant chief of the Divi-
sion 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 narcisscistic 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 reservior 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 "hundreth monkey" provides insight into how radical shifts in awareness are achieved. An explanation of the phenomena is recounted by Watson (1980):

> The Japanese monkey, Macace 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
hundreth 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 hundreth monkey somehow created an
ideological breakthough. 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 Takasakiyma
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 includ-
> ing 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 under-
> standing 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.

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