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A Sociological Analysis of the New Christian Right

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A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

OF THE

NEW CHRISTIAN RIGHT

by

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VITA

The author, Wesley Edward Miller Jr., is the son of Wesley Edward Miller, Sr. and Natalie (Barger) Miller. He was born February 14 1955 in Brooklyn N.Y.

His elementary education was obtained in the public schools of New York City and received his secondary education at Brockton High School, Brockton, MA, where he graduated in 1973.

In September 1973, he entered Eastern Nazarene College, Quincy, MA and in June 1977 received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with a major in sociology (magna cum laude). In September 1977, he entered Boston College where in January 1979 he was awarded a Master of Arts degree in sociology. During his time at Boston College, he worked as a graduate assistant. He matriculated in the PH.D graduate program in sociology at the Loyola University of Chicago in 1980 and has served as graduate assistant there. His major fields of emphasis have been social movements, the sociology of religion and political sociology.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The political mobilization of Christian fundamentalists[1] in the
late 1970's into the movement I will label "the New Christian Right"
(NCR) has sparked much interest. There has been much written in our
newspapers about its colorful personalities and sometimes bizarre
actions. Political groups like the American Civil Liberties Union have
taken the group to task for what is perceived as the movement's poten-
tial threat to our constitutional rights. Other religious traditions
have criticized the New Christian Right for what seems like its total
disregard for the American pluralist tradition. Even within its own
tradition the NCR has come under attack for its supposed failure in
grasping the actual message of Christ. With all this written material
in existence one may ask, what can a sociologist add to what has already
been said? The answer: a new understanding of the movement that goes
beyond the inner life of its members and the biography of its leaders

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1. The reader should be aware that I am differentiating between the
terms fundamentalist, evangelical and the New Christian Right. They are
not synonyms. In the next chapter I will explain these differences. It
is only necessary here to say that evangelicalism is a multi-denomina-
tional religious tradition of which fundamentalism is a subgroup. In
turn, the New Christian Right is mostly a subgrouping of fundamentalism.

and attempts to place it within its social and historical context (cf. Mills, 1959:2-8). Such an understanding forces us to look past the facade of the movement's ideology and instead seek answers to its existence in the relationships between social groups and their relationships to society as a whole. Sociology offers methodologies which help us systematically to discover the underlying social causes of the movement instead of depending upon our or others' unsystematic speculations or polemically motivated explanations. The aim of this study is to examine the NCR from this perspective. The major aim of this dissertation will be to use the recent political activity of Christian fundamentalists as a "laboratory" in which to test and expand on some of the currently held sociological theories on social movements. I will also study the emergence of the New Christian Right as a case study of the rise of right-wing religious social movements. The study will analyze two main questions.

(1) What is the source of the social psychological motivations leading these Christian fundamentalists to political action?
(2) By what organizational structures have these individuals been able to collectively mobilize on the national level?

The conceptual framework to be used will be taken basically from two compatible sociological perspectives on social movements: (1) the Politics of Lifestyle Concern and (2) Resource Mobilization Approach. The Politics of Lifestyle Concern approach sees right-wing social movements arising out of a social group's feelings that their values, atti-

tudes and lifestyle are being threatened by certain social forces. In order to protect their lifestyle, the social group unites to form a social movement. The Resource Mobilization approach examines the variety of resources a social movement needs in order to explain how a movement arises. It takes the social psychological motivations of individuals as given and instead focuses on the "linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of social movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control and incorporate movements." (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1213) This joining together of two social theories is meant as a preliminary attempt to bring together the old and new in social movement theory. The Politics of Lifestyle Concern (see Lorentzen, 1980), a derivative of the Status Politics Approach, will be used to examine the social psychological motivations which have caused Christian fundamentalists to mobilize at this time. The Resource Mobilization approach (see McCarthy and Zald, 1977), the currently most dominant perspective in social movement theory, will be used to explain how these motivated fundamentalists were able to mobilize in coordinated action through a preexistent social network. Both these theories together, if supported by the data, should offer a fuller understanding of the emergence of right-wing social movements than either would alone.

A number of research methods, both quantitative and qualitative, will be used in this study. Quantitative content analysis of fundamentalist publications over a twenty-five year period will be used to test whether lifestyle concern is the source of the Christian New Right's

motivation. A more qualitative and historical approach will be taken to examine the social networks, if any, from which the NCR developed.

A number of sociological works have been written about the NCR. These works have ranged from rather narrow empirical studies focusing on a specific aspect of the movement to broader studies concerned with more theoretical questions. One perspective is typified by such works as Hadden and Swann's (1981) Prime-time Preachers and Lipset and Raab's (1981) article, "The Election and the Evangelicals" published in Commentary. Both focused on limited aspects of the movement (the media and the 1980 election, respectively) and had as their partial aim the debunking of commonly held myths about the NCR. Hadden and Swann showed that religious programming attracts a relatively small audience despite the claims of the media and the televangelists themselves. Lipset and Raab have demonstrated that evangelicals had little importance in Reagan's 1980 presidential victory despite the claims of a number of political analysts. However, while both these studies have played a valuable role in clarifying our image of the NCR, neither has really tried to make theoretical generalizations from their respective works. Their concern has been solely with describing and explaining an aspect of the NCR in particular and not with theoretically generalizing about social movements, religious fundamentalism or any related phenomenon.

The other perspective contains articles more valuable to sociology. These studies not only examine the movement as a whole in its broader societal context but have attempted to use this examination as a tool for the creation or modification of sociological theory. Included

within this group is Lorentzen's (1980) study in which she sees the movement as a response to lifestyle threats brought on by increased secularization. Gannon (1981) reaches a similar conclusion in his analysis of the movement. Langman (1982), developing a model based mostly on critical theory, sees the NCR as a political response to increased alienation. While these studies added to our theoretical knowledge of the movement, they make assumptions about the social characteristics of the NCR that still need to be empirically substantiated. (Some of these weakenesses will be discussed later in this dissertation.)

I will examine the NCR in the same general way as these latter group of works. I will not only be concerned with the NCR but with what the movement can tell us about social movements in general. Let us now examine in more detail the theoretical approaches to be used in this study and hypotheses developed from these frameworks.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There has been a theoretical shift in social movement theory within the last decade-- a shift away from the more social psychological emphases of "classical" theories to the more organizational focus of resource mobilization. Most early theory in social movements and collective behavior sought to explain the emergence of these phenomenon strictly by reference to the social psychological motivations or wills of the individuals involved.[2] If people become increasingly deprived and

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2. The exception is Heberle's (1951) work on social movements. His approach, although including a social psychological component, also concerned itself with social movement organization as well.

also motivated or "inspired" to change an aspect of society, so these theorists say, a social movement is more likely to occur in this group of people.

A few examples illustrate this approach. Both LeBon (1887) and Blumer (1969) stated that a social movement's initial impetus lies in a state of societal anomie. In times when the old norms and ideologies no longer hold and a new ideology has not yet been accepted, people are more likely to be motivated to participate in collective behavior in a search for meaning. Others explained social movements as being a response to frustrated goal attainment (Gurr, 1970; Davies, 1962). These theorists saw the impetus to this frustration in "relative deprivation". Smelser (1963), with his structural strain concept, was more general, stating that a necessary component to collective action was some type of "structural strain" which caused social psychological discontent in a segment of society. This strain was explained to the individual by a generalized belief which identified the source of the strain and ways to alleviate it.

These social psychological approaches have recently come under attack on both empirical (e.g., Portes, 1971) and theoretical (e.g., Oberschall, 1978) grounds. The most influential of these criticisms has been leveled by advocates of what has come to be called the resource mobilization approach to social movements. According to McCarthy and Zald (1977:1213)

> The resource mobilization approach emphasizes both societal support and constraint of social movement phenomena. It examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of social movements upon

external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements.

Since the approach's emphasis is on group resources and structure and not on the social psychology of its individual members, it is not surprising that it finds theories of social movements which emphasize individual motivations, grievances and/or frustrations inadequate. As McCarthy and Zald have pointed out, frustration, and grievances exist all throughout society, yet only certain groups choose to act collectively. The resource mobilization approach claims that these groups are not necessarily made up of the most frustrated or discontented people but of those who have the necessary societal support, preexistent social networks and/or use the right tactics in order to mobilize successfully.

> There is always enough discontent in any society to supply the grassroots support for a movement if the movement is effectively organized and has at its disposal the power and resources of some established elite. [Turner and Killian (1972) quoted in McCarthy and Zald (1977)]

Resource mobilization does present an important aspect of social movement emergence which previous approaches neglected, i.e. social resources. However, in its zeal to address the problems and overemphases of the classical approach, it turns its back on and discounts some of the questions that these approaches were trying to answer. For example, what motivates individuals to want to use their resources to form a social movement in the first place?; to choose a certain issue around which to form social movement rather than another? Surely, as important as a group's resources are, they cannot fully answer these two questions. So the same type of criticism resource mobilization leveled against the "classical approach can also be leveled against it. There

are many groups in a society which have resources, societal support, access to a preexistent social network and know how to use the right tactics, yet not all these groups have mobilized collectively as a social movement. Some do not have members with any important grievances (cf. Gamson, 1968:95-7).

Instead of rejecting one approach in preference to the other it may be more advantageous to perceive each approach as yielding a partial grasp of reality. Each highlights a certain aspect of social movement phenomena while neglecting another. By piecing the two approaches together a fuller understanding of social movements may be possible. It is this combined approach, I plan to take in this proposed dissertation. A fruitful place to start this process is in examining the difference between a social movement and a social movement organization.

THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATION

McCarthy and Zald (1977) make a useful distinction between a social movement and a social movement organization (SMO). A social movement is defined as

> a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents pref-
> erences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or
> reward distribution of society... social movements (are viewed) as
> nothing more than preference structures directed toward social
> change. (pp 1217-8)

One must notice that this definition of a social movement is very different from the sociological definitions of the past. The social movement, in past cases, implied that collective action would itself necessarily take place. In the case of resource mobilization this is not assumed to be so. A social movement is essentially just a group of peo-

ple, not necessarily organized or in contact with each other, who have a similar set of political opinions, grievances, motivations, or preferences concerning the changing of society.

Although the resource mobilization theorists espouse this definition of a social movement, they do not try to explain the social movement's existence. This approach takes the social movement and its motivations as given. As Turner and Killian note, there are enough preference structures existing in society to supply support for any number of collective responses so that an explanation of how these preferences arose is not important.

On the other hand, however, it is just these motivations which the classical theorists studied. Their concern was examining the process by which certain grievances (preferences) developed in a population, which they assumed led directly to collective action. These theorists' major problem was seeking to explain the emergence of <u>collective</u> <u>action</u> strictly with reference to these motivations, opinions, and grievances. Therefore, the social psychological theorists, while not being able to explain collective action fully, may be able to help us understand <u>how</u> <u>certain</u> <u>preference</u> <u>structures</u> <u>arise</u>. It is in this way we shall view the social psychological theory.

An SMO is defined as "a complex formal organization which identifies its goals with the preference of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals."(McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1218) It is the SMO which takes collective action in order to implement the preferences of the larger social movement. So for exam-

ple, the social movement of the NCR is made up of various SMOs including the Moral Majority, the Christian Voice, and the Religious Roundtable. All these organizations translate the opinions and preferences of the NCR social movement into action.

It is this translation process which is best explained by the resource mobilization approach for it is the resources that make this translation process possible. A group of people cannot depend solely on motivations for action to take place. In order for preferences to be translated into action, for example, some type of preexistent organization or network is needed within the population holding the preferences. This organization or network brings this population of shared preferences together and integrates them, allowing for easier communication and faster, more extensive mobilization. The preexistent organization takes isolated individuals and ties them together in a relatively coordinated organization.

In summary, we see that both these approaches explain an aspect of social movement phenomenon. The social psychological approach seems potentially better suited to explaining the growth of the preference structure. The resource mobilization approach is more useful in explaining how this preference structure gets translated into collective action.

In the rest of this section, we will use some of the above considerations to build a framework for the study of the New Christian Right. The development of the preference structure will be studied with the Politics of Lifestyle Concern approach. The translation of this prefer-

ence structure into collective action may be understood by using the Resource Mobilization approach to comprehend the development of the preexistent social network from which the NCR's organizations developed.

LIFESTYLE CONCERN AND THE PREFERENCE STRUCTURE

The Politics of Lifestyle Concern (PLC) approach, and its related approach (Status Politics), have been employed many times in the past to explain the rise of right-wing, extremist movements. It will be used here in order to develop and test a conceptual framework which explains the rise of the NCR movement. At the end of this section two hypotheses will be presented to be tested in the proposed dissertation.

The PLC approach has its roots in Weber's concept of status. According to Weber (1978:305-7), a status group is a "plurality of persons who, within a larger group successfully claim (a) special social esteem, and possibly also, (b) status monopolies."

Societies and communities contain a status hierarchy. The arrangement of this hierarchy is based on the relative prestige accorded each group. This position, in turn, determines the group's relative amount of power.

Some later writers have used Weber's concepts to explore the nature of right-wing movements. (e.g., Hofstader, 1955; Lipset and Raab, 1970) In general, they all have seen the source of reactionary politics in shifts in the status hierarchy caused by social changes. Such shifts may threaten the prestige and power of certain groups within the hierarchy. These groups may seek to maintain or gain status through political movements. For example, Gusfield (1963) uses this approach to

explain the emergence of the American Temperance Movement. He states, in one instance, that late 19th-century immigration into the United States became a threat to the prestige of the dominant Protestant status group. The immigrants did not honor the prestige nor follow the lifestyle of the dominant group. According to Gusfield, the Temperance movement was a "symbolic" effort by the dominant status group to regain its lost honor by legislating an aspect of their lifestyle (temperance), thus demonstrating to the society the dominance and prestige of their status group.

More recent authors have prefered to view such "symbolic crusades" not as status enhancements but as lifestyle protections. (Zurcher, et al., 1971; Page and Clelland, 1978; Lorentzen, 1980) These researchers have claimed that to focus on status before one focuses on lifestyle is "to place the cart before the horse" (Lorentzen, 1980:147) since one's relative status and prestige are ultimately based on the community's evaluation of one's lifestyle. So, in Page and Clelland's (1978:266) view, "symbolic crusades" should not be examined as attempts "to defend against declining prestige but the attempt to defend a way of life." So, as Zurcher et al. (1971) has shown, the anti-pornography campaigns of some communities is an attempt to destroy a potential threat to the values, and attitudes (lifestyle) of the community.

The PLC approach has been applied to the New Christian Right. Lorentzen, in her study of the 1978 Democratic nomination process for the U.S. Senate seat in Virginia, established that those evangelicals involved in the campaign expressed a concern for protecting their lifes-

tyle against the onslaughts of political, social, and moral liberalism. However, Lorentzen study has two flaws (besides neglecting the whole question of organization and resources). First, although she concludes that lifestyle concern was the motivating factor behind these people's political activism, she can not clearly make this conclusion because longitudinal data were not used in her research. Establishing that these people expressed lifestyle concerns is not the same as establishing that such concerns were an actual motivating factor. She does not offer longitiudinal evidence which would show that before this group was politically active their lifestyle concerns were less intense. It may be, after all, that all fundamentalists express concerns about their threatened lifestyle whether active in politics or not. If this be the case, then lifestyle concerns cannot be the factor causing the one group's activism.

Secondly, Lorentzen fails to explain why these lifestyle concerns should arise in political action at this time. She fails to elaborate on her statement that this contemporary political action is a result of increased secularization. This is an unsatisfactory explanation. Secularization has been an ongoing process throughout the 20th century, yet only at certain times has fundamentalism chosen to mobilize politically.[3] Some other process, covarying with fundamentalist activism, must

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3. I am differentiating between political organizations made up of fundamentalists and fundamentalist political organizations. Fundamentalists have always been involved in political organizations especially of right wing orientation. However, only at certain times have 'official' fundamentalist political organizations existed.

be found.

In order to test this PLC approach to the study of the New Christian Right, I will need to avoid these two flaws. The research design used in the present study (and discussed in chapter 3) will overcome the longitudinal data problem. The answer to the second problem-- why there is an increase in political discontent at this time-- calls for an examination of past lifestyle concern movements and their causes.

Upon examination at least one process, immigration, has been found by some observers to cause status concerns within the native population at many points in American history. We already, for example, have mentioned how Gusfield (1963) found that one possible factor behind the Temperance Movement could be 19th-century immigration. The immigrant became a threat to the status prestige of the dominant status group. At first glance, it may appear that immigration would hardly be an impetus behind the NCR's status concerns. There has not been an influx of foreign immigrants to the extent this is apparent at other times in U.S. history.[4] However, upon closer look, there has been 1 major migration pattern within the U.S. in the 1960's and 1970's --the migration to the Sunbelt from the Snowbelt-- which has already had a profound effect on the United States (Biggar,1979) and which may also be the source of the fundamentalism's already hypothesized increased lifestyle concern.

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4. This does not mean that foreign immigration has not occurred or played some part recently in the rise of right-wing extremism. The immigration of Vietnamese fishermen in Texas and the Ku Klux Klan's response is one example.

THE RISE OF THE SUNBELT

According to Biggar,

> The Sunbelt-- the U.S. frontier of the 1970's-- is now the most rap-
> idly growing segment of this nation. The emerging mix of people
> from the North and East- some of whom are returning South- with
> those already in the South and West reflects a radical change in
> historical regional distribution patterns of the U.S. popula-
> tion.(1979:3)

Table 1 demonstrates this change. In the years from 1970 to 1975 net

migration to the South South[5] was 6 times more than in the preceeding 5

year period. At the same time, the Northeast and North Central states

experienced a loss of population to migration. The traditional migra-

tion pattern has been reversed as younger migrants move from the more

urban North and Midwest to the rural or small town South and

West.(Freymeyer, 1981:1)

What is at the root of this demographic change? These changes due

to two major factors. First, industry has found the Sunbelt increas-

ingly more attractive. According to Biggar,

> Manufacturing jobs grew particularly rapidly during the 1960's.
> Despite the general U.S. recession, such jobs still rose 432,000
> (7.5 percent) in the Sunbelt in the first six years of the 1970's
> while declining by nearly 400,000 in the U.S. as a whole and by
> 769,000 in the Northeast and 185,000 in the North Central states.

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5. Geographical areas will be defined according to Biggar's cri-
terion. The Northeast consists of Maine, New Hamphire, Vermont Massa-
chusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylva-
nia. The North Central states are Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan,
Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas.
The Southern states are Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Vir-
ginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida,
Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Okla-
homa, and Texas. Lastly, the Western States consists of Montana, Idaho,
Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Ore-
gon, California, Alaska and Hawaii.

TABLE 1

Net Migration Into U.S. Regions (1950-1975)

(in millions)
REGION

PERIOD	NORTH-EAST	NORTH CENTRAL	SOUTH	WEST
50-55	0.4	0.4	-1.6	1.9
55-60	0.0	-0.7	0.3	2.0
60-65	0.3	-0.8	0.3	1.7
65-70	0.1	0.1	0.4	1.1
70-75	-0.7	-0.8	2.6	1.4

source:
U.S Bureau of the Census,
"Estimating of Populations of States
with Components of Change:
1970-1975."
Current Population Reports,
Series P-25, No. 640,
November 1976,
Table B.

(1979:26)

This rise in jobs has not just been in the traditionally low wage
industries as is sometimes assumed. While the South does account for
from 60 to 70% of all low wage employment nationally, low wage indus-
tries accounted for only about 40% of the South' manufacturing employ-
ment. However, in either case the wages paid are still lower that in the
North and Midwest. (Watkins and Perry, 1977:42)

Business perceives the Sunbelt as a place to accumulate maximum profit. Energy costs are lower in the Sunbelt because of both the Sunbelt's warmer climate and its closer proximity to the sources of energy. Transportation has improved and expanded in this area. But most importantly, as alluded to above, labor is cheaper and more easily controlled in the Sunbelt. The rate of unionization in the Sunbelt is half that of the rest of the nation, meaning lower wages paid to workers. Most states have "Right to Work" laws in the Sunbelt which business believes creates less labor-management conflict. (cf. Ashton, 1978) Each of these factors is conducive to creating a favorable business environment (Biggar, 1979: 24-5).

As business and industry leaves the Snowbelt for the Sunbelt, so do the jobs. As unemployment rose in the North and Midwest at the same time as job opportunities grew in the South and West, job seekers were inevitably drawn to the growth areas. However, jobs are not the only things that "seduce" the potential migrant. The South and West also have milder climates and lower taxes. Also, many migrants have perceptions that the South has lower crime rates and a rural - small town lifestyle which is captivating to the Northerner tired of urban life.

I am hypothesizing that this demographic change could not help but have an effect on the political and social environment of the Sunbelt. The individual migrants come to the Sunbelt not only with the promise of a job but with needs and expectations developed from a lifetime of Northern socialization. Their lifetime in the North has caused them to see certain programs and facilities offered by North as necessities of

life (cf. Thurow, 1979). The young couple with children expects a quality education for their youngsters, meaning not only the introduction of new ideas into the Sunbelt curriculum but the necessity for increased taxes in order to handle the influx of new residents. The migrants' demand for housing changes the physical face of the community. The "newly arrived" do not leave their political and religious ideas in the North but seek to express them in their new homes. They also carry with them their likes and dislikes in entertainment and leisure activities, which may not readily be met in their new environment. As Watkins and Perry (1979:20-21) say, "the general flow of population from the rural to urban areas has meant that small-town values have been diffused by the more cosmopolitan outlook of metropolitan America."

The fulfillment of such expectations, the enactment of such values, it is hypothesized, cannot help but bring them into conflict with the more conservative native "Sunbelter" (Thatcher, 1978). These changes represent both symbolic and real threats to the natives in general and fundamentalists in particular. The native Sunbelter reasons that, since the newcomers seek to change our environment, the traditional Southerner lifestyle and all it represents are in peril of being destroyed. To protect their threatened lifestyle, the fundamentalists launch a symbolic crusade, that is, they attempt to legislate aspects of their lifestyle, thus protecting and legitimating it by giving it the state's "seal of approval". The NCR, it will be hypothesized here, represents this symbolic crusade.

HYPOTHESES ON THE PREFERENCE STRUCTURE

Two hypotheses will be tested concerning the development of the New Christian Right social movement.

(1) The NCR preference structure is the result of increased lifestyle concerns in Sunbelt fundamentalism.

(2) These lifestyle threats are the result of Snowbelt migration into the Sunbelt.

The analysis cannot be left at this point, for I have only accounted for the development of the motivations and beliefs of a group of individuals. I have not yet examined how these motivations are translated into political action. More specifically, unless a preexistent social network exists within this group, the lifestyle-concerned individuals will remain isolated, unable to communicate and to mobilize. I will develop a rudimentary framework to study this aspect of this social movement in the next section.

THE PREEXISTENT SOCIAL NETWORK

Most "classical" theories of social movements held to the assumption that movements were spontaneous, unstructured occurrences (Couch, 1968:319). The typical scenario pictured the movement emerging suddenly out of a discontented group of individuals who, by some "miraculous" process (e.g., contagion and the group mind), simultaneously decided to take collective action. As some more recent writers have pointed out, however, this scenario lacks any empirical foundation (e.g., Couch, 1968). A social movement does not emerge overnight nor does member

recruitment take place like the spreading of disease through the air. Social movements develop and spread through preexisting social networks. A social network is defined as "a specific type of relation linking a defined set of persons objects, or events." (Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982:12)

The resource mobilization approach has emphasized the need for studying this aspect of the social movement, although many of its theorists still focus mostly on external resources and a movement's relationship with external organizations (Oberschall, 1973; McCarthy and Zald, 1973). Recently, however, a number of scholars have begun to examine the importance of internal organization and the extent to which an organizational foundation precedes social movement mobilization. Morris (1981) found that the black sit-in movement of the sixties developed out of a network of local churches, colleges, and personal friendship ties. Tierney (1982) has examined the Battered Women Movement's development from a network of feminist, nursing, and social welfare groups. Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson (1981) have shown how non-traditional religious movements use the personal friendship networks of their members to recruit new members. All these studies show that some type of preexistent social network is necessary for the dissemination of information, tactics, and strategies, the coordination of widely dispersed social units, the mobilization of resources for collective action and the recruitment of new members; what network analysts have called instrumental relations. (Granovetter, 1974; Boissevain, 1974)

The preexistent social network, however, not only provides a means

of communication but also provides a set of resources to the social movement (Lin, 1982). Social networks come with social units and contacts "owning" resources which may be valuable to the growth and success of a social movement. Such resources include media expertise, contacts to the institutional order, or links to financial resources. Each resource may either help or hinder the social movement's ability to perform and succeed at certain tactics and/or strategies, giving them the ability to enact its strategies and tactics. (Zald and McCarthy, 1979)

The relationship between a social movement and its strategies does not end, however, with the enactment of strategy. To a great extent, the strategies and tactics of a social movement may react back on it and affect the structure and ideology of the movement. This is especially true today since most movements' tactics are geared to gaining media coverage. The media are the major source of a citizen's political knowledge, largely determining what people perceive as legitimate political alternatives. The social movement that gains access to the news media is not immune from this socializing process. The image of the social movement which the media presents becomes accepted by the social movement, that is, the social movement begins to take its self-image from what the media write about it. Molotch (1979) sees three moments in the relationship between the media and a social movement.

(1) GAINING ACCESS TO MEDIA- Since what the news media present as news is accepted by its readers as an issue of importance (Tuchman, 1978:2), the social movement, to be taken seriously, must attract the media's attention. To do this, a social movement must present itself as new-

sworthy- "as being something readers want to or need to know." This may be a rather difficult challenge for a social movement to meet since social movements do not, in most cases, naturally fit the media's definition of being newsworthy. Therefore, in order to gain media attention, the movement must find some tactics for making itself look newsworthy.

(2) TRANSFORMATION OF EVENT INTO NEWS PERSPECTIVE- The media do not just present newsworthy events, they also transform the events into what Altheide (1976) has called the news perspective. They distort the actual event by taking it out of its real context and recontextualizing it into the world of the media with its own interests and needs.

(3) NEWS PERSPECTIVE TRANSFORMS MOVEMENT- The transformed view of the social movement created by the media reacts back upon the social movement itself.

The NCR offers the researcher an interesting situation for the study of social networks and social movements. Fundamentalism has always shunned centralized national organizations and denominations (e.g., Marsden, 1980:34) in favor of decentralized, locally autonomous churches and programs. Fundamentalist churches have been "connected" in a loosely federated network of congregations at a regional or local level. On the other hand, the NCR social movement and its SMO's are nationally coordinated. If a social network is needed for collective action to take place, how was a previously decentralized religious system able to spawn a national movement? (Or the question may be, is the NCR really a national movement?)

QUESTIONS ON PREEXISTENT NETWORK

Unlike in the last section on the politics of lifestyle concern, the portion of the present study related to the NCR's preexistent social network will be guided by general questions rather than specific hypotheses in a similar manner to that of Glazer and Strauss' (1967) Grounded Theory.

(1) What early 1970s networks was the fundamentalist preference structure able to use to mobilize collectively on the national level?

(2) How did this social network develop?

(3) Following from Morris (1981), how has this social network affected the nature and extent of the strategies and tactics the NCR has taken?

(4) How have these strategies and tactics affected the NCR?

OVERVIEW OF DISSERTATION

This dissertation contains eight chapters including the present chapter. Chapter II presents a brief survey of the evangelical tradition. The aim of this chapter is to differentiate between many of the terms which sometimes enter into the discussion of the NCR, primarily distinguishing between the terms fundamentalism, evangelicalism and the NCR. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the NCR's ideology.

In chapter III the PLC hypotheses are tested using quantitative content analysis of fundamentalist publications. What the analysis in this chapter will show is that the PLC hypotheses must be rejected. Lifestyle concern cannot account for the rise the NCR.

Chapter IV is a methodological chapter in which I will try to

identify the subgroup structure and linkages of the NCR in 1980. These results will be used in chapter V and VI.

Chapters V and VI attempt to explain how the 1980 network structure came into existence and how this helps us understand the rise of the NCR and its use of tactics. In these chapters, I identify two networks from which the NCR developed: (1) secular old right (most notably the group called the Young Americans for Freedom), (2) fundamentalist groups involved in the Church Growth and National Evangelism movements of the late 1960s and the early 1970s.

In chapter VII, I will examine the last preexistent social network question. To do this I will focus on only one, though prominent, tactic- tactics aimed at gaining media coverage.

In the last chapter I will summarize the major findings, discuss their theoretical implications, and make some recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

EVANGELICALS, FUNDAMENTALISTS, AND THE NCR

Before I can analyze the hypotheses and questions presented in chapter 1, it is first necessary to define some of the terms to be used in this study, especially those pertaining to the religious tradition of much of the NCR. Of all the aspects of the NCR the role religion plays in the movement has been of the most interest. Despite this interest it is also the area least understood and the most distorted. The root of this distortion and ignorance lies in falsely assuming that various terms-- evangelical, fundamentalist, religious right-- refer to the same thing. Most commentators on the movement hold on to that commonsense (yet false belief) that conservative religious beliefs nessarily imply conservative politics. Marty (1980) states: "The media's communicators do most evangelicals a disservice when they clump them with the NCR."

Examples of this faulty analysis are numerous. Deborah Huntington and Ruth Kaplan (1982), for instance, attempt to catalogue all Christian Right groups by listing all groups with an "evangelical" affiliation. Unfortunately, many of those evangelical groups and individuals listed are either neutral toward the New Right (e.g., Billy Graham) or totally opposed to it (e.g., John Alexander of Inter-Varsity Fellowship). Langman (1982) uses demographic information on fundamentalists as if the

information also the characterized NCRists. The usual demographic pro-
file characterizes "fundamentalists" as predominantly female, middle
aged, working class and Southern in residence (cf. Hunter, 1983). Actu-
ally, however, if Lorentzen's (1980) findings are reflective of the
whole NCR movement, those involved in the movement are demographically
quite different from "general fundamentalism". She describes a movement
dominated by college-educated males in their late 30's. In both the
above cases, as well as in many others, we see the analysts unknowingly
assuming that the labels for certain groups are synomous terms for the
same phenomena when actually upon closer view they are not. In order to
avoid these same problems we need to define what is meant by the terms
evangelical, fundamentalist, and New Christian Right.

EVANGELICALISM AND ITS DIVERSITY

Unlike what is commonly assumed, evangelicalism is not a homogeneous
movement. As Moberg (1975:149) states

> evangelicals come from a broad range of theological, denominational,
> historical, educational, cultural, ethnic, and other backgrounds, it
> is no wonder that they do not comprise a homogeneous segment of the
> population on anything other than the central tenets of faith which
> give them a distinctive identity in our pluralistic society. Even
> the faith position may be variously interpreted on the levels of
> implications for action, internalized subtleties of meaning and
> depths of conviction.

A September 15, 1980 Gallup poll published in Newsweek illustrates this
diversity in the realm of politics. Except for the issues of prayer in
school and abortion there is little difference between evangelicals and
the rest of the U.S. population on political questions. To make the
simplistic assumption, then, that all evangelicals are right-wing extre-

mists is to distort the facts and to present the group as less diverse than it really is.

Having said this, then, what are "evangelicals" and what does this diverse group hold in common? Evangelicals represent a multi-denominational religious tradition whose members adhere to the following conservative Protestant religious beliefs (Quebedeaux, 1978). They believe in:

(1) (T)he full authority of Scriptures in matters of faith and practice.
(2) (T)he necessity of personal faith in Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord (conversion)...[1]
(3) (T)he urgency of seeking conversion of sinful men and women to Christ (evangelism).

Beyond these common beliefs there is a diversity of overlapping groups within evangelicalism, dividing themselves on both "minor" theological doctrines and political, social and lifestyle issues. One such subgroup of evangelicalism is "fundamentalism".

FUNDAMENTALISTS

There are many characteristics which distinguish "fundamentalists" from "evangelicals" as a whole (Ammerman, 1982; Hill and Owens, 1982). Only four will be dealt with here-- (1) literalism, (2) anti-traditionalism, and (3) extreme separatism.

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1. Many evangelicals do not believe this process of conversion must be an instantaneous occurrence although many will say some type of turning point in one's life must occur which will lead to a gradual conversion. Others within the ranks believe the conversion is instantaneous.

LITERALISM

First, fundamentalists have a different view on how to interpret the Bible, holding to an extreme literalism (Ammerman, 1982). They believe the words and sentences of the Bible must be taken as literal truth with no regard to symbolic literary devices nor with any reference to what the words and sentences may have meant within the historical context in which they were written. This is a very different view from that held by many evangelicals. While both fundamentalists and evangelicals, for the most part, believe the Bible to be the infallible word of God with full authority over Christians, the evangelical may well believe that this "Word" may be expressed through symbolic means. To this person it is the message that is inerrant, not the literal incident being described in the passage. Also this same evangelical may realize that to truly understand a passage she or he must read it in its historical context. To illustrate this difference, it is only necessary to compare the way each might view the Creation story in the Bible. The fundamentalist would take the story as a literal account of how the world was formed and life created. Many evangelicals would be more concerned with the Gospel implications which God is relating through this story to those who are reading it (cf. Christianity Today, 1983).

SPIRITUALIZING

This is not to say that fundamentalists always interpret passages literally. When such interpretations conflict with their own cultural, social, and political views, more symbolic meanings may be used. The fundamentalists use a number of techniques for explaining away the lit-

eral meaning of a passage without giving up their literalist view of the Bible. First, they avoid translating a passage literally by spiritualizing it, that is, by taking a passage and viewing it as if it were presenting some spiritual symbolism. This is especially used in the Gospels. For example, fundamentalists often spiritualize what is known as the "Magnificat" (Luke 1:46-55)(Yoder, 1972:18). In one section this passage states

> He has shown strength with his arm,
> He has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts,
> He has put down the mighty from their thrones,
> And exalted those of low degree;
> He has filled the hungry with good things,
> And the rich he has sent away empty.

If interpreted literally, such a verse would clearly have radical political implications. However, such an interpretation would not fit well with a group that usually "sacralizes" capitalism. Therefore, the passage is taken to express spiritual truth, i.e. The hungry who are filled are the "spiritually" hungry.

DISPENSATIONAL THEOLOGY

A second technique used to avoid interpreting passages literally is what is known as dispensational theology. Very briefly, dispensational theology divides the history of the world into a number of different stages (or dispensations) each with its own cultural and spiritual laws and rules. What may be an appropriate behavior or religious practice in one stage may not be in the next. With such an assumption it is easy to avoid following literally the religious requirements of other times without denying the literalism of Bible. For example, the

glossolalia and economic communal sharing of the first-century church are seen as no longer applicable since this church was under a different dispensation.[2]

ANTI-TRADITIONALISM

The second manner in which fundamentalists differ from evangelicals is in fundamentalism's anti-traditionalism and anti-history perspective (Hill and Owen, 1982:85-86). Many evangelicals and most other Christian traditions see, for the most part, "the present as being conditioned by the events and forms of the past." These groups accept the fact that from the time of the first-century Christian church until now, some great theologians and philosophers have added to the understanding of the Christian message and that the addition of new rituals has improved worship. In general, they believe that God continues to some degree to reveal more knowledge of his likeness through the workings of their churches and through their continued study of the Bible. Fundamentalists not only reject this view but see it as a heresy. Hill and Owen (1982:85) describe this view with reference to one of the NCR's minister/leaders as follows.

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2. Another way in which fundamentalists view the Bible differently is in their use of "proof-texting". They take specific sentences and passages, sometimes out of their written contexts, to prove specific points of belief. An evangelical would more likely try to discern the meaning of a passage within the context it was written in. Examples of proof texting are abundant in the literature of the NCR. Falwell (1980:13), in his book Listen America, uses this technique to demonstrate that the free enterprise system is Biblically mandated. An even better example is the Moral Majority's nationally advertised Christian Bill of Rights where each amendment includes a corresponding Bible reference.

> Falwell represents yet another Protestant perspective in which the erosion and nurture of time is not felt... Church history- indeed, the whole life of the church- must count for naught as we equate two mystical moments, the earliest church and our congregation here and now. The notion of development is heretical from this perspective, for it suggests images of growth and increased understanding- concepts now in the lexicon of Darwinian evolution. Against a static model of the New Testament Church, all development constitutes deviance.

The view is held to such an extreme extent in some quarters of fundamentalism so that some fundamentalists (one I observed for this project) deny that fundamentalism has any historical connection with Luther, Calvin, or the Protestant Reformation in general. William Ward Ayer, a New York City radio evangelist of the 1950s, expressed the same beliefs.

> Fundamentalism represents a resurgence of ancient practices, which began not with Martin Luther but at Pentecost. Fundamentalism is apostolic and the doctrine of justification goes back to Paul. That branch from which the fundamentalist movement sprang lived obscurely through the ages had never been completely silenced even in the Dark Ages. (Gasper, 1963:2)

EXTREME SEPARATISM

The last distinguishing feature of fundamentalism to be mentioned here is its strict separatism (Ammerman, 1982:171). Fundamentalists take literally the Biblical admonition not to be unequally yoked, not only with reference to marriage but in every other relationship as well. In fact, the only time being in the company of non-fundamentalists is not discouraged is when the fundamentalist is attempting to "win the soul" (convert) of the "non-believer". This belief has resulted in, as Ammerman (1982:171) states, "distinctive fundamentalist lifestyles and in organizational isolation from the evangelical mainstream." Both of these results will prove important to our later analyses.

FUNDAMENTALISM VERSUS THE NCR AND NEW RIGHT

Let us now distinguish fundamentalism from the NCR. The NCR will simply be defined as a right-wing politico-religious movement of 1970s and 80s America made up mostly of politically active fundamentalists. The NCR then in this dissertation's usage, is a subgrouping of fundamentalism.[3]

I must also mention that in this dissertation that the term "New Right" will not be used as a synonym for NCR. There are many groups involved in this "new Conservatism" that do not identify themselves as fundamentalist (e.g., Richard Viguerie). Such groups have ties to the religious groups but the nature of these ties have not yet systematically been analyzed. One minor aim of this research will be to analyze this relationship.

Having differentiated between the NCR and other terms, I will now discuss what the NCR believes. In this section I will briefly outline the basics of New Christian Right ideology, taking most of this information from the works of Jerry Falwell. Falwell, pastor of the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg Virginia, is a chief spokesman for this movement having founded one of its major SMO's-- The Moral Majority. Although Falwell does not speak for the whole movement, his viewpoints are fairly representative of the movement.

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3. Although Catholics, Mormons, Jews and many broader base evangelicals are members of New Christian Right organizations they represent only a small percentage of the group, and hardly any of the leadership. (Zwier, 1982; Hill and Owen, 1982:31)

IDEOLOGY

The NCR sees present America as a chosen nation fallen from grace. Falwell states that America was a nation founded upon Christian principles. The Puritans "had come in search of a place where they could freely worship God and live in total commitment to His laws." (Falwell, 1980:30) The American Revolution was fought with and for Christian ideals. The Constitution of the United States was created after much prayer and meditation. While Falwell does not believe that all individuals involved in the founding of the nation were born-again Christians, he does believe they were all very much influenced by Christian principles.

According to the movement, America today has wandered away from these moral principles and so is experiencing decline. We have substituted for the divinely created free enterprise system, welfarism and socialism. In supporting the SALT talks and detente, we have become more concerned with security than with the eternal principles of freedom. We have made the government God instead of making it humankind's servant. We have substituted welfare programs and food stamps for the divinely inspired work ethic. Attacks by homosexuals, feminists, and "secular humanists" have been destroying the traditional family system ordained by God. At the same time, drug use and pornography have become widespread. To many members of the NCR, these are signs that America has forgotten its original calling.

Falwell says that there are four factors causing the economic and moral decline of America: secular humanism, centralization, increase in

moral decadence, and lack of Christian leadership. First, is the rise of secular humanism. Secular humanism, although somewhat vaguely defined, is thought of as a "No God" religion that puts its faith in humanity instead of God. It provides no universal authority or values and instead places final authority within each individual. The NCR believes that secular humanism leads to political and moral anarchy where everyone does his/her own thing without concern for anyone else. A nation in this state is vulnerable to totalitarian control.

Since secular humanism sees human beings as not being created in the image of God, reasons Falwell, it also relegates humankind to the level of animals. Since humanism centers on the self, it creates self-ish human beings unwilling to help each other. Secular humanism is destroying, in this movement's view, the Christian principles which have made America great. It is destroying the rules and regulations which have kept American society together and replaced them with anarchy, self-centeredness and apathy. (The Messenger, 1981:1)

Falwell identified three means by which secular humanists spread their "Satanic" philosophy: public education, television, and the popular arts. In stressing social and psychological growth instead of factual knowledge, public education socializes its students in humanistic values. Students learn no moral absolutes and instead are left to develop their own value systems. They enter the world with a value system that is relative and take with them ethics that are situational. According to Falwell(1981:192), "television is brainwashing children, young people, and adults to accept an amoral lifestyle." It reinforces

human beings' baser aspects, like sexual immorality and violence, while espousing the relativistic and self-centered philosophy of the humanists. The popular arts, especially rock music, do the same.[4]

The second factor responsible for the decline of American society according the NCR is the centralization of government. This centralization is contrary to what the Founding Fathers' imagined government to be. They saw government as a servant of the people while centralization has made it the American people's God. We have exchanged the divinely inspired free enterprise system for an all-embracing government; welfarism for self initiative; Divine Providence for the super-state. The result has been a decline in productivity and the work ethic. Centralization has produced an apathetic nation which depends on the state for all its needs instead of on God and the nation's own initiative.

The third factor has been the increase in moral decadence. As Falwell states

> We are quickly moving toward an amoral society where nothing is either absolutely right or absolutely wrong. Our absolutes are disappearing, and with this disappearance we must face the sad fact that our society is crumbling.

This moral decadence is the root of all America's problems, from juvenile delinquency to lagging defense spending, from abortion to infla-

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4. According to many NCR leaders, one of the ways rock musicians are spreading humanistic philosophy is through "back-masking" messages on their records. The musicians are allegedly recording messages backwards when they tape their music. These messages are supposedly not caught by the conscious mind which would normally block-out such subversive, subliminal messages if heard in the normal direction. However, the messages are understood by the unconscious mind which acts upon this information, leading to a whole assortment of perverted, "Satanic" behaviors.

tion.

Lastly, according to the leaders of the NCR, America's decline is due to a crisis in leadership.

> The drift into purposelessness of secular humanism, the apathy created by a centralized government, and the loss of a positive moral direction in our society has led to a sense of national lostness. Tragically, there is a lack of leaders to grasp the situation and lead us out of this morass of uncertainty. (Webber, 1981:44)

For America to return to its greatness it needs Christian leadership. According to Falwell, America needs people who will bring us back "to the principles this country was founded upon" (i.e., "Biblical principles"). For this to happen, the Christian citizen and church must become politically active and vote this leadership into office.

SUMMARY

In this section I have examined some of the terms often used as synonyms in discussions of the NCR. I have defined evangelical using Quebedeaux's criterion. Fundamentalists are a subgroup of evangelicals who can be distinguished from the evangelical by their extreme separatism, anti-traditionalsim and their extreme literalism in interpreting the Bible. The NCR is made up mostly of politically active fundamentalists who hold a politically conservative ideology legitimated by a Christian fundamentalist theology.

LIFESTYLE CONCERN AND FUNDAMENTALISM

The aim of this chapter is to test the following hypotheses pertaining to Lifestyle Concern and NCR.

(1) The NCR is the result of increased lifestyle concerns in Sunbelt fundamentalism.

(2) These lifestyle concerns are the result of Snowbelt migration into the Sunbelt. These will be tested using regression and correlation techniques to analyze a content analysis of fundamentalist publications between 1955 and 1980.

SAMPLING STRATEGY

A sample of seven fundamentalist publications (see Appendix I) were selected out of the "Religion and Theology" section of The Standard Periodical Directory 7th edition. The following four criteria were used to make this selection.

(1) The publication identifies itself as fundamentalist in its description in the Directory, or it is published and/or distributed by a fundamentalist organization (e.g., Jacob's Religious List).

(2) The periodical must have been in publication from 1955 to 1980 since

this is the time period under study.

(3) The publication must not be a specialized magazine but geared to a general fundamentalist audience. Publications which focus specifically on a certain topic, or are written for a certain group of people were eliminated. For example, the publication _Railroad Evangelist_ was not chosen since it is written specifically for those interested in evangelizing railroad workers.

(4) Each publication must have a circulation of 50,000 or more. This avoids skewing the results with smaller publications which do not actually represent much influence.

A proportional stratified sample[1] of issues was taken from this group of publications. A random sample of 16 issues was chosen for each year. Half were taken from publications published in the Sunbelt and the other half from the Snowbelt. This will yield a total sample size of 416. Of this total sample, 359 publications were analyzed.

VARIABLES MEASURED

The following are the variables measured from the above sample of issues.

(1) The place of publication coded as either Sunbelt or Snowbelt. The

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1. 'In a stratified sample we divide all individuals into groups or categories and then select independent samples within each group or stratum.'(Blalock, 1972:516) This assures that no category of individuals is over or under represented. In this case, in order to assure a reasonable amount of cases for each year, each year will be treated as an independent sample in which 16 cases were chosen.

Sunbelt consists of those states which fall into the Census categories of South and West.[2] The Snowbelt consists of all other states.

(2) The number of articles in each issue. Regular columns (e.g., Regular Bible Study lessons), sections and features (e.g., crossword puzzles) were not included in this number.

(3) The number of articles whose major theme deals specifically with politics. In practical terms, this means counting the number of articles within an issue that make explicit reference, within the title or thesis paragraph of the article, to any of the various processes and issues pertaining to the state such as political campaigns, elections, legislative action, and judicial activities. Although such an operational definition will eliminate many articles dealing with politics, the results should not be hurt since our aim is not to count the absolute number of political articles but to observe the trends within fundamentalism from year to year.

(4) The view expressed in each political article, if any, toward fundamentalist involvement in political activities.[3]

(5) The number of articles whose major theme is concern over lifestyle

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2. The Southern states are Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississppi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. The Western states consist of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, California, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, Colorado, Alaska and Hawaii.

3. In the view of many writers, fundamentalisms recent political involvement represents a behavioral and attitudinal shift on the part of this group. Pre-seventies fundamentalism frowned on any "official" church organization taking political action (see Moberg, 1972).

threats. This was operationalized as any article that explicitly states within its title or thesis paragraph that certain societal trends pose a threat to the lifestyle of fundamentalists or Americans in general. Lifestyle, according to Zurcher et al (1971), "refers to the system of values, customs and habits distinctive to a ... group."

(6) A listing of the political issues the article mentions.

(7) Year of Publication.

(8) Publication.

Three dependent variables were created from this data. The first variable, representing a measure of lifestyle concern, is the percentage of articles in an issue on lifestyle concern. This was created by dividing the number of lifestyle concern articles in an issue by the number of articles. The second variable, representing political concern, is the percentage of articles in an issue on politics. This was created by dividing the number of political articles in an issue by the number of articles. The last variable is the percentage of articles that call fundamentalists to take political action. These last two variables, while not strictly helping us in testing our hypotheses, will be used to serve as general indicators of fundamentalist concern. If it proves that lifestyle concern was not a motivating factor in NCR mobilization, this still does not mean some other social psychological motivation was not behind the movement. These variables may serve as a general indicator of such motivations.

Besides the above variables, various national contextual variables have also been matched to each case according to year. The following

national indicators will be used.

(1) Consumer Price Index (ConPrice).

(2) Consumer Price Index (lagged 1 year) (ConPrice1)- Since the effects of some national trends are not seen or manifested in the same year of their occurence it is necessary to discover their effects by lagging their values by a few years. This will be done with many of the national contextual variables used in this research.

(3) Consumer Price Index (lagged 2 years) (ConPrice2)

(4) Homicide Rate (HomRate)

(5) Homicide Rate (lagged 1 year) (HomRate1)

(6) Homicide Rate (lagged 2 Years) (HomRate2)

(7) Net Migration to Sunbelt (NetMigSun)

(8) Unemployment Rate (Unemp)

(9) Unemployment Rate (lagged 1 year) (Unemp1)

(10) Unemployment Rate (lagged 2 years) (Unemp2)

(11) Presidential Election year? 1=yes 0=no. (PresElect)

(12) Party of President. 1=Democrat 0=Republican. (PartPres)

(13) Gross Average Weekly Earnings of Production or Nonsupervisory Workers on Private Non-Agricultural Payrolls. (Constant) (GAWE)

(14) Above variable lagged 1 year (GAWE1)

(15) Above variable lagged 2 years (GAWE2)

(16) Median Family Income (MedFam)

(17) Median Family Income (lagged 1 year) (MedFam1)

(18) Median Family Income (lagged 2 years) (MedFam2)

(19) Percentage of Total Population Under Poverty Level (%ToPov)

(20) Above variable lagged 1 year (%ToPov1)

(21) Above variable lagged 2 years (%ToPov2)

TESTING THE PLC HYPOTHESES

The first of the PLC hypotheses will be tested by examining the changes in lifestyle and political concern in fundamentalist publications. If there is an increase in lifestyle concern in the Sunbelt and not in the Snowbelt in the time preceding and during the rise of the NCR, we may accept the hypothesis. Any other result may mean that increased lifestyle concerns was not an important factor giving rise to the NCR. Such results may substantiate resource mobilizations contention that social movements and their organizations do not arise from increased grievances or social psychological discontent in a population.

If the above hypothesis is accepted, it is necessary to examine, as hypothesis two queried, whether the above patterns of lifestyle concern are the result of Sunbelt migration. To examine this hypothesis, two types of data analyses must be done. The first step calls for seeing whether the lifestyle concern measures of Sunbelt publications collected in the content analysis covary with migration rates to the Sunbelt. To do this, it is necessary to conceive of the content data as macro-phenomenon, a fairly common practice (e.g., Gosta, Dahlberg and Rosengren, 1981; Inglis, 1938; Davis, 1952; Beniger, 1978), so that they can be compared with the pattern of another macro-phenomenon (migration to the Sunbelt.) If the migration rates are positively related to lifestyle concern at a significantly high level while the other macro-

rates are not than we will go to the next step. If lifestyle concern is not related to the migration rate, I will reject hypothesis two. Secondly, it is necessary to determine whether there really is a significant difference between the values, beliefs, and attitudes of native Sunbelters and newly arrived Sunbelters from the Snowbelt, since it is the contrast between lifestyles which is the cause of status concerns. This comparison can be done using the General Social Survey (1972-1978). Through various items pertaining to place of residence now and in the past, it is possible to divide this data into two groups-- those who have always lived in the Sunbelt (native Sunbelters), and those who moved into the Sunbelt from the Snowbelt after age 16. The above two groups can be compared in their responses to political, social, religious, and moral questions asked in the survey using contingency table analysis. If the two groups are significantly different, and the native Sunbelters are found to be more conservative, I will accept hypothesis two. Any other result will cause the rejection of the hypothesis.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

TESTING THE LINEAR RELATIONSHIP

The first step in testing the PLC hypotheses is to discover whether linear trends can be found in lifestyle concern, political concern, and calls for political action. (I am attempting to find if any of these variables increase over time.) This will be done by placing each of these dependent variables into separate regressions with the independent variable YEAR and to perceive if the independent variable accounts for a statistically and theoretically significant proportion of

explained variance in the dependent variables.

Table 2 contains the necessary statistics to examine the above relationship over all areas of the country. As can be seen, none of the three models shows any type of linear trend in the dependent variables. All have R squares below .01, indicating that YEAR accounts for little or none of the variance in either Lifestyle Concern, Political Concern, or Calls for Political Action. Furthermore, none of the three models produced statistically significant relationships.

TABLE 2

Regressions of Dependent Variables on Year

(All Regions)

Dependent Variable	R^2	F-Value	Significance
Lifestyle Concern	.0014	.508	n.s.
Political Concern	.0000	.001	n.s.
Political Action	.0001	.05	n.s.

These same patterns exist when we examine these relationships by region of the U.S. In Table 3, we see the relationships for Snowbelt publications. As in the above table, none of the models produce a sta-

tistically significant relationsip. The R squares are again all under

.01. As with the "All Regions" relationships, the percent of articles

expressing lifestyle concern, political concern, and calls for political

action have not significantly increased or decreased in a linear way in

the Snowbelt.

TABLE 3

Regressions of Dependent Variables on YEAR

(Snowbelt Publications)

Dependent Variables	R^2	F-Value	Significance
Lifestyle Concern	.004	.822	n.s.
Political Concern	.0004	.08	n.s.
Political Action	.0009	.19	n.s.

In the Sunbelt the relationship is just the same (see Table 4).

YEAR still does not account for a statistically significant amount of

variance. R squares range from .0001 to .0047 with none having a sig-

nificant F-value. The data in these three tables seem to indicate that

a significant linear trend in lifestyle concern, political concern, and

calls for political action does not exist in these publications even

within regions.

TABLE 4

Regressions of Dependent Variables on YEAR

(Sunbelt Publications)

Dependent Variables	R^2	F-Value	Significance
Lifestyle Concern	.0001	.012	n.s.
Political Concern	.0041	.615	n.s.
Political Action	.0007	.561	n.s.

TESTING THE CURVILINEAR RELATIONSHIP

Although a linear relationship was not found between the three dependent variables and Year this does not mean that a relationship does not exist. It is possible that curvilinear relationships exists instead. What I will do now is use regression analysis to test for these non-linear relationships.

To test for a curvilinear relationship, it is necessary to add in successive steps successive powers of the independent variable into a model already containing the original independent variable. At each

step, one tests "whether a higher degree polynomial adds significantly to the variance of the dependent variable." (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973:209) One ends the process at the last step where a significant increment of variance can be explained. "The highest power to which the independent variable is raised indicates the degree of polynomial."(Kerlinger and Pedazur, 1973:209) It also indicates the number of "bends" (n-1) that exist in the regression curve. Thus, a curvilinear regression model, whose highest power is the second, will have one bend in it. Once the final model is discovered, it is possible to plot its regression curve using its polynomial equation.

In Table 5 we see the results of a regression done on the three dependent variables, and, YEAR and YEAR squared for all publications. As can be seen, YEAR squared does not add a statistically significant increment of explained variance to the models containing Lifestyle Concern and Political Action as the dependent variables. This means that no curvilinear trend exists over time in lifestyle concern or calls for political action in the publications as a whole. However, YEAR squared does add a significant increment to the model containing political concern. The addition of YEAR squared adds close to .02 to the R squared which is significant at the .01 level. The next step then, is to see if YEAR taken to the third power adds a significant amount of variance to the model containing the dependent variable political concern and the independent variables YEAR and YEAR squared.

Table 6 presents the results of the Cubic model. As this Table shows, YEAR cubed does not add significantly to the variance. YEAR

TABLE 5

Regression of Dependent Var. on YEAR and YEAR Squared

(All Publications)

Dependent Variable	Total R^2	Increment of Total R squared Added by YEAR squared	F-Value of Increment	Sign. of Increm.
Lifestyle Concern	.0017	.0003	.603	n.s.
Political Concern	.0179	.0179	8.95	.01
Political Action	.0019	.0018	.64	n.s.

cubed adds only .0028 to the total R squared and this value yields an F-value of 1 which is not statistically significant. Statistically speaking, this means that the previous model containing only YEAR and YEAR squared is a better model. However, does this mean that a theoretically important curvilinear trend exists in political concern? Not necessarily. Although YEAR squared did add a statistically significant increment in the Political Concern model, the total amount of variance explained by the model in Table 5 is still relatively weak. Only around 2% of the variance in Political Concern is explained by YEAR and YEAR

squared. Therefore, while YEAR squared's increment may be statistically significant it is hardly theoretically significant. Like the other two models tested in Table 5, no important curvilinear trends can be found in Political Concern over all publications.

TABLE 6

Political Concern on YEAR, YEAR Squared, YEAR Cubed

(All Publications)

	Total R^2	Increment of Total R squared Added by YEAR Cubed	F-Value of Increment	Significance of Increment
Political Concern	.0207	.0028	1.00	n.s.

A similar pattern of relationships was found when I tested for curvilinear relationships in Snowbelt publications (see Table 7). In each of the three models, YEAR squared does not add a significant amount of explained variance to the original linear models. No more successive steps will then be necessary. So like in the above cases, it is safe to conclude that no significant trend in either lifestyle concern, political concern, or calls for political action exists in the fundamentalist Snowbelt publications.

In the Sunbelt the relationships are different (Table 8). Year squared does not add a statistically significant increment to either the

TABLE 7

Regressions of Dependent Var. on YEAR and YEAR squared

(Snowbelt Publications)

Dependent Variable	Total R^2	Increment of Total R squared Added By YEAR Squa.	F-Value of Increment	Significance of Increment
Lifestyle Concern	.0052	.0012	.244	n.s.
Political Concern	.0147	.0143	2.97	n.s.
Political Action	.0057	.0048	.98	n.s.

lifestyle concern model or the political action model. However, like in Table 5, Year squared does add a significant amount of variance to the political concern model. The increment is statistically significant at the .01 level. As in the previous case, the next step is to add Year taken to the third power to this model.

In Table 9, we find that YEAR CUBED does not add siginificantly to the Political Concern model containing YEAR and YEAR SQUARED. Therefore, the model having YEAR and YEAR SQUARED is the best model. But again, does this mean this is a theoretically significant model? The

TABLE 8

Regressions of Dependent Vars. on YEAR and YEAR SQUARED

(Sunbelt Publications)

Dependent Variable	Total R^2	Increment of Total R- square Added by Year Squared	F-Value of Increment	Significance of Increment
Lifestyle Concern	.0064	.0063	.926	n.s.
Political Concern	.0497	.0488	7.50	.01
Political Action	.0007	.0006	.882	n.s.

answer is no. As in Table 5, although YEAR SQUARED's addition to variance has statistical significance, the total R squared for the model in Table 8 is not very large. YEAR and YEAR SQUARED only account for approximately 5% of the variance in political concern, leaving 95% of its variance unexplained. Such a small amount of explained variance hardly indicates a theoretically important relationship between the variables. Therefore, for all practical purposes, we can conclude that no important trend exist in political concern between 1955 and 1980 in Sunbelt publications.

TABLE 9

Political Concern on YEAR,YEAR SQUARED,YEAR CUBED

(Sunbelt Publications)

	Total R^2	Increment of Total R Squared Added by YEAR Cubed	F-Value of Increment	Significance of Increment
Political Concern	.0633	.0136	2.125	n.s.

What can be concluded from these trend analyses? That no significant temporal trend in either lifestyle concern, political concern, or calls for political action existed in fundamentalism between 1955 and 1980 in the nation as a whole or within the Snowbelt or the Sunbelt. Such a results means that I must reject my first hypothesis. The NCR was not preceded nor caused by increasing lifestyle concern in the Sunbelt.

FUNDAMENTALIST DISCONTENT AND THE CONTEXTUAL VARIABLES

Since I have rejected the first hypothesis, a detailed examination of the relationships between the dependent variables and contextual variables is unnecessary. The above findings have already called into question the hypothesis that lifestyle concern is responsible for the NCR. A detailed examination of the contextual variables and lifestyle

concern would therefore, tell us about the nature of lifestyle concern in fundamentalism, not about the nature of the NCR which is my concern. As such, only an examination of the relationships over all publications will be done.

Tables 10 and 11 present two correlation matrices for these relationships over all publications. As is indicated in these tables, the relationships between the dependent variables and these other variables are rather weak. Only the relationship between Net Migration to the Sunbelt (NetMigSun) and Political Concern, and the Unemployment Rate lagged two years (Unemp2) and Political Concern show statistically significant relationships (.05 level) (see Table 10). Even these relationships are rather weak with the contextual variables accounting for only 1% of the variance in each relationship. Irrespective of these weak relationships, it is interesting to note that NetMigSun is related to Political Concern and not Lifestyle Concern as hypothesized. Also the weak relationship that does exist between the Unemployment Rate lagged two years and Political Concern is a <u>negative</u> relationship. This means that political concern in fundamentalist publications increases slightly as the unemployment rate decreases-- not what one would expect. Since the unemployment rate lagged two years increased on the average between 1970 and 1979, the years most NCR SMO's were founded, political concern should have decreased by a very slight level as well in this period. However, because the NCR did arise in this period, one would expect not a decrease in political concern but an increase. So while the Unemployment Rate may help us slightly in predicting fundamentalist political

concern it does not help understand the rise of the NCR.

CONCLUSION AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

As is evident the following analysis has yielded some unexpected results. Instead of finding, as Lorentzen (1980) and Zwier (1982) have implied, rising levels of lifestyle concern, political concern, and calls for political action among fundamentalists we find that from 1955 to 1980 these social psychological variables remained relatively steady. Also, all three variables do not covary with Sunbelt migration. This does not mean that fundamentalists do not feel lifestyle or political concern today, but rather the level of these concerns is no higher than before the development of the NCR and so therefore they can not be used to explain the appearance of the movement. For these reasons we must reject the two hypotheses presented in this chapter and look elsewhere for an explanation of this social movement.

These results do have a number of theoretical implications for the study of social movements. First, the thesis presented by Lipset and Raab (1973), among others, that the rise of right-wing extremist movements can be accounted for with reference to status or lifestyle threats, is questionable, at least in the case of the NCR. When a proper research design is used we see that the conclusions Lorentzen (1980) reached regarding the relationship between lifestyle concern and the political mobilization of the NCR do not exist. This does not mean that the present members of the NCR do not feel lifestyle concern but that the degree of lifestyle concern is no higher now than any time in the recent past.

Secondly and more generally, the fact that all three dependent variables remained steady thoughout the time period studied, tends to support the resource mobilization approach's contention that increased discontent and concern cannot account for the rise of a social movement. These results seem to support the findings of other researchers (e.g. Portes, 1971) who have concluded that the social psychological approaches are inadequate for explaining social movements. At least with reference to the NCR, such an approach does not offer us much in the way of understanding social movement phenomena.

Thirdly, the following analysis warns us of the dangers of using social movement ideology in judging member motivation (cf. Wallis, 1975). Although the leader rhetoric and movement ideology claim that the NCR grew out of increased discontent, lifestyle concern, and political concern (see Falwell 1980; Viguerie, 1980), our results indicate no that such trends have existed. While the study of ideology adds an important facet to our understanding of social movements, we must not use it like Zwier (1982), as direct indicator of member motivation. Social movement ideology has other functions (e.g., legitimation) which may not be compatible to accurate analysis.

If the above analysis has not helped us account for the New Christian Right where then shall we look for answers? One possible area is in the relationship of the pre-existent social network with possible resource sources and with their more general societal environment. The next four chapters will attempt to examine these relationships.

TABLE 10

Correlations of Dependent on Contextual Variables (1)

(All Publications-Part 1)

Contextual Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Lifestyle Concern	Political Concern	Political Action
ConPrice	-.03	-.05	-.01
ConPrice1	-.03	-.05	-.01
ConPrice2	-.03	-.06	-.01
HomRate	-.02	.08	.04
HomRate1	-.02	.06	.03
HomRate2	-.02	.02	.02
NetMigSun	-.01	.10 *	-.03
Unemp	-.02	.06	-.01
Unemp1	-.04	-.01	-.04
Unemp2	-.07	-.11 *	-.07

* Significant at the .05 level

TABLE 11

Correlations of Dependent on Contextual Variables(2)

(All Publications- Part 2)

Contextual Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Lifestyle Concern	Political Concern	Political Action
PresElect	.01	-.07	.04
PartPres	-.06	-.10	-.08
GAWE	-.05	-.01	.00
GAWE1	-.03	-.04	-.01
GAWE2	-.03	-.04	-.01
MedFam	-.04	.08	.05
MedFam1	-.03	.06	.04
MedFam2	-.03	.05	.02
%ToPov	.02	.02	-.02
%ToPov1	-.04	.00	-.05
%ToPov2	.01	.04	-.09

No significant relationships

CHAPTER IV

THE NCR SOCIAL NETWORK:A METHODOLOGICAL CHAPTER

Before the questions pertaining to the preexistent social network can be answered, I must first ascertain what the New Christian Right network looked like in 1980. From this "picture" I will attempt to discover what preexistent networks could account for this structure.

To deliniate the 1980 social network structure of the New Christian Right I will use what network analysts have called the Structural Equivalence approach. This approach partitions network actors into subgroups and examines the linkages between subgroups by aggregating these actors into groups according to the degree the actors hold a common set of ties to other system actors.(Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982:59) This approach will be operationalized by computing continuous distance measures for a group of NCR leaders and spatially representing these scores using multidimensional scaling. The continuous distance score is a measure of the dissimilarity between a pair of actors in their relations to others within the network. This approach and its operationalization will become more apparent as I take a step-by-step examination of the 1980 subgroup structure of the New Christian Right.

THE DATA

A list of major NCR leaders along with their organizational affil-iations will be used for this analysis. Fortunately, Huntington and Kaplan (1982) have already created such a list. The list, however, is not perfect since it includes names not affiliated or supporting the NCR (e.g., John Alexander of Inter Varsity Fellowship) and omits the names of fairly important leaders (Terry Dolan). The Huntington and Kaplan list has therefore been supplemented by information collected from vari-ous New Right organizations (see Appendix B).

The reader should notice that a few of those individuals listed by Huntington and Kaplan but who are not really affiliated with the NCR have been kept in this analysis because of their nonetheless close ties with various New Right leaders (e.g., Graham and Mooneyham). Including such leaders may help us in interpreting the configuration that is later found as well as highlight the shady boundary between the NCR and other conservative religious groups.

MATRIX REPRESENTATION OF NETWORK RELATIONS

The first step in my analysis was to take the information col-lected about the NCR leaders and their organizational affiliations and create a matrix algebraic representation of the interlocking membership relations between members (c.f. Forsyth and Katz, 1946; Festinger, 1949). The constructed matrix (see Table 16) simply indicates whether each pair of leaders belongs to one or more of the same organizations. (Because of the size of Table 16 (55x55) it has been located in Appendix C) If a link exists between two leaders a value of one is placed in the

cell which intersects the two leaders. If no link exists a zero is placed in the cell.

A number of statistics can be calculated from this matrix. First, the density of the network can be calculated. The density is the proportion of all network ties divided by the number of all possible ties. Density scores may range from 0 to 1. The higher the score the more interconnected are the network actors. In the the matrix we see the density to be .24, a relatively small score which may indicate a relatively loosely connected network. This score will play a part in my later analysis.

Another statistic which has been calculated for each actor is an index of network centrality. This is simply the number ties an actor has with other actors divided by all links within the network. The higher the value, the more linkages the actor has with other actors. This, and other measures of network centrality, have been viewed by many researchers as valuable indicators of the importance of an actor to a network (Burt, 1983; Knoke and Burt, 1983; Cook, 1982). Marsden and Laumann (1977:217) see it as a measurement of an aspect of power. Those with more links with others in a network tend to be more central to the network, have more people dependent on them, control the flow of more resources and information and thus have more power. The centrality ratings for NCR leaders range from a low of .002 for both Billings(Sr.) and Van Andel of Amway to a high of .09 for Richard Viguerie the "king of direct mailers" (not unexpected).

These centrality scores uncover some interesting findings. First,

it seems to show that, despite what the media have stated, the so-called tele-evangelists have not been, with reference to network linkages, overly important to the NCR. Of the four teleevangelists (Falwell, Robertson, Robison, and Bakker) included in the matrix, only Robertson (who later left the movement) is above .04. Interestingly enough, the most well known of the T.V. preachers, Jerry Falwell, scored only a .02. These results may indicate that Falwell and the other electronic preachers are really not the leaders of this movement but simply the most visible "aspect" of the movement to the news media. Their perceived importance may simply be due to their media visibility and not to any actual power or leadership.

A second interesting result is the relatively high centrality score of individuals not usually mentioned in discussions of the New Christian Right. Especially surprising is Bill Bright's (founder of Campus Crusade and creator of the Here's Life, America evangelistic campaign) .07 score. Bright is very rarely mentioned in articles about the New Christian Right yet, except for Viguerie and conservative author Russ Walton, no one has a centrality rating as high or higher. As Huntington and Kaplan (1982) have stated, more study must be done on Bright's role in the movement which, I will do in a later chapter. I will show how Bright's organization, Campus Crusade for Christ, was "used" as a starting point for some political organizing which later on became valuable to the NCR.

While the above matrix analysis has offered us some interesting results, it cannot at this point tell us all that is necessary for

understanding the NCR network system. The preceding has only showed us the linkages between individual actors within the entire system. For my purposes, however, it is not only necessary to view this but to partition this network into its subgroups and to identify the relations (or the lack of them) between these subgroups. The matrix just created will serve as the basis for this sectioning.

STRUCTURAL EQUIVALENCE AND CONTINUOUS DISTANCE

Knoke and Kuklinski (1982) identify two approaches for identifying the subgroups (or positions)[1] within a social network. The first is the social cohesion approach which places individuals together into groups to the degree that they hold ties to each other (Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982:19). The second, structural equivalence, aggregates actors "into a jointly occupied position or role to the extent that they have a common set of linkages to the other actors in the system."(Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982:20) While the first approach judges the existence of a subgroup based on the degree of common ties within a subgroup, the second partitions system actors into groups based on the similarity of their ties to other actors.

Both of these approaches to subgroup partitioning may lead to slightly different results. The researcher, thus, cannot choose to use one or the other simply as a matter of personal preference. The choice must be determined by the research questions the analyst is asking and

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1. Positions are defined by Knoke and Kuklinski (1982:18) as "subgroups within a network defined by the relations that connect empirical actors together."

the assumptions s/he is making. It is not important to outline all the differences between the two approaches here (see Burt, 1978). It is only important to state here that the structural equivalence approach will be used here in this study because the social cohesion approach offers no methods for discovering the linkages between subgroups which this analysis needs. Identifying such linkages will offer possible important information on the development of this NCR network from preexistent structures.

Structural equivalence can be operationalized by calculating continuous distance scores for each pair of actors and subjecting these scores to multidimensional scaling, thus obtaining a graphic representation of the subgroup structure of the social network under study. The continuous distance score is a measure of the dissimilarity between a pair of actors in their relations to others within the network. These scores can be calculated from the matrix in Table 16 using the following formula.

$$d_{ij} = d_{ji} = \sqrt{\sum_{q=1}(z_{iq} - z_{jq})^2 + (z_{qi} - z_{qj})^2}$$

where $(z_{iq} - z_{jq})$ is the difference between two actors in the relations they initiate with a third actor... and $(z_{qi} - z_{qj})$ is the discrepancy in relations received from a third actor. (Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982:61)

The higher the value, the more dissimilar the pair are in their links to other actors. It is important to note that the above calculation

assumes that the data being calculated take into account the direction of the relationship between the actors (e.g., who initiated the contact) and that the matrix used displays the direction in column versus row scores. My data do not measure the direction of the relationship. Such a difference will not, however, affect the usefulness of the scores calculated. (cf. Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982)

Table 17 gives the distance scores for each pair of actors. (Because of the size of Table 17 it has been located in Appendix D.) They range from a 1.41 score between Graham and Bakker, and Gimenez and Bakker to the 9.06 score Richard Viguerie holds with two other actors.

These continuous distance scores can be used to create a graphic representation of this network and its structurally equivalent subgroups by subjecting them to multidimensional scaling.

> Multidimensional scaling (MDS) is a useful mathematical tool that enables us to represent the similarities (and dissimilarities) of objects spatially as in a map... MDS procedures represent objects judged experimentally similar to one another as points close to each other in resultant spatial map. Objects judged to be dissimilar are represented as points distant from one another. (Schiffman, Reynolds and Young, 1981:9)

The resultant map can be in any number of dimensional space, that is, any number of coordinate axes can be used to represent the stimulus space. The final result may then be interpreted by the researcher who attempts to discover the "hidden" structure causing the pattern. Multidimensional techniques have been used in a number of network analysis studies (see Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982).

The first step in multidimensional scaling is to choose the number of coordinate axes (dimensions) to solve for. The overall consideration

in determining the number is explaining the most amount of information with the least amount of dimensions. A number of criteria are involved in this determination. First, a maximum level of dimensions can be determined by dividing the number of stimuli by 4. In this case I should solve for no more than 14 dimensions (55 divided by 4), a rather large maximum level. Fortunately, no studies have used this many dimensions. Such a solution would be almost impossible to interpret.

A second criterion for determining the proper dimensional solution is to plot the stress value (a goodness-of-fit statistic which decreases as a better solution is reached) for each dimensional solution by the dimensions--Scree Test. This value will normally decrease with increasing dimensionality. What I am looking for in this plot is the point at which an increase in dimension does not add a significant increase in goodness-of-fit (decrease in stress). In more practical terms, I am looking for that point where the stress by dimensions line flattens out, since at this point the best dimensional solution should be found.

In my data this point is fairly obvious as both Figure 1 and Table 12 show. As can be seen, the differences between the stresses for the 1 and 2, and 2 and 3 dimensional solutions are fairly large, indicating that the addition of dimensions 2 and 3 adds significantly to the goodness-of-fit of our solutions. However, the difference between 3 and 4 is quite small. Although the 4th dimension decreases the stress value, indicating a better solution, the small size of this decrease may not be worth the loss of parsimony. It would therefore seem from this Scree test that the three dimensional solution would be the best solution to

solve for.

The last criterion for determining the appropriate dimensional solution is its ease of use. As is obvious, anything over a three-dimensional solution is difficult for us "three dimensional beings" to conceptualize. Therefore, the analyst must take into consideration his/her own limitations when determining the appropriate solution. Fortunately, the ease-of-use criterion will not come into play here since the three-dimensional solution found in the Scree test is quite easy to conceptualize. The distance scores, therefore, will be subjected to a three-dimensional solution.

INTERPRETING THE GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION

The usual procedure for interpreting a multidimensional map is to look for the "hidden" axes existing in the data on which the stimuli points will fall in some order, representing the degree to which these points hold certain properties. The "invisible" axes represent the dimension or factor effecting the stimuli. Often, however, especially in network analysis, this type of interpretation scheme is not possible or even desired, even though the map does yield useful results. In reference to network analysis, the concern is with the subgroup clustering of the stimuli and not with discovering underlying dimensions.(Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982; Schiffman et al., 1981:13)

Figure 2 is the graphic representation of a three-dimensional solution for the distance scores. The figure is plotted in two dimensions with the coordinates of the third in parentheses besides each point. Each point represents one leader. The closer the leaders are

ILLUSTRATION 1:   Scree Test
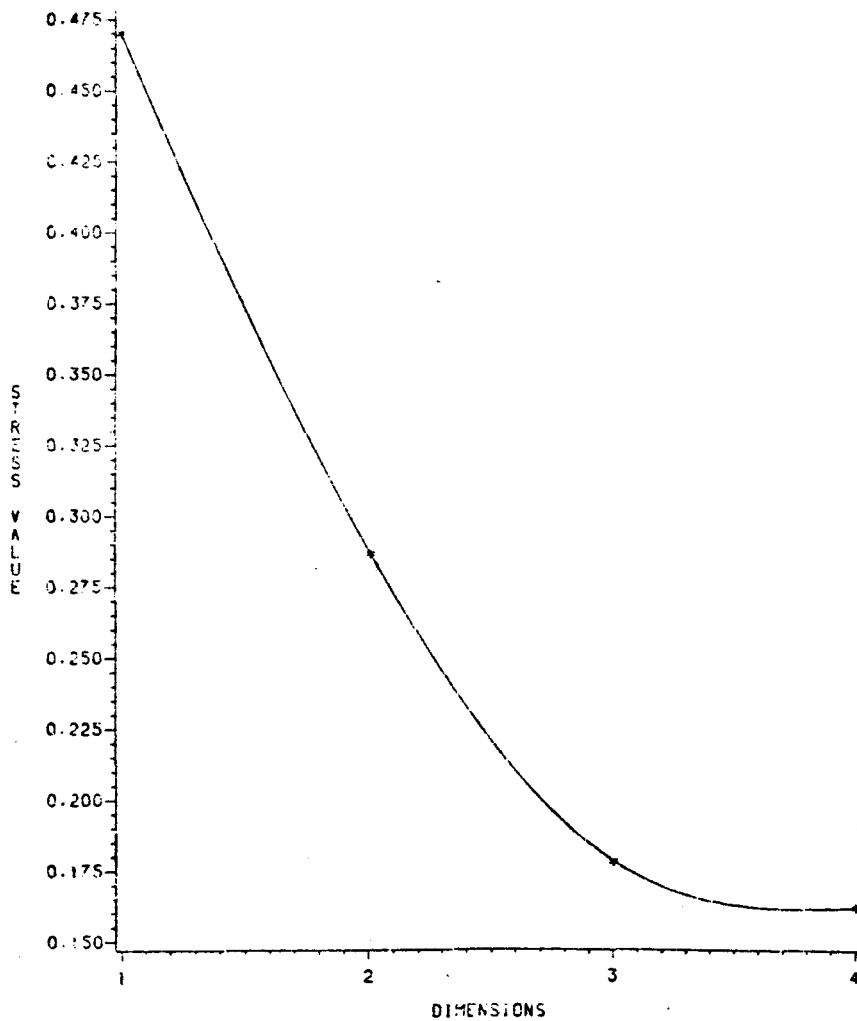
TABLE 12

Stress by Dimensions

Dimensions

	1	2	3	4
Stress	.47	.286	.178	.162

together the more similar the leaders are in their ties to other leaders.

As can be seen, atleast seven groups can be identified in Table 13. Notice that a few leaders included in the analysis do not fall within any of these groups.

The first group (Group I) seems to be made up of rather wealthy financial supporters of many fundamentalist and evangelical projects particularly those projects of Bill Bright. The group includes Richard DeVos, president and co-founder of AMWAY, Nelson Bunker Hunt, a member of the National Governing Board of the John Birch Society, and John G. Talcott of Ocean Spray Cranberry Company.

In Group II I found religious leaders with close ties to the more general evangelical movement (as indicated by the inclusion of such non-New Right individuals as Mooneyham and Graham). All in this group participated in some capacity in the Washington for Jesus demonstration

ILLUSTRATION 2: Multidimensional Representation of NCR Leaders
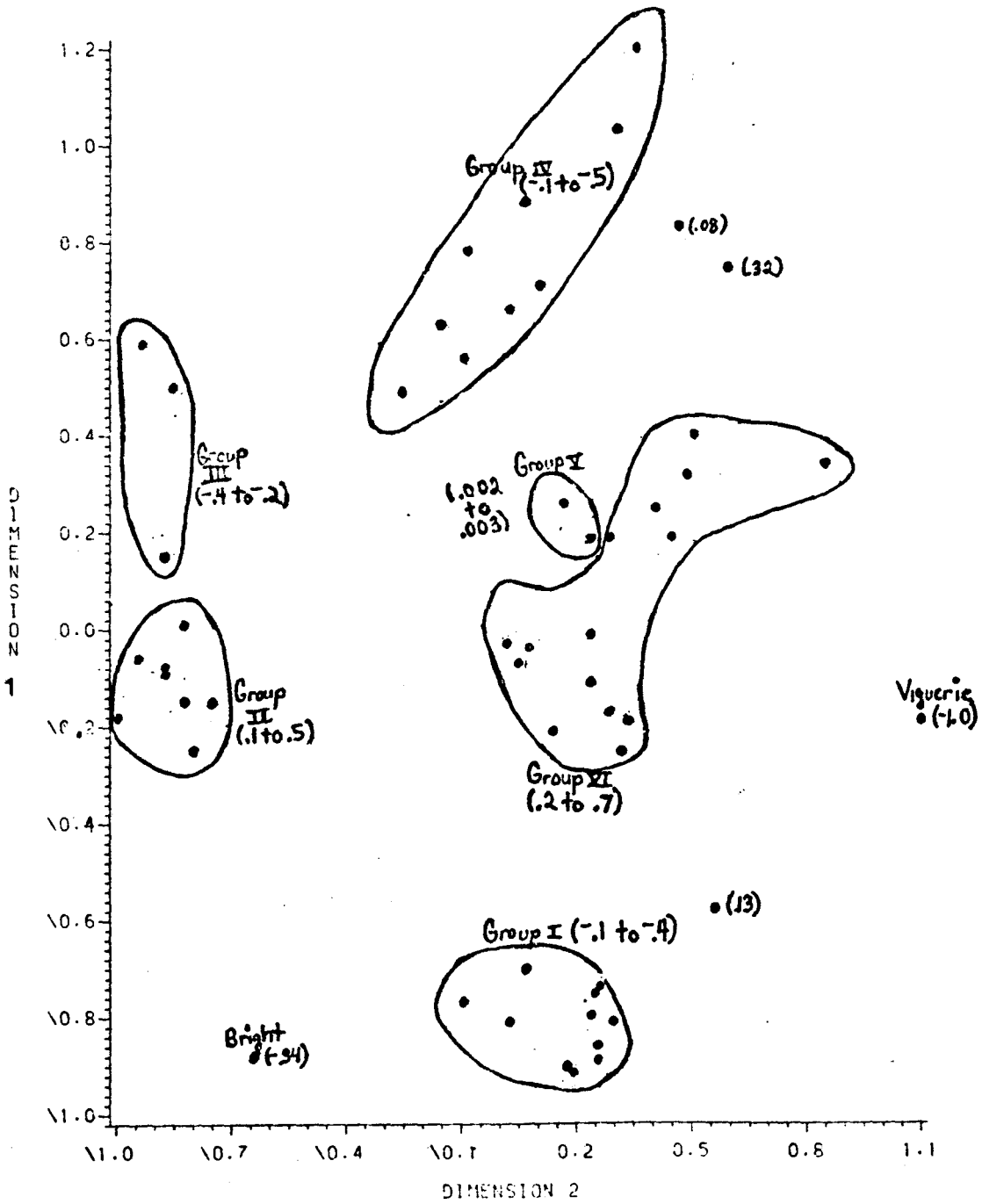
TABLE 13

NCR Group Breakdown

Group I	Group II	Group III
Belcher	Bakker	Beckett
Brown	Couch	Roger
DeMoss	Gimenez	Robertson
DeVos	Graham	
Hunter	Hill	
Jackson	Lundquist	
Jarrill	Mooneyham	
McCollister	Shakarian	
Morris		
Priest		

GroupIV	Group V
Billings	Dixon
Bundy	Falwell
Dugan	
Jarmin	
LaHaye	
Robison	
Schlafly	
Townsend	
Weyrich	

Group VI	Group VII
Dornan	Billings, SR.
Grant	Bonney
Hatch	Grimsted
Jepsen	Hargis
Troxler	Lyons
Zone	Manion
	Phillips
	Van Andel

mostly through the efforts of Bright. Besides the two individuals mentioned above also included within this group are Jim Bakker, host of the P.T.L. Club T.V. program, Demos Shakarian, President and founder of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship, and Dr. H. Lundquist of the National Association of Evangelicals.

Group III includes only three individuals, all of whom were involved in both the Washington for Jesus campaign and the Religious Roundtable-- an organization meant to mobilize Christian leaders around "moral" (i.e. conservative) issues. The group includes John D. Beckett, president of Intercessors for America, Adrian Rogers, former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and Pat Robertson , president of the Christian Broadcasting Network and host of the 700 Club T.V. program.

Group IV includes many of the rest of the members of the Religious Roundtable. Within this group I have Phyllis Schlafly, founder of the Eagle Forum, William Billings, former president of Hyles-Anderson College in Hammond, Indiana, Major Edgar C. Bundy, president of the Church League of America, and Bob Dugan, director or Public Affairs National for the Association of Evangelicals.

The pattern of common organizational affiliation found in groups 2 to 4 is more than just an interesting configuration. It also serves as an indicator of the degree of political and religious activism of the group. Washington for Jesus was at least presented to the public as a strictly religious-evangelistic service despite its political overtones. On the other hand, the Religious Roundtable is overtly political. The relative proportion of participation in these activities in each group

indicates the primary activities of the group members.

To summarize, Group II is dominated by the Washington for Jesus group-- individuals who were primarily involved in evangelistic religious work. Some may agree with the goals of the New Christian Right but eschew overt political involvement, because their "calling is to preach the gospel." In group III, on the other hand, are individuals involved in both political and religious activities. This is indicated by their membership in both Washington for Jesus and the Religious Roundtable. A glance at a typical 700 Club program, the creation of one of this group's members, should demonstrate this balance. The show is fairly evenly balanced between expressly religious preaching and Bible study and examining political and social issues from an ultra conservative viewpoint. In group IV are individuals whose primary activity is political and/or social activism. Many are religious and express typically fundamentalist beliefs. However, most see their "calling" to serve in politics and social activism. The one major difference between these three groups, then, is their relative involvement in politics and religion. I will now return to outlining the rest of the subgroups found in the network.

Group V includes only two members, Jerry Falwell and Reverend Greg Dixon. Both are members of the Moral Majority as well as being Independent Baptists ministers.[2] All members of Group VI are involved with the Christian Voice, a "Christian" lobbying organization founded in

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2. Later, I will examine the Independent Baptist phenomena in more detail.

1978 in order to represent the so-called "Christian" position on the issues being debated in Washington. The reader should notice the strong ties this organization has to Congress. The group includes Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, Represenative Robert Dornan of California, and Senator Roger Jepsen. The last group (VII) is difficult to interpret. the individuals have really nothing in common except most have few ties, as indicated by their low centrality ratings, with others in the network. The group includes Robert Billings (.002) and Jay Van Andel (cofounder of Amway) (.002). The one real exception to this is Howard Phillips, who has relatively many ties. We will view this group at this point as a residual category group.

As can be noticed a few leaders did not fall within any of these groups. Of these only a few will be included in later analysis due to their relatively large centrality ratings. The leaders that still will be included are Bill Bright, Russ Walton, Ed McAteer and Richard Viguerie.

DISCOVERING THE LINKAGES

Thus far I have only delineated the structurally equivalent groups the New Right leaders can be partitioned into. I have not yet discovered the links between these groups as well as those individuals not in groups. The continuous distance approach offers the researcher a method of discovering whether or not significant ties exist between subgroups of a social network.

This method is quite simple. The analyst first calculates the density of ties that exist between each pair of groups. The density is

calculated by dividing the number of ties between the members of the two groups by the number of possible ties that could exist between the the two groups. The resulting percentage is then compared with the density of the entire network. (In this case, the NCR entire network density is .24. see Table 16). If the density of ties between two groups is larger than the density of the network as a whole, we say that a significant tie exists between the groups. If the density is less than that of the network we say that no significant tie exists (Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982:74-7)

Table 14 presents the between group density of ties for each pair of NCR subgroups as well as for the individuals to be included. Notice that by my criterion very few direct ties exist between Groups I through VII. There exist significant ties only between Groups II and III, III and IV, and IV and V. Groups I, VI, and VII do not have a significant density of ties with any other group, although they do have a significant density of ties to some of the lone individuals. Only Groups III and IV have more than one tie to other groups. Notice also that all groups, except Groups II and III, and all the individual leaders have a siginificant tie to Richard Viguerie pointing to Viguerie as the central "hub" of this network.

The centrality of Richard Viguerie, or maybe more accurately the Richard Viguerie Company (RAVCO), can be seen even more graphically through a "flow chart" (Illustration 3) of the ties catalogued in Table 14. We see that all ties "flow" toward Viguerie. Even Groups II and III, which are not tied directly to Viguerie still are tied indirectly

TABLE 14

The Density of Ties Between Groups & Selected Leaders

				Groups				
Groups	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Bright
I	-							
II	.05	-						
III	.00	.96	-					
IV	.00	.01	.81	-				
V	.00	.00	.00	.25	-			
VI	.00	.00	.00	.20	.06	-		
VII	.06	.00	.00	.11	.00	.13	-	
Bright	1.00	.88	.67	.00	.00	.00	.00	-
Viguerie	.91	.00	.00	.78	1.00	.64	.59	1.00
Walton	.73	.13	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	1.00
McAteer	.09	.00	.00	1.00	.67	.00	.00	.00

Table 14 continued from last page

Groups	Viguerie	Walton	Groups McAteer
Viguerie	-		
Walton	1.00	-	
McAteer	1.00	1.00	-

through their direct connections to Bill Bright and Russ Walton. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this result is due to Viguerie's possession of certain resources (direct-mailing techniques) which the other groups wished to use and which other groups could strengthen through Viguerie's use of their own resources. This chart also serves to reemphasize another result, that is, the real lack of interconnectedness between the major groups identified.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis thus far has been purely descriptive. In the next chapter I will begin to attempt to answer the questions pertaining to the NCR social network. Our concern is not ultimately with describing how the NCR network looks but explaining what preexistent structures could account for its present configuration, the effect these structures have on the strategies used, and the effect the strategies used have had on the movement. The present chapter has only been meant to give us a preliminary clue of where to look for the preexistent structures. As

such, it will be used as a guide or outline to the historical analysis, using both primary and secondary sources of material, which follows. The picture just drawn of the NCR will not serve as a rigid pattern from which each link must be accounted for, nor even each group in detail but a general guide for sensitizing the researcher to the possible important pre-NCR groups and individuals, their relationships to each and their importance to the rise of this movement.

ILLUSTRATION 3: The Network Ties of the New Right
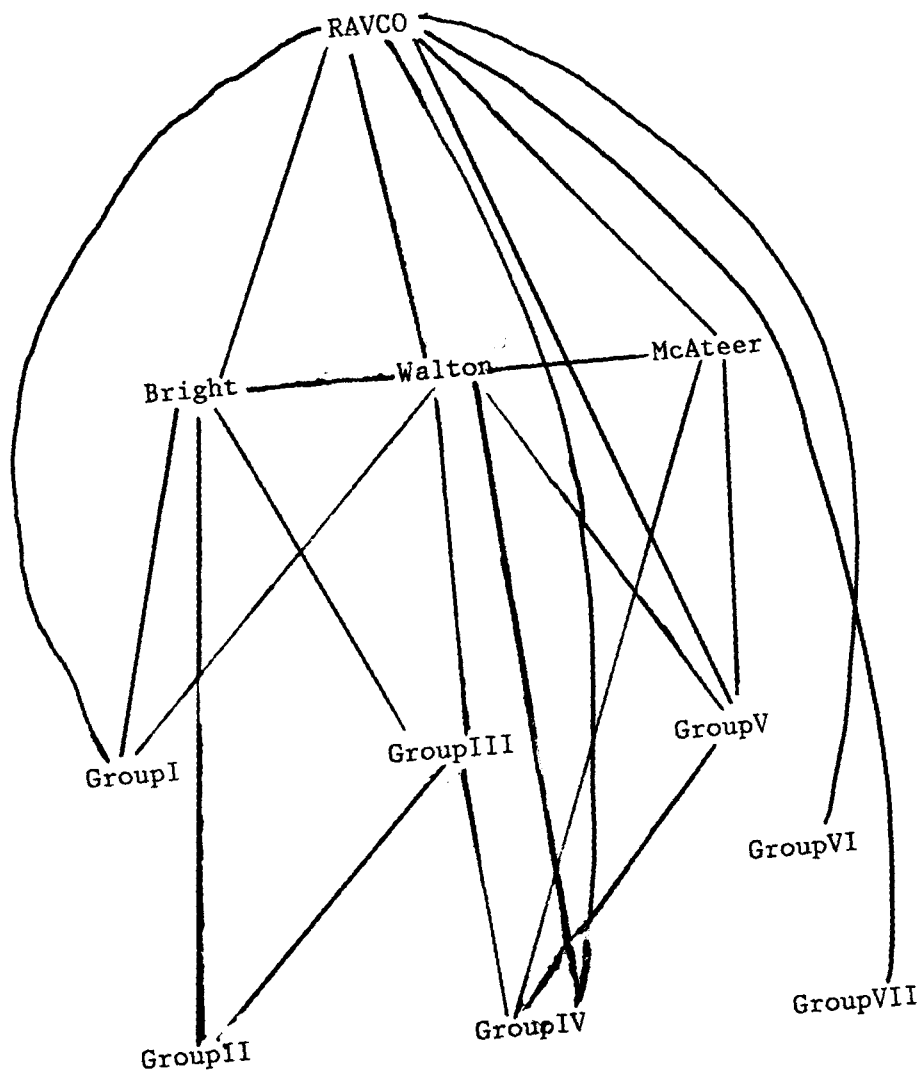
CHAPTER V

THE NCR PREEXISTENT NETWORK

In this and the next chapter I will examine the first three ques-
tions pertaining to the NCR's preexistent social network.

(1) What networks did the fundamentalist preference structure use to
mobilize collectively on a national level?

(2) How did this social network develop?

(3) Following from Morris (1981), how has this social network affected
the nature and extent of the strategies and tactics the New Christian
Right has taken?

The answering of these questions will be guided by the "flow" chart
(Illustration 3) created in the last chapter. The sources of the mater-
ials for this chapter and the next include interviews,[1] secondary and
primary publications, and observations. In brief, this chapter will
show how the NCR developed out of two different networks. The first, a
network which grew out of a segment of the "Old Right", became prominent
when Federal Legislation increased the "value" of certain resources the

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1. Some of the interviews used in the next three chapters were
gathered in a group project at Loyola University of Chicago in which I
participated. I would like to thank Sonia Aladjem, Robert Lynott,
Suhail Miari, Prof. Philip Nyden, and Shobha Srinivasan for their kind
permission in allowing me to use these data.

group held. The second network consists of fundamentalists groups
which, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, developed rational evan-
gelistic techniques which could be translated into political persuasion
methods. In this chapter I will examine the first network, and in the
next the second.

THE NEW RIGHT PREEXISTENT ORGANIZATIONAL BEGINNINGS

Many commentators, as well as New Right and NCR leaders themselves
(e.g., Viguerie, 1980:14-5), have partially attributed the rise of this
movement to a growing conservatism within the American populace. How-
ever, according to Janowitz (1978:121), there has been no such large-
scale shift toward right-wing politics (see Table 15). "Of those who
expressed a choice (in political ideology), the long term trend is one
of striking stability." Between the years of 1936 and 1974 (the year
many of the initial New Right groups were founded), conservative attach-
ment rose only 6%, hardly a significant shift. Even this rise was not
steady but fluctuated in between those years according to Janowitz. A
more recent Harris poll (Harris, 1982) confirms this as well. The
results of this poll show no large conservative shift but a population
opposed to much of the beliefs of this movement. According to the poll,
a 2 to 1 majority are opposed to an amendment banning abortion. Fifty-
nine percent supported the Equal Rights Amendment. Sixty-six percent
favor a federal law registering handguns. Sixty-nine percent support
the federal laws requiring affirmative action programs. Eighty-five

percent of Americans want enforcement of air and water pollution controls. These results hardly demonstrate an overwhelmingly conservative population. The rise of this movement, therefore, cannot be explained by a national ideological shift.

TABLE 15

Political Preferences:Conservative vs. Liberal

Year	Conservative	Liberal
1936	53%	47%
1962	51%	49%
1974	59%	41%

SOURCE:
Janowitz,
The Last Half Century,
Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978,
page 112.

If this explanation and that tested in chapter 3 are false, how then do we explain the rise of this movement? A partial answer may be found by examining the NCR's preexistent social network and its relationship to certain societal trends which affect these structures. It is the argument of this chapter that the critical trigger which caused the arising of the New Right and the NCR was the enacting of certain campaign-finance laws which increased the importance of certain campaign techniques which were used mostly by fringe political groups such as those on the radical right. These fringe groups gained prominence because of this and sought to make coalitions with social networks

(mostly in fundamentalism). These networks had developed other tactics and techniques that could be used even more to further the aims of the former fringe groups. I will now elaborate on this process.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACTS AND DIRECT MAILING

Amid all the rhetoric about decreasing the importance of party politics, The Election Campaign Act of 1971 was passed. Among other requisites, the act required that detailed disclosure be made of all campaign contributions and expenditures. The act also allowed both corporations and labor unions to create political action committees (PACs) which have as their aim the solicitation of "voluntary" contributions from their employees/members for the PAC's own political aims.

For our purposes, however, it is the 1974 amendments to this act which are most important. Created in the aftermath of many of the Watergate "SLUSH Fund" unveilings, the manifest intent of these amendments was to decrease the importance of money in national elections. The amendments, among other requirements, limited individual contributions to one thousand dollars per candidate per election, limited the amount of money PACs could give candidates (Rees, 1980: 28), put a ceiling on the amount of money candidates could spend, and created a system of matching funds (Federal Election Commission, 1980; 1982; Crawford, 1980: 46).

Despite its high moral intent, the Act did not really succeed in making money less of a factor in federal elections. In 1976 $64 million was still spent by each of the various candidates in the primaries; $46 million by Carter and Ford for the final election (Marger, 1981:162)

Both PACs and the candidates discovered many loopholes to the laws which allowed them to unofficially spend much more than allowable. Most importantly, for our purposes, the law did not change the importance of money in federal elections so much as shifted its source, away from organizations and networks attached to a few "fat cat" industrialists to other type of organizations and networks that had the ability to raise large sums of money from the small contributions of many individuals (Crawford, 1980:34-44). The direct mailing techniques of many rightist groups could do the latter, giving these groups a new-found importance in the electoral process.[2] Direct mailing methods uses large mailing lists and computer systems to solicit small contributions from and get a message across to like-minded individuals. It is not hard to see how such techniques became valuable in a political environment such as was created by the 1974 amendments. These large lists of names and addresses gave the potential candidate, at least in his/her own eyes, a ready, "legal" source of campaign money, while at the same time spreading his/her message. Direct mailers soon became important advisors and "resources".

The whole process just briefly outlined fits in well with the approach of Charles Tilly in his various works. Tilly argues, as many resource mobilization theorists do, that a political contender's ability

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2. The reader should note that this explanation is not totally new. Viguerie (1980:34) touches on this point himself. As I will show later the difference between my explanation and their view is that I do not underestimate the importance of this process and I offer an explanation of why the right should have been so well prepared for this shift.

to mobilize politically depends on the contender's access to important resources. Often the ability to gain these resources is a result of structural transformations which affect "a contender's potential for political mobilization (and) in some cases (like the one here) bring new contenders into existence."(Useem, 1975:22) The difference, however, between Tilly's scenario and the case of the NCR and New Right is that the structural changes (i.e., campaign laws) did not give them the ability to gain and use new resources so much as increase the value of a resource already held by the Right.

Before going on, the reader should note that no pluralist assumption is being made about this process. Although these Election Campaign laws may have limited the direct influence of businessmen and corporations in the electoral process, this by no means means the decrease of corporate America's influence and power in society as a whole. Even within the election process itself, corporate PACs still outspent those PACs depending upon direct mailing (Koenig, 1983). In a certain sense, the laws may be relatively unimportant and may, in fact, serve corporate America in an ideological way by reinforcing pluralist belief ("The system is open to all, not only the rich.") and hiding corporate America's actual power. If so, this also has implications for our study of this movement's actual power. If the NCR's influence lies only within the rather narrow area of electoral politics, the anxiety of those opposing it (the left and moderates) may be unfounded while at the same time they lose sight of who their actual "enemy" is. Further research in this area will be necessary.

Even though I have partially shown why the New Right gained promi-
nence, I am still left with a more important question relevant to my
purpose of discovering the structure and functioning of this movement's
preexistent social network. Why was the Right so well prepared for this
source shift in campaign financing? It is obvious that a mailing list
cannot be created overnight so why should the radical right have had
this structure and technique intact while mainstream political organiza-
tions did not have did not have such campaign mechanisms? The answer
lies in an examination of the New Right's preexistent structure- the Old
Right.

LIFE ON THE POLITICAL FRINGE

Life outside the political mainstream is difficult for fringe
political movements, not only in reference to the implementation of
their goals but in the area of mere survival as well. The perimeter
groups not only find it difficult to influence those in power or gain
access to the news media (see Molotch and Lester, 1968) but must also
deal with the more mundane problem of finances. Those in the political
mainstream such as major political parties and candidates have tradi-
tionally been supported by the generous donations of large corporations
and rich business magnates. On the fringe, these types of sources are
few and far between. As such these groups have had to develop other
methods to survive financially; techniques which vary from group to
group and environment to environment. One need only glance at a small
number of groups to see this diversity.

LIMITING EXPENDITURES

The Bolshevik party of pre-Soviet Russia serves as one example. Lenin (1902) in his book, What is to be Done? outlines the plan for a Bolshevik party organization outlawed in Tsarist Russia. Lenin limited membership to only those willing to be full-time professional revolutionaries. While the stated aim of this organizational requirement was to make it difficult for the authorities to catch up with the Bolsheviks, a latent function of this requisite was to keep expenses down. A small group does not use as many resources. Also by limiting membership to those truly committed, you narrow the membership to those willing to make sacrifices for their ideals. (Lenin and his full-time revolutionaries received only 30 rubles or less a month as a salary.)

Despite the bare-bones structure, however, the Bolsheviks were still often in financial trouble. The money of rich sympathizers like Kalmykova and Morozov were often not enough. The Bolsheviks responded "creatively" to their situation by "expropriating" their needed funds through the armed robberies of banks. This not only gave the Bolsheviks some needed funds but it also gave some of their up and coming young revolutionaries (e.g. Joseph Stalin) experience in certain "organizational" skills. (Appignanesi and Zarate, 1977:100-1)

Another political movement in our own society uses techniques to survive financially a little less drastic than those above. The Gray Panthers (GPs), a group which has concerned itself mostly with problems of ageism, implements techniques common in many American movements. Each local chapter of this SMO is almost totally responsible for sup-

porting its own work. A good deal of its finances come from mandatory dues, supplemented by grants and donations as well as money raised in such fundraising endeavors as garage sales and the like. Costs, at least in the one chapter observed, are kept down by having most of the work done(e.g., office work and telephoning members about activities) by member volunteers. Of course such a system is possible in a movement which is made up of a great many retired individuals who have may have more time to spare on voluntary activities.

INCREASING RESOURCES: MONEY

The pre-1970 Radical Right is another collection of groups outside the political mainstream and so lacking the resources of "legitimate" political organizations. One such Radical Right SMO of particular interest to us was the Young Americans for Freedom, a New York City based ultra-conservative youth movement created in the early 1960's by William F. Buckley. The YAF was one of the better financed right-wing organizations of this time (although in its first year it did succeed in accumulating a reasonably large debt), mostly due to the efforts and techniques of conservative fundraiser Marvin Leibman and his associates and co-workers. Even though the group was relatively well financed compared to other right-wing groups it still lacked the resources of some more mainstream groups attached to either of the political parties. Even though the YAF had many relatively wealthy contributers (e.g., Buckley), they still did not seem to be able to muster the large single corporate contribution. They depended on Marvin Leibman's box of 3 by 5 cards containing the addresses of former contributers to solicit funds.

This fact brings us to an interesting question. Why was it that, even though the ideology of the radical right was consistant with corporate interests, the radical right could never get consistent and extensive financial support from large corporations and their executives?

There are many possible answers. Hugh C. Newton of the conservative Heritage Foundation accounts for the ultra-rich's reluctance to support ultra-conservative causes as due to just "plain cheapness."

> For a long while you could not get money out of conservative businessmen. H.L. Hunt would take you to lunch and give you a ham sandwich out of his desk. Now you've got people interested in building the network in changing the American Mind. (Morgan, 1982; cf. Gamson, 1968:96)

A better explanation though has been offered by Burd (1978). Corporations and their executives are not stingy; they contribute to other moderate political groups. The reason such people and institutions do not consistently support radical right groups has to do more with the way the business world views political contributions. They view political contributions as investments. In typical cost/benefit thinking, the corporation or businessman is looking to contribute to causes where s/he believes there is a reasonable chance of "return". A radical rightist group in the 1960s, while espousing free enterprise principles which a businessman may well agree with, would not gain corporate support because they had little chance of publicly enacting these principles in their position on the fringe. Thus, they would not be a smart investment to a corporation looking to influence the public. On the other hand, a moderate incumbent Democratic congressperson with a reasonable chance of being elected is a good investment. Although such an individ-

ual may not agree entirely with "free market" economics, there is a good chance, in the corporations eyes, that when s/he is in Congress that s/he will remember where his or her's campaign finances came from. It is for this reason why for many years business has consistently supported incumbents, Democrat or Republican, over challengers. Incumbents are a better bet to be elected and thus a sure place to place one's money if one is concerned with influencing political decisions. Business has only begun to support the radical right in the mid-1970s at a time when ultra-conservatism has become a more "legitimate" alternative (Morgan, 1982; Koenig, 1983).

I shall now return to the YAF. As I have already mentioned, this organization used a "primitive" type of direct mailing process in order to gain funds. For its needs, this procedure served the group well; for as the organization developed its goals became more and more modest; its membership more and more ingrown. It became more of country club than a political proselytyzing organization (Crawford, 1980). Although their "3 x 5 card in a box" system worked to a limited degree for the YAF, for groups with broader goals these present techniques would not be efficient. A very large number of names would need to be stored in a more efficient manner than on 3 x 5 cards. Any large mailing, in turn, would need many people to process it faster than under the YAF system.

Some of the YAF workers (including a young college dropout named Richard Viguerie) realized these problems. Viguerie, an associate fundraiser for YAF at the time, left the organization in the early 60s borrowing the basic approach to fundraising he learned from Leibman and

combining it with the new technology of the computer to form his own fundraising company (RAVCO) (see Illustration 3). The computer allowed for the potential storage of a large number of names and addresses and the processing of them in a fast and efficient manner.

The development of RAVCO in its early days is interesting. When Viguerie left YAF he took with him only the few names Leibman had collected. To increase this list, he went to the Library of Congress to copy by hand (the photocopying of this information was illegal) the names of all individuals who gave $50 or more to Goldwater's Presidential campaign in 1964 (Goldwater had used direct mail to a limited degree).(Viguerie, 1980:27) This increased his list by a modest 12,000. Through acquisitions like this, however, RAVCO built a fairly large list of people who were known to have supported right-wing causes.

Although RAVCO began to make a name for itself in certain circles in the late 60s and early 70s (prior to the campaign election laws by Viguerie's own admission), the company only attracted the modest business of various fringe groups and longshot Congressional candidates. Viguerie's largest endeavor during this time was George Wallace's longshot 1968 third-party try for the presidency. That same year, George McGovern had asked for RAVCO's help in his Senatorial campaign which, as is obvious, the company refused. Later on, RAVCO worked for the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, founder of the Unification Church, on raising funds for an American organization for freeing North Korea. On the other hand, incumbents and those of the political mainstream never sought RAVCO's assistance. As I mentioned earlier, they had no need to pay for

the expense of direct-mail funding when "free" donations were available.
Richard Nixon, for example, refused Viguerie's offer of assistance in
the 1972 campaign. W. Clement Stone and others of the ultra-rich were
more than enough support for Nixon. Clearly, before the election laws,
RAVCO and other direct mailing groups remained in the realm of longshots
and lunatics.

As I mentioned already in the beginning of this chapter, those
changes in campaign finance laws changed this situation very quickly.
Candidates needed new ways to raise large sums of money. Some looked
for the proverbial loopholes in these laws. Others attempted to raise
large sums of money from the small individual contributions of many
individuals. This demanded a large list of potential contributers which
the right-wing RAVCO company already had intact through years of collec-
tion. It is partially for this reason, as well as media publicity (which
will be discussed in the eighth chapter) that the right wing seemed to
gain strength in the late 1970s; it was not because of any ideological
shift by the American population in this era.

INCREASING RESOURCES: GRASSROOT SUPPORT

Although the elections laws did give prominence to companies like
RAVCO, Viguerie's organization could not really develop an effective
modern social movement on direct mailing alone. Direct mailing can also
facilitate what political scientists call "grassroots lobbying".
Instead of an organization paying a professional lobbyists to contact
legislators in Congress, grassroots lobbying depends on the grassroots
membership of an organization to contact the legislators through a mail-

ing campaign. Members are contacted through the mail and told to immediately write or phone their legislators in order to urge them to vote a certain way on an issue or bill (Zwier, 1982:63). With a direct-mail list and a computer, such a tactic is efficient, fast, and sometimes effective. However, no matter how effective grassroots lobbying is, a modern movement needs more. Local organizations are needed to support grassroot events such as door-to-door canvassing and the distribution of political literature. Because of the power of the media in our society to define political alternatives and issues, tactics geared toward gaining media access must be developed. RAVCO, even with its increasing financial resources and mailing list, did not have the expertise to do these things. To remedy this problem, RAVCO spread its "tentacles" (as can be seen in Illustration 3 in the last chapter) in order to create coalitions with those groups having the resources and skills necessary to perform these tactics. Unlike past right-wing coalitions, RAVCO's main concern was not just finding those of the politically conservative persuasion but those with resources and organizations as well. RAVCO exchanged its prominence and fundraising ability for other organizations' lists of names and, more importantly, for their ability do things politically that RAVCO could not do alone.

RAVCO contacted many groups. Many old-right individuals and their resources became involved as Group VII in Illustration 3. Billy Joe Hargis, Edgar Bundy, and Phyllis Schlafly are ust a few of these. More importantly, however, RAVCO looked within the "sleeping giant"--evangelicalism and fundamentalism-- for it was here that certain

organizations and media access techniques were being developed, albeit for different purposes. In the next two chapters I will discuss these organizations and techniques.

THE NCR SOCIAL NETWORK AND THE SELLING OF RELIGION

Berger (1967:138-39), in The Sacred Canopy, states that a key characteristic of religiously pluralist societies is that religions can no longer take the allegiance of their "client population" for granted as in societies with religious monopolies. In a pluralist society religion is voluntary and the prospective religious consumer has a number of religions to choose from. Religion, then, becomes a consumer product. Religion "must be 'sold' to a clientele that is no longer constrained to 'buy'."(Berger, 1967:138) As in any other "business", in order to survive, the religion must produce results, i.e., attract and retain members.

One of the effects of this market situation, according to Berger, is the rationalization of religious organization, that is, the development of religious organizations guided by ends-means rationality (as in bureaucracies) instead of by traditional or charismatic criteria. Such an organization, regulated by such concerns as efficiency and pragmatism, seems more suited to the competition that pluralism produces.

Although the above process may in a general sense be true, it does not affect all religions in a pluralist situation at the same time or at the same rate. Some religions, because of their theological, structural

and/or demographic characteristics, were more resistant to the process of organizational rationalization than others (cf. Hunter, 1983). This had been the case with fundamentalism and to a lesser extent evangelicalism. While their more liberal counterparts were creating organizations guided by an ends-means logic, fundamentalists were still attempting to maintain their organizations along traditional fundamentalist forms.[1] Those fundamentalists of the mid-twentieth century who deviated somewhat from these forms (e.g., neo-evangelical movement of the 1940s and 1950s) were accused of substitutiing "true Christianity" for the "Jesuit ethic" of ends-means rationality, an accusation still made today by certain fundamentalists in reference to their NCR brothers and sisters (e.g., Messenger, 1982).

Before going on, I should emphasize that when I said that, up until recently fundamentalists and some evangelicals were resistant to rationalizing their organizations I was talking not of an unwillingness to use modern technology but of a refusal to use efficient, effective, and/or pragmatic techniques in order to "market their religion" with these material items (cf. Ellul, 1964). For example, fundamentalists and evangelicals have been using radio and television almost since their inception. Charles Fuller's radio program, "The Old Fashion Revival Hour", and later Billy Graham's, "Hour of Decision", are just two promi-

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1. Interestingly enough, many of these so-called traditional fundamentalist forms of fundamentalism, especially in the case of revival techniques, were actually taken from an early 19th century work by ex-lawyer turned evangelist, Charles Finney, a book ironically written to get "evangelical" sects to use more pragmatic techniques in their revival services.

nent programs broadcast over the airwaves in the '40s, '50s, and, '60s (Gaspar, 1963:76-80). However, these programs differ fundamentally in technique from some of today's prominent programs (e.g., 700 Club, PTL Club) in that the older programs simply translated fundamentalist forms of worship through an electronic media, while today's programs not only borrow secular technology but secular program forms and styles of production to express their message. "The Old Fashion Revival Hour" was essentially a fundamentalist Sunday evening worship service presented over the radio, complete with opening prayer, congregational singing, an "amateur" choir, and finally ending with a typical fundamentalist sermon. The 700 Club, on the other hand, with the sound off, may be indistinguishable from such T.V. magazines as "Today" or "Good Morning". There are interviews with prominent individuals, news closeups by futurist Tom Sine, health and beauty tips, cooking and nutrition segments, and Las Vegas-type "Christian" comedians or singers all interspersed with "Evangelistic" commercial plugs. The difference between the two eras of fundamentalist broadcasting is less one of technology and more one of production and presentation.[2] Both were attempts to evangelize, but the latter programs were willing to use rational techniques to do it.

Why were evangelical and fundamentalist organizations more resis-

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2. Of course, not all of today's programs have forsaken traditional forms. Many of the locally produced shows are essientially filmed during ordinary services. Also many prominent national programs, most notably Jerry Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour", also follow the worship service format.

tant to rationalizing influences? The idealists among us may use these groups' conservative theology to explain their resistance. They might argue that conservative beliefs may severely constrain and limit what adaptations can be made by organizations. These beliefs, in their insistence on maintaining tradition, may effectively thwart change. In my view, however, such an explanation obscures more than it explains, for the conservative beliefs may themselves be indicators of a deeper process.

An explanation which looks at social and structural variables for answers would seem better. For example, according to Hunter (1983:58), this resistance may be because evangelicalism and fundamentalism have been traditionally located further away from the "institutions and processes of modernity" than more mainstream religious groups.

> To begin, there is the gender composition of each group. Evangelicalism finds its greatest popular support among women. A large percentage of Evangelical men are older and retired. Thus a sizable proportion of Evangelicals are protected within the private sphere from the constraining forces of the highly rational public sphere... Another dimension on which one can measure relative proximity to modernity is geographic. "The rural hegemony of the South was little disturbed by the immigration, industrialization, new intellectual currents and all those other forces which were elsewhere transforming society."(Handy, 1971:69) The same could be said of the rural areas of the Midwest and the mid-Atlantic region, and in the main it holds true today. By virtue of their concentration in these areas, Evangelicals once again avoid the constant and inevitable contact with the constraining forces of modernity... Another index is education. Contemporary Evangelicals are among the poorest educated of religious groups. Thus they have not been exposed at length to the secularizing forces of public education (Hunter, 1983:58).

However, no matter how resistant to change the group's ideas may make the group nor how far away from modernity they are located, the process of rationalization inevitably has an effect on a religious group

(cf. Hunter, 1983). The resistance to change just delayed the process of rationalization; it did not block it. In the late 1960s and early 1970s one movement within fundamentalism and evangelicalism-- the Church Growth Movement-- best typifies the early stages of this process. The aim of this movement was to convert America and build large evangelical and fundamentalist churches (numerically and physically) using rational techniques of persuasion. It was from this movement which Viguerie recruited organizations and networks for his right-wing coalition.

Why choose this movement for recruitment? To understand why we need only return to Berger (1967:139).

> The spread of bureaucratic structures through the religious institu- tions has the consequence that these organizations, irrespective of their various theological traditions, increasingly resemble each other sociologically.

This homogenization of religious structure can be taken one step fur- ther, however. Not only does the rationalization of religious organiza- tions produce religions that appear similar organizationally, it also begins to produce religious structures which are similar to other secu- lar organizations including the political. This means organizations structured for religious aims can be easily transformed and used for secular aims. In our case, the techniques and organizations created by the Church Growth Movement to persuade Americans to become "born-again" could be adapted to persuading Americans to vote conservatively. It is for this reason that Viguerie chose the Church Growth networks for a coalition rather than other fundamentalist politically conservative groups. It was not enough that a network or organization espoused right-wing ideology, Viguerie and the political right needed a network

that could be molded and transformed into a modern political movement of practical value to the right (cf. Viguerie, 1980).

To illustrate this transformation, I will examine the two expressions of the Church Growth Movement (the Campus Crusade Connection and the Independent Baptists) which became involved in the NCR, through RAVCO's urgings. I will examine (1) how these segments developed and (2) the resource characteristics which made these segments valuable to the secular right.

CAMPUS CRUSADE AND GROUPS I, II, AND III

In the last chapter I mentioned my surprise at discovering that Bill Bright, founder of Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC), was so prominent in the NCR social network. I found that Bright had a relatively high centrality rating and also occupied a strategic network position having intevening ties between Viguerie and Groups I, II, and III (see Illustration 3). However, upon examining Bright more closely, it comes as no surprise to me that he occupies such a position. Through the CCC and its various projects, Bright developed an extensive grassroots organization and rational media techniques which proved to be of interest to Richard Viguerie and his secular New Right compatriots. In this section I will examine Bill Bright and the development of groups I, II, and III.

CAMPUS CRUSADE FOR CHRIST

The development of the "Bill Bright" network begins with the founding in 1951 of the CCC on the campus of UCLA. The aim of the CCC was to evangelize college students. The organization's beginnings were modest. Only a handful of students attended the early meetings held in Bright's home near the campus. However, despite these meager beginnings, Bright was still able to attract evangelical "heavyweights" to sit on his advisory board (e.g., Billy Graham of Group I) giving him important early connections which served to build his organization. By 1960, 9 years later, the CCC's staff was enlarged to 109, working on forty campuses in fifteen states. The organization's headquarters were moved from a mansion (purchased during the fifties) near UCLA to a once famous Southern California resort in Arrowhead Springs. At the same time, the organization began to dump many of its old advisory board members, most of whom were evangelists and ministers, in favor of fundamentalist and evangelical businessmen some of whom appear in Group I (Illustration 3) By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the advisory board was mostly made up of executives, while at the same time the CCC itself had expanded to having representatives on some campus in most major metropolitan areas in the U.S. and around the world[3] (Quebedeaux, 1979:1-26).

In his biography on Bill Bright, Quebedeaux seems to imply that part of Bright's and the CCC's success can be attributed to his pragma-

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3. The CCC was also beginning to develop a program geared for high schools at this time as well.

tism. Bright took literally the Pauline admonition to be "all things to all men." He would use almost any technique in order to persuade college students to convert, to the dismay of many evangelicals and fundamentalists. Although criticized by many evangelical theologians for oversimplifying and cheapening the Gospel's plan for salvation, his little booklet, The Four Spiritual Laws, gave the would-be "soulwinner" an easy and understandable cookbook technique for "leading friends and strangers to Christ" (being born-again). Churches found the booklet a great tool to their own evangelism program (cf. Hunter, 1983:75-6). His organization's strategy of always attempting to first convert the campus' student leaders in hopes that their influence over fellow students would make the evangelism of the rest of campus easier and more effective, was criticized for putting those with prestige first instead of last as the Gospels' stated. Yet it seemed a fairly effective path for an organization trying to make inroads into a campus. When student unrest began on the Berkley campus, CCC met the evangelism challenge by having its UC representatives dress more in the counterculture styles of the sixties to the dismay of evangelical parents who were attempting to stop the wearing of "long hair and beads" on their own children. It is the culmination of this rational ends-means orientation in later CCC projects which ultimately made the CCC social network so appealing to RAVCO.[4] Let us now turn to those projects which attracted RAVCO's inter-

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    4. Of course, this is only part of the story of CCC's success. Another cause of this organizations rapid expansion may be the exploitation of its staff. One minister I interviewed told me about the very small salary staff members get for literally 16-hour days and 7-day

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BRIGHT AND HIS EVANGELISTIC CAMPAIGN

As has already been mentioned, evangelist Bill Bright's CCC was a perfect organization upon which to build a national network -- whether for strictly religious concerns or political reasons. Since its aim was to evangelize college and high school students, it had at least one representative on most major college campuses in most major metropolitan areas in the United States. As a nondenominational organization, its support and staff came from many denominations, meaning it had contacts throughout fundamentalism and evangelicalism. CCC was also well suported by wealthy evangelical and fundamentalist businessmen. CCC had all the resources on which to build an extensive national evangelistic campaign and, in fact, attempted to do just that through its "Here's Life, America" crusade.

According to Bright, the aim of "Here's Life" was "to turn our nation back to God." This would be done through the conversion of the American people to Christianity. Bright believed America was ready for conversion if only someone were there to show them how. Through a well planned strategy, "Here's Life" would do just that.

Michaelson and Wallis (1976) have described the technique "Here's Life" used.

> "Here's Life, America" is a city saturation evangelistic effort that
> organizes and utilizes the resources of local churches with the

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weeks. Quebedeaux, himself, talks of the high staff burnout rate and the consequent high rate of turnover.

assistance of Campus Crusade staff. Its goal is to train five million Christians from 50,000 local churches to carry out intensive evangelistic efforts. In each city the focus becomes a three week saturation campaign, where billboards, radio, and T.V. advertising attempt to provoke responses with slogans like, "I found it! You can find it too!" and then giving a telephone number to call. Individuals who call are then contacted by those trained from various cooperating churches and presented with the gospel, utilizing Campus Crusade style materials. Other efforts, such as publicized testimonies and witnessing in local neighborhoods, organized down to each city block, are all designed to reach the city for Christ and culminate together during this same time.

One should note that "Here's Life", unlike other such evangelist projects, got most of its labor from laymen. While the CCC staff provided materials and some staff, it was the local churches which provided the vast manpower and financial resources. There were no mass rallies with evangelists and such. "Here's Life" was strictly a cooperating interchurch project guided by the CCC staff which relied strictly on modern media techniques to evangelize America.

While this campaign did not yield the results Bright had "prayed" for, they did yield other important outcomes. National religious leaders, some celebrities (e.g., Roger Staubach, former quarterback for the Dallas Cowboys), and some of those appearing in Groups II and III came together to add their influence, networks, and organizations to this larger campaign.[5] The campaign itself was attempted in 18 major cities, 200 or so smaller metropolitan areas, and 18,000 smaller communities. Each campaign brought people together on a local level and tied them to

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5. One of the projects these leaders cooperated on was another brainchild of Bright, the Christian Embassy. This "Embassy", located in Washington D.C., has as its purpose the evangelization of the U.S. political elite. Most of those in Group II and some in Group III were involved in this project's creation.

an overarching national network. It gave many local church leaders a chance to learn how to use the media, cooperate with other churches, and get the local congregation involved in a national movement. This grass-roots network, while failing in its initial evangelical endeavor, became a resource for some of Bright's "other projects".

THIRD CENTURY PUBLISHERS

One of Bright's pet projects, outside of his evangelistic concerns with CCC, was Third Century Publishers. This organization published right-wing, religio-political literature, including Rus Walton's (see Illustration 3) book, One Nation Under God. This book had a major influence on the political thoughts of the New Christian Right leaders including Jerry Falwell. Also published were political Bible study kits meant to educate evangelicals and fundamentalists in "proper" political beliefs and effective political organizing.[6] Furthermore, Third Century created a congressional rating service which, like the Christian Voice's today, rated senators and congresspersons according to the "morality" of their voting record.

Working with Bright in Third Century was former Arizona congressperson John Conlan. Conlan seemed to become a sort of unofficial speaker for CCC, speaking nationally at churches and at the CCC's summer retreat. According to Sojourners, Conlan's message was anything but strictly religious, however. Conlan stated his message.

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6. Bill Bright's involvement with this organization seems to be a bit hypocritical on his part for one of his rules for CCC staff was that they not take any political stances or action.

During the first 175 years of this nation, we let that spiritual, moral, ethical, biblical concept permeate our society. That made America great... In the past 25 year, the philosophy being taught in our classrooms and expounded in our media is the philosophy of humanism, of secularism... The extreme of this philosophy is found in communal, pseudo-religious philosophy that is gaining greater control in the world... One of the greatest evidences that we are in the process of progressive surrender is the shrinking perimeter of the free world and the increasing control government has over our everyday lives (quoted in Wallis and Michaelson, 1976).

Both Bright and Conlan were not content with Third Century's then current influence and sought to expand it. In June, 1974, they held a meeting with 20 to 25 major conservative fundamentalists, evangelical leaders, and businessmen (Group I, see Illustration 3) in an attempt to raise money for a national political effort. (Many of those present were already active in Campus Crusade.) The object of this effort would be to create a national grassroots movement with the aim of putting "Christian" (i.e., ultra-conservative) men and women into office.

Bright and Conlan took several steps in an attempt to implement their plan. First, they took over and reorganized another right-wing organization-- the ailing Christian Freedom Foundation. The purpose of this move was to obtain an organization already structured for a national political strategy and to gain tax-exempt status. The second step was to hold a seminar, for some of the CCC's regional representatives during the week of March 21-26, 1975, on creating a grassroots political movement. The plan was to

recruit and manage a team of representatives from each congressional district who would develop a program of home study groups, motivating evangelical Christians to get involved in politics, training them in methods of political organizing and teaching them the principles and political philosophy to use for knowing the "Christian candidates" to support (Michaelson and Wallis, 1976).

The home-study groups were supposed to be organized in the image of the typical evangelical or fundamentalist Bible study so that participants felt comfortable and were more open to discussion. The studies were held in the representatives' homes in an informal atmosphere. Study materials from Third Century were used.

Realizing that not all evangelicals, as opposed to fundamentalists, held right-wing beliefs, it was suggested that group leaders carefully screen those who wished to participate in these groups. In the groups' early stages there was no attempt to invite people in order to convert them politically but to build up a local network of like-minded Christian political conservatives and teach them political organizing techniques. Those who were not sympathetic to conservative causes were discouraged from attending or were not invited at all. The screening of individuals was done simply by asking interested individuals whom they would support as a presidential candidate-- Ronald Reagan or Nelson Rockefeller? If they answered "Reagan", they were invited to the study group. If they answered "Rockefeller", they were politely discouraged from attending.

Where were these organizers to find their contacts? Various writers (Wallis and Michaelson, 1976; Maclean, 1976) have pointed to the network and names collected by "here's Life". "Here's Life" provided a ready source of names of media-sophisticated and organization-wise, potential, political activists.

Third century did not use this network effectively. Their plans to use the religious leaders, ordinary layman, organizations (Groups II

and III), and business support (Group I) of the Here's Life campaign did not materialize in 1976 partly, it would seem, because of the critical exposure the Christian Left gave Third Century before it had a chance to get off the ground (Pierard, 1980). However, despite the initial failure, Bill Bright and Groups I,II, and III did come to the attention of RAVCO during RAVCO's quest to expand its resources and to develop a more viable right-wing, coalition. RAVCO made use of "Here's Life's" contacts for their own direct mailing operation (MacLean, 1976). The organization also made use of Group I and its financial resources.

More importantly, the grassroots organization and media techniques developed in Groups II and III for evangelistic purposes were used by the NCR in their strategies. For example, it was the leaders of Group II and III and the network of local churches who were responsible for the moderately successful Washington for Jesus demonstration in 1980 (Clendenon, 1980). This march in Washington, D.C., was attended by thousands of demonstrators and attracted a moderate amount of media attention. Some of the same media techniques learned in "Here's Life" campaign were used in the Washington for Jesus march for political goals. The same interchurch cooperation and organization "Here's Life" depended on served as a source of communication for Washington for Jesus. In summary, the techniques and organization developed for the CCC and the Here's Life campaign in Groups I,II, and III created a network appealing to the secular right. The same rational techniques and organization which could be used to persuade individuals to be born again could be used to persuade individuals to vote conservatively.

THE INDEPENDENT BAPTISTS AND GROUP IV

In 1978, Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich, and other political organizers of the secular right approached a little-known T.V. evangelist, Jerry Falwell, about heading and organizing his own political organization (Newsweek, September 15, 1980.) Out of this meeting, the now famous NCR SMO- the Moral Majority- was formed. Many commentators, (including those in the above Newsweek article) have implied that Falwell's appeal to the secular right was due to his experience with the media through his weekly T.V. program, "The Old Time Gospel Hour" and its resulting influence over a right wing oriented audience. While this no doubt accounts for part of Falwell's appeal, it touches only the visible part of the iceberg. Many other T.V. evangelists using flashier production techniques and possessing larger audiences could have been asked (cf. Hadden and Swann, 1982:60). Falwell's appeal lay not only in his use of media but also in his leadership role in a segment of fundamentalism known as the Independent Baptists (see Hill and Owen, 1982). As the previously examined CCC, this group also developed some rational organization and persuasive techniques in order to pursue evangelism, albeit in a different segment of the evangelical population.[7] These

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7. While Falwell and Bright's empires overlap, it is important to realize that the networks they attracted people from are different. Bright's Here's Life network was more diverse politically, religiously, and probably economically. This accounts for the reason his political organization had to screen participants for its study groups. Many of those who felt "led" to participate in the evangelistic campaigns were not necessarily right-wing fundamentalists even if Bright was. Falwell, on the other hand, needed no such screening process. His attachments and those of his parishioners were never part of the broader evangelical movement and in fact he dislikes the term "evangelical", prefering "fun-

techniques and organization could also be adapted for political goals as those of "Here's Life" were.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDEPENDENT BAPTISTS

Independent Baptists (IB) have many characteristics similar to other fundamentalists (see Chapter II).[8] They interpret the Bible literally, have contempt for tradition and liturgical forms, and are strict separationists. Besides these characteristics, however, the IB hold two other characteristics which distinguish them from most other fundamentalists and evangelicals: (1) an extreme adherence to congregational forms of polity,[9] and (2) an extreme emphasis on evangelism. Both of

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damentalist" instead. His right-wing political preferences, even before he became politically active, were always quite explicit. His followers have , for the most part, held to his ideology as well.

8. The following information on Independent Baptists was collected through a number of sources. Part of the information comes from secondary information collected on Jerry Falwell and his church the Thomas Road Baptist Church, and Jack Hyles and his church, First Baptist Church-Hammond Indiana (e.g., Lanier, 1980). Other materials come from observations of and personal interaction with the New England Baptist Temple (now Church), formerly of Easton, Massachusetts (whose pastor "Dr." Thomas Ward is the head of the Moral Majority in Massachusetts), and the North Baptist Church of Brockton, MA during the 1970s. Additional material about one of these churches was collected through their newsletters. I must warn the readers that I am being very careful about generalizing about Independent Baptists from these materials. Independent Baptist churches in New England may be significantly different from their counterparts in the "Bible Belt". Hunter's (1983) data show that evangelicals and fundamentalists compose an extremely small segment of the religious population in New England as compared with their much larger "showing" in the South and the West. Their minority status in New England may cause these churches to act and organize somewhat differently than in other places. One minister, for example, commented on how much more difficult his job was in New England because of all the "heathen liberals" living in New England. Such a different environment may distort many of my generalizations.

these characteristics are important to our understanding of the IB's involvement in the NCR and the structure this involvement took.

CONGREGATIONAL POLITY

At least in their rhetoric, all IB churches hold to strict congregationalism. "The congregational form of polity is characterized by high degrees of autonomy of the local congregation, including the power to call or dismiss clergy."(McGuire, 1981:77) Implied within this definition of congregationalism are two aspects about the nature of this form of polity. The first aspect is the highly decentralized nature of congregationalist "denominations". In a purely congregationalist denomination the local church would be completely autonomous, accountable to no higher "worldly" authority than the local congregation itself. The second aspect is adherence to democratic, decision-making procedures in the local congregation. Again, in a pure type of congregational church, all decisions would be brought to the whole membership to vote upon, with the minister, deacons or elders, and other officials of the church having no more voting power than other members. If one reads the bylaws of IB churches, hears the rhetoric of their ministers, or sees the "official" organizational flowchart of a congregation, it may seem as if IB churches exhibit both these aspects of a congregational polity. In actuality, while IB hold strictly to the first aspect, a decentralized,

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9. It is worth noting at this point that the Independent Baptists are not a denomination in the organizational sense. The connections between local congregations are through informal ties, not an overarching formal organization however weak.

system, the existence of democratic forms is a myth (at least in the churches I have examined). I will look at each of these aspects more closely.

CHURCH AUTONOMY

As I mentioned previously, IBs are not a denomination in an organizational sense. There is no overarching, centralized, denominational structure holding IB churches together and guiding their actions.[10] There is neither a centralized denominational office controlling what IBs do nor a headquarters ready to bail out an ailing church. Even local IB churches may treat their own crosstown counterparts more as competitors than as "co-workers in Christ". The local church must make it on its own.

This odd, almost Social Darwinist philosophy of IB churches becomes understandable when one considers that the IBs are only reflecting the assumptions of the social era from which fundamentalism grew (cf. Stinchcombe, 1981). Marsden (1980:34) offers a description of this social era in his discussion of the D.L. Moody empire.

> That the YMCA rather than any denomination should be Moody's main formal contact with the Christian community was indicative of an important tendency in American evangelicalism, greatly furthered by

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10. IB churches may have weak ties with other IB churches, at least regionally, through some of the "pre-packaged" programs they choose to run. For example, if they create a Christian Elementary school using the Texas based "Accelerated Christian Education" (ACE) program, they gain connections with other churches with ACE schools. If they use the Awana or Word of Life Club youth programs, they gain these same type of ties. In any case these connections are not anything like the formal ties between churches that the denominational hierarchy of let's say even the Southern Baptists provide.

Moody himself... This system encouraged the personal empire-build-
ing which developed during Moody's time. Events in the business
world of the Gilded Age paralleled this trend and likewise encour-
aged initiative and freedom from centralized regulation. Moody him-
self followed such a pattern. His success soon took him beyond the
YMCA and, although he cultivated cordial relations with all evangel-
ical denominations, he had formal connections with none. Many of
his associates followed a similar pattern. While most of them
retained some formal denominational ties, their stronger allegiances
were a variety of specialized works: revival agencies, prophetic
conferences, school, publications and local churches. These prac-
tices were perpetuated in later fundamentalism. Even where denomi-
national concerns continued, the organizational dynamic of the move-
ment was built around individual leaders and empires made up of
agencies dedicated to specific causes. It was a religion structured
according to the free enterprise system.

The effect which this rigid decentralization has on IB churches is

not fully appreciated until one observes such churches close up. All

church activities and programs are run by the local church and com-

pletely under their control. There is no denomination supplying Sunday

School materials, tracts, and the like. The church is left with the

problem of deciding from which of the many sources of fundamentalist

materials to buy their supplies or whether to produce their own. Of

course, the latter option entails the purchasing of other equipment such

as printing presses.[11] In all, close cooperation between churches, even

with those holding similar beliefs, is discouraged. For example, one of

the churches I examined first hand had several unused buses in its park-

ing lot. Another like-minded church offered to either rent or buy one

of these unused buses for their own evangelism efforts, but the first

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11. Despite the obvious expense this latter path creates, it is
often chosen for reasons amounting to little more than pride. One
debt-ridden church bought a printing press to print Spanish New Testa-
ments for their missionary to Mexico even though it probably would have
been cheaper to buy an inexpensive Spanish version already in existence.

church refused and the buses remained unused. Such competition, even with so-called "brothers-in-Christ",is fairly common. After all, as one IB minister had remarked, competition not cooperation is a Christian virtue.

DEMOCRATIC DECISION-MAKING

While the first aspect of the congregational form of polity may exist in IB churches, the second aspect-- the democratic decision-making process of the local church-- is a myth. Although the church bylaws, minutes from meetings, and organizational flow-chart may indicate that the local church members govern IB churches, usually the minister wields the power and makes the final decision. In fact, IB ministers probably exert more power over their churches than their counterparts in parishes governed by episcopalian or presbyterian forms of polity. Unlike their counterparts, IB ministers have no regional or national denominational hierarchies to constrain their actions. In turn, the disgruntled church member has no religious institution beyond the local church to go to when things go bad in his/her church.

The contradiction between the rhetoric of democratic decision-making and the actual political process in IB churches can be well illustrated by a situation that happened recently in one New England IB church. The minister of this church was under attack by some members of his congregation for a number of reasons, ranging from improper use of finances to making racist remarks to other church members. Some members left while others organized a movement to oust the pastor from his job. This movement brought their concerns to a church business meeting where

a vote of the majority of the congregation called for the removal of the minister. According to church bylaws and the ideals of congregationalism, the minister would no longer be permitted to perform his job nor receive any pay from the church after a period of time. However, the pastor did continue to perform his duties and receive a pay check after his termination, as if nothing had happened. Although this pastor did not control or gain the sympathy of the majority of the members, he did control certain individuals in key posts. The treasurer, for example, still paid the minister's salary and utility bills for the parsonage. The heads of other committees still took his lead on decisions. The staff of the church's elementary school still took their orders from him. In order to maintain the image of democracy, the pastor, through his control of the church newsletter, simply discredited those who voted against him saying his opposition was unwittingly the "tools of Satan". Therefore, he reasoned, their votes were "illegitimate" and standing in the way of the "will of God". To this day, even though voted out of office, this individual still acts as minister of this church.

Of course, the example given above is an exceptional case. The power wielded by a pastor and the contradiction this entails were never quite as visible in the other churches I have observed. In the other churches the process of power is more subterranean, and as such open conflict never becomes visible to outsiders. The partial reason why the conflict was so visible in the church in the example may the fact that the congregation in this church existed before the pastor took his position. This pastor had to gain power in an already existing structure of

interests. The membership, because they viewed the church as their own and not the pastor's, were willing to fight against the minister.

However, in the other churches examined (and it is my impression of many other IB churches), it is the present pastor who founded the church and gathered the congregation. (For example, There was no Thomas Road Baptist church before its present minister, Jerry Falwell, founded it.) In this situation the pastor is able to structure the church to his benefit, and get placed in office only handpicked individuals loyal only to himself. People join the church because of the efforts of the pastor and so seem to feel a special obligation to him. Most importantly, the pastor, because he is the church's founder, often cultivates in his congregation the feeling that it is he and not the congregation that "owns" the church. Falwell has remarked, for example, that if the Gospel were not being preached in his church after he was dead, the congregation had his permission to burn the church down. Who else but the owner of a church could give such permission? In this situation, a minister does not have to really resort to force since he has screened from important posts those who might disagreee. He has a congregation which feels a certain amount of obligation to the minister. He has a congregation which views, to some degree, the church as the pastor's property which he can dispose of in any way he wishes.

EMPHASIS ON EVANGELISM

The second characteristic that distinguishes IBs from other groups in the evangelical/fundamentalist tradition is their enormous emphasis on evangelism. At first glance, it is difficult to distinguish their emphasis from other evangelical groups, for all evangelicals claim evangelism to be their first priority. However, IBs will mean something different by this. To them, to speak of one's first priority is to speak of one's only priority (cf. Stott, 1975:35-7).

To illustrate, this it is only necessary to compare an IB church's weekly program of events with a more mainstream evangelical church's weekly schedule. The week begins in both cases with a number of Sunday services. In the more mainstream evangelical church, these services would be geared toward admonishing and uplifting the members, all assumed to be "saved souls" where sermon topics would include Christian piety or discipleship and other such concerns only of interest to someone already born again. Occasionally, an "altar call" will end the service, in hopes that "those not already saved" will respond to the call. On the other hand, in IB churches" the main focus of the Sunday services is evangelism. The services are essentially revival services. Sermon topics are geared to "winning souls to Christ". Church members are urged to bring their "unsaved friends and love ones" to the service in order that they be "converted". Where piety and discipleship are mentioned, it is always in reference to evangelism. Members are admonished for their neglect of their "soul winning" duties. An altar call ends each service.

In many evangelical churches, the only other regular weekly ser-
vice, besides Sunday's, is the midweek prayer service. IB churches also
have this service albeit with a more evangelistic, revivalist flavor.
However, IB churches also include one or two weekly visitation nights in
their calendar of activities as well. Usually one night during the week
IBs organize visitations to the houses of prospective converts, the
names of these converts often coming from the visitation cards filled
out by visitors to the last Sunday services or from the leads members
give those who do the visiting. The visiting church members, armed with
a Bible and maybe Bright's Four Spiritual Laws pamphlet, attempt to "win
the souls" of those they visit and atleast get them to promise to show
up at next week's service. Often, at the end of visitation night, the
visitation team gets together to pray and trade "war stories".

For those churches with a bus fleet, Saturday afternoon is also a
time for visitation. Each bus driver, bus captain, and his/her team go
out on Saturday afternoon to places where children are known to congre-
gate and try to get children to ride their bus to church the next day.
Often candy or other such inducements are offered to the children if
they attend (cf. Lanier, 1980).[12]

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12. Another difference between the IB view on evangelism and that
of many other evangelicals is the sense of urgency IBs bring to their
methods. IBs have this feeling that the world is very close to its last
days and that Christ will soon be returning at any time. Those who are
not saved before his return will be doomed to an eternity in hell,
therefore, it is necessary to save as many of these people as soon as
possible. As such high pressure sales tactics, which constantly demand
the potential convert to an immediate decision for Christ, are often
used by IBs. Many non-IB evangelicals on the other hand tend to soft-
sell their evangelism, being light on the pressure or sense of urgency,

With such a strong emphasis on "soul-winning", the IBs needed some way to measure whether they were successful at it (i.e., doing God's will). If the IBs were truly as literal in their interpretation of the Bible as they said they were, they would have only needed to show that they "brought the good news" to those who had not heard it to prove they were successful, for as Stott (1975:38) states, that is all evangelism means-- to bring the good news. However, IBs, as well as many other evangelicals, added a facet to this word which did not exist in the ancient Greek. They have defined the word "evangelism" in terms of results. In other words, it is not enough for an individual to be brought and hear the "Gospel" in order to say that he or she has been evangelized (as the original Greek meaning does); he or she must also respond to the message and become "born again".

While this emphasis on results has infuriated many theologians, it did make the IBs job of judging the success of their evangelism easy. Instead of choosing any one of a number of qualitative measures of successful evangelism, such as the piety of a convert or the convert's committment to God, IBs chose to measure the success of their evangelism by the number of converts and church attenders their church has. While such a measure laid them open to theological critiques of offering their flocks "cheap grace", the IBs had no trouble in judging who was doing God's will. It was simply a matter of seeing which church "packed them in" every Sunday. A "godly church" became synonomous with a big church.

"allowing God to work in his own time and way."

THE IB CHURCH GROWTH MOVEMENT AND THE NCR

With the IBs emphasis on evangelism and their numerical operation-
alization of this term, the IB churches of the late 1960s and early
1970s began to try a number of techniques to increase their church
attendance and the number of individuals "making decisions for Christ."
The techniques were many and diverse. There were Sunday "give-aways"
where some type of "valuable" prize would be given away to each person
who attended church or to that person bringing the most people. One of
the New England churches I have observed once had a special Easter con-
test wherein the child who brought the most people would win a "real
live" rabbit. Other churches have given silver dollars to each of those
who attended church. Another strategy was to have a contest which pit-
ted half of the church Sunday school against the other half to see which
side within an allotted time period could bring in the most people. The
winner again often received some type of prize.[13] Large bus fleets were
created by some churches in order to make church attendance more conven-
ient and to expand the geographical area from which potential members

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13. The offering of prizes in order to coax people to do their
"religious duty" has culminated in a number of religious T.V. game
shows. A rather tame one called "Bible Baffle" is essentially a Bible
quiz mixed in with a little scrabble. A children's game show called the
"Bible Bowl" is a bit more bizarre and manipulative. In one segment a
ten-dollar bill is placed in a child's hand and he or she is told that,
if he or she answers the following question, the bill will be his or
hers. The child chosen to answer this question is usually selected by
the host closing his eyes, pointing his finger, spinning around and say-
ing "Around, and around and around I go and where I stop only Jesus
knows." This show culminates with the winning team of children having
an ice cream party while the losing team is forced to sit there and
watch the winners eat.

could come from. The First Baptist Church of Hammond, for example,

buses children to their church from many Chicago neighborhoods (Lanier,

1980). Extensive door-to-door canvasing of the church's neighborhood

was also used. Whether or not the actual techniques used -- or some

other cultural or societal level variable-- were responsible, by the

late 1960s, churches began to show more success at increasing their

church size than others.[14] Jerry Falwell's success in building the

Thomas Road Baptist church is one such successful IB church.

Falwell began his ministerial career in Lynchburg, Virginia[15] in

1956. His first church service took place in front of a few people in

an old soda bottling factory which he rented. Within a few weeks he was

also buying time on a local radio station and later still on T.V. He

later bought a bus fleet to bring people to his church. His church's

attendance grew so that by the late 1960s he had one of the largest

churches in the country (17,000 active members). Besides his use of the

media, buses, and other techniques such as door-to-door canvassing of

Lynchburg, Falwell claimed at least partially explain his success. He

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14. It is worth noting that the successful IB churches have always
attributed their success to both God and the techniques used, never to
cultural or societal factors. When some members of one New England
church attributed their church's failure at growth to the fact that
those techniques used in the Bible belt do not work with New Englanders,
the minister chastised them. In this minister's view, since God is
unchanging and universal, so are the techniques used to bring people to
Him. To speak of cultural and societal factors is to allow "relativism"
and "secular humanism" to creep into your thinking.

15. It is interesting to note that Lynchburg was Falwell's birth-
place and the region where he grew up. This causes one to speculate
whether much of Falwell's success in church building can be attributed
to his use of friendship networks (cf. Snow et al, 1980).

built a Bible college and a new church building. His church, along with other IBs' (like Hyles's church in Hammond, Indiana), were viewed by fundamentalists as the model which all ministers should strive to create (Current Biography, 1981; Lanier, 1980).

At this point I should warn the reader against taking the attendance figures quoted by IBs at face value. Falwell has been known to often exaggerate about the size of his television audience (Hadden and Swann, 1982; Martin, 1982). Falwell has claimed his program attracts 50 million viewers, when actually his viewership is 1.5 million. The figures churches give of weekly conversions are often slightly distorted as well. In one of the New England churches observed, often many individuals would come up week after week to be "saved" even though, as strict Calvinists, the church believed that a person "once saved" was "always saved". Some of those repeaters were adults who during their salvation testimony would state that they really were not serious about their previous conversions. Others were children who seemed to enjoy the attention they got when they went down to the pulpit for conversion. Despite their theology, this church still counted repeat converters in their figures, did not delete their past conversion from church records, and presented their figures as if each conversion counted was of a different individual. With the great emphasis which churches place on numbers and the resulting prestige it can bring in the IB community, it is not surprising that such "fudging" of figures goes on. Researchers of church growth and revivals, however, must be aware of these problems when they

study such churches (cf. McLoughlin, 1983:106).[16]

Being separationists, it would have been against IBs beliefs to cooperate with other churches in evangelistc endeavors such as those of the CCC. However, there was nothing in their beleifs which would prevent successful IB churches from teaching others their techniques. So during the late 1960s and early 1970s many IB churches began holding Church Growth conferences. Falwell was one individual holding such conferences. His were and still are held in early summer for approximately a week and are usually advertised in fundamentalist publications like the Sword of the Lord and on his own T.V. program.

During the week, seminars are held on an array of topics. There are sessions on door-to-door evangelism where individuals learn various salesmanship techniques such as how to persuade potential converts to allow you into their homes, how to guide the conversation in your direction, how to meet the objections of potential converts. "Trainees" often learn and practice Bright's Four Spiritual Laws pamphlet. Such seminars also demonstrate techniques for systematically canvassing your local community.

Seminars on using buses to increase church size are also included. The bus seminars offer a systematic plan for organizing a church's "bus ministry." Each of the church's buses are to be manned by a team of

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16. In all fairness to IBs they are not the only ones guilty of such deceit. Individuals who watch Billy Graham crusades may often be impressed by the great number of people who respond to Graham's calls for repentance and conversion. What they fail to realize is that many of the individuals they see leaving their seats to go to the front are crusade counselors.

individuals which include a bus driver, a bus captain, and various other helpers.[17] Each team is suppose to be responsible for a certain geographical area and compete against other bus teams by attempting to bring more people to church than the other buses. The bus teams' responsibilities do not start and end with Sunday iorning ride but also include the canvassing of their appointed areas usually on Saturday afternoons. Finally seminars on the media are often offered which give "trainees" suggestions on how to use T.V. and radio for evangelism.[18] As time passed by, these conferences in Falwell's church, as well as others, attracted a fairly large crowd of both IBs and other fundamentalists.

These church-growth conferences developed certain resources appealing to the old secular rightists when they began to get ideas of expanding their movement. First, these conferences, along with Falwell's T.V. show, were the source of Falwell's large national network. Those attending those conferences were urged to sign Falwell's mailing list. Pastors and other church leaders were also asked to sign the names of those in the local church who would be interested in receiving Falwell's newsletter. For Viguerie, a man always interested in expanding his direct-mailing business, this list was very appealing (Newsweek, September 15, 1980). Also such a list later gave Falwell a network upon

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17. Some churches have what is known as "bus pastors"- assistant pastors whose responsibility is strictly the church's bus ministry.

18. Other seminars such as youth ministry and choir direction are also held but these are not directly important to our understanding of the NCR.

which to build his own national organization-- the Moral Majority-- for many pastors attending his conferences later became leaders of the regional chapters of the organization (cf. Pines, 1981; Huntington and Kaplan, 1982). Second, many of the techniques taught to increase church size could be easily transferred to political usage. Such techniques as door-to-door canvassing, the bus ministry, or the use of the media could be quite useful to the political right. The door-to-door canvassing procedures could be used (and in some cases were) for voter registration drives. The same type of bus ministry organization could be adapted to getting people to the polls. The use of the media by the movement (see the next chapter) has been much more obvious. In 1978, these resources came to the attention of the old-right activists who asked Falwell to use them for their right-wing causes. Falwell accepted and founded the Moral Majority (Newsweek, September 15, 1980).

There was one "resource" that the IBs had, however, which did not prove beneficial to the NCR in general or the Moral Majority in particular. As I mentioned earlier, IBs believe in the rigid autonomy of the local church, a belief Falwell built into his Moral Majority organization. Each state chapter of the organization was autonomous and therefore not under control of the national office. Such an organizational structure has been the source of embarrassment to Falwell and others in the national office, as many of the local chapters have exhibited, under the name of Moral Majority, some rather strange, detrimental behaviors which Falwell had no power to control. For example, the Maryland chapter boycotted a bakery selling anatomically accurate gingerbread people.

The protests, instead of molding public opinion against the bakery, simply made the Moral Majority a national joke, much to Falwell's disappointment.

CONCLUSION

In this and the previous chapter, I have examined the first three questions pertaining to the NCR's preexistent social network. In answer to the first question (what networks did the fundamentalist preference structure use to mobilize collectively on a national level?), I have identified two major networks. The first, both in importance and chronology, is the network of old rightists which has as its focal point YAF. The YAF became the source of many of those who went on to work for RAVCO. The second more visible network consists of a number of fundamentalists groups and to a lesser extent evangelicals, which had involved themselves in the church growth and evangelistic movements of the early 1970s.

Question 2 on how these networks developed I have also dealt with. The first network was on the political fringe up until the early 1970s when the Election reforms legislated by the U.S. Congress put them into a position of increased power. The tactics (direct-mailing) which this group used for survival during the 1950s and 1960s took on increased importance when political organizers were forced to depend much more on the small contributions of many contributers. The increased prominence of this first group prompted them to seek out other likeminded groups with other resources to further their position. The second network was one such group, for it had developed rational techniques and organiza-

tion for its envangelistic endeavors which could be as transferable to political activities.

When I constructed the third question (how has this social network affected the nature and extent of the strategies and tactics the New Christian has taken?) I was not aware of the underlying assumption I and other writers (e.g., Morris, 1981) were holding about the nature of social movements; our assumption was that the relationship between the choice of tactics and the social network was a simple cause and effect relationship with the social network as the cause and the tactics and/or strategies as the effect. In some cases, the simple relationship is evident. I have shown, for example, how the nature of the old-right network made it necessary to develop direct-mailing techniques in order to survive. But such a model does not capture the complexity of the social network/tactics relationship. It gives us an oversocialized view of those involved in social movements, portraying them as individuals whose tactics are strictly the result of the constraints the social network places upon the social movement. However, such is not always the case. I have also shown how the Old Right leaders, once they gained more prominance, chose certain strategies and tactics (e.g., media exposure) they wished to use first and then looked to see what network they could attach themselves to to produce such tactics. In this case, the choice of tactic becomes the independent variable while the social network is the dependent. Further research is needed to identify what type of situations produce what type of tactics/social network relationships. From my own research here, it would seem that two factors are the degree

of closeness of the social network to the political fringe, and the amount and importance of the resources the network holds. A network on the political fringe with little resources is forced to make do with what the network has already provided. It has no resources or prominence which it can "trade" for other resources necessary for other tactics. It must make do with what it has. On the other hand, a network with more prestige and valuable resources can use their resources to appropriate other resources or networks for their chosen tactics. The choice of what tactic to use is much less at the mercy of those resources the social network originally has control over.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEW CHRISTIAN RIGHT AND THE NEWS MEDIA

In this chapter I will discuss the last question pertaining to the preexistent social network: How have the strategies and tactics affected the NCR? To answer this question, I will focus on only one strategy-- strategy for gaining media access. I have chosen to investigate this strategy rather than others used by the NCR for two reasons. First, it is the most well-known means used by the NCR. Much of the commmentary, inside and outside academia, discussing the NCR at some time focuses on their use of the media. Despite this, however, little or no theoretic or systematic discussion takes place. Second, because of the prominence of the media in shaping our political opinions and viewpoints (Tuchman, 1978), social movements attempting to become legitimate political alternatives will sooner or later have to gain media exposure. The political reality of modern society would deem it necessary for a movement to implement such tactics. Having decided to study only this type of means, I must clarify that, because of the special nature of the media, generalizations I reach about media tactics will not necessarily apply to other major strategies of change or influence.

One further point should be mentioned. It may seem that this fourth question has already been touched upon in last chapter's discus-

sion of question (3), for I have already mentioned how the choice of a strategy affects what network a group chooses to make a coalition with. All that should be said is that in this chapter my concern is with how the implementation of a certain strategy actually affects a movement, not with how a choice of strategies affects another tactical choice.

INTRODUCTION

When a discussion of the importance of the media to the NCR takes place, the discourse usually centers on the televangelists, those T.V. preachers such as Falwell, Robertson, Bakker, and Robison, who appear weekly on their respective programs and who became involved in the politics of the NCR. While such examinations of the NCR are important (e.g., Hadden and Swann, 1983), they distort the real role the media have played in this social movement. The media have been important to NCR but not because of religious programming. Unlike this common assumption, these T.V. programs were not responsible for publicizing the movement to those outside the movement. The average non-NCR-ist only has to ask him/herself how he/she first heard of the NCR to begin to comprehend the relative unimportance of these programs in gaining societal-wide attention for the NCR. Did the non-NCR-ist first hear of this movement from the haphazard tuning in one night of one of these tele-, vangelists; or instead did this individual first hear of this movement from the secular news media? This latter situation is the most probable. If this is so, then, the discussion should not concentrate on the religious programming as such but on the NCR's use of the secular news media. The aim of this chapter is to examine the dialectic relationship

between the New Christian and the news media, using Molotch's (1979) theoretical framework supplemented by other works, as an outline. In simple form, Molotch identifies three moments in the relationship between the media and a social movement.

(1) GAINING MEDIA ACCESS-- Since what the news media present as news is accepted by its readers as an issue of importance (Tuchman, 1978:2), the social movement must attract the media's attention in order to be taken seriously. To attract attention a social movement must present itself as newsworthy(as being something readers want to or need to know). This may be a difficult challenge for a social movement to meet, since social movements usually do not naturally fit the media's definition of being newsworthy.

(2) TRANSFORMATION OF EVENT INTO NEWS PERSPECTIVE-- The media do not just present newsworthy events; they also transform the events into what Altheide (1976) has called the news perspective. The media distort the actual event by taking it out of its real context and recontextualizing it into the world of the media with its own interests and needs.

(3) NEWS PERSPECTIVE TRANSFORMS MOVEMENT-- The transformed view of the social movement created by the media reacts back upon the social move- ment itself. The social movement begins to take its image of itself from what the media writes about it.

This chapter will examine each of these moments in reference to the New Christian Right. This analysis is not intended as a test of the validity of Molotch's theoretical construct; rather Molotch's framework

is used as a heuristic device for explaining an important aspect of this recent social movement.

THE NEWS MEDIA AND THE NEW CHRISTIAN RIGHT

The public assumes that those events which are disseminated by the news media are the most objectively important events happening that day, while those events that do not appear are not important. The knowledge we get from media is perceived as important. The political agenda and opinions it espouses are seen as the only realistic alternatives. (Tuchman, 1978:2) However, many studies have found that a variety of standards are used by the news media in deciding the newsworthiness of an incident. These standards are not idiosyncratic to the individual making the decisions but rather are guided by the interests, needs and organizational structure of the news media.

What then are the standards by which the news media decide whether a story is newsworthy or not? Both Bagdikian (1972) and Molotch and Lester (1974) claim stories are often judged for their political content (whether manifest or latent). Most of the mass media, by virtue of their corporate ownership and ties have a stake in maintaining that order. The media help maintain that order existing by presenting stories which do not seriously question its fundamental assumptions. While political alternatives may be presented and battles between the government and the media may go on, the fundamental legitimacy of the established order goes unquestioned. Tuchman (1978:2) states that since the media shape our political knowledge and opinions, it serves the established order as an effective means of social control.

Another factor in determining an event's newsworthiness is its entertainment value (Altheide, 1976:14). All sources of media are businesses involved in making a profit, and a profitable "news business" is one that attracts important sponsors and advertisers. Therefore, the choice of a story for airing may come down to the question of what attracts the largest readership or viewership. As one reporter of a Chicago newspaper stated, "there is no point to write about it if the reader is not going to read it." (From interview by Nyden, 1982) A Chicago radio personality put it another way.

> Let's take an unpopular group... A splinter Maoist group will be less likely to appear on my program than Gus Hall. It's not a case of whether their ideas are popular or not but whether they are a group that represents large segments of society. (From interview by Miller, 1982)

The standards by which the news media decide what is newsworthy pose significant problems for many social movements. They need the issue defining power of the media; but however important their message may be, a social movement is often not newsworthy.

There are several reasons why social movements often face difficulty in obtaining the kind of media coverage they desire. First, by definition, social movements are anti-institutional (Traugott, 1978). Their aims include the changing of the societal order which newspapers and television news have a large interest in preserving. To give sympathetic news coverage to a social movement, would legitimate the social movements aims and at least tacitly undermine the legitimacy of the established social order. Second, social movements frequently do not offer much entertainment value. The expression of a social movement's

grievances may be too dry, "intellectual", or radical to attract the average laymen's interest. A social movement usually represents a numerical minority, therefore the coverage of the movement would not significantly raise readership or ratings.

How does a social movement gain media coverage? Basically, by the leadership using whatever resources possessed to make themselves newsworthy. Social movements develop strategies which will fill the news media's need for interesting and entertaining stories. They may also try to present themselves as supported or tied to the institutional order. Let us examine some of the strategies the New Christian Right has used to gain media coverage.

GAINING ACCESS THROUGH CREATING MEDIA APPEAL

One of the news media's considerations when judging a potential event for coverage is the number of people involved in the happening. Snyder and Kelly (1977), for example, found that the larger number of participants in a riot, the more likely the news bureaus would cover it. Incidents with only a few participants tend to be of little interest to news consumers. Unfortunately, social movements, especially in their initial stages, usually have few members and many of these are not committed. However, this has not stopped social movements from using this consideration to gain media access. Therefore, social movements like the New Christian Right have used certain strategies to make them appear larger than they really are.

One strategy the New Christian Right has used to appear larger than they actually are is to simply inflate their membership. For exam-

ple, during the 1980 Republican convention in Detroit, Jerry Falwell claimed to have a T.V. audience for his "Old Time Gospel Hour" program in excess of 50 million. The week before he had claimed it to be only 25 million. According to Hadden and Swann (1982:47-8) and Martin (1981), Falwell's audience is actually much smaller, 1.5 million at most. This type of creative accounting by the televangelists is quite common.

A second strategy, which is a logical progression from the first, is to claim the allegiance of a whole population already known to be of a large size even when this population is divided in its loyalties. For example, the New Christian has claimed to represent the interests of "all evangelicals", a group the Gallup polls estimate to be in the millions. However, as many scholars (e.g., Moberg, 1975) have stated, evangelicals are much too diverse culturally, socially, and politically for any one political group to represent. A 1980 Gallup poll (Newsweek September 15, 1980) supports this claim. Except on the issues of abortion and prayer in schools, evangelicals were no more conservative in their politics than non-evangelicals. In fact, in this poll, non-evangelicals were more likely to support Reagan than evangelicals.

GAINING ACCESS THROUGH THE UNIQUE EVENT

If an event is entertaining enough, it may help attract more news consumers and keep those already reading or watching. Another strategy for a social movement seeking media coverage is to give the media an entertaining, unusual event. Unfortunately, social movements have little control over how the viewers or readers interpret their performance. While the social movement may have little trouble staging a unique

event, the news consumer may miss the symbolism and meaning behind the performance and instead just laugh at those "crackpots" making fools of themselves. (Molotch, 1979)

This has been the case with many events staged by the New Christian Right. For example, in early 1980 the Maryland chapter of the Moral Majority staged a demonstation in front of a Baltimore bakery because the establishment sold anatomically accurate gingerbread people. The action which this chapter thought would raise an important public issue actually discredited the organization. Consequently, Falwell himself criticized their actions as extreme. (Scheer, 1981)

As time passes, the news consumers' tastes change; and so what is considered unique, entertaining and incredible at one time may not be so later on. In this type of situation, a social movement must keep up with what is percieved as unique. A tried and true "formula" that worked for them or others at one time may be passe at a later time. This was the case with the New Christian Right's "Washington for Jesus" campaign. (Clendinen, 1980) In the Spring of 1980, Bill Bright of Campus Crusade, Pat Robertson of the 700 Club and others organized a demonstration in Washington D.C. to celebrate a day of national prayer, fasting, and repentance. Thousands showed up for the demonstration; in fact, it was estimated to be the third or fourth largest demonstration to have ever been held in Washington up to that time. Demonstration leaders felt that it did not gain the media attention its size justified. While the leaders saw the limited media coverage as another example of their being ignored by the liberal media, the real reason is probably much

simpler and less conspiratorial. Even large demonstrations have become a much more common event in recent years (Altheide, 1979). Therefore, today the media no longer see a large demonstration as a story that will be interesting to their readers or viewers simply because of its size.

GAINING ACCESS THROUGH PUBLIC FIGURES

In their study of the Santa Barbara oil spill, Molotch and Lester found that national political officials and business spokespersons had more access to the media than both conservationists and local officials. The statements of the national and business leaders were more likely to be published even when local officials and convervationists presented a more accurate depiction of relevant events. Tuchman reached similar conclusions. As he put it (1978:133), "Those who hold recognized reins of legitimated power clearly have more access to the media than those who do not." Even those in the news media recognize the bias. When a Chicago reporter was asked whether he would cover a press conference by the Gray Panthers vs. one held by the city's Mayor's Office of Senior Citizen's Affairs, he stated, "The Mayor's office would be covered because they have control over resources, they have power." (From interview by Nyden, 1982) These findings are predictable, since events are chosen and presented in a manner which legitimates the social order and its distribution of power and wealth. Both national and business leaders are representatives of this order and therefore, their statements serve a legitimating function.

Most social movements lack ties to the elites. However, there are strategies by which they can create the appearance of having such ties.

The New Christian Right used just such a strategy. During the 1980 election, all three major candidates claimed to be "born again" Christians. Since the New Christian Right had claimed to represent the interests of all evangelicals and fundamentalists, the group seized the opportunity to claim ties to all three candidates. With this self-proclaimed tie and a little "ministerial" truth-stretching, the New Christian Right was able to gain news coverage. A well publicized incident involving Jerry Falwell can illustrate this point.

In an interview, Jerry Falwell brought up the issue of public jobs for homosexuals. In denouncing homosexuals and those who hire them, Falwell related a conversation he had with the then President Jimmy Carter. Falwell stated that Carter admitted hiring homosexuals in his administration because he was President of all Americans, homosexual and heterosexual. In fact, Carter never made such a statement to Falwell or anyone else. Even though Falwell admitted he lied about the incident and later apologized to Carter, it still functioned in the manner Falwell wished. It gave him news coverage by identifying him with the major institutional figure.

TRANSFORMING THE EVENT

Choosing an event is only the first step in the news making process. Even if the news media were objective in the process of both choosing an event and of publishing and broadcasting it, the event would still be distorted through the process of translation and description, that is, through the process of creating a news perspective. The whole complexity of an event becomes words on paper or images on a 21 inch

screen. The whole process of mobilizing individuals becomes a three-minute summary (Altheide, 1976:23). Even the seemingly objective process of filming an event may change the event. Tuchman (1978:111-2), using Hall's personal space approach, has shown how the camera angle shot, how close the camera is filming the event, etc. effect the "message" presented to the audience. A close up (personal distance) of, let's say, a wounded soldier may have much more impact on the viewer than a shot of the same incident taken from farther away (public distance). Just the process of translating an event into a media format, even under the most ideal conditions, cannot help but distort the actual nature of the event.

Since ideal objective conditions do not exist in the news process, the average process of distortion is even worse than in the above cases. Events are not only distorted by the translation process but also by the organizational imperatives of the news media itself. Events must be presented in a manner consistent with the interests of the media. This is done by the decontextualizing an event out of context and recontextualizing it within the news perspective (Altheide, 1976:24-81).

How is a story placed in this perspective? Altheide mentions two ways. First, events must be presented as narratives. They are given a beginning, a middle, and an ending. The event thus becomes easily digestible to the public; the audience is not left hanging or waiting for answers. Second, reporters, writers, and editors look for "angles" to the story. They look for human interest slants, unusual coincidences, and the like which may take an event further out of its context

by exaggerating or ignoring certain aspects of its original context. As one reporter states, "it is a little hard to write about an event without some theatrics to spice up the story. We sometimes can add some theatrics to the story." (From interview by Nyden, 1982) If a social movement's aware of the news perspective, it faces a real dilemma. On the one hand, movement leaders realize that news coverage is needed if public visibility is to be created. On the other hand, the news media's process of decontexualizing an event and the "recontexualizing" in the news perspective may destroy credibility and negate the objectives for which visibility was sought. This distortion is even more likely if the social movement's message questions the present order.

The New Christian Right has not been immune to this decontextualizing/recontextualizing process. One of the more notable examples is the media's presentation of the New Christian Right's perceptions of Jews. On the one hand, we have some articles which present the group solely as anti-semitic; others paint them as Zionists in their support of Israel. Both perceptions distort the actual viewpoint of the New Christian Right by taking the movement's statements out of their religious and social context.

The articles that have pointed to anti-semitism usually use the Rev. Bailey Smith's statement that "God doesn't hear the prayers of the Jews" as an example of such feelings. However, one must be extremely careful about accepting such an interpretation without examining the context in which the statement was made. As many researchers (e.g., Johnstone, 1975) have noted, there is a thin but distinct difference

between a Christian group's statement on the validity of Judaism and outright anti-semitism. Irrespective of Smith's underlying motives, he was making a statement reflecting his religious beliefs, no more different than a rabbi who states that Christ was not the son of God, an atheist who says there is no God, or a vegetarian who proclaims that meat is bad for one's body. Each is making a statement of belief which in its proclamation condemns the beliefs and/or practices of other groups (Hadden and Swann, 1982). Probably none one would consider them bigots, however, because of such statements.

There are also those close to the New Christian Right (like Jerry Falwell) who deny hatred of the Jews. They are presented or present themselves as the Jews' best friends based on their hard-line support for Israel. What such a presentation does not reveal, however, is that their position on Israel is based not on inherent support for Jews or Israel but on millenialist eschatological beliefs. Supporters of the New Christian Right believe the Bible mandates support for Israel and teaches that the state of Israel plays an important part in the last days before the second coming of Christ. In fact, they believe that the creation of the state of Israel is a sign of Christ's coming.

In both of the above cases, the media have ignored such contextual details and present the New Christian Right's views on Israel and Jews in general in a simplistic, highly "digestible" news perspective.

THE MEDIA IMAGE REACTING BACK

The media play an important part in constructing the public's view of reality. It is the major source of news consumers's political knowledge, shaping the public's view of what are acceptable political alternatives. What the public accepts as "reality", however, is greatly influenced by the needs and interests of the news media. Members of social movements are members of the public which consumes the news. As a result, they too have their political knowledge and alternatives partially defined by the news media. If the social movement has been at all successful in media access, then its self-image may come partly from the image the news media constructs. This media-created image may, in turn, affect the direction of the social movement.

Tuchman (1978) illustrates this process based on the relationship between the media and the feminist movement. According to Tuchman, early feminist ideology held that for true sexual equality to exist the whole institutional order of capitalism had to be transformed. This anti-institutional belief system made it difficult to gain access to the media since this belief opposed the institution's male-dominated interests and needs. In order to gain media access, feminism had to present a different image.

Certain segments of feminism did attempt to change, presenting themselves as part of the institutional order. The message became not one of radical change but of women being allowed to "make it" within the given institutional order. This image in turn reacted back on the movement. Many men and women attracted to the movement were more interested

in giving women greater access within the system than in changing the underlying assumptions.

It is too early to know just what effect the media coverage has had on the New Christian Right. However, at least one important yet subtle change in the New Christian Right (and fundamentalism in general) has occurred since its mobilization. Martin Marty (Buursma, 1982) notes that fundamentalism has shifted from legitimating its beliefs by claiming to be a persecuted minority to legitimating itself through claims of its power and size. This shift in legitimation and theology can at least be partially attributable to the effects of media coverage.

Prior to the emergence of the New Christian Right, fundamentalism was viewed by the rest of society as a curious survival from the past. The "fundies", as liberal theologians called them, were seen as a small, insignificant group mostly of rural, lower-class individuals who held bigoted social attitudes, a primitive view of science, and an ultra-conservative political ideology. Fundamentalists were perceived as out-of-touch with society. Fundamentalists were well aware of how they were viewed but curiously enough made no effort to change this image. In fact, they were contented with the image because, in their minds, it only served to prove the truth of their beliefs. They pointed out biblical references prophesying that Christ's followers would be laughed at, "despised and rebuked by men" and (like Christ) even put to death. The "sinfulness" of their critics served to further justify their premillenial beliefs concerning the "wickedness of the last days". Their persecution was only "a sign of Christ's imminent return". Therefore,

society's low image of them only served to prove that they and not the rest of society, were right, that they were "the true followers of Christ".

This belief system served fundamentalism well while it wished to be separate from the mainstream of society, but it was not as useful when the New Christian Right began to seek political influence and favorable media coverage. The New Christian Right therefore used a number of techniques to exaggerate its size and create an image of institutional attachments. The media, in turn, constructed the distorted image of the New Christian Right as a movement to be reckoned with.

The New Christian Right began to accept this image. Dave Breese, a T.V. evangelist, stated (Wallis, 1981:23), "...It no longer fits to picture us as redneck preachers pounding the pulpit. Evangelical Christianity has become the greatest show on earth. Twenty to forty years ago it was on the edge of things. Now it has moved to the center." Fundamentalists no longer viewed themselves as a persecuted minority but as a powerful political group. This made it impossible, however, for most fundamentalists to use the persecuted minority scenario to legitimate their beliefs. Therefore, a different legitimating belief was substitiuted for persecution. Fundamentalists now asserted the truth of their vision and beliefs on the basis of alleged widespread support and acceptance. It is too early to determine the total impact of this triumphalist legitimation.

<u>CONCLUSION</u>

Using the work of Molotch as an outline, I have analyzed the relationship between the New Christian Right and the news media in order to discover how the use of the media-attracting tactics have affected the NCR. I have seen that the New Christian Right has used many tactics to gain media access. The media have taken what the New Christian Right has chosen to present and has transformed the NCR's message into a form consistent with the news media's interests and needs. The transformed image of the movement presented by the media has in turn reacted back on the New Christian Right, changing the way the New Christian Right and fundamentalism views itself.

If this analysis is accurate, we are led to ask further questions implied by this research. First, if the media do present a distorted view of social movements, what effect, if any, does this have on member recruitment to the movement? Does the distortion effectively thwart the ability of the movement to recruit because the movement has received an unattractive image, or does the distortion attract members of a different social background or psychological disposition than the original members? In the case of the New Christian Right, has the image of the New Christian Right as anti-semites discouraged potential supporters from joining or has this image actually attracted more anti-semites into the movement?

These questions imply still further questions. If the media are a source of social control, what social control purpose does the distortion of a social movement serve? Is the image-creating ability an

effective means of destroying a movement? Is the image presented meant to affect the legitimacy of a movement in the eyes of the public or is the image-creating ability simply a means by which the media gain higher ratings and not a social control mechanism at all? If this ability helps a movement attract certain types of members, does this new "cohort" of members hamper the overall effectiveness of the New Christian Right to mobilize and gain legitimacy?

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study has been to investigate the NCR from a sociological perspective. The major aim of this dissertation was to use the political activity of Christian fundamentalists as a "laboratory" in which to test and expand on two of the currently held sociological theories on social movements. This study analyzed two main questions.

(1) What is the source of the social psychological motivations leading these Christian fundamentalists to political action?
(2) By what organizational structures have these individuals been able to collectively mobilize on the national level?

The conceptual frameworks tested and used were taken basically from two theoretically compatible sociological perspectives on social movements: (1) the Politics of Lifestyle Concern approach and (2) the Resource Mobilization approach. The Politics of Lifestyle approach views right-wing social movements as originating out of a social group's feelings that their values, attitudes and lifestyle are being threatened by certain social forces. In order to protect their lifestyle, the social group unites to form a social movement. From this approach I tested two hypotheses:

(1) The NCR preference structure is the result of increased lifestyle concerns in Sunbelt fundamentalism.

(2) These lifestyle threats are the result of Snowbelt migration into the Sunbelt.

The Resource Mobilization approach examines the variety of resources a social movement needs in order to explain how a movement arises. It takes the social psychological motivations of individuals as given and instead focuses on the "linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of social movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control and incorporate movements." (McCarthy and Zald, 1977:1213) From the Resource Mobilization approach four questions were asked about the NCR.

(1) What early 1970s networks was the fundamentalist preference structure able to use to mobilize collectively on the national level?

(2) How did this social network develop?

(3) Following from Morris (1981), how has this social network affected the nature and extent of the strategies and tactics the NCR has taken?

(4) How have these stategies and tactics affected the NCR?

One of the primary aims of this dissertation has been to try to join together these two social theories as a preliminary attempt to bring together the old and new in social movement theory. The Politics of Lifestyle Concern approach (see Lorentzen, 1980), a derivative of the Status Politics approach, was to be utilized to examine the social psychological motivations which have caused Christian fundamentalists to

mobilize at this time. The Resource Mobilization approach (see McCarthy and Zald, 1977)-- currently the dominant perspective in social movement theory-- was to be used to explain how these motivated fundamentalists were able to mobilize in coordinated action. Because of some of this dissertation's findings, this synthesis proved to be impossible since the PLC framework did not prove useful in understanding the NCR. My data forced me to reject the PLC hypotheses.

PLC FINDINGS

As I showed in chapter 3, the following analysis has yielded some unexpected results. Instead of finding(as Lorentzen 1980 and Zwier 1982 have implied) rising levels of lifestyle concern, political concern, and calls for political action among fundamentalists, I found that from 1955 to 1980 these social psychological variables remained relatively steady. This does not mean that fundamentalists do not feel lifestyle or political concern today; but rather, the level of these concerns is no higher than before the development of the NCR and so therefore they cannot be used to explain the appearance of the movement. For these reasons I had to reject the two PLC hypotheses and look elsewhere for an explanation of this social movement.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PLC FINDINGS

These PLC results do have a number of theoretical implications for the study of social movements. First, the thesis presented by Lipset and Raab (1973), among others, that the rise of right-wing extremist movements can be accounted for with reference to status or lifestyle

threats is questionable, at least in the case of the NCR. When a proper research design is employed (i.e., a longitudinal design which measures the lifestyle concern of a group before they are politically active), we see that the conclusions Lorentzen (1980) reached, regarding the relationship between lifestyle concern and the political mobilization of the NCR, do not exist. These results do not mean that the present members of the NCR do not feel lifestyle concern, but that the degree of lifestyle concern is no higher now than in the recent past.

Secondly and more generally, the fact that all three dependent variables remained fairly constant throughout the time period studied tends to underpin the resource mobilization approach's contention that increased discontent and concern cannot account for the rise of a social movement. These results seem to support the findings of other researchers (e.g. Portes, 1971) who have concluded that the social psychological approaches are inadequate for explaining social movements. At least with reference to the NCR, such an approach does not offer us much in the way of understanding social movement phenomena. If the NCR proves to be the norm in this regard, social psychologically oriented theorist must begin to rethink their position. If the NCR proves to be an exception, theorists must explain why some SMs arise because of social psychological factors and others do not.

Thirdly, the following analysis cautions us as to the dangers of utilizing social movement ideology in judging member motivation (cf. Wallis, 1975). Although the leader rhetoric and movement ideology contends that the NCR germinated out of increased discontent, lifestyle

concern, and political concern (see Falwell, 1980; Viguerie, 1980), these results exhibit that no such trends have existed. While the study of ideology adds an important facet to our understanding of social movements, we must not use it (like Zwier 1982) as a direct indicator of member motivation. Social movement ideology has other functions (e.g., legitimation) which may not be compatible with accurate analysis.

SOCIAL NETWORK FINDINGS

While the PLC approach did not help in understanding the NCR, the resource mobilization approach proved to be more useful. In the Resource Mobilization chapters, I examined the four questions pertaining to the NCR's preexistent social network. In answer to the first question (what networks did the fundamentalist preference structure use to mobilize collectively on a national level?), I have identified two major networks. The first, both in importance and chronology, is that network of old rightists which has as its focal point-- the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). The YAF became the source of many of those who went on to work for Richard A. Viguerie Company (RAVCO). The second more visible network consists of a number of fundamentalists groups and to a lesser extent evangelicals which had involved themselves in the church growth and evangelistic movements of the early 1970s.

Question two, how did these networks develop?, I have dealt with as well. The first network was on the political fringe up until the early 1970s when the election reforms legislated by the U.S. Congress put them into a position of increased power. The tactics (direct-mailing) which this group used for survival during the 1950s and 1960s took

on increased importance when politicos were forced to depend much more on the small contributions of many contributers. The increased prominence of this first group prompted them to seek out other like-minded groups with other resources to further their position. The second network was one such group, for it had developed rational techniques and organization for its evangelistic endeavors which could be easily adapted for modern political organizing.

When I constructed the third question-- how has this social network affected the nature and extent of the strategies and tactics the New Christian Right has taken?-- I was not aware of the underlying assumption that I and other writers (e.g., Morris, 1981) were holding about the nature of social movements: our assumption was that the relationship between the choice of tactics and the social network was a simple cause and effect relationship-- with the social network as the cause and the tactics and/or strategies as the effect. In some cases, this simple relationship is evident. For example, I have shown how the nature of the old right network made it necessary to develop direct-mailing techniques in order to survive. But such a model does not capture the complexity of the social network/tactics relationship. It gives us an oversocialized view[1] of those involved in social movements, portraying them as individuals whose tactics are strictly the result of the constraints the social network places upon the social movement.

However, such is not always the case, for I have also shown how

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1. By an "oversocialized view", I mean an overly social deterministic view which leaves no place for human freedom or creativity.

the Old Right leaders, once they gained more prominance, chose certain strategies and tactics they wished to use first (e.g., media exposure) and then looked to see what network they could attach themselves to in order to produce such tactics. In this case, the choice of tactic becomes the independent variable while the social network is the dependent. Further research is needed to identify what type of situation produces what type of tactics/social network relationships. From my own research here it would seem that two factors are the degree of closeness of the social network to the political fringe and the amount and importance of the resources the network holds. A network on the political fringe with few resources is forced to make do with what the network has already provided. It has no resources or prominence which it can "trade" for other resources necessary for other tactics. It makes do with what it has. On the other hand, a network of more prominence and possessing valuable resources can use their resources to appropriate other resources or networks for their chosen tactics. The choice of what tactic to use is much less at the mercy of only those resources the social network originally has control over.

The last preexistent network question on the effect of tactics on the movement itself was answered in the last chapter. I have shown how the use of media by the NCR has affected the way fundamentalists legitimate their beliefs. They moved from a persecuted minority mode of legitimation to a triumphalist mode once they began to believe their own "press-clippings" and perceived themselves as a power to be reckoned with.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL NETWORK FINDINGS

Like the PLC conclusions, these results also have theoretical implications. First, this study represents one of a handful of resource mobilization studies which have focused primarily on the internal structure of a social movement and an SMO in order to explain a movement's rise.[2] Most past resource mobilization studies (cf. McCarthy and Zald, 1978 ; Oberschall, 1978) have concerned themselves with how organizations external to the movement (e.g., institutions of social control such as the police or the political system) are responsible for the rise or demise of a social movement. On the other hand, this dissertation has at least partially sought to understand the NCR by examining its internal structure, that is, the preexistent social network from which it sprouted and those environmental factors which affected this internal structure.

A second sociological implication, which has already been mentioned briefly, is how the results mentioned can be used to partially modify an insight discussed by Charles Tilly. Tilly argues, as many resource mobilization theorists do, that a political contender's ability to mobilize politically depends on the contender's access to important resources. Often this ability to gain these resources is a result of structural transformations which affect "a contender's potential for political mobilization (and) in some cases bring new contenders into

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2. Another example of a study concentrating chiefly on the internal structure of the social movement is Morris' (1981) analysis of the civil rights movement.

existence" (Useem, 1975:22) by giving groups access to new resources. The difference between this scenario and the case of the NCR and New Right is that the structural changes (i.e. campaign laws) in the latter case did not give the NCR the ability to gain and use new resources so much as increase the value of a resource already held. This type of scenario is not really accounted for by Tilly.

Lastly, these results have some non-sociological significance to the study of the NCR itself. Hadden (1983:82) in his review of Hill and Owens, The New Religious Political Right in America, states that "to deal with the religious right as though they emerged and exist in a vacuum (separate from the broader conservative movement) is to misunderstand what is happening in America." In this study, I have attempted to examine the connection between the NCR and the secular right. I have attempted to show why this connection developed and the advantages such connections give both parties. Such an analysis has been lacking in other works on the NCR as Hadden implies.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The results of this dissertation raise many further questions about social movements in general, and the NCR in particular. In what remains of this dissertation, I will discuss these questions.

THE STATUS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY TO SMS

I have already discussed my research's implications for social psychological approaches to social movement phenomena. Like other sociological studies (e.g., Portes, 1971; also Oberschal, 1978), I have

found that examining the social psychological discontent and motivations of this movement's members over time does not help in explaining the movement's rise. Such results lead us to ask a very general research question: what is the role, if any, of social psychological variables in social movements?

To my thinking, this question can only begin to be answered after researchers begin to differentiate the structural conditions for a social movement (which this work examined) from the reasons for individual's joining and supporting an already existing movement. It is the latter that most social psychologists of social movements are actually studying, whereas (I am afraid) they think they are studying the former. This is not to say that the area of joining and recruitment does not need to be studied. Some valuable studies (e.g., Olson, 1965), both for social movement theorists and social movement recruiters, have already discussed some of the motives behind member activity. My warning is not to confuse the objective causes of a movement with the subjective reasons for an individual joining a movement.

There are still those who contend that the social psychological approach is still valuable in understanding the rise of a social movement (e.g., Law and Walsh, 1983; Walsh, 1981; Useem, 1980). Without discussing the pros and cons of their arguments, let me just say that, even if their contention is correct, they are still left with a theoretical problem in the view of the present study and also some others. Why do social psychological variables play a part in the construction of some movements they have studied and not in others? What factors can be

attributed to causing this difference?

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION AND STRUCTURAL THEORIES

The above discussion in no way means that resource mobilization alone holds all the answers to social movement questions either. Many questions, such as those which deal with the creation of interests, the distribution of resources throughout society, and the structure of relationships between external institutions and social movements cannot be answered adequately by resource mobilization alone, and so the researcher must look elsewhere as well. A possible theoretical avenue for researchers to follow in solving these questions is to attempt to combine the organizational insights of the resource mobilization school with those of the structural and comparative-historical approach (both Marxist and non-Marxist) (cf. Skocpol, 1976), or some strain of World System theory (cf. Thompson, 1983). Both seek to explain social movements "by focusing (to some degree) on the interrelated situations of groups within specified societal institutional nexuses, and the interrelations of societies within dynamic international fields"(Skocpol, 1976:170).

The job of combining the insights of resource mobilization to these "structural" approaches has already begun. One notable preliminary step has been taken by Garner and Zald (1982). In this work, the authors attempt to explain the cross-national variation between the social movement sectors (SMS) of different societies by examining how various structural constraints shape the SMS. According to Garner and Zald, the SMS is defined as the total amount of social movement activity

within a society. The SMSs of societies differ on various dimensions including (1) size (the number of SMOs and/or SM participants relative to other societal institutions); (2) degree of organization (ratio of membership in formal SMOs to all other types of participation); (3) its social location (e.g., class base, geographical distribution); (4) autonomy from other organizations; and (5) alignment within the left-right political spectrum (Garner and Zald, 1982:3-7).

Some of these dimensions, such as 1, 2, 4, and in some cases 3, are already of interest to resource mobilization. In this study for example, the whole question of the degree of organization of fundamentalism and its value to the secular right, and the autonomy of fundamentalism from other institutions has yielded valuable insights for our understanding of why the NCR arose. However, resource mobilization has only been concerned with how these particular variables affect particular movements. Garner and Zald's aim is much larger. They are not primarily interested with how the dimensions of the SMS affect a particular movement but with what macrosociological factors affect the dimensions. With the addition of structural analysis to resource mobilization, we not only begin to understand how certain resources and their amounts affect the chances of a movement but how various structural factors affect the distribution of resources themselves.

What structural factors do Garner and Zald see constraining a society's SMS? Garner and Zald discuss a number of possible factors -- ranging from the structure of the economy (e.g., the degree to which an economy is segmented) and the class structure, to the structure of the

political system (e.g., many political parties vs. one or two parties).

For example, the authors discuss how the state of the economy limits the

actions social movements can take.

> Portuguese economy acted as a limit for the leftward shift and the
> upsurge of left movements following the revolution of 1974. This
> limit was manifested in the high rate of inflation that followed the
> successes of left movements; the structural limit was translated
> into political action on the one hand by the voting behavior of the
> middle strata and the Northern small-peasant proprieters and on the
> other hand by International Monetary Fund pressures for austerity. A
> similar example is provided by Jamaica: the leftward shift under-
> taken by Manley (in a "creeping revolution") ran into the limiting
> factor of Jamaica's economy; once again the limiting situation was
> translated into the experience of an economic downturn, IMF pres-
> sures and consequent voting behavior.
>   What the limiting effect of the economy means for movements is
> that the "real alternatives" that they can propose and pursue (if
> they come to power) may not correspond to the position of their
> larger support base and/or their own militants. (Garner and Zald,
> 1982:7)

One question which both structural theory and resource mobiliza-

tion may prove useful for answering has already been mentioned in my

discussion of the third preexistent social network question. In that

discussion I mentioned how, at times, the range of tactics a movement

can use is often determined by the network the movement grows out of and

how, at other times, the choice of tactics can determine which network

individuals seek to use as a base for their movement. Which direction

the relationships between tactics and networks take may be explained in

terms of structure. Individuals in more powerful societal positions

because of their access to resources may not only have a wider range of

tactics to choose from but may also be better able to choose their tac-

tics even before they have the necessary resources and networks for

implementing them. They can simply "trade" other resources or simply

lean on their social prominence to gain access to other networks and these resources. On the other hand, social movements arising out of inferior structural positions do not have such an extensive repertory of resources (although sometimes, as with the YAF, what they do have becomes valuable) and so must make do with those they have. This puts them in the position of being limited to only those tactics which their resources will allow.

There are various structural-historical factors which can determine the relative position of social networks and so the relative degree of choice a movement has over the tactics it wishes to use. I have discussed in chapters 5 and 6 how a group's relative proximity to the political "mainstream" affects their tactical choices. Garner and Zald (1982), in the quote above, show how the state of the economy can affect the ability of movements to choose their tactics. There are possible other factors as well. First, as is obvious, the social class base of a movement will affect its choices. Those of lower classes will have fewer resources by definition and, therefore, will have less choice in the tactics they can use. The racial and/or ethnic character of the movement can, in the same way, affect a movement. Because of their smaller resources, minority movements may also be constrained. Another factor may be the social movement's position relative to the segmented economy (Averitt, 1968; Beck et al., 1978). Those movements made up of individuals from core industries, irrespective of the positions the individuals hold, may have more resources to trade-off than movements

attached to periphery industries.[3] These hypotheses, while being quite plausible, still need empirical testing.

QUESTIONS FOR MEDIA/MOVEMENT RESEARCH

The results of Chapter 7, which discussed the relationship between the NCR and the news media, lead us to ask a number of research questions as well. First, if the media do present a distorted view of social movements, what effect, if any, does this have on member recruitment to the movement? Does the distortion effectively thwart the ability of the movement to recruit because the movement has received an unattractive image?; or does the distortion attract members of a different social background or psychological disposition than the original members? In the case of the NCR, has the image of the NCR as anti-semitics discouraged potential political supporters from joining?; or has this image actually attracted more anti-semites into the movement?

These questions imply still further questions. If the media are a source of social control, what social control purpose does the distortion of a social movement serve? Is the image-creating ability an effective means of destroying a movement? Is the image presented meant to affect the legitimacy of a movement in the eyes of the public?; or is the image-creating ability simply a means by which the media gain higher ratings and not a social control mechanism at all? If this ability

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3. It is obvious that many of these structural factors are related to each other as well: class position, position in political system, minority status and relation to dual economy all vary together to some degree.

helps a movement attract certain types of members, does this new "cohort" of members hamper the overall effectiveness of the movement to mobilize and gain legitimacy?

The design necessary for answering some of the above questions may meet large methodological problems. Unfortunately, sociologists often take their cue as to what is an important social trend from the media. This is the case with most of the studies of the NCR and religious cults. Instead of studying mainstream religion, the religion of the majority of Americans, a segment of researchers have instead become students of these exotic religious groups most of which have gained prominence because of exposure in the media. This means, of course, that sociologists only begin to study the actors in such movements after the trend has gained media exposure. Unless a past researcher happened to survey the pre-media exposure actors of this movement or group, asking questions necessary to judge the effects of media coverage on, let's say, anti-semitism, the researcher has extreme difficulty in judging media effect. Of course, the researcher might compare the attitudes of pre- and post-media members by comparing new members to old members in the group. However, the present old members are also affected by the media and may have remained in the group because of their affinity with the attitudes of the new members. The researcher may also survey in a very general sense the attitudes of members of many obscure pre-media social movements in hopes that some day a few of these movements may gain media access. Of course, such a course may be time-consuming and expensive with no assurance that any of the movements chosen will ever

gain media attention. Also, the longer a movement takes before it gains sufficient attention, the more historical factors must also be controlled in order to determine what effect media exposure had on changing member attitudes and recruitment.

CONCLUSION

In summary, then, this dissertation has been concerned with understanding the NCR and the bearing this movement has on the current social movement theory debate. My data do not support the social psychologically oriented theory but it does fall in line with much of the work of the resource mobilization approach. Resource mobilization cannot answer every question, however; and so I suggest that a possible avenue for future research may lie in exploring the connections between resource mobilization and more structural theories. Thus, as I have discussed in this chapter, every time some questions are answered more questions appear.

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APPENDIX A

FUNDAMENTALIST PUBLICATIONS

Moody Monthly

Christian Beacon

Sword of the Lord

Baptist Standard

Christian Standard

The Western Recorder

APPENDIX B

NEW RIGHT ORGANIZATIONS

Christian Anti-Communist Crusade

Christian Voice

Clean Up T.V. Campaign

Coalition for Better Television

Citizens for the Republic

American Cause

Committee for the Survival of A Free Congress

The Conservative Caucus

Conservatives Against Liberal Legislation

National Conservative Political Action Committee

Freeman Institute

ACU Education and Research Institute

Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise

Council for a Competitive Economy

National Council of Professional Services

Moral Majority

APPENDIX C

TABLE 16

Inter-Leader Links in Matrix Form

Leader

Leader	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1.Bakker	-	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.Beckett	1	-	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
3.Belcher	0	0	-	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
4.Billing	0	1	0	-	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
5.Billing	0	0	0	1	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.Bonney	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
7.Bright	1	1	1	0	0	0	-	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
8.Brown	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	-	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
9.Bundy	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
10.Crouch	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.DeMoss	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	-	1	0	0	0	0
12.DeVos	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	-	0	0	0	0
13.Dixon	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0
14.Dornan	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0
15.Dugan	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	-	0
16.Evans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
17.Falwell	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
18.Fowler	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
19.Gimenez	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
20.Graham	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
21.Grant	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
22.Grimsted	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23.Hargis	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
24.Hatch	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
25.Hill	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
26.Huns.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
27.Hunter	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
28.Jackson	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
29.Jarmin	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
30.Jarrill	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
31.Jepsen	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
32.LaHaye	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
33.Lund.	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
34.Lyons	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
35.Manion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36.McAteer	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
37.McColl.	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
38.McDon.	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
39.Mooney.	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
40.Morris	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

Table 16 continued

Leader	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
41.Phillips	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
42.Priest	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
43.Robert.	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
44.Robison	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
45.Rogers	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
46.Schafly	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
47.Shaka.	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
48.Talcott	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
49.Towns.	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
50.Trox.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
51.Van And.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
52.Viguerie	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
53.Walton	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
54.Weyrich	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
55.Zone	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

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Leaders

Leaders

	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
1.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
2.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
3.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
4.	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
5.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
8.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
9.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
10.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
11.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
12.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
13.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
14.	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
15.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
16.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
17.	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
18.	0	-	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
19.	0	0	-	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
20.	0	0	1	-	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
21.	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
22.	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23.	0	1	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
24.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	-	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
25.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
26.	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	-	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
27.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	1	0	0	0	0
29.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	-	0	1	1	0	0
30.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-	0	0	0	0
31.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	-	0	0	0
32.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	-	0	0
33.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0
34.	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
35.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
37.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
38.	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
39.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
40.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0

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Leaders

	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
41.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
43.	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
44.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
45.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
46.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
47.	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
48.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
49.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
50.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
51.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
52.	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
53.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
54.	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
55.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0

Continued from last page

Leaders

Leaders

	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
1.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
2.	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
3.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
4.	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
5.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
7.	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
8.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
9.	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
10.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
11.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
12.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
13.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
14.	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
15.	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
16.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
17.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
18.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
19.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
20.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
21.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
22.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
23.	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
24.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
26.	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
27.	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
28.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
29.	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
30.	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
31.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
32.	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
33.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
34.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
35.	-	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36.	0	-	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
37.	0	1	-	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
38.	1	0	0	-	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
39.	0	0	1	0	-	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
40.	0	0	0	0	0	-	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Continued from last page

<div align="center">Leaders</div>

	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
41.	1	0	1	1	0	1	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
43.	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	-	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
44.	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	-	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
45.	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	-	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
46.	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
47.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-	0	0	0	0	0
48.	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0
49.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	-	0	0	0
50.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	1
51.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0
52.	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	-
53.	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
54.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
55.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

Continued from last page

Leaders

Leaders

		53	54	55	Centrality Score
1.		0	0	0	.03
2.		1	1	0	.06
3.		0	0	0	.02
4.		1	1	1	.07
5.		0	0	0	.002
6.		0	0	0	.01
7.		1	0	0	.06
8.		1	0	0	.06
9.		1	1	0	.04
10.		1	0	0	.03
11.		1	0	0	.04
12.		1	0	0	.04
13.		0	1	0	.02
14.		0	0	1	.04
15.		1	1	0	.04
16.		1	0	0	.01
17.		0	0	0	.02
18.		1	0	0	.03
19.		0	0	0	.03
20.		0	0	0	.03
21.		0	1	1	.03
22.		0	1	0	.06
23.		0	0	0	.02
24.		0	0	0	.02
25.		0	0	0	.03
26.		0	0	1	.04
27.		0	0	0	.03
28.		1	0	0	.04
29.		1	1	1	.06
30.		1	0	0	.04
31.		0	0	1	.03
32.		1	1	0	.05
33.		0	0	0	.03
34.		0	0	0	.02
35.		0	0	0	.02
36.		1	1	0	.05
37.		1	0	0	.04
38.		0	0	0	.06
39.		0	0	0	.04
40.		1	0	0	.02

Continued from last page

Leaders

Leaders

	53	54	55	Leaders Centrality Score
41.	0	0	0	.02
42.	1	0	0	.03
43.	0	0	0	.05
44.	1	1	0	.04
45.	1	1	0	.05
46.	1	1	0	.04
47.	0	0	0	.03
48.	1	0	0	.03
49.	1	1	0	.03
50.	0	0	1	.02
51.	0	0	0	.002
52.	1	1	1	.09
53.	-	1	0	.07
54.	1	-	0	.04
55.	0	0	-	.02

Density of Network= .24

APPENDIX D

TABLE 17

Distance Scores Matrix

Leaders

Leaders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Bakker	-						
2.Beckett	4.90	-					
3.Belcher	6.40	8.12	-				
4.Billings	7.87	6.48	8.48	-			
5.Billings	4.90	6.48	5.09	7.21	-		
6.Bonney	5.66	7.48	5.65	7.34	3.46	-	
7.Bright	5.47	7.07	4.89	8.83	6.93	7.21	-
8.Brown	6.16	5.19	3.16	7.93	5.10	5.48	4.90
9.Bundy	6.63	5.09	7.21	5.48	5.29	6.32	8.00
10.Crouch	2.82	5.29	6.32	7.75	5.47	5.29	4.90
11.DeMoss	6.63	7.87	2.44	8.37	5.29	5.66	4.69
12.DeVos	6.63	8.06	2.45	8.49	5.29	5.48	4.90
13.Dixon	6.92	6.48	6.00	6.16	3.74	4.69	7.35
14.Dornan	7.21	8.12	7.21	6.78	5.48	4.90	8.49
15.Dugan	6.00	6.16	5.29	5.48	5.10	7.62	7.61
16.Evans	5.47	6.78	5.29	6.40	2.82	3.74	6.78
17.Falwell	5.83	6.48	5.83	6.16	3.46	4.47	7.35
18.Fowler	6.63	7.87	4.69	7.75	4.90	3.74	6.32
19.Gimenez	1.41	5.10	6.78	7.62	4.90	5.48	5.48
20.Graham	1.41	5.19	6.32	7.62	5.10	5.66	5.29
21.Grant	6.40	7.07	6.48	5.66	4.47	4.90	7.87
22.Grimsted	5.29	6.78	5.83	6.93	2.00	3.46	6.93
23.Hargis	6.00	7.48	5.48	7.48	4.24	3.46	5.83
24.Hatch	6.16	5.48	6.32	6.63	4.24	4.24	7.87
25.Hill	2.45	5.29	6.48	7.35	4.90	5.65	5.10
26.Hunsinger	7.07	6.56	7.21	4.90	5.48	5.83	8.25
27.Hunter	6.16	7.75	4.35	8.37	4.90	4.90	6.16
28.Jackson	7.21	7.62	3.74	8.25	5.48	5.48	4.90
29.Jarmin	7.48	6.00	7.87	3.74	6.32	6.63	8.49
30.Jarrill	6.48	7.87	3.16	8.49	5.29	5.48	4.90
31.Jepsen	6.48	7.07	6.32	5.66	4.24	4.69	7.87
32.La Haye	6.78	5.47	7.47	4.47	5.83	6.48	7.87
33.Lundquist	2.00	4.69	6.32	7.75	5.10	6.48	5.66
34.Lyons	5.83	7.75	5.66	7.21	3.74	2.00	7.35
35.Manion	5.83	7.07	5.29	7.62	3.74	4.24	7.07
36.McAteer	6.78	5.66	7.21	4.69	5.83	6.48	7.62
37.McCollist.	6.32	7.21	4.47	8.00	5.48	5.83	5.10
38.McDonald	7.21	6.93	7.35	5.48	6.16	6.16	8.37
39.Mooneyham	2.45	5.29	6.63	8.00	5.48	6.00	5.19
40.Morris	6.32	7.48	3.46	8.25	4.90	5.29	6.00

Table 17 continued from next page

Leaders

Leaders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41.Phillips	5.83	8.37	5.10	7.21	5.10	4.24	7.07
42.Priest	6.63	7.74	3.16	8.12	5.10	5.48	5.29
43.Robertson	5.48	5.48	7.07	7.21	6.00	6.63	6.24
44.Robison	6.16	4.69	6.78	5.10	5.10	6.16	7.48
45.Rogers	5.10	2.83	7.87	6.93	6.32	6.93	7.07
46.Schlafly	6.48	4.90	7.21	5.48	5.48	6.16	7.35
47.Shakarian	2.24	5.10	6.16	8.00	4.69	5.48	5.66
48.Talcott	6.00	7.35	3.46	8.72	5.10	5.48	5.29
50.Troxler	6.32	6.93	6.16	6.63	4.00	4.47	7.48
51.Van Andel	4.90	6.48	5.10	7.07	2.00	2.83	6.93
52.Viguerie	8.94	7.21	7.35	7.07	8.00	7.75	7.75
53.Walton	7.48	6.63	5.83	6.93	7.35	7.35	7.21
54.Weyrich	6.93	5.29	7.21	5.29	5.83	6.16	7.87
55.Zone	6.32	7.35	6.00	6.48	3.74	4.24	2.62

Table 17 continued from last page

			Leaders				
Leaders	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
9.Bundy	7.07	-					
10.Crouch	5.47	6.78	-				
11.DeMoss	3.16	7.35	6.32	-			
12.DeVos	3.16	7.35	6.32	1.41	-		
13.Dixon	5.83	5.48	6.32	6.32	6.32	-	
14.Dornan	6.93	6.63	7.75	7.21	7.21	6.16	-
15.Dugan	6.78	3.16	6.48	7.21	7.21	5.29	6.93
16.Evans	4.90	4.69	5.66	5.29	5.29	4.47	5.29
17.Falwell	5.83	5.29	6.32	6.24	6.32	2.45	6.00
18.Fowler	4.69	6.63	5.83	5.10	5.10	5.65	5.83
19.Gimenez	6.16	6.63	2.82	6.78	6.78	5.83	7.35
20.Graham	6.48	6.48	3.16	6.56	6.63	6.00	7.48
21.Grant	6.32	6.00	6.63	6.78	6.78	4.69	4.00
22.Grimsted	5.29	6.16	5.83	5.48	5.48	3.16	5.48
23.Hargis	6.00	6.16	6.63	5.66	5.66	5.29	5.10
24.Hatch	6.16	5.83	6.48	6.63	6.63	5.29	4.69
25.Hill	6.48	6.63	3.61	7.07	7.07	5.48	7.07
26.Hunsinger	7.21	6.32	7.48	7.48	7.48	4.69	5.10
27.Hunter	4.00	6.40	6.78	4.47	4.36	6.16	6.78
28.Jackson	3.16	7.21	6.63	2.45	6.32	7.21	7.21
29.Jarmin	2.62	5.10	6.16	7.48	5.83	6.16	4.90
30.Jarrill	2.83	7.35	6.48	2.45	2.45	6.32	7.21
31.Jepsen	6.32	4.69	6.93	6.63	6.63	4.90	3.61
32.La Haye	7.07	4.00	6.93	7.48	7.48	4.69	5.10
33.Lundquist	6.32	5.83	3.46	6.93	6.93	6.00	8.49
34.Lyons	5.66	6.48	6.32	6.00	6.00	4.90	4.69
35.Manion	5.66	5.10	6.32	5.66	5.66	5.29	5.66
36.McAteer	6.93	4.47	6.93	7.35	7.35	4.69	7.21
37.McCollis.	4.47	5.47	6.00	4.24	4.24	5.66	7.21
38.McDonald	7.87	5.29	7.87	7.75	7.75	6.32	5.48
39.Mooneyham	6.32	6.63	3.74	6.63	6.63	6.63	7.75
40.Morris	3.46	6.48	5.83	3.46	3.46	5.29	6.78
41.Phillips	5.29	5.66	6.32	5.66	5.66	5.10	6.16
42.Priest	3.74	6.48	6.00	3.16	3.16	6.00	7.21
43.Robertson	6.78	6.63	5.66	7.35	7.35	5.29	7.48
44.Robison	6.78	2.82	6.32	7.21	7.21	4.90	6.78
45.Rogers	7.21	4.90	5.66	7.87	7.87	6.32	7.75
46.Schafly	6.93	3.74	6.63	7.21	7.21	4.47	6.93
47.Shakarian	5.83	6.48	3.46	6.48	6.48	6.16	7.21
48.Talcott	2.83	7.07	5.66	3.74	3.74	6.32	7.21
49.Townsend	5.66	3.16	5.66	6.78	6.78	5.10	7.07
50.Troxler	5.83	5.48	6.78	6.48	6.48	4.69	3.87
51.Van Andel	5.10	5.66	5.48	5.48	5.48	4.00	5.66
52.Viguerie	6.78	7.75	7.35	6.78	6.78	7.21	6.93
53.Walton	6.16	5.66	7.48	5.92	5.92	6.93	8.25
54.Weyrich	6.93	4.00	6.93	7.21	7.21	5.48	6.93
55.Zone	6.00	6.16	6.63	6.16	6.16	4.47	4.24

Table 17 continued from last page

Leaders	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
15.Dugan	-						
16.Evans	5.29	-					
17.Falwell	5.10	4.47					
18.Fowler	6.78	4.69	5.83	-			
19.Gimenez	6.16	5.48	6.00	6.63	-		
20.Graham	6.00	5.66	6.00	6.78	2.00	-	
21.Grant	5.83	4.00	4.69	6.00	6.48	6.78	-
22.Grimsted	5.10	2.83	3.74	4.90	5.29	5.48	4.00
23.Hargis	6.32	4.47	5.29	4.58	6.16	6.32	5.10
24.Hatch	5.66	4.24	5.29	5.48	6.16	6.32	4.00
25.Hill	6.16	5.29	5.48	6.63	2.00	2.45	6.00
26.Hunsinger	6.32	5.79	4.69	6.63	7.07	7.07	4.00
27.Hunter	6.78	5.48	6.16	5.10	6.23	6.48	6.32
28.Jackson	7.21	5.83	6.32	4.90	6.48	6.32	6.78
29.Jarmin	4.90	6.00	6.16	7.21	7.62	7.62	4.69
30.Jarrill	7.21	5.10	6.32	4.90	6.48	6.32	6.78
31.Jepesen	6.00	4.00	4.69	5.83	6.48	6.48	2.00
32.LaHaye	3.74	5.66	4.69	7.07	6.78	6.78	5.83
33.Lundquist	6.48	5.66	6.00	6.78	2.00	2.45	6.78
34.Lyons	6.32	3.46	4.90	4.00	5.83	6.00	4.69
35.Manion	5.66	4.47	5.29	5.48	5.83	6.00	5.48
36.McAteer	4.24	5.29	4.47	7.07	6.78	6.93	6.16
37.McCollist.	6.93	5.29	5.66	4.90	6.32	6.00	6.93
38.McDonald	5.66	5.83	6.00	7.07	7.21	7.48	5.66
39.Mooneyha.	6.32	5.83	6.00	6.78	2.83	3.16	7.07
40.Morris	6.48	4.69	5.83	4.47	6.16	6.32	6.32
41.Phillips	5.48	4.47	5.29	5.48	5.83	6.16	5.10
42.Priest	6.93	4.90	5.83	4.24	6.48	6.32	6.48
43.Robertson	6.16	6.48	4.47	7.48	5.10	5.48	6.93
44.Robison	2.45	5.29	4.90	6.78	6.16	5.83	5.83
45.Rogers	4.47	6.48	6.78	7.75	4.90	5.29	6.93
46.Schafly	3.74	5.29	5.10	6.78	6.48	5.32	5.83
47.Shakarian	6.00	5.29	6.00	6.48	2.00	2.45	6.48
48.Talcott	6.93	5.29	6.16	4.90	6.16	6.32	6.78
49.Townsend	2.83	5.10	4.69	6.32	6.00	6.00	6.00
50.Troxler	5.83	4.24	4.69	6.00	6.16	6.32	2.45
51.Van Andel	5.29	3.16	4.24	4.47	4.90	5.10	4.69
52.Viguerie	7.75	8.00	7.21	7.07	9.06	8.83	6.93
53.Walton	5.83	7.07	7.07	6.63	7.62	6.78	7.75
54.Weyrich	3.74	5.29	4.69	6.78	6.78	6.78	6.32
55.Zone	6.00	4.00	4.47	5.48	6.16	6.32	2.83

Table 17 continued from last page

Leaders	22	23	24	Leaders 25	26	27	28
23.Hargis	4.24						
24.Hatch	4.24	4.24					
25.Hill	5.29	6.16	6.16				
26.Hunsinger	5.48	6.00	6.56	6.93			
27.Hunter	5.29	5.10	5.83	6.32	7.07		
28.Jackson	5.48	6.00	6.63	6.63	7.48	4.24	
29.Jarmin	6.00	6.63	5.48	7.35	5.19	7.75	7.87
30.Jarrill	5.48	6.00	6.78	6.63	7.48	4.24	1.41
31.Jepsen	4.24	4.69	3.46	6.32	3.74	6.16	6.63
32.LaHaye	5.48	6.63	6.00	6.63	5.66	7.48	7.48
33.Lundquist	5.48	6.32	6.48	2.45	7.21	6.48	6.63
34.Lyons	3.74	3.16	4.90	5.66	7.07	5.48	5.66
35.Manion	4.00	4.24	5.10	5.66	6.32	4.36	6.00
36.McAteer	5.48	6.93	6.48	6.63	6.16	7.35	7.21
37.McCollist.	5.48	6.00	6.78	6.32	6.93	5.29	4.47
38.McDonald	6.16	6.16	5.66	7.21	5.83	7.21	8.00
39.Mooneyham	5.83	6.63	6.78	3.16	7.48	6.16	6.32
40.Morris	4.90	5.29	6.32	6.48	7.07	5.10	4.00
41.Phillips	4.24	5.48	4.69	5.66	6.00	4.24	5.66
42.Priest	5.10	5.10	6.48	6.63	7.21	4.47	3.74
43.Robertson	6.00	7.07	6.93	5.29	6.48	7.21	7.07
44.Robison	5.10	6.32	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.78	7.21
45.Rogers	6.16	7.35	6.93	5.29	7.21	7.48	7.62
46.Schlafly	5.10	6.32	5.83	6.32	5.66	6.78	7.21
47.Shakarian	5.10	6.00	6.16	2.45	7.21	6.16	6.32
48.Talcott	5.48	5.66	6.48	6.32	7.35	4.47	3.74
49.Townsend	4.47	6.16	6.00	5.48	6.48	6.63	6.78
50.Troxler	4.00	4.69	2.82	6.16	4.00	6.00	6.32
51.Van Andel	2.83	4.24	4.00	4.69	5.29	4.90	5.48
52.Viguerie	7.87	7.62	6.93	8.94	6.78	7.21	6.93
53.Walton	6.78	7.75	7.62	7.62	8.00	6.78	5.48
54.Weyrich	5.29	6.63	6.16	6.63	6.00	7.35	7.21
55.Zone	3.74	4.90	3.16	6.00	4.24	6.16	6.32

Table 17 continued from last page

Leaders	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
30.Jarrill	7.87						
31.Jepsen	4.90	6.63					
32.LaHaye	4.69	7.48	6.00				
33.Lundquist	7.35	6.63	6.63	6.63			
34.Lyons	6.48	5.83	4.47	6.63	5.83		
35.Manion	6.78	6.00	5.29	6.32	6.00	4.47	
36.McAteer	5.39	7.21	6.32	2.45	6.63	6.63	6.63
37.McCollist.	7.62	4.24	6.63	7.07	6.32	6.00	5.66
38.McDonald	4.47	7.87	5.10	5.83	7.21	6.00	6.00
39.Mooneyham	7.62	6.32	6.78	6.93	3.16	6.32	6.16
40.Morris	7.48	4.00	6.16	7.07	6.48	5.29	5.09
41.Phillips	6.48	5.66	4.90	6.32	6.00	4.47	3.74
42.Priest	7.62	3.74	6.32	7.21	6.63	5.66	5.48
43.Robertson	6.93	7.07	6.93	6.00	5.29	6.78	7.07
44.Robison	4.90	7.21	6.00	3.16	6.00	6.32	5.66
45.Rogers	6.63	7.62	7.07	5.66	4.90	7.34	6.78
46.Schafly	5.20	7.21	6.00	3.16	6.32	6.00	3.74
47.Shakarian	7.35	6.32	6.32	6.93	2.45	5.66	5.66
48.Talcott	7.75	3.74	6.63	7.48	6.32	5.66	5.29
49.Townsend	4.69	6.78	6.16	4.00	5.83	5.66	5.48
50.Troxler	5.10	6.32	2.00	5.48	6.32	4.69	5.10
51.Van Andel	6.32	5.48	4.24	6.16	5.10	3.16	3.74
52.Viguerie	7.07	6.93	7.21	7.48	9.06	7.75	7.48
53.Walton	6.63	5.48	7.75	6.16	7.62	7.48	7.48
54.Weyrich	4.90	6.78	6.00	3.74	6.63	6.32	6.16
55.Zone	5.10	6.32	2.45	6.00	6.32	4.47	5.29

Table 17 continued from last page

			Leaders				
Leaders	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
37.McCollis.	7.07						
38.McDonald	5.66	7.48					
39.Mooneyham	6.63	6.78	7.48				
40.Morris	7.07	2.83	7.07	6.78			
41.Phillips	6.32	6.16	6.16	6.00	5.83		
42.Priest	7.21	3.16	7.21	6.48	2.45	5.66	
43.Robertson	5.65	7.07	7.07	4.90	7.07	6.63	7.35
44.Robison	3.74	6.32	5.83	6.33	6.93	5.66	7.48
45.Rogers	6.00	7.35	7.21	5.66	7.48	6.93	7.62
46.Schafly	3.74	6.32	6.16	7.07	6.78	6.00	6.93
47.Shakarian	6.93	6.32	7.21	3.16	6.16	5.66	6.32
48.Talcott	7.21	4.00	5.48	6.48	3.74	5.66	3.74
49.Townsend	4.00	6.48	5.48	6.16	6.32	5.48	6.48
50.Troxler	6.16	6.48	5.29	6.78	6.00	4.69	6.16
51.Van Andel	6.16	5.48	6.16	5.48	4.90	3.16	5.10
52.Viguerie	7.55	7.48	8.00	8.83	7.35	7.61	7.35
53.Walton	5.83	6.63	7.21	7.21	6.63	7.21	6.48
54.Weyrich	3.74	6.78	5.29	6.93	6.32	6.32	6.93
55.Zone	6.00	6.32	4.90	6.63	5.83	4.90	6.00

Table 17 continued from last page

				Leaders			
Leaders	43	44	45	46	47	48	49
44.Robison	6.63						
45.Rogers	5.29	4.69					
46.Shafly	6.00	3.16	4.69				
47.Shakarian	4.69	6.32	4.90	6.63			
48.Talcott	7.07	6.93	7.35	6.93	6.00		
49.Townsend	6.00	5.83	5.10	4.00	5.83	6.48	
50.Troxler	6.63	5.83	6.93	5.83	6.16	6.48	6.00
51.Van Andel	6.32	5.48	6.63	5.83	4.69	5.10	4.90
52.Viguerie	8.00	7.62	8.72	7.75	6.48	7.07	8.00
53.Walton	7.07	5.83	6.63	6.16	7.48	6.48	5.66
54.Weyrich	6.16	3.74	5.66	4.24	6.63	7.21	3.46
55.Zone	6.48	6.00	7.07	6.00	6.00	6.32	5.83

Table 17 continued from last page

Leaders	50	51	Leaders 52	53	54	55
51.Van Andel	4.00					
52.Viguerie	7.07	8.00				
53.Walton	7.61	7.35	6.93			
54.Weyrich	5.83	5.66	7.75	5.83		
55.Zone	2.00	3.74	7.21	7.48	5.66	

<u>APPROVAL SHEET</u>

The dissertation submitted by Wesley E. Miller, Jr. has been read and approved by the following committee:

  Dr. Philip Nyden, Director
  Assistant Professor, Sociology, Loyola

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessay changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fullfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date 3/15/84   Director's Signature _____