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Interest in the participants in social movements has been focused primarily on the leaders of the movement. Studies generally treat followers as being present at the time a study begins or it is assumed that the recruitment of followers can be accounted for by the preconditions of movement formation. I suggest that, in fact, social movements actively recruit members and followers, and that this is an issue of theoretical concern for sociology. This study is based on James A. Geschwender's theory of social movements and revolutions which states that the formation of a movement is the result of an attempt to reduce the dissonance produced by the simultaneous possession of three reality based cognitions. The three cognitions include the belief that one is entitled to better conditions of life; that those better conditions are possible, and that one is not enjoying those conditions.

This case study of the labor movement in the United States examines two hypotheses. First, it is shown that one can construct a regression formula using the gross national product, the disposable personal income, the wholesale and consumer purchasing power of the dollar, and the suicide rate in the United States to predict the membership of the labor

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movement in the United States. These variables are shown to be indicators of the reality based cognitions suggested by the Geschwender hypothesis. From the evidence presented in this study, one may conclude that the ability of a social movement to attract or hold members and followers covaries with the possession of the beliefs indicated in the Geschwender hypothesis. The second hypothesis uses the symbolic interaction perspective and focuses attention on the meaning of those reality based cognitions to the actors in the target population. The hypothesis states that the social movement creates a myth which serves as a structural mechanism by which it is able to communicate about the specified beliefs to the target population. In this way, it increases the probability that it will be able to recruit and maintain a following. A content analysis of statements by members of the labor movement and members of the management community is used to test the hypothesis. Finally, the evidence suggests that both processes are necessary to explain the recruitment of followers by a social movement.

THE RECRUITMENT OF FOLLOWERS BY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE

LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE

UNITED STATES

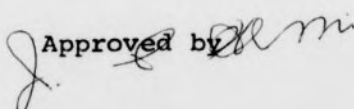
by

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A Thesis Submitted to  
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Approved by 

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## THE RECRUITMENT OF FOLLOWERS

### IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

#### A CASE STUDY

#### INTRODUCTION

Interest in the participants of social movements has been focused primarily on the leaders of the movement. Studies of the followership of movements have tended either to treat the followers as being present at the time a study begins, or to assume that recruitment is an automatic process which is explained by the "preconditions" which lead to the emergence of the movement. These preconditions may be stated in terms of social psychological variables or structural conditions or both. In any case this explanation seems somewhat less than satisfying. It would seem more logical to assume that a social movement would need to actively recruit members and followers from a target population to support or resist social change.

Three terms must be defined here--social movement, followership (or followers), and establishment--to preclude misunderstandings. By a social movement, I shall mean any mass form of collective behavior which: (1) is characterized by geographical diffusion and temporal continuity of a relatively high order and which (2) includes more than one formal or complex organization actively seeking social change

through collective action (through cooperative, coordinated action or in coalitions). The followership (or followers) of a social movement shall be understood to refer to those individuals or collectivities which actively participate in the implementation of the strategy and tactics of the movement but do not have the direct responsibility for formulating those strategies and tactics. This should not be understood to imply that the followers of the movement do not have the power or ability to affect substantial changes in the activities of the movement. Nor should one assume that the followers do not frequently exercise their power. The relationship between the leaders and the followers with regard to the formulation of policy is a separate research question. As such, it is outside the scope of this study. Finally, the establishment shall be understood to be those individuals and collectivities within a society who actively control the decision making mechanisms in that society. This is the group which directs those processes, structures or forces which the movement seeks to change. The movement may or may not seek to remove these individuals or collectivities from the positions which they control or protect. The establishment will seek: (1) to retain control of the positions which it occupies, (2) retain the power to exercise control with a minimum of outside interference, and (3) will tend to justify and defend not only its positions but the processes, structures, norms, values and facilities which it



either created or finds useful to the realization of its goals.

#### RESEARCH PROBLEM

The primary goal of this study is to examine James A. Geschwender's theory of social movements and revolutions to determine whether it is both necessary and sufficient to explain the recruitment of followers by social movements. While the theory was not specifically directed to this problem, it is of a high level of abstraction and offers a possible approach which is well suited to the basic problem. Geschwender has combined Homans' theory of distributive justice and Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance to predict the emergence of social and revolutionary movements.

If Geschwender's theory is both necessary and sufficient to explain the recruitment of followers then it should be possible to show that the changes in the followership of a social movement: (1) form an orderly pattern, (2) are logically correlated with structured phenomena in the society, and (3) are logically associated with the action of the movement. It should be possible to construct a regression formula which would predict the changes in the movement based on the predictions of the theory.

If Geschwender's theory is necessary but not sufficient, it should be possible to suggest a logical alternative which would explain at least part of the remaining variation.

I will argue that this is, in fact, the case. The primary hypothesis of this study is that Geschwender's hypothesis is necessary but that it overlooks significant factors in explaining the recruitment of followers to social movements. Geschwender's theory states (1) that social movements are an attempt to reduce the dissonance produced by the simultaneous realization of the incompatible cognitions, (2) that one has a right to better conditions, (3) that he is not enjoying those conditions, and (4) that those conditions are in fact possible (Geschwender, 1968:133). I shall argue that one must also examine other factors if he wishes to explain the recruitment of followers by a social movement.

#### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

##### Theoretical Orientation

Work founded on both the systems and conflict models is pertinent to the problem of recruiting and maintaining followings in social movements even though little work deals directly with the specific problem. Niel Smelser has extended the Parsonian structural functional systems model to explain collective behavior in complex industrial societies. The work of such conflict theorists as Ralf Dahrendorf, William Gamson, T. B. Bottomore, and Gerhard Lenski is particularly valuable in this case. It should be helpful to examine some of the more relevant formulations of these theorists since these statements will form the basic postulates of this study.

Smelser assumes that both the movement and the establishment constitute parts of a larger social system. As such, his theory of collective behavior tends to treat the emergence of a social movement as evidence of a failure in one or more of the basic functional subsystems of a system of action. In this respect, he follows the formulations of Talcott Parsons (Parsons, 1970:62ff). Smelser argues that a social system is composed of a hierarchically arranged set of four basic structures: values, norms, mobilization mechanisms for motivation for organized action, and situational facilities (Smelser, 1963:50). He argues that control originates at the top and flows downward while energy--or activity--flows upward in the system. He further argues that each of the basic components can be divided into seven specific levels. This then forms a matrix in which the columns are the basic components and the rows are the levels. One may note that in this type of system a change at any point in the matrix would require changes in all points in the matrix to the right or below the point at which change was observed (Smelser, 1963:42-78). In this system, values represent the commitments, beliefs, and faith of individuals in the system. Norms are defined as the tendencies toward conformity to social expectations. Motivation mechanisms are primarily the various role models and organizations within the system and situational facilities include such intangibles as trust and confidence (Smelser, 1963:30).

Smelser concludes that collective behavior is guided by beliefs. This includes first an assessment of the situation. In this context, behavior is guided by the expectations and wishes of the participants. Collective behavior:

involves a belief in the existence of extraordinary forces - threats, conspiracies, etc. - which are at work in the universe. The belief on which collective behavior is based are thus akin to magical beliefs. . . . The basic principle is that each type of collective behavior is oriented toward a distinct component of social action (Smelser, 1963:8-9).

For example he argues that one may observe two distinct types of social movements--value oriented movements and norm oriented movements. "The central defining characteristic of an episode of collective behavior is a belief envisioning the re-constitution of some components of social action" (Smelser, 1963:11).

He uses this concept of a social system to construct a nine step value-added theory of the creation of value oriented movements. Each step must give rise to the next and all of the steps are necessary if a movement is to emerge. If the sequence is broken at any point the development of the movement is aborted. These nine steps include:

1. strain
2. anxiety
3. belief that agents are responsible for current conditions
4. belief that social institutions have failed
5. belief in the degeneration of social values
6. belief in the regeneration of social values
7. belief in the reconstruction of harmony and stability

8. belief that change in value structures is necessary to reconstruct the social order
9. belief in the omnipotence of the restructured social order (Smelser, 1963:124).

While the system which Smelser has constructed is quite elegant and useful in some instances, two criticisms are apparent. First, one may argue with equal effectiveness that society is not characterized by the kind of unity which is presupposed in Smelser's model. For example, a value structure requires that one accept not only a particular set of abstract, non-empirical, concepts but that some system of differential weighting of the importance of the specific values in the set is also implied. It would be equally valid to assume that in a given social system different hierarchies of a given value set or even different value sets co-exist. In short, Smelser over emphasizes the importance of homogeneity in a social system. Second, while the basic concept of value-added theory seems logical and useful, Smelser's formulation subsumes several presuppositions which are open to question. He assumes that a social system tends to move toward a kind of value equilibrium which produces a relatively homogeneous society. When a social movement occurs this is interpreted as an institutional failure since institutions are a primary source of social integration. His division of the system into four basic components leads him to identify two separate kinds of social movements and thus implies that different dynamics are involved in their creation. In fact, the basic assumption that integration is the primary function



of the social system (even though it is not the highest order function) is dictated by the assumption that some metaphysical force is responsible for the order observed in social interaction. (See Parsons' discussion of his general system which he summarizes in his article, "Problems of General Theory.") These are among the advantages of the conflict approach, since these presuppositions are not made, which relies on a more empirical set of assumptions.

Gerhard Lenski uses three basic postulates in his book Power and Privilege which are consistent with the work of Dahrendorf, Gamson, and Geschwender. He argues that:

man is a social being obliged by nature to live with others as a member of society. . . . When men are confronted with important decisions where they are obliged to choose between their own, or their group's, interests and the interests of others, they (tend to) . . . choose the former. . . . Man has an insatiable appetite for goods and services (Lenski, 1966:25-31).

These three statements form the basis for his theory. From these he develops three corollaries in which he argues that every society exhibits the struggle among its participants for rewards, that in this struggle men tend to have differential abilities which make some more successful than others, and that in social interaction men tend to be strongly influenced by habit and its societal counterpart, custom (Lenski, 1966:31-32).

Lenski further argues that society exhibits three orientations to societal interests. He defines the goals of

a society as "those ends toward which the more or less coordinated efforts of the whole are directed" (41). He assumes that little consideration is given to the harm which these goals may do to an individual or collectivity. It follows that if one group controls relevant positions of dominance in a given situation so they are able to exercise power and determine the course of action for the collectivity the goals of the society will be the goals of that dominant group. He shows that as a logical consequence of this principle, one of the primary goals of a society will tend to be the minimization of political change. That is to say that those individuals in positions of dominance will attempt to maintain the status quo and thereby retain their dominance. Finally, he concludes that societies will tend to "maximize production and the acquisition of the resources necessary to that production" (Lenski, 1966:41-42). Lenski focuses attention on power and control as the primary underlying dynamic of social action as opposed to the Parsonian assumption of an amorphous cultural system which serves as a primary integrative and pattern maintenance structure which is the basis of social action.

Ralf Dahrendorf's study of Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society follows a similar set of assumptions to those adopted by Lenski. It is evident that the assumptions which Lenski makes about the nature of man and society are consistent with the Dahrendorfian formulation. Dahrendorf



begins, however, with four basic postulates. First he assumes that society is in a constant state of change. Second, he assumes that conflict rather than integration is the basic process of social life. Third, he argues that "every element in a society renders a contribution to its disintegration and change" (162). His last postulate is that coercion rather than cooperation is the primary form of interaction between individuals and collectivities (162).

Interests are the unifying factor in this view of society. Dahrendorf identifies two distinct forms of interests--latent interests and manifest interests. He argues that the formation of manifest interest groups is the key to collective action in a conflict situation.

The first step is the conversion of latent interests into manifest interests. He shows that interests are more objective than psychological. He defines objective interests as role interests (178) and argues that "the assumption of 'objective' interests associated with social positions has no psychological implications or ramifications; it belongs to the level of sociological analysis proper" (175). These objective interests are considered to be of most significance when they are viewed as part of a situation of group conflict which focuses on the legitimacy of the relationship between a superordinate and a subordinate in a given conflict episode (176). Interests are configurations of role behavior with respect to a given set of authorities.

Dahrendorf points out that:

Not all collectivities or aggregates form groups. Groups are masses of people in regular contact or communication, and possessing a recognizable structure. There are other aggregates or portions of the community which have no recognizable structure, but whose members have certain interests or modes of behavior in common, which may at any time lead them to form themselves into definite groups. To this category of quasi-groups (emphasis mine) belong such entities as social classes, which, without being groups, are a recruiting field for groups, and whose members have certain characteristic modes of behavior in common (180).

A quasi-group is a "community of certain latent interests" (180). He further notes that there are two quasi-groups from which followers are recruited: those tending to favor the establishment and those that tend to favor the movement (183-185).

In Power and Discontent, William Gamson has suggested that in addition to the latent and manifest interest groups (including what has been defined above as the quasi-group) one may identify a third group. He has labeled this the solidary group. It is characterized by a name or slogan which serves as a focus for loyalty. The solidary group tends to be treated as a group by others and its members tend to display a common life style. Finally it is characterized by a relatively high rate of interaction among its members. The members of the solidary group are aware of the differential role models associated with their situation but are not formally associated with either the authorities or an

organized opposing conflict group (or movement) (Gamson, 1968:chapter 2). For example, computer programmers might be considered a solidary group. Members of this collectivity tend to follow a particular occupational role model and are treated as a group by society at large. They maintain a relatively high rate of interaction through personal contact, publications and associational affiliations yet they cannot be clearly defined as supporting either labor or management in an economic organization simply because of their identification with the solidary group. Both labor and management tend to seek the support of the solidary group in conflict situations.

In addition to interests, Dahrendorf has identified three conditions which are necessary for the creation of a conflict group of what he has termed the class type. The first condition is the technical requirement. This includes such conditions as a charter, personnel, and a set of specified norms related to the particular situation. Next, if a conflict group is to emerge, the society must provide channels of communication and opportunities for association. Dahrendorf argues that in any advanced industrial society these may be assumed to be present. The last precondition is freedom of association and the right to form political interest groups and parties--the political conditions favorable to the organization of conflict groups (185-187). He notes that, "empirically, the formation of organized

interests is possible only if recruitment to quasi-groups follows a structured pattern," where the preconditions for the formation of conflict groups exist (187). However, he does not deal with either the form or content of these recruitment structures.

#### Relative Deprivation

T. R. Gurr has developed a broad based theory of violent, revolutionary social movements based on the relative deprivation approach. He shows that the potential for violent collective action increases directly with both the intensity and scope of the relative deprivation experienced by the members of a given collectivity (24). In this case relative deprivation is defined as:

actors' perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping (Gurr, 1970:24).

Gurr further proposes a three part typology of values which completes his basic structure. Welfare values are those which relate to the physical needs of individuals and their desire for self-actualization and realization. Power values are those factors which contribute to the ability of one actor or collectivity to influence the actions of other individuals or collectivities. Interpersonal values, " . . . are the psychological satisfactions we seek in nonauthoritative interactions with other individuals and groups. . . .

These three classes of interpersonal values are labeled status, communality, and ideational coherence" (25-26).

While Gurr does not specifically discuss the recruitment of followers several of his hypotheses are particularly relevant to this study. First he shows that the intensity of the relative deprivation (RD) experienced by individuals varies with the average deviation between the expectations and capabilities of a given population with regard to salient values (60-66). He notes also that the proportion of the value classes in which deprivation is experienced relative to the total set of salient value classes exerts a moderate force on the intensity of the RD experienced (66). Attention is focused in this approach on the expectations and capabilities of a target population. It is clear from Gurr's argument that both objective and subjective assessments of the situation are important.

The value expectations of the group are determined by "symbolic exposure to a new mode of life (which) varies strongly with the intensity and scope of persisting RD in the group" (101). The specification of symbolic exposure is of particular importance. It is not necessary for a discrepancy to exist between the life chances of one group in relation to another. Value expectations are not influenced only by social conditions or practice but also by ideas and ideologies. In this sense utopian ideas can have a strong influence on the value expectations of a group.



Marx emphasizes the concept of revolutionary praxis in this context. Mannheim gives a very concise definition of utopian thought when he points out that any idea will tend to be labeled utopian if it reflects "a state of mind (which) . . . is incongruous with the state of reality within which it occurs" (173). He goes on to say that in any given society:

The representatives of a given order will label as utopian all conceptions of existence which from their point of view can in principle never be realized. . . . Men whose thoughts and feelings are bound up with an order of existence in which they have a definite position will always evidence the tendency to designate as absolutely utopian all ideas which have been shown to be unrealizable only within the framework of the order in which they themselves live (Mannheim, 1936:176-177).

Gurr shows that utopian patterns have their greatest effect when a segment of the population already experiences RD. "The susceptibility of groups to conversion to rising value expectations varies (only) moderately with the perceived availability of value opportunities for attaining those expectations" (102).

Value capabilities are much more closely tied to objective evaluations of the conditions in which a group exists. Gurr argues that, "Perceived value capabilities vary strongly with the extent to which value stocks in a society are perceived to be flexible" (125), and that "Perceived value capabilities vary strongly and inversely with the rate of a group's past experience of value loss" (127). Both of

these factors are closely related to the practice of a given society and the availability of resources of social power. Gurr further notes that in societies which experience a rapid or radical expansion of value stocks those segments of the population which experience little change in their absolute or relative value opportunities will also experience greater RD (128). Gurr's RD theory clearly considers both the subjective and objective situations in which groups participate in a given society as being of importance in assessing the probabilities of the emergence of revolutionary movements.

#### Cognitive Dissonance

James A. Geschwender summarized the second major approach to explaining the emergence of social movements in advanced industrial societies which uses cognitive dissonance theory. Geschwender argues that in attempting to explain social movements and revolutions one must seek to answer two basic questions. (1) What kinds of people join movements and (2) under what conditions do social movements emerge in a given time and place? (132) In his article "Explorations in the Theory of Social Movements and Revolutions," he attempts to answer the second of these questions.

He identifies six basic hypotheses that have been previously proposed. These include Davie's rise-drop theory, Marx' relative deprivation theory, Durkhiem's downward mobility theory, the status inconsistency hypothesis proposed by Lenski and Broom and Sorokin's concept of multi-bonded



stratification. He also identifies two other hypotheses, Homans' theory of distributive justice and Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance, which he argues provide a more general explanation that includes the other theories mentioned above. He further argues that the first four are simply special cases of the Homans and Festinger formulations (Geschwender, 1968:127-132).

Geschwender says that social movements occur as a result of an attempt by individuals and collectivities to reduce the dissonance produced by three simultaneous cognitions: (1) the belief that better conditions are possible, (2) the belief that one has a right to enjoy those better conditions, and (3) the realization that one is not enjoying the best possible conditions (133).

Even though Geschwender has used a theory drawn from social psychology to explain the emergence of social movements, his discussion clearly indicates that his primary concern is the set of structures which produce these cognitions rather than with the cognitions themselves. He identifies three basic types of cognitions, reality-based, definitional-based, and normative-based which are of particular significance to his theory (132). Reality-based cognitions include such perceptions as one's occupational and educational status and income. Definitional cognitions include "the definition of ethnicity as an ascribed investment and education as an achieved investment. Normative cognitions include the belief

that rewards received should be proportional to investments" (132). Other structures which are referred to include socio-economic circumstances, reference groups and social power structures (132-133).

When conditions of cognitive dissonance exist an actor may adopt any one of three alternatives. Geschwender suggests that since a state of dissonance is not comfortable one will act to reduce that dissonance (135). This is only one possible course of action, however. The actor may also postpone action or he may reject the validity of the cognition and, therefore, decide to take no action at all.

If an actor chooses to take action to reduce the dissonance he may be successful and in fact reduce the dissonance. This outcome is in no way assured. To act is also to incur risk. Any action requires the actor to commit increments of both status and power resources in the hope of receiving added value in the form of additional status, power and the reduction of dissonance. If his action fails to achieve the desired end, the actor will not experience a decrease in discomfort but rather an increase in dissonance in the form of reduced power and status and increased frustration and alienation.

The actor may decide that circumstances which exist at a particular time do not offer a sufficiently high probability of success to warrant the assumption of the risk implicit in acting to reduce dissonance. Even though he cannot

simply explain away his dissonance he fails to act with the intention of acting at a more propitious time. He does not experience any reduction in dissonance but neither does he experience any increased discomfort. Finally, the actor may simply rationalize the situation and reject the very cognitions which are creating his discomfort. Having done this the dissonance is reduced and action is not necessary.

Geschwender's theory raises two important questions which will serve as the basis for the hypotheses of this study. Does a significant correlation exist between the specified cognitions and the ability of a movement to recruit and maintain a following? Is Geschwender's theory both necessary and sufficient to explain the observed variations?

#### HYPOTHESES

The primary thrust of this study is that James A. Geschwender's theory of social movements and revolutions is necessary but not sufficient to explain the recruitment of followers by a social movement. The Geschwender hypothesis attempts to explain the emergence and continuation of social movements. As such, the formulation does not specifically predict the recruitment of followers, but if the Geschwender hypothesis is correct then by logical extension one would expect that the conditions which he specifies are also the primary factors which enable the movement to attract and maintain a following.

This study presents two major hypotheses. First, the ability of a social movement to attract or hold members and followers covaries with the possession of three specific cognitions (or beliefs) by a target population. These cognitions include the beliefs that better conditions are possible, that one has a right to those better conditions, and that one is not enjoying those conditions. This is the Geschwender hypothesis and it focuses attention on reality-based cognitions. The second hypothesis uses the symbolic interaction perspective and focuses attention on the meaning of those reality-based cognitions to the actors. The social movement creates a myth which serves as a structural mechanism by which it is able to communicate about these beliefs to a target population, and it, thereby, increases the probability of recruiting followers.

As I have shown above, actors may take one of several alternative courses of action which are not predicted in Geschwender's formulation. Each of these acts is logically consistent with a condition of cognitive dissonance. He may take immediate action to reduce dissonance, as Geschwender suggests. He may postpone action to a later time when he believes that he enjoys a greater probability of success, or he may reject the cognitions which have produced the dissonance either as being insignificant or invalid and thereby reduce the dissonance. The Geschwender hypothesis

deals with a very important part of the process but it does not include all relevant factors.

Action is not simply a function of empirically oriented beliefs. Berkowitz notes that emotion, which he defines simply as a high state of general arousal, is an important component of action (in Lindzey, v.3, 1968:104-105). He follows Schachter in saying that, "the individuals understanding of the precipitating situation and the resulting sensations shape the nature of his experiences and actions. . . . With any given interpretation of his sensations, the more aroused person . . . would exhibit the stronger actions" (in Lindzey, v.3, 1968:105).

William J. McGuire identifies three components of cognition which are sometimes treated as different processes. These include the cognitive, emotive and effective elements. He notes that "the three components have proven to be so highly intercorrelated that theorists who insist on distinguishing them should bear the burden of proving that the distinction is worthwhile" (in Lindzey, v.3, 1968:157).

In this case some distinction between beliefs which are based on empirical observations of phenomena and those based on non-empirical data are quite useful. Geschwender does not suggest that differential weights are involved in the effect of his three cognitions on the action of a population. While he has included a three-fold typology of cognitions as reality-based, definitional, and normative, his



argument is structured around reality-based cognitions. He argues that each of the three specified cognitions is composed of one or more reality-based cognitions and one normative cognition. The normative cognition is defined as the belief that investments should equal rewards and constitutes a tautology. The definitional cognitions appear to be of only minor and unspecified importance (Geschwender, 1968:132-133). Further, he is dealing with structures which are related to a set of cognitions in a collectivity, not the particular actions or cognitions of a given individual. Since this study seeks to determine which structures contribute to the recruitment of followers in the collective sense and since Geschwender, quite clearly, does not include evaluation and the affective processes in his implicit definition of the target cognitions, the distinction between cognitive and affective processes is not only useful but necessary. Whether these are two separate processes or separate components of the cognitive process is immaterial for the present purposes. Some distinction is essential if one is to identify relevant structures in the social system, or society, which facilitate the recruitment of followers by social movements.

The second hypothesis, above, suggests that it is through the myth of a movement that latent interests are brought into manifestation. While most individuals seem to have a general idea about the conditions in which they live

relative to others in their own society, the myth of the movement presents a vision of a world that may yet be realized. Even more than presenting a specific vision of a social condition which is possible of attainment, it proclaims that those who participate in the myth are the rightful beneficiaries of the new order and that the established order is either unwilling or incapable of bringing this new world into existence. The myth expresses the significance of what the actor sees and influences both the denotative and conotative definitions of self, of roles, or of situations. It provides a basis for value and ethical judgments, and contributes, in this way, to establishing both a context and meaning for individual and collective actors. The myth which is created by the establishment or by the movement is, therefore, an essential social structure in the recruitment of followers by social movements.

The research hypothesis may now be restated. The recruitment of followers by social movements is a function of the formation and evaluation of (1) the belief that individuals have a right to better conditions of life, (2) the belief that those better conditions of life are possible, and (3) the realization that individuals are not enjoying those conditions of life to which they are entitled. The formation of these beliefs is facilitated by structures in the society and the evaluations of those beliefs are facilitated by the myths of the movement and the establishment.



The alternative hypothesis is that Geschwender's theory of social movements and revolutions is both necessary and sufficient to explain the recruitment of followers by social movements.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

### RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The first part of the research hypothesis is a rather straight forward quantitative problem. The best procedure for this problem is some form of the multiple regression technique. In this case since the objective is to examine the actions of a target population, the best method would be a time series analysis using the step-wise multiple regression procedure. This procedure requires one to select a group of indicators of the three conditions which are specified by the Geschwender hypothesis that are both relevant to the focus of a movement and which reflect phenomena which would be relatively apparent to a target population. These indicators must be of at least an interval level and they must be approximately normally distributed. The step-wise multiple regression technique will provide information about the amount of variance explained by each variable in the equation, establish a statistical approximation of the order in which each variable would normally be expected to enter the equation, and finally provide a formula which will predict the value of a dependent variable (in this case an estimator of the recruitment of followers by a given movement) based on the known values of a set of independent variables. The time-series analysis requires that one

control for all major intervening variables like population changes and changes in base measurements prior to the regression analysis to avoid spurious correlations. Two restrictions must be noted. First, since we do not know all the variables which intervene only the more obvious factors will be controlled. Second, the computed formula is based on a closed time interval and therefore is only an approximation of the system in practice. Both of these restrictions are of little consequence to the hypothesis. They do not limit one's ability to establish the importance of the major structures involved in the situation or any analysis of the functions of those structures.

The second part of the research hypothesis is basically descriptive. It may be verified only in so far as it is possible to establish that a dialectic polarity exists between the myth which the movement creates and the myth projected by the established order in a conflict situation. The problem in this case is qualitative and requires a verstehen approach, though some estimate of the statistical reliability and generalizability of the findings is desirable. Operationally, this may be accomplished by using a content analysis of statements of leading representatives of a movement and those of the opposing leading proponents of the establishment.

By demonstrating that the three cognitions in the first part of the hypothesis are significant in the creation

of the movement and hence the recruitment of followers, one has simply isolated an extant condition. This condition is a symbolic representation of patterns of social interaction. It is an end in this respect. The second part of the hypothesis isolates a means to that end. It recognizes that both the establishment and the movement are competing for the loyalty of the same target population and that structured forms of action will tend to emerge in the organizational context of both conflict groups to facilitate the achievement of the desired end.

Each social movement creates a myth which becomes a primary tool for the recruitment of a followership for the movement. This myth may not be stated in a classical or even an obviously recognized form but it is at the core of the movement. It serves as a basic means by which new followers are recruited. Mircea Eliade has shown that:

certain mythical themes still survive in modern societies, but are not readily recognizable since they have undergone a long process of laicisation. This has long been known: indeed, modern societies might be simply defined as those which have pushed the secularization of life and of the cosmos far enough. The novelty of the modern world consists in its revaluation, at the secular level, of the ancient values (Eliade, 160:28).

It is impossible to deny the profound influence that myth and the mythical heroes exert even on the most industrial, modern, sophisticated and technological society. These are

not the myths of some archaic civilization but rather the conventions which guide man in his social activity.

Myth is the poetic expression by man of what it means to be human--what it means to be man. A myth is a symbolic exemplification of the ideals and modes of action which set apart those who are "human" or at least those who belong to a given society. This is a major imprecision which the growth of modernity has introduced into mythology. In its pure form a myth defines what it is to be man. The complexity which is characteristic of modern industrial and post-industrial society has left man with an awareness of the mutual bond he shares with those of other cultures and societies. In this sense he recognizes the humanity of those around him. His archaic counterpart did not. This ambiguity and imprecision has not, however, eradicated the ideological expectations at the deepest levels of man's consciousness that there are ways in which those who are human must act. For example, the American people have been repulsed by the brutality of warfare in East Asia first in World War II and then in the Korean and Vietnam police actions. Yet this brutality is an accepted part of warfare for many Oriental cultures--the price of defeat has always been death or enslavement. The Oriental tends to be equally suspicious of the Western concept of international assistance and reconstruction. The myth is an expression of who man is, of how man should act in both the personal and social contexts, and of both the



beginning and end of time. It is a model, an exemplification, which binds man to society and society to reality and history. Myth is both secular and sacred. It is the core of human social interaction. As Eliade notes:

it seems unlikely that any society could completely dispense with myths, for, of what is essential in mythical behavior - the exemplary pattern, the repetition, the break with profane duration and integration into primordial time - the first two at least are consubstantial with every human condition (31-32).

Myth is a macro-sociological concept. Myth is created by a group which sees itself as a unique society. The myth is the expressive and integrative device which carries this sense of community to the individual and the society. In complex, modern society, the myth is not necessarily institutionalized. In fact, we may identify many myth communities within a complex society like the modern nation-state. In the United States, one body of myth tended to become institutionalized--the myth created by the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant community. Within this myth community such heroes as Washington, Jefferson and the Adams family were defined as the exemplary model for what it means to be an American. The institutionalization of this subsumed body of myth does not, however, preclude the existence or creation of new or different mythological traditions. This is readily demonstrated by the demands of the Black community for an "identity" of its own. The institutionalization of a myth tends to generate new myths because any new interpretation of

the acts of the myth heroes as well as the introduction of new mythical traditions challenges the validity and universality of the institutionalized myth. Joseph Campbell argues that:

The rise and fall of civilization in the long, broad course of history can be seen to have been largely a function of the integrity and cogency of their supporting canons of myth; for not authority but aspiration is the motivater, builder, and transformer of civilization. A mythological canon is an organization of symbols, ineffable in import, by which the energies of aspiration are evoked and gathered toward a focus. The message leaps from heart to heart by way of the brain, and where the brain is unpersuaded the message cannot pass. The life then is untouched. For those in whom a local mythology still works, there is an experience both of accord with the social order, and of harmony with the universe. For those, however, in whom the authorized signs no longer work - or, in working, produce deviant effects - there follows inevitably a sense both of dissociation from the local social nexus and of quest, within and without, for life, which the brain will take to be for "meaning." Coerced to the social pattern, the individual can only harden to some figure of living death; and if any considerable number of the members of a civilization are in this predicament, a point of no return will have been passed (5-6).

It is in this sense that the myth of a social movement serves as a means to attract and recruit a following. It offers an alternative source of meaning to those who have become alienated from the institutionalized myth and those who are excluded from that myth.

Joseph Campbell has shown that one of the functions of myth in society is the maintenance of social order (4-6). At this point one might draw an analogy to the interaction that Robert Friedricks discusses in A Sociology of Sociology between "normal" and "revolutionary" scientific communities. The established order does indeed use myth to secure the social order. Those who oppose that social order, in turn, must present a new myth which redefines the situation and creates a new authoritative basis for the emergent social order. This is not a process of "de-mythologizing" but rather one of "re-mythologizing" man's existence in relation to his social and universal environment. The three cognitions which Geschwender identifies are both the raison d'etre and the core of the new myth. In this respect the cognitions are to meaning as the myth is to action. As Mircea Eliade has observed, "one of the chief characteristics of the myth . . . is the creation of exemplary models for a whole society" (32).

The second part of the research hypothesis requires that one demonstrate that the establishment and movement do create different myths.

#### POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The hypothesis that reality based cognitions are associated with the recruitment of followers by social movement may best be tested by using the multiple regression analysis procedures. The selection of this particular

procedure places severe limitations on the choice of a test sample. This sample must be selected from a population composed of all social movements in the United States and it must include all target latent, quasi, and solidary groups from which each of these movements must recruit followers. In other words, one can define the population as the population of the United States. The most reasonable approach will be to select one movement and the relevant target populations for a case study.

The case study method presents some problems for generalizing one's findings to the total population. No one movement is entirely representative of social movements in the United States. The hypothesis of this study is of a sufficiently high level of generality that this difficulty is far outweighed by the benefits of a case study method. The case study method allows one to deal with a manageable set of data. It minimizes the problems of internal comparability of data and therefore improves the reliability and validity of the findings. The case study method also allows one to test the basic research hypothesis of this study and also to obtain potentially valuable information about a particular social situation. The multiple regression technique assumes, among other things, the existence of a normally distributed population and at least an interval scale of measurement for each index.

The choice of the labor movement in the United States as the sample population meets these requirements.

This choice has several advantages. Most significantly, the labor movement has generated a considerable amount of interest in both the universities and in the government. One is able to draw on a large body of previously reported research as well as the historical and current data which the United States government maintains on the movement. The Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce and the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the United States Department of Labor maintain information on many variables that are either directly or indirectly related to this movement. This material provides a reliable type of interval data. The labor movement has also been one of the more successful social movements in the United States. For this reason it is reasonable to assume that it will provide an excellent example of the recruitment process.

The labor movement does offer one minor problem. It could be argued that the labor movement has become too institutionalized to be properly considered a social movement, or that at best the relatively high degree of institutionalization makes the labor movement a special case and, therefore, severely limits the generalizability of the findings. These arguments are not without merit, but they do over emphasize the importance of one factor, institutionalization, to the prejudice of other considerations. First, the labor movement



is composed of several major organizations, e.g., the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), the United Mine Workers, United Auto Workers, and the Teamsters--as well as small independent organizations. No single organization is able to control all of the groups which make up the movement (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1970:74). The movement includes organizations and individuals in all parts of the country. While the movement has received support from some legislation (e.g., the Taft-Hartley and Sherman Acts), the law seeks only to insure the ability of the movement to survive by eliminating recourse to "unfair tactics" by employers. It does not materially affect the way in which the two conflicting parties interact except to try to continue the survival of both parties with a minimum of social violence. In other words, the law institutionalizes the existence of the union in so far as it guarantees that individuals shall not be prohibited from forming a union and participating in collective action. It does not require the existence of any union which is unable to maintain a loyal following. Finally, only about 50 percent of the members of the labor force in the United States who would normally be expected to join a union are actually members of the labor movement (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1970:72). If one were to consider the labor movement as an institution, then it would be reasonable to expect a much higher percentage of the labor force to be

members. Recognizing the problems that the institutionalization of the movement does create, one may nevertheless conclude that it will provide a reasonable case study to demonstrate the validity of the research hypothesis.

#### SELECTION OF INDICATORS

Data drawn from statistics compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of the Census are used to test the Geschwender hypothesis. This hypothesis focuses attention on three beliefs: that individuals have a right to better conditions of life; that those conditions of life are possible, and the belief that individuals are not enjoying those conditions of life to which they are entitled. These beliefs are reality based cognitions and, therefore, reflect structures in the society. It is necessary to select a group of indicators on the basis of their apparent ability to represent conditions which a member of the target population would be reasonably expected to know. The measures of these indicators can then be correlated with the number of members in the labor movement for each of a given set of years. Those which show a significant correlation will then be used in the time-series analysis and the construction of a regression formula. In this case, the indicator will be accepted if and only if the probability of a Type I error is less than or equal to 0.1. (In other words, a significance level of 0.90 is specified. While this is somewhat lower than the more common parameter, this is justified because one is

identifying indicators of a phenomenon rather than testing the phenomenon itself. I believe that the relaxation of the parameter in this case is justified by the fact that the statements which are ultimately to be tested are at a high level of generalization. In fact the significance level of each of the variables is higher than the specified parameter.) This level is sufficient to both ensure a reasonable level of confidence in the findings and exclude the elimination of potentially significant factors.

Geschwender says that each of the three cognitions which he identifies are made up of two components. Each contains one or more reality based cognitions and a normative cognition. He simply defines the normative cognition as the belief that rewards should equal investments. Symbolically, the cognition  $R_i$  is a set of cognitions such that  $\{R_i\} = \{S_e + S_i + S_o + S_r\}$  where  $S_e$  is the educational hierarchy status,  $S_i$  is the income hierarchy status,  $S_o$  is the occupational hierarchy status, and  $S_r$  is the ethnic hierarchy status perceived by an individual and each factor is a cognition.  $R_i$  is a reality based cognition. The normative cognition,  $N_i$ , is the set of cognitions such that  $N$  is tautologically equal to the belief,  $B$ , that investments,  $I$ , should equal rewards,  $E$ . If  $C_i$  represents the three cognitions specified in the hypothesis: (1) that one has a right to better conditions, (2) that better conditions are possible, and (3) that one is not enjoying those conditions, then

$\{C_i\} = \{R_i + N_i\}$  as  $i$  ranges from 1 to  $n$  (Geschwender, 1968: 132-133). In Geschwender's formulation  $N_i$  is not a variable in the sense of representing a continuous interval. It is either true or not true. Further,  $N_i$  can be eliminated since by definition it is always true. Therefore,  $\{C_i\} = \{R_i\}$  as  $i$  ranges from 1 to 3. If one assumes that a set of real numbers exists such that each element of that set corresponds in a one to one relationship to each element of the set  $C_i$ , then one may conclude that it is possible to measure  $C_i$ . It is not necessary to know what elements comprise the set of real numbers. Rather, one may identify a set of indicators which will estimate the theoretical value of each of the elements in the set. Finally, one may now use functional notation to examine the interaction of the variables in the set.

#### Right To Better Conditions

Of the several possible indicators which were originally tested, the gross national product and disposable personal income meet both the requirements of face validity and the specified significance levels for their product moment correlation coefficients. The correlation of the gross national product (GNP) with the disposable personal income (DPI) is 0.90571. The correlation between the GNP and the membership of the labor movement (U) is -0.59240 and the correlation of the DPI with U is -0.47446.

Both of these indicators are socio-economic measures. The GNP is defined as the total output of a given society (the United States in this case) of all goods and services expressed in market prices. The DPI is the total income of individuals in the United States net of all payments to governmental agencies (including taxes, insurance contributions, etc.). Both of these indicators are compiled by the Bureau of the Census and published in the Statistical Abstracts of the United States. Both indicators meet the requirements for use in multiple-regression analysis.

The GNP and DPI reflect the general economic conditions which prevail at a particular time. They reflect the conditions which an individual sees and experiences that directly affect the material and educational life chances of the individual. That is not to say that they are the only factors involved. Since these indicators reflect the conditions of the collectivity they may be assumed to be correlated with those phenomena that serve as reference points by which the individual can form and evaluate comparative judgments and expectations about his own position. In this case we are defining the individuals cognitions about "rights" as the belief that one is entitled to enjoy approximately the same life chances as those others in the society having approximately the same status and limited by the capabilities of the society at large. The GNP and DPI seem to reflect this.



One Is Not Enjoying Those Conditions To Which He Is Entitled

The belief that one is not enjoying the best possible conditions to which he is entitled is clearly a comparison of the actual practice in the society and the expectations of individuals and collectivities in that society. Two other socio-economic indicators have been found to meet the requirements stated above. The wholesale purchasing power of the dollar (WPP) and the consumer purchasing power of the dollar (CPP) represent a set of complex social and economic relationships. Both are associated with the law of supply and demand for a given type of market. They represent the interaction of the desires of individuals for goods and services and the ability of the society to meet those demands. They also reflect changing priorities within a society. For example, if we assume that government must operate within defined limits and all other things being equal an increase in defense spending would tend to cause a decrease in the consumer goods available to a society since industrial production capacity would have to be shifted from consumer to military goods. Since this would tend to reduce supply, the consumer price index would tend to increase and the CPP would tend to decrease. The WPP and CPP are averages which reflect the experiences of individuals in obtaining both necessary and luxury goods and services. Since they are most closely related to the experiences of individuals by reflecting the value of the income of the individual, they

have been selected as indicators of the cognitions or beliefs about the failure of the system to provide the best possible conditions to its participants.

The correlation between the WPP and CPP is 0.96268. The WPP was found to have a correlation of 0.32540 with membership in labor unions while the CPP has a correlation of 0.43800 with membership in the labor movement. This reinforces the selection of these two indicators and the reasoning above since the CPP shows a considerably higher correlation with union membership than does the WPP.

#### Better Conditions Are Possible

The suicide rate for a given society (the United States) reflects the belief that better conditions are or are not possible. First, the suicide rate is a generally accepted index of the anomie in a society. Specifically, the act of suicide is the ultimate expression of the belief that present conditions are intolerable and that there is no hope that they will improve. One would therefore expect a negative correlation between the suicide rate and membership in labor unions. In fact, the correlation is -0.42020.

In each of these cases we have selected indicators of the beliefs specified by Geschwender. These do not necessarily reflect the exact phenomena which an individual uses as a referent for his reality based beliefs. Rather they reflect generalized conditions within the society which are common to many possible referents.

### Myth

The second part of the hypothesis specifies that the movement creates a myth which facilitates the evaluation of the beliefs delimited by the Geschwender hypothesis. I have defined myth as an integrative and evaluative device which embodies a symbolic exemplification of the ideals and modes of action which serve as the model for a whole society. To operationalize this definition some further observations are needed.

The attempt to explain the recruitment of followers by a social movement is a search for motives in the sense in which C. Wright Mills uses that term. One seeks to identify those explanations of an individual's actions which are part of a "vocabulary of motives" for a given situation which is acceptable to both the actor and those he defines as significant others (Mills in Stone, 1970:474-476). A social movement does not deal with a single situation but rather with a set of diverse situations relative to a given desired change in the social structure. A myth integrates and unifies a set of "vocabularies of motives" and their related definitions of situations into a meaningful whole. In this way, the myth of the movement and the myth of the establishment serve as important recruiting devices.

Both the members of the labor movement and the members of the management team are significant others for members of the movement's target population. As Foote argues,

motivation includes not only linguistic structures and vocabularies of meaning as presented in C. Wright Mills' discussion of motivational behavior, motivation also includes identification. Foote notes that man limits his realistic behavior to a relatively small set of roles. These roles are the ones which he has learned and defined as his own. They constitute an expression of who he is and can be defined only if he has constructed a relatively firm concept of his own identity. "He can only ascertain which role is his in each situation by knowing who he is. Moreover, he must know who he is with considerable conviction and clarity, if his behavior is to exhibit definiteness and force, which is to say degree of motivation" (Foote in Stone, 1970:483). This identification is a function of the individual's experience and his interaction with others in a given society. Myth helps the individual place this experience and interaction into a meaningful context. "It is only through identification as the sharing of identity that individual motives become social values and social values, individual motives" (Foote in Stone, 1970:487). Likewise, it is through myth as a structure in a society that individual motives and social values are integrated into a meaningful context for social action. It is myth that joins identity, vocabularies of motivation, and definitions of situations into a coherent world view.

Operationally, the myth may be viewed as containing two basic elements. First, it will include a set of values which are generic vocabularies of motivation. Second, it will include a set of definitions of situations which together will form a relatively coherent world view. These two basic elements will be symbolically linked to present an exemplary model of how those who subscribe to the myth should act. This is linked to Geschwender's model through his discussion of "definitional" and "normative" cognitions.

Since both the movement and the establishment are part of the same society, it is reasonable to expect that the values which are included in each value set will be similar. One should expect that the movement and the establishment will have different value hierarchies, however. One would expect a negative correlation between the values of the movement and those of the establishment when those values are expressed in terms of hierarchies. In this study, the value set proposed by Olsen will be used as a primary list of variables. He argues that there are seven major values in American society. These include materialism, success, work, progress, rationality, democracy, and humanitarianism (58).

The definitions of situations might be expected to include two major elements. First, one would expect that the establishment would tend to view society as a social system while the labor movement would tend to see society in terms of a conflict model. Second, one would expect that



both management and labor would present themselves as the legitimate agent of the target population.

The value set and the definitions of situations are used as the expected variables in a thematic content analysis. The other indicators listed above, GNP, DPI, suicide rate, WPP, CPP, and union membership are used to execute a step-wise multiple regression time-series analysis.

#### DATA SELECTION AND PROCESSING

The test of the first part of the hypothesis requires that indicators of the three beliefs listed in Geschwender's hypothesis be used in the creation of a regression formula. The belief that one has a right to better conditions will be indicated by the GNP and DPI. The belief that better conditions are possible is indicated by the suicide rate and the belief that one is not enjoying the best possible conditions is indicated by the WPP and CPP. These are used as the independent variables to predict the dependent variable, union membership in the United States, which is assumed to be an indicator of the followership of the movement.

The data for each of these variables is taken from published statistics. In each case the data has been drawn from the Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1945 - 1972, which were published by the Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce. Labor union membership figures have been cross checked with the data published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of

Labor. The Bureau of Labor Statistics was the source for all the data on union memberships used in this study, even though the direct source is the Statistical Abstracts. In addition to the variables listed above, population figures for each of the years used in this study were collected from the same source. The study uses the years 1945 to 1970 (inclusive) as the cases for analysis. Data for the case years 1967 and 1969 were deleted from the list at the time of processing because of missing values. The GNP and DPI figures are in 1958 constant dollars.

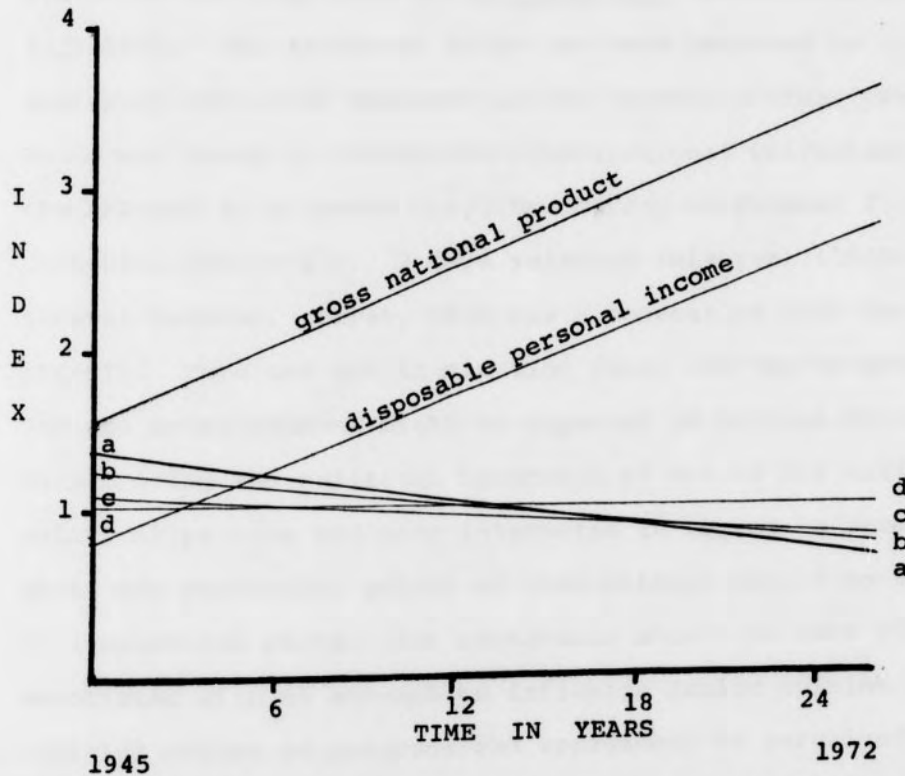
Time-series analysis requires that all extraneous variables be controlled to avoid the creation of spurious correlations. In this study two factors are important. The first requires that all economic data be converted to comparable dollar values. The wholesale purchasing power and consumer purchasing power figures are standard economic indices and do not require conversion. The GNP and DPI figures must be converted into constant market values. This conversion is provided by the Bureau of the Census. All of these figures are expressed in terms of 1958 market prices. The second control required is for population growth. The WPP and CPP are independent of population effects and require no further conversion. The suicide rate is stated in terms of a standardized population. GNP, DPI, and union membership must be converted into standardized population indices. This is accomplished by simply dividing the indicator by the

population for the appropriate year. The importance of this procedure is demonstrated by the amount of variance which population explains if it is included as an independent variable in the regression formula. When it is included it accounts for almost 60 percent of the observed variance and the formula accounts for nearly 90 of the observed variance. This, however, is spurious.

The regression formula has been calculated using the step-wise multiple regression procedures in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) which was created by Nie, Bent, and Hull. All of the variables have been entered at the same level and all default values accepted, except for the specified significance and tolerance levels which were set at 0.1 as stated above. GNP and DPI indices are expressed in two significant digits. All other indices are expressed in three significant digits due to the narrow range of observed variation. These data are summarized in Figure 1. Figure 1 shows the trends over a 25 year period in the form of least squares regression lines for each index used in testing the first part of the research hypothesis.

The second part of the hypothesis states that the evaluation of the beliefs that one is entitled to better conditions, that those conditions are possible, and that one is not enjoying those conditions is facilitated by the myth of the movement. One must show that the movement does in fact create a myth and that it is significantly different

FIGURE 1  
 DATA TREND LINES  
 LEAST SQUARES REGRESSION FOR  
 INDICES OVER TIME



a = consumer purchasing power of dollar    c = union membership  
 b = wholesale purchasing power of dollar    d = suicide rate

from that presented by the establishment. This can be accomplished by a content analysis of the major themes in representative statements by both the movement and the establishment.

The specific statements which have been selected were made in the period of October 1 to December 15, 1969. The piece selected to represent the establishment, management, is a projection of what management expects in the 1970's. The statement was published in Business Week on December 6, 1969 (139-154). The statement which has been selected to represent the labor movement is the keynote address presented by George Meany to the Eighth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in Atlantic City, New Jersey on October 2, 1969 (AFL-CIO, 1969:5-17). I have selected this year (1969) for several reasons. First, 1969 was a convention year for the AFL-CIO. This was not an election year, and the movement and the establishment might be expected to be less interested in promoting the political interests of one of the national political parties and more interested in trying to promote their own particular points of view without regard to unity in a political party. The statements should be more closely associated with an attempt to influence public opinion and official action on programs and approaches to perceived problems than to a coordinated effort to elect candidates to public office. Since this was the end of a decade various groups were publishing their projections for the next ten



years. This has become a minor tradition in our society, and it is quite useful for our present study. Finally, it was possible to obtain closely related statements by both the movement and the establishment which were present at the same time, for all practical purposes, to the target population. These articles may be considered a systematic rather than an opportunity sample. While no detailed analysis was performed on other statements by the subject groups, the selected statements were compared with statements made at other times by the same organizations and statements by related organizations (for example, the United Auto Workers, Forbes, and Fortune). I consider the statements selected for thematic content analysis to be reasonably representative of the subject groups.

Each of the selected statements has been divided into a set of "basic statements." A basic statement shall be defined as a complete statement on a single issue or a complete statement on a major part of a complex issue. In all cases, a basic statement represents at least one sentence and, more commonly, a basic statement is either one paragraph or a set of short paragraphs. The determining factor in each case is the expression of a particular idea or position rather than the absolute length of the statement. Each of the position statements has been divided into 39 basic statements. The fact that both the statement of the movement position and that of the establishment have been

divided into the same number of basic statements is coincidental.

Each basic statement has been analyzed to determine the basic themes which it contains. The analysis projected the presence of nine primary themes which includes: materialism, success, work, progress, rationalism, democracy, and humanitarianism as basic values and agency and conflict-systems orientations as definitions of situations. The analysis has not been limited to these themes, however. All themes actually observed have been included and those which are common to both statements (either in the form of identical or conflicting observed statements) have been included in the final analysis. Each basic statement has been analyzed twice. The first analysis was performed on the basic statements after they had been numbered and placed in a random order (based on a standard random numbers table) so that the statement was removed from context. The second analysis was performed on the basic statements in context. No significant difference has been noted in the two analyses.

The content analysis used in this study treats each basic statement as a separate case drawn from a matched pair. The basic statements have been scored on whether they either implicitly or explicitly display each of the themes in the projected set and each of the additional observed themes. Each statement could contain more than one of these themes. Next the frequency of each of the themes has been noted and

this figure has then been divided by the number of basic statements, 39, to produce a relative frequency for each theme in each of the position statements. Finally, the themes have been placed into a rank order. The theme having the highest relative frequency is assigned the highest rank, 1. In those cases where ties occur each of the tied elements has been assigned the mean rank of the tied positions in the order. One may now compute the Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient with correction for ties. If the hypothesis is true one should observe a negative correlation between the movement and the establishment.

## ANALYSIS

### MULTIPLE REGRESSION

The test of the first part of the hypothesis involves a stepwise-multiple regression analysis. This procedure will produce a regression formula which will allow one to predict changes in a dependent variable, in this case the membership of the labor movement, based on the interaction of a set of independent variables. This study involves the use of five independent variables to predict the dependent variable, membership. The independent variables are: the Gross National Product (GNP), Suicide (S), Disposable Personal Income (DPI), Consumer Purchasing Power of the Dollar (CPP), and Wholesale Purchasing Power of the Dollar (WPP). These variables are represented by the notation  $Y_i$  as  $i$  ranges from 1 to 5, respectively. The general form of the regression formula will be  $X = bY_1 + bY_2 + bY_3 + bY_4 + bY_5 + C + R$ , where "b" is the beta coefficient, "C" is a constant, and "R" is the computed residual. In addition to providing the regression formula, the SPSS Multiple Regression program provides information for an analysis of the variance explained by the formula.

The step-wise multiple regression procedure makes possible the creation of a predictive formula based on the most efficient selection of variables. The SPSS routine

selects the order in which variables will be entered into the formula based on the significance of the normalized beta coefficient and the tolerance level of each independent variable. At each step, the next independent variable included in the computation is the one having the highest product equal to the F statistic times the tolerance level of each independent variable. The operator does not select the order in which independent variables are brought into the equation. The operator may specify different levels of independent variables, however; in this study, all independent variables have been assigned to the same level. The parameters for both the significance level and the tolerance level have been set at 0.1 rather than at the default options (Nie, 1970:180-182).

All five of the independent variables specified above appear in the regression formula. The GNP is the first independent variable entered into the formula. The computed beta coefficient for GNP is -0.68808. The beta coefficient for the second variable, Suicide, is -0.75099 and the beta coefficient for the third variable, DPI, has been calculated to be 1.40216. The fourth and fifth variables entered into the equation are the CPP and WPP with beta coefficients of 2.99948 and -1.75725 respectively. Since the standard error for each independent variable in the equation is much smaller than the beta coefficient (equal to or less than 15 percent



of the beta coefficient) we may assume that the sign of the coefficient is correct (Nie, 1970:185).

The complete regression formula includes both the independent variables and a constant and residual value. The constant is equal to 1.43085, and the residual is equal to 0.02901. The residual is equal to the standard error of the equation (Nie, 1970:185). The complete regression formula may be stated as:

$$X = -0.68808Y_1 + -0.75099 Y_2 + 1.40216Y_3 + 2.99948Y_4 \\ + -1.75725Y_5 + 1.43085 + 0.02901.$$

The F test yields a value of 14.38971 with the degrees of freedom equal to 5 ( $n_1$ ) and 18 ( $n_2$ ). The probability of alpha for an F value of 14.38971 with 5 and 18 degrees of freedom is less than 0.001, according to standard F statistic tables. It must be concluded, therefore, that the first part of the research hypothesis has been confirmed for this case. Geschwender's theory does appear to be necessary. The recruitment of followers by the labor movement is facilitated by the three beliefs specified by the hypothesis. One must examine the analysis of variance which is included in the routine to determine whether the Geschwender hypothesis is sufficient to explain the recruitment of followers by the labor movement.

The regression formula given above accounts for a total of 79.9890 percent of the observed variance. The first three variables (GNP, Suicide, and DPI) account for more than

71 percent of the total variance (approximately 35 percent, 29 percent, and 7 percent respectively). The CPP and WPP account for about 3 percent and 6 percent respectively. This suggests that the addition of new variables into the equation would probably not contribute significantly to explaining the remaining variance if those new variables were simply additional indicators of the three beliefs stated in the hypothesis. Since several other indicators were considered but discarded because of insignificant correlations with the dependent variable, I suggest that the first part of the research hypothesis has been confirmed. The beliefs that better conditions are possible, that one is entitled to better conditions, and that one is not enjoying the best possible conditions are necessary to the recruitment of followers by social movements (particularly by the labor movement). Since we have created a significant regression formula, we know that it is possible to predict changes in the membership of a movement and, assuming that a correlation does in fact exist between the size of the membership of a movement and the size of its total following, one may conclude that this is in fact a structured form of behavior. Further, the regression formula suggests that the three cognitions proposed by Geschwender are in fact necessary to the recruitment of a following by a social movement. Even though it is possible that other indicators of these beliefs might be found, it seems reasonable to conclude that since

TABLE 1

Time Series Analysis of Changes  
In the Labor Movement's Membership  
STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION\*

VARIABLE	CUMULATIVE VARIANCE EXPLAINED	VARIANCE EXPLAINED BY EACH STEP	BETA COEFFICIENT
$Y_1$ = GNP	0.35094	0.35094	-0.68808
$Y_2$ = Suicide	0.64635	0.29541	-0.75099
$Y_3$ = DPI	0.71244	0.06609	1.40216
$Y_4$ = Consumer	0.74197	0.02953	2.99948
$Y_5$ = Wholesale	0.79989	0.05792	-1.75725
C = Constant			1.43085
R = Residual = Standard Error = 0.02901			

## F TEST:

$F = 14.38971$  with  $df = (n_1 = 5, n_2 = 18)$

Significance:  $P(\alpha) < 0.001$

\*specified parameters used in computing stepwise multiple regression formula using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

significance level = 0.1  
tolerance level = 0.1

approximately 20 percent of the variance has not been explained, the first part of the research hypothesis is not sufficient to explain the recruitment of followers by a social movement.

These findings do not of course constitute a "proof" of the research hypothesis. They do show that in a specific case, that of the labor movement, the above conclusions are valid. To argue that this is conclusive proof of the theory would be to overstate the evidence, but these findings are sufficient to state that the theory constitutes both a useful and logical explanation of the phenomenon. This hypothesis cannot, therefore, be ignored in any attempt to explain the phenomenon. Likewise, it is not a complete explanation of even the limited case. It raises the immediate question of whether other factors can be added to provide additional explanatory power to the formulation. The second part of the research hypothesis offers one possibility.

#### MYTH

Both labor and management have created myths which assist in the recruitment of followers. These myths contain two primary elements. First, they contain value sets which correspond to what C. Wright Mills calls vocabularies of motivation. Second, they define the situation for those who subscribe to the respective myths. The vocabularies of motivation are expected to include the following values: materialism, success, work, progress, rationality, democracy,

and humanitarianism. The definition of the situation is expected to include a claim of agency and either a systematic world view or a construction of a view of interaction based on social conflict. While the same elements are expected to appear in both myths, the two myths are expected to be substantially different.

#### Management

The analysis of the management myth is based on a content analysis of an article published in the December 6, 1969 Business Week entitled "Moving Decisions Down To Where The Action Is." This article presents the projections for the decade of the 1970's developed by the staff of Business Week.

The management myth presents a view of a society which is organized around the principles of rationalism. "Technology's contribution to good living . . . has been fragmentary, undirected, and unanalyzed. . . . Our mission is to use our total national resources for total national objectives. That is the real race" (150). The management establishment places its highest priority on rationalism which showed a relative frequency of 0.6410. In this case rationalism includes dependence on advanced technology and professional training to find the most systematic solution to a problem. The management group shows confidence in its ability to solve not only economic problems but also to solve social problems by using the same techniques.



It is interesting to note that the next highest item was management's commitment to the systems definition of reality. This is thoroughly consistent with the highest priority being given to rationality. The two concepts are interdependent. The systems view of reality appeared with a frequency of 0.5641. Business Week notes that one of the most significant trends to be expected in the next decade is, "the application of systems engineering and existing technology to meet new, non-military goals" (152). This emphasis on the ultimate significance of the systems approach is basic to the definition of the situation which management wishes to project.

Two other values were frequently listed or referred to by the article. The third ranking item in the management myth is the theme of progress. The focus of management's view of its mission is to solve the problems which are presented to it. One new focus is on the solution of social problems. The management myth seems to have adopted a more qualitatively oriented measure of performance than is commonly expected. Personal and organizational success--defined both qualitatively and quantitatively--was given the next highest rank (number 4) with a frequency of 0.4359. These two items were followed by materialism with a frequency of 0.3077.

While the other projected definition of the situation --agency--received a relatively low frequency rating--

0.2821--it was generally stated in very strong terms. For example:

Business will act more and more for government. . . . The corporations will develop as agents, not just principals. GE, for example, might win a contract to improve garbage collection in Schenectady, or Ford might run government-sponsored vocational training centers in Detroit. . . . Though many people now oppose the idea of profiting from schools or hospitals, public development corporations may be the most efficient way to service public needs now badly met in many areas (144).

Three other themes appear in the management myth. Management has defined its role as having definite humanitarian responsibilities. This theme appeared with a relative frequency of 0.256. For example the authors of the article stated that the second major path of development is toward greater "social responsibility in process and product design" (152). The emphasis on joint projects and mutual reinforcement of government and private enterprise reflects two other themes. First the management shows a definite view of the world in terms of an international community. This requires the cooperation of both government and industry for effective operation. Internationalism has a relative frequency of 0.1026 in the item analyzed. The second definition of the situation recognizes the legitimate claim of agency by the government but it is clear that management views this as secondary to its own claims at best and as a necessary evil at worst. This view of reality appears with a relative frequency of 0.0256. These definitions of the

TABLE 2  
THEMES PRESENTED IN THE  
MANAGEMENT MYTH

RANK	THEME	RELATIVE FREQUENCY
1	Rationality	0.6410
2	Systems	0.5641
3	Progress	0.5385
4	Success	0.4359
5	Materialism	0.3077
6	Management as Agent of the System	0.2821
7	Humanitarianism	0.2564
8	Internationalism	0.1026
9	Government as Agent of the System	0.0256
	Democracy	0.0000
	Work	0.0000

situation are contained in such statements as the following:

In underdeveloped countries, multinational companies will be forced into joint ventures with the government or with local companies. . . . U.S. corporations will increasingly set up local research labs, permit foreigners to join the board of the parent company, or share equity with local stockholders or concerns - necessary first steps toward the truly stateless or supranational company. . . . Put simply, multinational companies, capable of moving men and material across national borders, have outraced the 19th-Century concept of the nation-state (140).

### Labor

The analysis of the myth of the labor movement is based on a content analysis of the keynote address presented by George Meany before the 8th constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO on October 2, 1969.

The movement myth includes both a set of values and a set of definitions of situations which are significantly different from those presented by the management establishment. Many of the same elements are present in both myths, but the rankings are quite different for the value set and the definitions of situations tend to be dialectically opposed to those of the management establishment.

The highest ranking value in the labor myth is democracy, which appeared with a relative frequency of 0.5897. Many of these references are indirect but they are none-the-less clear. For example, in discussing the tax structure in the United States, Meany notes that "an unduly large part of the burden of running the federal government is heaped upon

TABLE 3  
THEMES PRESENTED IN THE  
LABOR MYTH

RANK	THEME	RELATIVE FREQUENCY
1	Democracy	0.5897
2	Conflict	0.5128
3	Materialism	0.4872
4	Humanitarianism	0.3333
5	Progress	0.2308
6.5	Work	0.1538
6.5	Rationality	0.1538
8	Labor as Agent of the System	0.1026
9.5	Success	0.0769
9.5	Government as Agent of the System	0.0769
11	Nationalism	0.0256



the shoulders of those who can afford it least" (11). He makes it quite clear that this is because of the undue influence exercised by the wealthy classes and by the managers of corporate enterprises exercising property rights to the detriment of human rights (11).

The movement defines the relationship between the "working man" and both the government and the management establishment as one of inherent conflict. This reference includes such characterizations as "the banking fraternity" and the personification of the administration in the form of "the Secretary of the Treasury." Meany notes that the President and the Secretary of the Treasury had both expressed a hope that they would be able to control inflation without significantly increasing unemployment. Meany points out however that the Administration's actions made it "perfectly clear" that the worker would have to bear the primary costs of the attempts. The Administration instituted a tight money policy and announced a "75 percent cutback in governmental construction contracts" (8). He further notes that "on August 12 (1969), President Nixon announced that even if Congress authorized the extra billion for education he would not spend it" (8-9). The definition of the relationship between government, business and management as one of conflict appeared with a relative frequency of 0.5128.

Materialism appeared in the third highest rank in the movement statement (relative frequency of 0.4872). This was

closely associated with the fifth ranking value, progress, which appeared in 0.2308 of the cases. For example, Meany reports that:

As we contemplate the statistics which measure the nation's wealth by the climbing value of the goods and services produced in America - often referred to as our gross national product - as well as advances in the standard of living of our people, again our pride is enhanced by the knowledge that behind these cold statistics lies the skill and productivity of American working men and women. We sincerely believe that this progress could not have been made without the trade unions exercising their rights through the process of collective bargaining under our free American System (6).

One should note that this is not the classical Marxian formula. Rather it recognizes the interrelation of the components in a "capitalistic" economic system. It is in these terms in which the speech refers to success. Success, however, and recognition of the legitimate agency of government, are tied in their relative frequency (0.0769) and each ranks 9.5 in the hierarchy.

The legitimate claims of government referred to by Meany are not exclusively those of the Supreme Court but the movement places its greatest faith in this branch of government. In discussing the nomination of Haynsworth, who is cited for his outstanding mediocrity, Meany says that:

The Supreme Court consisting of nine individuals has a tremendous role to play in times of the moral climate under which we live. It has been said with a great deal of justification that the law of the land is what the Supreme Court says it is.

There is no appeal from this court except to heaven (13).

The fourth ranking value in the movement's hierarchy is humanitarianism with a relative frequency of 0.3333. This is manifest in several references to the unity of purpose of labor and the civil rights movements. Other problems which the movement cites as being of primary concern include disease, poverty, inner-city slums, and crime (7). Meany closes his address with a promise that the labor movement intends to continue its demands for tax reform, better education and other social problems which, according to the transcript, received a standing ovation (17). These and other statements present the movement's claim to be the legitimate representatives and agents of the "people." The agency theme appears with a relative frequency of approximately 0.1026 and ranks 8th in the hierarchy.

Work and rationality tied for the 6th and 7th ranks in the hierarchy with a relative frequency of 0.1538. The theme of nationalism appeared with a relative frequency of 0.0256 and ranked 11th in the hierarchy. This is of particular interest, however, since it constitutes a paradox. The movement considers itself to be international. However, it is clear that it takes little interest in direct intervention in foreign affairs which it considers a legitimate function of the national government (7). The movement tends to confine its interests in public policy to those of national, social, and economic policy.

### Correlation of Myths

One may now compute a correlation coefficient for the two myths using the Spearman Rank-Order Coefficient of Correlation. In computing the coefficient only the values hierarchy is used since this forms a vocabulary of motivation as discussed above. The correlation coefficient computed using the correction for ties is equal to  $-0.3182$ . Even though the probability of a type I error is greater than  $0.1$  (exact value undetermined) it seems reasonable to assume that the second part of the research hypothesis has been confirmed since it only predicts that the two groups develop different myths which are related to each party's ability to recruit followers. It should also be noted that the definitions of situation (conflict versus system, nationalism versus internationalism, and labor movement agency versus management agency) do form dialectic relationships.

Based on the data collected and the relationships demonstrated to exist within that data one may conclude that:

1. the recruitment of followers by the labor movement is a function of the formation and evaluation of -
  - a. the belief that individuals have a right to better conditions of life,
  - b. the belief that those better conditions of life are possible, and
  - c. the realization that individuals are not enjoying those better conditions of life to which they are entitled;

2. the formation of these beliefs is facilitated by structures within the society--particularly socio-economic structures;

3. the evaluation of these beliefs is facilitated by the myths of the movement and of management;

4. finally it is reasonable to state that the research hypothesis has been demonstrated to be a logical possibility in the general case. The alternative hypothesis that the Geschwender hypothesis is both necessary and sufficient to explain the recruitment of followers by social movements can be rejected.



## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

## DISCUSSION

An analysis of the changes in the membership of the labor movement can provide a better understanding of the nature and causes of the recruitment of followers by social movements. While all followers of social movements are not members of those movements, it is reasonable to assume that the same factors which lead one to join a movement can be extended to the general case of followership. Following Geschwender, I have suggested that one of the primary factors in the recruitment of followers is a set of reality based cognitions which are guided by the normative cognition that social investments should equal social rewards. These cognitions include the belief that better conditions are possible, that one has a right to these better conditions and that one is not enjoying those conditions to which he is entitled. I have also suggested that these reality based cognitions are not, in themselves, sufficient although they are necessary. The second set of cognitions which are necessary is composed of what Geschwender has labeled normative and definitional cognitions. However, he has not developed the nature of these cognitions or the influence which they exert on the development of a social movement. I have suggested that these cognitions form a myth, and that

both the movement and the establishment create myths which facilitate the evaluation of the reality-based cognitions and the recruitment of followers by social movements. I have shown that both the movement and the establishment do create these myths and that a real difference exists between the two.

It is possible to predict changes in the membership of the labor movement based on an operationalization of the three specified reality-based cognitions. The labor movement is intimately concerned with the economic structures in the United States. Of the five variables included in the regression formula which I have developed, four of the variables are indicators of socio-economic structures in United States society. I have used the GNP and DPI as indicators of those structured relationships and activities in our society which contribute to the belief that one is entitled to better conditions. I have used the suicide rate as a reflection of the general level of anomie in our society and an indicator of the belief that better conditions are possible since the act of suicide is the ultimate rejection of the possibility of improved conditions. Finally, I have used the wholesale and consumer purchasing power of the dollar to indicate the belief that one is not enjoying the best possible conditions. Each of these variables is an indicator of factors which one may reasonably assume that individuals experience in everyday life.

Two of the variables, GNP and suicide rate, account for 65 percent of the observed variance while the other three account for only about 16 percent of the variance. This suggests that the belief that one is entitled to better conditions and the belief that those conditions are possible are the most important factors in the recruitment of followers by the labor movement. It is possible that the third cognition serves, primarily, as a reference point. In this sense it would be extremely important even though it would not contribute directly to recruitment as a major explanatory variable.

The three reality based cognitions are interdependent. They integrate what the individual knows of the past and what he knows of the present into a meaningful basis for action. This fact serves to unify the Geschwender hypothesis and this study with the work of Ted Gurr in which he utilizes relative deprivation theory to explain violent and revolutionary movements. Gurr defines relative deprivation as the interaction of the value capabilities and the value expectations of an actor. The value expectations to which he refers may be associated with the future expectations and the interaction of the actor's knowledge of his own position in relation to his significant others which is implied in the Geschwender hypothesis. I suggest that the concept of myth in a secular society is useful in providing a bridge between the various

elements which together form the beliefs and expectations in the Geschwender and Gurr hypotheses.

The myths of the movement and the establishment appear to have at least five basic functions in the recruitment of followers by the labor movement, and, by extension, social movements in general. First, it directs the actor's attention to a specific set of conditions. Second, it defines the normative base for the actor and the related value set, both of which are necessary elements for social action. Fourth, it defines the situation and unifies the particular situation with other situations in a meaningful whole. Finally, it provides a vocabulary of motivation. Unlike classical myth, however, contemporary myth in industrial and post-industrial societies does not appear in a ritualized cycle of narratives but rather it is subsumed in a body of written and oral traditions. While the actor is not conscious of the myth which is part of his beliefs and actions, in most cases it would be wrong to conclude that the myth is a part of the sub-conscious or semi-conscious awareness of the actor. These terms carry connotations which may well distort the situation. Rather, it would be more proper to describe myth in complex industrial and post-industrial societies as being a camouflaged part of the actor's conscious awareness and knowledge. For the actor, if the myth is operative, it is believed, and if it is believed,

it is reality. This can be illustrated by the myths of the labor movement and the management establishment.

#### Myth of the Movement

The labor movement sees the United States as a democracy in the sense that the welfare of the majority is of primary concern. They define the "working men and women" as constituting that majority. Their appeal is to fairness and the common good rather than to the primacy of law and property rights, even though they proclaim the rule of law as essential as is evidenced in the reverence they exhibit toward the United States Supreme Court. The Court is defined as the working man's defense against the power of the "banking fraternity." The "banking fraternity" is a generic image which represents the most illigitimate abuses of property and the exercise of the authority which it implies. However, the movement does not project the classical Marxian myth of the socialistic worker-state with its ideal of the ultimate transcendence over the need or legitimacy of private property. Democracy for the movement is defined in terms of the participation of the workers in the enjoyment of material possessions and of individualistic rather than collectivistic relations of men and property.

The commitment of an individual's time legitimates property rights in the myth of the movement. The movement does not distinguish between blue collar and white collar occupation by defining those who work with their hands as



part of the labor movement and excluding those in non-manual occupations as a separate class. Rather, the movement not only recognizes the legitimacy of participation of non-manual workers but encourages and attempts to recruit these individuals. Unions have been organized in federal and state governments. Actors and musicians actively participate in the movement. The movement does not attack the concept of private property but rather the concept of the superordinate status of property rights. In the AFL-CIO report to its members presented at the 8th Constitutional Convention, the Executive Council noted an unprecedented growth in the United States economy but observed that:

these gains were not shared equitably by all groups in the population. A disproportionately large share of the gains of the long economic expansion went to business and wealthy families. Increases in the real earnings of most major groups of non-supervisory employees lagged. And a small, declining, but significant group of Americans - the most disadvantaged, with the least skill, education, and training - remained outside of the economy's mainstream, with persistent unemployment and part-time, low-wage jobs (68).

The Council also reported that while corporate profits were up more than 6 percent, real wages and salaries of non-supervisory personnel in March, 1969, were less than in 1965 (73).

The relationship between supervisory and non-supervisory personnel and the relationship between the movement and management is defined as one of conflict. The

Executive Council reports that (in 1969):

The most important development in the union organizational picture during the past two years is the acceleration of the "union resistance" movement on the part of employers and the radical tactics which they have been willing to use in order to avoid collective bargaining responsibilities (52).

Even so, the Council reports, "workers continue to seek improvements for themselves and their families through unionism" (53). Management is assigned the role of agent of the corporation and of the wealthy families; both of these collectivities are defined as being dedicated to maintaining a superordinate status in relation to the working man and as being willing to use any means to attain that end. The movement, on the other hand, is defined as the agent of the working man and woman. As such, it is both advocate and protector for its constituency. The movement is defined as the best means to achieving the continuation of humanitarian progress for the society-at-large.

The movement does not deny the reality or validity of the concept of the system. In fact, it emphasizes the need for rational organization and the interrelations of cause and effect of interactive elements. The movement does deny the reductionistic kind of view that argues that there is one and only one system which regulates and integrates the diverse elements of a society. The myth of the movement projects a world in which real conflicting interests produce real social conflicts and in which it is the spokesman for

one of these conflict groups. To recruit new members and followers to the movement the AFL-CIO Committee on Organization and the Executive officers have reported that:

Major emphasis has been placed on 1) broadening the cooperative organizing concept, 2) utilization of modern techniques to better understand the organizational challenge, 3) increase in the present departmental program of preparing model organizational materials and aids and investigation into additional methods and techniques, 4) special programs of training, tailor-made to fit the unique needs of the various union organizational staffs, 5) special attention to programs designed to create greater interest and more aggressive participation in organizational work by local central bodies, 6) enlargement of the scope of the Committee on Organizing so as to embrace more of the national and international leadership as part of a broadened organizational committee (54).

The myth of the movement serves as a structured means for the recruitment of followers. It identifies what constitutes the "real" situation and integrates that view and the actions of the movement and the opposition--management--into a meaningful entity. It proclaims the legitimacy of the movement's claim of agency and defines the limits of its constituency. Finally, it identifies the values and norms which constitute a vocabulary of motivation for its followers.

#### Myth of the Management Establishment

The myth which the management establishment projects is significantly different from that of the movement. Management sees the world as a rationally organized and

operating system in which management is responsible for coordinating and controlling the activities of various elements. Decisions are made on the basis of the principles of a strict logic in which the actions of individuals and collectivities are determined by the selection of the most effective or of the most efficient means of achieving a desired end. The most desirable end for society is continual material and economic progress. Progress tends to be defined in quantitative terms, but progress includes qualitative considerations. Progress is defined as a necessary consequence of the creation and application of new technologies and the management myth does not recognize any problem as being insoluble. If a solution is not available, it is because either existing technologies have not been properly applied or proper technologies have not yet been developed. The possibility of creating a technology to solve any given problem is not questioned. Government has some responsibilities as a societal agent but these are limited to regulatory activities and to mediation services which are designed to maintain the effectiveness of the "market place." Economic interaction in the market is defined as the ultimate test of the effectiveness and efficiency of any particular system design and management exercises its legitimate agency for the society through systems engineering activities. Management is concerned about creating systems which meet humanitarian goals but the basic block to increased

humanitarian progress is not the creation of technologies, which already exist in many problem areas. Harry McKee, Jr., is quoted in the article in Business Week which has been used in the analysis of the myth of the establishment as saying that, "Technology is not the bind, the real bind is showing American industry how to make a profit out of this (problem)" (150). This is to say that management must design a system to solve the problem which is compatible with the presuppositions of the market economy and the myth of free enterprise in the United States. It is then management's responsibility to administer that system and control each of the primary elements of land, labor and capital (in the economic definitions of these terms) which are essential to the system. Finally the system is not limited by the narrow vision of nationalism which has outlived its usefulness. Business is the ultimate international community. The nation-state is an instrument for the successful creation of a new international system which will then extend the ideal of progress to the less developed industrial and the pre-industrial populations.

I suggest that it is this difference in the myths of the movement and the myths of the establishment which contributes to the recruitment of followers by the movement. If the reality based cognitions of individuals are inconsistent with the myth of the established order, in this case management, those individuals will seek new or at least different



myths to give unity and meaning to their world. Under these circumstances individuals will tend to move toward the dialectic polarity of the established myth. Further, if a new myth is defined as "true" and the established myth is defined as "false" then it follows that a conflict situation will develop since the converts to the new myth will seek to displace the incumbents of positions of power and authority. Those incumbents will, in turn, define the new myth as utopian (in Mannheim's sense of that term) and use their available resources to maintain their positions and to "defend" the society against those "mis-guided idealists" that threaten the system. They will tend to be successful to the extent that they are able to reconcile current practice to the established myth and to the extent to which they are able to maintain the commitment of those members of the target population who have questioned but not rejected the established myth.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. I have shown that one can predict the changes in the labor movement in the United States within the defined bounds of that system with a relatively high degree of confidence using James A. Geschwender's theory of social movements and revolutions. It is reasonable to assume that this theory can be extended to the general case. One may therefore conclude that the recruitment of followers by social movements is a function of the formation and evaluation of

(1) the belief that individuals have a right to better conditions of life, (2) the belief that those better conditions of life are possible, and (3) the realization that individuals are not enjoying those conditions of life to which they are entitled.

2. An analysis of the variance explained by Geschwender's theory shows that while it appears to be necessary it is not sufficient to explain the recruitment of followers by social movements.

3. The Geschwender theory is based primarily on reality based cognitions. I have suggested that this is the key to a further explanation of the phenomenon. The myth created by the movement and the myth created by the establishment contain definitions of situations and vocabularies of motivation. They integrate the definitional and normative cognitions of individuals into a consistent view of reality and facilitate the evaluation of reality based cognitions in general and specifically those indicated in the Geschwender theory. One may conclude that the formation of the beliefs specified in the Geschwender hypothesis are facilitated by structures in the society and the evaluations of those beliefs are facilitated by the myths of the movement and the myths of the establishment.

4. This study suggests that in addition to facilitating the evaluation of beliefs, the myth which an actor subscribes to may be instrumental in the formation of the

reality based cognitions of that actor. This is outside the scope of the present study, however, and constitutes a possible hypothesis for further research.

5. The evidence presented in this study does not provide conclusive proof of the research hypothesis. It does establish the research hypothesis as a logical possibility and provide sufficient grounds for suggesting that this is probably a sufficient explanation of the phenomenon. The present study demonstrates that the research hypothesis is useful in explaining the recruitment of followers by social movements. Additional research should provide more evidence of the generalizability of these findings to other movements.

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