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Social movement theory and far right organizations

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by

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Orlando and Immacolata Tridico, who sacrificed all their lives for their family, and taught the most important principles to live by through their example.

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CHAPTER 1- RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

There has been limited research on the organized far right movement in two specific areas. First, primary research involving interviewing organized members has been scarce, and secondly, there exists limited focus of applying social movement theory to help explain the nature of the movement. This study attempts to address the afore-mentioned limitations by doing in-depth interviews from 97 members of four right wing organizations across two states in the Midwest. The study uses social movement theory to help explain the nature of the movement.

This study compares the utility of two social movement theories, Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory to explain the functioning of the four organizations. Both theories contend that social movements attempt to change culture/society. Resource Mobilization Theory contends that change is achieved within the sphere of institutional power (e.g., lobbying to elected officials, involvement with political campaigns, running candidates for political office, legal challenges through the courts), while New Social Movement Theory argues that change occurs in civil society through building shared values and ideas.

1.1 The Focus on Social Movement Theory

This study attempts to explain the nature of the organized far right movement in terms of debate between competing major social movement theories: Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory explain social movements through different foci. Proponents of both theories would agree that social movements are an attempt to change society and culture. The key differences lie within how a social movement operates, where the location of process occurs (e.g., institutional settings, social settings), and the short and long term goals the movement seeks to attain. Resource Mobilization Theory contends that it is done in the sphere of institutional power

(political and/or legal realms), whereas New Social Movement Theory contends that change occurs within civil society (the social/cultural realm) (Opp 2009; Edwards & McCarthy 2007; Kriesi 2007; Buechler 2000; Oberschall 1993; Klandermans 1992).

Resource Mobilization Theory explains social movements as pursuing change within the political realm. New Social Movement Theory argues that social movements are fueled mostly by populist support instead of specific and calculated institutional advances. At the foundation of Resource Mobilization Theory one must also allow that some level of collective identity and shared values exist for motivating adherents to work toward changes; however, RMT theorists place greater emphasis on the level of sophistication involved in the calculated strategies of the social movement working from *within* the institutional settings rather than working *independent of* the political sphere (Kriesi 2007; McAdam & Scott 2005; Zald et al 2005; Oberschall 1993).

Another major difference between these two theories is where actors integrate themselves in society. Social movements explained by Resource Mobilization Theory focus on system integration because they believe tangible changes can only be gained through institutional power in the political realm. New Social Movement Theory is very different when explaining integration within society. New Social Movement Theory integrates within the social realm and uses expressive actions to attain changes. New Social Movement Theory argues that cultural and societal changes can occur *without* institutional power (McAdam & Scott 2005; Zald et al 2005; Kane 1997; Hart 1996; Buechler 1995; Alexander & Smith 1993).

1.2 The Study

The study was qualitative in nature and involved direct interviews with 97 members of four far right organizations across two states in the Midwest portion of the United States. The study uses in-depth interviews with members to assess the various movements' principles and

purposes. Next I analyze the organizations' characteristics to determine which theory better explains the nature of the organized far right movement.

The research hypothesis for this study is that Resource Mobilization Theory will better explain the nature of all four right organizations than New Social Movement Theory. The null hypothesis is that neither theory is a better explanation for the organizations.

The two main research questions for this study include:

(1) Does Resource Mobilization Theory explain the nature of the organized far right groups in terms of *organization* (e.g., hierarchically structured organizational structures, clearly defined division of roles and responsibilities, limited numbers of members, strict criteria for new membership), *resource attainment* (e.g., acquisition of money or property assets through membership dues and fundraising), and *mobilization of resources to achieve short and/or long term goals through political and/or legal initiatives* (e.g., lobbying, involvement with political campaigns, running candidates for political office, running for political office, legal challenges through the courts).

(2) Does Resource Mobilization Theory fit all four groups?

The study uses social movement theories to test why such organizations form, how they secure and sustain membership, the tactics and strategies employed, principles and purposes sought and organizational structure. Interview questions were created to account for the theoretical tenets of each theory. Since Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory have account for different aspects of social movement organization, structure, strategies and goals, the answers to the questions tended to support one theory over the other. An assessment was then made to test the hypothesis to determine if Resource Mobilization Theory better explains all four organizations.

Attaining data from multiple organizations in different jurisdictions affords the researcher valuable data for some comparative analysis. Some comparative analysis can be *within* organizations and *across* organizations. How they differ in organizational structure, and the differences in principles and purposes help the researcher in gaining an understanding of the nature some organizations. The study determines whether the nature of the four far right organizations is primarily *political* or *social*. From such findings, an assessment can be made to determine the nature of the relationship it has with the wider society.

This format differs significantly from most other academic research in the area that uses secondary data from mainstream and media accounts of the far right. The (i) non-academic methods employed, (ii) the questionable interviewing processes of subjects and (iii) the over-concentration of only *one* wing of the movement (the radical right) *limit* the quality and credibility of secondary data. While there have some academic research that has been conducted using some interviews (Simi & Futrell 2009; Levin 2007; Blee 2002; Hamm 1996; Aho 1995; Barrett, 1987) the majority of the data collected includes secondary data from media sources.

The study offers a contribution to knowledge in that limited research has been done with organized far right groups and limited research has been conducted using social movement theory. The study is limited insofar as only four organizations are studied and that it only reflects a portion of the overall country (the Midwest), making it difficult to generalize to the broader movement. However, the purpose of the study is to test the hypothesis of whether Resource Mobilization Theory better reflects the nature of the four groups under study. It is suggested that the study can help subsequent research by way of replication (using social movement theories) and by comparison (whether other groups or larger numbers of organizations that can be studied will be consistent with the current findings).

CHAPTER 2 – ASSESSING THE FAR RIGHT

The following chapter accounts for the numbers and categorizations of far right groups in the United States. It accounts for four overarching themes found to be present in different far right organizations of the last 20 years. Specifically, it uses data gathered by one of the largest anti-racist advocacy groups in the country, the Southern Poverty Law Center. Some far right groups are described in greater detail, including the Ku Klux Klan. The chapter then moves to a comparative approach including Canadian and European contexts.

My previous research on organized far right groups for my Master's was conducted in Canada. Some of the findings are assessed in that section. There are connections between Canadian and European, and American groups. In some cases, some affiliates cross over into Canada/Europe or vice versa. Second, there is tangible evidence of political gains in Canada, and more specifically in Europe, because of their multiple political party systems allowing for opportunities. This is important to assess because absent of a comparison, it would exclude relevant and tangible evidence of far right gains.

The European context shows significant gains in a multi-party system in Europe, and the chapter culminates with Detwiler's (1999) work with the Christian Right. The Christian Right has used school board elections and legal challenges to seek gains through institutional settings (politics and legal realm). Such strategies for the Christian Right have occurred because of opportunity and because they have been proven to be successful. An argument can be made that it is more difficult for the far right to gain immediate entry into a two party system in the United States, but that should not discount the potential for far right wing attempts to make political or legal gains.

Combs (2009) found that although there have been different types of far right organizations, particularly in the last 20 years, they show remarkable similarities in ideology and overlapping membership that help researchers identify several important factors. These include that they have to some extent, enjoyed broad populist appeal due to (i) mistrust of higher authority (e.g., the State, bureaucracy), (ii) xenophobia (e.g., illegal immigration, foreigners taking domestic jobs, outsourcing of domestic jobs), (iii) a gravitational pull for the disenfranchised (e.g., the unemployed, those that feel a sense of anomie), and (iv) libertarianism (e.g., emphasis on constitutional rights over law, calling for limited power and checks and balances on the State).

There is limited information on the organized far right in part because much of the movement operates in secrecy and part because it is rather difficult for researchers to gain access to such groups for studies. We are left with an underrepresentation of data from academic researchers, data on these groups from journalists as well as anti-racist advocacy groups (e.g., Anti-Defamation League, Southern Poverty Law Center). The latter draws its data from law enforcement, government reports, media and their own investigative reporters.

There have been some researchers (McVeigh 2004; Blee 2002; Dobratz & Shanks-Meile 2000) that have had some reservations about how advocacy groups convey their data. However, because of the limited amount of information on numbers, categorizations and other information of far right groups, scientific published articles have been dependent to varying degrees on such information.

This chapter will draw from some material from one of the largest advocacy groups to examine what it cites as the most active far right organizations in the country. It will then lead us

to a discussion of review of existing literature on the far right in the next chapter and how my study, which utilizes social movement theory, will help address the gaps in literature.

2.1 Southern Poverty Law Center

Listed organizations are identified by SPLC for their beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics. The SPLC compiles its list through the following: (i) accessing far right publications and websites, (ii) citizen and law enforcement reports, (iii) field sources, and (iv) news reports. Its collection of data is the most extensive in the extant literature.

2.2 SPLC List of Organizations Deemed to be Hate Groups

The Southern Poverty Law Center shows that the organized far right has expanded significantly in 2010, topping 1,000 groups for the first time since the Center began counting such groups in the 1980s. It listed 1,002 active hate groups in the United States in 2010. The SPLC reported that 926 hate groups were active in the United States in 2008. It listed 888 in 2007. In 2003, it listed 751 groups. Through its own data, statistical analysis shows that there has been a 25% increase in numbers of organized hate groups in the U.S. within seven years.

Figure 1: Growth of Far Right Groups in the United States 2000-2010
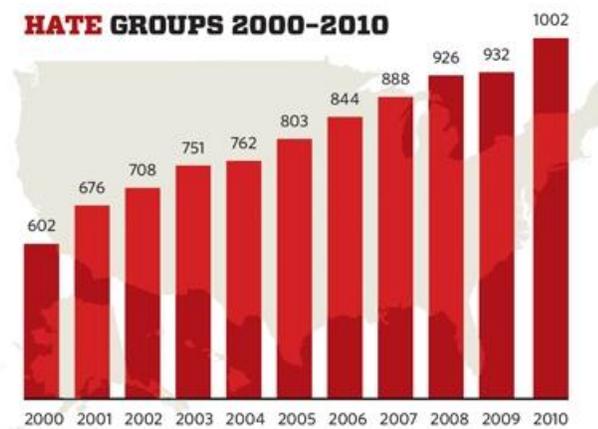
(Source: Southern Poverty Law Center, Intelligence Report, Spring 2011, Issue Number 141)

The SPLC categorizes groups by ideology. These include 14 categories and include the following:

(1) **Anti-LGBT:** groups specifically focusing on disdain of sexual minorities. Such groups are argued to organize around a central theme of Christian right wing extremist ideology and appear to mimic the fundamentalist movement's rise to political influence.

(2) **Anti- Immigrant**: groups who appear to have surged in the late 1990s and parallel the anti-immigration xenophobia in the 1920s with the resurgence and expansive growth of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States.

(3) **Anti-Muslim:** groups which are relatively new but whose surge has been influenced largely by the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on U.S. soil.

(4) **Black Separatist:** groups known to oppose integration and racial intermarriage, with concerted anti-white and anti-Semitic tenets.

(5) **Christian Identity:** groups that use traditional Christian terminology to camouflage their radical and racist ideology, and at face value, borrow from the legitimacy of established Christianity. Some of its names, which appear to be at face value mainstream Christian monikers include Church of Jesus Christ in Bergman, AK; Ecclesiastical Council for the Restoration of Covenant Israel (ECRCI) in Chicago, IL; Mission to Israel in Scottsbluff, NB; and Christ's Gospel Fellowship in Spokane, Washington.

(6) **Holocaust Denial:** groups or individuals denying or minimizing the context of the murder of 6 million Jews in the Second World War. Such groups are also referred to as '*historical revisionists*' and argue that there are conspiratorial influences (e.g., Zionist Occupational Government) that attempt to distort historical facts.

(7) **Ku Klux Klan:** groups that align themselves with the perceived legitimacy of one of the oldest, most established racist organizations in American history. The Klan has a history of opposition to African Americans and Jews, but at various points have targeted Catholics and European ethnic immigrants, and in more contemporary times other groups such as sexual minorities and immigrants.

(8) **Neo-Confederate:** groups espousing nativist, neo-Confederacy claims to Christianity and fundamental values of American cultural heritage.

(9) **Neo-Nazi:** groups subscribing specifically to Adolf Hitler's Nazi ideological paradigm and specifically targeting Jews, racial minorities, sexual minorities and intermarriage.

(10) **Racist Music:** groups that record, publish and disseminate racist music. The pinnacle of the movement was founded by Resistance Records in Detroit, MI in the 1990s and gathered considerable influence throughout the United States and Europe. The advent of technology vis-à-vis digital downloadable music has also helped its cause financially.

(11) **Racist Skinhead:** groups that espouse particularly violent tendencies with regard to both its strategies and its goals. The Skinhead Movement originated in the United Kingdom in the 1980s, has been particularly pronounced throughout Europe and to a lesser extent, the United States.

(12) **Radical Traditional Catholicism:** groups that adhere to an ideology that has been rejected by the Vatican and over 70 million American Catholics, one which advocates anti-Semitism. Such views rest on the belief that the Jews are responsible for the death of Jesus Christ, and a rejection that the Jews are the chosen people of a Higher Being (God).

(13) **Sovereign Citizens Movement:** groups espousing strong anti-government beliefs. The movement became more prominent in the late 2000s, and has a radical libertarian theology to it, including a contention that they are not obligated to pay taxes.

(14) **White Nationalist:** groups that advocate white supremacist and/or white separatist tenets in their ideology. The SPLC contends that there can also be groups who share subscriptions to multiple afore-mentioned ideologies. Such could include the Ku Klux Klan and Racist Skinheads, who could also fall within the category of White Nationalist.

The four groups interviewed for this study fall within three different categories of the afore-mentioned but to protect confidentiality and anonymity, I shall not disclose the specific categories.

Important to note is that the afore-mentioned list comprises ideological frameworks; however, it is quite possible that some organizations cross-correlate with multiple ideologies. The SPLC also has a separate listing for groups and identifies the ideological framework it operates under. For example, the *American Family Association* (AFA) is listed in its *Intelligence Files* as an anti-gay organization. It is described as promoting traditional moral values in media, but significant emphasis is placed on opposing homosexuality through various means, including publicizing companies that have pro-gay policies and organizing boycotts against them.

Perhaps the more intriguing paradoxes of the radical right under the anti-gay ideology is the *Westboro Baptist Church* (WBC). The SPLC argues that its vitriolic anti-gay beliefs are exposed in literary form through crude signs as well as verbal commentary at their frequent protests. Their most infamous slogan, "*God Hates Fags*" has been synonymous with instilling a religious component to rationalize its intolerance, and more recently by being victorious in a Supreme Court ruling which deemed their protesting a funeral for a deceased Catholic marine

Lance Corporal Matthew Snyder. In an 8-1 decision, the United States Supreme Court granted such actions constitutional privilege under the First Amendment. It can be argued that this demonstrates the potential reach of the far right from within the State.

Under Anti-Immigrant Ideology are listed groups such as the *Federation for American Immigration Reform* (FAIR) which has a singular mandate: to severely limit immigration into the United States. The SPLC argues that this organization sustains a veneer of legitimacy by having its members testify in Congress and lobby the federal government, thus attempting to work within the system.

A more sophisticated anti-immigration organization is *The Social Contract Press*, which publishes material by white nationalists. Some of its principals include its publisher John Tanton, M.D. Tanton was chair of the National Sierra Club Population Committee and helped organize the federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) based in Washington, D.C. Wayne Lutton, Ph.D., is a policy analyst and historian, and has served as a research director for an educational institute, a college professor, and a frequent speaker at symposia and on radio. The third central figure in the organization is Kevin Lamb, who holds degrees in journalism and political science. He served as managing editor of *Human Events* (2002-2005) and as a library assistant for *Newsweek* (1989-2002). His writings have appeared in *The Asian Wall Street Journal, National Review, Chronicles, Conservative Review,* and *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* (http://www.thesocialcontract.com/info/about_the_social_contract.html).

A more radical counterpart under anti-immigration ideology is the *California Coalition for Immigration Reform* (CCIR). It claims to have 26,000 members. The SPLC accounts that its leader Barbara Coe consistently refers to Mexican immigrants as "savages." CCIR publishes a newsletter, produces content on dvds, and cooperates with other anti-immigrant far right groups.

Under White Nationalism Ideology are listed groups such as the *Council of Conservative Citizens* (CCC), which is argued to be the modern reincarnation of the old White Citizens Councils, which were formed   in the 1950s and 1960s to oppose school desegregation in southern states. This organization was created in 1985 from the mailing lists of its predecessor organization, and has shifted its ideology further to the right.   Another white nationalist organization listed is *Stormfront*. This was created by former Alabama Ku Klux Klan leader Don Black in 1995. Stormfront was the first significant hate site on the Internet. Claiming over 130,000 registered members, the site has been an active online forum for white nationalists and other racial extremists (Southern Poverty law Center 2011).

2.3 The Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan's origins can be traced back to 1865 in Tennessee. Six former Confederate soldiers gave birth to one of American's mores feared and violent hate organizations. The name "*The Merry Six*" had been considered but one of the men who had studied Greek suggested "*Kuklos*," meaning band or circle. Ku Klux Klan emerged as the final composition. The early Klansmen identified themselves as upholding law and order. The defense of the moral order translated into random acts of violence and murder against newly-freed blacks. By 1868, the Klan's membership rose to 550,000 indicating significant support for its cause despite or perhaps because of its horrific violence (Kinsella 1994; Robin 1992; Barrett1987; Seltzer & Lopes 1986).

One theory regarding the Klan's formation and sustenance suggests that economic, historical and cultural factors played significant roles. The economy of the South, from the plantations to the cities, had been shattered by the American Civil War. There was widespread hunger and poverty.   Moreover, the Union's Reconstruction policy seemed to have been

specifically designed to humiliate the South and its aristocracy. The emancipation of slaves both infuriated and frightened many southerners. Their emancipation came at what the Southern elite believed to be their economic expense (Parsons 2005; Kinsella 1994; Robin 1992).

The political arena of the South legitimized Klan ideology and objectives, so it should be noted that its formation was not an aberration. In 1866, Louisiana Democrats resolved that "*We hold this to be a government of white people, made to be perpetuated for the exclusive benefit of the white race, and that the people of African descent cannot be considered citizens of the United States.*" In April 867, Southern Klansmen passed a resolution that was influenced by the Louisiana Democratic pro-white resolution. It stated that the Klan's main objective was the "*maintenance of the supremacy of the white race in this Republic.*" It also pledged to oppose "*social and political equality for Negroes*' (Kinsella, 1994: 8-9).

The violence that emerged from these politics of hate included an estimated 3,500 blacks being tortured and killed by the Ku Klux Klan and its sympathizers between 1866 and 1875 (Seltzer & Lopes 1986). Seltzer and Lopes argue that the Klan's membership dropped significantly after this period because its aims had been achieved. However, others (Robin 1992; Barrett 1987) counter that its official disbanding was the result of government intervention; legislation was enacted making hooded nightriders illegal and there was a widespread infiltration of government officials investigating such movements.

The Klan re-emerged in 1915, when it underwent a dramatic revival. Whereas in the 1860s, it had been primarily anti-black, the Klan in its second wave broadened its targets to include Jews, Catholics, organized labor, communism and foreigners. It was within this period that cross-burning was introduced as a symbol of white purity, Christianity and Anglo-Saxon dominance (Parsons 2005; Horowitz 1999; Robin 1992).

It should be noted that supporters of the Klan joined its second chapter because it was a channel of hate and collective identity for concerned Protestants of post-Civil War America. Targets included Jews and Catholics, and central and eastern European immigrants. The post-war years were times of stress, social upheaval and economic recession. These factors, merged with the traditional political conservatism of the South, formed, sustained and legitimized the second chapter of the Ku Klux Klan. Like its nativist predecessor, the revised Klan was both a social and political organization (Robin 1992).

2.4 The Canadian Context for Analysis

Sher (1983) contends that the Klan in Canada never really succeeded in becoming a coordinated national organization. He argues that in the United States, the Klan modified its causes and campaigns with the changing times but manifested itself around its premise of being anti-black. The black sector accounted for an eighth of the American population and an even larger percentage in numerous southern states. Since blacks are more heavily concentrated as a population in the U.S., they provided the Klan with an accessible target. In Canada, the Klan's mandate was regionally single-issued. Its targets included Asians in British Columbia, Eastern Europeans in Alberta and French-Canadians in Quebec. As long as these single-issues remained, the Klan could thrive; however, if these conditions changed, the Klan's force eroded.

While the Klan's force eroded, other far right movements were able to foster and sustain themselves over a longer period of time. This is particularly true for organizations that concentrated on single-issue targets and concentrated themselves in regional settings. For example, Barrett (1987) argued that Quebec had the largest and oldest Jewish-Canadian community in Canada in the 1930s, enabling one of Canada's earliest and infamous anti-Semitic organizations to find specified targets. Adrian Arcand's *Parti Social Chretien* sought both social

and political goals. Arcand's charisma propelled him to significant national and international status. His book, *The Key to the Mystery*, which promoted hatred against Jews and called for their repatriation or genocide, had attained such remarkable prominence that it was still being distributed in the 1980s by numerous right wing groups.

Important to note is that neo-Nazi organizations such as the National Order, National Socialist Alliance and the Western Guard were motivated by, if not direct branches of, Arcand's initial movement. The ending of the Second World War eased ethnic tensions in Canada for a period of time; right wing presence was limited and sporadic. However, by the 1960s, neo-Nazi movements re-emerged. They revised their objectives and beliefs and found new scapegoats; in doing so, they were able to expand their level of support and sustain their movements (Barrett 1987). A similar historical pattern evolved in the United States, where there was limited organized far right activity between the Second World War and the 1960s. The 1960s ushered in an era of civil rights activism and cultural social change, which found resistance within many in society, enabling opportunity for new far right interests and movements to organize.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (2011) argues that the Ku Klux Klan emerged in a third wave during the 1960s to oppose the civil rights movement and to preserve segregation. This was a period of significant violence, including bombings, murders and other attacks that led to man deaths, including four young girls killed while preparing for Sunday services at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. The SPLC argues that since the 1970s the Klan has been weakened by internal conflict, civil litigation and government infiltration. The Klan accounts for dozens of different and competing organizations that use the Ku Klux Klan name. It can be argued that the name itself affords new emerging or newly splintered groups to attain instant pseudo-legitimacy through its association, even if it is only through its moniker.

With regard to political mobilization, the American Ku Klux Klan has had limited direct success. Although not directly linked to the Ku Klux Klan, it can be argued that the movement inspired other more sophisticated movements to ascend to political mobility. For example, The Know Nothing movement was a social-political movement in the period of 1840 to the latter stages of the 1850s. It mobilized by representing public hostility with German and Irish Catholic immigration, which was believed to threaten the cultural and religious fabric of Anglo-Saxon Protestant values. It also charged that Catholics were controlled by foreign influences such as the Vatican, and emphasized anti-immigration policies. Wilentz (2005) accounts that the movement originated in New York in 1843 as the American Republican Party; it later established itself in other states as the Native American Party. It became a national political party in 1845, and renamed itself the American Party in 1855.

Far right organizations such as the Know-Nothings influenced public policy particularly with regard to its anti-Catholic and anti-immigration theology. One could argue however, that the Klan could be a considerable force politically through its voting bloc. Wilentz (2005) argues that it gained its highest societal support with four million members in the 1920s, forming a powerful interest from within the electorate, and where some its members gained public office. In a more contemporary context and perhaps the most infamous example of political mobility, former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke was successful winning a seat in the House of Representatives in Louisiana, and established significant electoral support for Governor and for U.S. Senator.

By comparison, Canada was able to effectively house Ku Klux Klan political infusion. In Saskatchewan alone, in the 1920s, politicians adapted their mandate to accommodate right wing ideology. By 1928, Klan members included eight mayors, 11 village clerks, seven reeves, 12

secretary-treasurers and 37 councilors (city commissioners). Their political power base also included chiefs of police, ministers, World War I veterans, lawyers, Orangemen and justices of the peace. R.B. Bennett, federal Conservative leader and prime minister of Canada, was noted to be a Klansman. In June 1929, the Klan helped to elect Dr. J.T.M. Anderson to power in Saskatchewan. His government passed a series of anti-French measures (Kinsella 1994). While it may appear that far right ties with the political realms may be an historical phase, recent evidence from both Canadian and European contexts provide sufficient evidence to the contrary.

There have been several political movements that have been noted as having within them far right ideology. For instance, Martin Weiche, the former leader of the National Socialist Party, had political aspirations. In 1968, he ran for federal political office claiming that Pierre Trudeau was a communist and a homosexual. Later, he was a Social Credit Party candidate. James Keegstra, the Alberta teacher who promoted anti-Semitism in his classes and became a crusader for constitutional freedom of speech for the far right, had the support of political lobbyist organizations such as the Canadian League of Rights, the Christian Defense League and the federal branch of the Social Credit Party of Alberta (Barrett 1987). Indeed, Social Credit cannot rid itself of its reputation for its historical connection to far right beliefs, given that its founder, C.M. Douglas advocated "the Jewish conspiracy" (Kinsella, 1994:26). These examples give evidence that it is possible for the organized far right to penetrate the political arena.

Doug Christie is one of Canada's most influential attorneys. He has gained national and international exposure by defending Canada's most recognizable far right leaders and members. He has represented James Keegstra, Aryan Nations Ambassador John Ross Taylor, Toronto pro-Nazi publisher Ernst Zundel, leaders of the Manitoba Ku Klux Klan, New Brunswick anti-Semitic teacher Malcolm Ross, Irme Finta, the first man to be charged under the war crimes

section of the Canadian Criminal Code, and the far right group Canadian Free Speech League. After a lengthy investigation, the Law Society of Upper Canada determined in February 1993, that Christie shared many of the views of his clientele (Kinsella 1994).

In the early 1980s, Christie considered giving up law and entering politics. However, his views (anti-bilingualism, anti-immigration) placed him firmly outside the political mainstream. Since there was no political party that shared his views he formed his own party: the Western Canada Concept (WCC). He exemplified the characteristics of many far right movement leaders used to gather momentum and support. In February 1980, the federal Conservative government fell apart but Trudeau's Liberals could not claim one elected politician west of Winnipeg. Christie encapsulated the expressions of western alienation and gained considerable political support. On November 20, 1980, close to 3,000 Edmonton residents were present to hear Christie's political mandate which included regional succession /western separation from Canada (Kinsella 1994:75-77). While he did not succeed at becoming elected two points can be made. First, it is possible for the far right to penetrate the political realm, despite how radical some of its ideology may be. Second, even if they are not elected, they can play pivotal factors in influencing political decisions if they garner sufficient popular support on various issues.

The Reform Party of Canada was the most right wing mainstream national political party. As such, it had continually faced allegations that it is sympathetic to far right ideals. Despite its federal party leader Preston Manning's assertion that his party was not racist, he had expelled numerous individuals from his party for such reasons. Kinsella (1994: 35) notes that joining the ranks of haters are a few members of the Reform Party, some of whose activities were increasingly associated with extreme expressions of bigotry and intolerance. In 1994, Reform party officials released results of a poll showing party members do not consider gay couples a

family, and do not want homosexuals to be included for protection in Canada's human rights legislation. Gays were even likened to thieves and murderers by Wild Rose Reform Member of Parliament Myron Thompson (The Windsor Star, October 14, 1994: A10).

In 1993, then federal New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin charged that the Reform Party's call for cutting back immigration and its views on women were igniting intolerance in the country. Reform's linking of immigration to unemployment, she claimed, would make Canadians wrongly conclude that immigrants are stealing their jobs. She also condemned a Thunder Bay, Ontario Reform Party candidate's comment that "*if you're a woman, black and lesbian, you're laughing all the way to the bank*" (Toronto Star, October 20, 1993: A10). McLaughlin identified overt signs of intolerance by the political establishment that could help to legitimize and sustain discrimination.

Federal Reform Party leader Preston Manning was mired in several controversies in his tenure. He allowed author William Gardner to speak regularly at party meetings in Southern Ontario. Gardiner's book, *The Trouble with Canada* claims that Canada is in danger of being taken over by immigrants or being bankrupted by a welfare state (Vancouver Sun, November 21, 1991: A4). Wolfgang Droege, one of Canada's most infamous neo-Nazi leaders, was hired to act as a bodyguard for Preston Manning at Reform Party rallies in Toronto, Ontario. Also involved in the riding association were Heritage Front members James Dawson and Nicola Polinuk (Kinsella, 1994:243). Although Preston Manning has asserted his political party is not racist, Wolfgang Droege presents the most damaging evidence to refute the former Reform Party leader: "*Of course, we still have many members within the Reform Party. We still feel, even though we don't care for the leadership, it's still the party that most closely reflects the beliefs of our organization*" (Winnipeg Free Press, April 21, 1993: A2).

Preston Manning's Reform Party went on to later become Canada's official opposition, making it the most far right political party success in Canada's history. In my MA research at the University of Windsor, Ontario my data findings found correlation between the New Order Aryans (of the Ku Klux Klan) which were interviewed, and the federal Reform Party. Members claimed direct involvement with lobbying, fundraising, and strategizing, as well as membership status and volunteer work with multiple campaigns. The federal Reform Party no longer exists.

2.5 The European Context for Analysis

In the new European Union member states, the European Parliament elections in June 2004 raised significant concern, in large part because of the direct role of anti-EU, nationalist, and radical right wing parties, which in some countries had scored significant electoral successes in the recent past. In some of the old member states, the radical right political party French Front National was able to garner significant electoral support in the 2002 presidential election. From a European context, far right political parties have been able to mobilize populist appeal in times of rapid economic change, economic recessions, periods of greater unemployment, opposition to immigration, and religious, ethnic and racial xenophobia. Further, fears rose due to globalization and a fear of sovereignty to a centralized European Union, complete with its own Constitution granting greater civil liberties and rights to minorities, have helped raise support for such parties.

Minkenberg and Perrineau (2007) focus on the political outcome for the far right in the 2004 elections and assess individual jurisdictional characteristics as well as regional patterns. The article shows that issues of nationalism, narrow foreign policy concerns and xenophobia within the broader societies helped pave the way for electoral success achieved by the radical right.

The authors contend that the radical right in its political form accounts for representation of broader appeals to (i) nationalism, (ii) xenophobia, and (iii) ethnic homogeneity. The organized far right as political parties see their role to undo the processes of globalization, expansion of civil liberties and ethnic and religious diversity. Central to its intelligentsia lays a myth of a homogenous national institution that places the nation and its continuity hierarchically above group and individual civil liberties and interests. Hence, pluralistic democracy or the concept of egalitarianism is perceived as a threat to the existing traditional social order.

Minkenberg and Perrineau (2007) account that not all far right parties espouse anti-democracy sentiments. Rather, some embrace ultranationalism, while the more radical wing seeks a more intolerant agenda (ethnic, religious and racial contexts). Hence, two specific ideological types are derived from the concept of nation and the exclusionary criteria: the populist nationalist and the autocratic fascist or extreme right wing. The populist nationalist focuses on retaining individual sovereignty of nation and resists collectivism particularly in a continental framework. The extreme right wing directly challenges democratic principles or the entire order.

Minkenberg and Perrineau (2007: 34-45) argue that of the territory of the former 15 EU member states, the best electoral achievements by the organized radical right were recorded in Belgium. There, two radical right political parties made significant gains. There, the *Vlaams Blok* received 14.34 % of the vote and the *Front National and Front Nouveau de Belgique* (FNB) garnered 3.2%. To put it into broader perspective, Belgium thus housed a combined 17.54 % of the vote for the radical right.

In France, far right political party *Front National* attained 10.12% of ballots cast. Radical right electoral success in Italy accounted for 7.0% popularity, but this was divided

between four parties. Denmark came in fourth, with the *Dansk Folkeparti* garnering 6.8% of the vote. Austria followed in fifth with radical right party *Freiheitliche Partei Osterreichs* claimed 6.33% of the vote. Austria presents an intriguing study insofar as the FPO lost 17.15% of its support from the previous election. In the previous election, this radical right political party garnered 23.48%, almost *one quarter* of popular support within a multi-party system.

France's *Front National* saw a strong mobilization of its political support among the 17% of youth under the age of 35), 18% of the less educated, 19% of unskilled service workers, 15% of industrial workers, and 16% of those among the lowest income households. This capability of the radical right to capture a significant part of the '*protest vote*' suggests that part of its appeal is that it represents a medium to show discord to the establishment. In its representation of voter apathy, anger, or anomie of the disenfranchised, the radical right gains significant popular support. Through this process, it presents itself as the political outsider or the anti-establishment political entity. This suggests that the level of sophistication for the radical right allows for it to at least create the perception that it has vested interests in representing the pain of the disenfranchised, while at the same time positioning itself into the heart of the political system and more possibly achieve parts of its underlying radical agenda.

Important to note is that the radical right modifies its strategies and tactics even after political support diminished. For example, Betz (2004: 89-90) argues that when the radical right is removed from power, it launches a new invigorated challenge to the political establishment by taking the position that "*political power has been usurped by a clique of professional politicians who pretend to represent and serve common citizens, but in reality only serve their own narrow interests.*" Hence, its claim to political mobility rests on appealing to voter discontent, apathy and anomie, and once political influence has been taken away, it returns by re-instituting and

reinforcing their role of anti-establishment crusader. The branding of their political opponents who achieved greater political success as corrupt and detrimental to the people's interests is intended to drive a wedge between political victors and society, thus bringing the radical right closer to mass appeal for future support. This makes their interests strategically sophisticated, politically ambitious and potentially realizable through future political mobilization.

Both Canadian and European Union examples illustrate the potential for organized far right to mobilize politically and ascend to levels of varying influences. While the United States has not witnessed such a comparable politicization of the far right, particularly in comparison to European countries, the current system allows for potential political mobilization. Detwiler (1999) posits that religious Christian Right has been able to successfully make gains within the system. It has done so within the context of social movement theory, seeing it as a grassroots entity where shared values and ideas forge collective hegemony and identity, and as a sophisticated movement that engages in resource management and political mobilization. The very nature of its two-pronged approach, affording itself to remain within the social/cultural realm independent of State regulation, and at the same time, mobilize its challenges in the political realm makes it a viable force to influence public policy.

Detwiler (1999) accounts for specific strategies of the Christian Right to be identified. For example, political strategies include trying to elect individuals from within the movement to local offices and then ascend the ladder of political influence. School board elections serve as an important chain in the political ascendancy to power. They allow the Christian Right a venue to directly challenge local issues with minimal resources and calculated strategy. Since school board elections are the least contested, with fewer candidates and less attention paid to them, they become realizable goals to attain. The infusion of Christian Right adherents into school

boards affords them direct representation and influence, as well as valuable political experience (albeit limited to educational level) and public presence to gain further legitimacy. Here, they are able to challenge existing policies, gain the voting power to strike down existing policies or enact favorable ones to their cause, and bring notable media attention to their initiatives.

The second central strategy of the Christian Right includes legal challenges. Here, the movement files court cases in order to see how courts will rule on specific issues. Once the court rules, they utilize the dissenting opinions, and then adjust new potential legislation/policies to meet the objections. Essentially, the Christian Right uses its failures to its own advantage, making future attempts less refutable, more sophisticated and potentially more realizable.

Detwiler (1999) does well in first defining the Christian Right as a social movement, and secondly applying social movement theory to help understand the creation and tenure of it, as well as its specific strategies and goals. While there is limited direct mention of the Christian Right to the organized far right in terms of organizational alliances, it can be discerned that the ideological premise with which the Christian Right uses as its foundation is similar to many of the groups within the far right. While the Christian Right forms a more legitimate and influential threat to the State, in part because of its ability to remain within the system and within the parameters of law, the organized far right exemplifies many of the dynamics Detwiler accounts for. Hence, the Christian Right can inspire, and provide a sophisticated approach to political mobilization for the organized far right in the United States. This can be done from a bottom-top approach, where there are more easily attainable short term goals that help pave the way for more challenging long term goals within the system.

The organized far right has had a history of violence and hatred. Yet, even within its unlawful behavior, the movement has found ways in which to build on populist appeal on some

issues. A pluralistic agenda by the far right brings with it a greater likelihood that obtain consensus on part of its ideology. Moreover, as European far right political parties have shown, once they garner populist support and gain entry into positions of influence, they are able to represent the more extreme interests that not all support. This makes level of sophistication for organization, strategies, realizable goals and political mobilization important elements for the social scientist to study to determine the potential influence such groups have on society.

A historical analysis of the organized far right has shown that in order to have political opportunity for mobilization, there must be sufficient populist support for it to happen. The organized far right therefore, cannot be studied independent of the wider society. This chapter has shown that there exist to varying degrees, populist support on some issues, and to that end, it has been the wider society that has also allowed the organized far right to foster and sustain itself within our history.

CHAPTER 3 – LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORY

The next chapter focuses on a review a *review of existing literature*, and how these have been examined in light of either influencing my research. The literature review aims to review the critical points of current knowledge including substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to the study on the organized far right. From there, I include an emphasis on theory, particularly how a two different social movement theories (Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory) are warranted to build on the existing works, address the gaps in the literature, to provide a fundamentally stronger theoretical base and directly tie theoretical tenets to interview questions to generate data that can determine in the four groups under study can be better explained by one theory or the other.

3.1 Review of the Literature

The literature review examines nine works of researchers who have published scholarly works on the organized far right movement. Some studies have included interviews with organized far right groups (Simi & Futrell 2009, 2004; Blee 2002; Barrett 1987), while others can be differentiated between studies that focus primarily on content analysis (Weeber & Rodeheaver 2003; Berlot & Lyons 2000) and on structural conditions to explain membership growth and mobilization (Minkenberg & Perrineau 2007; McVeigh & Sikkink 2005; Detwiler 1999).

3.2 The Role of Theory in the Research Studies

From a theoretical perspective, the works of some (Blee 2002; Barrett 1987) do not apply any. Blee and Barrett's study's focused on finding meanings or themes through in-depth interviews with organized far right members. The absence of theory for these three studies did not invalidate or hinder contributions to knowledge. Blee and Barrett's studies were used as

catalysts for my study insofar as Blee's findings appeared to show that respondents were more likely to emphasize shared meanings and values, collective identity building and distancing themselves from the institutional elements of society (e.g., government). These are criteria explained New Social Movement Theory. By contrast, Barrett's work found that roughly half of the 161 groups studied could be viewed as having political goals (elements of Resource Mobilization Theory) and the other half operating exclusively in the social/cultural realm and having no political agenda (elements of New Social Movement Theory).

From a theoretical perspective, the works of others apply some emphasis on theory. For example, Simi & Futrell (2009) account that while social movement research focuses on mobilization pushing for reforms through the political system (e.g, protests, signing petitions, lobbying), there is comparatively less attention to other forms of resistance that involve expressive action at the micro level. The authors argue that managing the stigma tied to membership in a far right movement may draw members inward, where in-group hegemony and identity is built through shared values and distancing themselves from the broader society. To this end, the authors provide an application of part of New Social Movement Theory.

Simi & Futrell (2004: 20-26) again focus on the social aspects of social movement theory rather than analyze by way of comparison to the more traditional Resource Mobilization Theory. In the 2004 study, the authors use Polletta's (1999) theory of free spaces. The theory suggests that there are several types of free spaces which differ by the type of associational ties that characterize them, and by the practices they support. Indigenous-prefigurative suggests that there are dense ties, insular networks. These reinforce collective identity through strong interpersonal ties. These free spaces are smaller and are locally based. Transmovement-prefigurative accounts for organizations that have extensive ties and are organized across larger

regions. These network intersections link otherwise isolated activist networks to multiple groups (e.g., newsletters, internet communication, meetings involving multiple groups).

This theory argues that activists perceive themselves to be severely repressed (e.g., fear loss of employment or being shunned by the wider society because of their beliefs if exposed). Thus, it is argued that the feelings of repression will make members gravitate to insular networks, private locales and secretive networks where shared values are sustained, and collective identity is reinforced. This accounts for a small feature of New Social Movement Theory, but narrows it even further. While New Social Movement theorists agree that social movements pull away from institutional forms of power (e.g., government, legal realm), and to civil society, it does not limit the movements to be secretive and form deviant subcultures. The authors therefore apply part of, but not all of New Social Movement Theory to their study.

While both studies did not contain all contexts of the theory, they were able to show that many of the tenets covered were proven, with members drawing away from the wider society, reinforcing out-group hostility while reinforcing in-group hegemony through collective identity building.

Simi and Farrell's (2009; 2004) studies emphasize features of New Social Movement Theory even though that particular theory was not directly applied. The feature of free spaces, is a narrow focus of New Social Movement Theory insofar that it focuses significantly on meanings, shared values and collective identity building. However, free spaces suggests that social movements not only pull away from *institutional channels* (e.g., political realm, legal realm), but that they ostracize themselves from *civil society* as well. These studies have offered insight into the role of shared values and collective identity building, and have inspired my research to test New Social Movement Theory in comparison to Resource Mobilization Theory

to determine what extent either theory may better explain the far right organizations I am studying.

By contrast, Minkenberg & Perrineau (2007) and Detwiler (1999) also applied social movement theory loosely. While both works were centrally content analysis, they were able to show how collective identity is formed through shared meanings and experiences, as well as how collective identity is built (elements of New Social Movement Theory), as well as how groups use sophisticated strategies to enter institutional channels such as the political system to seek short and long term changes (elements of Resource Mobilization Theory).

Berlot and Lyons (2000) utilized a unique theory created by them. This was adopted through historical and content analyses. For example, one theoretical chart on 'elite parasites' shows a circle at the middle of the chart termed 'dissident populism social movement'. Here, they include a myriad of groups that have different interests but share symbolic discord with the State. These groups include libertarians, anti-statists, Christian theocrats, white nationalists, Patriots and militias, anti-affirmative action groups, anti-welfare groups, and anti-immigrant groups.

Their theory argues how they direct their dissatisfaction to the State by identifying scapegoats (either real or perceived). Here, dissidents channel anger and conspiracies upward to the perceived elites, which reinforce their collective identity of marginalization. Conversely, the same dissident groups feel negatively affected from below and thus, direct scapegoating and repression downward. They then attack more micro targets such as African-Americans, immigrants, welfare mothers, abortionists, homosexuals and feminists. In essence, from a macro perspective, far right groups are projected to see power elites taking from them what is rightfully

theirs. From a micro perspective, far right groups are argued to see disenfranchised groups such as racial and sexual minorities) as parasites who are taking from them what is rightfully theirs. Berlot and Lyons (2000) created a theoretical framework based on historical analysis rather than primary data collection. Without the human context of actually understanding the micro level of analysis of academic research, the individual is reduced to a deterministic component. That is, adherents of a movement appear to act collectively, and consistently, without the possibility of divergent view or other variations. It is difficult to comprehend that all individuals will behave similarly to social conditions and events, thus complicating the theoretical supposition that causal relationships can always be explained.

The authors reduce the component to A→ B →C, where set conditions in the social, economic, and/or political environments will lead individuals to forge common identity, create an organization and then mobilize to react against targeted groups. However, the theoretical position becomes open to scrutiny because the generalizability cannot be fully applied to the far right movement, let alone every organization within the far right. Some groups mobilize politically, others physically attack their targets, others remain content in expressing and reinforcing values within their own sectors, others have internal conflict that can lead the group to dissolve or splinter into different groups, others may amalgamate into different groups, and others may show conflict within the far right itself. Hence, the varied and complex dynamics of actions and reactions make it difficult to convey that in all aspects, such uniformity will apply. This makes the findings potentially refutable, particularly in the area of generalizability.

Some studies employed established theories. Weeber & Rodeheaver (2003) argue that Smelser's theory of collective behavior shows how persons join radical social movements

because they experience strain. The organization thus facilitates both a forum for discontent and a collective understanding that something is being done to address the source of such strain.

Smelser believed that underlying social strain must be present for a social movement to occur. This level of complexity, amalgamated with perceived or real sentiments of disenfranchisement by individuals in the necessary precursor to allow social movement organizations to form. Secondly, Smelser's theory argues that once strain has been identified the social movement organization may serve to provide remedy for the source of the strain. Third, there must exist precipitating events that serve as catalysts to forge the collective generalized belief of such remedy before the social movement organization can form. These conditions include events that serve to create, rationalize, project and ultimately exacerbate the threat from outside sources (e.g., United Nations, federal government).

While Weber & Rodeheaver (2003) offer the most comprehensive established theoretical framework to their study, the absence of primary interviews brought the findings into scrutiny. For example, the researchers applied the tenets of Smelser's theory to internet and Usenet messages from individuals who may or may not actually be members of the far right. It follows that several concerns can be raised with regard to the representativeness of the sample. Not all members of organized militias use computers, or more specifically, use them to disseminate and essentially memorialize content through websites and Internet message boards. Hence, generalizability becomes a central concern because it becomes difficult to determine if the movement can be best understood through this theoretical framework.

The absence of preset questions, that follow directly from the tenets of Smelser's theory are not asked to actual members either qualitatively (through one on one interviews) or quantitatively (through surveys). Hence, the reliance on a content analysis approach using

written content by members that may or may not be actual members of a broader organization becomes limiting. There can be no follow up questions, and where discrepancies or inconsistencies arise, the researchers cannot fully return to the individuals for clarification.

Another study that utilized established theory was McVeigh & Sikkink (2005). They applied Simmel's (1908) work on the stranger and social position. They argued that *proximity* and *spatial distance* play a role in the formation and recruitment of racist organizations. They examined specific communities in attempt to explain that certain features make a community more conducive for racist organizations. An underlying factor which deals with racist organizations is the motivations of those which compose the organization. McVeigh and Sikkink argue that racist mobilization occurs when Simmel's '*stranger*' theme is found in a community.

McVeigh and Sikkink (2005) have explained this situation as a group which is part of the community, but is *not* fully integrated. Racist groups pinpoint the differences they have with the out-group, and the separation continues. The role proximity plays in their argument is centered on the spatial connection both groups share which threatens in-group hegemony. The research is limited on these topics, but the relationship between their work and the present study may offer valuable insight. Further inquiry will better this research topic and the knowledge of which approaches to avoid or utilize when theorizing about racist groups.

The study argues how collective action framing is more receptive in certain communities. Being part of a community but not fully integrated, the out-group find itself in a position that threatens the in-group. This *tension* is what creates the foundation of racist activism. Ethnic competition theory is the theoretical backing for making such a claim. The theory explains that spatial or social distance which is decreasing causes more racial conflict (McVeigh & Sikkink 2005: 499). It should be noted that the authors openly admit that the theory has been shown to

have mixed conclusions. Data has supported *and* challenged this theory when regarding racist mobilization. This context of theoretical weakness then raises several key issues in their research.

3.3 Assessment of Theories and their Application

From the context of theory, there is a limitation of established social movement theories which directly tie into questions through primary interviews with organized far right members. While Blee (2002) and Barrett's (1987) studies used primary interviews, the themes that were found in their data findings show a proximity to elements of social movement theory. Hence, I determined the importance of social movement theory in applying it to my study. Essentially, missing approaches in their studies helped me address gaps so that data specific to understanding the far right movement from social movement theory can be better conducted.

Where established theories were applied directly (McVeigh & Sikkink 2005; Weeber and Rodeheaver 2003; Berlot & Lyons 2000), the absence of applying them to actual interviews limited their ability to fully explain the far right movement. Studies that applied elements of New Social Movement Theory (Simi & Futrell 2009; 2004) to actual interviews were able to generate data that had greater validity. Respondents were able to provide in-depth accounts of how shared meaning and values contributed to collective identity building.

Where social movement theory was applied loosely (Minkenberg & Perrineau 2007; Detwiler 1999) combined with tangible emphasis on strategies and mobilization (e.g., running for school board elections, running for public office in European Union elections of 2004, challenging laws through the courts), these studies were able to demonstrate indirectly how social movement theory can explain social phenomena. Both studies found that shared values, collective identity formation, seeking populist support across a more expansive base are essential

primary phases before political and/or legal mobilization can take place. Hence, indirectly the authors account for elements of both New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory.

3.4 Findings across the Studies

In the course the review of literature, many significant revelations unfold. Within the context of methodological design, there were four studies that incorporated actual interviews with far right members (Simi & Futrell 2009, 2004; Blee 2002; Barrett 1987). By virtue of design, three (Simi & Futrell 2009, 2004; Blee 2002) used a multi-method approach including interviews, participant observation and content analysis of far right websites and other literature. Barrett (1987) only applied primary interviews with organized members.

Where there were marked differences were the numbers of interviews and length of time it took to conduct each study. Barrett (1987) began his research in 1980 and collection of data continued for six years. It culminated in interviews with 161 groups and interviews with 586 members. This accounts for the largest study on the organized far right to date. By contrast, Simi & Futrell's (2009) study collected data between 1996 and 2005 with 89 organized far right members. Simi & Futrell's (2004) study involved data collected between 1996 and 2003, and included 95 interviews. Blee's (2002) study focused on 34 members of one organization, but was unique insofar as all members of that organization were female. Only Barrett (1987) interviewed more female members but they were across 161 groups and involved 67 females (or 11.43% of the overall membership base within the groups).

Barrett's work specifically was groundbreaking insofar as he found significant variation between groups within the far right; as such, he divided them as radical and fringe right sectors. The latter affords critical insight into the possibility of political mobilization insofar as he found

that they have (i) greater tenure, (ii) utilize sophisticated strategies, and (iii) have a multi-faceted agenda (e.g., opposition to abortion, homosexuality, immigration, taxation).

Central findings of all four studies are varied. Barrett (1987) showed greater amounts of sophistication of far right organizations, with 82 of 161 groups being classified as fringe right organizations and 79 on the radical right. He found that the fringe sector tended to be more law abiding and sought to attain its goals through institutional channels (e.g., political mobilization through lobbying, assisting for political campaigns, running for public office) whereas the radical sector sought to attain its goals through cultural channels (e.g., attempting to change value systems in society). While the fringe sector had multi-faceted issues of concern, the radical sector tended to be singular issued, almost always concentrating its emphasis on racism. Unique findings showed that there was a strong ideological divide between both sectors and that the fringe and radical sectors were opposed to one another.

What Barrett's findings allowed for me to assess is the emergent themes found within Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. One could argue that his approach used grounded theory, where theory emerges from the findings. While he did not embark on the usage of social movement theory thereafter, it inspired my research methodology.

Blee's (2002) study was qualitative in nature, focusing on the *meanings* and *values* of subjects. Her amalgamation of observation of groups, content analysis of existing hate literature and in-depth interviews with members of racist groups adds to the limited research findings. The second most apparent contribution to knowledge the author presents is the introduction of *gender* as a variable to study. Almost no research has been conducted on female members of far right organizations. In the reviewed literature, active female presence is relatively rare. This creates intriguing possibilities to expand knowledge in the area, including (i) how gender plays a factor

in the far right movement, (ii) how male and female members differ in their views, roles and responsibilities and (iii) perhaps explain why there is such an under-representation of female membership in the far right.

The third most effective part of the author's research is that she was able to find '*themes*' by utilizing the narrative approach. Blee allowed the subject to tell her life story as a series of events that have a beginning and carry forward and describe significant events that lead to where the subject is today. This '*life story narrative*' allowed for rich detail, from which the researcher identifies and extrapolates key themes that emerge. The researcher then analyzed such themes in an attempt to explain a complex phenomenon.

Blee engaged in critical analysis (examining interviews individually) and comparative analysis (looking at the similarities and differences across interviews). This was effective because it brought to light many intriguing revelations. These included how racist women *reshape stories*, even memories of their past to fit their present racist activism. Many of her subjects were found to rationalize their racist views by claiming that visible and religious minorities had purposely harmed them in some way (Blee 2002: 37-42).

A common theme found within and across members was a clear sense of their transformation. Racist members identified a transformation that included unjust treatment, leading to perception of its unfairness to initially doing nothing to ultimately being forced to defend one's self. This was a common theme as was the overall sense of enlightenment. This negative experience was a transformation that granted them wisdom, or enlightenment. Hence, all subjects believed that the organized racist movement did not alter them, but that by enlightening them, it empowered them. Now they know who their enemies are and what their intent is (Blee 2002: 33-53).

Another common theme was how interviewed members sometimes identified race, gender and social class. Sometimes, these variables were presented as unique variables, sometimes they were presented as being interwoven, and sometimes one of the three taking on more relevance than the other. For example, as a unique variable, many members cited gender to be particularly important for the movement. Women occupied just as important, if not *more* important, roles than their male counterparts. Many of the female racist members described how women were in empowering positions. They described how educating children to racist ideology was primarily their responsibility. Many of them described how as females, they have shared similar plight and oppression within the movement. Many of them stated they were treated unfairly by males from the extremist wings of the subculture (Blee 2002: 48-52).

Simi and Futrell's (2009) study utilized similar approaches as Blee's insofar as narratives were used to help assess the degree by which members responded to conformity pressures of the wider society. The study found that organized far right members' family, relatives and friends were aware of their involvement in the movement but did not necessarily share those views. They found that this created a significant source of strain for them emotionally, and this helped pull them away from society and their families, and to their far right subcultures. Most radical right members reported strong desires to find ways they could display their beliefs without reprisals or rejection. The interpersonal ties to family and their rejection of their far right values created conflicts and ultimately disassociation from the wider society and to the far right subculture. The organization then served as a support system where members were accepted unconditionally, had their values reinforced and their individual and group identity strengthened.

Simi and Futrell's (2004) study findings showed that the far right emphasizes the social construction of collective identity as an essential part of activism. Collective identity was found

to be built and sustained through in-group cohesion through out-group hostility. The study found that far right members faced difficult choices about their willingness to communicated their beliefs publicly and engage in activism, due largely to perceived and realized consequences to these actions. Members described themselves as repressed with almost all of them concerned about loss of employment, being negatively judged by family, friends or the wider society, or even being arrested if their activism were to be known. Although repression, stigma, and fear were thought to discourage participation in the subculture, the opposite was found to be true.

Simi and Futrell's (2004) findings show that free spaces contribute to the persistence of the U.S. far right movement. It showed that the movement relies upon an infrastructure of free spaces to maintain activist network and movement identity within a context of hostility to the wider society. It was found that network connections help build strong solidarity within its membership base. This has helped sustain and increase participation in the far right subculture. Free spaces established national and international movement ties and built commitments among members through symbolic rituals and shared values. Participation in these spaces linked activists to a more widespread subculture. Both local and wider interconnectivity between members through free spaces helped form, build and sustain collective identity, helped pull members away from the wider society and to the subculture of the far right.

What is important to note is that *age* played a significant factor in all four studies. Barrett's study had older members gravitating toward fringe right organizations (which appeared to be more politically active) while younger members tended to belong to radical right organizations (which appeared to be less politically active). Blee's findings were consistent with both studies conducted by Simi and Futrell. Membership to all three studies was comprised of younger adherents. Political activism appeared to be of no direct concern to any of the members.

The context of age therefore becomes an important variable that I shall be examining in my study.

McVeigh and Sikkink's (2005) study utilized 2001 data listings from the Southern Poverty Law Center. They were able to locate all but 13 of the organizations in a specific county. The researchers excluded those cases from their analyses and found that the vast majority of counties and county equivalents (86.6%) had no active racist organizations. They conducted a quantitative study that showed that counties containing a state capital are 3.58 times as likely as other counties to have an active racist group, and southern counties are 2.11 times more likely than non-southern counties to have a racist group. A 1% increase in Republican voting multiplies the odds of having a racist group by 1.02, while a 1% increase in private schooling also multiplies the odds by 1.02. Counties with a racist group in an adjacent county are 1.75 times as likely as other counties to have a racist organization present.

The researchers focused on why a racist organization mobilizes. These researchers submit that racist organizations mobilize because individuals have certain fears and prejudices. Fears and prejudices are internal motivations for joining a racist group. The latter group of thought deals with an environment which may be conducive to a racist organization. An organization may emerge or become strong because of particular features of a community.

It can be argued that racist organizations can hate people no matter the distance and proximity they are to one another. Mobilization in these instances are not covered, whatsoever, by the explanation in the study. If this is true, then the proximity each group has to one another becomes less important because it shows that proximity is not the cause of the racist emergence. Hence, the study should have been clearer in attempting to explain features of communities which are conducive to racism instead of why organizations mobilize.

Berlot and Lyons (2000) utilize an historical perspective to assess and help explain the nature of the far right populist movement's origins and sustenance. They do well in tying in historical social/cultural, economic and political conditions that serve as precursors to having popular support of such movements, or at least allowance of such groups to form, mobilize and potentially influence public policies. They helped assess periods that help explain why a broader population would support the impetus of radical movements. For example, Patrick Buchanan's 1992 campaign against George Bush in the Republican presidential primaries showed isolationist and xenophobic themes embraced by the Patriot movement. Buchanan called for a return to nationalism, and raised suspicions toward foreign aid, unfair trade practices, multinationalism for corporations, and the rise of a European superstate.

Berlet and Lyons (2000) found that in the early 1990s there were other developments of far right populist revolt. For example, the Coalition on Revival (COR) called for three things: (i) county militias to be formed to serve as an alternative and independent force, (ii) a system of Christian courts to be imposed, and (iii) the abolishment of public schools, the Internal Revenue Service, and the Federal Reserve. In 1992 Conservative Caucus leader Howard Phillips helped launch the U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP), an organization with strong anti-globalism views and pronounced mistrust of the federal government. History shows how discontent can allow for mobilization. Here, individuals enter the political system to make changes.

With specific regard to mobilization (where far right organizations have been able to move from the value oriented elements to calculated strategies to seek short and long term goals), Detwiler (1999) and Minkenberg & Perrineau (2007) offer the strongest contributions to knowledge in the existing literature.

Of particular relevance to the reader is that Detwiler's (1999) work accounts for specific strategies of the Christian Right to be identified. For example, political strategies include trying to elect individuals from within the movement to local offices and then ascend the ladder of political influence.   School board elections serve as an important chain in the political ascendancy to power. They allow the Christian Right a venue to directly challenge local issues with minimal resources and calculated strategy. Since school board elections are the least contested, insofar as there is a tendency for fewer candidates and less attention paid to them, they become realizable goals to attain. The infusion of Christian Right adherents into school boards affords them direct representation and influence, as well as valuable political experience (albeit limited to educational level) and public presence to gain further legitimacy. Here, they are able to challenge existing policies, gain the voting power to strike down existing policies or enact favorable ones to their cause, and bring notable media attention to their initiatives.

The second central strategy of the Christian Right includes legal challenges. Here, the movement files court cases in order to see how courts will rule on specific issues. Once the court rules, they utilize the dissenting opinions, and then adjust new potential legislation/policies to meet the objections. Essentially, the Christian Right uses its failures to its own advantage, making future attempts less refutable, more sophisticated and potentially more realizable.

Similarly, Minkenberg and Perrineau (2007) demonstrate the most significant political gains throughout the European Union elections of 2004, showing active far right organization involvement, and presenting a framework that allows for social movement theory to be applied. The direct appeal to values and appealing to masses suggests that the radical right in Europe attempts to gage disenfranchisement and forge collective identity through sophisticated manners. For example, where there are anti-establishment sentiments, the radical right fills the role of

leadership to fight for the interests of the marginalized. The radical right builds its identity through populist appeal, feeling the disenfranchised sector's cultural pain, identifying a common enemy/target and then building in-group strength through out-group hostility. These are the issues paramount within the tenets of New Social Movement Theory.

The radical right, once it garners cultural support, then attempts to mobilize through direct political infusion, and essentially vying to become players in the political game. It cannot do this without having built sufficient popular support, but it cannot succeed without effective organization, sophisticated strategies and tactics, resource management to position itself into the political process, and mobilize itself through political infusion. These are the issues paramount within the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory.

Minkenberg and Perrineau's (2007) study offers several contributions to the body of literature on the organized far right. First, it gives a clear reflection of the level of sophistication of the organized far right, albeit from a European context. Second, it affords researchers an opportunity to gage what has worked effectively for the radical right in Europe and can be used as a comparative analysis to its American counterparts. Third, even within the American context if it is argued that political infusion is limited, future research must address the level of potential political mobility can exist for the organized far right.

3.5 Theory

Existing literature on the organized far right shows limited emphasis on primary interviews with organized far right members and emphasis on social movement theory applied to the far right movement. This study attempts to fill the gaps in the literature.

This study compares the utility of two social movement theories, Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory to explain the functioning of four far right

organizations. Both theories contend that social movements attempt to change culture/society. Resource Mobilization Theory contends that change is achieved within the sphere of institutional power (e.g., lobbying to elected officials, involvement with political campaigns, running candidates for political office, legal challenges through the courts), while New Social Movement Theory argues that change occurs in civil society through building shared values and ideas.

The study uses social movement theories to test why such organizations form, how they secure and sustain membership, the tactics and strategies employed, principles and purposes sought and organizational structure. Through the application of social movement theory, it can be assessed whether the four far right organizations are primarily understood as being better explained by Resource Mobilization Theory or New Social Movement Theory, and ultimately if they can best be explained as political or social in nature.

Theory is an important aspect of my research methodology because it is used to directly formulate questions (See Appendix A). Then questions in my research methodology will be formulated under both theories. The answers attained through primary interviews will determine to what extent members of the organizations emphasize more.

3.6 The Logic of Using Two Different Theories

Proponents of both theories would agree that social movements are an attempt to change society and culture. The key differences lie within how a social movement operates, where the location of process occurs (e.g., institutional settings, social settings), and the short and long term goals the movement seeks to attain. Resource Mobilization Theory contends that it is done in the sphere of institutional power (political and/or legal realms), whereas New Social Movement Theory contends that change occurs within civil society (the social/cultural realm) (Opp 2009; Edwards & McCarthy 2007; Klandermans 2007; Kriesi 2007; Buechler 2000; Oberschall 1993).

Resource Mobilization Theory explains social movements as pursuing change within the political realm. New Social Movement Theory argues that social movements are fueled mostly by populist support instead of specific and calculated institutional advances. At the foundation of Resource Mobilization Theory one must also allow that some level of collective identity and shared values exist for motivating adherents to work toward changes; however, RMT theorists place greater emphasis on the level of sophistication involved in the calculated strategies of the social movement working from *within* the institutional settings rather than working *independent of* the political sphere (Klandermans 2007; Kriesi 2007; McAdam & Scott 2005; Zald et al 2005) Oberschall 1993).

Another major difference between these two theories is where actors integrate themselves in society. Social movements explained by Resource Mobilization Theory focus on system integration because they believe tangible changes can only be gained through institutional power in the political realm. New Social Movement Theory is very different when explaining integration within society. New Social Movement Theory integrates within the social realm and uses expressive actions to attain changes. New Social Movement Theory argues that cultural and societal changes can occur *without* institutional power (McAdam & Scott 2005; Zald et al 2005; Kane 1997; Hart 1996; Buechler 1995; Alexander & Smith 1993).

Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory present different points of view with regard to the formation, origin and sustenance of social movements (Edwards & McCarthy 2007; Kriesi 2007; Buechler 2000; Oberschall 1993; Canel 1992; Pichardo 1988). Insofar as detailed insight into the origin and sustenance of the organized far right remains somewhat limited, it may be best to approach any research in the form of a debate between these two theories. The themes to be analyzed during this course in the examination of

far right groups and their literature will specifically address the debate between the two theories. In essence, there will be an attempt to discover whether the nature of the far right movement is mainly political or social.

3.7 Resource Mobilization Theory

Alan Scott (1990: 6) defines a social movement as:

> "*A collective actor constituted by individuals who understand themselves to have common interests and, for at least some significant part of their social existence, a common identity. (Sic) They are further distinguished from other collectivities, such as voluntary associations or clubs, in being chiefly concerned to defend or change society, or the relative position of the group in society.*"

Resource Mobilization Theory is based on a set of contextual processes such as resource management decisions (e.g., raising capital through membership dues, fundraising, investments), organizational dynamics (e.g., hierarchical and defined roles, limited membership, leadership), and mobilization (e.g., political lobbying, assisting with political campaigns, running members as political candidates, challenges laws through the courts). It focuses on how the actors develop strategies and interact with their surrounding environment to pursue their interests (Klandermans 2007; Oberschall 1993; Tilly 1985). The rise of social movements and the outcomes of their actions are seen as resulting from specific decisions, strategies and tactics used by the actors within the context of power relations (Edwards & McCarthy 2007; Kriesi 2007; Zald et al 2005; Canel 1992).

Jenkins (1983: 528) specifically outlines five criteria where social movements can be best explained by Resource Mobilization Theory. These include:

(1) Movement actions are rational, adaptive responses to the costs and rewards of different lines of action.

(2) The basic goals of actions are defined by attaining them through institutional settings (e.g., through political processes such as lobbying, assisting with political campaigns, running candidates for political offices, challenging laws through the courts).

(3) Resources, group organization, and opportunities for collective action are principal factors in a movement's success at attaining short and/or long term goals.

(4) Centralized, formally structured organizations are more typical of modern social movements and more effective at mobilizing resources and mounting sustained challenges than decentralized, informal movement structures.

(5) The goals, strategies to attain such goals and potential success of movements can be tangibly measured.

There are two models within Resource Mobilization Theory. The *political-interactive* approach (Tilly 1985; Oberschall 1978) uses a political paradigm to analyze the processes that allow for the emergence of social movements. It concerns itself with concepts such as resources, political power and group cohesion. The *organization-entrepreneurial* model (McCarthy & Zald 1987) focuses on leadership, organizational dynamics and resource management. Both emphasize the political nature of a movement insofar as their goals include objecting to state policies and/or challenging the power elite. To achieve these goals social movements require resources (e.g, financial capital and skills that can be used to help the organization such as prior political and/or legal experience or expertise). Resource Mobilization Theory argues that the success of social movements in achieving their goals depends on whether these resources are present.

3.8 The Relevance of Resources

Resource Mobilization Theory is guided by the premise that prosperous societies foster social movement activity because they provide a variety of resources (e.g., means of communication, capital), which can mobilize social movements. Indeed, communication can positively influence resources in the context that as more individuals are exposed to the movement's agenda, the greater the likelihood that financial contributions can increase (Edwards & McCarthy 2005; Buechler 2000; Canel 1992; Oliver & Maxwell 1992; Pichardo 1988).

Resource Mobilization Theory acknowledges that groups have goals that they seek to achieve. The theory focuses primarily on group organization through mobilizing and managing resources. This perspective views resources as being continually created and consumed. Thus, social conflict is perceived as the struggle for existing resources and creation of new ones (Kriesi 2007; Oliver & Maxwell 1992; Turner & Killian 1987; Oberschall 1978).

The internal organizational constraints of collective action are believed to automatically pull social movements towards institutionalized forms of activity (e.g., the political or legal realms where greater power lies). The theory contends that it is here that the costs/risks are lower and the possibility of attaining greater external support can be realized. Moreover, greater importance is placed on organization rather than numbers. While loose organizations demand high degrees of commitment from adherents, movements that are political in nature replace that need with stronger organization (Davis et al 2005; Oberschall 1993; Scott 1990).

Resources may refer to material or non-material criteria. Social movements may depend on material resources such as money, labor and means of communication. They may also place particular importance on non-material resources of an abstract nature; such would include moral

commitment, group cohesion, and legitimacy (Goodwin et al 2007; Hunt & Benford 2007; McCarthy & Zald 2001; Oberschall 1993; Jenkins 1983).

Mobilization serves as a critical stage of a social movement. Without mobilization, an organization may enjoy some tenure but it cannot challenge for power. To do this, a movement must use mobilized resources to come up against and challenge other groups (Kriesi 2007). For mobilization to take place, it is imperative that the resources are placed under collective control; after this is done, the movement must use them to pursue group objectives (Morris 1984).

Other theorists (Gamson 2007; Edwards & McCarthy 2005; McCarthy & Zald 2001; Oberschall 1993; Jenkins 1983) argue that resources played a significant factor in understanding social movements. Since social movement behavior is equated with political behavior, it warrants that some level of resource attainment (whether it is money, influence, adherent skills) is necessary for it to position itself in a position to come up against a potentially more powerful adversary.

Morris (1984) accounts that minority communities were able to accumulate resources for social movement tenure; black communities contributed critical resources to the civil rights movement. He focused on the internal organization of the movement and sophisticated tactics for effective political mobilization. Jenkins et al (2003) assessed that their findings also support the resource mobilization argument that NAACP organization increased protest. Organization building was argued to provide a crucial medium for mobilization.

Morris (1981: 764) argues that during the sit-in movement of 1960, "*pre-existing social structures provided the sit-ins with the resources and communication networks needed for their emergence and development*." Morris argues that the Civil Rights Movement made legal and political gains due specifically through successful use of mass nonviolent direct action.

Prior to this process, social movements were studied within a paradigm of collective behavior and related theories absent of resource mobilization tenets. Social movements were considered spontaneous, non-rational, and unstructured. Morris (1999: 517) assesses: "*Resource mobilization and political process theories conceptualized movements stressing their organized, rational, institutional and political features. The civil rights movement played a key role in generating this paradigmatic shift because of its rich empirical base that led scholars to rethink social movement phenomena.*"

Resource Mobilization Theory proposes four central factors that are a part of the process of mobilization: (i) organization, (ii) leadership, (iii) political opportunity and (iv) the nature of the political system (Turner & Killian 1987).

3.9 Organization

Group cohesion is argued to be necessary for collective action. Strong interpersonal links among members promote group identity, group solidarity and encourage communication. It is argued that these processes are necessary components for organization. Not only do they foster group solidarity but they help sustain it over a period of time, thus contributing to the group's tenure (Hunt & Benford 2007; Marx Ferree & McClurg Mueller 2007; Oberschall 1993; Canel 1992).

Rucht (2007) argues that organizational dynamics play a crucial role in the process of mobilization. Canel (1992: 41-45) suggests that the central variables that affect the organizational structures of social movements include (i) the nature of the movement and its goals (e.g., expressive/instrumental, single/multiple issue), (ii) the form of recruitment, the role that leaders employ in its initial stages and (iii) the influence third parties have on the group.

3.10 Leadership

Leadership is an integral factor in the development and sustenance of a social movement. Resource Mobilization Theory argues that leaders facilitate social movements by identifying and

defining goals, implementing strategies by reducing the group's costs and taking advantage of opportunities for collective action (Snow et al 2007; Canel 1992).

Decision-making leadership is more reflective of political movements. This form of leadership requires that mobilization occurs and come into direct contact with the forces the movement opposes. Leaders play numerous roles in order for this to occur. First, the leader fosters the basic ideas of the movement. Then, she/he devises suitable methods for spreading the ideas, getting them accepted and influencing persons to act upon them. Thus, the leader acts as a theorist and propagandist. However, in order to sustain adherence to the movement, the leader must be effective in creating and holding the personal loyalty of the members (Campbell 2005; Goldstone 2001; Ganz 2000; Morris 2000).

Turner and Killian (1987: 379) argue that there are two critical factors in the success of a movement. *Articulation* means establishing favorable relationship with the wider community; *mobilization* means stimulating and inspiring members. As an articulator of the movement, the leader must acknowledge the limit and possibility of actions that can be taken. She/he must be aware of power ideologies of influential organizations outside of the movement and attempt to sway these to the movement's advantage. Snow et al (2007) argue that in its function of mobilization, the movement gains a blueprint for action. For mobilization to occur successfully, it must be dependent on adherent loyalty. Thus, the development of a separate identity of the movement and the binding of strong ties between members and leader are integral factors.

3.11 Political Opportunity

Opportunities for collective action come and go. Resource Mobilization theorists contend that the challenge for movements is to identify and take advantage of opportunities for action. The structure of political opportunities refers to the conditions in the political system that

will either allow for collective action to be successful or repress it. Political and cultural traditions may determine the range of facilitation or repression of collective action (Koopnans 2007; Kriesi 2007; Campbell 2005; Tarrow 1996; Oberschall 1978).

For example, a country that is more clearly founded on civil libertarianism may facilitate groups that adhere to freedom of speech. It is also argued that the scale of the action and the power of the group determine the degree of facilitation or repression these actions will encounter. It is argued that generally, the broader the degree of the action and the less powerful the organization, the more likely it will be repressed. Thus, Resource Mobilization theorists imply that movement success is more likely to emerge when smaller actions are taken within the existing (political) system and when the organization is more organized and more powerful (Koopnans 2007; Kriesi 2007; Tilly, 1978).

3.12 The Nature of the Political System

Tilly (1978: 52) places significant focus on the political sphere and the mobilization of political resources. He argues that the emergence of social movements is dependent on the political system allowing for an environment to incorporate the interests of new groups. Tilly believes that participants in these movements do not necessarily seek entry in the political system; rather, they seek *access* to *influence policies*.

Ash-Garner and Zald (1987: 311) argue that the emergence and nature of social movements are influenced by the size of the public sector, the degree of government centralization, and the nature of existing political parties. The size of the public sector determines how much emphasis can be placed on certain issues and the legitimacy of various courses of actions available to social movements. For example, in times of rapid inflation and high unemployment, conditions may allow for different political ideologies to be more tolerated.

The public may be more receptive to movements opposing an increase in immigration or increased funding for social programs. Such conditions allow for an environment that enables social movements to mobilize and penetrate the political system. Minkenberg and Perrineau (2007) have demonstrated how this has been the case far right groups that attained varying levels of political success in the European Union elections of 2004.

Oberschall (1993) accounts for applicable strategies in explaining how real change is fostered in society. He focuses almost exclusively on the political arena. While he does not minimize the impact change can have in other areas of society, it is in the political realm where Oberschall posits change is least likely to occur without specific strategy. He advocates a less radical approach than many conflict theorists because the chief aim is to realize goals working *within* the institutional system and not *outside* of it.

Obershcall (1993) focuses more on the *legitimacy* of the group. Legitimacy makes the more powerful interest (e.g., the State) *re-assess* the manner by which it relates to that social movement organization. Such is argued to be a gain in itself in the context of unequal relations. Ideally, it is the first of many gains for a fringe organization to alter *conflict relations* to negotiation. What is important is that Oberschall does not deviate from orthodox conflict theory insofar as recognizing that change needs to occur. He does however alter the structural dynamics from ideology to real change. This change is tangible; if social scientists can measure change, then they can measure progress. Thus, we move from measuring levels of disenfranchisement based on what fringe groups *feel* they should have but are denied, to what organizations *seek* and what they actually *attain*.

Oberschall (1993) argues that an organization that is more organized, has more resources and is able to mobilize effectively will be more likely to attain both short and/or long term goals

because it positions itself to work within the areas where power is found: the political and legal realms. Oberschall implies that movement success is more likely to emerge when smaller actions are taken within the existing (political) system and when the organization is more organized and more powerful.

Resource Mobilization Theory argues that legitimacy is gained through organized structural dynamics, the securing of resources and the ability to mobilize. In most contexts, the more powerful interest is more closely aligned with the political and/or legal realms. The further one is away from these entities, the less likely one is to be perceived as legitimate. Organization, resources and mobilization bring social movements to the core and directly challenge the more powerful interest in its own playing field. Often times, this is argued to be the political realm (Koopnans 2007; Kriesi 2007; Davis et al 2005).

It can be argued that groups that have strong organization, necessary resources and sophisticated strategies for mobilization are more likely to succeed. Conversely, those that do not have the afore-mentioned are less likely to succeed.

3.13 Strengths of Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource Mobilization Theory accomplishes three objectives. These include:

(1) It explains the dynamics of mobilization.

(2) It explains what types of resources and organizational features condition social movement activities

(3) It places emphasis on the relationship between the movements and the political system.

The theory stresses the importance of strategic-instrumental action by focusing on resource management, tactics and strategies. Resource Mobilization Theory fares well in identifying elements of continuity among collective actors by placing emphasis on social

networks, organizational dynamics, and political processes. This approach is important to the study in that it explains how strategies, decisions, and resources are intertwined to determine the emergence and success of a social movement (Kriesi 2007; Davis et al 2005; Canel 1992).

Resource Mobilization Theory's emphasis on political processes allows insight into the relationship between social movements and the political sphere (Koopnans 2007; Campbell 2005). Its focus on opportunity shows how political factors that either facilitate or repress the emergence of social movements. Perhaps its fundamental feature is that it makes it clear that social movements engage in politics by a variety of means. While social movements may sometimes operate in competition with more powerful factions (e.g., government), they may also operate in collaboration. Compromise is a feature that is often neglected in New Social Movement Theory, but remains a prominent feature in Resource Mobilization Theory (Kriesi 2007; Tarrow 1996; Canel 1992).

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3.14 Weaknesses of Resource Mobilization Theory

By focusing exclusively on rational-instrumental action and emphasizing the political realm, the theory neglects the symbolic dimension of social action. It is argued that it says little about the content and context of social movement activity. It does not adequately identify the sources of solidarity, which are preconditions for collective action. Resource Mobilization Theory assigns little significance to the cultural aspects of social movement activity. As such, by

neglecting expressive, affective and instrumental orientations for action the theory can be argued to reduce social movements to political protests (Klandermans 2007; Canel 1992; Scott, 1990).

While the theory fares well in explaining how strategies, decisions, and resources amalgamate to form a social movement, it has been deficient in explaining the meaning of collective action. While it is possible to see how established organizations can influence mobilization on the part of their members, two aspects are not as clear. Resource Mobilization Theory does not explain how such an organization could have become established or how weaker organizations can mobilize at all. This is particularly true of groups where the collective rewards are uncertain and unpredictable and considerable risks may be present (Canel 1992; Scott, 1990).

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3.15 New Social Movement Theory

Contrary to Resource Mobilization Theory which emphasizes political objectives of social movements, New Social Movement theorists argue that social movements are concerned primarily with cultural issues, symbols, and social integration (Buechler 1995; Touraine 1988). New Social Movement Theory emphasizes the cultural nature of the new movements. It defines them as struggles for control over the production of meaning and focuses on the expressive

nature of social movements. It is contended that social movements thrive in civil society, as opposed to the state or political system (Canel 1992: 22-23).

New Social Movement theorists argue that emotions are part of all social action. Yet historically emotive factors have been given limited credence in terms of their influence on social movements within social theory. In the structural and organizational paradigm that has been prominent, emotions have been projected as irrational or invariable, providing limited explanatory positions. Since the 1990s, a number of research studies have concentrated emotive influences in studies of protest, social movements, and political conflict (Goodwin et al 2007; Petersen 2002; Aminzade & McAdam 2001; Fernandez 2000; Groves 1997).

Goodwin et al (2007) apply a cultural approach to emotions in social movement theory. They contend that emotions can be analyzed with the theoretical and methodological processes as values and morality. They argue that emotions are simultaneously creative and conventional, playing significant factors in social movement creation and sustenance. Emotions operate at multiple phases, including (i) being responsible for making certain legitimate motivations for protest, reinforcing group loyalties (Hirsch 1990), (ii) building collective identity through pride (Gould 2001), trust (Jasper 1997), and through affective loyalties (Goodwin et al 2007), and (iii) retaining its commitment from members by calming fears when confronted with challenges from within and outside of the movement (Goodwin & Pfaff 2001).

Moral emotions are argued to be a powerful medium by which social movements originate and sustain themselves. Compassion is argued to be a form of moral altruism that forges collective identity and motivates social movement adherents to pursue causes that may be deemed larger than any individual or materialistic gain (Allahyari 2001).   Examples include

transnational movements against slavery and human trafficking, the World Trade Organization, and student protests against the Vietnam War.

Goodwin et al (2007) argue that while compassion can play an emotive force in mobilizing for a cause, outrage and indignation can be at the core of others. It is a component of moral shocks that lead to protest groups. Hoffman et al (1994) suggest that indignation motivates social movement adherents to risk paying a significant price to oppose or punish they perceive as cheating. The most recent example that can be illustrated are the numerous anti-government protests against Arab governments and regimes in Egypt and Syria, which has hundreds of thousands of protesters risking arrest and physical safety, as well as the several weeks long social movement protests in the United States on Wall St., which opposes perceived corruption.

New Social Movement theorists separate themselves from Marxism in that they argue that the latter concerns itself only with economic and class reductionism. They disagree with the assumption that only economic logic fosters unity of a social movement and determines its mandate. They also disagree with the assumption that the identities of social actors are given to them by their class positions. They contend that this reductionism only defines their identities in terms of economic class interests (Laclau & Mouffe 1985).

New Social Movement theorists argue that Marxism places limitations on understanding contemporary social movements. They argue that other conflicts have replaced working-class struggles. These new social actors' primary concern rests with *collective control* of the process of symbolic production and the redefinition of social roles (Williams 2007; Hunt & Benford 2007; Canel 1992). Non-class issues are related to gender, ethnicity, race, age, the environment, and peace. By this process, New Social Movement theorists seek to explain the passage from

condition to action. It is argued that this transition is a result of ideological, political and cultural processed (Buechler 2000; Canel 1992).

New social movements are defined as reactions against the "*deepening, broadening, and increased irreversibility of the forms of domination and deprivation in late capitalistic societies*" (Offe 1985: 845). As more areas of private life come under state regulation, civil society begins to feel a sense of deprivation. Thus, the political institution is regarded as the chief catalyst in domination of everyday life. Since these effects are seen as irreversible, new social movements emerge as defensive reactions, direct opposing force to the expansion of this domination (Kriesi 2007; Berbrier 2002; Bernstein 1997; Offe 1985).

3.16 Values, Ideas and Change

New Social Movement Theory's premise is based on the creation of new ideas and values. New movements are concerned with embodying resistance to power and are motivated by cultural aims. However, they are noted as being fundamentally different from labor and socialist traditions. New social movements have been reluctant to employ conventional forms of political participation, thus clearly separating them from orthodox Marxism (Buechler 2000; Plotke 1990). It is important to note that many social movement developments were in fact revivals of earlier movements. Such would include the black civil rights movement and women's liberation. Such movements see themselves as a revival of previous initiatives to gain, protect and extend human rights.

However, the focus of the new social movement perspective that may be most unproblematically applied originated in the last three decades. For example, the student movement of the 1960s had many of characteristics employed by new movements in general. Its agenda broadened out from the political realm of previous movements to include values and

lifestyles, it was anti-authoritarian and it refused to incorporate itself in the institution of politics (Boggs 1995; Scott 1990). While the workers' movement (e.g., union organizations) could be understood primarily as a political movement, new movements are understood to be first and foremost social movements. The shift from the political to the social is made. Their chief objective is argued to be the mobilization of civil society and not the seizure of power (Feher & Heller 1983).

The second prominent characteristic is that new social movements are located within civil society. New movements emerge from and sustain themselves within civil society and are not entirely concerned with challenging the state directly (Melucci 1981: 190-191). Rather, it can be argued that they utilize alternative means of achieving their objectives such as employing a more symbolic scheme to their activities and ideology. Consider Sassoon (1984: 871) who posits "*in new social movements, the groups accomplish the task of letting individuals re- define symbolic relations between them, with society, with nature, creating other relation networks which radically oppose 'mass' and its atomization*."

The third characteristic within new social movements is that they attempt to bring change through the changing of values and the development of alternative lifestyles (Melucci 1981: 179-185). There is a direct distancing of the social movement from politics to ensure that there develops a sense of autonomy for the members. What this suggests is that within new movements, social change is attempted by challenging values and identities of social actors as opposed to direct political action (Melucci 1981: 189).

The aims of new movements are to bring social change through the transformation of values, personal identities and symbols (Williams 2007). Such movements are identity transforming, manipulate symbols and challenge mainstream values. This is best achieved

through two means: (1) the creation of alternative lifestyles and (2) the re-construction of individual and collective wills (Scott 1990: 17-18).

3.17 Building Identity within Civil Society

There are two manners in which new social movements build identity. One form of identity new movements place emphasis on is that of the movement's adherents. The more individuals develop a sense of personal autonomy and integrity, the more they begin to feel that their movement helps change the social and political structure. This develops in-group solidarity and commitment to the movement (Hunt & Benford 2007; Nedelmann, 1984). The second manner is the direct separation between the movement and the political structure. This distance is seen as a condition of the movement's success because the political structure cannot exercise influence and control over it. As a result, collective control of the movement's development is maintained (Buechler 1995; Melucci 1985).

Laclau and Mouffe (1985) explain the formation of new social movements as due to two factors. First, they argue that democracy has allowed a forum for debate. As such, new antagonisms are allowed to emerge. They argue that the French revolution of 1789 sparked a democratic revolution in both Europe and North America. This new transformation fostered individual autonomy and freedom, while at the same time placing the principles of liberty and egalitarianism at the center of social life. Thus, it was the availability of the democratic discourse that allowed for new social movements to emerge and challenge entrenched values of the society.

Secondly, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) argue that the rise of social movements is linked to structural transformations. They view them as responses to the antagonisms that emerged after the Second World War. These *new formations* brought about tremendous changes in production

and in the nature of the State and its culture. The effect of this is an increase in commodification and bureaucratization of social life. In essence, when capitalist relations penetrated the social realm, it began to impose negative influences. New social movements, thus, are defined as reactionary movements to the larger influences that threaten the aspects of social life.

New Social Movement Theory contends that actors struggle for collective control over the process of meaning and are primarily concerned with the construction of new identities. In comparison to paradigms such as political parties or trade unions we see significant differences. While political parties and trade unions operate at the strategic level of action and are concerned with material reproduction and distribution, new social movements operate at the communicative level of action and are chiefly concerned with cultural reproduction, social integration and socialization (Buechler 2000; Habermas, 1981).

New social movements concern themselves with a variety of issues. They advocate the values of equality, autonomy of the individual, participation, difference and democracy. At the same time, they remain opposed to the forces of manipulation, regulation and bureaucratization (Boggs 1995; Offe 1985).

The organizational structures of new social movements differ significantly from those of traditional formal organizations such as political parties. They are described as loose networks of democratic organizations that allow unlimited membership and part-time or short-term participation. There is less formal division or hierarchical positioning of leaders and followers, members and non-members and goals and ends (Offe 1985).

What should be acknowledged is that new social movements are not defined as mediums through which broader political goals can be achieved. The organization is, in its very form, the message. New social movements challenge already entrenched cultural codes and they provide

the example of how an alternative lifestyle is possible; thus, assessing the impact of social movements as being success or failures may not be as important as acknowledging that their very existence is a gain itself (Kane 1997; Hart 1996; Alexander & Smith 1993; Melucci 1988).

3.18 Strengths of New Social Movement Theory

Since New Social Movement Theory does not concern itself primarily with economic and class reductionism, it allows for the identification of new sources of conflict. By concerning itself with the creation of new identities, it has allowed New Social Movement theorists to break with past theoretical positions. What it has done is to provide legitimacy for the aspects that have traditionally been held as unimportant in the construction of movements. As a result, it has brought to light areas left largely untapped: cultural issues, symbolic production, normative contestation, and social integration (Williams 2007; Canel 1992).

New Social Movement theorists contend that the very existence of such movements is evidence of the limitations of Marxist class analysis and post-Marxist politics. It is argued that class, as the primary political force should be replaced by non-class criteria. Social movements have shifted from only class to race, gender, or combined areas of contention such as race, class and gender (Williams 2007; Hunt & Benford 2007; Canel 1992; Boggs 1995).

New Social Movement Theory places significance on new movements as being integral components in bringing about change. Concerned with non-economic, non-political criteria, these movements play a pivotal force in the social construction of reality despite their avoidance of economic and political criteria (Williams 2007; Buechler 1995; Touraine 1988).

3.19 Weaknesses of New Social Movement Theory

One shortcoming of new Social Movement Theory is that it does not demarcate how social movements actually originate. As well, it does not clearly show all the processes that

converge from a movement's condition to its action. This does explain the meaning of social movements (e.g., their structural and historical processes). What it does not do is explain the process of social action. Thus, the reader is left uncertain as to how individuals and groups develop strategies and mobilize resources. New Social Movement Theory's main strength is also its weakness; its emphasis on identity comes at the expense of analyzing strategy. Identity only develops in the process of interaction with other forces. As such, organization and strategy also need to be understood as being an integral part of this identity (Melucci 1998; Canel 1992).

Another drawback to New Social Movement Theory is how it defines social movements. Social movements are seen primarily as a radical opposition between themselves and the political realm. They see a clear division between civil society and the State. Its entire focus is on the cultural dimension of new movements and their contention that it is only in civil society that social movements can thrive. Since there is a clear separation from the political dimension, New Social Movement Theory ignores possible connections between civil society and the State, or between movements and political reform (Klandermans 2007; Buechler 2000; Canel 1992).

There is little analysis of the organizational dimension of movements in New Social Movement Theory. Variables such as leadership, recruitment processes and goals are not identified as important components of social movements. This is largely due to the theory's emphasis on discontinuity. For example, since movements are seen to operate less formally, New Social Movement theorists make no attempt to compare them to more formal organizations. As a result, the theory leaves itself open to criticism (Buechler 2000; Scott 1990).

3.20 Conclusion

Through social movement theory, there can be a better assessment of its potential reach within either society, or the political system, or both. If there is any potential threat, it can be

discerned in this manner. These findings are paramount to any study of the organized far right because they show that political mobilization is not only possible, but that that the radical right's interests can be represented within the State.

Existing literature on the organized far right is limited, as well as an emphasis on social movement theory applied to studies that involve qualitative interviews with members. My study attempts to build on the strengths of former studies, and attempt to fill in the gaps in the existing literature. I shall apply Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory directly to my questions to gather data to help explain whether the four groups under study can be better explained by one theory or the other.

CHAPTER 4- METHODOLOGY

There were four organizations that were interviewed for this study. The number of potential subjects that participated was dependent on their level of interest. I have chosen to take a qualitative approach for this research study because each organization had between 18-33 members. This afforded me opportunity to interview each member individually at greater length and be able to attain in depth data that may not necessarily be able to be obtained through surveys. The sample is small enough to use qualitative methodology with in-depth interviewing and open-ended questions, but large enough to perhaps make a case for some, albeit limited generalizability of findings to the broader subculture.

A semi-structured interview protocol was used for my study. This affords the social scientist flexibility while maintaining a certain level of organization (Schutt 2004; Flick 1998). This enabled me to have pre-set questions that are important to ask with regard to the study. Each respondent was asked the same questions. However, given consideration of the uniqueness of each individual interview, the differences in each individual interviewed, and the varying level of rapport between me and subjects, new questions sometimes arose along the way. The semi-structured interview thus allowed for new questions, and ultimately, more detail.

4.1 Criteria Used in Interviews to Help Generate Comprehensive Data

Qualitative methods are derived from phenomenology interviewing techniques (Neuman 2011; Schutt 2004; Cresswell 1998; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Agar 1984). Methods incorporated semi-structured and structured, open-ended questions (Luborsky 1994a) to explore whether members of the organization gravitate toward the central tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory or New Social Movement theory. Demographic data were collected as well; these questions were relatively brief and were used to establish the social locations that participants occupied,

such as age, gender, race/ethnicity, and socio-economic class. Data explication included descriptive, content and theme, and narrative analysis (Luborsky 1994a). Memo writing was undertaken to assist with the preparation of the final manuscript (Neuman 2011; Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2004; Schutt 2004).

Data explication involved description and interpretation of the data collected resulting in narrative content. The content highlighted the sociocultural behavior and perspectives of a participant and group (Schutt 2004; Creswell, 1998). These are preferred methods of inquiry when central concepts (e.g., group identity, values, views on leadership, level of commitment to the organization and its goals, strategies utilized to gain goals, etc.) are underdeveloped in a given study population. They are also preferred when the researcher's goal is to develop a substantial description of the person, group, environment, and sociocultural phenomenon under scrutiny. Finally, perceptions, meanings, and experiences are not amenable to standardized formats and quantitative approaches. Alternatively, qualitative research methods allow for understanding both personal meanings and experiences (Neuman 2011; Schutt 2004; Cresswell 1998; Frank 1996; Luborsky 1994b).

It should be noted that in qualitative research, semi-structured interviews allow for sufficient flexibility during data collection. There are specific criteria used in my interviews that helped generate more comprehensive data. These included the following:

(i) I showed interest in responses and encouraged elaboration.

(ii) Open-ended questions were used with the hope of gaining as much detail as possible from subjects.

(iii) Probes were utilized frequently to encourage elaboration of ideas. Here, I asked subsequent questions to have the interviewee give greater detail on a point of interest.

In my previous Master's research, this proved to be crucial in the attainment of data and it allowed for additional data to be obtained for the dissertation.

(iv) Both myself as interviewer and interviewees jointly controlled the pace and direction of the interview. This allowed for the subject to feel comfortable and to establish rapport. The more comfortable the interviewee was with me, the greater likelihood that rapport was able to be established. This enabled me to gain greater detail.

4.2 Recruitment Procedures

The Principal Investigator attained contact information of the leaders of four organizations through internet searches and solicited letters of consent by way of email. The letters of consent were submitted to HIC for documentation both in hard copy and electronically. The consent allowed me, as the Principal Investigator to provide to the leaders through email an attached electronic flyer that distributed to their memberships. The flyer was sent only after it had been approved by HIC. It contained information about the study and contact information of me as the Principal Investigator.

Interested parties who wanted to be interviewed were given information to contact me personally. They were informed through the flyer that participation was voluntary and if they were not interested, they did not need to respond in any manner. The proposed flyer was submitted to HIC to review and it was approved. A copy of the electronic flyer can be found in Appendix D.

Once leaders of the organizations emailed the flyer to their memberships, only those who were interested in being interviewed were asked to contact me. When I was contacted by them, I read a telephone script stating:

"*Thank you for responding to my flyer that was sent to you through your organization leader. My name is Frank Tridico. I am a Doctoral candidate for the Department of Sociology at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan. I am doing a research study on conservative organizations. I would be interested in talking with you. The one visit interview would take about 30 minutes to two hours. The interview will not be audio or video taped, but I shall be taking notes. All information collected about you during the course of the study will be kept without any identifiers. Your participation is this study is voluntary. If you are interested in taking place in this study, I would be able to meet with you at a time and date of your convenience at a public location.*"

There are four organizations that were contacted. All four leaders of each organization consented to sending the electronic attachment to their membership. These letters of consent were provided to HIC. Over the course of several weeks, I received many calls. When they called, they were read the afore-mentioned script, intended to hear it verbally rather than just read it in an electronic flyer. If they had any apprehension, they were told that they could choose not to take part in the study. It was stressed in the flyer, the telephone script and then again at the interview that participation was voluntary.

I waited an extended period of time (approximately seven weeks after they were initially sent to the members by the leaders via email) to allow for them to contact me at their convenience. Over the course of seven weeks, I received calls from 108 individuals belonging to four organizations. There were 97 individuals who consented to be interviewed and nine that refused. All that refused did so after asking for more information and after being read the telephone script.

The time frame of seven weeks allowed me to coordinate efforts to meet at specific times and locations to accommodate subjects, and my ability to travel to different locations. Since all four organizations reside in different cities, and all outside of the geographic area of where I live, there were economic constraints to how often I could travel (e.g., travel costs, gas expenses, accommodation costs, etc.). Hence, I suggested dates that would be favorable to have as many

subjects in one organization interviewed within closer proximity of each other, reducing my expenses.

For those who agreed, arrangements were made to conduct a one-on-one interview at a public setting at an agreed upon date and time.   At that time, an information sheet was provided to them (refer to Appendix B).

4.3 Organizations Studied

Primary interviews were conducted with members of four organizations.   For the purposes of HIC compliance, and under advisement of some members of my dissertation committee, it was strongly suggested that the names and locations of the four organizations remain anonymous. This is done to protect their anonymity and confidentiality. Hence, I shall refrain from listing organization names, members by name, jurisdictions of where the organizations operate out of, and their specific states.   All four organizations are from two states in the Midwest portion of the United States.

Of the four, two of the organizations are connected, with the head branch operating out of state #1 and the affiliate branch operating out of state #2. The other two organizations reside in state #2.

They four organizations will be listed as Organization A, Organization B, Organization C, and Organization D, with Organization A comprising the head branch in state #1, Organization B comprising the affiliate branch in the state #2, and Organization C and Organization D comprising the other far right groups in state #2.

I was able to conduct interviews with 25 members of Organization A. The organization has a membership of 29; four members replied but refused to be interviewed. Hence, 86.21 percent of its membership agreed to participate in this study.

I was able to conduct interviews with 21 members of Organization B. The organization has a membership of 22; one member replied and opted not to be interviewed. Hence, 95.45 percent of its membership agreed to participate in this study.

I was able to conduct interviews with 18 members of Organization C. The organization has a membership of 18; all members agreed to participate in the study. Hence, 100.0 percent of its membership agreed to participate in this study.

I was able to conduct interviews with 33 members of Organization D. The organization has a membership of 39 members; six members replied and refused to be interviewed. Hence, 84.62 percent of its membership agreed to participate in this study.

The total number of interviews conducted for this study was 97. The total number of members who replied but opted not to participate in the study was 11. Hence, 89.81 percent of membership across the four organizations agreed to participate in this study.

4.4 Informed Consent Process

At the interview, participants were given an information sheet. The information sheet (see Appendix B) states that they will be asked to complete an interview. They will be asked questions that will explore the structure, purpose and goals of the organization that they belong to. They were informed that they have the option of not answering some of the questions and remaining in the study. The interview was expressed as being conducted within one visit, and would take between 30 minutes to two hours.

Subjects were informed that as participants in this research study, there would be no direct benefit for them; however, information from this study could benefit other people now or in the future. They were informed that there may be some psychological risks. By taking part in this study, they may experience the following risks: embarrassment and discomfort in answering

some questions. They were told that they have the right to not answer any question(s) in the interview if they do not want to answer. They were informed that there will be no costs to them for participation in this study. Further, they were told that they would not be paid for taking part in this study.

With regard to confidentiality, they were told that all information collected by me as the Principal Researcher during the course of this study would be kept without any identifiers. They were told that taking part in this study is voluntary. They were informed that they were free to not answer any questions or withdraw at any time.

4.5 Data Collection: Protecting Anonymity and Confidentiality

Information sheets maintain optimal confidentiality and anonymity and were recommended by Wayne State University's HIC personnel. Safeguards were put in place to protect participants. These include:

(1) Their names were not used in any way. I used numbers rather than names to assure anonymity.

(2) The names of their organizations were not disclosed. Rather, they were identified as '*Organization A*', '*Organization B*', (etc.). This has helped to assure anonymity and confidentiality.

(3) The names of the cities they reside were not disclosed. Moreover, the states of residence were not disclosed to help assure anonymity and confidentiality.

(4) Participants were identified by numbers. Data collected from each participant includes a sequential numbering system (e.g., Participant #1, Participant #2, etc.). The interviews were kept under lock and key. Moreover, the data on the computer from the interviews were kept in a password protected file. Respondent names were not linked to

their interview data. I assigned numbers as I did the interviews. Without a list that linked names to interviews, the data were protected, as one could not link the interview data to any one person.

(6) For added protection of confidentiality, the interviews were not audio or videotaped, and any notes taken during the interviews were destroyed immediately after data had been coded and analyzed.

(7) There will be no way to match respondents' names to a particular organization because the respondents were identified by number, the organizations by letter, and the states by number.

(8) Additional safe-guards have been put in place through a Safety Plan (see Appendix C). This will detail all precautionary measures to protect anonymity and confidentiality of participants, and to protect me as the researcher.

Respondents were told of the potential for embarrassment and discomfort in answering some questions in the Research Information Sheet. They were given the choice to not be part of the study at that point. Those that proceeded were given a copy of the Research Information Sheet to read. The Research Information Sheet informed them that taking part in this study is voluntary and that they were free to not answer any questions or withdraw at any time.

4.6 The Interview Process

The questions that were used reflect areas pertaining to the two social movement theories. The answers to the questions helped the researcher determine to what extent members within the group lean toward: the political Resource Mobilization Theory, or the social/cultural areas of New Social Movement Theory.

Data collection was accomplished via qualitative interviews. The interview questions are semi-structured. Please refer to Appendix A for the semi-structured interview schedule. All subjects were asked the same questions. The interview protocol was made explicit with respect to the kind and use of appropriate probes used to elicit participant reflections and explanations. This level of detailed data collection increased the likelihood of obtaining data that was needed to determine which of the social movement theories would be applicable.

Members of four organizations were interviewed. The questions that were asked cover the areas of political issues found in Resource Mobilization Theory, the social/cultural issues found in New Social Movement Theory, or a combination of both theories. For example, answers to the question, "*Are there any plans to become involved in any political activity in the future*?" helped understand whether the group has political goals or not. Answers to the question, "*What values do your organization find acceptable*?" helped understand whether the respondent feels the goals are more social and cultural in nature.

During the interviews, open-ended questions were designed to identify what the participants' perceived as important to their world view. For example, subjects were asked "*What importance do values have for your organization's agenda?*" This was a question that highlighted tenets of New Social Movement Theory which accentuates the importance of shared values, collective consciousness and self and group-identity. Some subjects went on to explain how specific values such as sacrifice, commitment to adhering to the principles of the organization, supporting other members, and maintaining traditional religious values such as being pro-life and pro-traditional marriage, were important. Since New Social Movement Theory emphasizes values, the greater emphasis spent on issues relative to values, the more

likely I could identify that this was important to the individual member and that aspect of the New Social Movement Theory was applicable to that area of focus.

With respect to pairing systematic administration of key questions with open-ended probes to each answer, Luborsky (1994b) suggests that this is a crucial element in extracting additional data that may not have come out naturally absent of the process. The usage of probing questions was necessary when conducting one on one interviews. A subject may not expand on an answer, and the researcher may need to prompt for additional details. For example, in the interviews when I have encountered this, I have used a number of prompts (both verbal and non-verbal). By smiling, or making extended eye contact, or nodding one's head slightly to acknowledge that one is listening to their perspective may encourage them to continue.

The researcher can pause for a few moments, and wait for the respondent to expand on the dialogue. Sometimes, the subject volunteered additional data because the interviewer has not proceeded to the next question. The more direct approach to trying to obtain additional data when a subject has ended dialogue was to ask a probing question such as "*How do you feel about that*?" or "*Can you expand on that*?" The subject then has a choice in expanding on the topic, or may choose to limit information at that point.

By way of example, when I asked members "*What values does you organization find acceptable?*" it shifted focus away from their original answer focused exclusively on them, and then directed it to the perceived values of the broader group. Moreover, when that was answered, I probed with "*Why?*" This was particularly effective because in the initial stages of most interviews, rapport is still limited and needs to evolve, and the usage of probes affords the researcher the opportunity to directly extrapolate data that may not have been volunteered. It also allows for continuity insofar as future questions could be answered in similar fashion even

without the researcher having to probe, because subjects become familiar with the style or structure. Further probes included asking "*How does it seek to promote them?*" This narrowed the focus of the question for them because the first probe may lead to areas that may direct the subject to areas of unrelated matters. The usage of additional probes helps bring back direction and focus, and ensure that the data being gathered is both rich and detailed.

I used probing to augment the questions. For example, I asked "*What are the goals of your organization?*" If the answer was limited such as "*to change society and culture*", I probed for greater clarification because changing society and culture are two different things. In this case, I specifically wanted to know *how* they intend to change society or culture.

Through the usage of probes, I was better able to determine if the intended change would be some form of *political mobilization* (e.g., political lobbying, seeking public office, etc.) or through *cultural transmission* (e.g., having meetings to discuss issues within their organizations or expanded to include other people in society). Hence, probes were necessary to generate rich data. From this data, I was able to better assess to what degree the organizations can be best explained by each of the two theories, or a combination of both.

4.7 Location Settings for Interviews

Research took place at public settings. For Organization A, we arranged meetings at a local university. The location was public enough where all parties felt comfortable enough, and private enough where others would have a difficult time hearing what was being discussed. As a result of this, subjects felt comfortable enough to expand on their answers.

For Organization B, we arranged meetings at a coffee shop in a more remote area of the city. There was some traffic of patrons, but most of the time, there were not that many there.

Some of the subjects suggested that it would be a good place to be interviewed because it was a place that many of them frequented on a regular basis.

For Organization C, we arranged meetings at a park. The environment was less formal, but unlike the other three groups, many of these interviews were conducted while sitting on a bench. This limited the amount of eye contact made, and made the interviews less personable. As a result, I believe this hindered my ability to build as much rapport as with many others, the answers to questions were not as expansive, and I had to probe more so than with others and the interviews took less time to complete. The shortest interviews were with this organization, and on average, these interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours. There was one exception; one individual's interview took 3.5 hours. He was an aberration and not the norm; the nature of my study (as well as questions pose to him) was deemed to be intriguing to him.

For Organization D, we arranged meetings at a local university. Similar to Organization A, they felt very comfortable in this location, and it helped secure some of the longest interviews of all groups. On average, the interviews for Organization D took longer than the others.

Data collection did *not* involve any members of vulnerable groups (e.g., children under the age of 18, mentally disabled/cognitively impaired adults who are unable to give consent, prisoners, etc.).

The duration of time to complete each individual interview was expected to last between 30 minutes to 2 hours over one visit. However, the interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 3.5 hours each over one visit, with most averaging about 1.5 hours.

4.8 Protecting Confidentiality and Anonymity

With regard to protecting confidentiality, information sheets maintain optimal confidentiality and were recommended by WSU's HIC personnel. Participants will not be

identified by name. Rather, each respondent will be identified by a sequential numbering system (e.g., Participant #1, Participant #2, etc.). The interviews will be kept under lock and key. Moreover, the data on the computer from the interviews will be kept in a password protected file. Participants will be identified by numbers to ensure their confidentiality. I assigned numbers as I conducted the interviews. Without a list linking names to interviews, the data was protected, as one cannot link the interview data to any one person.

All respondents were over the age of 18, and were not chosen on the basis of race, sex, or religion. They were recruited on the basis on membership to established far right organizations. They were solicited through direct person-to-person contact by me, the principal investigator.

Through primary interviews, a semi-structured interview schedule afforded me both structure and flexibility in attaining information that can better explain the nature of the organized far right movement. The following illustrates the interview schedule that was used.

Since the proposed study attempts to determine whether the organizations can be better understood through Resource Mobilization theory, New Socialization Theory, or a combination of both, it is integral that questions be formulated carefully to align themselves with each theory.

For example, the question "*Are there any plans to become involved in any political activity in the future*?" falls within the paradigm of Resource Mobilization Theory and shows political criteria. If responses were expansive in this area, the researcher is able during data analysis to decipher that member(s) show greater concentration/commitment to elements contained within Resource Mobilization Theory.

The flexibility of the interview schedule will allow for the attainment of greater depth of information even if the researcher comes to determine that the organization is more likely to be

better explained by one particular theory. What I was successful at obtaining was greater detail from respondents.

4.9 Data Collection and Analysis

Corbin and Strauss (1998) suggest that memoing can be used to enhance qualitative inquiry. Memoing consists of maintaining logs of data collection and explication sessions, beginning with descriptive notes, and becoming more abstract as reflective (and reflexive) data collection and explication progressed. Memos were organized, much like the concepts, categories, and subcategories that were sorted during data collection, review, and explication.

It can be argued that field notes are *already* a step toward data analysis. I scheduled 30 minute intercessions in between interviews. This allowed me to review each interview immediately after it was conducted to add brief notes which outlined major themes, concepts, and questions that became apparent to me. Reviewing field notes helped to facilitate identification of central and subordinate themes and exploration of emerging themes in subsequent interviews. Diagrams of the potential relationships between codes and themes were also developed as data review and explication continued.

Field notes were also employed as a secondary or supplemental data collection method. Lofland and Lofland (1999: 4-5) argue that field notes by a researcher are crucial in qualitative research to retain the meanings of the data gathered. They contend that field notes should be written no later than the following day; however, my view as that this should be done immediately following each interview.

I specifically branched off of certain codes and symbols (e.g., 'l' representing lobby; 'p' accounting for politics, 'v' accounting for values; plus and minus symbols to account for greater or less emphasis on a particular theme such as lobbying; length and density of arrows to account

for relationships) and some short phrases to help remember longer criteria. From these criteria, I utilized a half hour of time in between interviews to lengthen the content. Since it was immediately after each interview and thus, still relatively accessible, I began to write as much as possible for each question based of recollections of the codes and symbols earlier applied. There was self-reflexivity within this process insofar as if I felt that I wasn't sure about the detail or full context of what was stated, I wrote less rather than more. This was to make certain that I wouldn't be misinterpreting what was stated.

Answers to questions had many consistent themes and concepts across interviews. Where there were unique elements of the interviews, I asked for their permission to use the quote and asked them to repeat it allowing me time to get it verbatim. One effective strategy used in this context was to tell them that I didn't want to misquote them; this made them feel that what they were stating was important and they afforded me the time needed to write the significant quote.

Given the nature of the far right, members may be reluctant to participate if they are interviewed by video and/or audio tape. In past experience conducting interviews, subjects felt much more comfortable without being taped, and as such were more likely to expand on detail. This can more likely lead to greater detail, which is crucial if the organized far right is to be understood.

4.10 Explaining the Approach Taken for Interviews

Appendix E Mock Interview accounts for a visual example of what how my interviews have been structured. This serves as a mock interview and not a real one. All interviews conducted were destroyed after data collection and analysis was concluded. However, the mock interview will serve as a visual model to show the reader how I collected and analyzed my data.

The reader will note that I began with codes for the organization name (Organization Blue) to assure confidentiality and that there were no identifiers. It can be also noted that I used codes for participant's names, using numbers instead. The interview schedule afforded me an opportunity to have the questions available so I ensured all questions were asked to each subject. If I had tried to memorize them, it is probable that I wouldn't have been able to remember each one. By repeating them often enough (prior practice), I was able to recognize the context of the question and usually cite it while maintaining eye contact with the interviewee. This was important because reading off a paper hinders rapport with the subject; rather, maintaining eye contact made it more personal. I have found this to be the case in my interviews. When I spent time reading off notes for some interviews, the reaction was dismissive and the answers tended to be shorter, necessitating more probes.

I ensured that for most of the interviews, I sat across from subjects at an acceptable distance, and maintained eye contact. This was possible because of the settings that allowed us to partake in the process sitting across from each other. This was not the case with interviews involving members of Organization C where the setting was a public park; there we sat on a park bench and part of me was turned to the interviewee but not all, making it less personable. As a result, those interviews lasted shorter than average, and were the shortest when compared to the other three samples. Further, answers were shorter, and necessitated more probes.

My past research experience with field research has afforded me an efficient system of note taking. I used symbols and short forms for particular words and themes. This allowed for regular eye contact so that the conversational flow was maintained while still affording the researcher time to write down information. When specific words, phrases or extended sentences were needed to be recorded, I usually directed attention to that, sometimes asking the subject to

repeat the words so that they would not be misquoted. By doing this, it afforded me time to write the detail in the notes, place the respondent at ease, and not compromise the flow of the interview.

During the interviews, I had several papers and a clipboard. I had every pre-structured question written and in between questions I left one paragraph of space, where I wrote symbols and short forms for particular words and themes. For example, I used "l" for lobby, "g" for government, "x" for opposition to, and a checkmark for support of certain issues. For issues, I used two letters (e.g., "hs" would stand for homosexuality, "ab" would represent abortion). If there was a specific relationship described, that was highlighted by an arrow, with a short arrow accounting limited form of relationship, a longer arrow drawn over multiple times would illustrate a more significant relationship, and "+" accounting for a positive relationship, and "-" representing a negative one. On the side of each paragraph I also drew in a star to accentuate areas of prolonged interest and detail for the subject; that in itself was used to comparatively analyze areas of foci that seemed to be of greater relevance to the majority.

There were times when I wrote in key words and phrases, where my symbols and themes could not address. For example, in some interviews there was significant mention of the Tea Party, and specific names and issues that I was unaware of. To ensure that I would be able to accurately recall specifics, I ensured that I wrote in content.

Not all content was necessarily needed to be recorded verbatim. Over the course of some lengthy interviews, some subjects began discussing common interests such as astronomy, martial arts, music, the Second World War and one was particularly fixated on vintage vehicles. While it was intriguing, much of that data was fruitless for my study. What it did serve was accentuated rapport building, which enabled the subjects to feel comfortable enough to expand in

other areas where the content was important, and it also left them feeling that their thoughts and perspectives were both important, being listened to and respected.

This was found to be particularly helpful to me because there were periods of time where there weren't subsequent interviews, and those that found the interviews to be positive experiences could have potentially spoken of their experiences. This helped, rather than hindered the process, because subsequent interviews sometimes had subjects telling me that a former interviewee had spoken highly of me and my interview technique. Those instances allowed me to have capital already built prior (by word of mouth) and new subjects were already found to be at a higher level of comfort. This enabled me to build rapport more efficiently, and helped expand the length and depth of the interview.

4.11 Hypothesis, Null Hypothesis and Research Objectives

The research hypothesis for this study is that Resource Mobilization Theory will better explain the nature of all four right organizations than New Social Movement Theory. The null hypothesis is that neither theory is a better explanation for the organizations.

The two main research questions for this study include:

(1) Does Resource Mobilization Theory explain the nature of the organized far right groups in terms of *organization* (e.g., hierarchically structured organizational structures, clearly defined division of roles and responsibilities, limited numbers of members, strict criteria for new membership), *resource attainment* (e.g., acquisition of money or property assets through membership dues and fundraising), and *mobilization of resources to achieve short and/or long term goals through political and/or legal initiatives* (e.g., lobbying, involvement with political campaigns, running members as candidates for political office, legal challenges through the courts).

(2) Does Resource Mobilization Theory fit all four groups?

The study uses social movement theories to test why such organizations form, how they secure and sustain membership, the tactics and strategies employed, principles and purposes

sought and organizational structure. Interview questions were created to account for the theoretical tenets of each theory. Since Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory have account for different aspects of social movement organization, structure, strategies and goals, the answers to the questions tended to support one theory over the other. An assessment was then made to test the hypothesis to determine if Resource Mobilization Theory better explains all four organizations.

4.12 The Interview Schedule Design

Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory are different theories. This suggests that the tenets of each theory are unique. For example, Resource Mobilization Theory focuses on themes such as resource management (e.g., membership dues, fundraising), and political mobilization (e.g., lobbying to elected officials, assisting with political campaigns, running for public office), a rigid and hierarchical organizational structure, smaller membership, and emphasis on long-term goals that can be realized through institutional channels such as the political realm (Edwards & McCarthy 2007; Kriesi 2007; Buechler 2000; Klandermans 1992).

New Social Movement Theory focuses on themes such as charismatic leadership, transmission of cultural values and ideas within the organization and across society through informal (non-institutional) change, emphasis on larger membership, and informal and less structure to the organization (Opp 2009; Diani 2007; Goodwin et al 2007; Williams 2007).

Answers to the questions will show themes that are the tenets of the two social movement theories. For example, an accentuated and consistent emphasis on resource management throughout questions during the interviews will denote issues relative to Resource Mobilization Theory. Conversely, consistent themes relative to shared values and importance of larger membership will denote issues relative to New Social Movement Theory. When data is

examined, I compare how many subjects answered each question and how much of the content gravitated toward one particular theory, and then make an assessment for that particular question. This method is replicated until there is an overall assessment as to how much content gravitated toward which theory, in order to build a case that each particular organization can be better explained by one theory or the other, or part of one and much of another. That will be contrasted across the four organizations to afford a better assessment of how the entire lot fares in terms of similarities and differences.

Refer to Appendix E Mock Interview. By way of comparison, if subjects spent more time answering questions in political/RMT, I concluded that they were gravitating toward the theoretical tenets of that particular theory. Since the questions were designed to account for the central tenets of the respective social movement theories, each section emphasized opposite theoretical emphases. I was able to compare and contrast answers to individual questions between members of the same organization, and also across organizations.

Since I wasn't writing detailed notes, I had to rely on (i) codes and symbols used throughout the interviews, (ii) limited direct quotes, and (iii) my expansion from the codes and symbols immediately after the interview, and (iv) usage of my memory to add detail that was discussed. By adding an approximation of time, this afforded me an opportunity to use depth and richness of detail and a statistical feature to emphasize what was accentuated and which questions were given less emphasis.

I also took notation of possible breakdowns in rapport. By way of example in Appendix E Mock Interview, it gives an account of my description of rapport at the beginning, and accounts in notation where the interview was stopped, where greater clarification was asked and where questions were refused to be answered. This helps show which questions appeared to

have been considered sensitive and caused a breakdown in the interviews continuity. By way of comparison, the researcher is able to see if the deterioration in rapport, or the refusal to answer certain questions was an aberration, or if it was a norm across the sample.

While the mock interview appears to be very detailed, it accounts for the final product for data analysis. Its rich detail allows me to examine key themes, consistencies and inconsistencies, which questions were focused on more than others, and where the interviews showed subjects gravitating toward: either the political areas of Resource Mobilization Theory or the social-cultural areas of New Social Movement Theory. What was intriguing is that for many of the interviews, not all features of one theory appeared to be found with most organizational members. Indeed, by emphasizing individual questions and the answers attained in data analysis, I was able to show to what extent members gravitated toward one theory. This suggests that not all members and organizations were able to be fully explained by one particular theory.

Given that the questions reflect areas of Resource Mobilization Theory or New Social Movement Theory, the data will naturally will shift the focus to these areas. The researcher will then determine how many themes, and to what degree they correlate to each theory.

It is my intention to study such consistencies *within* each group and *across* four groups. While this may sound simplistic, a number of final evaluations can be assessed after the data has been gathered and analyzed. In my data analysis section of the dissertation, I shall identify the question asked, and then show how many members' answers within the organization lean more toward one theory or the other. For example, an organization comprised of 32 members may show that 27 members' answers to the first question leaned toward tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory and five leaned toward New Social Movement Theory. I shall continue this until each organization has been fully analyzed. I shall compare each of the four organizations.

Based on the answers to the questions posed to members, the data will gravitate toward one theory or the other. Through data analysis an assessment was made to determine if the hypothesis could be proven and to what extent the two main research questions were applicable.

The study uses social movement theories to test why such organizations form, how they secure and sustain membership, the tactics and strategies employed, principles and purposes sought and organizational structure. Interview questions were created to account for the theoretical tenets of each theory. Since Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory have account for different aspects of social movement organization, structure, strategies and goals, the answers to the questions tended to support one theory over the other. An assessment was then made to test the hypothesis to determine if Resource Mobilization Theory better explains all four organizations.

CHAPTER 5- DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter accounts for the analysis of data collected through qualitative interviews of 97 members of four far right organizations. The chapter is divided into two sections. First, there is a critical analysis of each of the four organizations. Other than demographic questions, each question thereafter (from general questions to those specifically applying elements of both Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory) examined exact numbers of respondents whose responses emphasized elements of the sociological theories.

Where respondents answered in a manner that better reflected Resource Mobilization Theory, they were numerically counted toward that theory. Where they answered in a manner that better reflected New Social Movement Theory, they were numerically counted toward that theory. Where the answers had elements of both theories, and no clear demarcation could be made where one outweighed the other, a numerical count went toward a third category that combined RMT and NSMT. This was done to avoid misinterpretation that could have skewed the data. Answers had to be clearly aligned with the tenets of either theory for them to be counted toward them.

Given the significant number of questions that were asked, I took the top 11 questions and explored each individually for each of the four organizations. While I could have continued and included all of them, it is argued that there would have been significant overlap and redundancy. For example, questions in the interview protocol that asked '*Are there any plans to become involved in any political activity in the past or present?*' *and* '*Are there any plans to become involved in any political activity in the future?*' are already assessed through most of the answers in several other questions such as '*How does your organization use financial resources*

to achieve its goals?' and '*What are the short and long term goals of the organization?*' All questions were asked to respondents but I excluded areas that did not forward unique data.

I identified the questions, discussed central findings, where applicable I inserted actual quotes from members, and tied the answers to the two theories to determine what kind of applicability it had. At the end of each question, a chart visually assesses the numerical breakdown of how many members' answers for each question correlated to the theories.

The second part of the chapter deals with a comparative analysis of the data findings across all four groups. First, there is a comparison using demographic data. There is a one page chart that highlights all demographic characteristics. Here, unique characteristics can be found that may get lost in the detail of the individual organization analyses. Here, we examine trends across demographics that help understand the nature of the four organizations. Then, there is a three page chart outlining all eleven individual questions posed to all members, and a numerical count for each organization of how many respondents answered in accordance to Resource Mobilization Theory exclusively, both Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory, or New Social Movement Theory exclusively.

In each box, the reader can discern how many responses gravitated toward the tenets of each theory, and what percentage of respondents in comparison to its overall individual membership answered in a particular manner for each question. This is done for all four groups, and at the end of that, there is a numerical count of how many answers to each question of all four groups combined gravitated toward elements of the theories. A percentage for each area is given in comparison to the overall membership of 97 members across all four organizations studied.

5.1 Organization A

The interviews with this organization were conducted in June, 2011 over a period of five days and two separate trips to the city. The organization serves as a central branch and has affiliate branches in three other locations, in three different cities across three Midwestern states. There was one other affiliate branch prior, but there was a disagreement in terms of direction over issues of regional sovereignty. As a result of this, the central branch declared the affiliate branch a schism and disavowed it as a legitimate body, threatening legal action if the former affiliate branch would not drop both its name and larger affiliation title to the more recognized central branch. This occurred in 2006. I was told that there were legal actions taken, and the former affiliate branch receded using any associated name with its predecessor in early 2007.

Refer to Appendix F (Organization A Organizational Structure of the Central Branch). During interviews, members of Organization A accounted for reasons as to why the head branch declared its affiliate a schism. However, there were varying rationales as to what contributed to the separation. The organization's top leader (herein described as Governor) was the most visibly agitated when referring on the split. He argued that the affiliate branch was not following the criteria within the organization's constitution, and created positions that were inconsistent with its rigid hierarchical structure. Further, he stated that its organization CEO refused to adhere to sanctions imposed by the Governor through its chain of command (Central Branch First Vice-President to Affiliate Branch Premier that oversaw the operations of the rogue affiliate's branch). Hence, the affiliate branch's CEO was in violation of half a dozen statutes, and what he referred to as "*brazen subordination*."

Twenty-one of twenty-five members in the organization discussed the former affiliate in negative terms but not to the same fervor as the Governor. Some members within the mid-level

command in the hierarchical order claimed violations with the head branch's orders, and others directed it to violations of the group's broader constitution. The lower-level members had less knowledge of the specifics of it; they understood it was insubordination but some believed it could have involved theft. What this has suggested to me is that the organization is run very rigidly, with expectations for strict adherence to the organization's constitution, hierarchical structure of power, adherence to higher authority, and immediate sanctions for overt forms of dissent.

5.2 Organizational Structure

The organization was formed in 1998. As of time of the interviews, the organization's tenure was 13 years. The first official Governor was the current Governor's father. He has maintained reverence to the organization's constitution, vacated the position in in 2002. His son became Governor in an uncontested election. The role of Governor is the *only* elected position in the organization. Every other position is appointed by the Governor. This was a fascinating revelation because to unseat the leader by way of challenge of officer, the opponent would have to curry support from the Governor's appointees. Although the position of Governor has tenure of five years, there has never been a challenge from its internal council for the chair since the organization's founding.

The Governor appoints all organization positions within the head branch and does the same for all affiliate branch CEOs. While he has no direct influence on who the affiliate CEOs appoint to their internal structures, his authority and influence are nonetheless significant. The head branch's Governor holds veto power over any vote, including those of the affiliate branches.

The Governor's strongest relationships are with the central branch's First Vice-President and its legal counsel. Those are the only two positions that allow for a reciprocal democratic and informal relationship with the highest authority in the organization. Where arrows show two heads, this means that there is an open relationship between the two parties, where the subordinate is able to challenge issues and contribute to debate and offer counsel. Where there is only one arrow, it suggests that the power in the hierarchical structure begins with the position that does not have an arrow head; rather the position that is the recipient of the arrow head would be the subordinate in that relationship. It does note that there is a relationship, but it is not equal. Appendix F shows a sophisticated, hierarchical structure of division of power, roles and responsibilities and limits core relationships to certain dynamics.

For example, the central branch's First Vice President has a reciprocal relationship with the Governor. The Second Vice President has no relationship with the Governor. This suggests that immediate orders or issues are relayed from Governor to First Vice President and then to the Second Vice President. The two Vice Presidents have a reciprocal relationship and open dialogue with each other, but the absence of direct contact with the Governor by the second suggests that there is greater power, authority and trust invested in the first Vice President.

The second Vice President does however have significant responsibilities. He directly oversees the central branch's recording officer, treasurer and public relations officer. Hence, while there is a difference in power between the two Vice Presidents, the first VP as well as the Governor must be able to trust the oversight the second VP has on three senior level positions in the organization.

Important to note is that the central branch's legal counsel has a reciprocal relationship with the Governor, but then has a more powerful relationship by direct contact and

recommendations ascribed to the central branch treasurer. Legal counsel also maintains regular communication with the central branch's advising director. The Governor discussed the importance of having two sets of counsel for an organization: one specifically legal, and the other a culmination of other contexts such as political, economic, and public relations.

There are three communications advisors appointed by the Governor. All three are directly overseen by the advising director. As it was described to me by the Governor, the advising director dictates policy directives through the trio and they help to pass that directive on to the three affiliate branch Premiers, who then in turn pass directives onto affiliate branch CEOs, who then include the directives in their affiliate agenda.

Affiliate branch Premiers serve as figurative governors of affiliate branch CEOs, helping to restrict their sovereignty and autonomy and ensure that the head branch's constitution and authority is adhered to. The Premiers have direct access to the central branch's first VP, who has direct access to the Governor. This suggests that by proxy, the Governor's authority is wide-reaching, and given that he appoints a significant portion of positions of relevance and greater power, the organization is described as operating effectively, efficiently and with continuity.

The purposes of the governing head branch are:

(1) To ensure the viability and sustenance of the wider body. Should one affiliate falter, the others should not have to be weakened because of its failure.

(2) To ensure that affording the affiliate sects significant authority and sovereignty over their jurisdictions is counter-balanced with sufficient authority accorded to the head branch. This is to ensure that individual affiliate branches be accountable to the larger body and be dissuaded to break apart from the wider body.

(3) To address specific concerns that affiliates do not have to deal with. Larger legal matters and relations with the political body, law enforcement and the legal realm are dealt with the authority of the wider governing body.

(4) To maintain a system of checks and balances to resolve disputes within and between affiliates. The head branch acts as an arbitrator to resolve disputes between bodies.

(5) To assist individual affiliates when they are in financial or structural peril. The wider body sees it as a necessary obligation to help its smaller units and maintain the viability and tenure of all affiliates within its Order. Individual units are seen as occupying different roles, each playing an integral part in the sustenance of the entire body.

5.3 Demographic Characteristics for Organization A

There was a definite correlation between age of organization members and the roles they occupied within the structure. Those that had the most prominent roles within the organizational structure were (i) older, (ii) the most educated and (iii) had the longest tenure as members in this sect and in other sects.

The oldest member within this sect was 54; he was the Governor. He believed that having veto power over votes will help maintain the original intent of the organization's constitution and preserve order and continuity. Both Vice Presidents were also in their early 50s. Nine of the other executive positions in the organization were housed by someone in their early to mid-40s. The exceptions were the legal counsel who was in his early 30s and one of the communications advisors who was in his mid-30s. There are 14 executive positions in Organization A; the remaining 15 are general members. All general members were in their mid to late 20s. Hence, with age came a greater likelihood of securing an appointed executive position (Personal Interviews, July 2011).

Figure 2: Age of Members for Organization A
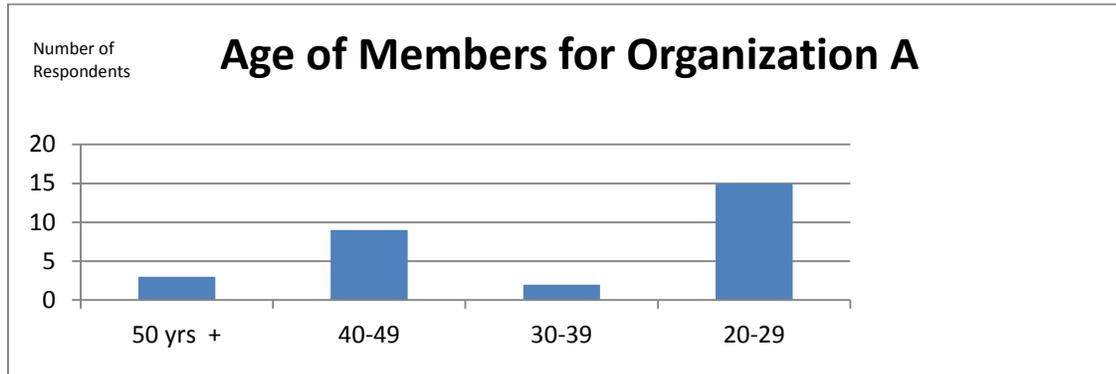
Every member of this organization was Anglican, except for two others who were Baptist. There were no Catholics in their membership, but many of the members spoke highly of Catholics, particularly traditionalist Catholics which comprised a significant membership of Organization D. Traditionalist Catholicism has been deemed to be a schism by the current Vatican; radical traditionalist Catholicism does not recognize the legitimacy of the current Vatican and the current papacy. Moreover, many of the themes of anti-Semitism were found within members who were in all four organizations including Protestants and traditionalist Catholics (Personal Interviews May-August 2011).

In terms of education, six members had a post BA degree, 17 had a college degree and two had attained a high school degree. In terms of careers, 12 were employed in white collar professions, six were business owners, four were blue collar workers and one was unemployed.

5.4 General Questions

With regard to general questions members interviewed were asked "*What is the reason you joined this organization?*" Twenty-two of 25 interviewed steered the discourse almost immediately to political and legal issues, which espouse tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory. Two appeared to emphasize both political and social issues. Only one gravitated exclusively to values, which espouse tenets of New Social Movement Theory.

Of the 22 who focused on political and legal issues, 17 specifically stated that they see the organization as a medium for change. For many of them, I had to probe further to determine what they meant by the concept of change and to provide specific examples. Since the question was one of the earlier ones, probes were necessary to get them to expand. Once the interviews unfolded, many of the interviewees felt more comfortable and elaborated with minimal prompting. Change, to all of the 17 involved specific and significant legislative changes. These had to do with issues of illegal immigration, strengthening laws pertaining to violent crime, tougher legislation for drug crimes and an ending of social programs like Affirmative Action, social assistance and '*Obamacare*' (federal changes to healthcare in the last year). Five of the 22 focused more exclusively on legal matters, arguing that the organization can build resources to both defend itself against civil litigation and mount offenses to challenge existing laws. Two of the five stated that an eventual constitutional challenge to abortion is warranted, and they see that as a viable long term goal.

Of the two that appeared to emphasize both political and social issues, both suggested that it was important to change values within society, so that there can be broader public support of their causes. One in particular did not like the social stigma attached to being a member of a far right organization because "*people shut you out when they hear that*" and it makes it difficult for members to have their concerns be seen in a legitimate manner. Both members suggested that for the organization to be more successful, it must broaden its membership base, convince more people to listen to their beliefs and values, and eventually use that support to translate into votes in areas where political ascendancy is more likely (e.g., school boards, City Commission). These two interviewees espoused areas of both Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory equally for this question.

Only one of the 25 suggested that the reason he joined the organization was to have the values of white nationalism and white separatism be promoted throughout society. He stated:

The country has allowed too much immigration, which has opened the doors for third world foreigners to come in at rates higher than any other time in the last 50 years. Not only do we have problems with legal immigration, but illegal immigration is becoming another issue. White pride needs to be a value instilled in our society. There needs to be separation of the races. We can't have inter-breeding of races because it destroys the white race genetically.

There was no mention of any political or legal concerns in his answer. This interview espoused areas specific to New Social Movement Theory.

When asked, "*What does your organization offer to its members? to society?*" all but four responded in similar fashion, gravitating toward the tenets of the afore-mentioned theories similarly. Four others gravitated toward a mixed methods approach, joining the other two who argued that there must be a medium for building collective identity through shared values and helping to promote these values to society. Through a strong identity from within the organization and more of society sharing their views, they would be in a better position to lobby for changes in politics and the law. My assessment is that 18 of 25 (or 72% of those that answered this question) gravitated exclusively to Resource Mobilization Theory; 6 of 25 (or 24% of those that answered this question) gravitated to both theories; and 1 of 25 (or 4% of those that answered this question leaned toward the exclusive tenets of New Social Movement Theory.

Figure 3: Organization A Answers to General Questions
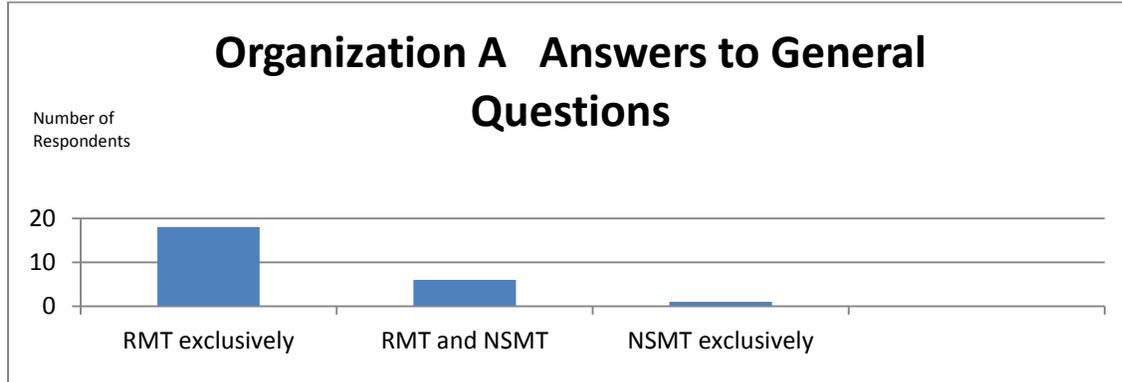
5.5 Political Questions (Resource Mobilization Theory)

Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory are very different theories which explain social movements through different foci. Proponents of both theories would agree that social movements are an attempt to change society and culture. The key differences lie within how a social movement operates, where the location of process occurs (e.g., institutional settings, social settings), and the short and long term goals the movement seeks to attain. Resource Mobilization Theory theorists argue that changes are adopted within the political realm and New Social Movement theorists claim that these changes occur within civil society (Edwards & McCarthy 2007; Kriesi 2007; Buechler 2000; Oberschall 1993; Klandermans 1992).

Resource Mobilization Theory explains social movements as being continuous meaning these movements do not flair up within culture, but constantly battle for change within the political realm. Resource Mobilization theorists place greater emphasis on the level of sophistication involved in the calculated strategies of the social movement working from within the institutional settings rather than working independent of the political sphere (Kriesi 2007; McAdam & Scott 2005; Zald et al 2005; Oberschall 1993; Klandermans 1992).

Another major difference between these two theories is where actors integrate themselves

in society. Social movements explained by Resource Mobilization Theory focus on system integration because they believe tangible changes can only be gained through institutional power in the political realm. New Social Movement Theory is very different when explaining integration within society. New Social Movement Theory integrates within the social realm and uses expressive actions to attain changes. New Social Movement theorists argue that cultural and societal changes can occur *without* institutional power (McAdam & Scott 2005; Zald et al 2005; Kane 1997; Hart 1996; Buechler 1995).

The first central question asked of participants was "*What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?*"

Eighteen of the 25 who were asked this question immediately cited political lobbying as an immediate short term goal to addressing change in policies they opposed. One of the members was quoted as stating:

> *Without having our members being elected to office, we have to rely on those that are there now. We expect that Republicans share conservative values, but not all do, and certainly not on all issues. They need to be constantly reminded that their position is limited and they can be thrown out of office if they don't listen to the interests of conservatives.*

Another member who saw political lobbying as a short term goal stated that it must be done quickly, efficiently and aggressively. He stated, "*They must come to recognize who we are and what and whom we represent. By having a strong organization and presence, they are reminded that we can help or hurt them in an election by campaigning for them or against them.*"

Seventeen of the 18 cited the Republican Party as the appropriate political party to lobby for; one suggested looking to third party candidates that might send a message in potential

election debates. This individual stated, "*Everyone knows third party candidates can't win. But they can make some candidates lose. The role of spoiler is one that a third party candidate has. He can be a threat to others. He can raise important issues in debates, ideas that politicians will realize are resonating with conservatives*."

Three others suggested running candidates in the City Commission to build political experience, gain name recognition and therefore build political capital and legitimacy to vie for a higher office later. One suggested launching legal challenges to the courts to try and have laws struck down. Hence, 22 of 25 people that answered this question gravitated toward tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory (political and legal issues and using the existing institutional system to seek short term goals). This translates into 88% of the respondents.

Two emphasized both political and social goals. One stated, "*You can't win public office if no one knows what your message is. We need to convince others of our ideas and then ask for their support to put pressure on politicians to do the right thing*." Only one member focused exclusively on the importance of building the membership base as a short term goal. He objected to the idea that political lobbying, or any political initiative would help the cause of the organization. He stated, "*They need to see numbers. We have 29 members and that isn't enough for anyone to take us seriously. We need to bring these numbers to at least a few hundred to show that we have support in the community*."

My assessment of Organization A's answers to the first question designed from the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory is that 22 of its members gravitated exclusively to features embedded within this theory (e.g., political lobbying to achieve short term goals). Two of its members focused on both political and legal issues, while only one focused exclusively on the

social components of expanding the membership base, shared meanings and building collective identity within civil society. A visual display of the findings follows:

Figure 4: Short Term Goals of Organization A
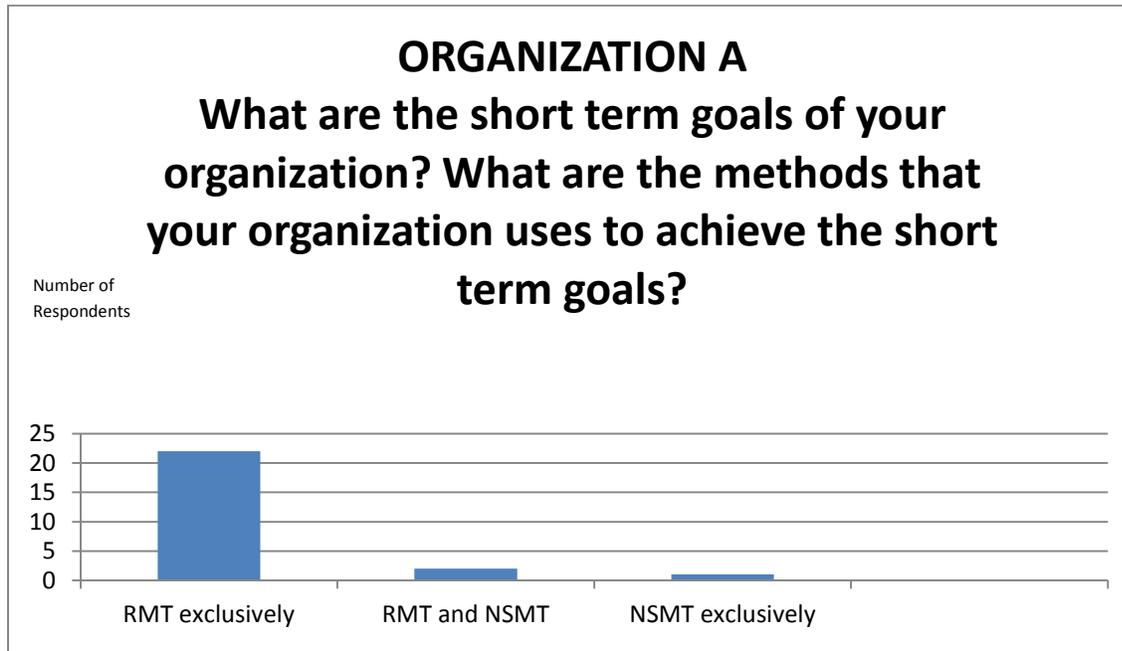
ORGANIZATION A
What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?

The second central question (along with a probe) for interviewees was "*What are the long term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve your long term goals?*"

Eighteen of 25 respondents went on to reiterate political lobbying as crucial, but see actual political mobilization as a long term goal. They believe they can run members through the local Tea Party for endorsement. Sixteen of 18 believe the Tea Party would embrace their colleagues and the values they share, along with the long term policy vision they hold. Three others who originally suggested running candidates in the City Commission to build political experience, gain name recognition and therefore build political capital and legitimacy, stated that long term their candidates could vie for a higher office later without outside coalitions. In fact,

they believe that the Republican Party would prefer to have candidates independent of Tea Party affiliation.

My assessment of this question is that Organization A deals almost exclusively with Resource Mobilization Theory issues on areas of long term goals. Twenty one of 25 respondents cited long term goals only as realizable through institutional channels and democracy. Eighteen suggested that the more extreme policies such as opposition to interracial marriage, opposition to illegal immigration, immigration reform excluding entry to nonwhites and Muslims are volatile topics and should not be discussed openly. Rather, all 18 stated concluded that issues more palpable to mainstream society can be realized. Some radical changes can occur long term according to them. Hence, it can be argued that political issues of Resource Mobilization Theory almost overwhelmingly better explains the movement on the basis of this question.

There were some contradicting views however. On this question, three members (one more than the previous question on short term goals) went on to focus on both political long term goals and social criteria. Three of them were uncertain as to how much success can actually be realized long term. One member stated:

> Even if we were to have someone get elected to Congress, what is one vote in the grand scheme of things? We can't even stop earmarks in Washington. They do that to have politicians vote on this to get some kind of money they can bring back to their constituents. Republicans have sold out their values for money for so long, to me their just political prostitutes in suits.

Only one person focused exclusively on value change and completely steered away from politics. He stated:

> Let's concentrate more on what we know can happen. We're more likely to see greater change by pushing for our values directly rather than having politicians do it. They haven't changed the laws on abortion since 1973. Are you telling me that there aren't enough conservatives on the Supreme Court to strike that down?

The latter was more cynical about political mobilization efforts long term, but although his opinion shows a contradicting viewpoint, the greater majority of Organization A's membership was consistent in its advancing its political long term goals. Hence, 21 members' answers to this question gravitated toward Resource Mobilization Theory exclusively, three gravitated toward both theories, and one member gravitated exclusively to the areas of New Social Movement Theory. A visual display of the answers to the second question is shown below.

Figure 5: Long Term Goals of Organization A
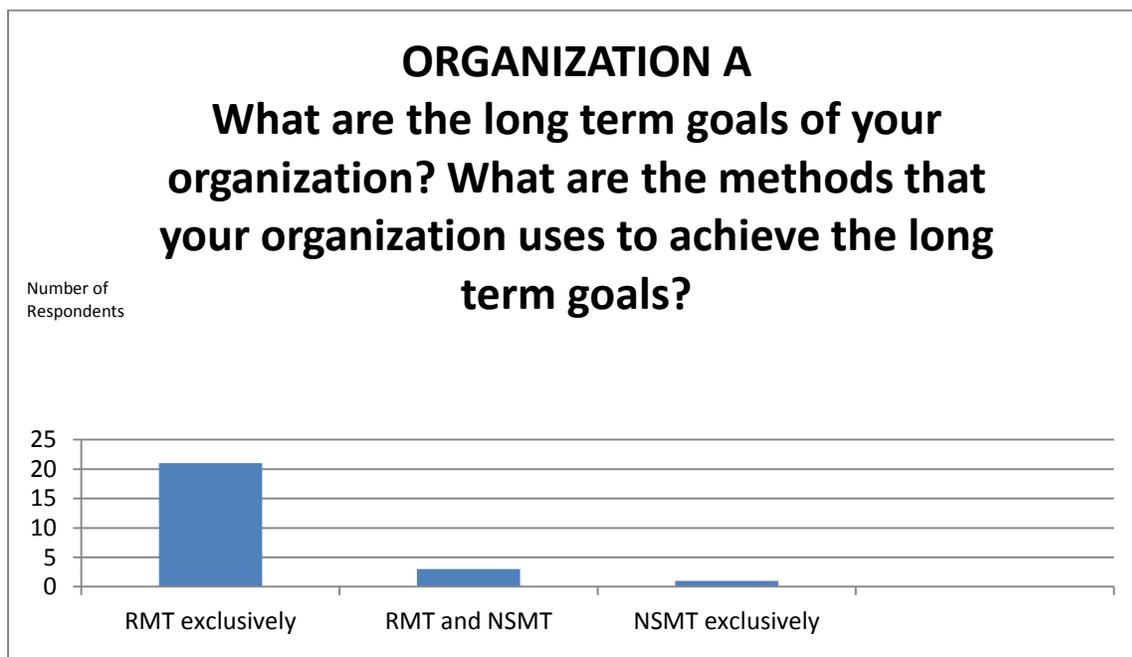
The third question that was asked was "*What is more important: short term or long term goals? Why?*"

Twenty-four of 25 respondents believed that long term goals were more important, and were worthy of extended sacrifice on the part of its members. However, 18 of them believed that building resources was crucial to embark on a long term mandate for political involvement.

Seventeen members cited the strong organizational structure they have, and rigid structure as ensuring the organization will have sufficient tenure to aim for longer term goals.

For example, all 24 members stated that their branch's affiliation with three other organizations allowed for pooled resources, which were being used to lobby to government officials, run candidates in city commissions and school boards, and funding political campaigns. They deemed these to be tangible areas of achieved success and long term goals to achieve greater success. As one senior member stated, "*When we know that one of our members has been elected, we know that our interests will be represented*." Fourteen senior members went on to state that having members represented at all levels of government (local, state and federal), they could ensure that there are fiscal and social conservative issues that would be addressed properly.

Only one person had a contradicting viewpoint. He stated that short term goals were more important than long term goals because the organization could not foresee what will happen in the future. Specifically, this member suggested that the organization concentrate on collective identity and marketing its views aggressively to others. He stated, "*Christian values, conservative values need to be promoted in our community. We can't be waiting for politicians to do it for us. We need to be vigilant in our approach, be clear as to what we stand for*." This individual saw identity building as a short term goal that can be more readily achieved than long term political initiatives.

The overwhelming basis for long term goals through political infusion is longevity and strength of the organization, issues directly emphasized by Resource Mobilization Theory. Hence, it can be argued that 96% of the sample answered this question espousing tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory and almost nothing of New Social Movement Theory.

Figure 6: Level of Importance of Short or Long Term Goals for Organization A
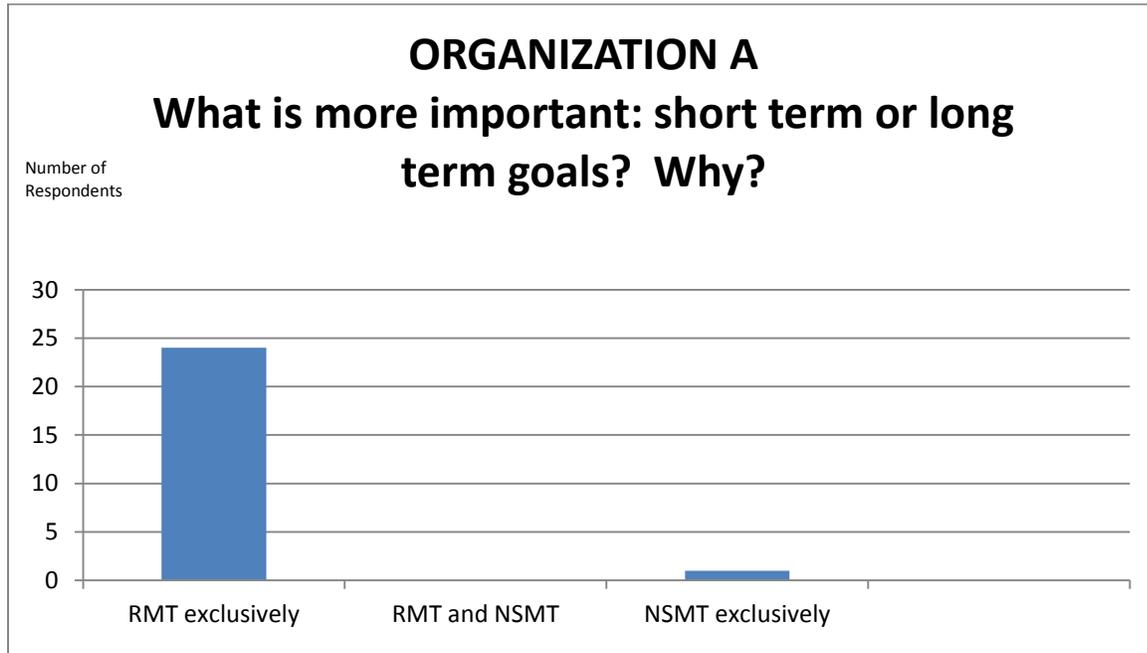
ORGANIZATION A
What is more important: short term or long term goals? Why?

Other questions that can be assessed collectively include "*How does your organization raise funds?*" and "*How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?*"

Organization A serves as a head branch and has three different affiliates. Its Governor stated that it has 29 members in its central branch, 22 members in its affiliate branch (Organization B), 26 members in is second affiliate branch and 27 members in its third. The total membership for all four sects is 104 members. Similar to Organization C and Organization D, membership dues are imposed. Members are expected to pay $35 bi-weekly or $910 per annum, amassing $94,640 annually. By way of statistical computation, that would amount to $946,400 over a ten year period.

The Governor states it is imperative to have all monies pooled to the head branch to ensure that the organization can defend itself and its affiliates against civil litigation. Similarly, it was argued that the money can be reinvested in buying and selling property throughout

Midwestern states. It was argued that sizable profits have been realized over a prolonged period of time, and these resources are now being utilized for political mobilization.

All members agreed that running candidates at local municipal and school board elections generally get less attention and have less resistance through competition. The availability of resources affords the central branch to strategize for all affiliates and recommend its members run for office at various positions. The Governor suggested specifically that City Commission and school board positions require minimal financial investment and generate significant return. They allow members who gain access to political ascendency to influence policy, albeit smaller but still argued to be important, and build recognition for future political endeavors.

Resource Mobilization theorists contend that the challenge for movements is to identify and take advantage of opportunities for action. The structure of political opportunities refers to the conditions in the political system that will either allow for collective action to be successful or repress it. Political systems may determine the range of facilitation or repression of collective action. To this end, RMT explains Organization A with regard to resource building and mobilization. Calculated gains are argued to be possible through precise political opportunities. Since all members of Organization A answered in accordance to the tenets of RMT and no variation exists, a visual chart is not needed.

Another question (with a probe) founded on the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory was posed to members of this organization. I asked them "*Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?*"

The answer by many members within this organization was unique in contrast to the other groups. Sixteen members argued that having more members contribute financially through membership dues expands the revenue base, enabling the organization to build its resources and

then be in a more advantageous position to run candidates, contribute to campaigns, lobby politicians and/or launch legal challenges. However, 15 argued that large memberships also bring diversity of opinion, different value systems and ultimately, conflict. Hence, all 16 of these members did not find the trade-off to be beneficial, or necessary. By having manageable membership levels, each branch is able to maintain consensus and objectives become clear.

Twenty two of 25 subjects agreed that placing greater emphasis on resources was more important than large numbers of members, but that resource building can occur through its current investment strategies. Two members suggested that raising the membership dues to $50 bi-weekly or $1,300 per annum would generate an additional $40,000 yearly. Most members felt that the dues paid were sufficient, but would pay an additional amount if the organization were to become more aggressive in running members as candidates in elections.

Three members had contradicting viewpoints to the majority. They contended that there was too much emphasis on resources, and complained that membership dues were so high that they we considering leaving the organization. They suggested that allowing for new members to join is more important because they believed larger numbers in an organization allow the movement to flow. While it was conceded that there were three other affiliate branches, which essentially expand the overall social movement's numbers, two of the three stated they had never even met members of other affiliates. Hence, there was no sense of shared values, relationship building or collaboration on projects. They felt a strong disconnect. To this end, these three members show elements conducive to New Social Movement Theory.

New Social Movement Theory argues that the organizational structures of new social movements differ significantly from those of traditional formal organizations such as political parties. They are described as loose networks of democratic organizations that allow *unlimited*

membership and part-time or short-term participation.   There is less formal division or hierarchical positioning of leaders and followers, members and non-members and goals and ends (Buechler 2000; Offe 1985). The emphasis on resources over large membership suggests that most members of Organization A parallel the issues endemic with Resource Mobilization Theory rather than New Social Movement Theory in this area.

For this question, 22 members' answers gravitate toward the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory while three contradicting views show elements of New Social Movement Theory. A chart below demonstrates the findings:

Figure 7: Organization A's Priority between Resources and Volume of Membership
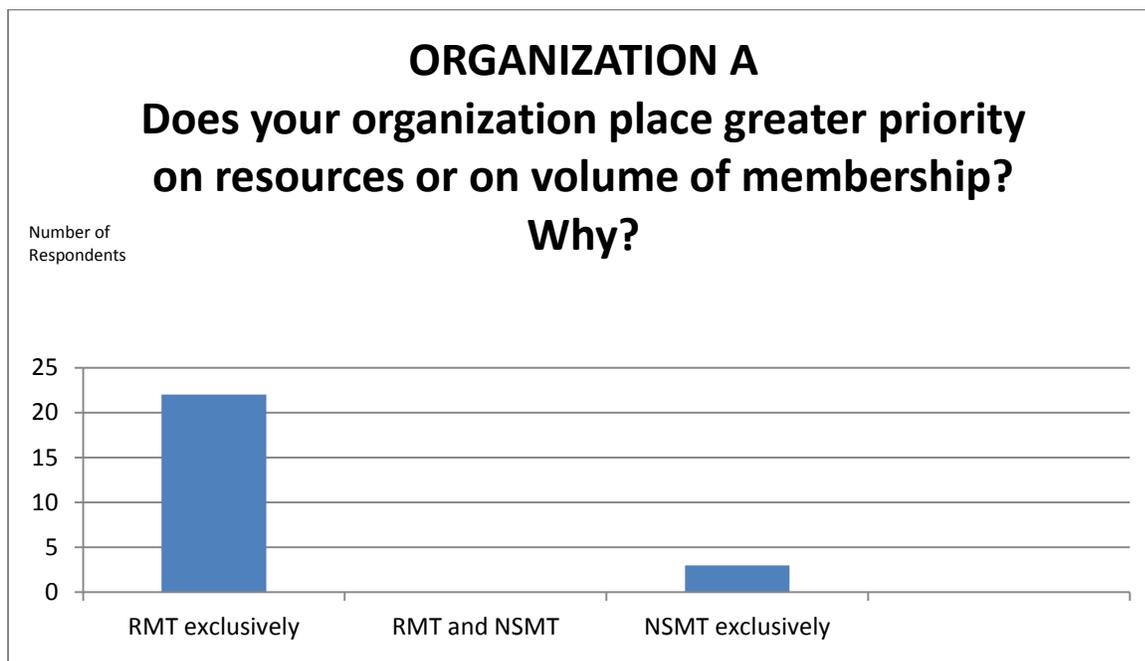
5.6 Social/cultural issues (New Social Movement Theory)

The first question relative to New Social Movement Theory asked to interviewees was: "*What importance do values have for your organization's agenda?*"

Organization A members all believed that values were embedded within their group's agenda. As one subjects stated: "*All laws are created from moral principles.*" He suggested that

the two cannot be separated. Hence, all 25 members stated uniformly that collective identity is built through shared values within the organization, and is needed to maintain consensus.

Twenty of 25 specifically focused on pro-life values such as opposition to abortion and euthanasia. When I prompted to ask if they considered the death penalty, 18 of the 20 chose to respond and all stated that they were in favor of the death penalty and that it did not conflict with their pro-life positions. Seven of them went on to quote Paul in Romans that essentially provides biblical legitimacy for the State to enforce capital punishment. Eleven of the 25 specifically brought up the Terri Schiavo case to provide a case example. Another stated that Democrats further the cause of abortion, sodomy, same sex marriage, euthanasia, interracial marriages, illegal immigration and socialism.

All but two members specifically cite religious identity as the premise for their value systems. Seventeen of them argued that Judeo and Islamic religions have brought competing interests and value systems, and have used the political, legal, economic and societal systems to impose what they deemed to be socialism onto society. Two in particular used the phrase "*identity politics*" to describe how the Democrats, supposedly led by Jewish elites, are using minorities as marketable commodities to win elections, and impose a "*liberal morality to Christian society.*"

When it comes to values, two important themes were identified. The first is usage of religious identity to justify moral decisions, and second is religious identity to justify intolerance. This was particularly true with their accentuated disdain of Judaism, and to some extent, Islam.

Goodwin et al (2007) apply a cultural approach to emotions in social movement theory. They contend that emotions can be analyzed with the theoretical and methodological processes as values and morality. They argue that emotions are simultaneously creative and conventional,

playing significant factors in social movement creation and sustenance. Emotions operate at multiple phases, including (i) being responsible for making certain legitimate motivations for protest, reinforcing group loyalties (Hirsch 1990), (ii) building collective identity through pride (Gould 2001), trust (Jasper 1997), and through affective loyalties (Goodwin et al 2007), and (iii) retaining its commitment from members by calming fears when confronted with challenges from within and outside of the movement (Goodwin & Pfaff 2001).

My assessment of this question is that for Organization A, particularly when it comes to reinforcing values and building collective identity from within the organization, New Social Movement Theory is well applied. This was found to be specifically applied to every member that was interviewed. However, one must examine this also in the context of what was originally argued by one member, that morality and law cannot be separated. If that is correct, then members would use shared values to forge collective identity and what they do with that next will matter more.

A prominent characteristic for New Social Movement Theory is that new social movements are located within civil society. New movements emerge from and sustain themselves within civil society and are not entirely concerned with challenging the state directly (Melucci 1981). This does not appear to be the case here. In many of the other questions, relative to Resource Mobilization Theory, Organization A specifically outlines strategy for resource building and eventual mobilization to in part, impose its morality (or values) onto law. To that end, one can argue that both New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory are represented equally in this area. Hence, for this question, all 25 members emphasize features endemic in both theories. Since there was no variation in answers a visual display is not needed.

Another question (along with a follow up) relative to New Social Movement Theory was asked to the membership: "*How do you define success(es)? Can you provide some examples of some of the successes of your organization (short term and/or long term)*?"

Given that Organization A is a head branch that has three affiliates, it was found to have defined success(es) somewhat differently than the others. First, 17 members stated that through membership dues and aggressive investing strategies, the organization makes between $100,000 and $150,000 per annum. This was described by its very nature a clear mark of success. It affords the organization capital to re-invest and maximize its profits further, be in an advantageous position to defend itself and its affiliates against civil litigation, and it positions itself for political mobilization at opportune moments because of its resources.

Twenty-two members stated that the very nature of its rigid and conservative structure (refer to Appendix F), the organization helps to maintain order and consensus between members. It also is able to effectively influence and control affiliate branches without being physically present in different regions. According to four members, the fact that three affiliates voluntarily are connected with the head branch and operate in unison with it is examples of successes for the organization.

Eighteen of 25 respondents went on to reiterate political lobbying as crucial, but see actual political mobilization as a long term goal. They believe they can run members through the local Tea Party for endorsement. Sixteen of 18 believe the Tea Party would embrace their colleagues and the values they share, along with the long term policy vision they hold.

Three others who originally suggested running candidates in the City Commission to build political experience, gain name recognition and therefore build political capital and

legitimacy, stated that long term their candidates could vie for a higher office later without outside coalitions.

Two stated that there are already resources allocated to help the campaigns of two that will vie for city commission seats and four school board seats across the Midwest. The organization's Governor stated that he believes the organization has the resources to back the political campaigns of several at the state level and will consider working with the local Tea Party to partially form an alliance to assist in campaigns. He stated that the Tea Party wants to begin organizing and becoming more actively involved at the state and local levels.

There were 22 members altogether that were readily able to identify movement success. This pales in comparison to its affiliate branch (Organization B) which only had 13 members able to identify some form of attained success. The finding suggest that the head branch controls the direction and application of political mobilization for itself and its affiliates, and that most of the social movement's successes have come about through the central branch's initiatives. Hence, its mobilized efforts and gains were readily identified by almost 90% of its members.

Three members did not claim to have any forms of success because they defined success as expanding the membership base. They emphasized the importance of large membership and identity formation, and having a forum for dissent. The rigid structure of the organization was argued to be resistant to change. Hence, my assessment is that 22 members gravitated toward tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory while three others gravitated exclusively toward the social elements of New Social Movement Theory.

One specific drawback to New Social Movement Theory is how it defines social movements. Social movements are seen primarily as a radical opposition between themselves and the political realm. They see a clear division between civil society and the State. This

definition is based on the fact that its entire focus is on the cultural dimension of new movements and their contention that it is only in civil society that social movements can thrive. Since there is a clear separation from the political dimension, New Social Movement theorists restrict any analysis of a connection between civil society and the State, or between movements and political reform (Buechler 2000; Canel 1992; Klandermans 1992).

To this end, views expressed by most members of Organization A with regard to successes, resources and political mobilization were more heavily pronounced. The very nature that New Social Movement Theory argues that social movement pull themselves away from institutional channels eliminates any argument that it operates strictly within the social-cultural realm. It can be argued that for how members define and identify successes that the organization gravitates toward Resource Mobilization Theory. A visual display of findings follows:

Figure 8: How Organization A Defines Success
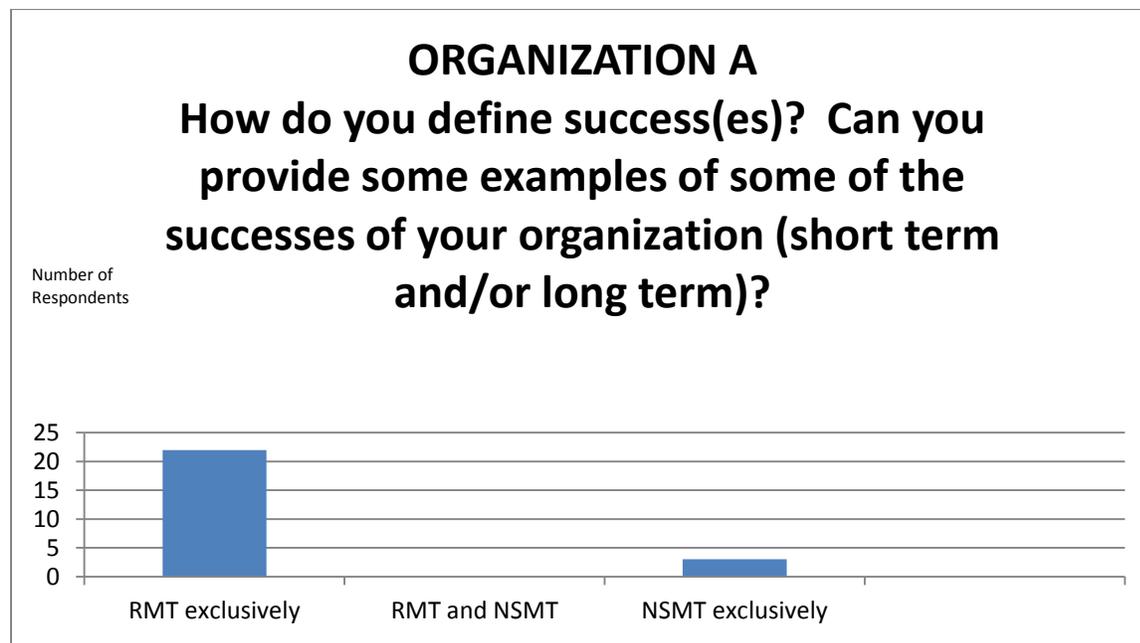
In terms of questions "*What roles do members serve in your organization?*" the answers appeared to replicate themselves with others such as "*How common is it that members disagree*

with one another? If there is disagreement, how do members resolve their differences?" Hence for the purposes of data analysis I collapsed the answers into one category since in every case the data was relatively the same.

Organization A cited a highly complex and sophisticated organizational structure. Twenty of 25 members stated that they have never witnessed insubordination. Two others stated that disagreements sometimes take place but it is usually between top levels of authority or between affiliate branch Premiers.

All members of this organization stated that the organization was hierarchically structured, one which was formal and where each member had an assigned role by virtue of his rank in the order. Those that were in higher positions in the hierarchical structure of the executive branch had a more favorable view of the organizational structure and roles members occupied, while all members in the general membership saw their possible ascendency to the executive as a measure of potential success and privilege.

Refer to Appendix F. If there are differences of opinion, the rotating chairs (chair and two alternate chairs) must agree unanimously before any sanctions are imposed. There are no appeals to any sanctions handed out. One member stated that the ultimate sanction would be revocation of membership status. However, he has never seen anything like that occur in the five years he has been there.

The Governor's strongest relationships are with the central branch's First Vice-President and its legal counsel. Those are the only two positions that allow for a reciprocal democratic and informal relationship with the highest authority in the organization. Where arrows show two heads, this means that there is an open relationship between the two parties, where the subordinate is able to challenge issues and contribute to debate and offer counsel. Where there is

only one arrow, it suggests that the power in the hierarchical structure begins with the position that does not have an arrow head; rather the position that is the recipient of the arrow head would be the subordinate in that relationship. It does note that there is a relationship, but it is not equal. Appendix F shows a sophisticated, hierarchical structure of division of power, roles and responsibilities and limits core relationships to certain dynamics.

For example, the central branch's First Vice President has a reciprocal relationship with the Governor. The Second Vice President has no relationship with the Governor. This suggests that immediate orders or issues are relayed from Governor to First Vice President and then to the Second Vice President. The two Vice Presidents have a reciprocal relationship and open dialogue with each other, but the absence of direct contact with the Governor by the second suggests that there is greater power, authority and trust invested in the first Vice President.

The second Vice President does however have significant responsibilities. He directly oversees the central branch's recording officer, treasurer and public relations officer. While there is a difference in power between the two Vice Presidents, the first VP and the Governor must be able to trust the oversight the second VP has on three senior level positions in the organization.

By way of examples expressed by members of Organization A, and through Appendix F, the reader can determine that dissent is minimized by the very nature and design of the organizational structure. The hierarchical structure of unequal relations, the formal structure and limitations of contact between certain parties maintains an order that not only appears to be undemocratic, but authoritarian in nature. Its level of sophistication, clear assessment of roles and responsibilities and its emphasis on structure and organization allows for greater tenure. It

can be argued that for these questions, RMT better explains this area of the social movement. Since there was no variation in answers, a visual display chart is not presented.

5.7 Organization B

Interviews with this organization were conducted in July, 2011. They were conducted over the course of three weeks. It was for difficult to arrange multiple interviews in one day, and this necessitated me to make six different trips.

Organization B is one of three affiliate branches within the Midwest of the central branch (Organization A). Although the interviews comprise of samples from all affiliates, the fact that I secured ones from both the head branch and one affiliate branch offer intriguing analyses. Appendix G accounts for a visual display of the organizational structure of Organization B, the affiliate order. The reader can appreciate the complexity and sophistication of the organizational structure. In it, there are nine senior positions of an executive body and a full board of directors which comprise nine directors. There were 22 members in this organization; 21 of them participated in the study. With nine executive positions within the inner council, and nine members on the board of directors, this leaves only four general members. This is a fascinating discovery because the organization appears to offer status to most of its membership through ascribed roles, but appears to limit the amount of its membership base. The interviews showed that the organization does not appear to hold large volumes of membership to be of critical importance; rather, many of its members agreed that the numbers should be kept to a minimum to ensure greater collective identity and consensus.

It should be noted that the head branch does not see affiliate branch Premiers (see Appendix F) to be members of the affiliate branches. Rather, they serve as traveling executives

that oversee the internal dynamics of the affiliates, and more specifically hold direct oversight to the respective affiliate branch's CEO.

5.8 Organizational Structure

The Chief Executive Office within the affiliate branch (Organization B) holds the highest status of governance within the body. The individual is appointed by the central branch's Governor. Tenure is limited to the next appointment by the Governor. This suggests that since it is not an elected position, the authority of the CEO cannot be challenged by its broader membership. It also can continue indefinitely, unless the central branch's Governor decides to unseat the affiliate CEO and appoint another.

The affiliate CEO has a reciprocal relationship with the organization's president. This position is an appointed one, as are all others within the organization. The CEO's greatest authority is discretion of appointments. In his description of organizational dynamics that helped form the visual model, it can be deciphered that the CEO also has a reciprocal relationship with the organization's treasurer. There is another reciprocal relationship with the organization's legal consultant. Any other immediate delegation of mandates is passed along through others. For example, the organization's president has a superior relationship to that of the organization's vice president. The vice president thus, takes directives from above, and does not have the organization's constitutional authority to dissent from such. The vice president also serves as the organization's acting spokesperson at meetings and in any contacts with outsiders (e.g., media). He maintains a reciprocal relationship with the organization secretary. The secretary attains directives from the organization's treasurer.

There are three specific consultants in the executive council for Organization B. The first, already described, is the legal consultant. He consults directly and only with the CEO over

organization matters; hence any legal matters are privy only between them, and if required of them, to the affiliate branch Premier who may turn that upward through the head branch's organizational structure (see Appendix F).

The second organization advisor is an internal one. Here, the individual maintains a reciprocal open relationship with the treasurer, and another with the chair of the board of directors. Internal advising includes matters relative to resources, membership obligations, maintenance of order and structure, and strategies for mobilization (e.g., political involvement, lobby, etc.). The organization's external advisor, the third consultant maintains regular dialogue with the organization president. This suggests that the CEO, who oversees and has an open relationship with the president, maintains direct influence over matters of what happens externally. The external advisor offers consultation over matters of the organization's involvement in political, legal, economic and social issues that in turn affect the group.

Organization B has a chairperson for their board of directors. This individual maintains regular contact with the internal advisor, who has a direct relationship with the organization's treasurer, who is in closer proximity to the CEO. This suggests a hierarchical but very complex connection of influences that funnel down to the board of directors. The directors, who comprise nine seats and more than double the entire lot of remaining members, hold separate meetings from the executive council. They are given organizational information through the board chair. They pay annual membership dues that contribute to the organization's resources, but do not vote on any of the organization's mandate.

Appendix G shows a visual display of the organizational structure of Organization B, the affiliate branch of Organization A. The CEO is the supreme ruler of the affiliate branch. The Governor of the head branch Order appoints him. His tenure is limited to the next appointment

by the Governor. Most of the members stated that one of the manners in which the organization maintains stability is that loyalty is rewarded in a number of manners:

(i) being appointed to a position within the wider Order

(ii) being appointed to a position of affiliate branch Premier

(iii) being appointed to a position of CEO

(iv) being appointed by the Governor to a position within the head branch

(v) being promoted to a senior and more influential position or rank within head branch

(vi) ensuring that your position is protected (tenure)

(vii) honor of being recognized as having a good reputation within sects

While the former six are tangible gains, the latter reward is one that is given just as much merit and prestige. Hence it can be argued that longer-serving members are more likely to maintain, appreciate and enforce hegemony within the sect, across sects and within the governing larger body (Personal Interviews, July 2011).

5.9 Demographic Characteristics for Organization B

There was a definite correlation between age of organization members and the roles they occupied within the structure. Those that had the most prominent roles within the organizational structure were (i) older, (ii) the most educated and (iii) had the longest tenure as a member in this sect and in other sects. The oldest member within this sect was 51; he was the CEO. He claimed to have been affiliated with numerous sects since the late 1970s and denounced most of them as being disorganized, open to corruption and infiltrated with whom he termed undesirables (the ignorant, the violent and the disloyal). Nine members were in their 40s, five members in their mid to late 30s, and six were in their early 20s. It was evident that Organization B's membership was older (with most above the age of 30) than other groups. This age cohort was similar to

most of the groups I have interviewed. It is rare to have members over the age of 40 in most organized far right organizations. It they are older, they tend to occupy senior positions of influence and prestige within the movements (Personal Interviews, July 2011).

Figure 9: Age of Members for Organization B
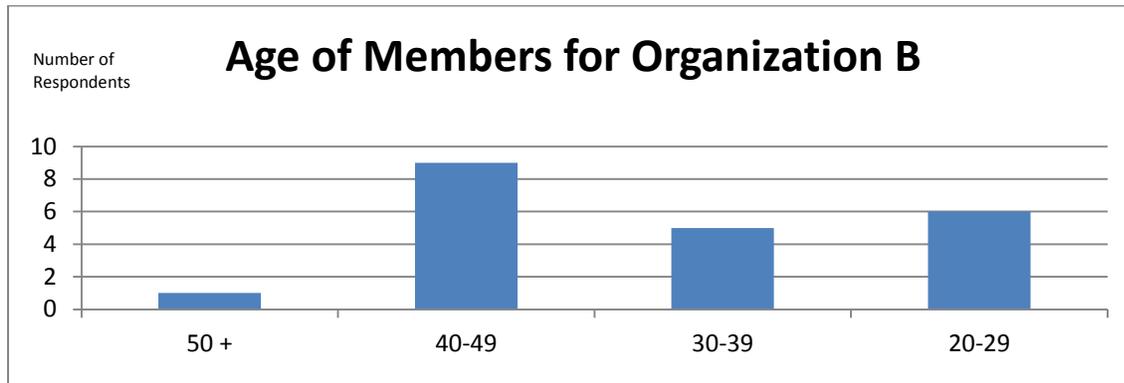
It was interesting to note that there were three Catholics and one atheist in the affiliate branch. The three Catholics were in the general membership and did not occupy any designated roles and the atheist served as member of the board of directors within the sect. All other members were Anglican. Similar to Organization A, most members had favorable views of Catholicism. Of those that did not make comments about Catholicism, it should be noted that they acknowledged the religion as an integral partner within Christianity and against Judaism and Islam. Most of the rhetoric against Jewish-Americans is almost identical to those of all three other far right organizations that I interviewed. Similar to the others, they avoided making any comments about African-Americans unless it was in the context of identifying them as victims within a "*Jewish-controlled*" society (Personal Interviews, July 2011).

With regard to educational attainment and education, Organization B strongly correlated that of their head branch cohorts. Most had a higher level of educational attainment and most were employed in the private sector. Three members attained a post BA degree. Twelve members were college graduates. Three members had obtained skilled trades diplomas from

community colleges. Three members had attained a high school diploma as the highest level of education. As for occupations, six we employed in white collar professions, 11 were business owners, three were blue collar workers and one member was retired.

Several of them held me in suspicion, were particularly cautious in how they answered some questions and then were very elaborate on others. Some became visibly agitated with a particular issue of contention, tending to raise their voices slightly and use a lot of foul language to accentuate their disdain of issues and targeted groups (e.g., Jewish-Americans).

I found this passive-aggressive dichotomy to be particularly intriguing. In the interviews I have conducted with this organization, I found the interviews with some of the junior members of this organization to be rather challenging. Senior members were much more articulate, less emotional and much more consistent. Some junior members would sometimes contradict earlier statements from earlier questions. When they realized they might have done this during one of their emotional discharges, they became particularly uneasy with the interviews.

While I cannot be certain as to why they behaved in such a manner, I attribute it to a number of factors. First, many of the junior members are recent adherents to the organization, having joined in the last one to two years. I do not believe that they all share the same level of contact and consistency in both rhetoric and ideology with the senior members. Second, some of the junior members appear to be focused a few issues of contention, with race being more of a concern for them than with the older members. It may be that the reason they are part of this organization is because of the relationships they share with relatives within the group. The third factor is that they are simply not as mature as the seasoned veterans within the organization. How they react to questions may be completely different once they endure more time spent within the movement and gain more experience.

Unlike Organization A which is the head branch, where members tended to agree on political affiliation, there was some disagreement among Organization B affiliate branch members. Fourteen of the 21 members interviewed described themselves as devout Republicans, while the remaining seven were strongly entrenched in the Libertarian Party. The Republican sector saw this political affiliation as the only legitimate and credible medium to secure conservative values and ideals. Those that voted Republicans did so because of the political party's traditional stand against high taxation, abortion, euthanasia, welfare and homosexuality. They applauded the alleged long-standing commitment to the Christian right, private business and tougher crime bills and legislation.

The libertarians tended to recite verses from the Michigan and United States Constitutions and showed concern for the erosion of civil liberties under the former Bush administration and the current Obama Administration. The libertarians were also critical of Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke who they claim has helped devalue the American dollar and jeopardize the economy. What was interesting is that the Republicans tended to applaud former Republican administrations but did not endorse former Republican President George W. Bush and his administration. One member noted:

> *Bush sold himself as a libertarian in the primaries, and won significant support on those principles. But he went on to become one of the biggest tax and spenders in American history. He drove up the national debt. He expanded bureaucracy, State power, and put the economy in ruins.*

5.10 General Questions

All members conveyed particular concern with the Anti-Terrorist legislation (the USA Patriot Act) enacted by the current Republican administration. The strongest antagonism was directed at former U.S. Attorney-General John Ashcroft. Nine members went on to state that Ashcroft had severely limited civil liberties with the legislation. Sixteen of the 21 members were

extremely critical of the FBI while all members strongly condemned the IRS. Eleven members claimed that influential Jews control almost all of the Democratic Party, much of the Republican party, the FBI, the IRS, most universities, most of the legal realm (lawyers and judges), and most of the media. Thus, it was contended that they have inordinate control over most aspects of power and influence (Personal Interviews, July 2011).

When asked the goals of the organization were, 13 of 21 members alluded to the main branch (Organization A) which has two lawyers as members and one affiliate organization member in another state that wants to run under the Republican banner in the next federal election. Most of the libertarians were heavily involved with the Libertarian Party. All seven Libertarians said they would only vote libertarian unless there was no libertarian candidate. In this event, the Republican Party was seen as the lesser of two evils. What was evident was that all members despised the Democratic Party.

Thirteen of 21 members saw political issues as directly linked to their goals. These included lobbying to political officials, using appellate courts as integral to defending Constitutional rights, attracting higher educated individuals, and possibly helping fund candidates to help enact conservative legislation as effective mediums to secure organization ideals. These members see politicization as a more effective medium to create change in society than through expressive action. However, eight of the 21 members focused importance on other goals such as promoting values of white separatism and white supremacy, as well as pro-traditional family, anti-homosexuality and pro-life issues. One member stated: "*Homosexuality and abortion have perverted societal values. Instead of promoting marriage between a man and a woman, families with parents, society now has queers, lesbians and child killers redefining morality for the rest of us.*"

While the 13 respondents' answers to this question gravitate toward the political features of Resource Mobilization Theory, the eight responses from the others appear to contradict the features of RMT and are better explained by New Social Movement Theory. The latter specifically focuses on meanings and shared values, and the building of collective identity within the subculture.

The biggest differences I observed between Organization A head branch and Organization B affiliate branch is their *commitment* to politicization. While the libertarians among the sect were extremely knowledgeable about the political and legal systems, the Republican sector was *less informed* about *specifics* within these two important realms. Unlike their head branch counterparts who have a clear, concise and dedicated plan for politicization, Organization B affiliate branch is much more passive. Most members seem to be waiting for specific mandates from other sects within the Order or from the governing wider Order in lieu of taking specific initiatives. My assessment of this affiliate branch is that they seem to acknowledge that politicization is not only essential but also the only manner in which right wing ideals and values can be legitimized. However, they seem to lack the *initiative* or perhaps the *ability*, to make gains to getting closer to the political realm.

One manner in which they are making significant changes is by focusing on other issues of concern that the political and ideological right can concur with. Without the far right moving much further to the ideological left, they cannot attract support from the mainstream and neo-conservatives. Organization A (the head branch) is much further advanced in this sophistication that Organization B (the affiliate branch). It is uncertain if this consistent across the other two affiliate branches because they were not interviewed. To know this for certain, it would require

the research to interview them to determine if they are at more advanced stages of politicization or similar in nature.

My assessment based on general questions answered by members of Organization B is that 13 of 21 of its members (or 61.9%) exclusively answered in terms of the political elements espoused by Resource Mobilization Theory. One member emphasized elements of both theories. Seven others answered exclusively on social/cultural issues found to be within the context of New Social Movement Theory. A visual display is offered below:

Figure 10: Organization B Answers to General Questions
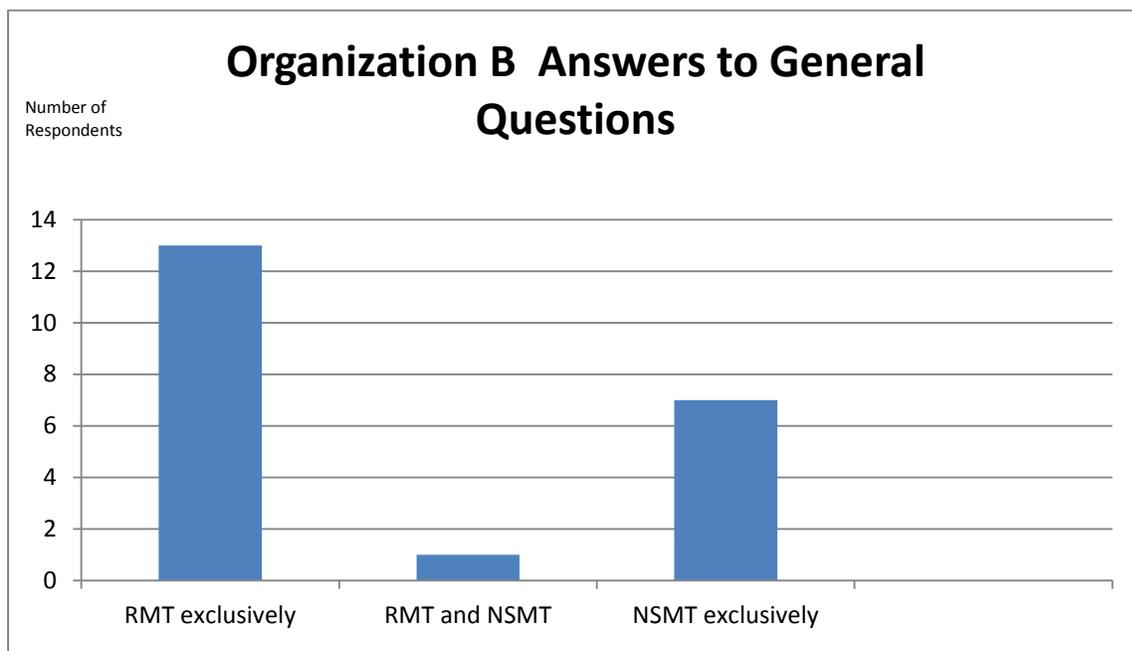
5.11 Political Questions (Resource Mobilization Theory)

The first central question asked of participants was "*What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?*"

Twelve of the 21 who were asked this question immediately cited political lobbying as an immediate short term goal to addressing change in policies they opposed. Sixteen of the 21

argued that getting involved with political campaigns at local levels would be a good short term goal for the organization, but 13 of them suggested the organization does not have the experience to actually run candidates. Fourteen suggested that helping with strategizing, printing press releases and delivering election brochures and signs would be manners by which short term goals could be realized. As one member stated:

> *You can talk about values until you are blue in the face, but the only time they really count is when someone's ass is on the line in an election. You can work hard at talking about proper values in election brochures, when campaigning when it actually counts. But you can also work hard at knocking off your opponents when it actually counts too. It's a small window, small time frame. But that is when you can gain a lot really quickly.*

Ten of the 21 cited already prior experience with direct involvement in political campaigns at the federal level. Twelve were involved at the state level. All of these features involve strong organizational dynamics; clear strategies intended to mobilize the organization to penetrate the political sphere in some capacity.

Four members stated they had no experience in politics whatsoever, but thought it might be a viable idea that the organization should emphasize working on promoting its ideology. They shifted emphasis on what they did feel would work. One member stated, "*I don't know anything about politics. (Name redacted) keeps mentioning it as a goal, but I don't see how that will change anything. If you want short term goals, you have to change things yourself out there.*" One member stated he wasn't interested in politics at all; to him what mattered more was to convince others to join the movement.

My assessment of this question was that 16 of 21 interviewees cited either experience or willingness to become actively involved in political infusion. There were differing views when it came to how they believed short term goals should be realized but 76.19% shifted to issues relative exclusively to Resource Mobilization Theory. Five of the 21 (or 23.81%) focused

exclusively on changing value systems, issues paramount in New Social Movement Theory. A visual display of the findings follows.

Figure 11: Short Term Goals of Organization B
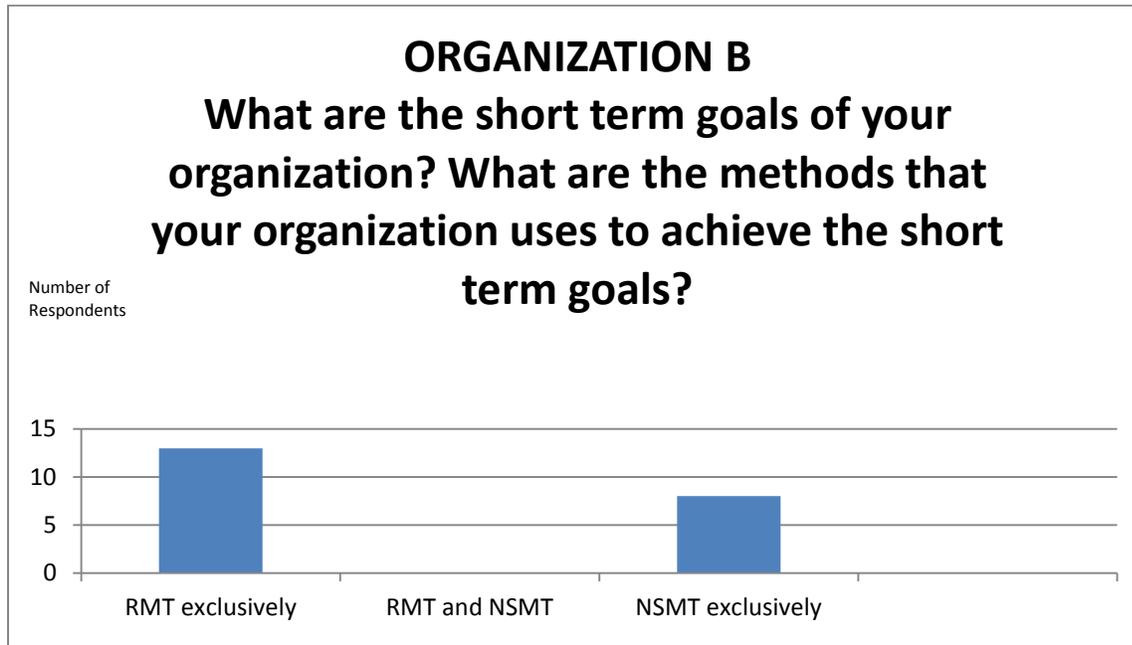
ORGANIZATION B
What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?

The second central question (along with a probe) for interviewees was "*What are the long term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve your long term goals?*"

While 13 members discussed political lobbying and helping campaigns of conservative or libertarian candidates, 10 of them agreed they did not have enough experience running candidates in an election. Eight of 21 (or 38%) of the sample went on to focus on rebuilding values within society as more manageable mediums for change. There was a definite split here with the membership pertaining to age. The senior members appeared to have more knowledge and experience about political matters, strategies and short and long term goals in comparison to their junior members. Further, the seven libertarian subjects appeared to resist trying to promote value systems in the wider society and focus on political mobilization only. One argued that

"trying to win over the masses is an exercise in futility. Just make change happen, and the ignorant won't know what hit them."

My assessment of this question is that there is a divide between experience and stronger libertarian principles and the less experienced, younger conservatives in Organization B. When confronted with long term goals, many of the younger members were unable to either envision or commit to a political agenda, in part because they were uncertain or somewhat confused by the process. As a result, they turned somewhat to New Social Movement Theory tenets and retreating back to civil society where goals can be more readily managed.

All younger members focused on social issues, ideology and values as long term goals of the organization. One member stated, *"We need to stop the spread of homosexuality in this country. It's disgusting. They need to be shunned, not tolerated, not accepted. We need to win back America."* Another member who had contradicting views from the majority that leaned toward political issues exclusively stated that socialism was the country's biggest threat: *"We have a community organizer wanting to spread communist ideas and turn this into a European faggot society. The reason he is so successful is because so many people believe in letting government run our lives."* I found this interview to be particularly intriguing because although the he saw politics (or the government) as an agency of power and injustice, he did not feel that vying for political influence as many within Organization B want is a long term goal. Rather it was argued to be a societal shift in values that only its members can bring about.

As a result, I would argue that for this question on long term goals, Organization B can be described as leaning more so on Resource Mobilization Theory by a somewhat larger margin. Thirteen of 21 members (or 61.9%) espoused elements of Resource Mobilization Theory, while eight (38.1%) focused largely on the social issues found in New Social Movement Theory. An

important demarcation can be made here. For the first time, we see a dramatic shift in orientation on the part of Organization B's members in two manners. First, there are a larger number of adherents that lean toward elements of New Social Movement Theory when compared to Organizations A, C and D. Second, it shows a marked difference in how it compares to its head branch. This demonstrates that a potential loss of sovereignty/autonomy being an affiliate has dissuaded members from seeing political mobilization as an effective strategy to realize long term goals. Fifteen members specifically expressed dissatisfaction as being an affiliate branch insofar as they are dependent on the head branch for direction.

Figure 12: Long Term Goals of Organization B
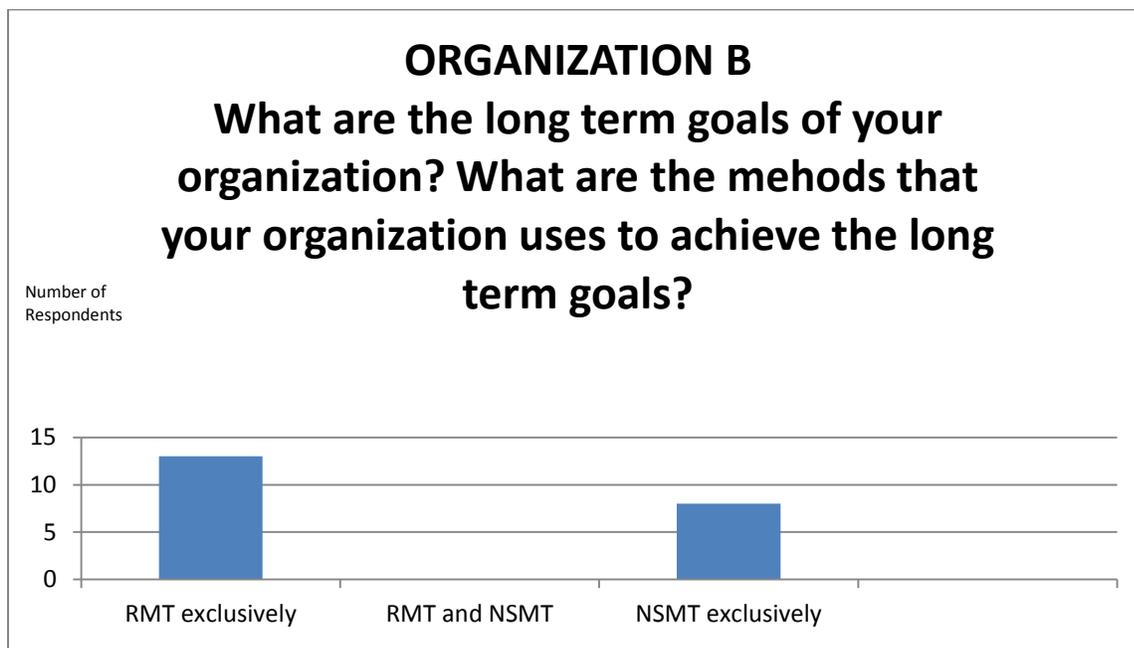
ORGANIZATION B
What are the long term goals of your organization? What are the mehods that your organization uses to achieve the long term goals?

The third question that was asked was "*What is more important: short term or long term goals? Why?*"

The same process occurred at this juncture. More experienced members, senior members and libertarians within the sample argued long term goals through political mobilization are of central importance. Thirteen of 21 of its members (or 61.9%) exclusively answered in terms of

political elements espoused by Resource Mobilization Theory. Long term goals are indicative of social movement organizations that utilize political mobilization. One member stated, "*We'll support our head branch to get good conservatives elected. They intend to run younger conservative candidates in city commission elections and school boards first*." This indicated a systematic, long term plan to get younger members elected to lower levels of public office, build name recognition, garner political experience and then vie for higher levels of political office.

Short term goals are indicative of social tenets of New Social Movement Theory. Those were expressed by eight of its members, principally the younger and less experienced ones. They appeared to have minimal interest and knowledge about political issues. All eight saw short term goals, particularly ones that seek changes to public opinion as being something the organization should be responsible in doing. One member stated, "*The more people's views change the more they will come to understand our organization. If more people begin to think like us, the more influence we will have in our city*." When I asked what he meant by the concept of influence, he stated that conservative ideology, particularly on moral issues, was needed to defend traditional values such as marriage between a man and a woman, and pro-life positions. Another who stressed social issues in lieu of political ones suggested that garnering enough popular support on the issue of pro-life could "*make abortion doctors' not want to kill babies in our city*." Another member stated that protesting businesses that actively support homosexuality was a way in which tolerance of sexual minorities could be diminished as a short term goal.

My assessment based on general questions answered by members of Organization B is that 13 of 21 of its members (or 61.9%) exclusively answered in terms of the political elements espoused by Resource Mobilization Theory. Eight others answered exclusively on social/cultural issues found to be within the context of New Social Movement Theory. This

sharp divide in ideology creates an intriguing revelation. Organization B is thus, the most splintered in terms of its views, with two thirds of its base showing political orientation, and one third gravitating in an opposite ideological perspective: the social.

Figure 13: Level of Importance of Short or Long Term Goals for Organization B
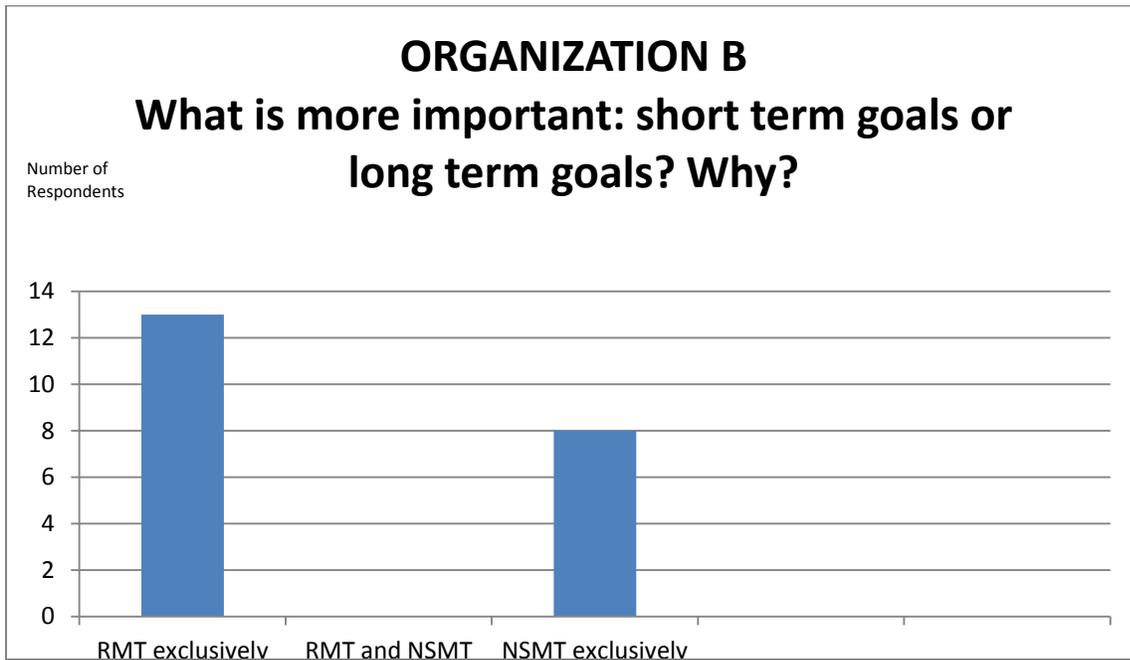
Other questions that can be assessed collectively include "*How does your organization raise funds?*" and "*How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?*"

As an affiliate branch, Organization B offers all of its membership dues, estimated to be $20,000 each year directly to its head branch, Organization A. This system was described by 11 of its members as "*an insurance policy.*" Thirteen members stated that the money serves as a guarantee that there will be financial protection, legal representation if needed, and restitution in the event of a member becoming incapacitated or unemployed. In the event of the latter, payments are made to the member's family, albeit small, to augment whatever income is generated by the individual elsewhere (e.g., unemployment or disability insurance).

Thirteen members stated that money is also allocated to help run affiliate candidates at the city and school board positions if needed. The availability of resources thus, serves to protect the affiliate branches' viability and allows for potential political mobilization. Eight members were aware that the organization's resources were sent to the head branch, but none of these members knew precisely what the money was used for. Eighteen members stated that by the very nature of this system, there is a loss of autonomy and sovereignty. I found this to be true with about one third of members within the affiliate branch. They were not as specific and clear about short term and long term goals, and were uncertain about the viability of political infusion due to members' limited to no experience in this regard.

By virtue of proxy, suggesting that they commit to investing significant personal money and redirecting it to their head branch (Organization A) for a broader purpose, suggests that resource building and management serve specific and important functions for the organization. The only difference is that the money and decisions that are made with such resources rest with the central branch. This is a unique feature of far right organizations, particularly in comparison to the four that are being studied. The assessment is that importance resources are given, and the commitment to voluntarily allocating such resources to the organization, strongly suggests that the elements of Resource Mobilization Theory are heavily present in this regard.

My assessment is that while 18 members assess that there is a loss of sovereignty/autonomy on their affiliate branch because resources are redirected to the head branch, all members continue to pay membership dues. To this end, all subscribe to the importance of resource building, elements found in Resource Mobilization Theory. However, only 13 members knew what the money was being specifically used for, while eight members had no understanding of how resources were utilized for specific short and/or long term goals. It

can be argued that for this question, 13 of 21 of its members (or 61.9%) exclusively answered in terms of the political elements espoused by Resource Mobilization Theory. Seven others answered exclusively on social/cultural issues found to be within the context of New Social Movement Theory. The following illustrates a visual display of findings:

Figure 14: How Resources are used by Organization B
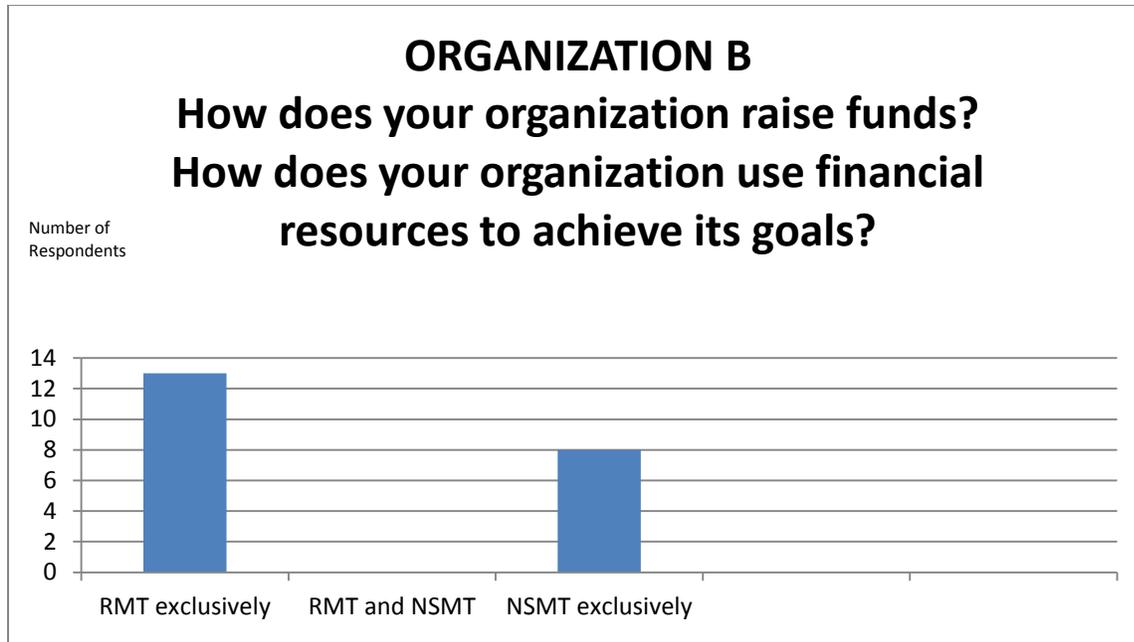
ORGANIZATION B
How does your organization raise funds?
How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?

Another question (with a probe) founded on the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory was posed to members of this organization. I asked them "*Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?*"

By the sheer collective of affiliation rather than as an autonomous entity, many of Organization B's members do not have very strong or stable opinions on such matters. Again, the more experienced, senior and the libertarians within the group were clear that resource building was both a necessary and strategic component for political ascendency and legal leverage to challenge laws. Hence, 13 of the 21 members in Organization B stated that resources play a greater priority to volume of membership. However, seven of them stated that the affiliate

branch does not even have jurisdiction over opening up its own membership, as the head branch ultimately decides who and how many new members can join the affiliate branch.

Important to note is that all six members in their 20s and two members in their early 30s suggested that although the organization places greater membership on resources, they believed that it should be volume of membership that is held in greater reverence. Seven of the eight specifically stated that without additional membership, the movement is unlikely to be able to promote its values to the wider society. When probed for further information, six of the eight members conceded that if given a choice in influencing the organization's policy, they would eliminate membership dues altogether, and allow for new membership. It is argued that only 13 members placed resources ahead of volume of membership, while the other eight members placed volume of membership ahead of resources. Hence, we again see an ideological divide unseen in comparison to Organizations A, C and D. Organization B members seem to espouse polar views where 61.9% of them lean toward elements of Resource Mobilization Theory and 38.1% of them lean toward tenets of New Social Movement Theory.

Figure 15: Organization B's Priority between Resources and Volume of Membership
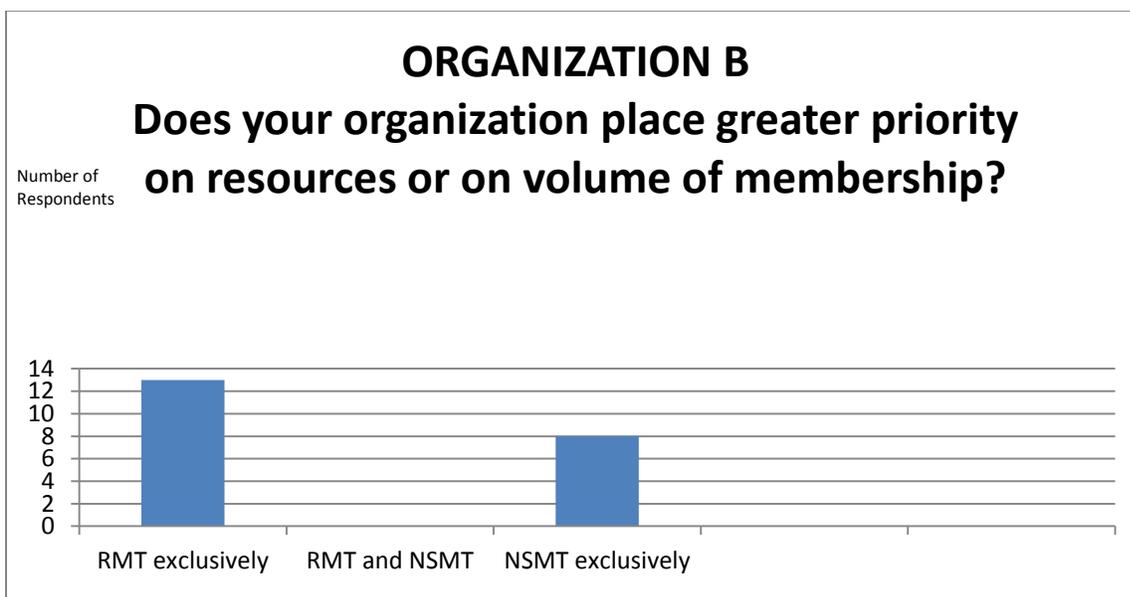
5.12 Social/cultural issues (New Social Movement Theory)

The first question relative to New Social Movement Theory asked to interviewees was: "*What importance do values have for your organization's agenda?*"

Once again, there was an ideological divide between more experienced, senior and libertarian subjects in comparison to younger parties. About two thirds of the organization suggested that values are important because membership is contingent on having similar values with others. Members are expected to practice values of respect, trustworthiness, ambition, sacrifice and reverence to fellow members, Caucasians and Christians. They are also expected to be pro-life on issues of abortion and euthanasia. All members stated they have consensus on value systems of what they oppose. All but two stated specifically that morality governs their opposition to competing values. Fourteen stated that homosexuals and intermarriages between races and across religions are immoral, and opposing such issues brings moral justice back to society.

About two thirds specifically highlighted how political mobilization would be able to afford members greater influence in voting on potential issues that involve areas that focus on their morality. Hence, for two thirds of the members, values appear to build collective consciousness and are motivating factors in wanting to *politically mobilize* or *challenge laws* constitutionally through the courts.

New Social Movement Theory suggests that there is direct separation between the movement and the political structure. This distance is seen as a condition of the movement's success because the political structure cannot exercise influence and control over it. As a result, collective control of the movement's development is maintained (Opp 2009; Diani 2007; Buechler 1995; Turner & Killian 1987; Melucci 1981). The very nature of gravitating toward

the political realm brings about two thirds of the group toward Resource Mobilization Theory in this area. There is some gravitational pull toward New Social Movement Theory which would be identifying members embedding themselves directly into civil society rather than institutional channels. My assessment is that Resource Mobilization Theory explains most members of Organization B in this regard, but not all. There were eight in particular (specifically all those in their 20s and two in their early 30s) who appeared to be gravitating away from the political and to the social-cultural.

Figure 16: Importance of Values in Organization B's Agenda
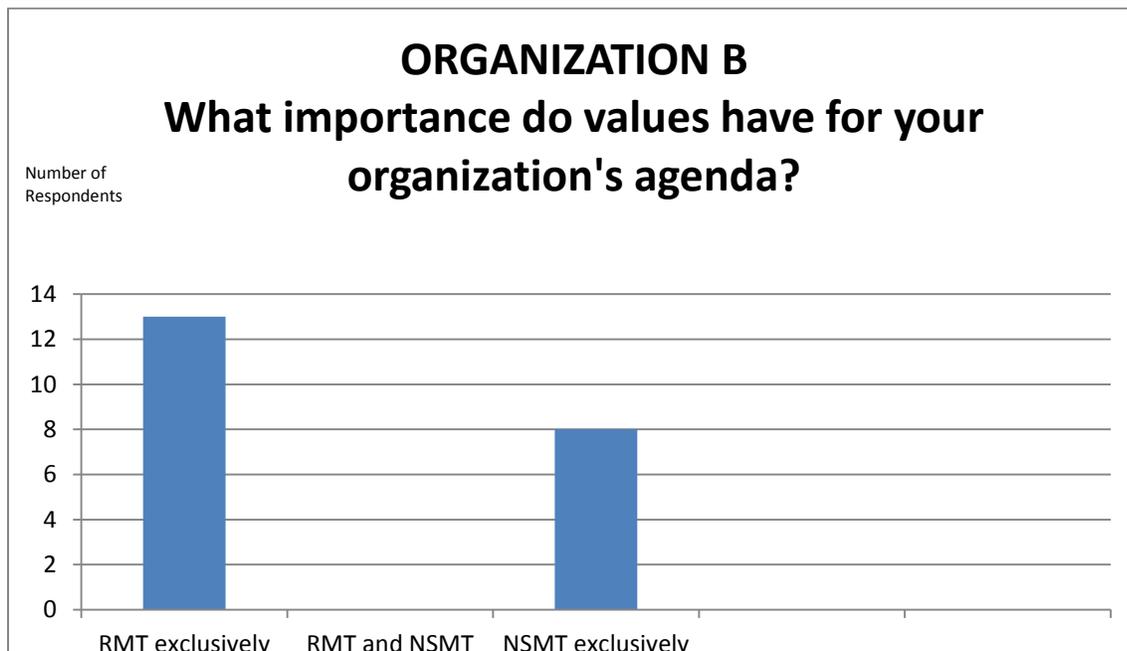
Another question (along with a follow up) relative to New Social Movement Theory was asked to the membership: "*How do you define success? Can you provide some examples of some of the successes of your organization (short term and/or long term)*?"

Similar patterns were able to be observed with this organization. I was able to conclude that senior members, more experience members and libertarians which comprised two thirds or 13 of 21 of the membership (1) concentrated heavily on political and legal issues and (2) had a

multi-faceted agenda in issues of contention. However, they could not list specific tangible gains made by their organization. The younger members (eight of 21) tended to have less knowledge, or at least what appeared to be less of an interest in, the political and legal systems. As a result, they had difficulty answering basic questions such as the ones posed, particularly when asked for specifics. Six of the eight could not answer the question. Two of them stated that success involved building collective identity within the group.

Members of the affiliate branch showed limited identification of successes. Eighteen of its members complained of a lack of autonomy that limits its ability to set its own unique short and or long term goals, strategies and ability to build its own resources. Eight of the senior members cited the organizational structure and effective leadership they provided, as well those of the head branch. Four senior members also cited amicable relations with other affiliate branches as successes. However, there appeared to be no clear identification of successes.

There was a lot of cynicism on the part of the younger members. Six in particular stated they couldn't think of one concrete example that would illustrate a short or long term goal. For this question, eight members stated that the only successes they organization can truly claim is shared values with its members. Many of the members argued that much of the organization's calls for political lobby, legal challenges, plans for political mobilization are not dependent on the affiliate branch, but at the whim of the head branch. Hence, it would be the head branch that would have to define and identify successes because they retain greater control over them.

Clearly, the dynamics of unequal parties contributes to varying perspectives. However, the fact that not one member was able to clearly substantiate a definitive short or long term success of its own organization suggests that while at least two thirds of the organization's membership may want to engage in political mobilization, the argument made by the other third

of the membership is that it either is not able to follow through from strategy to mobilization, or it is rendered organizationally impotent because of its affiliate status to a head branch. The latter suggests that Organization B cannot engage in unilateral action without the authorization of Organization A.

One could probably more likely argue that for this question, it is more likely to parallel New Social Movement Theory. My assessment with regard to gravitational pull toward social movement theories is that two thirds hold a specific institutional channel model as a way of measuring success, whereas one third of the membership that comprises younger and less experienced parties, the organization itself is a form of success. New Social Movement Theory argues that the organization is, in its very form, the message (Kane 1997; Hart 1996; Alexander & Smith 1993; Melucci 1985). Hence, it can be argued that two thirds of the membership gravitates toward Resource Mobilization Theory for this question, and one third parallels the tenets of New Social Movement Theory. The following chart shows consistency across many of the questions posed to Organization B members.

Figure 17: How Organization B Defines Success
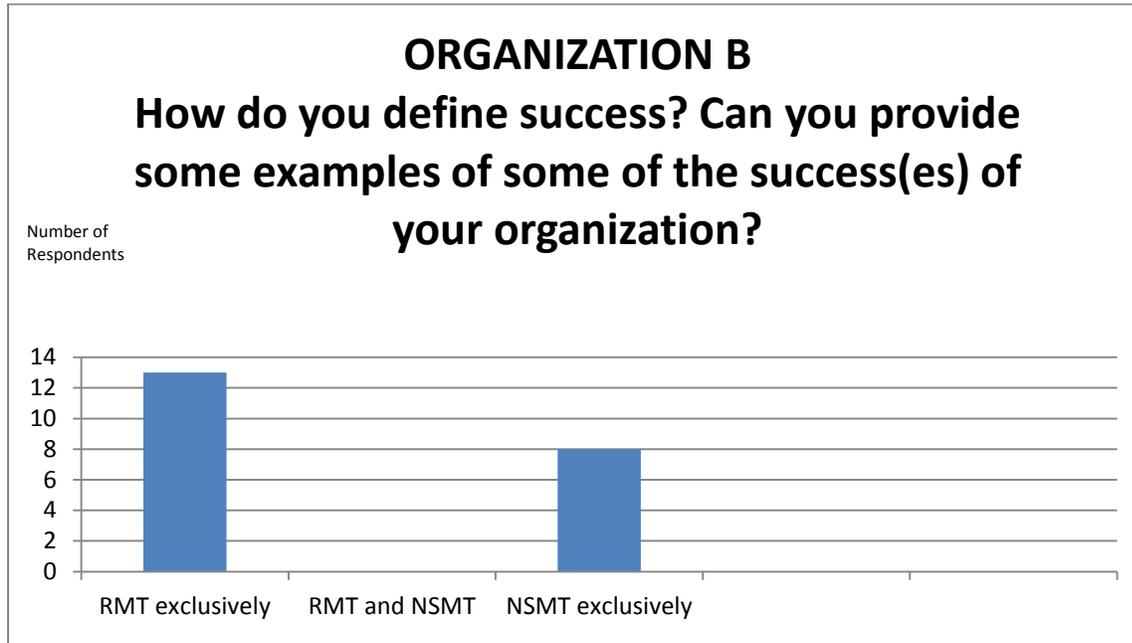
ORGANIZATION B
How do you define success? Can you provide some examples of some of the success(es) of your organization?

In terms of questions "*What roles do members serve in your organization?*" the answers appeared to replicate themselves with others such as "*How common is it that members disagree with one another? If there is disagreement, how do members resolve their differences?*" Hence for the purposes of data analysis I collapsed the answers into one category since in every case the data was relatively the same.

Organization B cited a highly complex and sophisticated organizational structure. This has been the case for all four organizations. The very nature of their structures makes it difficult for differences of opinion to ferment because the relationships are unequal, and therefore forms of dissent could be viewed as insubordination.

The Chief Executive Office within the affiliate branch (Organization B) holds the highest status of governance within the body. The individual is appointed by the central branch's Governor. Tenure is limited to the next appointment by the Governor. This suggests that since it is not an elected position, the authority of the CEO cannot be challenged by its broader

membership. It also can continue indefinitely, unless the central branch's Governor decides to unseat the affiliate CEO and appoint another.

The affiliate CEO has a reciprocal relationship with the organization's president. This position is an appointed one, as are all others within the organization. The CEO's greatest authority is discretion of appointments. In his description of organizational dynamics that helped form the visual model, it can be deciphered that the CEO also has a reciprocal relationship with the organization's treasurer. There is another reciprocal relationship with the organization's legal consultant. Any other immediate delegation of mandates is passed along through others. For example, the organization's president has a superior relationship to that of the organization's vice president.

The vice president thus, takes directives from above, and does not have the organization's constitutional authority to dissent from such. The vice president also serves as the organization's acting spokesperson at meetings and in any contacts with outsiders (e.g., media). He maintains a reciprocal relationship with the organization secretary. The secretary attains directives from the organization's treasurer.

By way of examples expressed by all 21 members of Organization B, the reader can determine that dissent is minimized by the very nature and design of the organizational structure. The hierarchical structure of unequal relations, the formal structure and limitations of contact between certain parties maintains an order that not only appears to be undemocratic, but authoritarian in nature. Its level of sophistication, clear assessment of roles and responsibilities and its emphasis on structure and organization allows for greater tenure. It can be argued that for these questions, Resource Mobilization Theory better explains the organizational dynamics of

the group, and the roles they occupy within it. Since there was no variation in the answers, a visual display chart is not presented.

5.13 Organization C

Interviews for this organization took place in May, 2011 over four days and three separate trips. This organization was founded in 1975, exactly two years after *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision that gave constitutional protection for abortion. Its founding members, discontented with the powers of the federal government and the perceived activist agenda of Supreme Court Justices, formed an organization to oppose policies that they purport to abridge constitutional rights and liberties. As of May, 2011, the organization has enjoyed tenure of 36 years, making it one of the oldest organizations in the Midwest.

5.14 Organizational Structure

Refer to Appendix H. The dynamics of the organizational structure of this group were slightly different from the others insofar as they had a rotating leadership process every three years. However, the sophisticated and authoritarian hierarchical structure, similar to the other three, was still fairly evident. The Chair assumes leadership of the organization every third year, despite if the current leader is popular or not. One criterion of interest is that the rotating chairs must be a founding member, and appointed to chair by founding members only. This is particularly intriguing because while the process secures leadership closer to its original founding and policies, its leadership also is limited to a core few and they are the elders within the organization. Unless the organization changes its constitution (something all four organizations had), then it is quite possible that membership will not be able to challenge for leadership, and current leaders will eventually pass on. This seemed to be a prominent issue of concern for some of the younger members during my interviews with them.

The chair assumes leadership but maintains an equal and reciprocal relationship with the other two alternate chairs. The word alternate is used because in the event that the chair becomes incapacitated, an alternate would assume his position. The organization's legal advisor is the only position that has unfettered access to all three chairs, enjoying open communication and consultation over legal issues. The legal advisor must have legal expertise (e.g., an attorney, a paralegal, etc.), have legal experience or knowledge that can be useful to the organization. Here, the legal advisor brings skills, which account for resources for the organization. Not only do the services provide valuable protection for the organization, but it limits the amount of money it would have to extract from group's financial coffers to outside counsel.

The legal advisor also had open communication with the organization's financial advisor and political advisor, suggesting that the group's emphases include matters of legal, economic and political importance. The financial advisor must have financial expertise, experience or knowledge in economic issues and the political advisor must have the same credentials for political foci. However, while the legal and financial advisors have open communication with each other, the financial and political advisors do not have the same relationship with each other. This suggests that the organization wants the legal component of advising to perhaps oversee both financial and political entities.

With respect to other areas of the organization, the communication director serves a role of strong communication and computer skills. The rotating chairs have direct oversight and are in a superior position over communications director, as well as research officer and internal director. Hence, the chair and his alternates dictate mandates directly to these three positions (refer to Appendix H). This is indeed different than in the other three organizations, where top leadership funnels down their mandate through other executive subordinates to reach further

subordinates. This may denote some, albeit small, form of democratic dynamics, or at least more open relations.

The research officer must have strong research and computer skills, demonstrating along with the communications director, a need for proficiency in internet and computer related matters. The internal director is directly responsible for new members and overseeing general membership. The internal director maintains the "*heart of the operation*" as was described by one member in the interviews, insofar as he has direct contact with, and spends a significant portion of his relationships and communication with the general membership.

General members were accounted as ones that attend meetings and events. They have active participation in group initiatives. They also offer financial contributions but do not vote on matters relative to the organization. Only the inner executive votes on issues. This process has limited level of democracy, along with a rotating chair dynamic, but is only relatively more democratic in comparison to its other three counterparts within this study. Organization C still maintains a rigid, hierarchical system of unequal roles, responsibilities and power.

There were 18 members involved in this organization. All 18 agreed to be interviewed. There are nine positions within the executive. Nine of its 18 members are executive title holders; the other nine occupy positions in the general membership.

With regard to age, Organization C holds the longest tenure of all groups at 36 years, 23 years longer than its next counterpart. As a result it was found that it also had the oldest membership. Ten of its members were in their 50s, five of them were in their 40s and three of them were in their 30s. The youngest member was in his mid-30s, and there were no members in their 20s in this organization (Personal Interviews, May 2011).

Figure 18: Age of Members for Organization C
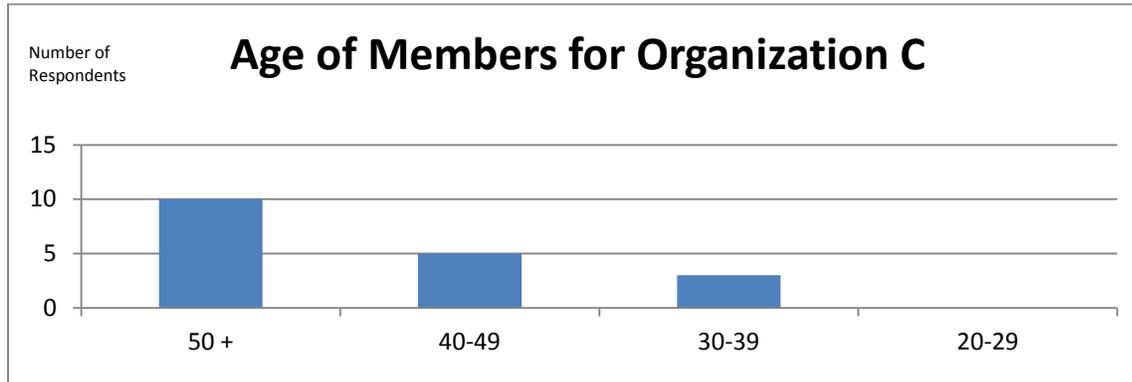
Every member of this organization claimed they believed in Creativity. Creativity is considered a central shift in radical right wing ideology insofar as there is a divide between Christian traditionalists and pure racialists. The former accept Christianity as a central ideological theme in its far right dogma and provides the justification for intolerance (e.g., opposition to homosexuality, anti-Semitism). The latter identifies biology or race to be nature's true religion. Almost all members stated that fundamentalist Christians and evangelicals were advocates of paganism, and "*puppets of Israel*." Many emphasized in particular evangelicals' recognition of Jews as the chosen people of God to be evidence that they cannot be true Christians. To that end, they argue that Christ, who supposedly came to offer salvation would by extension mean that a higher being (God) has relieved Jews of the notion of being the chosen people. This would mean that Christians would be the chosen people.

I found this to be particularly intriguing because for all intents and purposes, Creativity is not a Christian religion. Yet, they use Christianity as a manner by which to demonize Judaism. Many of them suggested that if evangelicals were truly Christians, they wouldn't "*cater to the Jews*". Catholicism was not held in much higher regard, other than some grudging recognition of traditionalist Catholics who "*got it right by severing themselves from a child molesting papacy*" (Personal Interviews, May 2011)

With regard to educational attainment, there was more of a divide within the membership in this area. Only two members had attained post BA degrees, while five others had college degrees. Ten of its members had a high school diploma and one member refused to answer the question. By way of contrast, Organization C had the fewest number of college educated members. With regard to occupations, five of its members were employed in white collar professions, three were business owners and 10 were blue collar workers.

5.15 General Questions

When asked what the reason was that they joined this organization, 15 of 18 members stated that it provided a manner by which changes can be accomplished. 17 members stated that pooling resources was essential to have the organization become effective in realizing its goals. Fifteen stated that the principal goals of the organization was to push for changes through aggressive lobbying, writing letters to the editor locally and nationally, and challenging laws through the courts. Two members emphasized the political elements of RMT, but also discussed opposition to abortion and homosexuality, as well as defense of traditional marriage were areas where the organization could help promote through shared values.

With regard to criteria for membership, all 18 members stated that the organization was not taking new adherents, and has not had a new member for several years. Fifteen of the members stated that the exclusivity of the organization has helped strengthen it. Eleven of them stated that by keeping the organization small, they would be more able to control the actions of the membership and ensure that the organization's strategies can be better implemented. Three members expressed concern about not allowing for new membership. One member stated, "*The leaders of the group do not like change. They see new members as possible threats, they don't trust outsiders. But if we had new members, that would mean more dues coming in, and that*

means we can do more things." That member's emphasis on gaining new membership was to attain new revenue which in turn could be used to mobilize politically or legally. The other two members who had concerns with closed membership stated that it was integral to have more people join so that the values of the organization can be promoted.

When asked what the organization offers its members and to society, 17 of 18 emphasized that the organization is able to lobby against government regulation and unfair laws. One member emphasized that the organization allows for political and legal actions, as well as promoting its ideology to the local community.

My assessment of this organization based on the general questions is that 17 of 18 members (or 94.44% of its base) emphasize features of strong organization, limited membership, building resources and political and legal mobilization, features endemic in Resource Mobilization Theory. Only one of the 18 members could be argued to see the cultural aspects of the organization's role to the wider society along with the political and legal objectives. As a result, it can be argued that one member held views of both theories.

Figure 19: Organization C Answers to General Questions

Organization C Answers to General Questions

Number of Respondents

| | RMT exclusively | RMT and NSMT | NSMT exclusively |
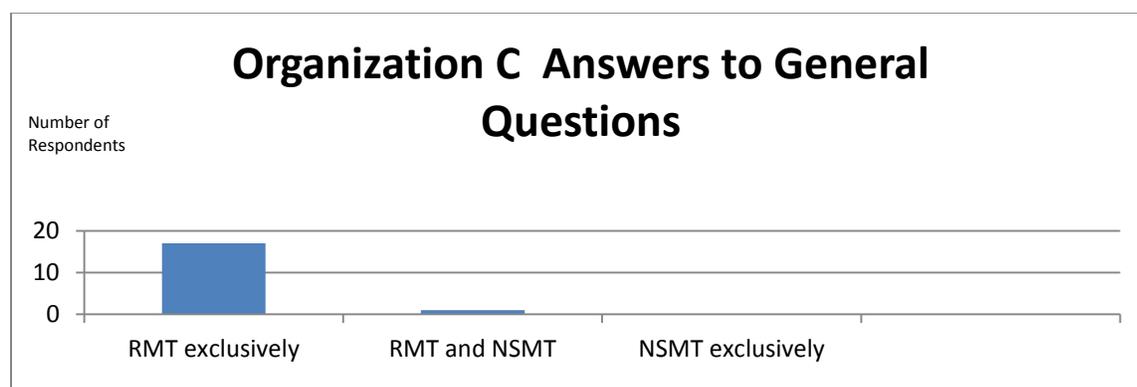
5.16 Political Questions (Resource Mobilization Theory)

The first central question asked of participants was "*What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?*"

Seventeen of 18 members focused on constitutional matters immediately, as well as espousing strong opposition to the federal government and what they perceived to be a liberal activist Supreme Court. One member went on to state, "*At the core of any goal we must ask ourselves, does the Constitution apply to it? We need to remind those in power that even law is subject to Constitutional oversight.*" I was particularly intrigued at the expertise on constitutional matters most of Organization C's members were, despite almost all of them having no formal educational background in political science or law.

Fifteen of 18 stated that there needs to be consistent and aggressive lobby to politicians (both Republican and Democrat) to protect Second Amendment rights, property rights, a fairer tax code, defense of traditional marriage, opposition to abortion and stronger enforcement of immigration laws. One member stated, "*Even Scalia's approach to Second Amendment is fundamentally flawed. There should be no restrictions on the Second Amendment right to bear arms by the State. Either it is a fundamental right or it isn't. The minute you have the State put limitations on fundamental rights, the more freedom you allow them to take.*" Fifteen members were the most adamant about aggressive lobbing to protect Second Amendment rights.

Twelve argued for garnering public support through town hall meetings and signing petitions to then transfer to elected officials to give them pressure to use their positions to support the afore-mentioned short term goals. One member stated, "*It's an opportunity for them to come face to face with you. If they can't see you, they don't give a damn.*"

Two subjects suggested that short term goals should include initiatives for recalling politicians. One suggested launching challenges to remove local judges through possible ethical violations. Only one of 18 suggested short term goals of the organization were public protests to get messages across to society about their value systems. He suggested that protests involving large numbers of dissenters attract media attention and could potentially get greater name recognition for the organization.

My assessment of this question is that contrary to Organization A and B, Organization C members appear to be much more aggressive and expansive in their immediate short term initiatives. Moreover, they espouse a much more radical viewpoint with regard to change, imposing calls for extensive changes in a relatively small period of time. None of the members cited direct political involvement; most of it was through lobbying efforts, town hall meetings, petitions and legal challenges.

Much of their sentiments, or specifically 17 of 18 respondents dealt exclusively with elements of Resource Mobilization Theory. Although they oppose the federal government and judges, Justices and the Courts, they do recognize the institutional channel as a medium for change. Their emphasis on the U.S. Constitution appears to provide them the premise or justification to call for greater change in a relatively short period of time. Only one contradicting view was found. He believed that the organization must do more to promote its values within the community. He stated, "*There are a lot of people out there that feel the same way we do. They need to know we stand for their views. We've been around for over 30 years and some people don't even know we exist. Some that do don't even know what we really believe in.*"

Figure 20: Short Term Goals of Organization C
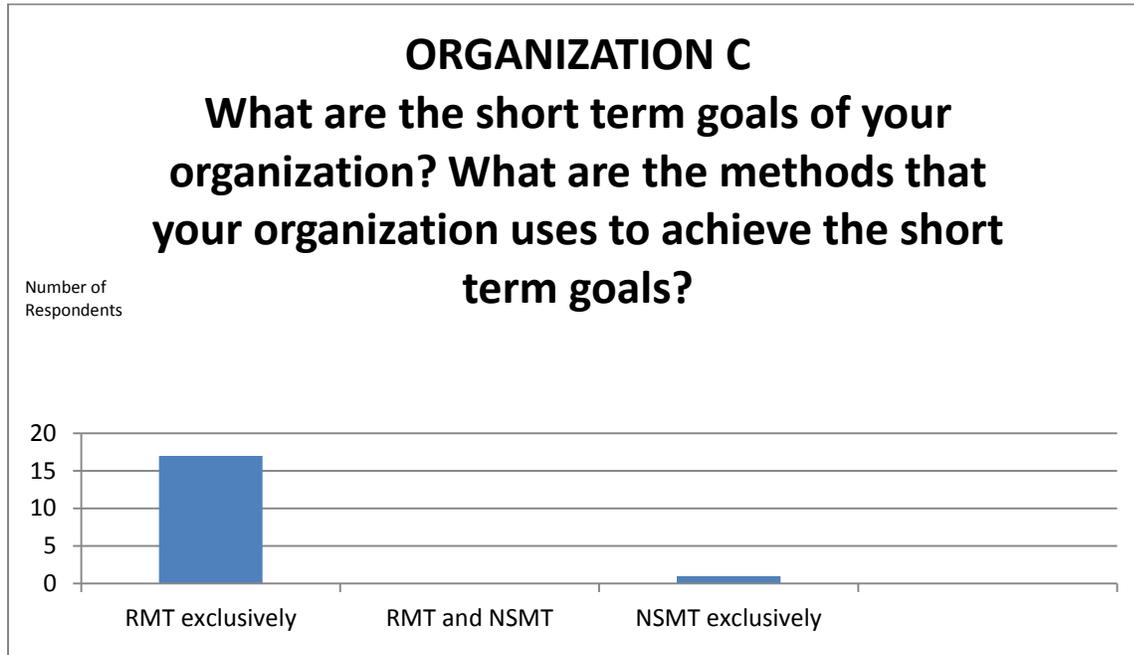
ORGANIZATION C
What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?

The second central question (along with a probe) for interviewees was "*What are the long term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve your long term goals?*"

There was greater consensus among members of Organization C with regard to identification and description of long term goals. Aggressive in their objectives for short term goals, they showed even *more* expansive desires for change long term. Thirteen of 18 members cited legal challenges to coincide with political ascendancy. This was deemed to be an effective strategy because it would help bring accentuated focus to limiting the power of the State.

One member stated:

> *Challenging laws through the courts need to be done. The more we can challenge the more careful politicians are to mess with our rights. We have the most powerful weapon to use against politicians: the U.S. Constitution. If they want to take away our rights that are protected under the Constitution then they need to know we'll fight back harder right at them. We have a record of fighting in the courts and putting pressure on politicians. We won't let up. There's too much at stake.*

Fifteen of 18 argued that Roe v. Wade should be repealed; fourteen cited that immigration should be halted completely, and five suggested constitutional amendments to deny freedom of religion to Muslims and Jews, to ban interracial and same sex marriages, and get rid of the IRS and the Federal Reserve. All members cited change through institutional channels, albeit radical ones and likely unattainable. However, my assessment is that for this question, the *full majority* of the sample gravitated toward RMT tenets. Given that there was no variation in answers, a visual display chart is not presented.

The third question that was asked was "*What is more important: short term or long term goals? Why?*"

Seventeen of 18 subjects argued that long term goals are important because the power of the State is significant, and that one social movement organization does not have the political and legal influences to successfully combat it in the short term.

The leader of the organization stated that it can take years, or even decades to have goals realized. He stated:

> *Politicians might promise you representation on certain things. But they never follow through right away. That's why hard lobbying is needed, but that isn't all that needs to be done. We fight things in the court, where the wheels of justice move slowly. We hold town hall meetings. We sponsor petition drives to constantly keep politicians on their toes. But when all is said and done, the person you come to expect to trust, either turns on you, or loses the next election. When that happens you have to start all over again.*

The leader underscored the organization's commitment to aggressive lobbying and legal challenges in the courts to secure long range goals. Specifically, he suggested that resources are fundamentally important to maintain an ongoing political mobilization effort. He stated that mobilization was a long term process, where financial resources serve as a form of "*gasoline to keep the engine running*." He stated that the organization's tenure has endured because of adherents' commitment to perseverance, principles and mistrust of the State. The latter served as

a centralized target for the organization, one that has been responsible for Constitutional violations and moving the political and social pendulums toward the far left.

Seventeen members agreed that short term goals were only stages to attain greater goals. They claimed that the federal government has been abridging constitutional and property rights for several decades. One member argued that by implementing a federal income tax in the early part of the last century, what should have been a temporary measure now has escalated into State bureaucracy controlled by "*socialists and Judeo-elites*." All 17 members see the removal of the Federal Reserve and the federal income tax as long term goals. Fifteen want an end to the IRS, and want civilian watchdog organizations to be put in charge of overseeing federal law enforcement agencies as long range initiatives. Only one member stated that short or long term goals did not matter to the movement's success. Success to him was measured by the organization actually being an entity and having had such long tenure.

My assessment is that for the overwhelming majority of the members (except for one) in Organization C, the answers given for this question correlate specifically with tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory. One member specifically focused on identity formation as a realized goal, which in itself was believed to be a measure of success. A visual display of the findings follows.

Figure 21: Level of Importance of Short or Long Term Goals for Organization C
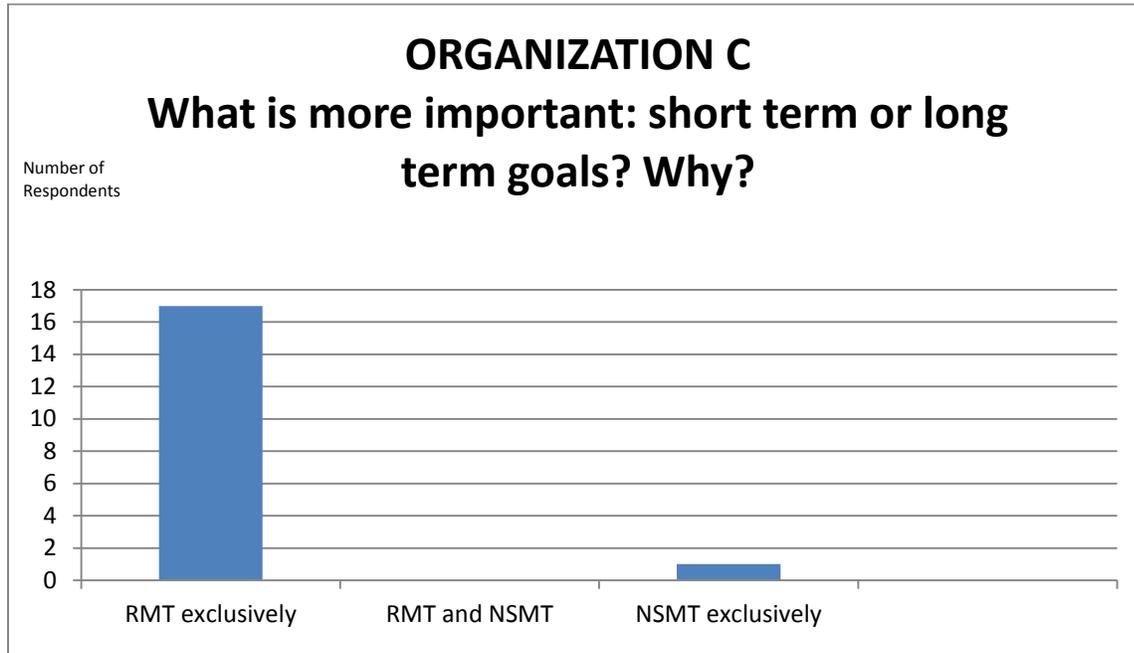
Other questions that can be assessed collectively include "*How does your organization raise funds?*" and "*How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?*"

All 18 members consistently stated that the organization raises capital through membership dues and that they believe it is necessary to achieve the movement's goals long term. As one member stated, "*We don't want to ask anyone for anything. We are completely self-sufficient. We raise enough money to become actively involved in opposing any law we don't like.*" While Organization C has been successful at electing members to local office municipally, most of its long term initiatives have been through aggressive lobbying, civil protests, and petition drives to put pressure on politicians, and challenging laws through the courts. Three of its senior members described themselves as "*patient, organized, principled*" while two of the three members in their 30s described leadership and the organization as "*skilled and effective*" in seeking to raise capital and then use it to achieve movement goals through the political and legal systems.

Members contribute financially to the organization. They pay $1,500 annually as executives and $750 annually as general members. This provides the organization with $13,500 annually from executives and $6,750 annually from general members, for a total of $20,250 each year. That money is directly invested in rental properties. Many of its members boasted about purchasing rental properties at very low costs. Strategies involve making low bids in low market value areas or with short sells and bank foreclosures. Since 1975, the organization membership has contributed over $700,000 to its coffers, and its rental properties have spawned several million dollars in profits. Many of Organization C's members suggested that it has the resources to launch legal battles against the State on key issues and sees resource building as crucial for any organization to mobilize.

The *organization-entrepreneurial* model (McCarthy & Zald 1988) focuses on leadership, organizational dynamics and resource management. Both emphasize the political nature of a movement insofar as their goals include objecting to state policies and/or challenging the present power elite. To achieve these goals social movements require certain resources. Resource Mobilization Theory argues that the success of social movements in achieving their goals depends on whether these resources are present.

Other theorists (Edwards & McCarthy 2005; McCarthy & Zald 2001; Oberschall 1993) argued that resources played a significant factor in understanding social movements. Since social movement behavior is equated with political behavior, it warrants that some level of resource attainment (whether it is money, influence, adherent skills) is necessary for it to position itself in a position to come up against a potentially more powerful adversary.

The concerted emphasis for members (many of which spent 6-7 minutes each on average for this question) strongly suggests that the elements of Resource Mobilization Theory apply

well to all 18 members of this group in the area of resources and the importance that they place in them. Specifically, members invest significant amount of their own personal money and reinvest it within the organization itself. This suggests a strong level of commitment, sophisticated resource building and long term strategies for mobilization, all features of Resource Mobilization Theory. Given that all members answered the same, a visual display chart is not presented.

Another question (with a probe) founded on the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory was posed to members of this organization. I asked them "*Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?*"

All 18 members uniformly stated that resources were of greater importance than volume of membership. One subject put it in context: "*If we expanded the membership to 30, 50, 100, would that help us get the things we want changed? It's not a popularity contest. We're not here to make friends. We're here to change the way the system works*."

The rise of social movements and the outcomes of their actions are seen as resulting from specific decisions, strategies and tactics used by the actors within the context of power relations (Edwards & McCarthy 2007; Kriesi 2007). The very nature of Organization C resisting change, limiting dissent and limiting the volume of membership shifts the focus to resources exclusively, and at the same time retains control of its base. Organizations are argued to operate with greater hegemony when they are smaller, and are able to mobilize when political opportunity arises.

Five members stated that there has not been a new member added to the organization since 2007. This suggests that Organization C prefers a smaller and controlled structure. By the very nature that the three rotating chairs are founding members and no one has been able to secure the highest position in their executive other than the founders, suggests that organization

leaders want to maintain order, consensus and stability. It is my assessment that Organization C, along with all others clearly limits the volume of membership, in large part to control for dissent. These are prevalent features of Resource Mobilization Theory.

Smaller membership has not hindered the organization's ability to generate revenue. Organization C brings in $20,250 each year in membership dues. That money is directly invested in rental properties. The organization purchases rental properties at low costs. Strategies involve making low bids in low market value areas or with short sells and bank foreclosures. Since 1975, the organization membership has contributed over $700,000 to its coffers, and its rental properties have expanded its income. These resources allow the movement to move aggressively against issues of contention (e.g., the State, gun control laws, abortion, illegal immigration) and defensively by affording itself capital to defend itself against litigation.

One member stated, "*Our group has been around for over 35 years. We have enough capital to never have to charge membership dues to any of our members ever again. But none of us want to stop paying our membership dues. Regardless of how much any one person makes, we all pay into it together*."

Both the concerted emphasis on resources and smaller membership, along with a strong organizational structure by all of its members and a commitment to deny new memberships demonstrates that for this question, elements of Resource Mobilization Theory fit.

Five members stated that there has not been a new member added to the organization since 2007. This suggests that Organization C prefers a smaller and controlled structure. By the very nature that the three rotating chairs are founding members and no one has been able to secure the highest position in their executive other than the founders, suggests that organization leaders want to maintain order, consensus and stability. It is my assessment that Organization C,

along with all others clearly limits the volume of membership, in large part to control for dissent. These are prevalent features of Resource Mobilization Theory. Given that there was no variation in responses, a visual display chart is not needed.

5.17 Social/cultural Issues (New Social Movement Theory)

The first question relative to New Social Movement Theory asked to interviewees was: "*What importance do values have for your organization's agenda?*"

Organization C is guided by both conservative and libertarian principles, but a greater ideological proximity to libertarianism. This is particularly pronounced in matters of how it views the State and the U.S. Constitution. Sixteen of 18 showed consensus on areas such as this. While Organization A, Organization B, and Organization D all show varying but consistent religious premises to justify their moral positions or what they oppose, Organization C ignores religion altogether.

Rather, sixteen of its members argued that the Constitution is the only authority that they recognize and that all current laws are in direct conflict with it. They contended that values of individualism, unfettered freedom, property rights, privacy, and Second Amendment rights are entrenched in constitutional authority and that any laws that abridge these fundamental rights are in fact immoral. Hence, challenging laws through political lobby, petitions, or legal challenges are direct impositions of constitutional values onto the very system that has marginalized them.

There were two contradicting views. Two members relied exclusively on a definition of personal values of trust and selflessness. These members specifically identified the movement as more important than any individual interest. Rather, they argued that the individual is there to serve the larger body. Through this process, members foster unity and collective identity.

Goodwin et al (2007) apply a cultural approach to emotions in social movement theory. They contend that emotions can be analyzed with the theoretical and methodological processes as values and morality. They argue that emotions operate at multiple phases, including (i) being responsible for making certain legitimate motivations for protest, reinforcing group loyalties, (ii) building collective identity through pride, trust, and through affective loyalties, and (iii) retaining its commitment from members by calming fears when confronted with challenges from within and outside of the movement.

The contradicting viewpoints show how two of Organization C's members channel the need for building relationships from within the movement, and applying values such as loyalty and trust with other members. This was not found to be the case with all 16 other members. They operated in a much more formal and systematic manner, tying in values to their cause and seeing aggressive political and legal initiatives to defend their values from being infringed upon.

The fact that Organization C adheres to its own set of constitutional values entrenches some elements of New Social Movement Theory, but its move toward institutional challenge of existing laws places it also within the purview of Resource Mobilization Theory. My assessment is that for this question, 16 of 18 (or 88.89%) of Organization C's membership can be explained by both New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory, while 2 of 18 (or 11.11%) of its membership can be can best be explained by New Social Movement Theory.

Figure 22: Importance of Values in Organization C's Agenda
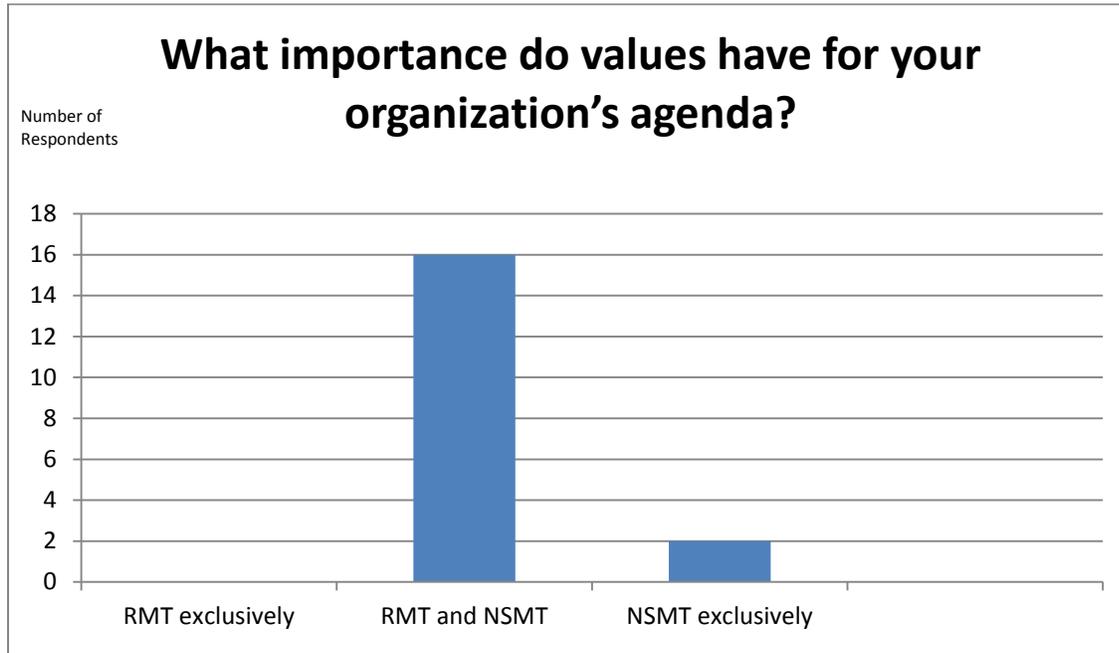
Another question (along with a follow up) relative to New Social Movement Theory was asked to the membership: "*How do you define success(es)? Can you provide some examples of some of the successes of your organization (short term and/or long term)*?"

Seventeen of the respondents listed successive acts of mobilization in its 36 year tenure. These included electing two of its members to a school board, one member as a mayor for two terms, and another member who ran unsuccessfully for the Libertarian Party. They were actively involved in several legal challenges at the city level, and two other cases that were decided by the state supreme court. Their most significant successes were at the local level, where they have organized dozens of petitions to lobby against local municipal government policies. Members listed long standing ties with the National Rifle Association (NRA), white nationalist organizations, white separatist Randy Weaver, and the Libertarian Party.

New social movements are defined as reactions against the "*deepening, broadening, and increased irreversibility of the forms of domination and deprivation*" (Offe 1985: 845). As more

areas of private life come under state regulation, civil society begins to feel a sense of deprivation. Thus, the political institution is regarded as the chief catalyst in domination of everyday life. Since these effects are seen as irreversible, new social movements emerge as defensive reactions, direct opposing force to the expansion of this domination (Kriesi 2007; Bernstein 1997; Offe 1985).

Only one member had contradicting views relevant to this question. He defined success entirely on the movement's ability to remain secretive and operating largely outside of the wider society and the State. By pulling away from institutional settings (e.g, political and legal realms) and back into civil society, social movements can sometimes be described as forming their own subcultures with their own value systems. This member stated that success can be defined primarily as being part of the movement itself and the identity one builds around that movement.

For President, Organization C is supporting Congressman Ron Paul. All 18 members agreed that he is the preferred choice within the Republican lot. Fifteen of its members have been actively campaigning for Paul.

Albeit limited in its political ambition and leverage, Organization C still accounts for the most intriguing group because it is the only one that does not utilize a religious identity framework, and pursues a constitutional challenge to current laws. However, by the answers provided by members relative to this question, the assessment is that 17 of its membership can be better explained by Resource Mobilization Theory, while one member exemplifies characteristics endemic in New Social Movement Theory.

Figure 23: How Organization C Defines Success
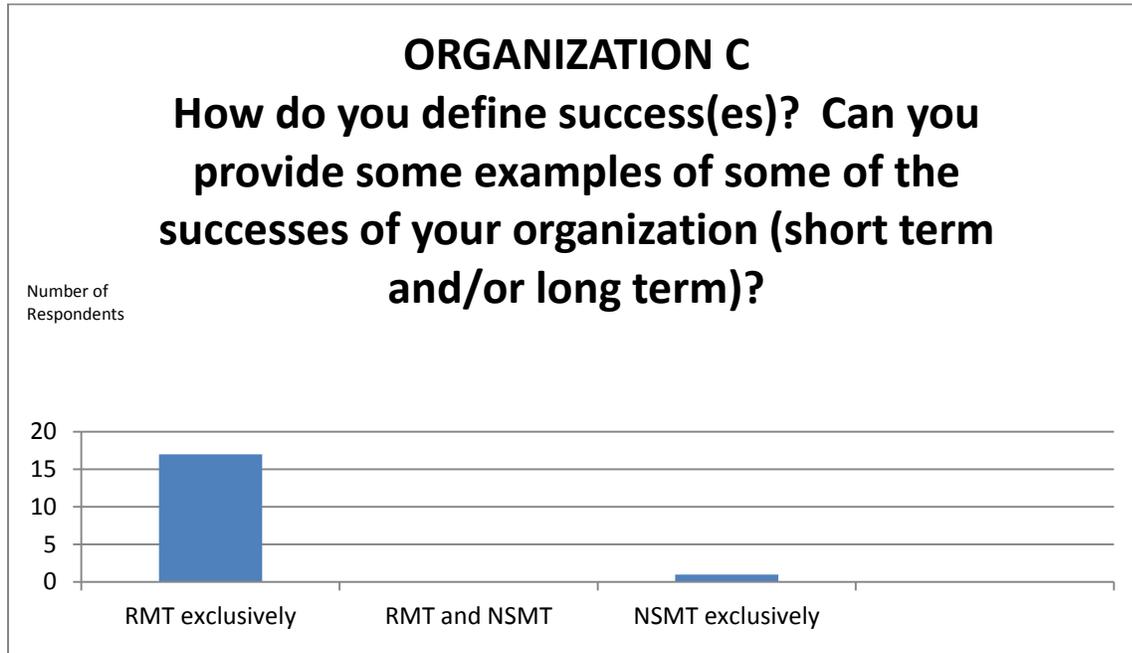
In terms of questions "*What roles do members serve in your organization?*" the answers appeared to replicate themselves with others such as "*How common is it that members disagree with one another? If there is disagreement, how do members resolve their differences?*" Hence for the purposes of data analysis I collapsed the answers into one category since in every case the data was relatively the same.

Organization C cited a highly complex and sophisticated organizational structure. All members stated that disagreement between members is uncommon. Sixteen of 18 stated that there is respect for authority, and that authority usually translates into experience and time a member has spent in the organization. Ten suggested that there is genuine respect for one another because of shared values and shared out groups They argued that the more intolerant they were on certain issues and the more committed they were to oppose different interests in the political or legal realm, the more likely that would help reinforce collective identity.

There were two contradicting statements to this. Two of its members stated that they do not like the rigidity of the organization, and that it makes it impossible for true democracy to occur. One member stated that the founders of the organization have set it up so that they can never be removed from leadership positions. For New Social Movement Theory, variables such as leadership, recruitment processes and goals are not identified as important components of social movements. Social movements are defined as operating with fluid membership where a democratic component operates, allowing for members to be treated on an equal basis. Two opposing voices from within Organization C stated they intended to leave the movement within two years due to the dissatisfaction with the rigidity of the organization.

Sixteen members stated that where there are differences of opinion, the rotating chairs (chair and two alternate chairs) must agree unanimously before any sanctions are imposed. There are no appeals to any sanctions handed out. One member stated that the ultimate sanction would be revocation of membership status. However, he has never seen anything like that occur in the five years he has been there.

Refer to Appendix H. The dynamics of the organizational structure of this group were slightly different from the others insofar as they had a rotating leadership process every three years. However, the sophisticated and authoritarian hierarchical structure, similar to the other three, was still fairly evident. The Chair assumes leadership of the organization every third year, despite if the current leader is popular or not. One criterion of interest is that the rotating chairs must be a founding member, and appointed to chair by founding members only. This is particularly intriguing because while the process secures leadership closer to its original founding and policies, its leadership also is limited to a core few and they are the elders within the organization. Unless the organization changes its constitution (something all four

organizations had), then it is quite possible that membership will not be able to challenge for leadership, and current leaders will eventually pass on. This seemed to be a prominent issue of concern for some of the younger members during my interviews with them.

The chair assumes leadership but maintains an equal and reciprocal relationship with the other two alternate chairs. The word alternate is used because in the event that the chair becomes incapacitated, an alternate would assume his position. The organization's legal advisor is the only position that has unfettered access to all three chairs, enjoying open communication and consultation over legal issues. The legal advisor must have legal expertise (e.g., an attorney, a paralegal, etc.), have legal experience or knowledge that can be useful to the organization. Here, the legal advisor brings skills, which account for resources for the organization. Not only do the services provide valuable protection for the organization, but it limits the amount of money it would have to extract from group's financial coffers to outside counsel.

The legal advisor also had open communication with the organization's financial advisor and political advisor, suggesting that the group's emphases include matters of legal, economic and political importance. The financial advisor must have financial expertise, experience or knowledge in economic issues and the political advisor must have the same credentials for political foci. However, while the legal and financial advisors have open communication with each other, the financial and political advisors do not have the same relationship with each other. This suggests that the organization wants the legal component of advising to perhaps oversee both financial and political entities.

By way of examples expressed by members of Organization C, and through Appendix I, the reader can determine that dissent is minimized by the very nature and design of the organizational structure. The hierarchical structure of unequal relations, the formal structure and

limitations of contact between certain parties maintains an order that not only appears to be undemocratic, but authoritarian in nature. Its level of sophistication, clear assessment of roles and responsibilities and its emphasis on structure and organization allows for greater tenure. For these questions, 16 of 18 members' answers coincided with the tenets of RMT.

Figure 24: Roles Members Serve in Organization C
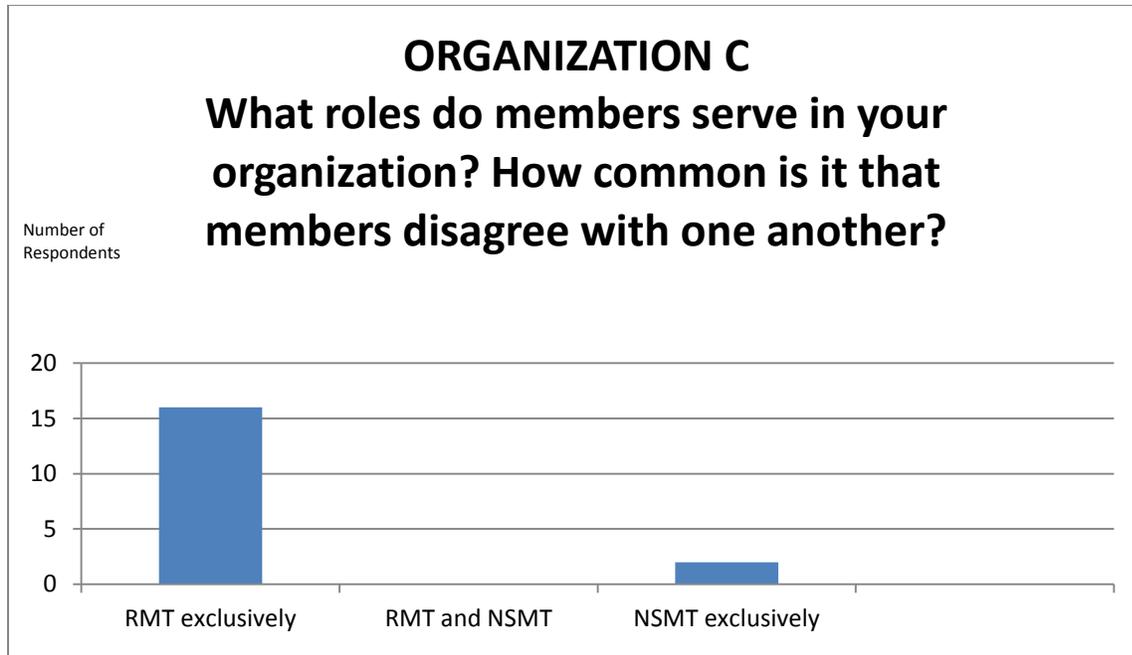
5.18 Organization D

The interviews with this organization took place in late July to mid- August, 2011. It required four separate trips. This organization had a membership of 40 individuals; 33 agreed to be interviewed.

5.19 Organizational Structure

Second only to Organization A, which served as an authoritarian head branch, only Organization D has a more conservative, rigid system or ordinance. The organization holds nine executive positions, a board of directors and a general membership base. Hence, there were nine

executive members, five members of the board of directors and 26 general members in its structure (refer to Appendix I).

This organization was founded in 2001, giving it 10 year tenure. The Governor holds the highest position in the organizational structure. This position is one that was created by its founder, and he is therefore self-appointed as its figurehead. The Governor helped write the organization's constitution, which he described as being written under legal counsel. He maintains an inordinate amount of power within the organization, holding veto power over any internal vote.

The Governor has a reciprocal relationship with the First President. The First President is appointed by the Governor and maintains unlimited tenure. Only the Governor can remove the First President by way of constitutional provisions, which he described as "*violations of ethics and impaired integrity*". I was not given a copy of the organization's constitution and the Governor did not go into greater detail over what violations of ethics would specifically entail.

The First President, who is under the auspices of the Governor, is afforded significant power, but also must adhere to his authority and oversight. The First President oversees the Second President. This is an interesting dynamic. The First President is an unelected, appointed position with greater authoritative oversight over the Second President who is voted in by the internal council. The relationship is not reciprocal; the Second President is in a subordinate relationship to the First President, and as such, takes directives from him. The First President maintains the same privilege over the First Vice President and the Second Vice President, both of which are voted in by the Board of Directors.

The Second President, voted in by internal council to a four year term can in fact be removed by the Governor and First President by constitutional provisions. These potential

violations extend beyond the ethical and integrity issues that were described by the Governor earlier, and fall within breaches of insubordination, and compromised confidence in the individual's leadership. This appears to be a paradox because leadership, outside of the status of executive positions, appears to be narrow in scope, suggesting that superiors can in fact limit the amount of internal dissent from within.

The First and Second VPs maintain open dialogue with the chair of the board of directors, as well as with the board of directors. The chair facilitates dialogue between the board, the First and Second VPs and the Internal Advisor to the Governor. The Internal Advisor had direct and reciprocal contact/access to the Governor. The advisor provides legal and strategic advice, which helps shape policy, strategies, and short and long term goals. Appendix I affords the reader a central chain of command beginning with the Governor through the Internal Advisor through the Board of Directors and then through the general membership. While there is an appearance of more open dialogue and democracy, many of the interviews suggest that a more rigid and closed approach exists.

The chair of the board of directors is an appointed position, again by the Governor. This position is an unelected position and therefore enjoys tenure at the discretion of the Governor. The board of directors is comprised of founding members or those with minimum five years of membership tenure. Given that the organization is only ten years old, the composition of the current board of directors is likely to be founding members. Many of the members stated this was important, so that the values of its founding principles would be more likely preserved.

The general membership includes individuals who attend general meetings and hold non-binding votes. This is an intriguing feature because although they are asked to vote on organization policy and issues, their votes are not binding. Here, the organization by default,

assumes a veto power, much like the Governor has over its executive. Hence, the lack of democratic structure within can be assessed through its organizational structure. All general members must have thorough background checks and be unanimously accepted by the entire organization (executive council, board of directors and existing general membership).

Unlike the former organizations, there was more diversity of age within Organization D. Of the 33 members that participated in the study, two were in their 50s, 17 were in their 40s, 11 were in their mid to late 30s, and three were in their early 20s. Similar to the other organizations, the oldest member was also the Governor. His two most senior executive positions (First President and Internal Advisor) were also older; one was in his 50s and the other was in his mid-40s. The board of directors was comprised of persons in their mid to late 40s. Many of those in their mid to late 30s were in the general membership. The youngest member at 23 years of age was also their research and communications officer. This was a profound finding because that position has direct access to the internal advisor to the Governor. Hence, the youngest member has potential to shape or influence policy (Personal Interviews, July-August 2011).

Figure 25: Age of Members for Organization D
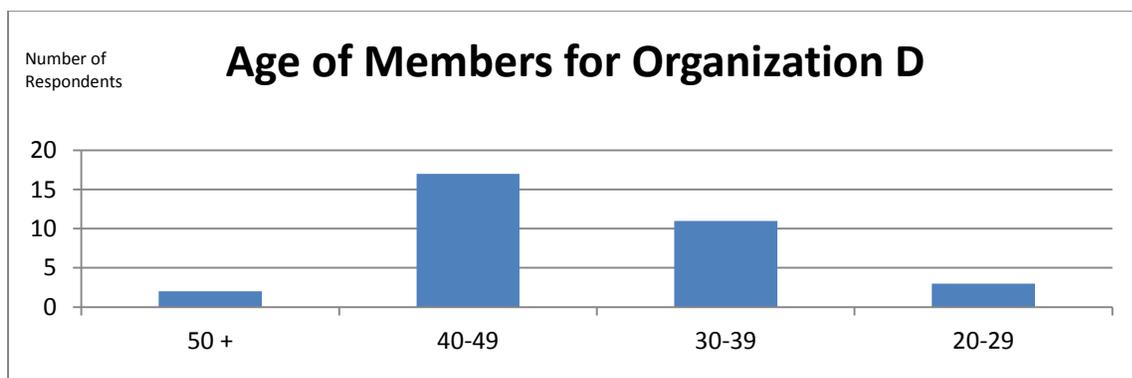
There was a significant concentration of traditionalist Catholics in Organization D. The most vitriolic statements against Jews came from the traditionalist Catholics. The Southern Poverty Law Center (2011) identifies radical traditionalist Catholics as groups that adhere to an

ideology that has been rejected by the Vatican and over 70 million American Catholics, one which advocates anti-Semitism. Such views rest on the belief that the Jews are responsible for the death of Jesus Christ, and a rejection that the Jews are the chosen people of a Higher Being (God). However, traditionalist Catholics also spared no vitriol to mainstream Catholicism, making more reference to it than all other members interviewed combined. Of the 33 subjects interviewed in Organization D, 13 were traditionalist Catholics. To be transparent, I had no idea what traditionalist Catholicism entailed until I interviewed Organization D. The fact that I described myself as being born into mainstream Catholicism did not appear to be well-received. The rapport with these individuals was weak. Of the remaining 19 subjects, 12 were Baptist, four were Methodist, and three were non-denominational 'Christian.' This organization was intriguing in the sense that many of its members were of a radical wing of traditionalist Catholicism, a feature relatively rare in studies of the far right movement (Personal Interviews, July-August 2011)

With regard to educational attainment, Organization D members were the most educated overall. Of the 33 members that were interviewed, all but eight had post-secondary institutional degrees. There were 10 members show had post BA degrees, along with 15 others who were college graduates. Six members had community college diplomas and two were high school graduates. In terms of careers, Organization D had the highest numbers of members employed in white collar occupations at 22, followed by six business owners, and three blue collar workers. One member was retired and another was unemployed.

5.20 General Questions

Members were initially asked what the reason was for them to join the organization. All members stated that they believed the organization was a medium by which they could realize

their goals politically. Twenty-seven members believed that the organization promoted conservative values through policies such as lobbying, assisting in political campaigns, and running candidates through the organization's resources. Two members focused on social issues predominantly but stated that the only way conservative values can be achieved is through changing laws. They cited abortion as the number one area where changes in the law can have wide reaching impact on morality. They believed that building populist support could help shift public policy on such issues. One of the two stated:

> *There are enough of us in the silent majority that want abortion to be criminalized. We need to make sure liberal activist judges do not get on the Supreme Court and we have to make sure that the conservative ones tow the line on this issue. If they see enough of us stand up for what's right, maybe they might strike down Roe v. Wade once and for all*.

Four members stated that the principal concerns of the organization must be to promote conservative values socially. They emphasized promoting the values of traditional marriage, opposition to divorce, promiscuity and homosexuality. As one member stated, "*The assault on morality comes in the form of sexual promiscuity. There is a lack of respect for women by the porn industry. Children are being raised by single mothers and divorced parents. What values do we teach our children if we as parents don't have any?*"

On the issue of criteria for membership, all members were consistent on the fact that members must be both socially and fiscally conservative on all issues. All members stated that membership is open to both males and females, to all races, but that they must be Christian. When examining their membership, all members were male, white and Christian. They stated that members must be registered Republicans, must be prepared to pay membership dues and must bring some form of skill or resource to the organization. This can include political or legal expertise or experience, skills such as advanced computer proficiency, web design or writing.

Twenty-nine members stated that the organization should be limited, and that it is already too large. These views are consistent with Resource Mobilization Theory which emphasizes smaller membership and a stronger focus on political mobilization.

My assessment for Organization D after analyzing their answers to the general questions is that 27 of 33 (or 81.81%) espouse the political elements exclusively from Resource Mobilization Theory. Four of its members appear to espouse areas of both theories but see value sharing as necessary to build populist support to help strengthen the political goals of the organization. Initial assessment then is that these four hold views consistent with both Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. Only two members (or 6.06%) of the organization focused exclusively on the social elements of values and ideals found in New Social Movement Theory.

Figure 26: Organization D Answers to General Questions
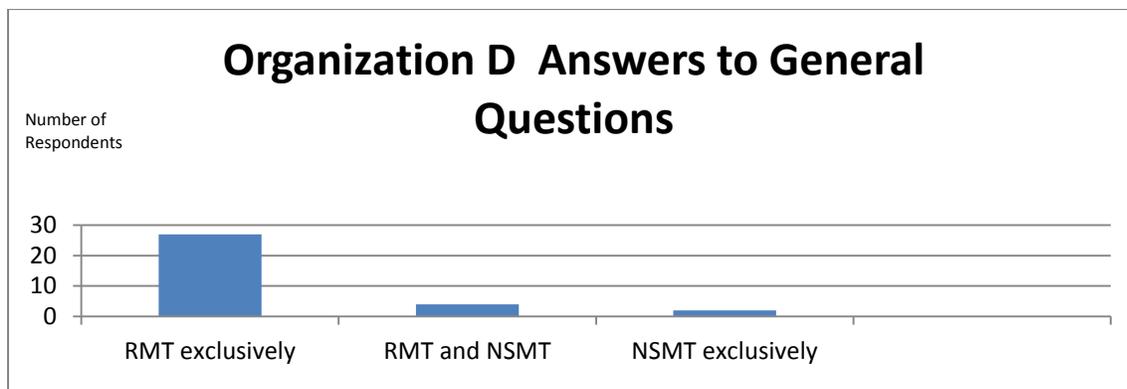
5.21 Political Questions (Resource Mobilization Theory)

The first central question asked of participants was "*What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?*"

Here, there was significant consensus for Resource Mobilization Theory issues relative to political lobbying, active involvement in federal, state and local elections, as well as school

boards. All 33 subjects raised these issues as short term goals, but 25 of 33 also included having good public relations exposure to advance conservative ideology and values throughout society. None of the members cited only elements of New Social Movement Theory as exclusively important. Hence, all members to varying extents believed that some form of political infusion was necessary to achieve short term goals.

Most of the Protestants in the sample discussed forming alliances with the Christian Right on issues of morality (e.g., opposition to abortion, same sex marriage) and drawing from their populist support. One member stated:

> *Most Christians I know are opposed to abortion and gay marriage. They are afraid to voice their opinions because they are afraid they will be called bigots. Most of America, if truth be told, see abortion as murder, see gay marriage for what it is: a sick perversity. They don't want their children and grandchildren exposed to this filth. Christians should be united under one message, something we can do*.

Most of the traditionalist Catholics were not supportive of forming alliances with evangelicals and believed that more can be achieved through political involvement alone. The traditionalist Catholics were the most anti-Semitic, as well as anti-mainstream Catholic in their statements. They shared similar disdain for the evangelical Christian community. "*We want nothing to do with Jews, bible thumping Christian posers who suck up to the Jews, or Catholic imposters who kneel and kiss the ring of the Pope*." Another traditionalist Catholic stated that while social and fiscal conservative values may be prevalent across different religions, he does not want association with them. "*Our goals are to change the laws in this country to reflect our values, not have socialist laws change our values*." He went on to state that seeking populist support is not essential to politically mobilize.

My assessment of this question is that most within the sample adhered to Resource Mobilization Theory tenets of institutional change. However, 25 of 33 espoused value systems

and shared identity building and coalitions to broaden popular support. To that end, they saw New Social Movement Theory issues as important, but as a building block to garner what they are seeking more: change through institutional channels. Hence, my assessment is that well over 75% of the sample sees both elements of Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory as integral to achieving its short term goals. For the first time in the study, there was more support for both theoretical tenets of social movement theory as opposed to mostly Resource Mobilization Theory. This suggests that Organization D believes that at least seeking short term goals, shared values and collective identity building with others in the wider support is crucial for the movement to better position itself for political mobilization.

Figure 27: Short Term Goals of Organization D
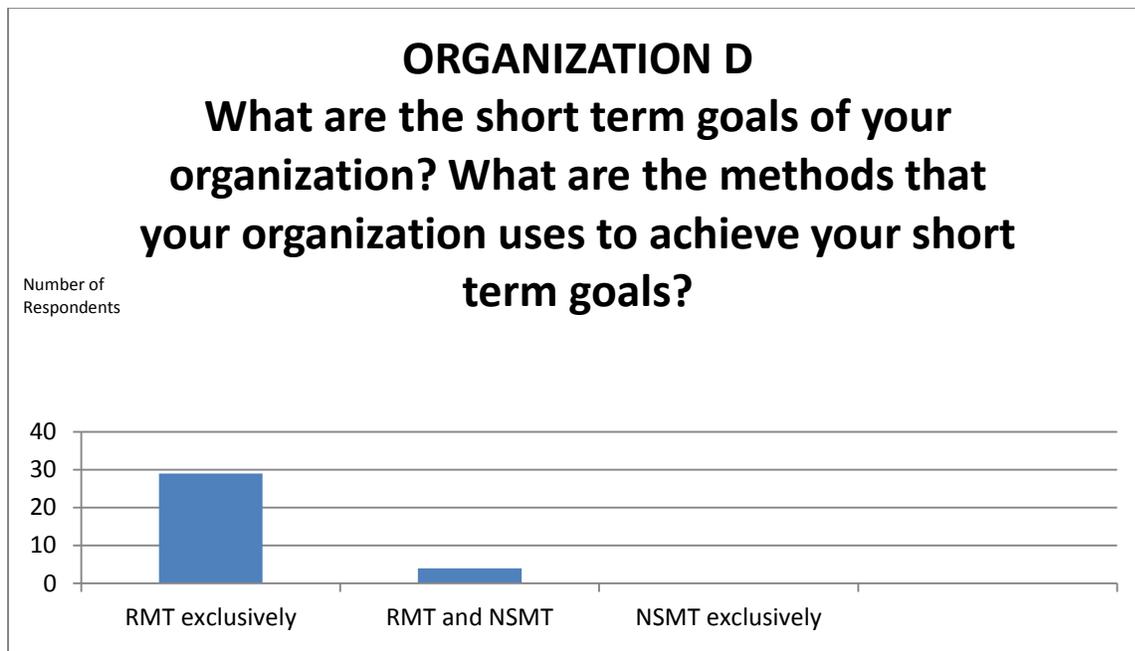
ORGANIZATION D
What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve your short term goals?

The second central question (along with a probe) for interviewees was "*What are the long term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve your long term goals?*"

While approximately 75% of respondents emphasized both political mobilization and building populist support through shared values with others in society for short term goals, almost all of them cited much more expansive changes that were cited to be only be attained through institutional channels. For this, *political infusion* was seen as crucial. Hence, they believed running candidates that espouse core conservative values are the best long term investment the organization can embark upon. Sixteen of 33 stated that they also belong as members to a locally based Tea Party organization, essentially using their involvement with that group to help vet potential candidates and then Organization D would become involved financially and strategically to help the candidate in federal elections. Almost all, except one who did not want to comment on it, praised the Tea Party as a successful emergence of a check and balance to the Republican Party.

My assessment of this question is that Organization D deals almost exclusively with Resource Mobilization Theory issues on areas of *long term goals*. Issues such as opposition to socialism, illegal immigration, fiscal conservatism, Second Amendment rights and even opposition to same sex unions are areas where the organized far right can build consensus with neo and mainstream conservatives. One member within this faction stated, "*In the short term, we need the support of others. When politicians see that we have a base of support, they view us differently. But in the long term, our group must know how to get involved politically. In my view, the best way is to work with the Tea Party and test potential candidates.*" Another member cited significant resource building as necessary to attaining long term goals. "*That's why we contribute (membership dues). The money allows us to think long term, run candidates, run ads, help our people, run against our enemies. We've been doing this effectively for six, seven years now. We haven't even begun to go after our long term goals yet.*"

Twenty-nine members espoused long term political initiatives, elements of Resource Mobilization Theory. All but four stated that many of their long term goals such as opposition to abortion, suspending non-white immigration, and revoking/disallowing citizenship status for foreigners would be too radical to seek as short term goals, and therefore would be able to be attained long term once its members or organization-backed candidates gain entry into the political system. All four contradicting views cited issues similar to those of the responses for the short term goals, including needing populist support to get candidates elected. Not one member saw values and collective identity building through society as exclusively necessary. While short term goals show a trend of both Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory, the long term goals suggest a sharp turn toward Resource Mobilization Theory exclusively.

Figure 28: Long Term Goals of Organization D
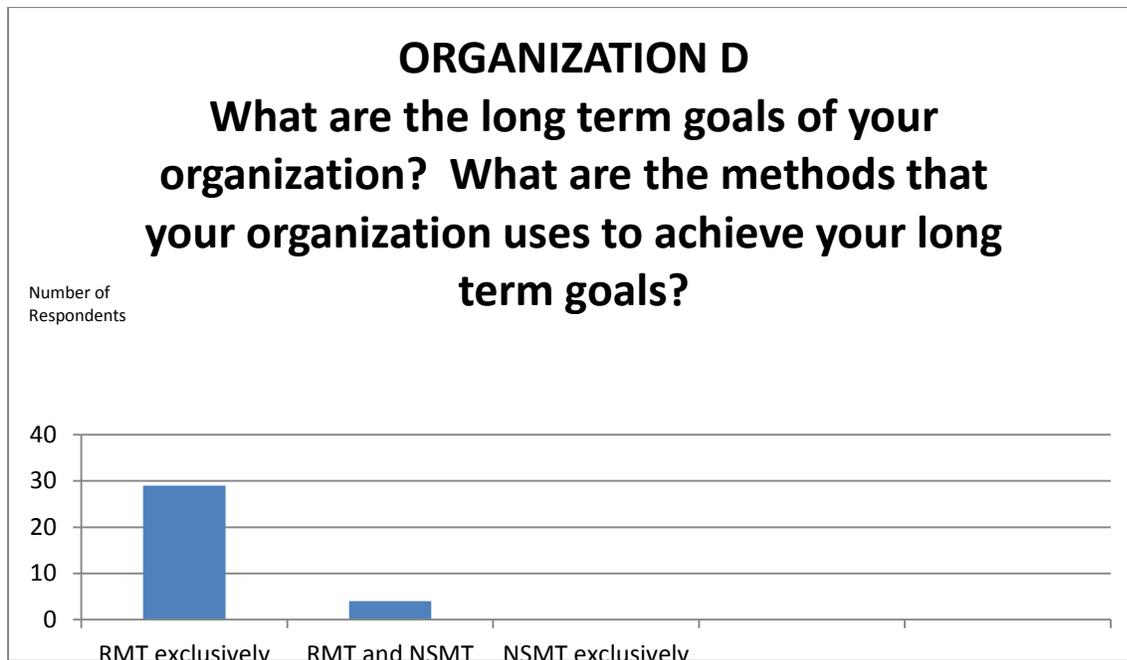
ORGANIZATION D
What are the long term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve your long term goals?

The third question that was asked was "*What is more important: short term or long term goals? Why?*"

A significant amount of time (between 4-6 minutes) was spent on average for most members when asked this question. Most saw short and long term goals as operating on a continuum, where long term goals could not be attained unless there are moves toward building collective identity with the broader society. Twenty-four of 33 members stated emphatically that building consensus on short term goals was manageable and strategic since they can build on an already motivated base of conservatives in society. As one member stated "*We don't necessarily have to change values. All we have to do is reinforce them, and let them know we want to protect these values by ensuring we have authentic conservatives in Washington.*"

Seven of 33 saw long term goals more important than short term; only two members saw short term goals as more important. The two contradicting views believed that short term goals allow the organization to build populist support for itself. These members believed that by the very nature of the movement, it can shape new ideas and have greater influence in civil society than its unpredictable outcomes of the political arena.

My assessment of this is that the majority (31 of 33) of the sample's view of goals operating on a continuum suggests that there are sophisticated approaches to mobilization. These are features of Resource Mobilization Theory. However, drawing ideologically from a broader conservative base to build sufficient support to mobilize, also shows elements of both theories. One could safely argue that for the vast majority of Organization D members, the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory are better reflected in their answers to this question.

Figure 29: Level of Importance of Short or Long Term Goals for Organization D
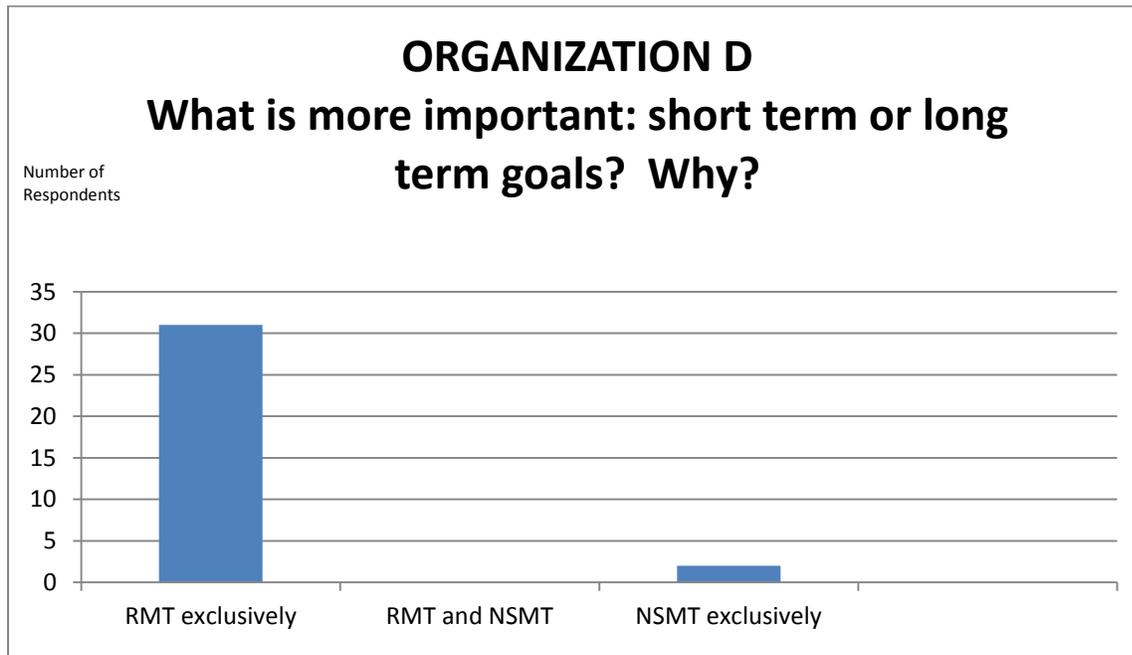
Other questions that can be assessed collectively include "*How does your organization raise funds?*" and "*How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?*"

Similar to Organization C, all 33 members of Organization D cite membership dues as manners by which the group builds capital. They seek $500 annual contributions for both executive and general membership. There are 39 members in this organization. Hence, the generated revenue is approximately $19,500 annually for membership dues alone. The money is then in turn invested in stock market, where four of its financial advisors seek to multiply its potential. Estimated return on annual investment is suggested to be higher than any other medium of investments.

All of its membership accounted for Organization D becoming self-sufficient with regard to publishing. The organization owns a printing press which allows it to design, create and distribute much of its content. This is used to assist in promoting its ideology, but more specifically channeled to protesting certain issues (e.g., city ordinances, state laws, etc.) The

ability for the organization to own the mechanism for immediate print and web content affords them resources that go beyond just money.

The profits generated by the printing press also are redistributed back into the organization where it is invested in stocks, amplifying its financial return. When asked about approximated worth of assets, some members estimated the organization's worth to be between $500,000 and $1 million. Many also cited running political campaigns generate significant contributions and can be self-sustaining if there are enough resources present to initiate the process. All members stated that if short and long term objectives are political, then resources must be sufficient to mobilize. These are significant features of Resource Mobilization Theory.

Mobilization serves as a critical stage of a social movement ensuring its success. Without mobilization, an organization may enjoy some tenure but it cannot challenge for power. To do this, a movement must use mobilized resources to come up against and challenge other groups (Kriesi 2007; Buechler 2000). For mobilization to take place, it is imperative that the resources are placed under collective control; after this is done, the movement must use them to pursue group objectives (Turner 2001; Oberschall 1993). On this question there were no contradicting views within its membership. All members in Organization D showed espoused elements of Resource Mobilization Theory pertaining to importance it places on resources and its usage to plan for political mobilization through such resources. Given that there was no variation in the answers given, a visual display chart is not presented.

Another question (with a probe) founded on the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory was posed to members of this organization. I asked them "*Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?*"

This was an intriguing question insofar as almost all of its membership cited resources to be of more critical importance. Twenty one of 33 members argued that resources held greater priority than volume of membership, and all suggested that their organization (comprised of 40 members) was already too large, and wanted it to be *reduced*. They suggested that opening the membership to outsiders reduces the collective identity built because new members bring in competing value systems and ideas.

Ironically, I probed further, asking whether populist support in society, rather than actual membership in the organization itself were more important than resources. That seemed to create many prolonged moments of thought. Of the 21 that I asked this follow up question to, 12 suggested that populist support in important because it must be used to get votes once political mobilization occurs. However, they reiterated that resources are ultimately more important because without them, mobilization is unlikely to occur. One member stated, "*Since there is only a two party system, no political party can get elected if it society can't identify with its cause*." Members believed that broadening the social movement's membership would naturally expand its ideology and principles and these are the qualities needed to win political elections.

Hence, due largely to the fact that 21 of its members specifically cited resource building as more integral to the movement sustaining itself, these members were assessed as espousing the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory. However, the 12 that wanted to amalgamate populist support and a broadened membership base with a concerted emphasis on resource building appear to show elements of both RMT and NSMT. On this question, we see a significant shift insofar as its membership deviates from the political elements of Resource Mobilization Theory and incorporates an amalgamated approach that applies both larger membership and populist support to be established before political mobilization can take place.

Figure 30: Organization D's Priority between Resources and Volume of Membership
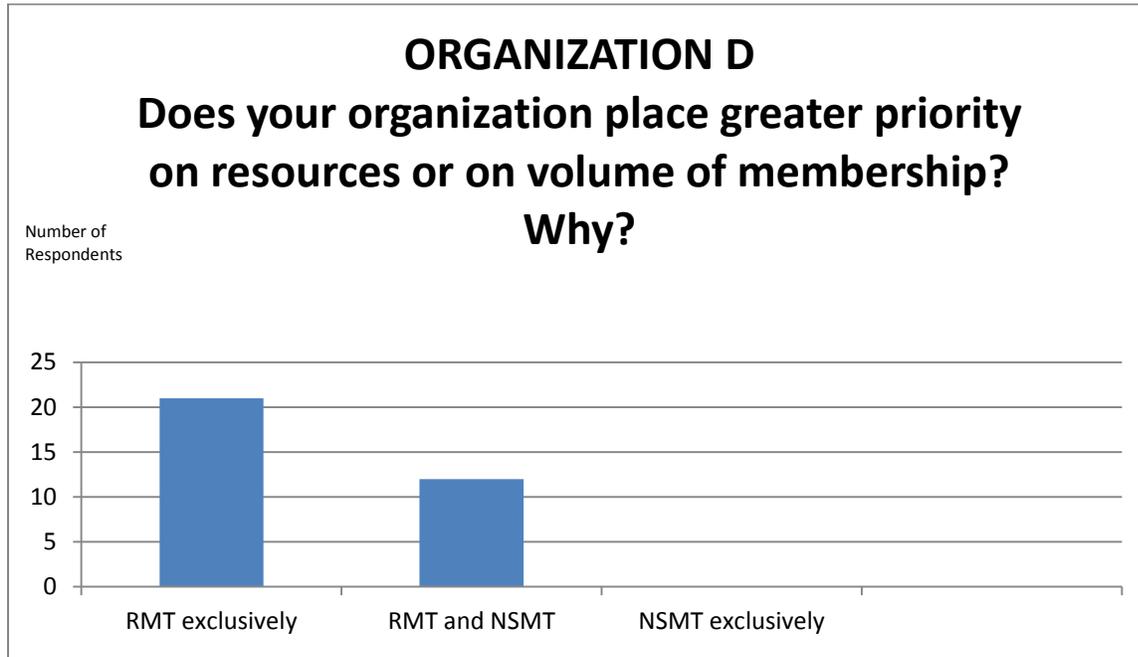
5.22 Social/cultural Issues (New Social Movement Theory)

The first question relative to New Social Movement Theory asked to interviewees was:

"*What importance do values have for your organization's agenda?*"

The significant presence of traditionalist Catholics and conservative Protestants within this organization ensures that values and morality are specifically embedded within its organization. In this area of focus, there was almost unanimous emphasis on the importance of values to change society both *socially* (by way of soliciting populist support through shared values) and *institutionally* (by way of political infusion or legal challenge).

One of the traditionalist Catholics stated:

We believe that abortion is the slaughter of the unborn. It is an injustice that must be stopped. But government must see that there's a lot of anger out there over this. Right now, the pro-choice movement believes they have constitutional authority to promote this practice. It has to be stopped. But it has to be done the right way. We want to make abortion on every ballot in the country. There's enough support to criminalize it but until we use this position to get support from society, I don't think anything will ever get done about it.

Other members stated that key issues such as opposition to abortion, illegal immigration, healthcare, taxes and same sex marriage will inspire the base of the conservative movement to come out and actively become politically involved. This was argued to be done through votes. All members stated that the organization can propel itself to political success if enough populist support can be attained.

Where there are strong moral objections to key issues, the organized far right can fills the role of leadership to fight for the interests of those feeling marginalized. The radical right builds its identity through populist appeal, feeling the disenfranchised sector's cultural pain, identifying a common enemy/target and then building in-group strength through out-group hostility. These are the issues paramount within the tenets of New Social Movement Theory.

The radical right, once it garners cultural support, then attempts to mobilize through direct political infusion, and essentially vying to become players in the political game. It cannot do this without having built sufficient popular support, but it cannot succeed without effective organization, sophisticated strategies and tactics, resource management to position itself into the political process, and mobilize itself through political infusion. These are the issues paramount within the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory.

This suggests that by virtue of how all members answered, that New Social Movement Theory could not unilaterally explain Organization D in this question. While there are elements of New Social Movement Theory particularly with regard to identity building, its members do not exhaust these values within the social-cultural realm. Rather, they use them as catalysts for political mobilization, elements of Resource Mobilization Theory. It could be argued that both elements of New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory are present in this

regard for all of its members that were interviewed. Given that there was no variation in the answers given, a visual display chart is not presented.

Another question (along with a follow up) relative to New Social Movement Theory was asked to the membership: "*How do you define success(es)? Can you provide some examples of some of the successes of your organization (short term and/or long term)*?"

Organization D showed marked emphasis for active political mobilization. For this question, all members cited examples of varying successes for the organization, both short and long term. Twenty-three of them stated that they have direct ties with their regional Tea Party organization. Sixteen of 33 stated that they have volunteered their time and efforts to a Tea Party backed candidate. The fact that the organization owns its own printing press affords it greater legitimacy and potential reach. It reduces the time involved to produce electoral material for candidates and monies saved can be put to alternative uses.

Twenty five of 33 members cited the significant amount of assets the organization has. When asked about approximated worth of its assets, members once again estimated the organization's worth to be between $500,000 and $1 million. Its Governor stated that the figure is actually significantly less than what the organization's revenues are. This suggests that resource attainment has been a significant success for the movement.

Twelve of its members cited the sophistication of the organizational structure as a success. The social movement has had 10 year tenure with no internal conflict. This has positioned itself, according to two members, to actively lobby for change at the political and legal levels. It should be noted that Organization D, although heavily pronounced with anti-Semitism, camouflages itself through a legitimate conservative sounding organization name. For

14 members, this was considered to be savvy and a long term gain, because the organization is less likely to be stigmatized as an organized far right group.

All members espoused lobbying to political officials, using appellate courts as integral to defending Constitutional rights, attracting higher educated individuals, and possibly helping fund candidates to help enact conservative legislation as effective mediums to secure Klan ideals. Fourteen of the 33 members see politicization as a more effective medium to create change in society than through expressive action. By the nature of the answers of all members to this question, it can be argued that there is a gravitational pull toward Resource Mobilization Theory for all of its members, and no parallel to New Social Movement Theory. Since there was no variation in the answers given, a visual display chart is not presented.

In terms of questions "*What roles do members serve in your organization?*" the answers appeared to replicate themselves with others such as "*How common is it that members disagree with one another? If there is disagreement, how do members resolve their differences?*" Hence for the purposes of data analysis I collapsed the answers into one category since in every case the data was relatively the same.

Organization D cited a highly complex and sophisticated organizational structure. All but one argued that by its very nature, disagreement is usually not common. The only member who stated that disagreement occurs sometimes between some of the general membership. That member suggested that the organizational structure was too rigid and that the executive branch was not able to identify with its general membership. It should be noted that only he expressed elements of division and friction within the movement. He also went on to say that the organization should allow for more membership, and should eliminate all membership dues. His sentiments emphasize elements of New Social Movement Theory. That theory states that social

movements are run democratically, with no formal organization, leader or goals, and that resources are not a central factor in the movement. All other members deviated from his position; they purported the organization to run smoothly, and formally.

Refer to Appendix I. Many members explained that the manner by which the organization is structured, dissent is recognized as insubordination. Insubordination can lead to internal sanctions imposed on any member. These are violations against the organization's constitution and therefore are met with swift and decisive reprimand. All members stated that they have never seen anyone actually sanctioned, although they know the possibility exists because it has been discussed through the board of directors.

The First President, who is under the auspices of the Governor, is afforded significant power, but also must adhere to his authority and oversight. The First President oversees the Second President. This is an interesting dynamic. The First President is an unelected, appointed position with greater authoritative oversight over the Second President who is voted in by the internal council. The relationship is not reciprocal; the Second President is in a subordinate relationship to the First President, and as such, takes directives from him. The First President maintains the same privilege over each VP, both of which are voted in by the Board of Directors.

The Second President, voted in by internal council to a four year term can be removed by the Governor and First President by constitutional provisions. These potential violations extend beyond ethical issues that were described by the Governor earlier, and fall within breaches of insubordination, and compromised confidence in the individual's leadership. This appears to be a paradox because leadership, outside of the status of executive positions, appears to be narrow in scope, suggesting that superiors can in fact limit the amount of internal dissent from within.

By way of examples expressed by members of Organization D, and through Appendix I, dissent is minimized by the nature and design of the organizational structure. The hierarchical structure of unequal relations, the formal structure and limitations of contact between certain parties maintains an order that not only appears to be undemocratic, but authoritarian in nature. Its level of sophistication, clear assessment of roles emphasis on structure and organization allows for greater tenure. It can be argued that for these questions, RMT better explains the answers to this question as opposed to NSMT for all but one member.

Figure 31: Roles Members Serve in Organization D

ORGANIZATION D
What roles do members serve in your organization? How common is it that members disagree with one another?
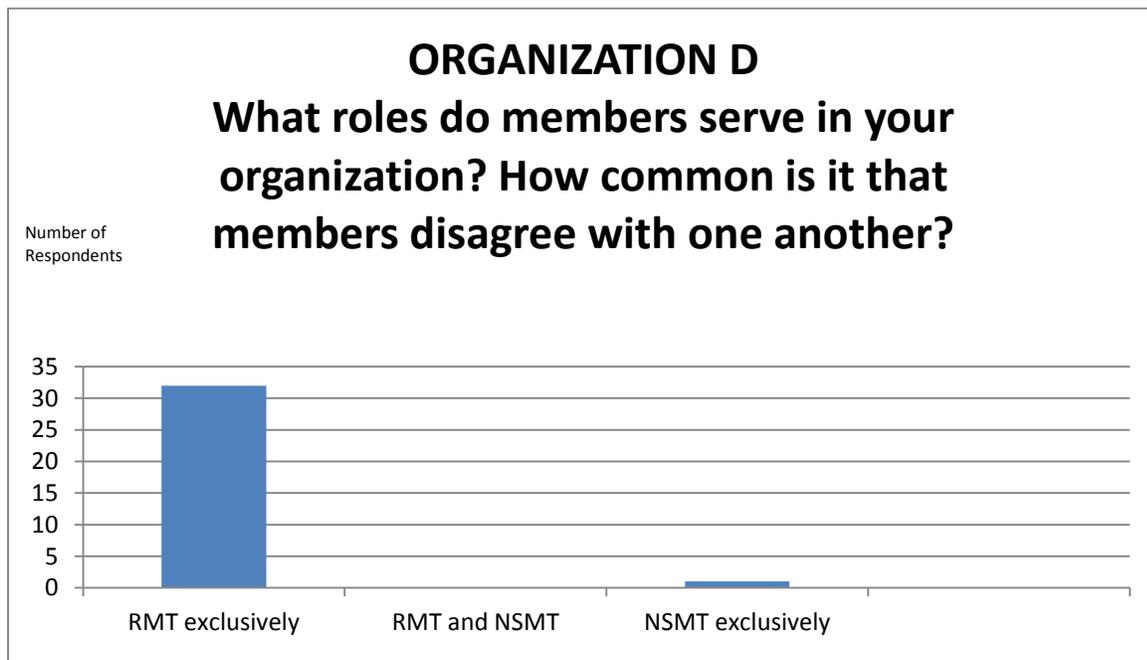
Table 1: Comparative Demographic Data across the Four Organizations

Characteristic	Organization A	Organization B	Organization C	Organization D	Total
Members Interviewed	25	21	18	33	97 (100.00%)
Organization Founded	1998 (13 yr. tenure)	1998 (13 yr. tenure)	1975 (36 yr. tenure)	2001 (10 yr. tenure)	
Member Ages					
50 +	3	1	10	2	16 (16.49%)
40-49	9	9	5	17	40 (41.24%)
30-39	2	5	3	11	21 (21.65%)
20-29	15	6	0	3	24 (24.74%)
Under 20	0	0	0	0	0 (00.00%)
Religion					
Anglican	23	17	0	0	40 (41.24%)
Baptist	2	0	0	12	14 (14.43%)
Methodist	0	0	0	4	4 (4.12%)
Trad. Catholic	0	0	0	13	13 (13.40%)
Roman Catholic	0	3	0	0	3 (3.09%)
Christian	0	0	0	3	3 (3.09%)
Creativity	0	0	18	0	18 (18.56%)
Athiest	0	1	0	0	1 (1.03%)
Education					
Post BA	6	3	2	10	21 (21.65%)
College Grad	17	12	5	15	49 (50.52%)
Comm. College	0	3	0	6	9 (9.28%)
High School	2	3	10	2	17 (17.53%)
No answer	0	0	1	0	1 (1.03%)
Occupations					
White Collar	12	6	5	22	45 (46.39%)
Business Owner	8	11	3	6	28 (28.87%)
Blue Collar	4	3	10	3	20 (20.62%)
Retired	0	1	0	1	2 (2.06%)
Unemployed	1	0	0	1	2 (2.06%)
Gender					
Male	25	21	18	33	97 (100.00%)
Female	0	0	0	0	0 (00.00%)
Race					
White	25	21	18	33	97 (100.00%)
Black	0	0	0	0	0 (00.00%)
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0 (00.00%)
Other	0	0	0	0	0 (00.00%)

5.23 Comparative Assessment of Demographic Data

There were four far right organizations interviewed for this study. They resided in four different cities across two Midwestern states. Organization A was the head branch of a broader organization, while Organization B was its affiliate branch. Organization C and D were separate entities.

Organization A had 25 members. Organization B had 21 members. Organization C had 18 adherents. Organization D had a membership of 33. In all, there were 97 far right members who took part in this study. The organization with the longest tenure was Organization C, which was founded in 1975. Organization A and B are the next oldest groups having 13 year tenure, and Organization D is the youngest of the four groups having been founded in 2001.

In terms of ages, Organization A had the largest number of members under the age of 30. Fifteen or approximately 60% of its membership is within that bracket. By contrast, Organization C had the largest number of elder members, with 10 of its 18 members over the age of 50. Statistically, 55.55% of Organization C's membership is over the age of 50. Organization C had an older demographic, with 15 of its 18 members over the age of 40, and no members under the age of 30. The most evenly distributed group by age was Organization B, which had most of its members spread out within the 20-49 year range. By contrast, Organization D had 28 of its 33 members within the brackets of 30-49.

By way of religion, Organizations A-C were represented largely by one religion, while Organization D had two prominent religions. Twenty-three of 25 members in Organization A were Anglican. Seventeen of 21 members in Organization B were also Anglican. All 18 members in Organization C were Creativity. Organization D had 13 Traditionalist Catholics and

12 Baptists. From a combined tally of all four groups, there were 77 Christians among five sects. Christianity comprised 79.38% of the religious composition of membership across the groups.

By way of education, Organization D had 25 of its 33 members (or 75.76% of its membership) who had either a post BA degree or a college degree. Organization A also had a significant percentage of its membership that had post-secondary degrees: 23 of its 25 members (or 92% of its base). Organization C had the lowest education attainments, with 10 of 18 (or 55.56% of its membership) only having graduated from high school. Only one respondent in Organization B refused to answer the question on education. When all groups are combined, 70 of 97 (or 72.17%) of far right members had obtained a post-secondary institution degree. 21 of 97 (or 21.65%) hold a post BA degree.

By way of occupation, Organization D had the largest number of adherents working in white collar professions. Twenty-two of 33 (or 66.67%) of its members are white collar workers. Organization C had the largest number of blue collar workers: 10 of its 18 members (or 55.56% of its membership). Across all four groups, white collar workers were the most represented. Forty-five of 97 (or 46.39%) had professional occupations. In terms of gender, all 97 subjects were male. In the literature review, only Blee (2002) and Barrett (1987) conducted interviews with females in the organized far right. Most of the body of existing literature does not have female representation in such groups. All subjects were white.

Table 2: Comparative Data across the Four Organizations

Question	Organization A 25 members	Organization B 21 members	Organization C 18 members	Organization D 33 members	Total Groups 97 members
Q1- What is the reason you joined the organization?	RMT 18 (72.00%) RMT and NSMT 6 (24.00%) NSMT 1 (4.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 1 (4.76%) NSMT 7 (33.33%)	RMT 17 (94.44%) RMT and NSMT 1 (5.56%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 27 (81.82%) RMT and NSMT 4 (12.12%) NSMT 2 (6.06%)	RMT 75 (77.32%) RMT and NSMT 12 (12.37%) NSMT 10 (10.31%)
Q2- What are the criteria for membership?	RMT 18 (72.00%) RMT and NSMT 6 (24.00%) NSMT 1 (4.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 1 (4.76%) NSMT 7 (33.33%)	RMT 17 (94.44%) RMT and NSMT 1 (5.56%) NSMT 0 00.00%)	RMT 27 (81.82%) RMT and NSMT 4 (12.12%) NSMT 2 (6.06%)	RMT 75 (77.32%) RMT and NSMT 12 (12.37%) NSMT 10 (10.31%)
Q3- What does your organization offer to its members? to society?	RMT 18 (72.00%) RMT and NSMT 6 (24.00%) NSMT 1 (4.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 1 (4.76%) NSMT 7 (33.33%)	RMT 17 (94.44%) RMT and NSMT 1 (5.56%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 27 (81.82%) RMT and NSMT 4 (12.12%) NSMT 2 (6.06%)	RMT 75 (77.32%) RMT and NSMT 12 (12.37%) NSMT 10 (10.31%)
Q4- What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?	RMT 22 (88.00%) RMT and NSMT 2 (8.00%) NSMT 1 (4.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 8 (38.10%)	RMT 17 (94.44%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 1 (5.56%)	RMT 29 (87.88%) RMT and NSMT 4 (12.12%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 81 (83.51%) RMT and NSMT 6 (6.19%) NSMT 10 (10.31%)

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Question	Organization A 25 members	Organization B 21 members	Organization C 18 members	Organization D 33 members	Total Groups 97 members
Q5- What are the long term goals of your organization? What methods does your organization uses to achieve long term goals?	RMT 21 (84.00%) RMT and NSMT 3 (12.00%) NSMT 1 (4.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 8 (38.10%)	RMT 18 (100.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 29 (87.88%) RMT and NSMT 4 (12.12%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 81 (83.51%) RMT and NSMT 7 (7.22%) NSMT 9 (9.28%)
Q6- What is more important: short term or long term goals? Why?	RMT 24 (96.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 1 (4.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 8 (38.10%)	RMT 17 (94.44%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 1 (5.56%)	RMT 31 (93.94%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 2 (6.06%)	RMT 85 (87.63%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 12 (12.37%)
Q7- How does your organization raise funds? How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?	RMT 25 (100.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 8 (38.10%)	RMT 18 (100.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 33 (100.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 89 (91.75%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 8 (8.25%)
Q8- Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?	RMT 22 (88.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 3 (12.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 8 (38.10%)	RMT 18 (100.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 21 (63.64%) RMT and NSMT 12 (36.36%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 74 (76.29%) RMT and NSMT 12 (12.37%) NSMT 11 (11.34%)

Question	Organization A 25 members	Organization B 21 members	Organization C 18 members	Organization D 33 members	Total Groups 97 members
Q9- What importance do values have for your organization's agenda?	RMT 0 (00.00%) RMT and NSMT 25 (100.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 8 (38.10%)	RMT 0 (00.00%) RMT and NSMT 16 (88.89%) NSMT 2 (11.11%)	RMT 0 (00.00%) RMT and NSMT 33 (100.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 13 (13.40%) RMT and NSMT 74 (76.29%) NSMT 10 (10.31%)
Q10- How do you define success? Can you provide some examples of some of the successes of your organization?	RMT 22 (88.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 3 (12.00%)	RMT 13 (61.90%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 8 (38.10%)	RMT 17 (94.44%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 1 (5.56%)	RMT 33 (100.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 85 (87.63%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 12 (12.37%)
Q11- What roles do members serve in your organization? How common is it that members disagree with one another?	RMT 25 (100.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 21 (100.00%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 0 (00.00%)	RMT 16 (88.89%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 2 (11.11%)	RMT 32 (96.97%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 1 (3.03%)	RMT 94 (96.91%) RMT and NSMT 0 (00.00%) NSMT 3 (3.09%)

5.24 Comparative Analysis across the Four Organizations

There were 11 central questions that were selected for data analysis. These were selected on their unique characteristics. Ones that were excluded were determined to have already been covered within the context of the listed in the chart.

For Organization A, ten of the 11 questions had a significant majority of respondents leaning toward elements of Resource Mobilization Theory. In two questions posed to members which asked "*How does your organization raise funds? How does your organization use*

financial resources to achieve its goals?" and "*What roles do members serve in your organization? How common is it that members disagree with one another?*" all 25 members answered in a manner consistent with the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory. Only once was Resource Mobilization Theory not directly represented by its members. For "*Question 9-What importance do values have for your organization's agenda?*" all 25 members answers accounted for both elements of theories. Here it was important for members to build and draw upon populist support prior to political mobilization on some issues. Shared meanings and values did play a role in Organization A's membership but generally in the context of how they use such values to remain committed to resource building, and eventual mobilization. On average, 78.18% of responses members gave gravitated toward elements of Resource Mobilization Theory.

For Organization B, unique characteristics unfolded during data analysis. This organization had the most ideologically split membership than all other organizations. In consistent fashion, 13 of its members (notably the older and more experienced faction) tended to answer questions by emphasizing political issues as their principal objective to achieve short and long term goals. However, eight of its members (two between 30-39 and six between 20-29) had limited knowledge of political and legal issues, and almost no interest in it. While one faction tended to answer in manners consistent with the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory, the younger sector tended to gravitate toward the social aspects of New Social Movement Theory.

While Organization A's members on average tended to answer in manners consistent with Resource Mobilization Theory 78.18% of the time, Organization B's members answered addressing RMT issues 65.36% of the time. Another interesting finding is that Organization B had the most answers of all groups gravitating exclusively toward New Social Movement

Theory. Organization B members answered in accordance to NSMT 33.33% of the time. It can be argued then that there is a significant ideological divide between its membership. It was noted that because it is an affiliate branch, many of the younger members complained about a loss of autonomy, where resources were funneled to the head branch annually, and they depended on direction from the chief branch significantly. Many of its members appeared confused or were unsure of how to answer questions concerning politics and the law.

Conversely, Organization C was the most consistent in their answers of all groups. Members answered in accordance to Resource Mobilization tenets 78.38% of the time across all 11 questions. Specific questions that showed significant emphasis on political issues included "*Q5- What are the long term goals of your organization? What methods does your organization use to achieve long term goals?*", "*Q7- How does your organization raise funds? How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?*" and "*Q8- Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?*" For these three questions, all 18 members answered in accordance to Resource Mobilization Theory.

Here, it was discussed that Organization C uses aggressive lobbying, town hall meetings and legal challenges in the courts to mobilize against the State. They have a history of political success, having helped elect or run candidates at various levels of government.

From a resources perspective, Organization C brings in $20,250 each year in membership dues. That money is directly invested in rental properties. Many of its members boasted about purchasing rental properties at very low costs. Strategies involve making low bids in low market value areas or with short sells and bank foreclosures. Since 1975, the organization membership has contributed over $700,000 to its coffers, and its rental properties have expanded its income. These resources allow the movement to not only move aggressively against issues of contention

(e.g., the State, gun control laws, abortion, illegal immigration) but also defensively by affording itself capital to defend itself against litigation.

Organization C uses aggressive lobbying, town hall meetings and legal challenges in the courts to mobilize against the State. They have a history of political success, having helped elect or run candidates at various levels of government.

Organization C was unique in the sense that members tended to consistently answer questions similarly. For six questions, 17 Organization C members answered questions in similar fashion, each time emphasizing the political issues of Resource Mobilization Theory. In three other questions, all 18 members answered similarly, again gravitating toward RMT.

While there was consensus on the political areas of its membership, what was unique is that there was one individual in Organization C that tended to gravitate to the opposite ideological extreme. That individual answered in manners consistent with New Social Movement Theory five times, and then combined elements of both theories three times. He started emphasizing elements of both theories during general questions, and later shifted focus to the social elements of NSMT. This is a unique conundrum insofar as Organization C was found to have the most rigid organizational structure of the four groups, and was the most conservative in ideology.

The most conservative organization was found to be Organization D. Its members answered questions in manners consistent with the political elements of Resource Mobilization Theory 79.70% of the time across the 11 questions. Organization D was unique insofar as where some of its members did not exclusively espouse elements of Resource Mobilization Theory, unlike Organization B which had one third of its membership go the opposite ideological direction, Organization D members gravitated toward elements of both RMT and NSMT.

Specifically, when asked questions such as *"What are the long term goals of your organization? What methods does your organization use to achieve long term goals?"* members did not dismiss the importance of mobilization (e.g., lobbying, working on political campaigns, running candidates for various levels of public office, etc.) but that they felt it necessitated the impetus of populist support to provide the movement added legitimacy and momentum.

I assessed this as Organization D members seeing value building and identity formation as means to better attain their short and long term goals. In other words, populist support helps add to the movement's legitimacy provides it large numbers that tangibly show the State it has significant support, and this is used along with key strategies and resources to mobilize politically. Hence, while these members stressed elements of both theories, they saw the social components as augmenting the political ones, rather than the political helping to influence the social. As such, my assessment is that even though their answers showed elements of both theories, the members tended to lean slightly more to RMT. This suggests that there is perhaps more overall support for the political issues of Resource Mobilization Theory that can be assessed just by numerical count. Using this logic, and adding those numbers to support RMT, Organization D would show members gravitating toward elements of Resource Mobilization Theory 95.43% of the time.

The numbers suggest that since Organization D members gravitate toward the political components of Resource Mobilization Theory, then it would warrant that they should be either the most aggressive in its mobilization efforts or the most successful. The interviews conducted with the groups suggest otherwise. In fact, the organization that has shown the most tangible levels of success is Organization C. Perhaps partly due to its 36 year tenure, or to its limited but

committed membership, or its rigid hierarchical structure, or its ability to generate significant revenue to use in its mobilization efforts, Organization C was able show actual realized gains.

For example, Organization C has helped two of its members to a school board, one member as a mayor for two terms, and another member who ran unsuccessfully for the Libertarian Party. They were actively involved in several legal challenges at the city level, and two other cases that were decided by the state supreme court. Their most significant successes were at the local level, where they have organized dozens of petitions to lobby against local municipal government policies. Members listed long standing ties with the National Rifle Association (NRA), white nationalist organizations, white separatist Randy Weaver, and the Libertarian Party.

By way of contrast, Organization D was the most ambitious in its short and long term agenda. Seven members boasted of having direct ties with the regional Tea Party and see working collaboratively with them and other organizations to build upon populist support so that it can then utilize that support to achieve its short and long term objectives. Much of its goals include areas that can garner popular support including *fiscal conservatism* (lower taxation, smaller government, balanced budget reform, government program spending cuts) and *social conservativism* (defending traditional marriage, opposition to illegal immigration, opposition to abortion) as well as *law and order conservative principles* (tougher sentences for criminals, greater power allocated to law enforcement and prosecutors).

These three areas of foci enable Organization D a sophisticated strategy to garner public support. By assisting in campaigns, or running members for public office, Organization D attempts to work its own more radical right interests by utilizing populist support from more

moderate conservatives. This ambitious program affords the movement a medium by which it can have some of its goals realized through institutional channels.

Similar to Organization D, Organization A does not have significant tangible political or legal gains. In fact, much of what both organizations are able to clearly demonstrate are the elements of Resource Mobilization Theory that allow it to position itself for eventual mobilization. Organization A accounts for taking in the most amount of revenue largely through membership dues across itself (operating as the head branch) and it's three other affiliates. Similar to Organization C and Organization D, membership dues are imposed. Members are expected to contribute $910 per annum, amassing $94,640 annually.

All members agreed that running candidates at local municipal and school board elections generally get less attention and have less resistance through competition. The availability of resources affords the central branch to strategize for all affiliates and recommend its members run for office at various positions. The Governor suggested specifically that City Commission and school board positions require minimal financial investment and generate significant return. They allow members who gain access to political ascendency to influence policy, albeit smaller but still argued to be important, and build recognition for future political endeavors.

Organization A appears to use a strategy that was effective for Organization C: securing political successes at lower levels of public office. While it has sufficient resources to run candidates at higher levels, it appears much of their resources are not being aggressively used for political mobilization at the moment. Resource Mobilization Theory does not state that mobilization has to occur for an organization to be successful. The fact that it can maintain strong leadership, a rigid organizational structure, small membership, and have significant

resources, allows the social movement to position itself for mobilization at an opportune time. What matters more is that they are financially able to politically mobilize.

Organization D only has 10 year tenure but has a larger membership and collects membership dues. The organization's worth is estimated by some of its members to be between $500,000 and $1 million. Its Governor stated that the figure is actually significantly less than what the organization's revenues are. This suggests that resource attainment has been a significant success for the movement.

5.25 Testing the Research Hypothesis and Two Main Research Questions

The research hypothesis for this study is that Resource Mobilization Theory will better explain the nature of all four right organizations than New Social Movement Theory. The null hypothesis is that neither theory is a better explanation for the organizations.

The two main research questions for this study include:

(1) Does Resource Mobilization Theory explain the nature of the organized far right groups in terms of *organization* (e.g., hierarchically structured organizational structures, clearly defined division of roles and responsibilities, limited numbers of members, strict criteria for new membership), *resource attainment* (e.g., acquisition of money or property assets through membership dues and fundraising), and *mobilization of resources to achieve short and/or long term goals through political and/or legal initiatives* (e.g., lobbying, involvement with political campaigns, running candidates for political office, running for political office, legal challenges through the courts).

(2) Does Resource Mobilization Theory fit all four groups?

The comparative chart shows that in all questions except for one that was asked, the percentage of respondents gravitating toward elements of Resource Mobilization Theory ranged from 61.90% to the highest rate of 100.00%. In fact, when all questions are taken together and answers from all 97 members across four groups are taken into account, 77.51% of respondents gravitated toward Resource Mobilization Theory exclusively. By way of contrast, only 12.65%

of respondents answered in manners consistent with both elements of Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. Further, only 9.84% of respondents answered questions in a manner reflective of positions of New Social Movement Theory.

There is one exception to the overall argument. Organization B had lower percentages of members whose answers correlated with RMT. However, within that group, 65.36% of respondents showed political issues as focal concerns for the movement. Those tended to be the libertarians who had strong political opinions and senior members who had greater experience. However, its younger members who had less political knowledge, experience or interest in the matters, comprised the largest percentage of individuals who gravitated exclusively to the social elements of NSMT. Organization B had 33.34% of its respondents moving in a very different direction than its counterparts wanted to direct the group, and by comparison to Organizations A, C and D, a very different course than where their members want to take their groups.

Three of the four organizations were better explained by Resource Mobilization Theory. They had sophisticated and hierarchical structures with limited membership, aggressive forms of resource attainment through membership dues, and varying levels of political and/or legal mobilization such as lobbying, involvement with local, state, and federal political campaigns, running candidates for school board or political office, and legal challenges through the courts.

One of the four organizations tended to be better explained by Resource Mobilization Theory, but up to one-third of its members answered questions in manner consistent with New Social Movement Theory. This finding was explained by the fact that the organization was an affiliate of a head branch, and therefore had limited autonomy. It relied significantly on the chief branch to direct its policies, and several of its members appeared to have less experience or knowledge of political and legal issues.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

There has been limited research on the organized far right movement in two specific areas. First, primary research involving interviewing organized members has been scarce, and secondly, there exists limited focus of applying social movement theory to help explain the nature of the movement. This study has attempted to address these limitations by doing in-depth interviews from 97 members of four right wing organizations across two states in the Midwest. The study used social movement theory to help explain the nature of the movement.

This study compared the utility of two social movement theories, Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory to explain the functioning of the four organizations. Both theories contend that social movements attempt to change culture/society. Resource Mobilization Theory contends that change is achieved within the sphere of institutional power (e.g., lobbying to elected officials, involvement with political campaigns, running candidates for political office, legal challenges through the courts), while New Social Movement Theory argues that change occurs in civil society through building shared values and ideas.

6.1 Methodological Approach

I chose a qualitative approach for this research study. The sample was small enough to use qualitative methodology with in-depth interviewing and open-ended questions, but large enough to perhaps make a case for limited generalizability of findings to the broader subculture.

A semi-structured interview protocol was used for the study. The questions that were used reflect areas pertaining to the two social movement theories. The answers to the questions will directly help the researcher determine to what extent members within the group lean toward: the political Resource Mobilization Theory, or the social areas of New Social Movement Theory.

The questions that were asked cover the areas of political issues found in Resource Mobilization Theory, the social/cultural issues found in New Social Movement Theory, or a combination of both theories. For example, answers to the question, "*Are there any plans to become involved in any political activity in the future*?" helped assess whether the group has political goals or not. Answers to the question, "*What values do your organization find acceptable*?" helped assess whether goals were more social and cultural in nature.

Through the usage of probes, I was better able to determine if the intended change would be some form of *political mobilization* (e.g., political lobbying, seeking public office, etc.) or through *cultural transmission* (e.g., having meetings to discuss issues within their organizations or expanded to include other people in society). Hence, probes were necessary to generate rich data. From this data, I was able to better assess to what degree the organizations can be best explained by each of the two theories, or a combination of both.

6.2 The Study's Findings

Organizations' characteristics were examined individually and then comparatively analyzed to determine which theory better explains the nature of the organized far right groups. In terms of age, Organization A had approximately 60% of its membership under the age of 30. By contrast, Organization C had the largest number of elder members, 55.55% its membership over the age of 50. The most evenly distributed group by age was Organization B, which had most of its members spread out within the 20-49 year range. By contrast, Organization D had 28 of its 33 members within the brackets of 30-49.

By way of religion, Organizations A-C were represented largely by one religion (Anglican), while Organization D had two prominent religions (Traditionalist Catholics and Baptists). All 18 members in Organization C were Creativity. From a combined tally of all four

groups, there were 77 Christians among five sects. Christianity comprised 79.38% of the religious composition of membership across the groups.

There were 11 central questions that were selected for data analysis. These were selected on their unique characteristics. Ones that were excluded were determined to have already been covered within the context of the listed in the chart.

For Organization A, ten of the 11 questions had a significant majority of respondents leaning toward elements of Resource Mobilization Theory. In two questions posed to members which asked "*How does your organization raise funds? How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?*" and "*What roles do members serve in your organization? How common is it that members disagree with one another?*" all 25 members answered in a manner consistent with the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory. Only once was Resource Mobilization Theory not directly represented by its members.

For Organization B, unique characteristics unfolded during data analysis. This organization had the most ideologically split membership than all other organizations. In consistent fashion, 13 of its members (notably the older and more experienced faction) tended to answer questions by emphasizing political issues as their principal objective to achieve short and long term goals. However, eight of its members had limited knowledge of political and legal issues, and almost no interest in it. While one faction tended to answer in manners consistent with the tenets of Resource Mobilization Theory, the younger sector tended to gravitate toward the social aspects of New Social Movement Theory.

While Organization A's members on average tended to answer in manners consistent with Resource Mobilization Theory 78.18% of the time, Organization B's members answered addressing RMT issues 65.36% of the time. Another interesting finding is that Organization B

had the most answers of all groups gravitating exclusively toward New Social Movement Theory. Organization B members answered in accordance to NSMT 33.33% of the time. It can be argued then that there is a significant ideological divide between its membership. It was noted that because it is an affiliate branch, many of the younger members complained about a loss of autonomy, where resources were funneled to the head branch annually, and they depended on direction from the chief branch significantly. Many of its members appeared confused or were unsure of how to answer questions concerning politics and the law.

Conversely, Organization C was the most consistent in their answers of all groups. Members answered in accordance to Resource Mobilization tenets 78.38% of the time across all 11 questions. Organization C uses aggressive lobbying, town hall meetings and legal challenges in the courts to mobilize against the State. They have a history of political success, having helped elect or run candidates at various levels of government.

The most conservative organization was found to be Organization D. Its members answered questions in manners consistent with the political elements of Resource Mobilization Theory 79.70% of the time across the 11 questions. Organization D was unique insofar as where some of its members did not exclusively espouse elements of Resource Mobilization Theory, unlike Organization B which had one third of its membership go the opposite ideological direction, Organization D members gravitated toward elements of both RMT and NSMT.

Specifically, when asked questions such as "*What are the long term goals of your organization? What methods does your organization use to achieve long term goals?*" members did not dismiss the importance of mobilization (e.g., lobbying, working on political campaigns, running candidates for various levels of public office, etc.) but that they felt it necessitated the impetus of populist support to provide the movement added legitimacy and momentum.

I assessed this as Organization D members seeing value building and identity formation as means to better attain their short and long term goals. In other words, populist support helps add to the movement's legitimacy provides it large numbers that tangibly show the State it has significant support, and this is used along with key strategies and resources to mobilize politically.

The organization that has shown the most tangible levels of success is Organization C. Some of its realized goals include helping two of its members get elected to a school board, one member as a mayor for two terms, and another member who ran unsuccessfully for the Libertarian Party. They were actively involved in several legal challenges at the city level, and two other cases that were decided by the state supreme court. Their most significant successes were at the local level, where they have organized dozens of petitions to lobby against local municipal government policies. Members listed long standing ties with the National Rifle Association (NRA), white nationalist organizations, and the Libertarian Party.

By way of contrast, Organization D was the most ambitious in its short and long term agenda. Seven members boasted of having direct ties with the regional Tea Party and see working collaboratively with them and other organizations to build upon populist support so that it can then utilize that support to achieve its short and long term objectives. Much of its goals include areas that can garner popular support including *fiscal conservatism* (lower taxation, smaller government, balanced budget reform, government program spending cuts) and *social conservativism* (defending traditional marriage, opposition to illegal immigration, opposition to abortion) as well as *law and order conservative principles* (tougher sentences for criminals, greater power allocated to law enforcement and prosecutors).

These three areas of foci enable Organization D a sophisticated strategy to garner public support. By assisting in campaigns, or running members for public office, Organization D attempts to work its own more radical right interests by utilizing populist support from more moderate conservatives. This ambitious program affords the movement a medium by which it can have some of its goals realized through institutional channels.

Similar to Organization D, Organization A does not have significant tangible political or legal gains. In fact, much of what both organizations are able to clearly demonstrate are the elements of Resource Mobilization Theory that allow it to position itself for eventual mobilization. Organization A accounts for taking in the most amount of revenue largely through membership dues across itself (operating as the head branch) and it's three other affiliates. Similar to Organization C and Organization D, membership dues are imposed. Members are expected to contribute $910 per annum, amassing $94,640 annually. Resource building was consistent across all four organizations.

6.3 Testing the Research Hypothesis and Two Main Research Questions

The research hypothesis for this study is that Resource Mobilization Theory will better explain the nature of all four right organizations than New Social Movement Theory. The null hypothesis is that neither theory is a better explanation for the organizations.

The two main research questions for this study included:

(1) Does Resource Mobilization Theory explain the nature of the organized far right groups in terms of *organization* (e.g., hierarchically structured organizational structures, clearly defined division of roles and responsibilities, limited numbers of members, strict criteria for new membership), *resource attainment* (e.g., acquisition of money or property assets through membership dues and fundraising), and *mobilization of resources to achieve short and/or long term goals through political and/or legal initiatives* (e.g., lobbying, involvement with political campaigns, running candidates for political office, running for political office, legal challenges through the courts).

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The comparative chart shows that in all questions except for one that was asked, the percentage of respondents gravitating toward elements of Resource Mobilization Theory ranged from 61.90% to the highest rate of 100.00%. In fact, when all questions are taken together and answers from all 97 members across four groups are taken into account, 77.51% of respondents gravitated toward Resource Mobilization Theory exclusively. By way of contrast, only 12.65% of respondents answered in manners consistent with both elements of Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. Further, only 9.84% of respondents answered questions in a manner reflective of positions of New Social Movement Theory.

There is one exception to the overall argument. Organization B had lower percentages of members whose answers correlated with Resource Mobilization Theory. However, within that group, 65.36% of respondents showed political issues as focal concerns for the movement. Those tended to be the libertarians who had strong political opinions and senior members who had greater experience. However, its younger members who had less political knowledge, experience or interest in the matters, comprised the largest percentage of individuals who gravitated exclusively to the social elements of New Social Movement Theory. Organization B had 33.34% of its respondents moving in a very different direction than its counterparts wanted to direct the group, and by comparison to Organizations A, C and D, a very different course than where their members want to take their groups.

Three of the four organizations were better explained by Resource Mobilization Theory. They had highly sophisticated and hierarchical organizational structures with limited membership, aggressive forms of resource attainment through membership dues, and varying levels of political and/or legal mobilization such as lobbying, involvement with local, state, and

federal political campaigns, running candidates for school board or political office, and legal challenges through the courts.

One of the four organizations tended to be better explained by Resource Mobilization Theory, but up to one-third of its members answered questions in manner consistent with New Social Movement Theory. This finding was explained by the fact that the organization was an affiliate of a head branch, and therefore had limited autonomy. It relied significantly on the chief branch to direct its policies, and several of its members appeared to have less experience or knowledge of political and legal issues.

6.4 Limitations of the Study

This research study had a number of limitations including the limited number and diversity of participants. There were 97 subjects across four far right organizations that were interviewed. While this affords the opportunity to gather rich data from four sectors of a broader subculture and offer a contribution to knowledge to explain the nature of those particular groups, it cannot statistically offer an ability to generalize findings to the broader population. One could argue that purposive and snowball recruitment procedures, while helping to ensure a viable participant pool, cannot ensure a sample that is representative of a broader population.

Another limitation to the study entails that the samples drawn were from two Midwestern states, making the study a regional rather than national study. The expansion of both numbers of organizations and geographic territory covered would have enhanced the potential generalizability of the study findings to the broader population.

Since the study was not funded, insufficient resources restricted the number of groups that could be studied and the location. The culture of the Midwest is very different that in other parts of the United States. A comparative analysis could have been made with groups in very

different regions such as southern states, where there is a higher percentage of African Americans, or in northeastern states, where there is a higher percentage of Jewish Americans. These two sectors have been historical targets of the organized far right, yet in this study, limited emphasis was placed on them. The absence of a larger comparative analysis from different parts of the country would be able to better assess whether findings in the current study are consistent across a larger one.

My study found that there were no female members in the groups. According to Blee (2002) there are female members, although she only researched one organization for her study. It would be important then that future research be expanded to cover more organizations to get a better assessment of the representation of female membership in the far right movement.

Part of the limitations of conducting research is the high degree of secrecy many groups operate under. While a portion of its sector overtly expresses its views, a significant portion of it does not. Further, it is difficult for researchers to gain access to such groups to conduct research on them. The amount of time it took to locate, contact, make arrangements for interviews, and collect data is extensive. Time constraints limit the amount of groups and interviews a researcher can engage in. More time to conduct a larger study, and additional resources could have led to a much larger study where generalizability issues could be better addressed.

6.5 Strengths of the Study

The study has attempted to offer a contribution to knowledge where gaps exist in the literature. Few studies have been conducted that include interviews with members of the organized far right. Simi and Futrell (2009; 2004) included interviews with 89 far right members in the more recent study and 56 in the earlier one. Blee (2002) included interviews with 34 female far right members. What made these studies unique was that the first two involved

younger members of the white power movement, and the other a study based entirely on female subjects. These contribute to knowledge from a perspective of age and gender.

My study was more diversified; relying on established organizations (between 10 and 36 year tenures) with groups fell within three of the 14 categories listed by the Southern Poverty Law Center as far right groups. The inclusion of four organizations, comprising three distinct categorizations of ideology and foci offers a contribution to knowledge. Only Barrett (1987) studied more groups (161) and interviewed more members (586). One can argue however, that after 24 years, much of the findings of his study are now outdated and are in need of re-assessment through ongoing research. I attempted to do that.

Of particular relevance to me was that Barrett's findings showed greater amounts of sophistication of far right organizations, with 82 of 161 groups being classified as fringe right organizations and 79 on the radical right. He found that the fringe sector tended to be more law abiding and sought to attain its goals through institutional channels (e.g., political mobilization through lobbying, assisting for political campaigns, running for public office) whereas the radical sector sought to attain its goals through cultural channels (e.g., attempting to change value systems in society). While the fringe sector had multi-faceted issues of concern, the radical sector tended to be singular issued, almost always concentrating its emphasis on racism. Unique findings showed that there was a strong ideological divide between both sectors and that the fringe and radical sectors were opposed to one another.

What Barrett's findings allowed for me to assess is the emergent themes found within Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. One could argue that his approach used grounded theory, where theory emerges from the findings. While he did not embark on the usage of social movement theory thereafter, it inspired my research methodology.

By building on his research and refining the methodology by adding social movement theory, embedding it within the context of the questions and engaging in direct interviews with multiple groups, I was able to find that three, and two thirds of another, of the four far right organizations were better explained by Resource Mobilization Theory They had highly sophisticated and hierarchical organizational structures with limited membership, aggressive forms of resource attainment through membership dues, and varying levels of political and/or legal mobilization such as lobbying, involvement with local, state, and federal political campaigns, running candidates for school board or political office, and legal challenges through the courts. These findings add to the existing knowledge and in fact, expand the dialogue on whether the far right can actually mobilize politically to seek to attain short or long term goals.

The study is unique in the sense that, along with a shift in leaning toward political mobilization, the organizations I studied placed almost no focus on blacks, and the level of anti-Semitism was significantly less than found in my research for my MA thesis. The level of anti-Semitism was most heavily pronounced by members who were Traditionalist Catholics and those belonging to Creativity. There were also strong anti-mainstream Catholic sentiments expressed by all Traditionalist Catholics and many Creativity members.   Traditionalist Catholics denounced evangelicals as well, while Creativity members denounced Christianity as a whole. These findings are unique and provide a contribution to knowledge.

While it may be difficult to generalize the data findings to the broader subculture because of the limited number of groups and interviews, and localized region (Midwest), it does contribute one of the largest studies to data since Barrett.   The availability of four different samples allowed for critical and comparative analyses within and across groups. In this respect, along with the fact that the combined sample is approximately three times larger than an average

qualitative sample, it offers an opportunity to make some, albeit limited case, for generalizability. The consistency in the sophisticated level of organizational structures, the aggressive commitment to building resources, and the short and long term goals of political mobilization makes the findings generalizable to these four groups.

6.6 Directions for Future Research

The study's findings afford a basis by which future research can be built on. A smaller study could use a parallel strategy (direct interviews with both sociological theories) in the same geographic region to assess whether the findings could be replicated, or if they would be different. Specifically, it would be intriguing to determine if different groups within the same region would be better explained by Resource Mobilization Theory, or if New Social Movement Theory would better reflect the nature of that sector.

A smaller study could use a parallel strategy in different geographic regions to assess whether the findings would be consistent with this study. The advantages of that would include focusing on different regions to account for unique elements (e.g., demographics, culture) of other areas.

A larger study could use similar methodological approaches used for this study but expand it to more groups across different regions of the country. This would allow for better representation of groups, and perhaps make a case for generalizability to the broader population.

6.7 Policy Implications

While it is legally possible for far right interests to be represented in the political arena, they need to be effectively supported by the electorate to gain any significant status. Tactics and strategies, then, play pivotal roles in ensuring that a movement is successful. Many of the far right groups altered their historical antagonism toward specific groups and tailored their criticism

to specific issues that the fringe right and neo-conservatives would more likely endorse or perhaps tolerate.

Altering tactics and strategies enable the far right a means to achieve their ends in a variety of ways. First, by focusing predominantly on issues rather than racial or ethnic groups, they are able to camouflage their underlying racist agenda. In doing so, they are able to find legitimate political concerns and effectively enter the political arena. Issues such as immigration, abortion, and homosexuality are more acceptable points of contention than its historical targets. Second, the far right is able to represent the interests of conservative and neo-conservative voters who may parallel their ideology on specific issues, but not necessarily the more radical elements of its agenda.

Without a significant percentage of electoral support, the far right cannot gain enough political leverage to legislate changes. Gaining the support and confidence of voters is essential; thus, altering strategies and tactics is pivotal. The far right essentially sees altering its strategies and tactic as a natural process that must take place to effectively swing the political pendulum back to the right. Once voters accept certain right wing polices, the political environment will allow for the far right to push for further right wing policies. Thus, the process of achieving its objectives operates on a continuum.

This study has shown that several far right groups have complex, formal and sophisticated organizational structures. All groups studied have amassed significant resources which can be used to facilitate possible political mobilization to attain short and long term goals. This study has challenged existing research by affording the reader a much more comprehensive examination of the far right from the inside. If we are to understand a social phenomenon, it is best understood in this manner.

APPENDIX A
Interview Schedule

Before the interview commences, I shall tell participants the following:
"*If there is anything that you have been involved with in the past, in the present or will participate in the future that is illegal, I do not want to hear about it*."

- *Socio-demographic questions*:
- How old are you?
- What is your gender? Where were you born?
- What is the highest level of education that you have attained?
- What is your religious affiliation?
- What is your ethnic background?
- What form of occupation do you have?
- Are you working outside the home?

- *General questions*:
- What is the reason you joined this organization?
- What are the criteria for membership?
- What does your organization offer to its members? to society?

- *Political questions (Resource Mobilization Theory)*:
- What are the short term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve the short term goals?
- What are the long term goals of your organization? What are the methods that your organization uses to achieve your long term goals?
- What is more important: short term or long term goals? Why?
- Is there a particular political party that you support? If so, why?
- Has your organization been involved in any political activity in the past or present?
- Are there any plans to become involved in any political activity in the future?
- What government policies (local, state, and/or federal) would your organization like to see implemented? Why?
- What government policies (local, state, and/or federal) would your organization like to see removed? Why?
- How does your organization raise funds?
- How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?
- Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?
- Do you hope to achieve your goals through any political activity? Are you involved in lobbying to politicians? If so, on which level (local, state, federal)? Are you involved to help in a political candidate's election? If so, on which level (local, state, federal)?
- What role does leadership have for group organization?
- What role does leadership have for your group seeking its goals?

Social/cultural issues (New Social Movement Theory):

- What importance do values have for your organization's agenda?
- What values do your organization find acceptable? Why? How does it seek to promote them?
- What values does your organization oppose? Why? How does it seek to change them?
- How many members are in your organization?
- How does your organization attain new membership?
- How important is it to have large membership?
- Is a larger membership more effective in achieving your goals?
- What roles do members serve in your organization?
- How often do members get together?
- What do members do when they get together?
- Is it important that members share similar values? Why or why not?
- Is it important that members share similar ideas? Why or why not?
- How common is it that members disagree with one another?
- If there is disagreement, how do members resolve their differences?
- How important is it for your group to promote its ideology to others? Why or why not?
- What importance does freedom of speech have for your organization?
- What are the goals of your organization?
- How do you define success(es)? Can you provide some examples of some of the successes of your organization (short term and/or long term)?
- Is it necessary to change society? Why? How is this best achieved?

APPENDIX B

Research Information Sheet

Title of Study: Social Movement Theory and Far Right Organizations
Principal Investigator (PI):   Frank Tridico
                                  Department of Sociology
                                  (517) 265-5161, ext. 4033

Purpose:
You are being asked to be in a research study of conservative organizations because you belong to one. This study is being conducted at Wayne State University.

Study Procedures:
If you take part in the study, you will be asked to complete an interview. I shall ask you questions that will explore the structure, purpose and goals of the organization that you belong to. You have the option of not answering some of the questions and remaining in the study. The interview will be conducted within one visit, and will take between 30 minutes to two hours.

Benefits
As a participant in this research study, there will be no direct benefit for you; however, information from this study may benefit other people now or in the future.

Risks
By taking part in this study, you may experience the following risks: embarrassment and discomfort in answering some questions. You have the right to not answer any question(s) in the interview if you do not want to answer.

Costs
There will be no costs to you for participation in this research study.

Compensation
You will not be paid for taking part in this study.

Confidentiality
All information collected about you during the course of this study will be kept without any identifiers.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:
Taking part in this study is voluntary. You are free to not answer any questions or withdraw at any time. Your decision will not change any present or future relationships with Wayne State University or its affiliates.

Questions:
If you have any questions about this study now or in the future, you may contact Frank Tridico at the following telephone number (517) 265-5161, ext. 4033. If you have questions or concerns

about your rights as a research participant, the Chair of the Human Investigation Committee can be contacted at (313) 577-1628. If you are unable to contact the research staff, or if you want to talk to someone other than the research staff, you may also call (313) 577-1628 to ask questions or voice concerns or complaints.

Participation:
By completing the interview you are agreeing to participate in this study.

APPENDIX C

Safety Plan

Given the sensitivity of the proposed study, it has been advised by the PhD Committee to comprise a detailed Safety Plan that would afford the Human Investigation Committee steps taken to protect both research participants and me as the Principal Investigator. I have sought advice from Joanna Risk of the Human Investigation Committee, faculty from both Wayne State University and Western Michigan University who have conducted field research, and from my PhD Committee.

(1) Previous Research Experience Helps to Provide Structure and the Noncontroversial Nature of the Questions Steer the Interviews into a Limited Focus

I have done research with right wing organizations before in my Masters thesis at the University of Windsor, Ontario, Canada in 1996. Hence, although the groups are new and American, I am entering the field research with some experience. That experience has helped provide me for an understanding of how to conduct research in this sensitive area. I am able to draw from what was effective in attaining data and what was ineffective.

One of the biggest strengths of this proposed study it seeks to explain the nature of the far right in terms of organizational structure and whether the organizations are primarily social or political. As such, the questions are focused on elements of social movement theories, and are not directly seeking information about potential illegal activity. Rather, they are asking questions to determine which social movement theory best explains the nature of right wing organizations.

The questions for this study are *not* controversial. The questions (see Appendix A) focus almost exclusively on whether the groups are *political* or *social* in nature. Questions are drawn from the central tenets of two social movement theories (Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory). Questions under the category of Resource Mobilization Theory focus exclusively on political issues. For example, I shall be asking questions such as:
- *Is there a particular political party that you support? If so, why?*
- *Has your organization been involved in any political activity in the past or present?*
- *Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?*

Since the political realm is a legal institutional channel to try and attain goals for an organization, it is highly likely that participants will be discussing their specific methods for political mobilization. These can include (i) the organizational structure of their group, (ii) the short and/or long term goals the organization wishes to attain, (iii) the strategies for political mobilization they will use (e.g., supporting a political party, political campaigning, running for public office, lobbying).

Questions under the category of New Social Movement Theory focus exclusively on social issues. For example, I shall be asking questions such as:

- *What values and lifestyles do your organization find acceptable? What? How does it seek to promote them?*
- *What values and lifestyles does your organization oppose? Why? How does it seek to change them?*
- How does your organization attain new membership?

Questions I ask to determine the social fabric of these organizations focus highly on elements of New Social Movement Theory. These focus largely on building collective identity through larger membership, the role of leadership, culture, shared values and ideas. Organizations that can best be explained by this theory tend to reject or minimize institutional channels such as the political realm and they seek to attain change through cultural transmission of ideas (from within their organizations and through promoting ideas to others outside their organizations). The questions may possibly generate ideas that could show intolerance (e.g., racism, opposition to homosexuality, opposition to abortion, etc.). This intolerance could offend some who do not concur with these beliefs but such beliefs do not necessarily lead to illegality.

The research questions are semi-structured in design which allow for rich description and diverse narratives, but they are specific enough to channel direction and focus onto the elements of the social theories. Hence, while there may be emphasis placed on opposition to certain things (e.g., abortion, immigration, and homosexuality) my research focuses on how such ideas explain the formation and sustenance of such groups, and whether they can be best explained by one social theory or the other, or a combination of both.

The nature of the questions provides structure, direction and focus, and is unlikely to lead the interviews into areas that may be more sensitive. My previous research was conducted with the same research model and similar questions and my experience with that will help in maintaining the flow of interview questioning and helping decipher relevant data for the study.

Having conducted previous research on right wing groups is an advantage in terms of safety because I have experience in this type of field research. I have spent several years building rapport and trust as a researcher with previous groups. I have treated anyone whom I have interviewed with *transparency*.

The purpose of the field research is to gather data to help explain the nature of the far right through social movement theory. The purpose of the field research is not to agree or disagree with views, or to move the interviews into directions that seek answers beyond the focus of the social movement theories

(2) Risks and Benefits of the Study

There may be some possibility of embarrassment or discomfort to subjects in answering some of the questions. I have mentioned this possibility in the information sheet. I shall inform participants of their right to not answer any question(s) in the interview and that they reserve the right to withdraw from the interview and the study at any time. Further, if they wish to have any statements withdrawn at any time, I shall respect their wishes with regard to this.

With respect to legal risks, the questions that I ask are *not controversial*. This, along with previous experience in interviewing right wing groups using similar questions has been proven to *not* illicit controversial and particularly illegal criteria. I have spoken in detail with Joanna Risk at HIC over this. There is legal obligation to report illegal activity in specific areas (e.g., child and elder abuse). With regard to this area, there is no legal obligation to report. Rather, it would be an ethical issue to do so or not. I have never been apprised of any illegal activity in past research with right wing organizations.

While it is not necessarily required, I shall inform participants that if there is any illegal activity engaged in or planned, I would prefer that I am not informed of it. This will be stated prior to the commencement of interviews. They may choose to refuse to answer certain questions or withdraw from the study entirely. There may be some risk of offending potential participants because of informing them of my preference to not be appraised of any illegal activity, because they may have never committed any illegality or may have no intention of doing so. However, I argue that the inclusion of this helps protect the participants and me as the Principal Investigator. While there could be an accentuated risk of having participants limit the questions they may wish to answer, or withdraw from the study entirely, it will serve as an appropriate alternative. This has been the approach I have used in previous research and it has proven to be effective.

With regard to benefits, there are no specific benefits to research participants. The study does not provide any form of compensation to research participants. Participation in the research is voluntary. There are however, benefits to society that may result from participation in the research project. Participation in the study will help increase knowledge in explaining the organized far right movement in terms of social movement theory. There is limited research in this area and adding to it may provide a significant contribution to knowledge as well as help encourage further research.

(3) Precautions for Me as the Principal Researcher

To protect me as a researcher, I shall be conducting interviews with participants in public areas such as parks. Although it is in a public setting, there will be considerable distance between the interviewer and participant and others nearby. The location will be picked to ensure that others will not be able to hear the contents of the interview, but it still remains in a public setting to help provide ready access for me to leave if I as the Principal Investigator feel uncomfortable in any way.

I shall be informing my wife of my interview's location. She will be present in a vehicle close enough to witness the interview, but not hear the interview itself. If there is any sense of danger, we have agreed that I would raise my hand from the park bench and she would then become aware of it and would telephone law enforcement if needed. These are added precautions that I have never used in previous research but will use for the current study to address possible (but unlikely) safety precautions.

I shall be maintaining regular contact with my Doctoral Advisor Dr. Leon H. Warshay throughout the interview process. He will be informed of when I shall be conducting interviews, the times and in which location. I shall inform him prior to and following commencement of

each day's interviews so that he is apprised of all phases of the field research. In the event that there is a problem, Dr. Warshay would be able to contact law enforcement. Once again, this is an added precaution that I have never used in previous research but will use for the current study to address possible (but unlikely) safety precautions.

(4) Recruitment Procedures

The Principal Investigator has attained contact information of the leaders of four organizations through internet searches and has solicited letters of consent by way of email. Emailed letters of consent were obtained successfully and can be documented in Appendix E. The consent allows the Principal Investigator to provide to the leaders through email an attached electronic flyer that they will distribute to their memberships. The flyer will be sent only after it has been approved by HIC. It will contain information about the study and contact information of the Principal Investigator. Interested parties who wish to be interviewed will contact the PI personally. They will be informed through the flyer that participation is voluntary and if they are not interested, they do not need to respond in any manner. The proposed flyer has been submitted to HIC to review. Verbatim copies are included as Appendix D in the submissions.

Once leaders of the organizations email the flyer to their memberships, only those who are interested in being interviewed will contact the Principal Investigator. When I am contacted by them, I shall read a telephone script stating:

"Thank you for responding to my flyer that was sent to you through your organization leader. My name is Frank Tridico. I am a Doctoral candidate for the Department of Sociology at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan. I am doing a research study on conservative organizations. I would be interested in talking with you. The one visit interview would take about 30 minutes to two hours. The interview will not be audio or video taped, but I shall be taking notes. All information collected about you during the course of the study will be kept without any identifiers. Your participation is this study is voluntary. If you are interested in taking place in this study, I would be able to meet with you at a time and date of your convenience at a public location."

If they agree, arrangements will be made to conduct a one-on-one interview at a public setting at an agreed upon date and time. At that time, an information sheet will be provided to them (see Appendix B).

This method of recruitment was chosen to ensure that contact with memberships to the organizations would not be seen as uninvited or potentially unwelcome. By requesting letters of consent from the organization leaders, they are privy to the study that I am conducting. Their positive responses to allow an electronic flyer (if approved by HIC) to be emailed to the leaders who would then in turn forward it to their members would make the process less intrusive. The members would then be given information about the study, contact information of the Principal Investigator and the option to not contact the PI if they are not interested. Potential subjects are informed several times that the study is voluntary.

Not only are the recruitment procedures more likely to be less intrusive, but the responses from interested parties are more likely to entail individuals who feel comfortable with being interviewed. Information sheets will be provided for those who agree to be interviewed in person and this also becomes an important step in making potential subjects informed and to feel at ease, helping to minimize the possibility of problems.

Information sheets maintain optimal confidentiality and were recommended by WSU's HIC personnel. Once respondents have agreed to participate, and information sheet will be provided to them at the time and place of the interview. There will only be one information sheet provided to each respondent (See Appendix B). It will be written in English only. I shall also read it aloud to them and ask them if they have any questions. Participants will not be provided with additional information after participation.

Participants will *not* be asked to sign a consent form. This will ensure that there is no record that can identify them in anyway, thus protecting confidentiality and anonymity.

The information sheet will provide them all necessary information. A copy of this is included in the prospectus. This includes the purpose of the study involving academic research, the topic of the research, a time commitment of 30 minutes to 2 hours for the interview, the study procedures that involve interviews, anonymity and confidentiality assurances and clarity that participation is voluntary and they can withdraw at any point in the interview.

(5) Protecting Anonymity and Confidentiality for Participants

Anonymity refers to responses obtained from research participants when there is no way to link responses to the participants. If the investigator cannot, in any way, link the participants with their responses or other recorded data, then anonymity can be assured.

Confidentiality refers to responses/information obtained from research participants that could be linked to the individual participants. Research investigators must assure that the responses

provided by the participants will be kept confidential so that no one other than the investigator can connect the information to specific participants.

I shall inform each potential participant of measures to protect their personal privacy, which includes both anonymity and confidentiality. This will be done through the following:

(1) Their names will not be used in any way. I shall propose using *pseudonyms* rather than *names* to assure anonymity.

(2) The names of their organizations will not be disclosed. Rather, they will be identified as '*Organization A*', '*Organization B*', '*Organization C*', and '*Organization D*'. By doing this, this will help assure anonymity and confidentiality.

(3) Some of the questions in the study attempt to study the organizational structures. The roles that each member occupies within her/his organization will be changed from their actual specific names (e.g., Kligrapp, Klabee) to general names (e.g., committee chair, member, etc.). This affords members greater anonymity and confidentiality because they would encompass names that could be found in most organizations and would thus, be less likely to be identified as membership in a specific far right organization.

(4) Participants will be identified by numbers. Data collected from each participant includes a sequential numbering system (e.g., Participant #1, Participant #2, etc.). The interviews will be kept under lock and key. Moreover, the data on the computer from the interviews will be kept in a password protected file. Participants will be identified by numbers to ensure their confidentiality. There will be no link of names of respondents to the interview data. I shall be assigning numbers as I do the interviews. Without a list linking names to interviews, the data is protected, as one cannot link the interview data to any one person.

(5) Given that I shall be using pseudonyms to protect anonymity, there will be no need to maintain separate master lists and data sheets. The data collected will be destroyed upon completion of the study to make certain that confidentiality is maintained. Anonymity is assured because names will not be used in any way. The privacy of each potential participant will be protected.

(6) For added protection of confidentiality, the interviews will *not* be audio or videotaped, and any notes taken during the interviews will be destroyed.

(7) There will be no way to match respondents to a particular organization because the names of the respondents will be by numbers, and the organizations will be by letter, and cities and states will not be identified. The geographic locations of the organizations will not be disclosed to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of respondents. In the dissertation, they will be identified as being four organizations from two cities in two Midwestern states.

APPENDIX D

Electronic Flyer

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Frank Tridico and I am a Doctoral candidate for the Department of Sociology at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan.

I have asked for and attained an emailed letter of consent by your organization leader to have him send this emailed attachment to you to ask if you would like to take part in a study. I was not given any access your personal information. Hence, this is the only contact you will have from me unless you choose to contact me personally. You can contact me if you are interested, or you can choose not to contact me if you are not interested.

I am doing a research study on conservative organizations. The reason I have chosen to study this is because there is a lack of critical analysis on the far right movement using social movement theories. Questions that will be asked will involve areas that focus on two social movement theories and the goal of the study is to understand which theory best explains the organizations.

Participation in the study will help increase knowledge in the area, as well as help encourage further research.

I would be interested in talking with you if you are interested. If you take part in the study, you will be asked to complete an interview. I shall ask you questions that will explore the structure, purpose and goals of the organization that you belong to. You have the option of not answering some of the questions and remaining in the study. The interview will be conducted within one visit, and will take between 30 minutes to two hours.

The interview will not be audio or video taped, but I shall be taking notes. All information collected about you during the course of the study will be kept without any identifiers. Any data collected will be destroyed after the completion of this study. Your participation is this study is voluntary. If you are interested in taking place in this study, I would be able to meet with you at a time and date of your convenience at a public location.

If you are interested you may contact me personally at (517) 265-5161, ext. 4033. I would be happy to provide additional information to you, and if you are comfortable with this, we can arrange an agreeable date, time and public location to conduct the interview.

Best regards,
Frank Tridico
PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology
Wayne State University

APPENDIX E

Mock Interview

Researcher: Frank Tridico
Organization Code: Organization Blue
Participant Code: Subject #12
Date of Interview: 00/00/0000
Time of Interview: 0:00pm
Location of Interview: Restaurant owned by two members of organization
Length of Interview: 1 hour, 54 minutes

Rapport: limited to poor
Comments: respondent was cautions, spoke softly but carefully making certain that he reflected on what I asked of him and how he answered questions; appeared suspicious of intent of some of the questions and stopped the interview at three various points to ask me questions

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- *How old are you?*

41

- *Where were you born?*

(_____)

- *What is the highest level of education that you have attained?*

  Law degree

- *What is your religious affiliation?*

Baptist

- *What is your ethnic background?*

 Pure English ancestry

- *What form of occupation do you have?*

- Practicing Attorney

GENERAL QUESTIONS

- *What is the reason you joined this organization?*

Related to many of the members; has an active interest in lobbying to change laws as well as challenging them in court; his education, experience, in and out of the legal realm has helped the organization; feels a sense of importance; feels he can contribute; he is the organization's lawyer

- *What are the criteria for membership?*

Maintains that organization is exclusive only to whites but most criteria focus on ideology; must be in agreement ideologically with others, especially leadership; must be conservative to be a member; must be related to existing members and be willing to contribute to promotion of movement and ideals

- *What does your organization offer to its members? To society?*

Political opportunity and eventually having members elected to office; laws can be changed through legal channels without breaking laws; this can only be done through strict membership criteria; can't open membership up to just anyone; members must be committed and willing to contribute and if they do, organization will help them run for political campaigns (help them financially)

POLITICAL ISSUES (RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY)

- *What are the goals of your organization?*

(He repeated and elaborated on what was mentioned in previous question)

- *What are the strategies used to achieve your goals?*

Remain lawful; political lobby; funding political campaigns; campaigning for political candidates; effective communication; build financial resources to help political causes

- *Is there a political party that you support? If so, why?*

Support Republican Party; do not support Democrats because of tax and spend policies, social engineering programs (e.g., affirmative action programs) , socialism, giving money away, Democrats support abortion and same sex, don't do enough against illegal immigration

- *Has your organization been involved in any political activity in the past or present?*

Only at state level, most members actively helping run campaign for local candidate; helped run three campaigns and served as campaign manager for two of them; helping with strategizing, writing press releases and content for brochures

- *Are there any plans to become involved in any political activity in the future?*

Continuous involvement in Republican Party; depending on how much help they want; if they refuse to have involvement with the organization, members can assist as individuals; thinking of running for mayor in next city election

- *What government policies would your organization like to see implemented and/or removed?*

Obamacare needs to be repealed; if people can't afford insurance they shouldn't be treated, can go to Canada where it is free; Obamacare will drive up taxes and debt; strengthen border and national security issues; throw out all illegal immigrants and their children; repeal all citizen status of anyone of Arabic ancestry; make Christianity national religion; have constitutional amendment to ban same sex marriage

- *How does your organization raise funds/capital?*

Investments in different ways; resources pooled and diversified regularly; cites organization's profits have risen threefold since 1990

- *How does your organization use financial resources to achieve its goals?*

Political party contributions; campaigning; running future candidates at federal and state levels; legal defense against lawsuits

- *Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership? Why?*

Resources more important; people come and go; longer commitment by few better than shorter commitment by many; members who contribute money/pool resources are more committed and trustworthy

- *What role does the political system play in achieving your goals?*

Offers opportunity for change; can give some short term changes and can lead to future changes; must work within Republican Party; third parties are pointless; must work to remove non-Christians in Republican Party inside and leadership

- *Do you hope to achieve your goals through any political activity? Are you involved in lobbying to politicians? If so, on which level (local, state, federal)? Are you involved to help in a political candidate's election? If so, on which level (local, state, federal)?*

Only at state level, most members actively helping run campaign for local candidate; helped run three campaigns and served as campaign manager for two of them; helping with strategizing, writing press releases and content for brochures; organization considering active political campaigning for Tea Party backed candidates; will consider running at least one member from organization federally if organization does not like candidates in next federal election (senator and representative levels)

- *What relevance does leadership have for group organization?*

Needed to maintain group together and remain committed; most members are not related so having strong leadership is "glue that keeps people together"; leadership decides on strategies and goals; leadership shapes organization rules and conduct

- *What relevance does leadership have for your group seeking its goals?*

(Omitted question because he went on to expand and answer question in previous one)

SOCIAL/CULTURAL ISSUES (NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY)

- *What relevance do values and lifestyles have on your organization's agenda?*

None; committed to maintaining traditional conservative values but see this as secondary to challenging laws and helping create new laws

- *What values and lifestyles do your organization find acceptable? Why? How does it seek to promote them?*

Christian, conservative, family values, all criteria of membership as above; no homosexuality or gay rights; opposition to feminism; opposition to multiculturalism; opposition to intermarriage (whites/non-whites, Christians/non-Christians)

- *What values and lifestyles does your organization oppose? Why? How does it seek to change them?*

Note: stops interview at this point; wants to know why asking these questions. He refuses to answer this question.

- *How many members are there in your organization?*

25; says number is small and that is better to keep everyone together and committed to cause

- *How does your organization attain new membership?*

Note: stops interview at this point; wants to know why asking these questions. He refuses to answer this question.

- *How important is it to have large membership?*

(Omitted question because he went on to expand and answer question in previous one)

- *What roles do members serve in your organization?*

Went into detail about organizational structure chart, explaining each role

(Note: these issues gravitate toward political/RMT issues because they denote a hierarchically organized structure, and emphasis was placed on limited roles and membership)

- *How often do members get together?*

(He questioned why I need to know this; he refused to answer)

- *What social events happen when they get together?*

(He refused to answer)

- *Is it important that members share similar values and ideas?*

(He claimed this question was irrelevant)

- *How common is it that members disagree with one another?*

Uncommon because there is a chain of command; top to bottom starting with president down; members have different roles and only handle certain duties

(Note: this answer gravitates to issues relative to political/RMT issues)

- *How important is it for your group to promote its ideology to others? Why?*

Note: stops interview at this point; wants to know why asking these questions. He refuses to answer this question.

- *What importance does freedom of speech have for your organization?*

Freedom of speech only exercised by minorities; whites are branded racists if they defend their race and religion; socialist liberals give minorities leverage in shaping laws to get votes; claims minorities, women and Jews control Democratic Party; wants to change laws to have organization speak out without fear or lawsuits or other reprisals

- What are the goals of your organization?

(This question was asked earlier and denoted content within political/RMT issues so it was not necessary to ask again)

- How do you define success(es)? Can you provide some examples of some of the successes of your organization (short term and/or long term)?

Defined success to be political and legal victories; requires active participation through lobbying, helping run campaigns for state candidates, working on campaigns helping with fundraising, strategizing and writing press releases and brochure content; opposing city ordinances having to do with unfair policies; on legal front, organization scores victories defending against civil litigation; challenge laws through the courts

(Note: These issues appear to be directed at political/RMT issues and therefore would shift time spent on these to factor in overall analysis)

- *Is it necessary to change mainstream ideology? Why? How is this best achieved?*

Shifted focus back to political issues; wasn't concentrating on culture and value systems.

APPENDIX F

ORGANIZATION A

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE (CENTRAL BRANCH)

GOVERNOR
- only elected position in organization
- tenure of five years
- appoints all organization positions and affiliate branch CEOs; holds veto power over any vote

CENTRAL BRANCH FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

CENTRAL BRANCH SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

CENTRAL BRANCH PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER

CENTRAL BRANCH TREASURER

CENTRAL BRANCH RECORDING OFFICER

CENTRAL BRANCH LEGAL COUSEL

CENTRAL BRANCH ADVISING DIRECTOR

CENTRAL BRANCH COMMUNICATIONS ADVISOR

CENTRAL BRANCH COMMUNICATIONS ADVISOR

CENTRAL BRANCH COMMUNICATIONS ADVISOR

AFFILIATE BRANCH #1 PREMIER

AFFILIATE BRANCH #2 PREMIER

AFFILIATE BRANCH #3 PREMIER

ORGANIZATION CEO

ORGANIZATION CEO

ORGANIZATION CEO

APPENDIX G

ORGANIZATION B

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE (AFFLIATE BRANCH)

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│           CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER (CEO)              │
│   • Highest status of governance in group           │
│   • appointed by Central Branch Governor            │
│   • tenure limited to next appointment by Central   │
│     Branch Governor                                 │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────┐
│  ORGANIZATION PRESIDENT  │   │  ORGANIZATION TREASURER  │
└──────────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────┐
│   ORGANIZATION VICE-     │   │  ORGANIZATION SECRETARY  │
│       PRESIDENT          │   │                          │
│   Acting Spokesperson    │   │                          │
└──────────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────┐
│   ORGANIZATION   │   │   ORGANIZATION   │   │   ORGANIZATION   │
│ LEGAL CONSULTANT │   │ INTERNAL ADVISOR │   │ EXTERNAL ADVISOR │
└──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘   └──────────────────┘

              ┌──────────────────────────┐
              │   ORGANIZATION BOARD     │
              │    OF DIRECTOR CHAIR     │
              └──────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                 BOARD OF DIRECTORS                  │
│  • Hold separate meetings; given organizational     │
│    information through chair                         │
│  • pay annual membership dues but do not vote on     │
│    mandate                                          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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APPENDIX H

ORGANIZATION C

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

ROTATING CHAIR Must be a founding member; appointed to chair by founding members only	CHAIR Rotating leadership every 3 years	ROTATING CHAIR Must be a founding member; appointed to chair by founding members only
LEGAL ADVISOR Must have legal expertise, experience or knowledge	FINANCIAL ADVISOR Must have financial expertise, experience or knowledge	POLITICAL ADVISOR Must have political sciences expertise, experience or knowledge
COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR Must have strong communication and computer skills	RESEARCH OFFICER Must have strong research and computer skills	INTERNAL DIRECTOR Responsible for new members, overseeing general membership

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP
- members attend meetings and events
- active participation in group initiatives
- offer financial contributions but do not vote

APPENDIX I

ORGANIZATION D

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

GOVERNOR
- **Position is self-appointed by founder**
- **Permanent position**
- **Wrote the organization constitution**
- **Has veto power over any internal vote**

FIRST PRESIDENT
Appointed by Governor
Unlimited tenure; can only be removed by Governor

INTERNAL ADVISOR TO GOVERNOR
Provides legal and strategic advice

SECOND PRESIDENT
Voted in by Internal Council
Four year term; can be removed by Gov & Ist President

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

Voted in by Board of Directors

CHAIR BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Appointed by Governor

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

Voted in by Board of

TREASURER

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Comprised of founding members or those with minimum 5 years of membership tenure

RESEARCH AND COMMUNICATIONS OFFICER

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

- **members attend general meetings and hold non-binding votes**
- **all prospective members must have thorough background check and be unanimously accepted by entire organization**

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Toronto Star, October 20, 1993: A10.

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AND FAR RIGHT ORGANIZATIONS

by

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Advisor: Dr. Leon Warshay

Major: Sociology

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

This research examines the organized far right movement and interviews members of four right wing organizations to understand their goals and operations. This study compares the utility of two social movement theories, Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) and New Social Movement Theory (NSMT) to explain the functioning of the four organizations. Resource Mobilization Theory contends that change is done politically in the sphere of institutional power, while New Social Movement Theory argues that change occurs in civil society.

The study was qualitative in nature and involved in-depth interviews with 97 members of four far right organizations across two Midwest states. The research hypothesis for this study is that RMT will better explain the nature of all four right organizations than NMST.

Three of the four organizations were better explained by RMT. They had highly sophisticated and hierarchical organizational structures with limited membership, aggressive forms of resource attainment through membership dues, and varying levels of political and/or legal mobilization such as lobbying, involvement with local, state, and federal political campaigns, running candidates for school board or political office, and legal challenges through the courts.

One of the four organizations tended to be better explained by RMT, but up to one-third of its members answered questions in manner consistent with NSMT. This finding was explained by the fact that the organization was an affiliate of a head branch, and therefore had limited autonomy. It relied significantly on the chief branch to direct its policies, and several of its members appeared to have less experience or knowledge of political and legal issues.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

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Employment
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Research Interests
- Social movements and collective behavior
- Sociological theory
- Hate crimes
- Race and ethnic relations
- Criminal Justice (Law, Policing and Corrections tracks)
- Crime and deviance