

DISSERTATION

THE EXTENDED CASE METHOD AND
NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:
A CASE OF THE TYRANNY RESPONSE TEAM

Submitted by
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In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Colorado State University
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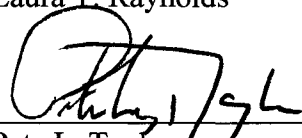
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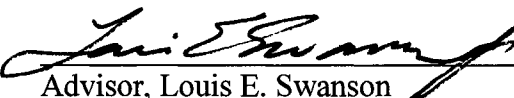
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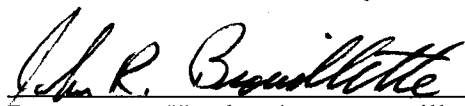
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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE EXTENDED CASE METHOD AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

A CASE OF THE TYRANNY RESPONSE TEAM

Democracy has long held sway in New Social Movement theory as the path to radical politics. This research challenges that presumption by exposing the limitations of democracy, so prevalent in progressive social movements, as an organizing feature of right-leaning, or conservative, movements. Using New Social Movement theory, ethnographic research was done on the Tyranny Response Team, a Second Amendment rights organization along the front range of the Colorado Rockies. The Tyranny Response Team is part of the larger Patriot/Militia Movement that emerged in the mid 1990s.

Employing Michael Burawoy's Extended Case Method, a series of anomalies grew out of the fieldwork. These challenged the assumption by New Social Movement theory that the Tyranny Response Team could simply be associated with the robust tradition of radical democracy. Instead, members of the Tyranny Response Team insisted, as did the larger discourse within the Patriot/Militia Movement, that theirs was a movement predicated upon republican, not democratic, principles. Vital to their claim was the critical conviction in the people's right to keep and bear arms.

Inquiry into the tradition of republicanism unearthed a narrative that provided a stronger historical, ideological, and theoretical justification for civil activism, than did democracy. Due to the emphasis placed on fundamental rights within the republican tradition, republicanism offers a better understanding for the importance of resistance, autonomy, and self-management in civil society, all critical concerns amongst New Social Movement writers.

Through the introduction of three concepts: Inalienable Anarchy, Republican Radicalism and Anti-Federalist Populism, New Social Movement theory is reformulated and extended to integrate political-right movements. Each concept facilitates a move within New Social Movement theory in the direction of incorporating both republicanism and the study of politically-right movements. This extension, while acknowledging a discourse of fundamental rights, ultimately theorizes these rights as essentialist and anchored in religious justification. The appropriation of fundamental rights by the Tyranny Response Team provides them with a God-given arsenal of weapons for their defense of the republic. Moreover, this religious essentialism, within political-right movements as a whole, helps explain their dramatic success over the past twenty-five years.

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INTRODUCTION

In Critique of Modernity (1995, pp. 351), Alain Touraine declares that “Democracy is not simply a set of institutions... It is primarily a struggle against power and the established order.” Unfortunately, this is where democracies’ story ends. This research exposes the limitations of democracy, so prevalent in progressive social movements, as an organizing feature of right-leaning, or conservative, movements. Using New Social Movement theory, ethnographic research was done on the Tyranny Response Team from 2000 to 2004. The Tyranny Response Team, or TRT, is a Second Amendment rights organization started along the front range of the Colorado Rockies. As an organization, the Tyranny Response Team is part of the larger Patriot/Militia Movement that emerged in the mid 1990s.

A series of anomalies grew out of the fieldwork with the Tyranny Response Team. These challenged my assumption that the TRT could simply be associated with the robust tradition of radical democracy, as indicated in New Social Movement theory. Instead, members of the Tyranny Response Team insisted, as did the larger discourse within the Patriot/Militia Movement, that theirs was a movement predicated upon republican, not democratic, principles. Enshrined within this struggle was the critical conviction in the people’s right to keep and bear arms.

Following from their argument, this research is a study of the tradition of republicanism and its connection with the Tyranny Response Team and Patriot/Militia

Movement. In so doing, a narrative is developed from a republican perspective that provides for an historical, ideological and theoretical understanding of the world-view of those participating in the Tyranny Response Team, and in the larger Patriot/Militia Movement.

Using Michael Burawoy's Extended Case Method, New Social Movement theory – which has been limited to the study of progressive or left-leaning movements – is reformulated and extended to the study of the Tyranny Response Team. The result is a replacing of democracy with republicanism as the justification for the presence, motivation, and action of the Tyranny Response Team. This redeveloped New Social Movement theory also offers a more elegant understanding of the Patriot/Militia Movement as well.

In this research, the rise of the contemporary Patriot/Militia Movement and the Tyranny Response Team can be understood as a 21st Century manifestation of the republican tradition dating back to the American revolutionary period, and first articulated in the West by the Florentine statesman Niccolo Machiavelli in the 16th Century. Here, republicanism is seen as an ideological response to the broader social transformations of globalization and the changing capacities of nation states as they face the challenges of globalization. The fieldwork amongst members of the Tyranny Response Team brought forth a story of their struggle, whereby, the very survival of a free republic necessitated a civically active armed citizenry, represented by the image of the citizen-soldier.

The Tyranny Response Team is organized around the importance of resistance to

tyrannical states; a defense that is backed by the Second Amendment:

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

Their strong support for the Second Amendment, anti-Federal government stance and the demand for local control make the Tyranny Response Team and the larger Patriot/Militia Movement standard-bearers of a continuing republican tradition in the United States, and representative of the New Social Movement literature. They speak directly to the desire on the part on New Social Movements to re-localize power in civil society.

In the American context, the Patriot/Militia Movement and, specifically, the Tyranny Response Team are seen as having an historical precursor in the Anti-Federalists of the late 18th century. The Anti-Federalists were instrumental in the crafting and drafting of the Constitution. Their objections to a centralized government, standing armies, the potential for tyranny, and a defense of citizen militias draw them close to the concerns expressed by the Tyranny Response Team while I was in the field. Although they were the losers in this struggle over the ratification of the Constitution, the Anti-Federalists did force key compromises most notably the first ten amendments, or Bill of Rights. Without pressure from the Anti-Federalists, the Bill of Rights would not have been drafted, and without the Bill of Rights, the Constitution would not have been ratified.

By emphasizing the Second Amendment, both the Tyranny Response Team and the Patriot/Militia Movement challenge the prevailing practice of democracy.

Contemporary democracy is achieved when citizens become *polite* enough to conduct

politics without resorting to force. In contrast, a republican conception of power believes that government is possible only when the *weak* acquire the instruments of force with which they can compel the *powerful* to heed their demands. The appropriation of the tradition of fundamental rights, rooted in an essentialist discourse, becomes the necessary weapon in the Tyranny Responses Team's arsenal to save the republic.

This research is organized into seven chapters. Chapters Two and Three provide a general discussion of the theory and the main themes to emerge out of the literature review. The work of Alain Touraine, Jurgen Habermas and Alberto Melucci represent New Social Movement theory. New Social Movements are defined as collective struggles in response to macro social change such as globalization. These movements have as their objective the preservation of local autonomy and control within civil society in the face of intrusive and technocratic institutions. By challenging, appropriating and redefining cultural symbols, new identities can be constructed to aid in repelling the intrusive forces of globalization while privileging freedom and liberty through the practice of self-management. This interplay between macro structural change and the intensification of localized political action gives New Social Movements a profound relevancy in the study of the Tyranny Response Team and Patriot/Militia Movement.

Chapter Four outlines the methodology for this research which is a combination of fieldwork and secondary analysis of historical texts, both oriented to an ethnographic understanding of the Tyranny Response Team. As mentioned above, Michael Burawoy's Extended Case Method provided the direction when the anomaly of republic challenged my use of New Social Movement theory. Chapter Five goes into the historical context for

the emergence of the Patriot/Militia Movement. Within the American context, this is associated with a longstanding tradition of populism both on the left and right. A history of the movement, and of its development, is also provided.

Chapter Six offers an historical understanding of the idea of republicanism, from its classical to its American context. Republicanism is viewed as a form of power that has the citizen-soldier at its foundation. This citizen-warrior could be used in an empire building capacity, as in the Roman and part of the English tradition, or to defend the republic from threats both foreign AND domestic. Florence and the “Glorious Revolution” of 1689 in England against the monarchy provide historical examples. In the American colonies, republicanism was imported as a defense against the potential for tyranny on the part of the English crown and was critical in justifying the Revolutionary War. The struggle over a Bill of Rights between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists gives contemporary meaning to the use of a republican argument by the Tyranny Response Team and the Patriot/Militia Movement.

Chapters Seven and the Conclusion analyze the field data and offer a reformulation of New Social Movement theory. In Chapter Seven, field data are organized around events and activities of the Tyranny Response Team as well as the critical themes of: 1) domination, from the New World Order to repressive states; 2) the struggle over Second Amendment rights in civil society; and 3) the necessity of confronting the opposition or the “Other”. The Conclusion chapter introduces the restructuring of New Social Movement theory. Three new concepts aid in this process: Inalienable Anarchy, Republican Radicalism and Anti-Federalist Populism. Each, it is

argued, moves New Social Movement theory in the direction of incorporating both republicanism and the study of politically-right movements.

In the final section of the Conclusion chapter, I end this research by applying the reformulated New Social Movement theory to political-right movements. This extension, while incorporating a discourse of fundamental rights, theorizes these rights as essentialist by ultimately anchoring them in a religious justification. While far from the contingency of rights amongst political-left movements, the essentialistic perspective taken toward rights by political-right movements helps explain their dramatic success in the past twenty years.

CHAPTER TWO

During those days, the dichotomies between activity and passivity, between private life and social life, between the demands of daily life and those of political life, between leisure and work and the places associated with them, between spoken and written language, between action and knowledge—all those dichotomies disappeared in the streets, amphitheaters and factories.

Henri Lefebvre on the May 1968 Paris uprisings. From: The Explosion: Marxism and the French Upheaval (1969, pp. 52).

A social movement can never be defined by an objective or a principle. It is nothing but an ensemble made up of these three components, an unstable ensemble, never fully coherent and almost always mixed up with other forms of collective action.

Alain Touraine, The Voice and the eye (1981, pp. 84).

The fundamental problem of social theory is how to connect in a satisfactory way the two conceptual strategies indicated by the notions of 'system' and 'lifeworld'.

Jurgen Habermas, Theory of Communicative Action Vol 2 (1987, pp.151).

There is a left-wing and a right-wing nostalgia the former exalts the social state, the latter the national state.

Ulrich Beck, What Is Globalization? (2000, pp. 129).

Literature Review:

Collective Behavior and Social Movements:

Sociologists have sought an understanding of collective behavior since the discipline's inception. The nature of collective activity, who become involved, how and why they coalesce, and what larger societal forces are at play are but a few questions asked. This chapter initiates a review of the literature on collective behavior by moving the career of this concept from its use by French physician Gustave Le Bon through American theories of structural strain. Beginning in the globally turbulent 1960s, a

paradigmatic shift occurred in the study of collective behavior. Researchers began to recognize an organizational coherence, permanence and centrality to collective activity, which previously had been labeled as panics, mob behavior and impetuosity of “crowds”. Subsequently, a more robust analysis emerged around the concept of “social movements,” replete with its own theoretical and methodological concerns. The study of social movements coincided with a rethinking of classical Marxism in Europe and a “discovery” of Marxism in the United States. From this, various “schools” of social movement research developed, beginning with resource mobilization theory and concluding with new social movements.

Early conceptions of collective behavior were influenced by such classical thinkers as Comte and Durkheim, both writing in the wake of the social upheavals associated with the French Revolution. At worst, collective behavior was analogous to mob behavior, motivated by sheer emotion. At best, collectivities were capable of grand shifts in historical trajectories. Durkheim’s (1995, pp. 424) idea of collective effervescence exemplifies the latter: “We have seen, in fact, that if collective life awakens religious thought when it rises to a certain intensity, that is so because it brings about a state of effervescence that alters the conditions of psychic [individual] activity.” To Durkheim this “hyper-excited” and passionate “school of collective life”, with ritualized guidance was capable of great social change. Gustave Le Bon’s The Crowd (1895) typifies the concern for the unanticipated consequences of collective behavior. Le Bon characterized collective behavior as a “psychology of the crowd” that displayed impulsive, uninhibited, unreflective, and irrational traits. “A crowd is not merely

impulsive and mobile. Like a savage, it is not prepared to admit that anything can come between its desire and the realization of its desire” (Le Bon 1969, pp. 33). Crowds are driven to feelings of irresistible power by sheer numerical strength and, for these reasons, are something to be feared.

The group-psychology and erratic emotional exuberance attributed to collective action by the classical thinkers Le Bon and Durkheim gave collective action a look of being irrational, spontaneous and sporadic. Outbursts on the part of individuals were believed to be desperate actions on the part of maladjusted people seized by a collective force that promoted emotive, random and dangerous behavior in need of social control. Despite this fear of collective behavior, the type of activity associated to it was wide ranging and consequently ambiguous. For instance, the array of behavior Le Bon attributed to the crowd spanned the great mass upheavals that destroyed empires such as Rome to the electoral and Parliamentary assemblies. Similarly, Durkheim’s list included historical periods such as the Enlightenment, political events like the French Revolution, and certain forms of religious practice. What remains unclear is: Whether collective behavior is ephemeral or rule bound; political, cultural, or even social; fleeting or well orchestrated?

This lack of specificity is in stark contrast to the work of Marx and Engels, who were writing around the same time. They recognized that organized collective action was both a consequence of and directed toward a set of larger social-structural issues. In the case of Marx and Engels, they sought to promote and direct a collective class-based struggle against capitalism. Their purposeful interest driven conception of collective

behavior is quite distinct from the protean and psychological work of Durkheim and, especially, Le Bon.

One of the earliest links between collective behavior and social movements was made by Herbert Blumer and the Chicago school. Blumer (1997) deepened the understanding of crowds and focused the attention toward social movements. While crowds “live in the momentary present...[and lack] an awareness of [their] own identity, or a recognized ‘we consciousness’(pp. 73), they can be highly goal directed, simply expressive, or just the casual milling around of people.” Object or goal directed crowds can become mobs if the un-critical suggestibility of “crowd mindedness” combines with collective excitement. Yet, Blumer sees the crowd as only one type of collective group: masses, the public, and social movements round out his analysis. Masses differ from crowds in the size, anonymity, and ease of external manipulation. Echoing the mass society thesis of Kornhouser and Arendt (discussed below), Blumer recognizes “the mass” and a new social design:

...mass behavior has emerged in increasing magnitude and importance. This is due primarily to the operation of factors which have detached people from their local cultures and local group settings. (Blumer 1997, pp. 78).

The public is an issue oriented crowd that comes into existence as a result of design.

Public action is the results of discussion and debate.

Finally, and for our purposes, social movements are linked to processes of social change. Blumer, like structural strain theory (discussed below), sees social movements emerge within a general climate of “cultural drifts” which are a “general shifting in the

ideas of people, particularly along the line of the conceptions which people have of themselves, and of their rights and privileges” (pp. 81). In this environment, social movements act as a corrective and advancement over the “primitive mechanisms of collective behavior” (pp. 80). Blumer defines social movements as:

...collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in a condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on the one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from the wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of life (pp. 80-81).

These collectivities are “movements” because they take on a permanence. Although initially amorphous and oriented around loosely defined dissatisfactions, over time movements build and develop new sets of desires, beliefs and hopes. These movements are “social” because they establish organizational structures, leadership, a division of labor, rules and an internal culture.

In Collective Behavior (1957) Turner and Killian contributed to Blumer’s work by arguing that through collective behavior norms emerge and that the type collective behavior can be classified by the “nature of the social norms which govern them” (pp. 13). The development of norms was completely rational from the perspective of those participating in the collective behavior. Social movements, then, are defined as “...a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote a change or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part” (Turner and Killian, 1957, pp. 308). As with Blumer, social movements develop a considerable degree of organization, rules a cultural tradition, longevity and power. The objective is to sustain the organization, “...so that even with rapid turnover of large portions of the membership, the sense of group

continuity prevails” (Turner and Killian 1957, pp. 308).

Reflecting the sociological thinking of their day, Turner and Killian (1957, pp. 331-453) develop three topologies of social movements: value-oriented, power-oriented, and participatory. The first is held together by conviction and are usually ideologically driven such as the anti-abortion crusade. Power-oriented movements seek the acquisition of power, either through institutional means, such as political parties and interest groups, or extra-institutionally as evidenced by insurgent or revolutionary movements. Finally, participation-oriented movements have involvement as an end in itself. These movements are expressive in nature and center around therapeutic comradery and personal transformation. The messianic or revivalistic religious movement known as the Promise Keepers provides an example of participatory-oriented movements.

Since the time of Le Bon, researchers of movements have struggled to analytically and empirically separate collective behavior from social movements. If collective behavior is more spontaneous then social movements are purposeful and goal oriented. If collective behavior is emotive, social movements are rational and based on clearly articulated rules. If collective behavior is transitory, social movements are sustained, organized and even, at times, institutionalized. Finally, if collective behavior is fundamentally psychological, then social movements are a condition of, reaction to, and desire for social change.

The global economic and political crises of the 1960s intensified the debate about social movements. Across the ideological spectrum, activists and social scientists sought

to make sense of the American anti-Vietnam war movement, Third World movements for national liberation, the student and worker movements against bureaucratic socialism in Western Europe, and growing concern for global environmental degradation, disarmament, women's liberation, civil and human rights, and the desire for new forms of self-expression. Three dominant social movement paradigms emerged from this tumultuous period: structural strain theory, resource mobilization theory, and new social movements.

Neal Smelser's Theory of Collective Behavior (1963), is best known for establishing the logic of structural strain theory. Influenced by the structural functionalism of Talcott Parsons, Smelser's work is an attempt to move away from the psychologism of previous theories of collective behavior. In a later article, he defines collective behavior as:

...purposive behavior, in which people are trying to reconstitute their social environment...on the basis of a certain type of belief, which I call generalized belief. Generalized beliefs are very much like magical belief; the world is portrayed in terms of omnipotent forces, conspiracies, and extravagant promises, all of which are imminent. It is un-institutionalized action taken in the name of such belief that constitutes an episode of collective behavior (Smelser 1964, pp. 118).

Despite the purposeful nature of collective behavior, Smelser still describes them as "collective outbursts". Social movements are norm-oriented collective outbursts resulting from a combination of structural strain and a failure in system conduciveness. Social movements become most threatening when they shift from norm-based to value-based challenges. The latter becomes a generalized questioning of a system's legitimacy. The efficacy of a generalized value-oriented social movement depends on the level of social

control brought to bear against the movement. For example, the early tax protesters in Colonial America violated the norm of the English Parliament's call for revenue collection. The inability of the British troops to suppress the resistance allowed for the development of a more generalized value-oriented movement against the very authority and legitimacy of British rule in the thirteen colonies.

A system's ability to adapt/maintain equilibrium depends on the level of structural differentiation. A society with a high level of differentiation is more conducive in responding to and, therefore, absorbing conflict. "This high level of differentiation accounts in part for the relative predominance of norm-oriented movements as the typical mode of expressing collective grievances in the United States and Western Europe, and the relative absence of revolutionary movements in the same countries in recent times" (Smelser 1963, pp 110). A system's conduciveness or differentiation, the amount of strain, and presence of social movements are similar themes in three major variants of structural strain theory: mass society theory, Davies J-curve, and Robert Dahl's pluralist theory of power.

Mass society theorists William Kornhauser (1959) and Hannah Arendt (1951) have sought to understand mass-based movements, most notably Nazism and Communism. The rigidity of Tsarist Russia and the Weimar Republic and the breakdown of established social and class hierarchies in civil society provided for the rise of Nazism and Communism in Europe. This breakdown and leveling effect made "elites readily accessible to influence by non-elites and non-elites are readily available for elites" (Kornhauser 1959, pp. 32), which allowed for the recruitment by political elites (such as

the Nazis) of the newly uprooted and atomized individuals. With the absence of social groups to buffer against manipulation, isolated individuals become hyper-attached to authoritarian movements. “It was a characteristic of the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany and of the Communist movements in Europe after 1930 that they recruited their members from this mass of apparently indifferent people whom all other parties had given up as too apathetic or too stupid for their attention” (Arendt 1951, pp. 305). These masses were highly susceptible to propaganda, mobilization and new ideologies.

The ideologies of Nazism and Communism act as pseudo-communities to the masses and, after taking power, become totalitarian. In mass society, the party and state are joined, as is the State and mass society. Due to the absence of structural differentiation, any protest against the State intensifies into a generalized social crisis. System un-conduciveness prevents the absorption of even benign grievances, thereby magnifying the political threat and the necessary response from the agents of social control. Erich Fromm (1941) warns that democracy is subject to the same totalitarianism as Fascism. Each ideology provides for an escape from personal freedom and autonomy, Fascism through the authoritarianism of ascribed hierarchy and democracy through compulsive conformity.

Davies’ “J-curve” (1979) was designed by James Davies as a psychological theory of violent-based movements such as revolution. Revolution is most likely to take place when a prolonged period of rising expectations and gratifications is followed by a period of sharp reversal. As the gap between expectations and actual conditions widens, so does the likelihood of revolt. Expectations are a combination of physical (food, shelter and

clothing) and psychological (security and freedom) needs. Davies (1979) applies his theory to the American Civil War, the rise of Nazism, and African American rebellion in the U.S. South. In the Civil War case, for decades the Southern influence in politics, as indicated by Southern hold on the Presidency and Senate, offset the industrial power and population growth in the North. Even though Southern planters were beholden to Northern creditors, until 1857 the South benefitted from a global (English) demand for cotton. The crash of 1857, growing Northern power, abolitionism, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act began the decline of Southern feudalism. To Davies, the unrealistic belief of victory against the North by the South reflects the continuation of rising expectations of the early 1850s coupled with growing frustration toward the North.

Nazism in post war Germany was not just a consequence of hyperinflation. Prior to the social dislocation and the rise of large segments of population susceptible to Nazi propaganda, Germany had experienced a brief period of economic upswing just before the global crash of 1929. The Nazi's capitalized on the rising expectations of the early 1920s and subsequent growing frustrations of the late 1920s and early 1930s decline. Finally, the rebellion of African Americans in the U.S. South was a combination of African Americans experiencing the benefits of the post WWII American boom, followed by the increased violence and bombings against Southern civil rights workers. The expectation of continuing improvement in economic and civil rights was halted, resulting in an intolerable level of frustration by members of the African American community.

Political scientist and pluralist Robert Dahl (1967), integrated the structural strain theory of social movements into his pluralist theory of democracy. Drawing upon history

Dahl began his discussion by looking at the drafting and ratification of the constitution, citing the Federalist Paper #10 (1787) as the essential concern of a democratic society. In this article, James Madison warned of factions corrupting government. Madison's opposition to popular democracy in his Federalist Paper 10 will be discussed in Chapter Six. Madison defined factions as:

...a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens (Madison 1992[1787], pp. 43).

Madison concluded that while any attempt at eliminating the causes of factions would be a breach of one's liberty, the effects can be mitigated. With factions as the bane of freedom, and conflict the natural consequence of difference; to Dahl, the legitimacy of American democracy rests on the acceptance of a process for conflict resolution.

That process is a resolution based on the plurality of power and, for Dahl, was the great insight of the framers of the Constitution.

The fundamental axiom in the theory and practice of American pluralism is, I believe, this: Instead of a simple center of sovereign power there must be multiple centers of power, none of which is or can be wholly sovereign (Dahl 1967, pp. 24).

Multiple centers of power act to check and tame others, thus reducing the necessity for the use of coercion. Any exercise of power is subjected to negotiation with the other centers of power. The practice of compromise, by Dahl's account, was based on an ethic of responsibility, which since the "men(sic) at the Convention were English...was [an] Anglo-American political tradition" (Dahl 1967, pp. 53). With this responsibility, power, now civilized and controlled, is redirected to meeting human needs and not the particular

interests of factions.

The Constitutional basis for the United States' form of representative democracy is Dahl's pluralist theory made manifest. While accepting a highly centralized state structure, power was differentiated and institutionalized among the three main branches of government. States' sovereign rights, were protected, and through the electoral process, a bicameral Congress, and limited terms on the President, Senators and Representatives, the sovereignty of the people is legitimated and aristocratic governance thwarted. Despite these accolades, Dahl recognized the disparity between theory and practice. The remainder of his book is devoted to the distortions and unfinished business of pluralism. These included the disproportional growth of executive power; low voter participation which peaked at about 75% in 1876, hit an historic low in the 1920s and was about 55% in 1964; the dominance of a two party system; and, in an earlier study (1961), the potential for oligarchy within the democratic process.

Critiques of the Classical Model of Social Movements

Doug McAdam (1982) has developed the most comprehensive critique of structural strain or the "classical" theory of social movements. First, the textured interplay between system equilibrium and system strain is under-theorized. For instance, in Dahl's theory system differentiation represented by the plurality of power ensures the openness and responsiveness of the political system to accommodating conflict and fostering consent. McAdam (1982, pp. 6) asks:

If the pluralist portrait is accurate, how are we to explain social

movements? Why would any group engaged in rational, self-interested political action ignore the advantages of such an open, responsive, gentlemanly political system?

McAdam suggests two answers to this question. First, if we accept the openness and rationality of the system, any activity not utilizing existing institutional channels must be motivated by irrationality. This regresses back to the impulsive, passionate and emotive explanations of collective behavior beginning with Le Bon. The cognitive dissonance of Davies' J-Curve, the isolation of the mass society thesis, and normative confusion of Smelser's work all suggest that the motivation for social movement action is psychological tension. While psychological approaches may illuminate short-term spontaneous activities, large-scale movements of lasting consequence require more sociological and political explanations. Those participating in social movements are presented as having no real political agenda, acting out frustration almost as therapy. How is psychological discontent developed and transferred into organized collective action? What are their goals, interests, or objectives? By remaining at the individual or psychological level of analysis, these and other questions remain unanswered. The aggregate or psychological approach is a better predictor of collective behavior, but falls short of accounting for the variation in and emergence of social movements.

McAdam's second critique of structural strain theory is both ontological and epistemological. Epistemologically, structural strain theory fails to generate an empirical link between psychological discontent and social movements. The system bias of this approach prevents research at the individual level despite situating theoretical explanation there. This is not new, one only has to reflect on Talcott Parson's (1951) application of

Freudian theory when explaining deviance in the socialization process. More fundamental to structural strain theory is the ontological privilege given to equilibrium. The theory, despite positing social movements as reactions to system strain, can't explain the origin of that strain. If systems are open, diversified, and conducive enough to legitimately manage conflict, how do they come into strain? There is little discussion of the larger political-economic milieu and its effect on a system's functioning (McAdam 1982, pp. 12). Consequently, the lack of theorizing system strain, promotes McAdam's initial critique that any challenge to the status quo by social movement agents are treated as abnormal, deviant and undesirable.

Resource Mobilization:

The proliferation of movements and turbulence of the 1960s provided the impetus for a paradigm shift in social movement theory. Resource Mobilization (RM) was coined by McCarthy and Zald in 1987 to describe this new way of thinking, which "depends more upon political, sociological, and economic theories than upon the social psychology of collective behavior" (McCarthy and Zald 1977, pp. 1213). The classical theory of social movements was predicated on winning the hearts and minds of the people.

Primacy was given to development of a membership base of aggrieved individuals. In contrast, McCarthy and Zald (1987, pp. 337) stress a different approach:

Our 'resource mobilization' approach emphasizes the resources beyond membership consciousness and man(sic)-power, that may become available to potential movements. These resources support the growth and vitality of movements and movement organizations. This does not necessarily deny the existence of grievances. It stresses the structural

conditions that facilitate the expression of grievances.

These structural conditions are organizational. Specifically, the perceived “participation revolution” in Western democracies by students and the professional middle-class can only be made effective through the “professionalization” of social movement organizations.

The functions historically served by a social movement membership base have been, we will argue, increasingly taken over by paid functionaries, by the ‘bureaucratization of social movement discontent,’ by mass promotion campaigns, by full-time employees whose professional careers are defined in terms of social movement participation, by philanthropic foundations, and by government itself (McCarthy and Zald 1987, pp. 340).

While a social movement is based upon a set of opinions and beliefs expressing a preference for “changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society” (McCarthy and Zald 1977, pp. 1217-18); a movement’s success becomes a function of leadership, funding, and the utilization of media outlets to frame issues. Movement professionals become “social movement entrepreneurs” and professionalized organizations take on the characteristics of interest or advocacy groups. Zald and McCarthy include specific and discernable organizations in their analysis; for example: ACLU, NAACP, AFL-CIO, UAW, Sierra Club, Common Cause, Ralph Nadar’s Public Citizen Inc, and older movements such as Huey Long’s Share Our Wealth Society. Each of these organizations have: 1) full-time paid staff, 2) large “paper” memberships, 3) organizational inclusivity, where a large amount of funding originates outside the primary constituency in the form of contributions and fees, and 4) the goal to influence state policy or business practices, even to the point of articulating with government agencies or

management to effect change.

Critiques of Resource Mobilization:

Resource Mobilization gained dominance in the United States during the 1970s & 1980s, however, with success came increasing criticism. Resource Mobilization details the strategies and tactics available to movement organizations, both internally through leadership, and externally in their competition with other groups for money, membership and message. Moreover, Resource Mobilization highlights the need for a materialist base to social movement activity, especially as organizations attempt to influence resource redistribution. This struggle occurs within a field of competing power brokers: governments, businesses and other movements. To be effective, an organization must professionalize, be resource rich, and sustain its activity. The importance that resource mobilization places on organization is also a liability. The bias toward formal, bureaucratic and hierarchical organizations as the only effective forms of movement activity is a top-down and reformist approach to social movements and completely delegitimized informal organizational designs. McAdam (1982, pp 24-25) goes further asking: "The real question is whether it is defensible to call such groups social movements in the first place." Is it reasonable to expect a government agency or philanthropic foundation to fund an insurgent or revolutionary movement organization? Resource Mobilization privileges an elitist theory of social movements at the expense of promoting mass-base or extra-institutional mobilization.

Coupled with this organizational bias, Resource Mobilization is beholden to an

economistic explanation of movement participation based on rational choice theory. Actors are endowed with a “preference structures directed toward social change” that allows them to calculate the cost-benefit ratio of participating in social movement organizations (McCarthy and Zald 1977, pp. 1216-1218). This utilitarian approach fails to grasp the socio-political context within which social movements develop. Similarly, the rational actor of rational choice theory is a fiction, “precisely because this concept detaches social beings from their cultural contexts of values, norms, meanings and significations” (Buecheler 1993, pp. 230). Finally, the over representation of the meso or inter-organizational level in Resource Mobilization under-theorizes the macro and micro levels of analysis. Resource Mobilization does not situate social movement organizations in any larger social and historical context, and the approach fails to explain micro-level recruitment and mobilization. What is lacking is a reflexive subject, or actual movement actor, and an analysis of the structural changes occurring in advanced Western industrial countries in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

New Social Movements:

New Social Movement (NSM) research is a European response to the upswing in movement activity beginning in the 1960s and continuing today, coupled with the perceived limitations of Functionalist structural strain theory, Marxist overemphasis on economic determinism, and Resource Mobilization Theory’s narrow utilitarianism. Research in the area of New Social Movements seeks to link together both the macro and micro elements of social movements. At the macro level, New Social Movement theory

concentrates on the relationship between the rise of contemporary movements and the historical change in political economy and culture. Specifically, New Social Movements emerge from within, and as a reaction to, postindustrial or postmodern society and advanced capitalism. On the micro level, the research identifies a culturally mediated identity construction as a viable feature of social movement participation and success. Collective identity construction is necessary both to constitute the subject as a reflexive agent and to focus the struggle for autonomy and democracy into new spheres of contestation.

Nelson Pichardo (1997) critically evaluated New Social Movement research, finding the subject matter lacking in conceptual clarity, empirical consistency and fraught with ideological bias. He concluded that the research was little more than a thesis and certainly not a theory or paradigm. One weakness on the part of New Social Movement is the absence of studying right-wing movements. This left-leaning bias ignores the fact that movements, regardless of their ideology, are impacted by social change.

Just as Marxist theories tended to marginalize protests that did not stem from the working class, so to have NSM theories marginalized social movements that do not originate from the left...[many movements] over the past 20 years seem to be unique reactions (of a conservative character) to the alienating effects of postindustrial society. Some examples include the *Christian Right* and *militia movements* (Pichardo 1997, pp. 413).
[italics added]

A second limitation Pichardo identified was a lack of clarity in New Social Movement research around periodization, or the connecting of these “new” movements with the political economy of postindustrialism. Pichardo finds strength in New Social Movement research emphasis placed on identity, culture and the role of the civic sphere, which are

aspects largely overlooked in previous social movement research.

It is the observation concerning the role of the *civic sphere* (where culture and identity reside) in modern conflict that is perhaps the most provocative and informative aspect of the NSM thesis and the element around which reformation of the NSM thesis should be constructed (Pichardo 1997, pp. 427). [italics added]

These issues are addressed in the following section where new social movements are explored through the writings of: Alain Touraine, Jurgen Habermas and Alberto Melucci. Touraine and Habermas provide a macro-sociological theory placing New Social Movements within a particular period of capitalist-industrial development, while Melucci illustrates the importance of collective identity, organizational morphology, and the democratization of civil society or everyday life. From this discussion, the importance of connecting political economy and culture provides an avenue to develop linkages to themes such as globalization.

One reason for the lack of clarity, noted by Pichardo, is the eclectic nature of the New Social Movement literature. Although the research is primarily of European origin, writers have contributed to the body of writing from across the political, cultural and social spectrum. Vitriol and virility have both been laid at the feet of New Social Movements. The protests of 1968 (particularly in Europe) are widely acknowledged as the initial inspiration for those writing about the rise of New Social Movements. The late 1960s found the West facing crises of an internal and international character. The United States was suffering a military defeat in the Vietcong's Tet Offensive, and Students for a Democratic Society's free speech movement was underway. There was urban warfare, sparked by the assassination of Martin Luther King, as well as vigilante violence

associated the civil rights struggle. The counterculture movement was challenging images of America and alienating the “silent majority”.

In Europe, new forms of social protest were also emerging. Rapid economic expansion of the 1950s and 1960s brought to maturity a technocratic-industrial society with its bureaucratization and extensive re-distributive welfare state policies. With this system came new questions as to its nature. Similarly new social classes began demanding greater personal autonomy and political space for self-management. Across Europe and the globe students were in the vanguard, benefitting from being:

...the first generation to take rapid and global air travel and telecommunications for granted, the students of the late 1960s, had no difficulty recognizing what happened as the Sorbonne, in Berkeley, in Prague as part of the same event in the same global village (Eley 2002, pp. 342).

Paris was a site of fierce conflict, pitting student and workers movements (the old and new left) against the de Gaulle government and the Communist Party, which fearing anarchy, chose to stand in “defense of the republic” rather than support the workers and students. After the occupation, repression and arrest of student activists at the Nanterre in Paris, a student manifesto called for the “outright rejection of the capitalist-technocratic university, of the division of labor, and of so-called neutral knowledge—supplemented by a call for solidarity with the working class” (Eley 2002, pp. 343).

The importance of the 1968 turmoil in the West is threefold. First, it signifies the rise of *new classes* and *new class struggles*. Students, government and service sector employees, housewives, and workers became the revolutionaries. Moreover, their struggles were not confined to economic issues, but spread throughout society. From

education to healthcare, family to sexuality, and the factory floor to consumer capitalism a new ethos of critique, resistance and struggle had emerged. Second, these struggles were in *defense of civil society*, and a recognition of spread of bureaucracy, with the penetration of capitalism and the decline in personal autonomy. The call for self-management by politicizing and democratizing everyday experience, was designed to challenge “hierarchies, centers of power, and the bureaucratization which has infected the entire society” (Lefebvre 1969, pp. 68).

Finally, these struggles reflected new means and tactics in an *increasingly technocratic society*. Breaking with the traditional hierarchy of the Communist Party, the student movements operated without formal leaders or a unified ideology and were decidedly decentralized. Meaning and agency occurred by collectivizing private space, engaging in sit-ins, open public debate and direct street action (such as the barricades in the streets of Paris after the Sorbonne was closed). Actions taken by the new and old social classes are “anti-reductive in that they [were], intolerant of the reduced-reductive character of specialized activities, including specialized political organizations” (Lefebvre 1969, pp. 67). This new model of movement protest came to inform the later development of the ecology, the peace or anti-nuclear, and “second wave” feminist movement, all held up as flagship New Social Movements.

Key Theorists in New Social Movements: Touraine, Habermas, and Melucci:

Alain Touraine was professor of sociology at Nanterre in 1968 and witnessed the turmoil firsthand. In The May Movement (1971a) and Post-Industrial Society (1971b)

Touraine presents the events of 1968 as utopian communism, in that the struggles encompassed the whole fabric of society. However, he rejected the May Movement as a socialist struggle. Societal contradiction and conflict was no longer confined to the factory floor. Instead, the May Movement ushered in both a new form of class struggle and a new type of society. The May Movement was not simply a struggle against capitalism, but a much larger social, political and cultural conflict against *technocracy*. Touraine's conclusions are based on the participant's themselves. Those who counted most were not unskilled workers, the socially marginalized, nor the craft workers and farmers in the process of becoming proletarianized. Rather, they were students, consumers, members of the new classes such as media intellectuals, as well as the working class.

The "outcasts" and "outsiders" lionized by Marcuse (1964) as embodying the "great refusal" to the "one-dimensionality" of advanced industrial society, were not significant to Touraine, nor were the Communist Party's proletariat. The revolutionaries in Touraine's (1971a, pp. 346) new classes were:

...no longer addressed to those excluded from the social system but to those at its *very heart*, those most closely bound to the structures of growth and change and most directly confronted with the domination of the massive politico-economic structures. [italics added]

The system imperatives of integration and manipulation, through forced participation and adaptation, became an axis of resistance in the May Movement. By denying the mirage of a rational modernization process oriented around the common good, the Movement destroyed the illusion of a society united through growth and prosperity. Because French

society was experiencing such comprehensive change, the accompanying social struggles also had to be comprehensive, and their logic fundamentally anti-technocratic. For this reason, the traditional socialist strategy of a working-class struggle was incomplete, and the vision of a socialist society inadequate given the multifarious nature of the current contradictions.

Touraine locates these contradictions in a new type of society he refers to as technocratic, programmed or post-industrial. Growth and power in this new society are founded on the increasing integration of economic and political interests, the mobility of large-scale corporate capital, technical progress, and the ability to manage technobureaucratic organizations which effect every aspect of human life (Touraine 1971b). Touraine uses the term post-industrial to stress how different this new society is from an industrial society. This difference is based on a new form of power organized around domination by a new ruling class of technocrats. Their capacity to dominate is subsequently based on the programmed “inner workings” of the various “production forces” operating within this new society. For instance, in a *post-industrial* society, Universities are no longer liberal conservatories for social and cultural values, but have become large bureaucracies where departments, such as the social sciences, are *programmed* to produce *technocrats* trained to carry out the function of system integration.

For our purpose, two fundamental struggles define post-industrial societies. First is the elevation of technocrats to having access to the privileges of the ruling class, making them in effect a new ruling class. The technocrat is not a technician. The latter is

concerned to introduce technological innovation to a specific area of society; whereas the former's orientation is toward societal rationalization through integration and manipulation. Technocrats "manage" newly formed "production forces" (such as the newly formed data-processing apparatus). Their power is based upon bureaucratization, resulting in the accumulation of vast resources within large-scale organizations. Technocrats draw their power from an ability to manage the internal contradictions of a technocratic society, which draws them closer to the interests of the ruling class. Institutions such as the state, economy, and education form the backbone for programmed society. While presented as objective conveyors of progress, growth and modernization, technocrats hide the social domination endemic in post-industrial society.

The second site of struggle involves the pervasive penetration of this social domination into civil society, whereby:

Private life ceases to be ruled by custom or culturally determined responses to basic, general needs; it becomes *penetrated* by technology and consequently by the interests of the large organizations or groups which hold power (Touraine 1971a, pp. 32). [italics added]

Touraine calls this forced integration or dependant participation, where the only relationships one has with others are those supervised and sanctioned by the ruling technocratic class. Moreover, these relations are compatible with the maintenance of one's own domination. Programmed society invades previously uncharted spaces such as intimate human relations, emotions, sexuality, consumption, and leisure. Once commodified, these spaces become further instruments of domination through social integration.

Ours is a society of alienation, not because it reduces people to misery or because it imposes police restriction, but because it seduces, manipulates, and enforces conformism (Touraine 1971b, pp. 9).

Rejecting Marx and opting for Hegel, Touraine constructs a conception of alienation as a social relationship rather than as a relationship of economic exploitation. Consequently this alienation, in the form of technocratic domination, pervades all aspects of civil society. It is this pervasive programming and technocratic concentration of power that Touraine sees as the most dramatic feature and the necessary battlefield in a post-industrial society.

In The Voice and the eye: An analysis of social movements (1981), Touraine begins to systemize his understanding of the new type of social movement emanating from a programmed society. Contained within this analysis is a critique of both the economism of Marxism and the evolutionary functionalism of Parsonian sociology. Touraine believes both models of social change overlook the self-production, or reflexivity, of contemporary society. Today, people are capable of generating their own normative guidelines, rather than having them passed down via traditions that transcend society, albeit God, Evolution, Human Nature or History. As he states early on in The Voice and the eye (Touraine 1981, pp. 1), “Men (sic) make their own history: social life is produced by cultural achievements and social conflicts, and at the heart of society burns the fire of social movements.” The center of his analysis is what Touraine refers to as the sociology of action. Society is viewed as a drama, as a system of action whereby actors with conflicting interests fight for the control of a society’s *historicity*, or the cultural orientations which normatively organize social relations. Cultural orientations

are neither metaphysical nor are they driven by a philosophy of history, they are simply what is at stake in the social drama.

As a discipline, sociology must find its own path amidst the ruins of functionalism, economism, and evolutionalism. Sociology came into existence by freeing itself from metaphysics and the philosophy of history, and for Touraine, Sociology must establish an understanding of social action as the capacity to produce our own historicity. Sociology does this by breaking with the naive definition of social facts as collectively produced forces of integration (Durkheim 1964[1938]). Rather, social facts are exposed as the conquest behind this integration, or the drama and struggle embodied in the production of social structure. Social structure is a network of social relations between actors.

There can be no social relationship unless these actors are operating within the same cultural field or tradition, for an action is social only if it is normatively oriented. The struggle between actors for historicity becomes the basis of a social fact. Social facts are not forces of integration, rather social relations, are always an expression of power: all social relations are relations of power. That is, one social actor dominating another. For instance, the worker's movement cannot be fully understood as a struggle for control over the means of production. Rather, both the proletariat and bourgeoisie acted within the cultural field of industrialism, with the conflict being the control over historicity, or over the means of industrialization. To ignore this would be to view the two classes as having diametrically opposed cultural orientations, and that capitalism and socialism would have nothing in common. History proves otherwise. Both capitalist and socialist societies

have industrialized with equal zeal, vigor, and with similar mechanisms in place for worker exploitation.

The object of sociology should be the study of these social relations with the goal of making manifest the central conflicts (expression of power) between social actors. More specifically, a “sociology of action” should construct an understanding of how society produces itself, both materially and morally, through these conflicts and normative orientations.

Critical to this process is an analysis of social movements. A social movement “is the collective organized action through which a class actor battles for *the social control of historicity* in a given and identifiable historical context” (Touraine 1981, pp. 31-32).

[Italics added] A society is formed by two opposing movements: one capable of transforming historicity into order, designed to legitimate their power or domination; and the other movement, which seeks to win back historicity by breaking down this order. The first set of actors Touraine refers to as the ruling class and the second, the popular class. The popular class challenges the prevailing historicity through the *rediscovery of past* (hence competing) cultural orientations, and contemporary cultural innovation within the practice of social movement activity. Of importance to Touraine is that the presence of social movements are not a sign of crisis or tension in a social order; they are a manifestation of the production of society by itself. Social movements are not grand epic struggles, they are not exceptional or dramatic events; rather, they lie at the heart of social life. Social movements are not in the periphery, instead they are the *fabric of society*.

Touraine’s work and key ideas can now be summarized. Society is a system of

action. This action is reflexive in that human societies can turn back upon themselves and develop symbolic representations or cultural orientations of their experience. These representations become the subject matter of the battle by actors for control over historicity. This conflict is produced through social movements. Control of historicity becomes a movement's goal, because it allows the imposition, by one social class upon another, of a normatively based institutional order predicated on these cultural orientations. This order establishes a social relationship between opposing classes within a social field of power, that is: Who is able to dominate who?

This struggle between the ruling and popular classes is for control or access to historicity. Although, historicity is inseparable from class relations, these classes are not merely economic, but operate within a larger field of domination, that can be cultural, economic, gendered, racial, or even national. Historicity, as a form of domination, infuses power into all social relationships.

The importance of culture to Touraine and New Social Movement theorists as a whole, is that a cultural orientation allows for the construction of norms that determine relationships within a community. Culture is not simply an ideology, or even a dominant ideology, rather it defines a social field for social struggle that either legitimates domination or is the champion of its overthrow. These struggles must be comprised of: 1) a committed population; 2) with some level of organization; 3) who have identified and confronted their adversary (the Other); and 4) their struggle must have applicability for the entire society; that is, the struggle must either relate back to a cultural tradition or invent a new one.

In conclusion, New Social Movements, or those social movements that distinguish themselves from the traditional Marxist model of social movement, operating within industrial society, have three distinct features. First, New Social Movement, while being embroiled within social conflict, also have a *cultural orientation*. The worker's movement is not just a mechanistic response to system contradiction, but is just as much an attempt to advance a counter-model to industrial society. "Marxist thinking...placed social relations at the center of its analysis, but without introducing the actors' normative orientations" (Touraine 1981, pp. 57). Social movements are equally involved in projecting a cultural or normative vision of society as they are in engaging a concrete struggle over material stakes. Consequently, the development of class consciousness is inseparable from action, and neither can be understood without reference to culture.

Secondly, New Social Movements are not fundamentally directed toward the state, nor for that matter are they directly interested in the conquest of power. State control is not central to new social movements, instead these movements are oriented toward self-management through the control of historicity. The state becomes embroiled in new social movements, only because of its preeminent role in the process of development in post-industrialism.

More pronounced is the role the state plays in the destruction or domination of *civil society* (a theme elaborated upon by Habermas, discussed below). The state, as an agent of social transformation, rejects regarding society as a network of sovereign social relations. These social relations, which comprise civil society, are seen by Touraine and others as the well-spring for new social movements. This defense of civil society has

both libertarian (i.e. anti-statist) and populist (i.e. pro-community) characteristics. In contrast, from a statist perspective, the proper function of the state is to rule over these relations whether represented in a nation, a community, or a concrete group. Society is reduced to nothing more than an organization in need of integration into the hierarchical and militant historicity of the state.

The third characteristic of New Social Movements is that social movements are not an event in the millennial march toward utopia, nor are they a stage in the teleology of progress. Rather, New Social Movements are a social struggle within a given cultural and historical field between opposing classes. One class seeks to defend a cultural orientation, while the other is motivated by a superseding, or the search for an *alternative historicity*. Critical to a movement is when an opponent is defined and their power denounced.

This marks the decisive advance...Only by locating and recognizing the power sources can one define and predict the areas of dispute and the fields of conflict (Touraine 1981, pp. 21).

New Social Movements as anti-technocratic struggles abandon any reference to evolution or teleology in a post-industrial society driven by reflexivity.

As with Touraine, German social philosopher Jurgan Habermas, develops a theory of advanced or post-traditional/late-capitalist society that has as a feature an analysis of New Social Movements. Generally speaking both Touraine and Habermas were influenced early on by Marxism, only later to become disenchanted and moving toward a Weberian tradition and Critical Theory. Habermas's long and distinguished career has been organized around two dominant themes. First is a reformulation of Critical Theory,

which he sees as having failed in developing an emancipatory project due to the “exhaustion of the paradigm of the philosophy of consciousness” (Habermas 1984, pp. 386). This failure will be discussed below. Second, Habermas puts forth a theory of social change illustrating the “pathological” or “colonizing” tendencies in modern society that thwart the capacity for emancipation based in communicative reason. Out of this second tendency emerges Habermas’s theory of new social movements, discussed at the end of this section.

In adhering to Descartes’ Cartesian dualism of subject v. object and German idealism, early Critical Theory was unable to conceive of an emancipatory theory of social action. This dualistic ontology has two implications: either a lonely or solitary subject, self-reflecting upon their solipsistic representation of the world; or an active subject instrumentally shaping the world through work. In the former, critical reason is reduced to “contemplation” that renounces its relation to practice; in the latter reason takes refuge in aesthetic “self-actualization” without reference to social transformation. Habermas contends that neither approach incorporates a sociological perspective of critical reason as a communicative affair, nor a viable basis for social action. Both philosophies of consciousness neglect the importance of *emancipation through social interaction*, and the possibility of coordinating, integrating and validating social action based in mutual understanding.

From the perspective of developing a critical social theory, rationalism and empiricism may provide the basis for explanation and diagnosis, but emancipation rests on discourse anchored in a normative theory oriented toward future transformation. For

Habermas, previous critical theory based on the philosophy of consciousness is restricted to the world of what “is.” Conversely, a rationality predicated on *communicative action* allows social action to be oriented to what “ought,” or ought “not” to occur; thus, rekindling the potential for affirmative social change and the completion of the Enlightenment project.

Influenced by the linguistic turn in philosophy, Habermas develops his theory of communicative action using language as the essential medium for coordinating consciousness and experience. Drawing from Wittgenstein’s emphasis on language as practice, and George Herbert Mead’s insight into the linguistic mediated nature of self and consciousness, Habermas places the capacity to communicate at the center of our understanding of modern reason and critical theory. Habermas replaces the paradigm of consciousness with the paradigm of language— not language as an autonomous cultural system, but language-in-use or speech. The theory of communicative action establishes the framework for the normative foundations of a critical social theory. This, Habermas (1984, pp. 397) refers to as the communications-theoretic turn:

If we assume that the human species maintains itself through the socially coordinated activities of its members and that this coordination has to be established through communication—and in certain spheres through communication aimed at reaching agreement—then the reproduction of the species *also* requires satisfying the conditions of a rationality that is inherent in communicative action.

Through communication, people are able to mobilize and coordinate their understanding of the objective world, social norms and expectations, and inner experience. This communicative reason is for Habermas the essence of the Enlightenment project.

The importance of Habermas's theory of communicative action is not in question here, rather its significance has to do with how Habermas fits his theory into a larger understanding of social change. Following Weber, Habermas sees social change as a process of rationalization. For Weber the Protestant Reformation initiated modernity, which separated substantive reason expressed in religion and metaphysics into three autonomous spheres: science, morality and art. "These came to be differentiated because the unified world conceptions of religion and metaphysics fell apart" (Habermas 1981b, pp. 8). In response, Weber reformulated a modern understanding for the rationality of social action. Actors could be motivated by purposive-rationality whereby the external world and other people are evaluated in terms of their utility or use as means for one's own ends. Action could also be value-rational, where conscious, ethical, and religious beliefs have intrinsic value regardless of success. People can orient behavior based on affect or emotional commitment; and finally, motivation can be due to the weight of tradition.

Rationalization represented for Weber the decline in value-rational behavior, which ushered in the rise of purposive-rationality. This form of rationality became dominant in Weber's disenchantment of the world thesis. [Disenchantment] "means that principally there is no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation" (Gerth and Mills 1946, pp. 139). Habermas objects to Weber's understanding of rationalization in two ways. First, Weber's association of modernity with purposive rationality, presents too narrow an understanding of social action. Habermas extends this criticism to Horkheimer and

Adorno's Dialectic of Enlightenment (1972), when they maintained that the Enlightenment was simply a manifestation of instrumental rationality. Weber's error in collapsing the matrix of social action into a singular purposeful rationality, is due to the exclusive emphasis he placed on religion as the sole basis for value rational or ethical behavior.

The second limitation of Weber's theory of modernity is, due to his overemphasis on purposive rationality, or Weber's over association of social change with system change. Weber mistakenly assumed capitalism and the rise of bureaucracy, both based upon a self-regulating purposive rationality, epitomized the rationalization of society. Both represented a "shell of bondage" and became for Weber the legacy of the Enlightenment and an inevitable model for modern society.

An inanimate machine is mind objectified. Only this provides it with the power to force men into its service and to dominate their everyday working life as completely as is actually the case in the factory. Objectified intelligence is also that animated machine, the bureaucratic organization, with its specialization of trained skills, its division of jurisdiction, its rules and hierarchical relations of authority (Weber 1968, pp. 1402; quoted in Habermas 1987, pp. 307).

Similarly, with the decline of vocation, grounded in the Protestant ethic, personal and social conduct was reduced to a "steel-hard casing" of utilitarian self interest.

Today, the spirit of asceticism has fled from this casing, whether with finality, who knows? Victorious capitalism, in any case, ever since it came to rest on a mechanical foundation, no longer needs asceticism as a supporting pillar. Even the rosy temperament of asceticism's joyful heir, the Enlightenment, appears finally to be fading. And the idea of an 'obligation to search for and then accept a vocational calling' now wanders around in our lives as the ghost of beliefs no longer anchored in the substance of religion (Weber 2002, pp. 124).

Habermas counters the exclusivity awarded to purposive rational action by Weber, with his theory of communicative action. From a sociological perspective it makes sense to begin with language. The important aspects of societal integration, coordination, and reproduction generate a need for communicative action. For Habermas, language becomes the medium for coordinating action. Whereas Weber considered language through the prism of success or utility, Habermas argues communication should be oriented to reaching a mutual understanding amongst participants.

...I shall speak of communicative action whenever the actions of the agents involved are coordinated not through egocentric calculations of success but through acts of reaching understanding. In communicative action participants are not primarily oriented to their own individual success; they pursue their individual goals under the condition that they can harmonize their plans of action on the basis of common situation definitions (Habermas 1984, pp. 286).

Attributes such as common conviction, reciprocity, inter-subjectivity, sociality, and understanding become the “inherent telos” of human speech.

To illustrate the importance of communication, Habermas incorporates George Herbert Mead’s emphasis on how language facilitates identity formation as a member of a social group. Communication between individuals involves taking the attitude of the other toward oneself, which assumes the pre-existence of an organized community, what Mead calls “the generalized other”. This social group is the basis for the rules governing interaction, role coordination, and socialization.

...only in so far as he takes the attitudes of the organized social group to which he belongs...does he develop a complete self...It is in the form of the generalized other that the social process influences the behavior of the individual....that the community exercises control over the conduct of its individual members (Mead 1934, pp. 155).

Although Mead's generalized other exercises control over individuals by requiring they take the attitude of the other, thus allowing for agreement necessary for communicative action; Habermas argues that Mead provides no justification for this authority. In response Habermas turns to Emile Durkheim's last work The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1915) to unearth the authority behind the social.

Durkheim traces the basis for group authority to the earliest known religious practice, that of Totemism. The totemic world is represented as a bifurcation between the sacred and profane. The profane, is the world of the body and individual experience; whereas the sacred comes to be associated with transcendent forces capable of acting back against individuals. Represented as a collective conscious by Durkheim, the group in primitive society takes on the attributes of a sacred god-like force. The solidarity, moral obligation, and self-sacrifice toward the sacred (i.e. society), is produced and reproduced through ritual practice. Yet, for Habermas, Durkheim's sacred foundation for the collective conscious, or group authority, remains pre-linguistic. Only when Durkheim transfers his analysis of the sacred from traditional to modern society, does the validity of collectively coordinated activity move from the domain of religion to language. In modern or organic society the norm, as a collective consensus, becomes the new foundation for integration and coordination of social action. This change occurs when law and morality are no longer anchored in the world of religion and metaphysics. Instead, today morality is the domain of personal life (in the wake of the Protestant Reformation), and law is connected to the legitimation of the state and subject to communicative challenge.

This shift from the sacred to the norm, from tradition to the modern, and from religion to language is what Habermas calls the “linguistification of the sacred”.

By this I mean the transfer of cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization from sacred foundations over to linguistic communication and action oriented to mutual understanding....language no longer serves merely to *transmit* and actualize prelinguistically guaranteed agreements, but more and more to *bring about* rationally motivated agreements as well (Habermas 1987, pp. 107).

Habermas’s linguistification of the sacred presents a rejoinder to the primacy Weber afforded purposive rationality, and situates a new critical theory around language and culture. The social practice of communication mobilizes a much broader conception of rationality that is inclusive of: personal expression, objective knowledge, and normative behavior.

These three “structures of consciousness” – aesthetic-expressive, cognitive, and normative – are constituted within interpretation and only reproduced through communication. Communication, then, is a social practice grounded in the earliest notions of the sacred, which fashions a transcendent perspective amongst participants necessary for normative or critical reason. Moreover, this sociation, grounded in mutual understanding, coordinates social action. Finally, through open discussion and argumentation, this communicatively based action becomes oriented toward emancipatory social transformation – that is, social movements.

Essential to Habermas’ theory of New Social Movements is his recognition that modern society is an interplay between two forms of integration: social integration and system integration. Understanding society as socially integrated starts from

communicative action and construes society as a lifeworld (discussed below). Any sociological analysis must proceed from the internal perspective of the group members, “and commits the investigator to hermeneutically connect up his(sic) own understanding with that of the participants” (Habermas 1987, pp. 151). Habermas lifts the concept of the lifeworld out of existential phenomenology and refashions it to complement communicative action. Phenomenology, beginning with Husserl, committed the lifeworld to experience and the psychology of perception. This for Habermas, drives concepts such as knowledge, reason, and understanding back into the metaphysical cave of “philosophy of consciousness”. Instead, “we can think of the lifeworld as represented by a culturally transmitted and linguistically organized stock of knowledge” (Habermas 1987, pp. 124).

People move within their lifeworld, which appears as a reservoir for all types of interaction: from highly formal validity claims, to intuitive and taken for granted everyday exchange. While language and culture are constitutive of the lifeworld, the lifeworld takes on a “transcendental status” where participants in communicative action can reciprocally raise, argue, and settle differences. Emanating from this communicatively based lifeworld is a knowledge that is social, consensual, situational and designed to coordinate emancipatory action.

Modernization has rationalized and differentiated the lifeworld. Unified and pre-linguistic in traditional society, today the lifeworld is founded on communication and separated into three institutions. These are: culture, where sacred knowledge is superseded by knowledge validated by rational argumentation (science); society, where

normative action affirms solidarity (politics and law); and personality, in which child rearing, socialization, and schooling consolidate individual identity and moral autonomy (art). In short, our everyday lives are comprised of routinely asserting facts, appealing to norms, and claiming to be sincere.

Opposite of social integration is system integration, in which society becomes functionally differentiated and self-regulating, and is dominated by the modern bureaucratic state and capitalist economy. Social action is understood as the contribution actors make to system maintenance. System integration is the Weberian nightmare writ large. Modernity subjugates value-rationality to instrumental reason, while industrialism induces specialization and the loss of meaning and personal autonomy. Yet for Habermas, modernization and rationalization are necessary. Without modern differentiation and rationalization of the lifeworld, modern states would not have shifted from sacred to communication-based legitimacy; which, today, is shaped by discourse in the public sphere or civil society. Similarly capitalism, while destroying old feudal relations, emancipated modern liberalism with its emphasis on self-interest, property rights, individuation, and the capacity for innovation and the delivery of goods and services.

The “uncoupling” of system and lifeworld is necessary to arrive at a modern lifeworld capable of producing and sustaining communicative action. What is problematic for Habermas are the “pathological” consequences of this uncoupling. By synthesizing Weber’s work on bureaucracy and Talcott Parson’s system analysis of steering media, Habermas (1987, pp. 367), identifies one such pathology as the “internal

colonization” of the lifeworld.

The thesis of internal colonization states that the subsystems of the economy and state become more and more complex as a consequence of capitalist growth, and *penetrate* ever deeper into the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld. [italics added]

The system integration steering mechanisms of power and money encroach upon, and anchor in, the lifeworld, pushing aside communication as a basis for social action. Yet, this penetration is paradoxical because the systems of economy and state must increasingly rely upon participation from a culturally impoverished lifeworld. The economy requires commitment to employment to extract labor-power. While the modern democratic welfare state solicits: loyalty, legitimation and taxes, in return for ameliorating economic contradictions through Fordist policies.

Regardless of these “exchanges,” pathologies arise in both economic and state systems. In economy social action becomes reified or objectified as a commodity form. Complementing reification, welfare-state juridification introduces formalized law into the informal structure of the lifeworld. While intending to supplement social integration, juridification legalizes and individuates social action by restricting spontaneous social interaction. Citizens become clients; clients become consumers; consumers become dependents. Human beings become laborers; laborers become employees; employees become dependents. “The autonomy of the individual consumer and the sovereignty of the individual citizen,” insists Habermas (1987, pp. 322), “are ...tied to the lifeworld contexts and cannot be taken over economically or politically as can abstract quantities of labor power and taxes.”

In order to prevent the Weberian nightmare, Habermas gives language an anthropologically “deep-seated” structure that *resists* colonization by de-linguistic and non-normative system imperatives.

It is not the uncoupling of media-steering subsystems...that leads to the one-sided rationalization or reification of everyday communicative practice, but only the penetration of forms of economic and administrative rationality into areas of action that resist being converted over to the media of money and power because they are specialized in cultural transmission, social integration, and child rearing, and remain dependent on mutual understanding as a mechanism for coordinating action (Habermas 1987, pp. 330-331).

System and lifeworld, do not stand in *hierarchical* relationship to one another; rather they stand *opposite* one another as fundamentally distinct spheres of action.

The new task of critical theory is to understand social action given the colonization of the lifeworld. As communication is replaced by the media of power and money, what is the basis of coordinating action oriented toward emancipation? One such response is New Social Movements. Residing at the *seam or tension point* between the system and lifeworld, New Social Movements are a, “colorful mixture of groups on the periphery...sensitive to the self-destructive consequences of the growth in complexity...The bond that unites these heterogeneous groups is the critique of growth” (Habermas 1981a, pp. 33-34). New Social Movement’s seek to protect communicatively structured areas of private and public life, against the corrosive effects of economic and administrative systems. Moreover, they attempt to reconnect everyday practice with a modern culture that has been coopted and distorted by elites and experts.

Everyday consciousness is robbed of its power to synthesize; it becomes *fragmented*...In place of ‘false consciousness’ we today have a

‘fragmented consciousness’ that blocks enlightenment... (Habermas 1987, pp. 355).

New social movements are a broad front of *defensive* and *populist* groups sparked, not by old problems of distribution, but by the new conflicts along the *terrain of cultural reproduction*, social integration and socialization – in short, the lifeworld.

System imperatives clash with these movements and their goal of maintaining, or in some cases expanding, independent communication based on mutual understanding. The economy and bureaucratic state line up against private spheres of life connected with: family, neighborhood, voluntary associations, leisure, health and schooling. As juridification and bureaucratization penetrate deep into the lifeworld, struggles over pedagogical freedom in the classroom and child custody at home are but a few indications of this new conflict. “The issue is not primarily one of compensations that the welfare state can provide, but of defending and restoring endangered ways of life” (Habermas 1987, pp. 392). Unlike Fordism’s pacification of the labor movement, New Social Movement can not simply be bought out.

Habermas (1981a; 1987) considers the feminist and civil rights movement as the premier new movements, with their offensive or emancipatory strategies to expand communicative action within the lifeworld against system incursions. However, the vast majority of the new movements are defensive in orientation, by resisting or retreating from the system’s erosion of the lifeworld. These include: the youth and alternative movements which coalesce around the peace and environmental movements; minority rights including gay rights; single-issue and localist movements; religious fundamentalist;

separatist movements; and tax-protest or anti-statist movements. The last four types: localist, religious, separatist, and tax-protesters are indicative of the Patriot/Militia Movement's base concerns.

Habermas, further demarcates resistance movements into modernists and traditionalists. The youth and alternative movements operate with a modern or rationalized lifeworld that seeks new ways of cooperative modern living. The other defensive movements – including the aspects of the Patriot/Militia Movement and The Tyranny Response Team – offer a return to a pre-modern lifeworld designed around ascriptive characteristics such as religion, race, nationality, and gender.

The reevaluation of the particular, the natural, the provincial, of social spaces that are small enough to be familiar, of decentralized forms of commerce and despecialized activities, of... simple interactions and dedifferentiated public spheres – all this is meant to foster the revitalization of possibilities for expression and communication that have been buried alive (Habermas 1987, pp. 395).

Both traditional and modern resistance movements retreat into autonomous subcultures and create counter-institutions or “liberated areas” to assist in the development of personal and collective identities. In their retreat, they craft self-images of themselves as participants and, just as important, ideological depictions of the enemy as the “Other”.

Italian sociologist Alberto Melucci developed this dynamic interplay between these lively subcultures and their defense of the lifeworld, and was one of the earliest to introduce the term “New Social Movement” into the literature. His research in the area of collective action was influenced by both Habermas and Touraine. As a graduate student in France, Melucci studied under Touraine and, like both Touraine and Habermas, he

became dismayed with the orthodoxy of European Marxism. Consequently, in an attempt to capture the variegated activity taking place in contemporary society, Melucci forged a new approach to social movements by drawing upon poststructuralism, postmodernism, and semiotics. In developing his theory of social movements, Melucci distanced himself from the work of Touraine and Habermas. Both remained too system oriented, resulting in an analysis of social movements that omitted the actual actors.

In a February 1988 interview, Melucci acknowledged his debt to Touraine, but believed he remained too committed to the idea of movements as personages, or actors on a historical stage with a unity of consciousness and action. Touraine assumed that in any given historical period there was one central conflict, self-management being the foci in post-industrial society. This grand struggle became Touraine's benchmark by which to measure and hierarchically rank all other collective action. For Melucci, Touraine adopts the same teleological views that he sought to avoid by moving away from Marxism. Not every social movement is out to save "anyone's soul," and Touraine fails to appreciate, according to Melucci, the actual *fragmentation* and *plurality* of contemporary social movements (Melucci 1989, Chapter 9).

Touraine's overly unified approach to social movements is also present in Habermas. While intrigued by, and in fact using, the logic of Habermas' colonialization thesis; Melucci rejects Habermas' rationalistic overtones. Although contemporary social movements require face-to-face interaction (as suggested by Habermas) and are deeply personal, collective action cannot be sustained on rational calculation alone. People's organization and commitment to collective action is both *instrumental and emotional*.

Actors are bound together through the *social construction of a collective identity* (discussed below), or a shared “we-ness”, which transcends an obligation to a supra-ethical standard for rational conduct. Melucci further distinguishes himself from Habermas by taking issue with Habermas’ classification of New Social Movements as defensive. For Melucci (1989, pp. 196), “...the colonization of everyday life by large-scale organizations is not a one-dimensional” or one-directional process. Habermas oversimplifies and underestimates contemporary movements. Instead, Melucci sees New Social Movements as *forward looking and proactive*, through the creation of new forms of action and sites for personal growth, experimentation, and cultural innovation.

What *is* required is a new theoretical and methodological framework for analyzing contemporary social movements. Structural theories like Habermas and Touraine, based on systems analysis, effectively explain *why* social movements arise but not *how* participants develop and sustain their orientation. They hypothesize about contradiction and conflict without ever introducing real concrete action or actors. This failure is most pronounced in classical Marxism where the movement from a class-in-itself to a class-for-itself is mechanistic and under theorized. Conversely, the American compliment to European theory, resource mobilization, fails to examine the meaning or purpose of movement participation, focusing instead on institutionalized and formal organizations. In effect, they examine *how* movements emerge but not *why*.

The key to bridging these approaches is Melucci’s conception of New Social Movements. These movements have three dimensions. First, movements must involve solidarity, or actor’s mutual recognition as members of the same social unit. Solidarity

entails the construction of *collective identity*. Second, social movements are engaged in conflict with other actors for control over valuable resources. In information societies, these resource are the *codes* or *rules*, or cultural justification that in turn dictates the organization of information and ultimately the structure of society in a post modern world. Finally, a social movement breaks with the compatibility of a system.

Contemporary movements operate as signs, in that their actions are a symbolic challenge to the dominant codes. Primarily, this is accomplished through the form New Social Movements take. Their organizational structure is protean and deeply *embedded or submerged* within civil society, making system adoption or appropriation difficult.

The construction of collective identity is the theoretical and methodological centerpiece of Melucci's work. Previous models disregarded "the fact that individuals define themselves as collective actors by means of a variety of negotiated interactions" (Melucci 1989, pp. 32). During his fieldwork amongst youth, peace, and religious movements in Milano, Italy, Melucci realized how important building a collective identity was, as an organizational feature, for collective action. Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced between individuals as they participate in a movement. The process of constructing and maintaining a collective identity provides the basis for actors to shape their expectations, evaluate structural opportunities and constraints for action, and calculate the costs and benefits of those actions (Melucci 1989, pp. 34-35).

In short, collective identity is the connective tissue between an actor's orientation (the *how* missing in macro theory), and social structure (the *why* absent in resource

mobilization theory). This intermediate level associates a commonly shared orientation with the willingness to take action, even in the face of structural constraint. Identity formation, although delicate and in need of continual investment, becomes an *important organizational resource for collective action*. How movement participants define themselves impacts what type of action they will engage in and why. Moreover, willingness to participate depends, in part, on the resources individuals bring to the building of an identity (organizational skills, access to networks...), and their willingness to stay, depends on the viability of the identity constructed.

The collective construction of identity is quintessentially sociological, in that it provides a basis for solidarity in three ways. First, is through the *formulation of cognitive frameworks* capable of discerning the goals, means, and environment for collective action. Second, collective identity *activates relationships* amongst actors, who then communicate, negotiate, and make decisions. In this sense, social movements can be understood as action systems or networks rather than as empirically unified “things”. Finally, a collective orientation allows for *emotional investment*, which enables individuals to recognize themselves in each other. “In this sense collective action is never based solely on cost-benefit calculations and a collective identity is never entirely negotiable” (Melucci 1989, pp. 35).

The importance placed on collective identity by Melucci, has to do with his analysis of contemporary society. Melucci’s understanding of modern society is informed by three traditions: first, poststructuralism, with its emphasis on difference and multiplicity along with a concern for the role power plays in a society dominated by

language and culture; second, postmodernism, with its recognition of the destabilization of meaning and identity in a world of rapidly circulating information and media hegemony; and finally, semiotics, and the importance of discovering the codes, or internal logic, structuring the organization of information.

Modern society is paradoxical, that is, fraught with internal contradictions. This paradox places New Social Movements and collective identity at the center of social conflict. On the one hand, highly differentiated systems produce and distribute resources for individualization and self-realization. The goal is to build autonomous personal and collective identities. In Western societies, information has become a mode of production, which structures individuals as subjects through electronically mediated culture. Television and media, ads, and the internet are just a few information outlets used to disperse and position individuals across a cultural space. This separation maximizes an individual's sense of difference, unique personality, and identity.

Due to the sheer amount of information produced and circulated in contemporary society, individuals have to operate as autonomous "terminals," capable of continually collecting, decoding, and exchanging information (Melucci 1989, pp. 45). While individuals use these "resources" to distinguish themselves through their life styles, this process of individuality is also regulated by a diffuse social control that goes beyond the public sphere to invade everyday life. Citing Foucault's (1980, pp. 26) "micro-physical of power," Melucci situates control (and hence conflict) within information societies, in the exercise of power in everyday experience. "Power must affect everyday life, the deep motivation of individual action must be manipulated, the process by which people give

meaning to things and their action must be under control” (Melucci 1984, pp. 827).

Dimensions that were traditionally considered private (personal relations and sexuality), subjective (emotions and desires), or even biological (genetics and health) now undergo social control and manipulation. The dilemma, from the perspective of identity, is that these new domains of power are precisely the areas most invested in by individuals with autonomy and the search for identity.

Not surprisingly, New Social Movements occupy these multiple sites of power in contemporary society. In the past, movements have been reduced to being either economic or political in orientation, or both. For Melucci (1989, pp. 44), this results in a “myopia of the visible,” whereby a researcher mandates that any analysis of movement action be both measurable and calculable. Movements, however, are also about non-calculable “goods,” such as solidarity and identity. Contemporary movements fall into this category because, while organized around conflict and antagonistic, they are difficult to measure. The challenge presented by these movements is to the logic of the system from a cultural perspective. Moreover, they are ensconced within people’s experience of everyday life in civil society, the very location where these forces of integration operate.

If, in information societies, power is exercised in the control of codes, then the role played by New Social Movements is to challenge, resist, and even overturn dominant codes. Melucci (1989, pp. 75-79) identifies three forms of symbolic challenge taken by contemporary movements. The first is *prophecy*, where movement actors ask: Where are we going and why? and announce that alternative frameworks of meaning, or codes, are possible. Unearthing of the destructive nature of production by the environmental

movement, exemplifies this approach. Introducing *paradox* is the second challenge, which reverses the dominant codes through exaggeration. This inversion exposes the dominant discourse of power as self-contradictory and “irrational”. Exposing the contradiction, within technology of warfare, between human annihilation and defense by the peace movement is an illustration.

Representation is the third challenge, where actors demand *representation*, but use it as a mirror to retransmit back to the system of its own contradictions. The youth and feminist movements are examples. The youth movement in Western society effectively reformulated age from a biological to a cultural identity. While the operational logic of systems requires predictability, continuity, and conformity; youth consciously display indeterminacy, openness, and discontinuity. Similarly, while the feminist movement pushed for inclusiveness and equality; they also demanded the right to be different. These forms of symbolic challenge produce new languages that re-code and replace words used by the social order. The effect is to render power visible, the power which hides behind the perceived neutrality of dominant codes. In short, “movements cast light on ‘the dark side of the moon’” (Melucci 1994, pp. 102).

Melucci has expressed consternation with the reification of the “new” in New Social Movements, along with a false dichotomization between “old” and “new” forms of collective action. This ignores the composite nature of most modern struggles. Traces of the past persist in contemporary movements not simply as legacies or historical residue, rather, “...they help to shape patterns of collective action in which historical and cultural elements coexist or blend” (Melucci 1994, pp. 115). For instance in the ecological

movement, forms of resistance tied to pre-modern or religious conceptions of the earth coincide with futuristic calls for technological innovation. New social movements are a blend of synchronic or contemporary and diachronic or historical forms of struggle.

Having said this, Melucci identifies important features in new social movements. First, they abandon participation in economic or political institutions in favor of conflict over society's formal frameworks of knowledge, or its codes. Secondly, this shift is made possible by the self-reflexivity of modern society, whereby people can consciously choose not to conform. Nonconformity is aided by the "post-material" nature of information societies. With material survival essentially met, conflict has migrated to the control over the production of "cultural surplus". Contemporary movements step in to: decode, re-code, resist, recast, and offer new ways of allocating, or producing this cultural surplus. Third, new movements are global or "planetary" in orientation. The hyper circulation of cultural codes today, assigns to local action the potential of having global implications. This local-global link is key to understanding new social movements.

Organizational structure is yet another distinguishing attribute of contemporary movements. If, as suggested by Melucci, collective action is not "a thing," and movements operate within *fields* of possibility and limitation, then today's movements can be understood as networks of small groups submerged in everyday life. Activated by personal contacts, movement actors emerge around specific issues, for temporary or ad hoc action, such as rallies or protests. Multiple membership, leadership that is frequently open to challenge, part-time militants, and personal or affective solidarity characterize these networks. According to Melucci (1984, pp. 829), "This is not a temporary

phenomenon but a morphological shift in the structure of collective action.” In addition, movements coalesce around a two-pole model of action: latency and visibility. Latency allows people to directly experience cultural models in their everyday life, which very often are opposed to the dominant social codes. From sexuality to survivalism, latency creates a space or “laboratory” for the practice of cultural innovation. When groups emerge to confront political authorities on specific issues, their visibility demonstrates that alternative cultural models are possible. Although they speak and act from a particularistic viewpoint, their opposition is connected to the general logic of the system. Visibility reinforces these submerged networks by renewing solidarity and facilitating recruitment. This organizational structure is not just a means to an end. It is a goal in itself. As a “new media” contemporary movements rename the world by speaking and acting against its dominant codes. The “Medium is the message, and action sends back to the system its own paradoxes” (Melucci 1985, pp. 812).

Summary of Discussion:

New Social Movements have given the observer of contemporary society, new tools to study and understand the dramatic increase in social movement activity that has occurred since the 1970s and 1980s. The presence of these movements, have forced researchers to shift their analysis away from strict economic issues, so representative of the worker’s movement, to a recognition that movements today operate in many sociological spheres: cultural, sexual, racial, and, yes, economic. The Peace, Environmental, Ecological, Anti-Nuclear, Civil Rights, Feminists, Transgendered, post-

Colonial, Christian-right, and Patriot/Militia Movements all have sprung up with in the many fissures present in a post-modern world. The multiple and fractured nature of these struggles indicates that power (as well as economy) is no longer monolithic. Nor can power simply be assumed to reside in institutions such as the state.

Touraine, Habermas and Melucci all acknowledge that, while New Social Movements have become a mainstay on the landscape of modern societies, they are increasingly responding to a consolidated institutional apparatus. Whether Touraine's technocracy or Habermas's discussion of the state & economy, these post-modern forces are viewed as penetrating into civil society; which just happens to be where these New Social Movements are springing up from. This tension between institutional penetration into civil society and the attempts by movements to maintain their autonomy, is that gives New Social Movements its contemporary saliency. This dialectical interplay is also reproduced at the global level as nations and communities come under the yoke of global forces that impinge on their ability for self determination.

In Chapter Three, I discuss the key themes, or organizing concepts for this research. First is the importance of globalization not only in the New Social Movement literature but in the Patriot/Militia Movement as well. This highlights the second theme which is a decidedly anti-statist emphasis within New Social Movement's, and was a dominant theme amongst the members of the Tyranny Response Team I studied. This opposition to the state brings into focus the importance of Melucci's collective identity. To defy an institution such as the state, suggests the presence of a conception of: Who You Are, that provides movement actors with the *capacity* to exercise power, and

ultimately where resistance originates from.

And finally, the third theme is the importance placed on civil society by New Social Movement theory as a new ground for politics and resistance. Civil society is seen as a sphere outside the influence of both state and economy, although always under threat. Civil society is closely associated with Habermas's use of the life-world concept discussed above. Methodologically, the importance of civil society as that it operates as a social and cultural space where *meaning* is constructed, and in this research is connected with the use of ethnography as a methodological approach. The discussion of methodology and methods occurs in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER THREE

Key Themes for This Research:

This chapter organizes and expands the central ideas that will guide my analysis of the Patriot/Militia Movement and fieldwork with the Tyranny Response Team (TRT). Three dominant themes can be culled from the discussion of Habermas, Touraine, and Melucci in Chapter Two. First, not since the work of structural strain theorists, such as Smelser, has social movement activity been associated with large scale structural change. Each of the main writers discussed in this section associate the rise of New Social Movement with recent and comprehensive changes in social structure, most importantly the contemporary transformation of political economy. This approach can be explained in three ways. First is the European influence on New Social Movement literature and their willingness to accept the existence of social structure. In contrast, American sociology has been more influenced by psychological orientations, as evidenced by the dominance of symbolic interaction and social psychology in the U.S. Second is the foundation, in the Marxian tradition, for many New Social Movement writers and their awareness of the importance placed on dialectical change associated with political economy. Finally, the advancement of an alternative analysis of social movements as “new” was a reaction to the resource mobilization perspective, with its narrow focus on organizational dynamics and rational actors.

The problem, which will be discussed below, is not only what the nature of this

social structural change is, but how can we understand its causes and consequences. In this research the change in contemporary social structures will be presented as the process of globalization. In this sense globalization is an indication of the recent alterations in political economy. Habermas, Touraine, and Melucci's analysis of New Social Movements is, in part, a response to the emergence of globalization. Whether post-industrial, programmed or late-capitalist the general sense amongst New Social Movement writers is that we are seeing a transformation of modernity. This fact alone gives the study of social movements a new urgency. As a force of modernity, globalization operates at the transnational level by pulling societies in a particular direction, at the national level by forcing states to react to globalization, and at the local level by placing in front of individuals and communities the opportunities and constraints of living in a globalized world.

The second theme in the New Social Movement literature has to do with the relationship between social movements and the state. New Social Movements are decidedly anti-statist. Unlike the period of early industrialism, the modern state is no longer perceived as an ally in the struggle by social movements for emancipation. Instead, the state is an impediment. The role afforded the state of ensuring public accountability, social justice and autonomy is in retreat. Meanwhile, concentrated capitalist accumulation, administrative rationality, and wide-ranging bureaucratic control is on the rise. Within the context of globalization, the institutions of state and economy have joined together to form Touraine's technocracy. Moreover, as first indicated by Gramsci (1971), the state has penetrated into the social and cultural spheres to further

coordinate and integrate all aspects of social life around capitalist production.

The importance of this anti-statist stance lies in the strategy employed to challenge state intransigence. From Habermas's colonization thesis to the stress Melucci places on the constitution of collective identities, New Social Movements are held up as a vigorous defense of civil society. May 1968 represented a rejection of traditional political modes of participation. The emphasis placed on face-to-face interaction, consensus, autonomy, and decentralization within New Social Movements is an indication of a withdraw from institutionalized forms of expression. The objective is to revitalize a political space outside the state and economy. New Social Movement theory divides society into a tripartite of: state, economy, and civil society. With the first two representing dominating and integrating rationalities, only civil society allows the distance away from the center to practice normative and ideological challenges. The penetration of state and economy into civil society has resulted in new struggles and introduces new social actors. As mentioned in the previous section, New Social Movements now involve students, homemakers, and even government employees, with issues at times far afield from the traditional concerns of the working class.

The struggle in defense of civil society highlights the third major theme of resistance, gleaned from the works of Habermas, Touraine, and Melucci. Bureaucratization and capitalist penetration into civil society call for new forms of resistance that employ cultural symbols as legitimate bases for action and resistance. Whether expressed through communication, the struggle over historicity, or the practice of cultural alternatives, New Social Movement actors operate on the cultural plane in

their challenge to technocratic domination. The reflexive nature of contemporary society affords movement actors with the opportunity to challenge, create, and even appropriate cultural representations to advance their struggle. Cultural artifacts, such as the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights, can be commandeered and placed into an alternative history to support the construction of collective identities and movement solidarity. More general cultural traditions such as nationalism, citizenship and democracy are also viable fields upon which these struggles for power occur. In short, New Social Movements recognize that social conflict always has a normative content and context. And, the battle for cultural or symbolic meaning has a direct connection to the distribution of material resources as well as the design of social systems.

Before proceeding with an elaboration of the three main themes outlined above, a general definition of New Social Movements for this research will now be advanced. New Social Movements can be defined as collective struggles by social actors in reaction to the development of globalization. These conflicts have as their objective the expansion or preservation of local autonomy and control within civil society. These struggles seek to make the global-local connection through challenging, appropriating, and redefining cultural symbols to construct identities that repel the intrusive forces of globalization, while privileging freedom and liberty through the practice of self-management.

What is Globalization?

The question beginning this section is largely rhetorical. Since the 1980s, the.

sociological abstracts on the subject of globalization increased 11 fold, while the books in print went from 48 to 589, over a 12 fold increase (Guillen 2001, pp. 239). Conceptual clarity has not accompanied this explosion of interest in globalization. Today, as with many contemporary concepts in sociology, there is no unified or widely accepted understanding of globalization, with some authors rejecting its very existence. In short, globalization is a contested and multifarious concept, whose essential qualities are in question along with its relevance.

Despite this discord, the proliferation of interest in globalization implies its salience as an important issue in the 21st Century. One problem with the concept globalization is in part disciplinary. Academics from political science tend to attach globalization to their study of inter-national relations by viewing it as an extension of the internationalization in state functions. Similarly, some sociologists and economists link globalization to a transnational political economy of multi-national and later transnational corporations. While sociologists research the impact these global actors have on societies (usually identified with the nation-state), economists study the dynamics of global markets. Finally, postmodern, cultural theory and anthropology tie the process of globalization in with the question of an emergent transnational cultural orientation.

In this sense, we can think of globalization as having political, economic, and cultural dimensions. Although the intention of this research is not a comprehensive understanding of globalization, I will synthesize aspects of each of the three elements in my study of the Tyranny Response Team. The Patriot/Militia Movement challenges power operating above the nation-state at the supra-national level, as well as contesting

power below the state in civil society.

In their comprehensive globalization reader, David Held and Anthony McGrew (2002, pp. 4) define globalization as:

...the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social organization. It refers to a shift or transformation in the scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's major regions and continents.

To the authors, globalization is neither harmonious nor teleological, but has a deeply contingent, fluid, and dynamic quality to it. Consequently, the debate over globalization as an economic force centers around the scope, direction, and actors. The scope of globalization has two essential positions, those who accept the existence of a truly global economy and those who adopt the position that global economic activity remains mediated and regulated through the interstate system. The latter position is represented by the work of Hirst and Thompson (1999a; 1999b), who along with Hettne (1998), and Hettne and Soderbaum (2000) acknowledge a growth in global economic activity, but place this phenomenon within a system of regional transactions. Globalization is nothing more than regionalism and internationalism writ large. Most companies are not transnational, instead they are based nationally, and trade multi-nationally. Hirst and Thompson, empirically locate this regionalism within a tripartite of aggregated states: the EU, Asia with Japan as the leading state, and North America (this they refer to as the G3). The vast majority of international trade and investment occurs between the various states within their respective region.

Conversely, authors Anthony Giddens (1990; 2000) and David Harvey (1989;

1995) argue for the existence of a truly globalized economy (albeit from two distinct epistemological positions, modernism and post-modernism respectively). Globalization is recognized as an epiphenomenon that has restructured the very nature of time and space. For Harvey, space and time have been compressed, and to Giddens there has been a distancing or separation of time and space. The global economy has altered the very geography, or territoriality, of economic exchange, decontextualizing or lifting away, social activity from its local contexts and meaning. Social relations become linked to “...distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens 1990, pp. 64). Similarly for Harvey (1995) the spacial dynamic of global economies displays the impulsion to eliminate barriers by creating supranational organizations and fostering sub-national struggles.

Both Harvey and Giddens place New Social Movements at the center of this territorial transformation. For Giddens, New Social Movements seek to *reconnect and re-embed* time and space. By linking the global with the local, movements not only challenge corporate power, but the modern surveillance state as well. New Social Movements in a globalized age, “...provide glimpses of possible futures and are in some part vehicles for their realization” (Giddens 1990, pp. 161). The condition of postmodernity for Harvey (1989, pp. 292) has been “...the plunge into the maelstrom of ephemerality,” with New Social Movements acting to discover truth and meaning through the manufacture of authenticity through political action. This resistance to globalization has taken form in religious revivalism, nationalist struggles and radical localism.

The Patriot/Militia Movement combine the dynamics of compression and

distanciation into their own critique of globalization. According to compression, globalization has immediate effects on people and communities, yet distanciation suggests that the source of globalization's impact is far removed. Consequently, the rejection of globalization by the Patriot/Militia Movement is that it represents a process which, while directly impinging localities, is beyond the reach of, or challenge by, local movements – just like the tyrannical state.

The second debate over globalization addresses its nature or direction. Here the battle lines are clearly drawn between those (namely Marxists) who view globalization as the continuing march of imperialism (Amin 1996; 2001) or as a triumph of neoliberalism (Kortz 2002). Imperialism places globalization within a larger trajectory of capitalism as the dominant and preeminent historical system. Drawing upon classical Marxism (especially the Communist Manifesto) and Lenin's Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism), the natural tendency of capitalism has always been to expand and envelop the entire globe. Neoliberalism is an updated version of the classical liberal thought that was dominant during the last great period of global consolidation (1870-1920).

From the 1930s to the 1970s, a new interventionist approach (embodied in Keynesian and Fordist policies) replaced classical liberalism, and with it came the accepted belief that capitalism, to be viable, requires regulation. However, by the late 1970s liberalism had made a rapid comeback, first in academia, then in public policy. Neoliberalism is both a body of economic theory and a policy stance, which demands a largely unregulated capitalist system (free market economy), embodies the ideal of free individual choice, and achieves optimum economic performance through efficiency,

economic growth, technological progress, and market-based distributional justice. Internationally, neoliberalism calls for free movement by corporations, banks, and investors of goods, services, capital, and money (but not people) across national borders.

Whither The State?

Resurgent neoliberalism can be explained within the context of the globalization of capitalism and the new demands corporations have placed on nation-states. The state is relegated to the economic sidelines and assigned the very limited role of defending property rights, establishing security for investment, and enforcing contracts. Corporate demands for cost cutting in the production of goods and services is achieved through an attack on unionization and labor protections, the restructuring of national economies from manufacturing to services and financial institutions, the reduction of corporate taxation, and the weakening of environmental protection that would jeopardize competitiveness.

In short, neoliberalism privileges a new player on the global stage, the transnational corporation (TNCs). TNCs are the progeny of the global economy. Their relevance, with respect to this research, has to do with TNCs place in the political economy of globalization. Those rejecting the global economy thesis also dismiss the importance of TNCs (as truly footloose capital) in favor of multinational corporations (MNCs). MNCs are believed to be more beholden to territory and must make a good faith effort to negotiate their place within the global economy. Although MNCs operate in more than one country, they usually rely on one major base of operations and remain tied to location. This gives leverage to countries and states in bargaining with MNCs within a

global economy.

TNCs are viewed as a continuation of MNCs, but have transcended the limitations of territorial dependence (Beck 2000). Benefitting from neoliberalism, TNCs are able to move investments to any area of the globe where labor costs and workplace obligations are lowest. This is aided by global technologies, which allow for the instantaneous transfer of finances through cyberspace and the rapid movement of goods over great distances. Benefitting from a new international division of labor, commodity chain production can be established whereby corporate labels and commodity origin become illusions (Sklair 2002). TNCs can play countries off against one another in a process of global horse trading to find the most favorable conditions for operations. Countries on the losing end are placed in the unenviable position of vying for less favorable terms of production in an never ending “race to the bottom”.

Sociologically, globalization is considered from the perspective of how societies, cultures, and nation-states are impacted by transnationalism. Additionally, sociological attempts to understand globalization also consider the resistance or reactions to this phenomenon as well, whether its in the form of a radical de-globalization or localism, or the attempt to create new transnational institutions conterminous with globalization (Jameson 2000). Globality is frequently used to indicate the social consequences of globalization. It refers to the recognition that we now and certainly have been living in a world society for quite some time (Beck 2000). Globality, depicts globalization as both a compression of the world (the time-space discussion above), but also as “the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson 1992, pp. 4).

Despite the highly uneven and complex process of globalization, the general recognition is that the planet is, in Marshall McLuhan's overused term a "global village". The simultaneity of media and other technologies of globalization have shrunk the world through the dramatic penetration of global forces and messages into every realm of life in every region of the planet. This tight-knit world makes each of us mutually aware of the happenings of other people, even in far distant corners of the globe.

Coupled with this emergent global consciousness is the growing interest in understanding the global - local link, or thinking through the influence global processes have on local situations. There are two ways to think the global/local: as a dichotomy or dialectically. The latter understands the global/local as constitutive of one another. The term "glocalization" is aptly used by Roland Robertson (1992, pp. 173-174) to represent the global/local as mutually effecting. This global connectivity unearths or demystifies the happenings at either the global or local level by illustrating the effect the other level is having on our understanding of what we think the global/local is all about.

For instance, the erosion of manufacturing jobs in the U.S. since the mid-1970s might, locally, be perceived as: inefficiency, an overly zealous labor movement, poor product design, or even lack of community commitment. Yet, if understood globally the process of de-industrialization is recognized as a feature of the growing power of MNCs and TNCs as they roam the planet in search of cheap labor and materials. Similarly, free-trade today is presented as the panacea for human suffering and the model of global development. Yet, again, the policy can be seen as an attempt by the U.S. (a local nation-state), to universalize its particular agenda, an agenda that advantages its position of

global hegemony.

The global/local as a dichotomy posits the relationship as global versus local; that is, as two exclusive and antagonistic domains. On the side of the global are those calling for transnational institutions to foster cosmopolitanism and to combat the dread of parochialism, which is presented as reactionary. The call for post-nationalist structures of global governance, movements, and citizenship aided by the development of a transnational public sphere, or “cosmopolitan democracy,” exemplify this position (McGrew 2002; Guidry et.al. 2000). Conversely, localism situates itself against globalism through various strategies of resistance.

Resistance can manifest around the globalization of Western corporate, political, and cultural power embodied in post-Colonial movements and the recent upsurge of the eclectic anti-globalization movements (Starr 2000; Burbach 2001). Or hostility can coalesce against the rise of supra-national organizations (such as the United Nations) and their threat to national or even local sovereignty, as evidenced by the Patriot/Militia Movement. In either case, left or right, the global/local link provides the impetus for resistance. This opposition can come in the form of “deglobalization” (Robertson 1992), or the outright condemnation of globalization; or, movements committed to “globalization from below” can struggle to put pressure on, and attempt to modify, the currently existing practice of globalization (Hines 2001).

The global/local approach highlights the importance of understanding globalization as territorilization or social space. A broad stroke paints globalization as large transnational corporations and its concomitant governance system organizations like

the United Nations or World Trade Organization. Global transformations become implicated in changes as far down as community, civil society (discussed below), or even the individual. Occupying the ambiguous middle ground is the nation-state, an entity that has been center stage in the globalization debate. Whether globalization has compressed or distanced space & time, whether communities and movements are able to influence or resist globalization by mobilizing within civil society; the nation-state is in the cross-hairs of contemporary changes in political economies (Purcell 2002).

Bjorn Hettne's (1995, pp. 137) definition of globalization as "the combination of transnational integration and national disintegration" is a compelling statement linking globalization and the nation-state. Philip McMichael (1996, pp. 26) also recognized a paradigmatic shift away from the political economy of modernization based on "nationally managed economic growth" to a global project of new institutional forms that stabilize and reproduce capitalism.

The emergence of supra-national institutional structures, such as NAFTA, GATT and the WTO remind us that globalization is also a change in social space, or what David Harvey (1989) refers to as a "time-space compression". Debate has raged as to the place of the nation-state in a globalized context. Post-Fordist thinkers such as Bob Jessop (1994) and Alain Lipietz (1987) see a globalism, dominated by transnational corporations and neo-liberal state policy as diminishing, or hollowing-out, state power.

Jessop (2000; 2002) has recently theorized globalization as fostering a transformation in state structures from a Fordist Keynesian Welfare State, which promotes aggregate demand, to a corporate friendly Schumpeterian Workfare State. In

the latter, State management of the economy is strictly privatized and turned over to free market forces, which are driven by the dynamics of globalization. Nation States loose control over territorial governance, as well as influence at the meta-national level. Social programs and protections are relinquished and individual workers are exposed to the vagaries of global change. States are no longer capable of redistributing national growth, while deindustrialization and the shift to information-based economies has left states powerless when confronted with the mobility of capital.

In contrast, Henri Lefebvre insists that globalization is a multilayered and intertwined spacial process whereby, “We are confronted not by one social space [with globalization] but many -- indeed, by an unlimited multiplicity or uncountable set of social spaces....No space disappears in the course of growth and development: *the worldwide does not abolish the local*” (Lefebvre 1991, pp. 86). According to Lefebvre, globalization actually enhances the territorial necessity of state and locality. Both geographies provide a stabilizing territorial framework for global capital accumulation and a potential sight of resistance: “Might not the spatial chaos engendered by capitalism, despite the power and rationality of the state, turn out to be the system’s Achilles heel?” (Lefebvre 1991, pp. 63).

In establishing a post-developmental approach, Philip McMichael agrees that globalization illuminates the intensity of activity at the local level.

As states decentralize, the opportunity for local political renewal presents itself, quite often compellingly....the politics of identity tends to substitute for the civic (universal) politics of nation-building. Also, regions and communities see self-determination as more than a political goal. It extends to the idea of cultural renewal, which includes recovering local

knowledges (McMichael 1996, pp. 42).

This interplay between *global restructuring* of national political economy and the intensification of *localized* political action organized around *identity*, I argue, is what makes the contemporary Patriot/Militia Movement in the U.S. salient. As will be argued in the following chapters, the Patriot/Militia Movement and the Tyranny Response Team, both construct identities around the concept of “patriot” that is linked to their understanding of America as a republic. This construction is tied to a longstanding historical struggle against tyranny.

To be a patriotic defender of the republic, provides a justification – a rationality – for defending against the larger tyrannical forces of government (the State) and the New World Order (globalization). In addition, as suggested by Melucci, this collectively constructed patriot identity is also used as a tool to confront the “Other” – the opposition – on the streets of civil society. This place of civil society is the site of this dialectical interplay between the global and local, between resistance and tyranny, and is discussed below.

Civil Society in History:

The fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 caught many western analysts off guard. Immediately, explanations abounded as to the various external factors resulting in the Soviet demise. Neo-Marxist, operating within a world-systems approach, posited that the Soviet Union system lost out to the dominant capitalist world economy. Those on the right saw the fall of the Berlin wall as the triumphant march of capitalism and the final

“end of history”; while those more culturally inclined believed this to be the just deserts for the “evil empire” of “godless communism”. Not until social scientists critically reflected on the events leading up to the fall, and the subsequent struggles by Soviet satellites, was their gaze turned inward to the internal workings of these former communist societies. Upon illumination, a growing awareness and body of literature developed that recognized the importance played by resistance movements operating within civil society in these Eastern-European countries. Whether in the early struggles of Solidarity in Poland or the wide-ranging movements challenging Soviet-style state socialism in Czechoslovakia and Romania, civil society once again became central to those wishing to understand contemporary social movements and social change. Yet, the idea of civil society is not new.

Historically, early European formulations of civil society in the eighteenth century considered the term synonymous with the state or “political society”. This was a direct reflection of its classical origins, where “civil society” showed strong similarity to the Roman philosopher Cicero’s *societas civilis* (I will return to Cicero at some length in Chapter Six) and Aristotle’s *koinonia politike* (political communities). In the English tradition, Locke developed the idea of civil society in opposition to despotism and monarchical rule; in Germany, Kant attached the term to constitutionalism, sovereignty, and peace; while the Scot Adam Ferguson recognized the importance of ethics and virtue as foundational to civil society. Rousseau expressed the importance of civil society as an impetus for revolution thereby the *etat civil* is the state, an embodiment of the general will of the people. In all these uses the contrast is with the “uncivilized” condition of

humanity, whether that be in a state of natural barbarism or under the yoke of some despotic rule. Civil society, then, expresses the growth of civilization usually connected to the early Athenian *polis* or the Roman republic. In either respect, society is organized around a concept of an active citizenship (although highly exclusive) where “the rule of law” settled disputes.

This connection between citizen and civil society forms an essential association that has aided in the concept’s revival; but it was the decisive innovation in eighteenth century England that broke the historic connection of civil society to the state that concerns me here. This was the achievement of British and later American thought. The writings of Locke and Ferguson elaborated a sphere of society distinct from the state and with forms, principles, and rights of its own. The prominence afforded civil society was bound up with the struggle against despotic states in Feudal Europe. The language of civil society being that of rights, sovereignty, and freedom was a weapon in support of liberty. Talk of civil society was directed against monarchs who acted arbitrarily, abused their powers, and pursued their private self-interests at the expense of the community.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the ideal of civil society as a localized realm of life in which citizens invented their identities under the radar of the state, held great sway in the republican politics of merchants and yomen alike. Republicans like Montesquieu reflected upon the Roman republic and Greek *polis* as he drafted his treaties of a world devoid of tyrannical centralized state power, standing armies, and the corruption of monarchical courts. Through fear and intimidation absolutism induced apathy and conformism, thus violating the republican emphasis

placed on civic virtue through active citizenship in civil society.

Realm of Necessity:

Hegel and Marx in their understanding of civil society associated its development to industrialization and capitalism in Europe, and the breakdown of tradition and custom that legitimated feudalism. In Hegel's theory of civil society the state played a key role. The state, according to Hegel, was the rule of reason, the incarnation of freedom, and an expression of the universality of a given historical time. Against this was civil society or that sphere of human activity through which people separate themselves as individuals, primarily through the institution of the family (or private sphere). This person of civil society acts in direct contrast to the state, their interests being egoistic and self-centered, rather than political. Social life is possible only by setting up an external organization to limit the enticement of the private sphere. Government, then, appears as necessary if people are to realize that their freedom is inextricably tied to the acceptance of law that, while not ignoring the tensions of civil society, represents itself on a more universal (social) level.

This stance taken by Hegel to reduce the contradictions of civil society through state action is not unlike Hobbes Leviathan (1651), with the notable exception that Hegel recognized ethical life took place when individuals became socially conscious. The "concrete person" of civil society recognizes themselves as a member of society and realizes that to attain their ends they have to work together. Consequently, rather than the authoritarian approach of Hobbes to state sovereignty, Hegel viewed the state as an

accepted adjudicator of disputes, a guarantor of individual rights, and the synthesis of the multitude of claims in civil society (Hodgkinson & Foley 2003).

For Hegel civil society first differentiated itself from the family, yet ultimately became equated with the state. In contrast, civil society to Marx reflected the contradictions of capitalist social relations and was associated with the economy. The state took precedence over civil society in Hegel's analysis, but for Marx this relationship required a reversal. Neither approach, however, granted the autonomy to civil society afforded in the English tradition (discussed below).

The property-centered view of Marx associated the distinction between civil society and the state with the growth of capitalism and the development of political economy. "Civil society embraces the whole material intercourse of individuals within a definite stage of the development of productive forces...Civil society as such only develops with the bourgeoisie; the social organization evolving directly out of production and commerce" (Marx & Engels 1985, pp. 57). From the economic tensions of civil society comes bourgeois legal doctrine (most notably the protection of property) that establishes state legitimacy in the superstructure. Hence the famous statement in The Communist Manifesto (1988, pp. 211) "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie", best sums up the place of the state in capitalist society.

The discovery of civil society and the central importance Marx & Engels attach to it in history, could only come about when a new system of production (capitalism) matured in Europe. Only then, the story goes, did the bourgeoisie have any need for

rights apart from the state. The failure to address the fundamental class-based contradictions existing civil society renders any change at best partial, and at worst perpetuating a false consciousness.

Where the political state has attained its true development, man – not only in thought, in consciousness, but in reality, in life – leads a twofold life, a heavenly and an earthly life: life in the *political community*, in which he considers himself a *communal being*, and life in civil society, in which he acts as a *private individual*, regards other men as a means, degrades himself into a means and becomes a plaything of alien powers (Marx 1972, pp. 32). [italics in original]

The focus of revolutionary practice should take place in civil society, where attempts by the capitalist state to promote ideas such as Liberty, mask the exploitation of a system based on private property. Unlike Hegel, who in his analysis withdrew from civil society, Marx and Engels specifically target civil society as the site of human emancipation through the freeing of alienated labor.

Marx and Engels tendency to dichotomize all social phenomenon to either the base or superstructure, left no place for an independent and distinctive realm of the social. The social practices and institutions of civil society were a mere reflection of capitalist society and the ensuing economic struggles mentioned above. This economy-state model reduced the concept of civil society to political economy and moved the Marxist tradition away from taking on social institutions in civil society as legitimate subject matter for investigation. Moreover, it leaves no room for an understanding of civil society as a haven, a place of non-alienated action, or an autonomous site of critical resistance to state or capitalist class domination.

Realm of Freedom:

Kant was one of the earliest to understand the connection between civil society and rights. This emphasis on rights (amongst them property rights) and personal liberty came to represent the sovereignty of the individual, whose ability to use reason had been emancipated with the Enlightenment. His bold clam of “dare to know” in What is Enlightenment, best sums up this position.

Enlightenment is man’s(sic) emergence from his self-incurred tutelage. Tutelage is man’s inability to make sense of his understanding without direction from another. Self-incurred is this tutelage when its cause lies not in lack of reason but in lack of resolution and courage to use it without direction from another. Dare to know! ‘Have courage to use your own reason!’ – that is the motto of enlightenment...For this enlightenment, however, nothing is required but freedom...[yet] Everywhere there is restriction on freedom (Kant 1991[1784], pp. 133-134).

Kant required that the practice of free inquiry and critical reason be protected by a space within which people could freely determine their own action. Civil society becomes that place. Eschewing the utilitarian assumption that modern societies are centered around the contract, Kant saw the freedoms of civil society engendering not only an autonomous subject, but a more general or public discussion over the ethics of contemporary life. Civil society was a moral community of freely acting (and thinking!) subjects who directed their behavior toward universal ethical standards. Protected by constitutional law people are able to exercise their rights and demand civil liberties, thus enabling them to break their dependency on unjust authority, whether it be a Priest or Monarch. The legitimacy of a republic, then, should be based on civil liberties, the rule of law, and a fostering of a civil society that universalizes public debate, freedom, and participation to

all citizens. The failure to promote autonomous critical reason renders civil society impotent.

The recognition that civil society can act as a medium through which challenge emerges, requires a rich, complex, and political orientation toward the concept. Civil society, seen in this light, begins here with English liberalism, then to de Tocqueville, and ends, surprisingly, in the neo-Marxist writings of Antonio Gransci. This emphasis will then be brought forward to modern Critical Theory, with its analysis of contemporary society and New Social Movements mentioned above, accompanied by the importance placed on civil society.

The importance of considering civil society within the New Social Movement literature is underscored by the anti-statist and socio-political orientation of New Social Movements. As mentioned above, New Social Movements shun a specifically economic understanding of movement activity, seeking instead to consider activity outside the economy. Similarly, the resistance to state penetration and concern with either maintaining or establishing autonomy, gives New Social Movements an oppositional consciousness to statist solutions to issues raised within movements (although there is wide variation on this point, due to the eclectic array of movements termed “new”). Consequently, cultural, social, and political concerns get played out (at least initially) in civil society.

John Locke, a staunch defender of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England, presented a conception of a civil society predicated on freedom and liberty and outside the aegis of the state (seen by Locke and many others of the day as despotic). In order to

achieve this position Locke argued that the natural state of humans is to be free. Freedom entails the unrestricted ability to appropriate from nature's abundance, and by mixing with one's labor, create property. Property becomes the backbone of civil society and more for my purpose is a counterweight against the despotism of monarchical states. While a state's legitimacy rests on the preservation and respect afforded to one's claim to property, the defense of property is what drives individuals to join in association in civil society.

Liberty, freedom, and property are pre-existing states of nature for Locke, that is, they exist outside the state. Moreover they are central to the common law tradition so revered in the contemporary Patriot/Militia Movement (discussed in Chapter Five). As J.G.A. Pocock states in The Machiavellian Moment:

The cult of customary antiquity was a peculiarly English brand...A claim to uniqueness was a claim to autonomy, and when it was asserted that there was nothing in English law and government that was not customary and autochthonous, the claim was being made that the English possessed a historical and immemorial sovereignty over themselves; they were enlightenment, and they had never been, anything which was not of their own making (1975, pp. 341).

Pocock attributes this to the notion that England was an Elect Nation, an idea carried across the Atlantic by the early colonialists. This origin of rights argument can be referenced in the current debate in the United States over same sex marriage. Those opposed, claim that there exists in Western civilization a set of foundational or traditional principles (such as male-female marriage) that cannot be violated. Proponents of same sex marriage cite the violation of civil (that is, political or state determined) liberties and the resulting discrimination of denying such rights. For Locke reliance on the state is

secondary to ensuring individual liberty. If the latter is violated the former becomes illegitimate and subject to revolution.

Writing in the Scottish tradition of enlightenment, Adam Ferguson developed a history of civil society. In An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767), Ferguson contrasted warrior societies, marked by primitive virtue, with the rise of modern commerce. The epic struggle between Carthage and Rome depict these two societies and forms of civil society.

The Roman people, destine to acquire wealth by conquest, and to the spoil of provinces; the Carthaginians, intent on the returns of merchandise, and the produce of commercial settlements (Ferguson 2003, pp. 45-46).

Ferguson stressed that the warrior societies, constantly in conflict with their neighbors, developed an intense passion for solidarity that suppresses self-interest and resulted in the virtue of patriotic citizenship and self sacrifice. As societies become more specialized and refined the threat of self interest and utilitarianism overcomes collective solidarity. Ironically, to Ferguson, people became impoverished by the decline of virtue at the very moment in which they are enriched by the proliferation of goods. The similarity in Ferguson's analysis to Marx's theory of alienation should not be over looked. For Marx workers become poorer the more goods they produce.

Ferguson concludes that a modern society devoted to self interest, becomes subject to corruption and tyrannical government:

In states where property, distinction, and pleasure, are thrown out as baits to the imagination, and incentives to passion, the public seems to rely for the preservation of its political life, on the degree of emulation and jealousy... (Ferguson 2003, pp. 61).

Ferguson suggests that establishing a modern form of republican government offsets the decay of virtue. A Republic should foster an active citizenship, who direct their actions toward the common good. Along with Locke, Ferguson believed that citizenship required a strong civil society to act as a center of resistance to the behemoth state. Moreover, in keeping with the republican tradition of Machiavelli and Harrington (discussed in Chapter Six), the identity organizing the idea of freedom for the citizen was the patriot warrior. This inextricably linked citizenship with the right to bear arms as the basis for freedom and revolutionary practice. This belief is central the Patriot/Militia Movement and the Tyranny Response Team as they organize within civil society.

Realm of Culture:

Alexis de Tocqueville in Democracy in American (1835-1840) drafts a political theory of how the many associations (both civil and political) in a functioning democracy ensure representation and the demand for freedom. This “art of association” de Tocqueville observed in the Jacksonian period of American history (although he believed the “art” to already be waning). This theory of democracy became central to Dahl’s pluralist theory of power discussed earlier in Chapter Two. De Tocqueville argued that there existed a “political society” that was situated between the state and society. This sphere was fed by various political and civic associations and constituted a “super-abundant force and energy” that mandated state representativeness, protected against the “tyranny of the majority”, and acted as a bulwark against despotism.

...freedom of association [is] no more than a right to make war on the government....Members of these associations answer to a word of command like soldiers on active service....Despotism, by its very nature suspicious, sees the isolation of men(sic) as the best guarantee of its own permanence. So it usually does all it can to isolate them...A despot will lightly forgive his subjects for not loving him, provided they do not love one another. He does not ask them to help him guide the state; it is enough if they do not claim to manage it themselves (de Tocqueville 2003, pp. 117-120).

Associations become a necessary right upon the landscape of a democratic society, least it slip back into the patterns of feudal Europe of monarchical states prone to tyranny and despotism. Similarly, the vitality of associations is predicated on a well defined and autonomous civil society. Civil society in a democracy should be free of state surveillance, equally accessible, and an avenue by which political grievances are channeled to the state.

Democracy resets on civil society and citizenship.... Citizenship is nurtured first of all in democratic civil society.... [while] The creation of the public is the task of civil society. Democracy takes root in societies where citizens have been created who demand democracy from the foundations of civil society on up (Barber 1995, pp. 276-277).

A failure of these criteria can quickly transform civil society into a site for revolutionary ferment.

Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci is credited with reviving the concept of civil society in post-World War II social theory. Gramsci, however, broke with the “economistic” reading of civil society inherited from Marx to argue that contemporary revolutionary struggles maneuver along the cultural or ideological plane. Civil society does not operate in the sphere of production but in the superstructure. It is the domain of culture in the broadest sense, where values and meanings are established, debated,

contested, and changed.

More specific to Gramsci, he argued that civil society becomes the battle ground over hegemony, or the ideological and cultural acceptance of class rule by those of the dominated class.

The massive structures of the modern democracies, both as State organizations, and as complexes of associations in civil society, constitute for the art of politics as it were the 'trenches' and the permanent fortifications of the front in the war of position: they render merely 'partial' the element of movement which before used to be 'the whole of war' (Gramsci 1995, pp. 243).

In advanced Western democracies, modern states cannot use overt violence to maintain capitalist class dominance, nor can revolutionary struggles directly attack the bureaucratic state as Lenin insisted. Consequently, the revolution is fought as a war of position, in the area of cultural representations, with each side seeking to gain the cultural edge in civil society, and take state power. Thus, if the task of civil society is to organize hegemony, then counter-hegemonic movements arise within civil society to thwart that effort. This cultural struggle relates directly to Touraine's concept of historicity, and speaks to the importance placed on civil society by New Social Movement theory. Cultural struggle, thus, becomes part of the repertoire of oppositional movements challenging the hegemonic project of the dominant class.

The importance of the previous discussion is to indicate the complex history of civil society, of which this is admittedly a select review. Generally, civil society develops as a set of social practices that organize institutionally and are designated by their presence outside the boundaries of the state and economy. They operate to establish or

demarcate the various cultural struggles at play within contemporary post-industrial capitalist societies. This understanding of civil society brings me back to the critical theory tradition so influential to those used in this research to represent New Social Movements.

Civil Society and New Social Movements:

Recall that critical theory posits society as broken down into three domains: the bureaucratic state, corporate capital, and Habermas's lifeworld, or what I will refer to as civil society. In Civil Society and Political Theory (1999, pp. ix-xi), Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato define civil society as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (the family), the sphere of associations (social movements), and forms of public communication. In modern society, civil society is created through forms of self-constitution and self-mobilization, or Touraine's self-reflexivity. Furthermore, it is institutionalized and generalized through laws, and especially *subjective rights*.

Civil society, as developed by Cohen and Arato (1999, pp. 440-442), becomes the institutional framework of the modern lifeworld, and is:

....stabilized by fundamental rights....[which can be] isolated into three complexes of rights: those concerning cultural reproduction (freedom of thought, press, speech, and communication); those ensuring social integration (freedom of association and assembly); and those securing socialization (protection of privacy, intimacy, and the inviolability of the person). The internal relationship of these complexes of rights determine the type of civil society that is institutionalized.

The modern associations and institutions of civil society that develop out of the lifeworld

justify themselves through legal principles rather than relying on generalized normative rules or a cultural ethos. While the state is the agent of these rights, it is neither their source nor the basis of their validity. Rights begin as claims asserted by groups and individuals in the public spaces of civil society. Laws merely secure what has been demanded and achieved autonomously by social actors. Consequently, fundamental rights are the organizing principle not only of modern civil society, but of the social movements that operate within it.

It would be misleading to identify civil society with all of social life outside the state and economy. Civil society is distinguished by the social practices and rationalities employed. State and economy generally arise from civil society and even share some of former's organization and communication strategies as well as its emphasis on rights. Nonetheless, the social actors of political and economic society are directly involved with state power and economic production, which they seek to control and manage. They cannot afford to subordinate strategic and instrumental criteria to the patterns of normative integration and open-ended communication characteristic of civil society.

Civil society is not directly related to the control or conquest of power but to the generation of influence through the practice of discussion in the cultural public sphere by democratic (that is freely constituted) associations that are unconstrained by state intervention or economic manipulation. Such a societal role is inevitably diffuse and inefficient. Greater affinity exists between political society and civil society, then between civil society and economic society. Although the litany of grievances under capitalism by social movements such as the right to collective bargaining, the legalization

of trade unions, working conditions and hours, and minimum wage demands suggests a more intimate relationship between civil society and the economy than might otherwise be indicated. This latter point, of course, remains central to a Marxist understanding of civil society; that is, as a domain of economic struggle (see Table 3.1 below comparing the two forms of social movement theory).

Table 3.1: Key Points of Contrast between New Movements and the Worker's Movement

	Worker's Movement	New Social Movements
Location	Increasingly within the Polity	Civil Society
Aims	Political integration & Economic Rights	Changes in Values and Lifestyle; Defense of Civil Society
Organization	Formal & Hierarchical	Network & Grassroots
Medium of Action	Political Mobilization	Direct Action & Cultural Innovation

Source: Scott 1990, pp. 19.

New Social Movements, located in civil society, show little concern with challenging the state. They seek to bypass the state with the aim instead to defend civil society against encroachment from the increasingly technocratic state of Touraine's analysis, or Habermas's "colonialization" thesis. The significance of this concern with civil society indicates a recognition on the part of contemporary social movements that, today, social conflict is not just political or economic, but affects the system as a whole. Melucci's insistence on the symbolic challenge by New Social Movements best represents this awareness, and underscores the establishment of autonomy within civil

society which allows for cultural challenge and innovation, and the construction of oppositional identities.

The analysis of civil society does not include the entire field of sociological practices. Rather, civil society consists of defined associations whether formal organizations or loosely articulated social movements, and represents only a dimension of the sociological world. This world of associational life is distinguished from a sociocultural lifeworld, which, is the wider category of “the social”, and includes civil society. Accordingly, civil society refers to the structures of socialization, association, and organized forms of communication in the lifeworld to the extent that these are institutionalized or are in the process of being institutionalized.

While civil society involves a sociological or institutional dimension, the lifeworld refers to the reservoir of implicitly known traditions, the background assumptions that are embedded in language and culture and drawn upon by individuals in everyday life. This has been referred to by Schutz (1967, pp. 80), and other phenomenologists as the “social stock of knowledge.” These reservoirs of convictions, intersubjective understandings, and forms of solidarity are linguistically constructed. Actors, participating in the manufacture of their lifeworld, find it difficult to simply “step-out” of their lifeworld (to “bracket” its assumptions). While the lifeworld has been readily available as a resource, it has remained (especially in social movement theory) less apparent as an actual site of struggle and contestation.

Recognizing the lifeworld-civil society connection avoids the pitfall of overly political or economic understandings of civil society. Moreover, it allows an independent

understanding and recognition of the forms of social movement struggle that originate within and around civil society. Within the context of social movement theory, then, civil society acts as a network of resources for movement participants. In contemporary society the core traditions, rights, and institutions of the lifeworld are opened-up to critical inspection by movement struggles. For movements, rights establish a threshold for defending the lifeworld against the process of colonialization; thus, rights represent important targets to be achieved or protected by social movements, and provide an effective bulwark around civil society.

Incumbent upon movement theory, is to view civil society as both the target and terrain of collective action. Not only do movement participants challenge the power of state and economy, they create identities and build solidarities. The salient feature of New Social Movements is that they involve actors who have become aware of their capacity to create identities and of the power relations involved in the social construction of those identities. This increased self-reflection represents a challenge to existing structures of domination – mainly state and economy – by the very desire of movement participants to reconstruct the boundaries of meaning and power. Yet, it would be a misnomer to see civil society only in opposition to the economy and state. Organizations in civil society are not necessarily adverse to gaining influence over administrative and economic processes. An antagonistic relation with actors in civil society arises when accommodations between state/economy and civil society fail. This impasse signals the loss of any mechanisms to overcome societal discord, thus escalating conflict and social movement mobilization.

Civil Society and The Tyranny Response Team:

I am now in a position to formulate a definition fitting for the following analysis of the Tyranny Response Team (TRT). Although the preceding argument has been a series of theoretical debates, I do not wish to present an idealized version of civil society. Civil society can foster or impeded democracy. It can be reactive, regressive, or revolutionary. There is nothing inherently or innately liberating or enfeebling about civil society. There is no question that intermediate associations, groups, and movements have often served democracy by restraining arbitrary and irresponsible state power (the English tradition). But civil society can also support authoritarianism just as easily as advance freedom. Moreover, it would be naive to assume the vast concentrations of power and wealth in advanced capitalist societies does not infiltrate into civil society. In fact, the theories of both Habermas and Touraine mentioned above speak directly to the distortion or pathological condition of civil society due to the larger political economy.

Globalization, decades of deindustrialization, the economic destruction of job security, living wages, and labor rights, along with the political hollowing out of state welfare policies have eviscerated community life and civil society participation (Putnam 2000). Millions of alienated and consumption-weary Americans experience unprecedented levels of stress at home and work, cynicism toward political institutions, and widespread contempt for public figures. Similarly, civil society has been squeezed between two equally destructive aspects of modern society: the elephantine state and private markets directed by corporate capital.

As a consequence, civil society has almost vanished as a social practice. State bureaucracies appear unsympathetic and unresponsive, perceiving the people as clients or consumers rather than a sovereign power. The people are solicited for taxes while being treated almost as a foreign body, a body threatening the quasi-legitimacy of the “professional” politician, or worse yet the ultimate archetype -- the bureaucrat. Corporate capital as well is seen with contempt. Self-absorbed and rapacious CEOs exemplify the growing disparity between the lived experience of everyday life in civil society by the vast majority of Americans, versus the distanced opulence of corporate leaders and media stars. This is all the more pressing in postindustrial societies where power, technological innovation, and domination are located at the level of cultural production itself.

What holds the system together in a post-industrial world is the ideological dissemination of these images throughout a corporately controlled media. Mass media and computer technology, originating outside of civil society, exert a profound influence over our representations of not only who we are, but the external world itself. More domains of social life are being opened up to technocratic projects of control, as with the use of DNA in the Criminal Justice System and the “virtual” turn in cinema (Matrix, Lord of the Rings, King Kong and others). The digitization of experience represents postindustrial society’s production of its own knowledge, and hence easier manipulation of sociocultural forms and normative belief systems.

Neither the market nor state bureaucracy speak to a sense of public identity which, consequently, becomes more privatized in civil society. Again, this process is ambiguous, for every theory promoting the “civility” of civil society there is equally, and

probably in greater proportion, instances of the barbarity of “uncivility” where oppression and violence rule the day (Keane 1998). As with many large and complex aspects of modern society no hidden logic or secret key exists to unlocking the “true” essence of civil society. In short, civil society is both deeply political (contested) and open, or non-sutured in Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) lexicon.

The Tyranny Response Team, as one actor in civil society, has no privileged inside track on what civil society “should” look like; neither, for that matter does any other participant in the social, political, and cultural struggles embedded within civil society. From a New Social Movement perspective, those actors in civil society deemed “successful,” are the ones best able to effectively draw upon a cultural history that effectively challenges existing definitions of the situation, and thus are able to recruit members under the rubric of a newly formed identity. This identity transforms not only the movement participant but the organization and ultimately civil society. In this respect civil society can be understood as a complex and dynamic ensemble of non-state organizations that tend toward being self-organizing, self-reflexive, and in a state of tension with one another.

This tension extends beyond civil society to the state, where these organizations struggle with state power to either ensure their autonomy (associational freedom) or expand rights into new spheres of culturally created social practices (such as the recent debate over gay marriage). The state can inhibit or enable the demands emanating from civil society. This state-society distinction arises from the Marxist critique of capital. Marx’s critical contribution to our understanding of civil society here was to make civil

society itself an object of democratic activity.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot rise itself up, without *the whole superincumbent strata* of official society being sprung into the air (Marx and Engels 1988, pp. 220-221). [italics added]

For Marx and Engels, the struggle was materialistic or economic. New Social Movement writers adopted Marx's (and later Gramsci's) emphasis, and expanded the range of challenges to oppression and need for emancipation to cultural dimensions of society as well. Cries for radical democracy, localism, and oppositional politics all hark back to Marx and the need to liberate not only private property, but to influence an entire social revolution (that is, a revolution of civil society).

Civil society creates a series of ambiguities for Marxism. No longer viewed as merely a realm of necessity, civil society has integrated or absorbed many elements of bourgeoisie thinking, most notably the emphasis on contracts, property, and rights. Cohen and Arato (1999), best represent this thinking and provide the basis for my definition of civil society in relation to the Patriot/Militia Movement and the Tyranny Response Team (discussed in Chapter Five).

Civil society is the locus of the collective action for social movements. Indeed, they rise and fall together. Both require a certain autonomy from the state to exist, and both can be crushed by the state. Civil society is a sphere of oppositional politics, or confrontations between social and civil adversaries, where cultural and historical formations are articulated with the intent of influencing the constitution of civil society's

institutions. These antagonisms are organized around fundamental rights, either their defense (reactionary) or expansion of (proactive). Civil society is the domain of struggle in public spaces where norms and identities are created and social relations of domination and resistance are located. This association among people forms the basis for an “oppositional consciousness,” an identity of resistance that aids in rolling back the corrosive influences of state and economy. Defense, resistance, and rejection demands a freedom of association and autonomy, and redefines the meaning of civil society. Recognized now as a site of cultural production and innovation, movement activity in civil society is designed to alter (or confront) existing power relations in order to generate new historical and normative orientations.

The idea of “defending or expanding” civil society is directly related to contemporary movements contesting for control over an increasing range of social activities (just as a technocratic society penetrates into a multiplicity of social spheres!). Yet, “A defense of civil society at all costs!” is not the point, but rather “What kind of civil society is to be defended?” The stakes revolve around what form of civil society is to be advocated to confront Habermas’s colonialization thesis. It is not enough to secure the autonomy or even the primacy of civil society against the state and market, instead social movements must strive to both defend and democratize civil society. Is the cultural model promulgated one that promotes autonomy, self-governance, and egalitarianism or is it one of elite control, technocracy, and permeated by relations of domination? Understanding this struggle cues us in, not only to the importance of civil society, but to what remains at the heart of contemporary social movement conflicts.

The relationship between civil society and the production of cultural meaning systems cannot be overlooked. Not only have New Social Movement theorists emphasized where these types of movements are organizing, that is in civil society, but what some of the cultural messages are that they project from this space. Messages of resistance to states/globalization, and the formation of an oppositional identity, provide a pretext for an the analysis of the Tyranny Response Team.

In the following chapter, Chapter Four, I present the methodological justification for this research, which is ethnographic fieldwork amongst members of the Tyranny Response Team. Chapter Five presents some of the themes and world-views of the Patriot/Militia Movements (mainly from internet sources), of which the Tyranny Response Team is but one manifestation. In addition, Chapter Five will offer a larger historical context for “positioning” the Patriot/Militia Movement within a framework of right-wing populist movements. I will return to populism in the primary data analysis in Chapter Seven and the Conclusion.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Design and Method Overview:

This chapter is designed to provide a systematic discussion of the methods and methodology employed in this dissertation. By methods, I am referring to the rules or techniques which establish the necessary procedures for data gathering. These techniques derive from a set of theoretical and philosophical premises – a methodology – which provides a broad framework that “wraps-up” the research methods within larger epistemological claims. Obviously method and methodology are not, nor should not, be mutually exclusive. Certain methods are used because they reflect broader methodological positions, and different methodological conclusions are arrived at depending on the methods applied. Irrespective of the direction this iteration between methodology and methods takes, both, when joined together, have as their objective the production of knowledge and understanding, which is deemed valid and reliable.

Research Design:

In researching the Tyranny Response Team and the Patriot/Militia Movement as a whole, the primary methodology used is ethnography. Or more specifically historical ethnography, which I will connect to Michale Burawoy’s (1998) extended case study (discussed below). The primary methods for this research are fieldwork and participant

observation, in-depth interviewing, snowball and convenience sampling, and textual analysis of primary movement documents as well as secondary analysis of historical texts. Ethnography provides the philosophical and epistemological oversight for studying the Tyranny Response Team and Patriot/Militia Movement, while fieldwork and textual analysis establish the practical bases for developing the themes, intentions, and meanings of the movements.

Appendix A is a listing of the primary data gathering, by date and type, that occurred during the research. There was a total of 40 contacts (25 interviews and 15 speeches). I was able to conduct 24 interviews and listen to 14 speeches from February 2000 to November 2003. In addition, in 1997 one interview was held and a speech attended when John Trockmann was at Colorado State University. Per my agreement with Colorado State University's Human Research Committee, I did not solicit names or other forms of contact information from those interviewed. In addition, where possible, names have been removed from the text of interviews and speeches.

Three main gatekeepers facilitated my data gathering in the field. I am grateful to them and all those who willingly participated. Over half (56%) of the interviews were held in the field, and ranged from 20 minutes to over an hour in length. The remaining interviews were more structured and lasted from 30 minutes to several hours. Appendix C is a copy of my Interview Instrument, which was useful only in highly controlled situations. I was able to tape and transcribe 7 of the 25 interviews. Speeches were easier to tape but the quality of transcription was questionable due to ambient noise. All but three interviewees were males, while 3 of the 15 speeches were from women. The vast

majority of those I had meaningful contact with were white, although they did make ethnic distinctions amongst themselves.

Appendix B is a chronological listing of all the relevant events for this research. Event participation began as early as 1996, but was concentrated in the years 2000 through 2002. They can roughly be broken down into: 1) rallies, which were intended to build solidarity and reinforce the group's world-view; 2) protests which provided the Tyranny Response Team an opportunity to "take to the Streets" and challenge the opposition; and 3) festivals, such as the .50 Caliber Shoot, that allowed the Tyranny Response Team to connect with a larger gun community. Of the known Tyranny Response Team events (22) I attended a total of 11 (50%). All events were public in nature and ranged in size from several thousand (over a three day period) to 60.

I relied heavily on note taking in the field, and eventually used my analytical memos to understand the emergent field anomalies that Buroway's methodology requires. In the following four chapters the data for this research will be presented. Chapter Five and Six draw primarily upon secondary historical text, as well as some content analysis of movement documents. Chapter Seven presents the field data, with analysis in both Chapter Seven and the Conclusion.

The Tyranny Response Team was founded by seven men in December 1999 in Longmont, Colorado. The organization has a sitting President, of which there had been three at the time I left the field. In addition there are seven members of the Board of Directors, who annually elect the President, and rotate off the Board every two years. They are replaced by members of the Advisory Board, which is comprised of anyone

interested in the TRT. They meet on a monthly basis.

I was discouraged from attending their meetings because the organization was having a crisis of leadership at the time I was studying them. Many of the original members had left the Tyranny Response Team due to disagreements over tactics (some rejected the street protests), and ideology (some wanted to make the organization a Christian-only group) (Interview, April 3, 2003).

Research Thesis:

In this research the rise of the contemporary Patriot/Militia Movement and the Tyranny Response Team can be understood as a 21st Century manifestation of the republican tradition dating back to the American revolutionary period, and first articulated in the West by the Florentine statesman Niccolo Machiavelli in the 16th Century. Republicanism, here, is seen as an ideological response to the broader social transformations of globalization and the changing capacities of nation states as they face the challenges of globalization. The fieldwork amongst members of the Tyranny Response Team (TRT), brought forth a story of their struggle whereby the very survival of a free republic necessitated a civically active armed citizenry, represented by the image of the citizen-soldier. The Tyranny Response Team is organized around the importance of resistance to tyrannical states whereby their power is backed up by a defense of the Second Amendment (right to keep and bear arms). Their strong support for the Second Amendment, anti-Federal government stance, and the demand for local control make the Tyranny Response Team and the larger Patriot/Militia Movement standard-bearers of a

continuing republican tradition in the United States, and representative of the New Social Movement literature.

Discussion of Ethnography:

Fieldwork is the dominant method employed in ethnographic research. Field research involves the study of real-life situations through the interaction with people where they live and participation in their day-to-day activities. These methods are frequently unstructured, flexible and open-ended. When combined with fieldwork, ethnography allows the researcher to initiate an understanding of everyday “folk” philosophies; and, not ending there, to convert them into sociologically relevant meaning systems. Ethnography, then, can be understood to be both a method and methodology. Less about data gathering or merely observing behavior, ethnography’s ultimate prize is in interpreting and building structures of meaning. This approach is a disciplined celebration of lived experience in all its empirical richness, complexity, and contradiction.

Ethnography involves a series of judgments: 1) about the object of the research, which is to study people in naturally occurring settings; 2) the researcher’s role in that setting, which is to understand and explain what people are doing in that setting by means of participating directly in it; and 3) the data to be collected, which must be captured in such a way that meaning is not imposed on them from outside (Brewer 2000). The objective of presenting the “voice” of the “subjects” is in keeping with the larger philosophical and epistemological issues surrounding ethnography discussed below.

Ethnographic research has as its general principle to avoid misconstructions and impositions placed on the research field in *advance*, whether these are drawn from cultural influences, everyday common sense, or academic bias. This objective is met by furnishing an opportunity for those being studied to provide their perspective and motivations. This seeking-out of the internal meaning systems is best achieved through fieldwork and participant observation. Placing oneself *en situ* provides those being studied ample opportunity to disclose to the researcher their motivations for social action within the context of *their* larger world-view.

Ethnography demands close association with, and frequent participation in the social world(s) of those being studied. The promise being that the central aim of a sociological application of ethnography is to understand people's actions in the world, how these actions are related to their experiences, and most importantly how intersubjectively world-views are created to aid in the explanation and justification of these actions.

Ethnography creates the conditions that locate "the social" inside the field site, by allowing those being studied to be the authors of their own narrative. Meaning and meaning systems are built from the ground up and are "dialogical," in that the voices of those researched and the researcher come alive and interact with one another (Denzin 1997, pp. xiii). Ethnography is more than a record of human experience, that is, a journalistic accounting of: who, what, when, where, and how; rather, they tell tales about people's desires and how these translate into action directed toward social change (Davis 2002). Through stories, people create new visions which are projected into the future,

used to recreate the past, and become the criteria for acting in the present (Fine 2002; Tilly 2002). The subject matter of ethnographies, when applied to social movements, goes to the heart of how meaning systems are collectively produced and how these empower, ennoble, and promote solidarity.

Any claim of a singular, objective and absolute knowledge being derived from ethnographic work is not being made in this research, and would be a misnomer to suggest so when engaging in qualitative research in particular and social research as a whole. Ethnographic research does not crescendo to some ontological statement about the nature of social life.

What marks the methods used in an ethnographic application is not their privileged access to “truth,” but that they assist in studying people in a naturally occurring setting or “field”. There is an intent to explore the meanings of this setting, and the social behaviors and activities surrounding it from the inside.

The use of “natural” or naturalism here implies an attempt by the researcher to enter into the lived experiences of those being studied rather than mandating they “subject” themselves to the edicts of one’s research agenda. Although natural implies a positivistic belief in unbiased knowledge, its application here does not suggest this. A natural setting is crafted by the perspectives of those living it and is recognized as socially constructed. Today, we acknowledge that data collection methods used to make the social world coherent are not neutral, and neither is the site studied simply a *tabula raze* just waiting to be inscribed by the researcher’s profound insight and Archimedean perspective.

Naturalism is an orientation concerned with the study of social life, independent of scientific manipulation, by experiencing, observing and describing life. These naturally occurring situations frequently involve “face-to-face” interaction and attempts to capture the richness of people’s experiences as they themselves understand and articulate them. People’s meaning-endowing capacities are what the researcher witnesses, as they speak in *and* on their own terms.

The emphasis on realism or naturalism in ethnography hinges on the belief that there is a knowable world which the proper procedural rules, when faithfully followed, could accurately tap. As mentioned earlier, research methods and methodology have as their goal the production of knowledge that is both valid and reliable. Validity implies that there is some attempt to objectively attain a factual and accurate account of the sociological phenomenon being studied. Validity, then, refers to the veracity of the data to precisely reflect the phenomenon under study. This depiction rests on the researcher’s genuineness in apprehending the unfettered social dynamic(s) at play in the research field. Reliability mandates that there is some ability to draw larger theoretical conclusions from the data, whether through more positivistic approaches such as the statistical testing of formal hypotheses, or qualitative concept/thematic development. The more positivistic approach to generalization is indicated by a thorough presentation of one’s research design, to give future researchers the ability for replication. In qualitative research, reliability stands on the quality of its theory.

These terms, of course, originated in a more positivistic approach to inquiry, and were appropriated enthusiastically by ethnographers concerned with legitimating their

craft. Typically, the balancing act between validity and reliability showed positivist and quantitative approaches to research scoring high on reliability. Yet, due to high levels of abstraction (both in data and theory), this research failed to accurately depict social life, and scored low on validity. The opposite was assumed for ethnographic and qualitative research, with its emphasis on access to insider knowledge through an in-depth single-case study approach, it compromised reliability in favor of validity. However, Kirk and Miller (1986) make a powerful argument that qualitative research, and in particular ethnography, is well situated to equally meet the demands of validity and reliability. This is a position held by Burawoy (discussed below) as well.

Through fieldwork, the researcher ensures a closeness to the subject matter and consequently an accuracy of reporting based on this intimacy. Additionally, by deploying an ethnographic approach, larger meaning systems can be developed from this field experience. This interpretative work done by the researcher yields a macroscopic and transcendent set of cultural conclusions (theory) that bluster the research's reliability across time and space. According to Kirk and Miller (1986, pp. 60), this process of linking validity and reliability is a four-phase affair:

Invention denotes a phase of preparation, or research design; this phase produces a plan of action. *Discovery* denotes a phase of observation and measurement, or data collection; this phase produces information. *Interpretation* denotes a phase of evaluation or analysis; this phase produces understanding. *Explanation* denotes a phase of communication, or packaging; this phase produces a message. [Italics in the original]

These phases take qualitative research from deep emersion in questions of validity (fieldwork) to questions of reliability (explanation and theoretical packaging). The latter

presents an objective standard which explains and situates the research, thereby allowing theoretical conclusions to be drawn. In short, reliability and validity are obtained from properly designed and executed research, which includes procedural rules for data gathering (validity), as well as the ethnographic conclusions drawn that are backed by a community of scholars who endorse them (reliability).

Kirk and Miller's (1986) approach is akin to Weber's use of *verstehen* or understanding. For Weber the social world could not be understood (and eventually causally explained) without access to the meaning attributed to social action by people. Far from being "intuition" or "empathy," Weber believed *verstehen* involved doing systematic and rigorous research. In *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (2002) Weber placed great weight on the importance of unearthing the "inner affinity" (read validity) of the puritan sect as the essential causal link (real reliability) in the development of capitalism. If not able to understand the unique world-view of the Calvinists as a Protestant sect, what Weber referred to as the "Protestant ethic," there would have been no way to causally explain the historical emergence of capitalism.

Crisis in the Philosophy of Social Science and the Ethnographic Response:

Since the narrative turn in philosophy, which began with Wittgenstein's later work and has flourished today in the poststructural, postmodern, and postcolonial readings of the social world, there has emerged a two-pronged crisis in the social sciences, this double crisis is one of representation and legitimation (Marcus and Fischer 1986). These crises are exacerbated in qualitative research in that:

Qualitative research embraces two tensions at the same time. On the one hand, it is drawn to a broad, interpretative, postexperimental, postmodern, feminist, and critical sensibility. On the other hand, it is shaped to more narrowly defined positivist, postpositivist, humanistic, and naturalistic conceptions of human experience and its analysis (Lincoln and Denzin 2003, pp. 613).

The crisis of representation and legitimation are a consequence of this tension and speak, respectively, to the Other and how they are represented in ethnographic research and the authority ethnographers claim for that representation.

The crisis of representation illuminates the problem of how to represent, or ethnographically interpret with some degree of certainty the multiple meanings that circulate in a study. Or more pointedly, this crisis challenges the ethnographer's presumption that they can capture the realism of lived experience (Lincoln and Denzin 1994; Denzin 1997; Lincoln and Denzin 2003). This crisis has two dimensions. First, the experience of research subjects are themselves culturally mediated giving them no fixed basis that can be directly comprehended by the researcher. There is no such thing as unadulterated truth. People "exist" in a world saturated by representations of representations, what Baudrillard (1994) calls "simulacra." Moreover, the subject's actions and lived experience are not some ontological state, but simply reflections on and responses to these simulated worlds. Everyday life has no more concreteness or authenticity than a trip to Disneyland or the movies. Reflecting on America, Baudrillard (1988, pp. 28) muses:

America is neither dream or reality. It is hyperreality. It is a hyperreality because it is a utopia which has behaved from the very beginning as though it were already achieved... Americans, for their part, have no sense of simulation. They are themselves simulation ... they are themselves the model.

The second dimension of the representational crisis is ethnographic writing, which is simply another cultural or symbolic text imposed on the subject. Research subjects are created within the writing of research. This is the critique Edward Said in Orientalism (1978) makes of European scholars studying the Orient. For Said, researchers, mostly anthropologists, largely invented the region through their texts. This, then, provided the precursor for “Orient’s” subsequent conquest by the Occident. There is always a power/knowledge consequence when representing the Other.

The crisis of legitimation asks how a researcher can authorize any given analysis of a research site. Authorization references claims made by the researcher that a text is “... accurate, true, and complete – a ‘God’s-eye view’ ” (Lincoln and Denzin 2003, pp. 618). How do we judge an interpretation, when all external or foundational criteria have been challenged. This crisis does serious damage to the scientific canons of validity and reliability. While the crisis of representation questions the critical realists or positivist’s belief that reality can be used as an unchallenged check for claiming to accurately depict a subject; the legitimation crisis rejects the existence of larger criteria for evaluating a text. A realist effort to develop a set of transcendent rules and procedures that lie *outside* any specific research project must be abandoned.

These rules, if successfully followed, allow a text to bear witness to its own validity. Hence a text is valid if it is sufficiently grounded, triangulated, based on naturalistic indicators, carefully fitted to a theory (and its concepts), comprehensive in scope, credible in terms of member checks, logical, and truthful in terms of its reflection of the phenomenon in question. The text’s author then announces these validity claims to the reader (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, pp. 579).

Poststructuralism alone has inflicted serious damage on the authority of a

researcher by disclosing the many ways that power operates to establish and justify categories of meaning (read theory) when doing social research. Power and oppression, which are tied to social position, manifest not just in class analysis (Marxist position), but also through race, gender, sexuality, and national identity. Those with privileged access to constructing the narrative about the Other (such as researchers) are, rather than objective observers, themselves products of power and acutely responsible for either the reproduction of these power arrangements or their challenge.

Ethnography has responded to this crisis of representation and legitimation by: 1) buttressing its basic techniques for data gathering and, 2) strengthening its theory development through apprehension and co-alliance with other complementary, and at times discordant, epistemological approaches. Today, we have a proliferation of ethnographies: traditional, feminist, poststructural, and preformative (Denzin 1997; Brewer 2000; Lincoln and Guba 2003). This multiple-method and methodology approach is of course referred to as triangulation, and is widely viewed as an accepted design to enhance validity and reliability. An example of the former response is the work of Miles and Huberman, An Expanded Sourcebook: Qualitative Data Analysis (1994). In this text, the authors take a realist approach to qualitative research arguing that objective reality can be accurately apprehended through intense and systematic data gathering and analysis techniques.

We see ourselves in the lineage of 'transcendental realism'. That means we think that social phenomena exist not only in the mind but also in the objective world – and that some lawful and reasonably stable relationships are to be found among them...Human meanings and interactions are worked out within the frameworks of these social structures – structures that the invisible but nonetheless real (Miles and Huberman 1994, pp. 4).

Yet, what if “telling it like it is” meant that there was more than one “telling” and more than one “is”? Rather than unifying, a post crisis ethnographer’s research methods should proliferate meanings (Lyotard 1984). Proliferation produces new contradiction, contingency, and disjuncture. Issues such as globalization and technology have only intensified this process. Everyone is juggling multiple identities as national, cultural, racial and personal boundaries blur and collide. Electronic media, such as the internet, has introduced new social formations, sites for virtual interaction, and political action. For instance, social movements across the spectrum, have made extensive use of the internet to transcend previously existing boundaries to organize and mobilize their base. Ethnographic work, if it hopes to make claims of validity, has to account for and confront these changes.

Denzin and Lincoln’s Handbook of Qualitative Research (1994) and The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues, both offer illustrations of the multiple-methodology response to these crises. Adopting Claude Levi-Strauss’ (1962) *bricoleur*, or jack of all trades, the modern qualitative researcher can ill afford to be a specialist. “The *bricoleur* produces a bricolage, that is, a pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation.... [and] adds rigor, breath, and depth to any investigation...the use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects and attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Objective reality can never be captured” (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, pp. 2). This approach is inherently multi-method in focus, but the *bricoleur* or “quilt maker” is also an inventor:

...interpretive *bricoleurs* are more than simply jack-of-all-trades; they are also inventors, in the best sense of the word. *Bricoleurs* know that they have few tools, and little by way of appropriate parts, and so become inventors. They invent ways of repairing; they recycle fabric and cloth into beautiful quilts... (Lincoln and Denzin 2003, pp. 634).

Illustrating this point, Taylor (1999) attempts to solve the crisis of representation by infusing a pragmatic approach to questions of validity, reliability, and ethics.

Recognizing that knowledge is a social process, the researcher, on a situational basis, should include participants in critical epistemological discussions. Questions of representation and legitimation are particular to the research and not the result of some external standard. "...we must be willing to pay attention to people's own abilities to analyze and reason about their situation" (Taylor 1999, pp. 26). Or as stated by Denzin (1997, pp. 236) "Everyday people are not cultural dopes but active constructors of meaning. Their actions do not always mirror cultural or economic production but are about dreams, hopes, fears, and desire that are frequently fragmented and contradictory." In short, as the crisis of representation suggests if the "Other" is not "out there" to be apprehended, then the researcher should bring the Other in by including them in the research process.

As mentioned in a post-crisis research environment, a naive realist position is, standing alone, indefensible. Naive realism sees the researcher as able to eliminate their effect on the study, take a snapshot of reality, and render a problematic social world unproblematic in their write-up, by disclosing the social world as it truly is. This is accomplished by gaining access and becoming an insider.

Critical to this realist venture is the long standing approach called "thick

description,” a term first used by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in Interpretation of Cultures (1973). Later it was popularized in sociology by Norman Denzin, although its origins lie deep within the British anthropological tradition of Malinowski, where researchers were trained to describe phenomena from the natives’ point of view.

According to Geertz (1973, pp. 5):

The concept of culture I espouse, and whose utility the essays below attempt to demonstrate, is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man(sic) is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning.

Ethnography, as a form of knowledge, is practiced through the use of thick description, whereby the researcher... “inscribes’ social discourse; *he writes it down*. In so doing, he turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscriptions and can be re-consulted” (Geertz 1973, pp. 19; italics in the original). Theory for the ethnographer, then, provides a vocabulary – a sort of conceptual structure – which seeks to make sense of the symbolic action accounted for through thick description.

Thick description represents a thorough account-taking of the phenomena described, as well as the intentions and meanings that organize them. It is a form of “merging,” in which researchers attempt to unite with the phenomena being described from the insider’s perspective; this is instrumental to understanding and accurately portraying situations and social behavior. As Denzin (1989, pp. 83) recounts thick description:

...presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships.

Thick description invokes emotionality and self-feelings. It establishes the significance of an experience or the sequence of events. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard. It captures and records the voices of 'lived experience'.

Denzin, along with other post-modernists, have since become critical of the implied realism behind thick description. Denzin (1997, pp. 266-268) contrasts the old realist form, with what he refers to as "performance truth" in ethnography's "sixth moment":

In contrast to the realist regime, the new writers seek a model of truth that is narrative, deeply ethical, open ended, and conflictual, performance, and audience based, and always personal, biographical, political, structural, and historical. Writing from a moving, unstable place, these experimentalists are neither insiders nor outsiders.... Therefore, a performance-based, storytelling, listening, and hearing framework is privileged. Truth is fragile, a coproduction and an interactional experience lodged in the moment that connects the reader-as-audience-member and cop performer to a performance text. Truth is moral criticism, an ethical judgment that moves beyond the objective proclamations of positivism's scientific observer.

Gone is the positivist-realist claim to a detailed explanation of reality enshrined in thick description, and with it, the researcher's privileged gaze it assumes over the insider's world-view.

With the challenge of post-structuralism and post-modernism, the assumptions of the Geertzian era have been tempered. Today, ethnographers consider it naive to view themselves as passive or objective conduits of and for the world-view of the "Other". Yet, working in the field and engaging in ethnographic research does facilitate the goal of demonstrating the "reality" construction done by ordinary people in everyday situations and interactions. If understanding is the objective, then ethnography offers a window into the process irrespective of how messy, fraught with contradiction or tortuous this is.

Simply stated, the claim by “realist” of a privileged and unbiased access to the insider’s world must be abandoned. But this does not negate the fact that people act in this world based on a webs of significance that they themselves have spun as Geertz asserted. What remains problematic is the density, multiplicity, and particularity of these webs to the outsider.

Another factor frequently overlooked by “naive realists” is the assumed objectivity of theoretical construction, and that values, biases, and feelings do not impinge upon observations in the field or theory development. The classic position on theoretical neutrality is from Glaser and Straus in The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967). The purpose of grounded theory is to build a theory that is faithful to the evidence. The researcher should build theoretical understanding from observation of the data themselves, and not deduced from prior assumptions. Carefully grounded theory is done by the researcher in the sequestered halls of the academy, a world largely removed from those originally being researched.

A successful grounded theory is measured by its replication and generalization across social situations. The challenge levied against grounded theory by post-structuralism is that theoretical descriptions do not represent a privileged and specialized language that anoints meaning onto the subjects of research that they themselves were not even aware of. Theory is not a mirror of reality; rather, theory and theoretical observations are, “....embedded in narrative logics of science, sexuality, desire, and capitalism” (Denzin 1997, pp. 232). Poststructuralism undoes the logic that there is a unified subject to be written about and a unified subject doing the writing. No longer is

there a difference between the grounded theory and the constructions produced by ordinary people in everyday life. Ethnographers who declare that their accounts accurately represent the social world “as it is,” beyond the influence of theoretical presumption or prejudice, are ignorant of the impact values have on the validity of observation, and simplistic in suggesting that there is only one objective description which they have reliably captured.

Post-Crisis Ethnography:

Ethnography after the crisis must seek its external grounding, not in science, but in understanding how the power/knowledge interface operates in representation and authorization of a text. Good research invokes these commitments, by exposing questions of power and resistance in the concrete lives of those being studied, with the intent of empowerment and emancipation. The work of Michael Burawoy and his extended case study provides an example of this type of research.

While the crises of representation and legitimation has challenged ethnography both as a methodology and method, there is no need to throw out the baby with the bath water. The solution to this crisis lies in the researchers practice and assumptions about their role in the field. In short an emphasis on reflexivity. Ethnographers must identify the theoretical assumptions and wider values that they bring to their work, which often condition their interpretation of the data and the theoretical inferences made; thus, introducing a “self-exposure” to their research practice (Gergen and Gergen 2003). In addition, attention must be given to the social processes that impinge upon and influence

the data. A critical stance must be adopted toward both the data gathered and the data gathering procedures. Factors such as location or setting, sensitivity of the topic, risk to participants and researchers alike, and the effects of researcher and participant interaction (researcher effect) must also be taken into account and acknowledged in the findings.

Instead of trying to eliminate the effects of the study, the ethnographer should be reflexive by incorporating these effects into the overall context of the research.

Ethnographers, like social scientists in general, must locate their data in the context of the social processes that brought them about, and recognize the limits in their representation of reality (Woolgar 1988, pp. 26-7). Ethnographers should be explicit and open about the circumstances which produced the data, even if these raise serious questions about the strength of the research as a whole. This recognizes that ethnographers (like all researchers) operate within (not above or outside) the social world they seek to analyze. Since there is no perfect, transparent, or natural way to represent the social world, being reflexive acknowledges the contingencies that produced the researcher's portrayal of it. An account that is not guided by what Van Maanen (1988, pp. 23) terms "the doctrine of immaculate perception," but one that is, at best, partial, selective, and personal.

The Macro-Micro Link in Ethnography and The Importance of Theory:

This is the position taken in this research. While most ethnographic research does not have broad-ranging and representative sampling as a component of its research design, the in-depth investigation of a single or a few cases provides a window into both the consequences of social structure as well as the constitution of macro-oriented social

change. The familiar adage that ethnographic research provides depth by sacrificing breadth can be a false dichotomy. If single case studies can both constitute and be constitutive of larger structural change (that is, both cause and consequence), then it is possible to build general analysis into singular case-based research.

Ethnography should remain faithful to the “story” of those being researched, that is not to violate their voice, while recognizing C. Wright Mills’ insistence In The Sociological Imagination (1959) that nothing happens in isolation and what appears to be mere personal troubles are in fact connected to very real social issues.

By soliciting the stories of the Tyranny Response Team there is a recognition that the social world is fundamentally an interpreted world, not a literal one. Multiple perspectives and voices (including the researcher’s) are what the ethnographer has access to. This approach acknowledges the postmodern claims that the social world is textual. Yet there is also an implied ability, through an ethnographic understanding, to put together a systematic accounting of social phenomenon such as the emergence of social movements. Ethnographic findings must be both valid and relevant. Thick description should be more than simply “telling it like it is”, but be connected to critical public issues referred to by Mills. By placing the worldview of those studied at the heart of the ethnographic project, a narrative can be created that, while drawing from the voices of those being studied, transcends those voices by offering an understanding of larger social issues and social phenomenon as a whole.

This new narrative attempts to explain the relationship between social structure and social action, recognizing that social reality has an obduracy to it, yet these structures

do not occur independent of human agency. Shadowing Giddens's (1984) structuration theory, agency and structure can not be understood in isolation of one another. While social structure is created, reproduced and transformed by our action and everyday activities, these structures also constrain agency, by providing a framework within which people act. Ethnography is obligated not to restrict its inquiry by merely describing small-scale social events, instead human agency should be examined in order to shed light on the relationship between social action and social structure. The imperative for the ethnographer is to focus upon this interplay between structure and human agency. While fieldwork is an important data collection technique for understanding the viewpoint of the actor, ethnography must also be capable of broadening its vision to the social structural conditions animating the research site.

The first place to start in meeting this challenge is to recognize that the crisis of legitimation and representation does not spell the end of systematic and rigorous practice, rather it mandates that good ethnographic research develop sound techniques while remaining reflexive. The authority of ethnographic data rests on the artful and creative presentation in the ethnographic text of the interplay between a larger social milieu and the actor's in the research site. In one sense this is an imaginative leap, but one that is empirically based.

This process has several dimensions. First, is the belief that interviews, field notes and observation of social interactions can be a valid representation of a social world, while acknowledging that this world cannot be completely described within the confines of an ethnographic text. Second is the belief that small-scale micro events in

everyday life have common features with the broader social world. That these larger influences permeate down to and, in part, are reproduced at the level of people's everyday lives. Consequently, case studies can illustrate features embodied in broader social processes, as long as the ethnographer provides an empirical bases for these generalizations. Social behavior, rather than bazaar and exotic, is part of a larger cultural and historical context. Finally, ethnography recognizes that an accounting of the social world comes to us through people, in their attempts to make sense of their everyday experiences and to live in – and in some cases change – the conditions of their existence.

The objective of these criteria is an attempt to embody the reflexive postmodern moment which contemporary ethnography confronts, yet also re-establishing the grounds for reliable, rigorous and systematic ethnographic practice. When establishing the wider relevance for the setting and topic chosen, one should provide adequate grounds upon which empirical generalizations are made. This process should illustrate the complexity of the data and avoid any suggestion that there is a simple fit between the social world under scrutiny and the ethnographic representation of it.

By being reflexive, the ethnographer acknowledges that any research is incomplete, and choices made while doing the research have implications, such as leaving many questions unanswered or even unexplored. These decisions are linked to broader values and commitments of the researcher, as well as one's theoretical framework. All must be identified and made known to the reader. Part of this authorship involves an outline of the grounds on which knowledge claims are being made and justified, for example: length of fieldwork, negotiated access, concerns over trust and rapport, and in

my case issues of safety and risk (both the researcher's and the respondent's). Being open about one's experiences in the field, concerns around power relations, and the strengths and weaknesses of the research design all aid in establishing the authority of the data.

The Extended Case Method and the Tyranny Response Team:

Burawoy (1998) defines reflexivity as a “dwelling in theory,” whereby the researcher employs a theory or cognitive map to initially situate their ethnographic research. By openly adopting a theoretical perspective the researcher is providing the reader with an explicitly stated set of values, premises and biases they are taking into the field. Whereas postmodern ethnography suggests the question of reflexivity operates at the ethical or personal level; that is, the researcher's need to disclose their own intimate prejudices. Burawoy's notion of reflexivity engages the reader at the level of theory.

This theory-laden approach does not violate ethnographies insistence on internal understanding, or getting inside the research site and giving voice to the participants, since the extended case method incorporates a series of dialogues in its methodology.

Premised upon our own participation in the world we study, reflexive science deploys multiple dialogues to reach explanations of empirical phenomena. Reflexive science starts out from dialogue, virtual or real, between observer and participants, embeds such dialogue within a second dialogue between local processes and extralocal forces that in turn can only be comprehended through a third, expanding dialogue of theory with itself (Burawoy 1998, pp. 5).

Theory offers an initial avenue into the research site, but then is challenged through the interaction and perspective of those being studied. There is no presupposition that the researcher has at their disposal an Archimedean point upon which to “perch” and

“oversee” the project, nor is knowledge created *tabula rasa* as suggested in the grounded theory approach. Rather, the purpose of combining participant observation and reflexivity is to reject, as illusion, the belief that the researcher enters the field stripped of all biases, nor are those biases (in the form of preexisting theory) an authorial voice that is beyond reproach.

Field work becomes the site in which the ethnographer’s biases are challenged and perhaps changed through interaction with others.

...with the extended case method, dialogue between the participant and observer provides an ever-changing sieve for collecting data. This is not to deny that we come to the field with presuppositions, questions, and frameworks but that they are more like prisms than templates and they are emergent rather than fixed (Burawoy 1998, pp. 11).

The relevance of the field emerges out of our theoretical assumptions, while simultaneously acting back against the theory by producing surprises (anomalies), challenges, and critiques. Two logics or tensions are at play in this dialogue. One is the perspective of the participant who calls for understanding, and the other is the researcher who seeks explanation. This is a rich interplay between folk or indigenous theory on the part of the participant and academic theory by the researcher. To privilege the former over the latter would be to lapse into detailed and colorful description of the particular and exotic, without any opportunity for offering a transcendent (that is larger theoretical) understanding of the research site. This, Burawoy (1991c; 2000a) argues was the failure of the Chicago School, which gave rise to a micro-sociology that was introversive and did little for theory development.

Similarly, to give precedence to theory at the expense of participant perspective,

not only violates the principles of ethnography, but lends itself to developing grand abstract theories that are removed from context, history and perspective. This is Burawoy's (2000b, pp. 340) critique of most of the globalization literature, which is written by:

...high-flying academics, hotel-circuiting consultants, conference-hopping professionals, and netscaping virtuosos...[these privileged men and women] appear in a privileged airspace above the world they theorize. Their absence from their own accounts aspires to objectivity, but it cannot hide the unspoken, unreflected, stratospheric situatedness of their knowledges. How much of their theorizing is the projection of insulated journeys, unspoken genealogies, self-referential worlds?

The overall process of the extended case method goes something like this: The researcher looks for a theory they want to improve by extending its application to new cases. This theory is then taken into the field where it is confronted with the complexities of actual participant observation. New questions or challenges (those anomalies again) arise that require the researcher to rework the theory to account for the unexpected findings. It is incumbent upon the researcher to address any anomalies (relative to the theory) that arise in the field and to reconstruct the initial theoretical premises accordingly. The researcher then must take stock in the theory by refashioning some or all of its tenants. This should result in a strengthening of the original theory through incorporation of these new issues.

There are four advantages of using Burawoy's extended case method for this research. First, the approach offers a way to make a meaningful macro-micro link. Second, the method is well equipped for the study of social movements. Third, there is an inherent resistance vs. domination tension built into the Burawoy's plan of attack.

Finally, the extended case method necessitates an historical approach to ethnographic research.

Burawoy's reflexivity offers the researcher an opportunity to use theory to contextualize or place the research site in a larger set of social circumstances, or extralocal forces. This introduces the importance of making a macro-micro link.

We challenge the conventional correspondence between technique and level of analysis and argue that participant observation can examine the macro world through the way the latter shapes and in turn is shaped and conditioned by the micro world, the everyday world of face-to-face interaction (Burawoy 1991a, pp. 6).

The importance placed on reconstructing theory, affords the researcher an opportunity to transcend the particularity of the research site. This is similar to Marcuse's (1964, pp. xi) argument that theory should "overshoot" the established universe." The ethnographer is no longer tied to the empiricist limitations imposed by grounded theory, instead they are free to make larger macrological claims and connections as they relate to their research site. Yet, the emphasis Burawoy places on challenging theory through participant observation and field work keeps theory rich in texture and substance by grounding it in the ethnographic context.

The macro-micro link is not an isomorphic relationship where one simply mimics the other. Nor is each level autonomous from the other. Rather, there is a rich interplay, a co-determinacy, that is best understood through the study of social movements. In fact, Burawoy (1991b, pp. 11) sees New Social Movements as the "prototype" for employing the extended case method. The various social movement paradigms mentioned in Chapter Two either over-emphasized the internal dynamic of the movement, such as

resource mobilization; or the external factors contributing to a movements growth and success, such as the political process model and Smelser's structural strain approach. Yet, a complete understanding of social movements requires some attempt to incorporate both the macrological and micrological in its analysis. New Social Movements fit nicely into Burawoy's concern for this linkage.

The best representation of this New Social Movement macro-micro link is Jurgen Habermas's colonization of the lifeworld by the system, where everyday life loses its autonomy and shared purpose due to the penetration of state administered power and economic commodification. Similarly, Touraine's technocratic society and Melucci's analysis of the cultural challenges to a technocratic society's codes also highlight the importance of making this link.

The significance of New Social Movements goes beyond the macro-micro link by illustrating the third dimension of Burawoy's extended case method: domination and resistance; which, for Burawoy, is the essential for good research. This ties nicely into the positioning of Republicanism within the Tyranny Response Team's and Patriot/Militia Movement's discourse. Republicanism is laced with themes of domination and resistance, from concern for tyrannical states to the rights of armed struggle against such tyranny.

Domination and Resistance:

Themes of domination and resistance also facilitate making a macro-micro link. Traditional or interpretive ethnography and grounded theory have privileged the micro at

the expense of the macro; thus, violating good science by providing no measure for generalizability. Significance, in these approaches, is based on singularity and particularity. Moreover, they aren't good sociology since history and theory remain absent. In contrast, the extended case method places greater emphasis on making macrological links that are meaningful. Meaningful to the participant, since anomalies originate in the field, and the researcher, since their objective is to reconstruct theory that is transcendent in scope (that is speaks to other theory), but remains faithful to the specificity of the research site.

Theory reconstruction does not take place through creating abstractions that are no longer site specific, a failure Burawoy sees in the grounded theory approach, where theory becomes disembodied from the original research in an attempt to be generalizable. The strength of theory in the extended case method is in its capacity to be transformed through site specific surprises (anomalies); thus, theory takes on a greater applicability (generalizability) through an acknowledgment of historical specificity. Again, Weber's theory of capitalist development comes to mind. Weber was struggling to theoretically understand the transition to capitalism. In grounding his analysis in a specific site he was then confronted with unexpected challenges that called into question the doctrinaire explanations of capitalism of the day. In meeting these challenges, Weber transformed our understanding of capitalism, by extending or reconstructing the theory of capitalism to encompass religious doctrine.

The extended case method looks for specific macro determinations in the field site, this is Burawoy's second dialogue between local processes (the actual the field site)

and extralocal forces (the larger structural forces contributing to the participant actions). Burawoy frames this level as site specific acts of resistance to macro patterns of domination. Those in the field are resisting perceived constraints or dominating modes. “We are interested in not only learning *about* a specific social situation, which is a concern of the participants, but also in learning *from* that social situation” (Burawoy 1991a, pp. 5). What does the field site tell us about society as a whole, or as Denzin and Lincoln (1998, pp. xiv) argue, any single case exhibits traces of more general social structural dynamics. By seeking to uncover the macro foundations of a micro-sociology, the extended case method examines the specific field site based upon the existing social institutions in which it is embedded. In short, the meaning of participant actions in the field is ultimately understood as a response to larger structural constraints that are elucidated by the reconstructed theory. Both however, must be in dialogue with the participants through field work.

The fourth benefit of using Burawoy’s extended case method is the incorporation of history. The study of social movements is well suited for Burawoy’s method since they begin, grow, and operate within, and act back against social conditions deemed unjust. Similarly, movements represent a meaningful avenue to explore the macro-micro interaction, between organized action in civil society and the response of social institutions. This, of course lends itself to a domination/resistance analysis. Yet social movements come from somewhere. Movements have historical precedents, traditions, and beliefs which are used to critique the present and offer new possibilities for the future.

By giving theory an explicit role in ethnography, Burawoy can easily step out side the time constraints of the field (that is the here and now) and draw upon a much larger historical context to aid in the researcher's understanding. In addition, the incorporation of history into ethnography allows for a seamless interplay between the micro actions of those being studied and the extralocal forces at play. Good ethnography must be capable of transcending the particular research site and place it in a larger historical context (Burawoy 2000b). This, I refer to as historical ethnography. In someways, this approach reflects the work of Louis Wirth (1928) in his study of the ghetto. While looking at the assimilation process of newly arrived ethnic groups in the United States (most notably the Jews), Wirth takes his discussion back a thousand years to connect the ghetto with the Jewish experience as they have embarked on their global dysphoria.

My approach is different in that I am not working with as discrete a population as Wirth; rather, mine is more a history of ideas, or theories of society, that establishes one group in history as the progenitor of another. In this research, the Patriot/Militia Movement and specifically the Tyranny Response Team is seen as having an historical precursor in the Anti-Federalists of the late 18th century. This connection would not have been possible without the challenge, by those in field, to my inquiry into the relationship between democracy and civil society. My questions were contingent upon the theory of New Social Movements that I took into the field. The rejection of the idea of democracy by members of the Tyranny Response Team and their replacement of it with republic came as a surprise and produced a significant anomaly that had to be responded to. In so doing, I was compelled to explore the tradition of republicanism, which facilitated

making the historical connection between the Patriot/Militia Movement, Tyranny Response Team, and the Anti-Federalists.

Ideas and histories are not just mystifications, they have real power because people invoke, believe, organize, and act upon them. While meaning systems are a collective collaboration amongst human beings they are woven from previous historical conceptions. One only has to reflect upon Marx's famous opening to The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (1955, pp. 247), to understand this point:

Men(sic) make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted. The tradition of all the dead generations weights like a nightmare on the brain of the living.

Historical ideas, such as republicanism, can be mobilized as tools of resistance against perceived domination. This resistance reminds us that structures of domination are not monolithic but are in fact themselves historically created and a terrain of struggle (as suggested by Touraine). The Tyranny Response Team and the Patriot/Militia Movement represent this connection well. Moreover, they also speak directly to the macro-micro link, since both the Tyranny Response Team and Patriots want to re-localize power, with the Second Amendment and their challenges to state/government policies around gun control as avenues to accomplish this.

CHAPTER FIVE

“The government of this country -- that we call the criminals -- had better start listening to the dispossessed white people, the dispossessed majority....things are heating up again”

Tom Metzger, head of White Aryan Resistance (WAR), three days after the Oklahoma City bombing.

Introduction and Patriot/Militia Movement History:

In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, America discovered the presence of a new movement in their midst -- the Patriot/Militia Movement. Immediately, the popular press portrayed the militia as America's “home grown terrorists.” With articles entitled “Calling All Paranoids” and “Inside the World of the Paranoid,” the rhetorical prose surpassed any attempt to understand the link between what transpired on April 19, 1995, and the well armed men in camouflage on maneuvers in the remote west.

This section is dedicated to the task of understanding the ideology of the contemporary Patriot/Militia Movement. As will be seen, this ideology is linked to a tradition of right-wing populism in the United States; however, it contains some characteristics, particularly its advocacy of gun ownership and violent resistance to government authority, that distinguish the Patriot/Militia Movement. Moreover, these attributes link the movement to critical features of republicanism and connect deeply with the cultural historicity of the American story. Each of these aspects give the Patriot/Militia ideology the potential to significantly influence U.S. politics in the future. Patriot/Militia ideology may not make sense to many Americans, but it does to the

movement's adherence.

There has been a lot of fumbling around with numbers as they relate to the size and membership in the Patriot/Militia Movement, ranging from the millions to as little as 10,000. Due to the highly decentralized nature of the Movement's organizational structure and utilization of the internet as a source of information, site of activism, and membership or recruitment tool, an exact accounting of the Movement's overall size is difficult. Compounding this assessment of size was the rapid increase in Patriot organization after the Federal government's debacles at Ruby Ridge (1992) and Waco (1993), followed by a quick contraction and increased clandestine approach after the Oklahoma City bombing on April 19, 1995.

In my research on the Tyranny Response Team (TRT), I was never given a definitive number of Tyranny Response Team members. The response I received to that question was that they had no idea, which I believe to be true. They certainly had no "mailing list" and the vitality of their organization was measured by turnout at events and protests. As for the Movement as a whole, at its height in 1996, the Southern Poverty Law Center's Militia Task Force estimated the number of "Patriots" to be as high as 12 million, with 441 armed militias operating in all 50 states (False Patriots 1996, pp. 5). In 1997, The Christian Science Monitor, "...reported 858 active patriot groups in the United States, including 380 armed militias. Overall, the number of Americans who count themselves militia members (as many as 60,000)... and those with militia leanings (some 5 million) appears to have remained stable despite the bad publicity following the Oklahoma City bombing" (pp. 4).

Militia representatives themselves have also claimed membership in the millions. Mark Koernike of the Michigan Militia stated there existed “as many as 2,070 such groups [who] cooperate around the country with up to 4 million members” (quoted in George & Wilcox 1996, pp. 256). While these numbers appear high, the frequently cited number of those participants in actual military-style training is usually between 50,000 and 100,000 (Berlet and Lyons 1995, pp. 22-26), with Texas, Ohio, Michigan, and Montana with the most active groups (Newsweek 1995, pp. 36 and Time 1996, pp. 49-50).

Amongst Militia participants and sympathizers, George and Wilcox (1996, pp. 249) suggest that a logical ideological continuum can be established: (1) are those “hard-core extremists who see the United States and the world “in the grip of an all-powerful conspiracy”; (2) are the anarchists and libertarian conservatives who “consider all government as repressive”; (3) are the “weekend-warriors” out for a thrill and to play with guns; and (4) “people generally conservative in outlook.... [who] are worried about what they see as a repressive government imposing all number of strictures on them from unfair taxes to gun control”. When considered within a broader cultural context, the ideas, values, and goals of the Patriot/Militia Movement resonate with millions of other Americans. Discounting the Movement as the stuff of conspiracy absurdity negates the Movement’s cultural place in American history.

Their belief in the Constitutional protection of individual rights, self-reliance and freedom from government repression, the value of local control, and right to organize in civil society are widely shared by many Americans. The place that the right to keep and

bear arms plays in the ideology of the Movement, and the violence some claim to be willing to use are principles generally not shared by most Americans. In the following chapters, it will be argued that the Patriot/Militia Movement is more centrally placed within the American experience than appears on the surface. As a social movement, "Patriots" have a cultural location that informs, shapes, and drives their ideology and activity. Unless this is recognized, the Patriot/Militia Movement cannot be fully understood.

The Patriot/Militia Movement in Cultural Context:

To speak of ideology as left or right wing can itself be problematic, and while it is not the purpose of this section to provide an exhaustive critique of right-wing politics, some clarification is in order. When discussing right-wing movements -- like the Patriot/Militia Movement -- it is important to avoid the use of terms pejoratively. Linda Nicholson (1992/3, pp. 36) cautions the social scientist to be cognizant of how language is used, since it suggests knowledge claims which can "initiate and reproduce relationships of power." George and Wilcox (1996, pp. 249) give perhaps the best synopsis of a typical member:

The ideological roots of the militias are somewhat obscured by the highly individualistic nature of their adherents. The movement consists primarily of white males between thirty and sixty, although a surprising number of women are active, too. Several blacks have been identified with militias, along with a few Asians, American Indians, and even some Jews. Most militia activists appear to have roots in their communities, with families, jobs, and children in school.

However, in the press and popular media, portrayal of the right-wing as "extremist,"

“radical militants,” “paranoid,” and “angry white males” is not uncommon. This rhetoric is intellectually lazy, and does little to aid in the sociological understanding of why these movements expanded across United States -- especially in the West and Midwest -- (NYT 1995a; Knickerbocker 1995), and have reoccurred throughout U.S. history.

Sara Diamond in Roads to Domination: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States (1995a) has identified the confluence of three ideologies in the rise of contemporary right-wing movements: “libertarian” or “free market” capitalism; post anti-communism in the form of militarism; and traditionalism whereby the state is responsible not for the redistribution of wealth in society, but the enforcement of an assumed preexisting “religious moral order” (pp. 9).

In general, Sara Diamond’s (1995a, pp. 9) use of “right wing” refers to those groups that generally support the state as an enforcer of political, social, and economic order, but oppose the state when its policies promote the distribution of wealth and power downward throughout society. This careful definition recognizes that so-called right-wing groups may oppose the state under certain conditions and admits a wide range of groups to the general category of rightist organizations: for example, the Ku Klux Klan, white supremacists, militias, The John Birch Society, Christian conservatives, and, in the spirit of the time, conservative members of the Republican Party (referred to as “neocons”) , as well as those promoting the national and global policies of neo-liberal free trade with highly circumscribed political oversight. Although the Patriot/Militia Movement should not be taken to represent the whole range of rightist ideologies in American politics. Given the current national political climate, the Patriot/Militia

Movement ideology is perhaps more influential than it perhaps would otherwise be.

In addition to a common position regarding appropriate (and inappropriate) government action, rightist ideologies – particularly those with a populist tone – can be seen to share additional characteristics that link them across groups. Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons in Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort (2000, pp. 6-13), outline a set of dimensions that right-wing populist ideologies generally share. *Producerism* is the delineation of those who are productive in society versus those who are not, with the obvious effect that producers are deemed good honest members of the working class, while others are not.

Demonization and *scapegoating* are interactive concepts used to produce the social framing of “the Other,” which is intended to dehumanize and blame the offending groups for the ills effecting the producer class. *Conspiracism* elevates the scapegoat to the role of an organized plotter engaged in systematic acts of evil to deny rights and freedoms to the “good” people in society. Finally, *apocalyptic narratives* and *millennial visions* presage the holy war that many groups believe is necessary to purge the evil from social life and promote the coming of the new age. *Populism* combines various aspects of these characteristics while promoting *the people* as the ideal moral, political, and social force in civil society and expressing vitriol toward an elite. In this tradition, ordinary citizens are seen as just and trustworthy; however, elites pervert the decent and moral intentions of the mass to serve some power-hungry, narrow purpose. Historically, populist movements have emerged out of civil society with left, right, or center political agendas; in short, not all populist groups are right-wing.

The importance of the Patriot/Militia Movement's ideology as a product of republicanism can be best understood through this prism of right-wing populism. Accordingly, an historical context is crucial to understanding both contemporary Patriot/Militia ideology and its relationship with broader patterns of American political life. What follows is a brief history of rightist movements in the United States so that the particular genesis and motives of the Patriot/Militia Movement can be better understood.

Right-Wing Populist Movements in American History:

Berlet and Lyons (2000) identify the Jacksonian era (1820s-1850s) as the first example of rightist populism in post-Revolutionary U.S. political history. Yet for the purpose here, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), a racist antigovernment group whose ideology drew supporters from a broad spectrum of U.S. society, both in the South and elsewhere after the Civil War, provides a better model of early right-wing populism. The first Klan, organized in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1865 or 1866, insisted that racial segregation was just, argued that any African Americans who exercised authority or took property constituted a threat to the "proper" social order, and resisted Federally imposed "reconstruction" of the South (Katz 1987).

Northerners came to be associated with violating "states rights," and for overturning the social and political order of the South through its Reconstruction policies referred to as the "Yankee Leviathan" by Richard Bense (1990). Since the Union Army was too strong to be attacked after the war ended, the Klan manifested its anger and rage against the beneficiaries of Federal occupation – the newly-freed blacks. While the

Klan's founder, former Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, formally disbanded the Klan in 1869, claiming that its purpose had been "perverted" by racists more intent on savagery than defending the appropriate social order, the pattern of scapegoating by race and hatred of central government authority had been set (Gillette and Tillinger 2002).

In the decades that followed, other racist and ethnocentrist movements rose in the United States. Whether it was the anti-Chinese movement of the late nineteenth century, or the imposition of temperance and associated values upon central and south European immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century, various groups have promoted views that scapegoat often powerless groups and sought to impose "right" values on them. Post-Darwinian themes such as "race suicide" were promoted during the Progressive Era, where leaders like Theodore Roosevelt openly worried that white people might be losing their strength and capacity to rule the world, as they were being exhausted by the burgeoning factories of industry and mass immigration. By the turn of the twentieth century, racial scapegoating was a well entrenched dimension of right-wing populist thought.

During World War I, right-wing populist organizations incorporated anticommunist, anti-immigrant, pro-fascist, and anti-civil-rights components to their ideological repertoire. Communism, the integration of African Americans into the industrial labor force in the North, and the passing of repressive, "pro-American" anti-immigration and sedition laws by both federal and state governments provided the impetus for right-wing populists to articulate a language and set of ideals to shape their political actions. For example, groups like the American Legion articulated near-fascist

views of the importance of white racial supremacy and military preparedness, even as they insisted that Jews and Communists were making an assault on the kinds of traditional values whites held most dear. Similarly, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) under J. Edgar Hoover became an institution convinced that “America” was under attack from Communist infiltrators and acted as if any protest – even civil rights or union protest – could only occur under Communist, and often Jewish, sponsorship. A similar position would be adopted by the FBI during the 1960s civil rights protests, viewing protester’s actions as Communist-sponsored efforts to undermine the American regime (Anderson 1995, pp. 43-86).

The second Ku Klux Klan was also formed in this period, and, while race remained its central focus, its ideology expanded to include a defense of “Americanism” against immigrants, Jews, and any group not: white, Protestant, and of Northern-European heritage (Anglo-Saxon in its Teutonic/Germanic and later English manifestation becomes, once again, the benchmark of the “true” American). Thus, an ideology that had been focused largely on internal enemies in the nineteenth century was adapted to recognize the international position – and vulnerability – of the United States in world affairs. Movements since World War I have continued to emphasize the role of international actors in undermining American life. Most celebrated was the use of the *Dearborn Independent* by Henry Ford to express racist and anti-Semitic views. Much of this inspiration came from the publication of the The Protocols of the Elders of Zion; a collection of articles published under the title The International Jew sold over five hundred thousand copies in the 1920s.

Similarly, Ford used his factories to socialize workers into proper “American” attitudes: foreign-born workers were taught English and appropriate political values in Ford-run schools. Such actions, he thought, were crucial to defending America from its potential demise (Berlet & Lyons 2000, pp. 102-120). The New Deal period, too, was suffused with rightist populist thought. In its earliest days, Franklin Roosevelt scapegoated big business as the foundation of the contemporary economic crisis, a typically leftist position. However, many of his programs, most notably the National Recovery Administration, included controls on labor in terms of employment rights, freedom to organize into unions, and wage limits.

During the same period, the radio priest Father Coughlin, who began his career as a political liberal, combined anti-Semitism with anti-unionism to build a model of a corporatist state in which all members participated and kept their place: a core element of fascism. Similarly, groups like the Liberty League and the KKK argued that Jews and Communists were responsible for the stark economic state of affairs. Even the anti-interventionists movement that delayed the entry of the U.S. into World War II was grounded on right-wing populist thought: the United States must stay out of the war, the anti-interventionists argued, because it was only by defending proper American values at home that the nation could avoid being corrupted by alien cultures.

The rise of the Cold War and its associated competition between the West and the Soviet bloc provided the next impetus for right wing populism in the United States. Practiced by Joseph McCarthy during the Red Scare of the 1940s and 1950s, its ideology was espoused aggressively by the John Birch Society and the Liberty Lobby. Rightist

thought in this period took core ideas derived from fascism, Henry Ford, and The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and developed conspiratorial explanations of contemporary U.S. social and political problems. For the John Birch Society, collectivism associated with the rise of corporate America was destroying the natural liberty that the pioneer lifestyle had engendered among Americans. Instead of individuals doing for themselves, Americans were being dominated by business and intellectual elites more interested in the needs of international capital than of the American people. Then, building on the ideological foundation laid by Henry Ford and others, Birchers claimed that Communists dominated the international conspiracy – although they did not blame the Jews. Instead, it was the Liberty Lobby that added anti-Semitism to the international conspiracy in the American context, claiming, along with Ford and the Protocols, that Jewish control of the international banking order gave them the power to manipulate the international political order to their benefit and against the interests of ordinary Americans.

Cumulatively, the historical elements of right-wing populist ideology outlined so far anti-Semitism, anti-Communism, racism, ethnocentrism, individualism, and conspiracism can be labeled the “old” right (Lee 1997). From the 1820s through the 1970s, right-wing populist movements combined different elements of these strains of thought in varying combinations to create their particular version of the “right” political and social order. Starting in the 1970s, however, innovative elements emerged in right-wing populist thought derived from fundamentalist and evangelical Christianity. Reacting to the rise of secular humanist politics in the 1960s and 1970s that had led to

government decisions like the ending of prayer in school and the constitutional protection of abortion rights, evangelical and fundamentalist Christians began to participate in politics to promote their preferred policies (Martin 1996). Importantly, they combined several dimensions of old right thought with a religious spirit in advancing their program. Thus, the international conspiracy of old Jews and Communists was understood to be an explicitly secular effort to undermine America's true, Christian, heritage.

The concern of the John Birch Society for the corrosive effects on American liberty and freedom of collectivism from the left and corporate business from the right, became central components of Christian right thought. Fundamentalists and evangelicals came to believe that such corporations were the agents of secular values and so were part of the international conspiracy against their ideal America. In addition to linking traditional conservative values with religious dictates, the Christian right introduced *apocalypticism* and *millennialism* into right-wing populist ideology. Millennialism refers to the end times, when the Anti-Christ is to rise, according to Christian doctrine, and Armageddon – the Apocalypse – is to occur.

For Christians, Armageddon signals the rapture, the return of Christ, and with it his kingdom on earth. However, Christians differ as to whether Christ will return only after Armageddon (postmillennialists) or will return only when Christians have taken action to establish and enforce Christ's law on earth (premillennialists). Premillennialists tend to argue that Christian values must be imposed on the world at large, since such imposition is actually an act of love: by establishing Christian law in practice, premillennialists insist, they are helping sinners enter the Kingdom of Heaven (Barkun

1997). One other dimension of much of Christian right thought deserves consideration here: racism and anti-Semitism. Some strains of Christian theology, such as Christian Identity and Catholic Marianism, argue that whites are God's chosen people, that Jews are the agents of Satan and are guiding an international cabal attempting to destroy white Christians on behalf of the Anti-Christ (Barkun 1994; Walters 2000).

Such beliefs coupled with millennial concerns provide a link between rightist populist ideology and the rise of survivalists, militia groups, and white supremacists in the 1970s and 1980s. These groups borrowed many elements from American history and added issues relevant to contemporary society to form a new branch of right-wing populism in the United States. Survivalists, for example, linked apparent Soviet expansionism in places like Nicaragua, Angola, and Afghanistan to the continuing chaos in American cities. Crime, drugs, and not coincidentally, racial and ethnic diversity created an apocalyptic vision of the nation's future that links up to that of the Christian millennialists. The world was nearing its end in a nuclear conflagration. The survivalists held that only those who escaped to rural areas and prepared for an Armageddon would survive war and the hordes of crazed urbanites that would invade the heartland in the war's aftermath. White supremacists similarly linked crime and drugs to the nation's diverse urban centers.

The federal government's campaign against the KKK during the 1970s was further proof of its support for miscegenation and the destruction of the "real" white-Americans (Ferber 1998). Americans were called to resist the egalitarian policies of the post WWII government and to work toward protecting the racial purity and

superiority of the white race. Only then could America be saved from a corrupted government.

While it appears that the various movements described in this section are deviations from “normal” American history and beliefs, they are not. Right-wing populist groups have simply taken the material of American political culture and constructed it in ways to promote their world-view. For example, *individualism* suffuses each of the movements described here: it is individuals, not the government, who are seen as responsible for protecting their well-being. Social welfare programs, bilingual education, civil rights, and affirmative action are used as evidence of government plans to destroy the liberty of hardworking white Americans on behalf of undeserving, unproductive racial minorities and newcomers.

Moreover, the *millennialism* of Christian thought neatly links-up with the early Anglo-Saxon belief in the *exceptionalism* of the colonial conquest of American (discussed in Chapters Three and Six). The conflict over government policies becomes a struggle for the soul of the Anglo-Saxon heritage in the continual march of God’s chosen people and their battle with the forces of evil. Millennialism, exceptionalism, and individualism stand at the core of right-wing populist thought.

Patriot/Militia Movement in Social Context:

For my purposes in discussing the Patriot/Militia Movement, right-wing movements can be classified into three categories. The first is the conservative movement, which has traditionally been anti-communist. Second is the racist right which

includes elements of the Ku Klux Klan and other paramilitary white supremacist groups - like the Aryan Nations (formerly in Idaho, now relocated in the Eastern U.S.). Third is the Christian Right or the evangelical subculture of the secular Right, which openly associates with the neo-conservative faction in the Republican party. Their focus is on designing State policy with their traditional Christian values.

The Christian Patriot and Militia movements originate primarily out of the second and third categories. Christian Patriot is an amorphous movement; however, as the title suggests, these patriots see themselves as contemporaries of the Revolutionary Minutemen -- struggling to protect Christian America (Bennett 1995, pp. 443). Salvation is exclusively through Jesus Christ, with Christianity having a monopoly over access to eternal life (Aho 1990). In establishing God's rule on earth, Patriots take a strict reading of both the Bible and the U.S. Constitution. In the case of the latter, only the precursor to the Constitution, the Articles of Confederation, and the Bill of Rights are seen as legitimate.

With increasing fervency, Christian Patriots believe the state is undermining biblical and constitutional law. Amongst the anti-semitic fringe of the patriot movement, known as Christian Identity, the federal government is referred to as ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government) (Langer 1990). Finally, some Patriots believe a "secret satanic conspiracy" has infiltrated America's major institutions to subvert God's will, and it is their responsibility to do earthly battle with satan.

In one of the earliest attempts to ethnographically understand into the Patriot/Militia Movement, James Aho in The Politics of Righteousness (1990, pp. 19)

classifies the Christian Patriots into three types. First are the “issue oriented” Patriots, who are most inclined to engage in institutional politics, such as the Evangelic Christian Coalition and the former Moral Majority. This category represents the Christian base of the Republican Party. Second is the Christian Constitutionals, who are a combination of Sara Diamond’s libertarians, anti-communist, and militant conservatives. They repudiate the authority of the federal government (such as the Posse Comitatus).

Finally, Christian Identity represents the most overtly racist and violent fringe of Christian patriotism. Organizations under this ideological heading coincide with Diamond’s racist right. Aryan Nations Church, White Aryan Resistance (WAR), the Ku Klux Klan, Pete Peters Church in LaPorte, Colorado, and neo-Nazi skinheads are examples of Christian Identity organizations. The religious philosophy of “Christian Reconstructionism,” which binds these diverse groups together, claims that white Anglo-Saxons, not Jews, are God’s chosen people and that America is their promised land (Stan 1995; Zeskind 1998). Other nationalities, people of color and immigrants are referred to as the “mud people” (Langer 1990).

The Christian Patriot movement is bracketed on the “moderate” side by Pat Robertson’s Christian Coalition, while on the more militant side by neo-Nazi skinheads, the Posse Comitatus, and Aryan Nations -- all are influential in the militia movement (Diamond 1995b). Discussed in the section below entitled “Rocky Mountain Rendezvous,” the Patriot/Militia Movement became a meeting point, a sort of hybridization of the many different groups and ideologies mentioned above, from self-described “Patriots” concerned with gun rights to right-leaning racist Christian

fundamentalist organizations such as Christian Identity.

Militias can be viewed as the militant wing of the Patriot Movement as a whole and, as mentioned earlier, had perhaps five million sympathizers and up to 100,000 actual participants (Berlet and Lyons 1995; Newsweek 1995; Southern Poverty Law Center 1996; 2000). These right-wing populists unify around the fear of an increasingly tyrannical government, and are specifically focused on the right to bear arms (the Second Amendment). However, guns are not the only issue. This alliance also includes: 1) survivalists; 2) the “freeman” and county or states’ sovereignty known as the “Tenth Amendment movement” (2 & 3 will be discussed below); 3) violent anti-abortionists such as Operation Rescue; 4) apocalyptic millennialists; and 5) militant anti-environmentalists in the Wise Use movement (Wills 1995).

To provide an accurate portrayal of the Patriot/Militia Movement, it is important to underscore that the growth of the militias is a social phenomenon. The militia movement has tapped into the deep social discontent created by the social and economic dilemmas of post cold war America. Closely coupled is the erosion of traditional structures of privilege for white males. Moreover, militia type activity is not historically unique. At times of economic and social upheaval, right-wing movements have grown dramatically, as evidenced by the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in 1865 during the turmoil of Reconstruction (discussed below), and the establishment of the Populist Party in 1894 during the mist of the farm crisis (Young 1990; Diamond 1995b, pp. 261).

At the beginning of the 21st Century, the armed militias were riding the crest of a contemporary right-wing populist revolt in America (Bennett 1995). This uprising arose

from two sources: 1) actual economic hardship caused by global restructuring; and 2) an anti-state backlash against groups like gays, women, minorities, and environmentalists who are perceived to be receiving “special rights” which are protected by the state. This inward directed ideological attack is, in part, the New Right’s attempt to define a new enemy in post cold war America, a new enemy within.

The Patriot/Militia grievances around economic deterioration are very real. In the early 1980s, the “trickle down” policies of the Reagan Administration resulted in tax cuts for the wealthy and the deterioration, predominantly in the Midwest, of manufacturing. This deindustrialization led to lay-offs, community destruction and the rise of low-pay, low-security jobs. Most workers moving from manufacturing to services could expect a 60% decline in pay (Bluestone and Harrison 1982, pp. 60). Meanwhile, the farm crisis of the 1980s contributed to a restructuring of U.S. agricultural away from small farming to large-scale industrial farming, largely of government bailouts and subsidies (Phillips 1990; Friedland 1991; Berlan 1991).

Every Midwestern state saw a decline in the value and price of farmland. In Minnesota alone from 1981 to 1987, farmers lost between \$20 and \$40 billion in wealth (Phillips 1990, pp. 193-194). As the U.S. farm population dropped from nine million in 1975 to less than five million in 1987, absentee investors and Wall Street speculators assumed an even greater percentage of farm ownership (Phillips 1990, pp. 194; Bennett 1995, pp. 354). The result was the creation of a new rural ghetto (Davidson 1996), severe demographic displacement and social problems such as suicide (Dyer 1997). For those who stayed, new non-farm employment in lower paying sectors, such as prisons, was

their reward (Fitchen 1991, Chapter 14).

The Movements' concerns over systematic expansion of the state's repressive apparatus are not unfounded. Most Patriots see the killing, in 1983, of retired farmer and Posse Comitatus member Gordon Kahl on the back roads of North Dakota as the beginning of open military conflict with the state (Applebome 1995; Schineider 1995; Bennett 1995, pp. 352). Since that time there has been an escalation of violent confrontations between the state and the increasingly organized far-right militant groups. The Order, or Silent Brotherhood, broke off from Aryan Nations in 1983 and engaged in a series of terrorists acts, which included the execution-style killing of Denver radio talk show host Alan Berg in 1984 (Flynn and Gerhardt 1989).

Rocky Mountain Rendezvous:

In August 1992, the Federal government provided the dizzying array of right-wing anti-government groups with a critical incident to galvanize their cause – the botched siege of Randy and Vicki Weaver's mountain home at Ruby Ridge, Idaho. While living in Iowa, Randy and Vicki Weaver began discovering Christian Identity beliefs. The Christian Identity doctrine contends that Northern Europeans are racial descendants of biblical Hebrews (not Jews), and that government is in the hands of the Jews (Zionist Occupation Government or ZOG), who are actually descendants of Satan through an illegitimate relationship he (Satan) had with Eve. This union between Eve and Satan produced Cain, who is the progenitor of both Jews and all people of color. The deeply racialized world-view is apocalyptic, and believers focus on survival skills such as

stockpiling weapons in preparation for Armageddon. Others have organized (as with the Posse Comitatus) for armed resistance (Walters 2002, pp. 147).

In 1983, Vicki and Randy moved to Ruby Ridge, Idaho after reading Hal Linsey's apocalyptic best-seller The Late Great Planet Earth (1970), which suggested that the Bible had much to tell you about the immanent future of this planet. Randy became involved with the White Separatists movement in the area, which was centered around Richard Butler's nearby Aryan Nations compound, located at the time in Hayden Lake, Idaho. In 1986, Randy Weaver sold illegal sawed-off shotguns (they were one-quarter inch too short) to an undercover officer with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF). He was arrested, released and failed to show for his hearing, thus making him a fugitive of justice (Newsweek 1995).

Weaver's strong anti-government views and penchant for large weapons caches in his mountain home were widely known amongst locals. For over eighteen months, nothing was done to execute his arrest warrant until a local paper ran a story criticizing inaction. This created a community uproar, and Federal agents were dispatched. On August 22, 1992, while engaging in surveillance and reconnaissance on the Weaver compound, a fire-fight ensued leaving one FBI agent dead (another would die several days later) along with one of the Weaver's sons, fourteen year old Sam. The next day, a sniper shot Vicki Weaver through the head while she was standing in the doorway holding their ten month child.

A tense eleven day siege ensued, in which many sympathetic to the Weavers' plight made a pilgrimage. The siege at Ruby Ridge captured the attention of the nation

and became a rallying point for anti-government activists, as well as a symbol of State sponsored tyranny. Protesters from around the country convened on the Weaver compound with signs reading: "FBI Burn in Hell," "Zionist Murder," and "Your Home is Next" (Stern 1996, pp. 25). Randy Weaver finally surrendered, was acquitted in court and received a \$3.1 million settlement from the Federal government for the wrongful deaths of his wife and son. The high-profile nature of the stand-off helped to focus the attention of those opposed to the Federal government and was a prologue to the formation of the Patriot/Militia Movement.

Two months after Ruby Ridge, a three day gathering (called the Rocky Mountain Rendezvous) was organized in Estes Park, Colorado. In attendance were over 150 representatives from various right-wing groups. Three constitute representatives were most notably present. First was Pete Peters, whose Christian Identity Church, The Church of Christ, is located in Laporte, Colorado. Peters was the one who called for the gathering. Second were separatist Louis Beam, leader of the Klu Klux Klan, Richard Butler of Aryan Nation, and Bo Gertz, who ran for Vice President in 1992 with Presidential candidate, David Duke, on the right-wing Populist Party ticket. Finally, in attendance was Larry Pratt, founder of the influential and uncompromising gun lobby organization, Gun Owners of America, which is based in Washington D.C. The meeting was extraordinary in that it brought together various factions with many long standing differences. As Pete Peters stated:

Men came together who in the past would normally not be caught together under the same roof, who greatly disagree with each other on many theological and philosophical points, whose teachings contradict each

other in many ways... what was done to the Weaver family was wrong and could not, and should not, be ignored by Christian men (Quoted in Dees 1996, pp. 50).

Yet, the *Rendezvous* was not only a gathering in remembrance and praise of the Weavers; rather, through working sessions, strategies were developed to respond to the growing State tyranny. The meeting helped establish the ground work for the rapid growth of militias across the nation by suggesting organizational structure (discussed below), and also through solidifying the connection between the white separatists, Identity followers, and gun owner groups.

Writing in The Seditonist (1992, pp. 1-6; also see Bennett 1995, pp. 440), Louis Beam offered a organizational template entitled “Leaderless Resistance”. Originally, the organizational theory was developed to resist a Communist invasion, but today “Communism now represents a threat to no one in the United States, while federal tyranny represents a threat to everyone...This changing situation makes it clear that those who oppose state repression must be prepared to alter, adapt, and modify their behavior, strategy, and tactics.... It is the duty of every patriot to make the tyrant’s life miserable. When one fails to do so he not only fails himself, but his people.” Beam continues “The concept of Leaderless Resistance is nothing less than a fundamental departure in theories of organization. The orthodox scheme of organizations is diagrammatically represented by the pyramid....is however, not only useless, but extremely dangerous for the participants when it is utilized in resistance movements against state tyranny...[because they] are easy prey for government infiltration.” Beam posits a cell-based system as an alterative, which he believes represented the initial form of resistance by the “Sons of

Liberty” during the colonial struggle for independence.

These cells would be independent of one another and tactically operate autonomously. This Beam refers to as the “Phantom Cell” mode of organization. Each would respond to “objective events” on their own, stay in contact through technologies such as the internet, which would confound would-be bureaucrats and prevent them from penetrating the movement as a whole. In short, “...Leaderless Resistance presents no single opportunity for the Federals to destroy a significant portion of the Resistance.” As will be evident below, the Leaderless Resistance model was widely adopted by militia organizations. Moreover, Beam’s movement depiction bears a strong resemblance to how both Touraine and Melucci conceive New Social Movements organizing to avoid system apprehension or co-optation. This highly decentralized structure provides the necessary critical space for militias, feminists and environmental groups alike to create alterative social practices that challenge the codes or cultural logic(s) of the broader social system.

For the Patriot/Militia Movement, Louis Beam and those attending the *Rendezvous* represented a coalescing of significant social networks. This alchemy delivered the self-identified “patriot” to the nascent militia organizations, with trace elements of right-wing racism and overtones of Christian eschatology. Zeskind (1995; 1998) argues that this mix gave birth to the “modern militia movement,” and is what gives the Movement its saliency. In *The Gathering Storm* (1996, pp. 67) Morris Dees succinctly sums up the *Rendezvous*’ importance:

At Estes Park, the movement changed from a disparate, fragmented group of pesky – and at times dangerous – gadflies to a serious, armed political challenge to the state itself.

During that weekend in the Rockies, a network of militant anti-government zealots was created. Alliances were formed from diverse factions: Identity, Posse Comitatus, the Klan, Aryan Nations, reconstructionists and other fundamentalist Christians, neo-Nazis, tax resisters, Second Amendment advocates, and anti-abortion extremists.

The Rocky Mountain Rendezvous that was held in tranquil Estes Park, Colorado, was a watershed for the racist right. Whether they knew that at the time doesn't matter. They know it now.

Not surprisingly, the rural areas of the West, Northwest, and Midwest became fertile ground for the Patriot/Militia Movement. Shortly after *Rendezvous*, the three largest militias were founded: The Militia of Montana (MOM) in Noxon, MT, in February 1994 by John Trochmann, who was at the *Rendezvous*; the Militia of Michigan in April 1994, in Dexter, MI, and the United States Militia Association in Idaho (Schneider 1995). The Michigan Militia has over 12,000 members and affiliates in all 50 states (Time 1995; Goshko and Swardson 1995). Garfield County, the location of the Militia of Montana, is isolated both geographically and economically, with “a mere 600 households and per capita income of \$11,000 [and] only 14 percent of county residents subscribing to the newspaper” (Miller 1995, pp. 19). Similarly, the Citizens Militia of Oklahoma, which was closest to the April 19, 1995 bombing, operates in a county with a scant 3,500 residents (Tomsho 1995).

Patriot/Militia Ideology:

Critical to New Social Movement theory, as Touraine suggests, is the importance of cultural struggles oriented toward historicity. Social movements are framed by, and

find life within, the context of the culture from which they emerge. It is within the history of right-wing populism that Patriot/Militia thought must be understood. However, militia members have added new dimensions (drawn from an even earlier period in American history) like the sanctity of the “sovereign” citizen and the primacy of armed resistance to government tyranny. These new ideas exhibit family resemblances to broader themes throughout U.S. society and have articulated with the neo-conservative wing of the Republican Party, giving them the potential to influence American society well into the future.

Recognizing the diversity within the Patriot/Militia Movement, I will issue some general or dominant themes relevant to understanding the movement as a variant of the tradition of populism in American history (below). The sources are a mix of data gathered first hand through interviews, newspapers, and exploration over the internet (which the movement has utilized with frequency and success). Militia organizations such as the Militia of Montana and the Michigan Militia, have been at the forefront of information dissemination and using the internet. However, many other internet sites are remarkable for their coherence of message with these two dominant organizations.

As early as the Federalist vs. Anti-Federalist debates (discussed in Chapter Six) over the nature of governance and the structure of the post-revolutionary war Constitution, concern has raged over the proper role, scope of power, and potential for corruption on the part of the U.S. federal government. This theme resonated amongst the populists of the 1870s and defines the Patriot/Militia Movement at the beginning of the 21st Century. Known within the movement as a shadow government (or amongst those

racially motivated as ZOG), militia ideology holds that agents of what is also termed the “New World Order” have corrupted the government of the United States. Evidence of this corruption manifests in the overreaching policies of the federal government beginning with Reconstruction.

American institutions have been perverted by agents of the Shadow government, violating not only the intentions of the Founding Fathers, but destroying the Anglo-Saxon heritage upon which American freedoms rest. Consequently, American government has become illegitimate and must be challenged, then purged, of tyranny and corruption.

[The] Constitution that has protected our rights and liberties for more than 200 years is now in greater danger of being overthrown than at any time in our history...[not by] Drug lords?...Terrorists?... Hungry hordes of foreigners?... [or] Space aliens? [Instead the source of this threat is government itself] We have the evidence that for more than 60 years much of the legislation that has been passed, and much of what officials have done, is in substantial violation of the Constitution. Federal and State governments, especially the Federal, have assumed powers that have no foundation whatsoever in any of the provisions of the Constitution (Jon Roland, founder, Texas Constitutional Militia, 1994a).

Espousing a theme that is common today, Patriots believe the federal government has inappropriately expanded its powers throughout American history, whether in the areas of taxation, welfare, civil rights, or now, in this era, the war on terrorism. The passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, the creation of income tax with the Sixteenth Amendment, the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank, the printing of paper money, and New Deal policies all offer examples of this growing centralization of political, economic, and, especially, military authority under federal control. The Cold War

development of a national security state and its continuation during the war on terrorism are concerns that reflect both left organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and militias.

The Shadow Government has taken advantage of opportunities to expand the federal government's authority into the private lives of ordinary citizens, thus violating the Bill of Rights and the intentions of its drafters.

They have adopted legislation such as an amendment to the Trading with the Enemy Act and various Presidential directives such as the 1933 War and Emergency Power Order which treat the People as the enemy of the Government, and orders which illegally seek to suspend the Constitution under ill-defined emergencies...They have adopted secret legislation and appropriations of funds, and kept official activities and documents secret, ostensibly for the purpose of 'national security' but in fact often for the purpose of concealing their crimes and preventing the prosecution thereof (Statement of Grievances and Demands for Redress 1995).

Apparently innocuous developments in U.S. legal and constitutional traditions are also seen as tools for the inappropriate expansion of federal power. For instance, the clause in the Constitution allowing Congress to regulate interstate commerce becomes a strategy of control for the insidious Shadow Government:

They have exceeded their limited authority to regulate interstate commerce to improperly encompass prohibition thereof, criminal prosecution for violations, or to regulate or prohibit activities that are not commercial, or have not yet crossed a state boundary. . . or which 'affect' interstate commerce (Statement of Grievances and Demands for Redress 1995).

Treaty commitments to foreign governments or, worse, the United Nations are seen as violating American sovereignty, thus opening America to threats (both past and present) and to the apocalyptic prophecy of Christian Identity Patriots:

Cain's United Nations and various 'think tanks' (of intellectual Cains! or spiritual Serpent's seed) such as the Club of Rome, Royal Institute for Foreign Affairs, the Trilateral Commission, Council on Foreign Relations, Bilderbergers, etc., have devised various means for de-population to cull we goyim, or 'human cattle', as they regard us (Edomites 2003).

No other policy exemplifies federal government abuse of authority better than gun control. Militia members insist gun ownership is legal, and argue that any government attempt to limit gun ownership is an unconstitutional trampling of fundamental political rights. Finally, their position on gun rights holds that unless the people have guns, there is no true check against tyrannical government and its abuse of human rights and individual liberties. As with many rights protecting liberty, the right of gun ownership is codified in the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Rights are sacrosanct: "Rights are God-given and governments are formed to protect rights, not to grant them or take them away...the right to bear arms is not something that the government can legitimately legislate away through gun regulation, registration, licensing, taxation, or prohibition" (Ronald 1994b). Thus, the right to keep and bear arms is basic, pre-governmental, and absolute.

The intensity associated with gun ownership rights and rage over government intervention is best displayed through the scenarios put forth by militia commentators of a populace stripped of guns and rendered helpless before a tyrannical government. Gun control is linked to the evils of the Holocaust, Stalin's massacres in the Soviet Union, and other examples of genocide worldwide. Groups, such as the "Million Moms" marching for gun control (discussed below) and Sane Alternatives to the Firearms Epidemic (SAFE), a local post-Columbine shooting gun control group, are vilified and have gained

the ire of the Tyranny Response Team in this research. Whether showing graphic pictures of Nazi victims of the Holocaust or demonizing misguided advocates of gun control, the message is clear, defending gun ownership means defending a unique American institution, one that promotes individual life and liberty.

Well over 56 million innocent civilians have been murdered, and billions have been “neutralized” in fear of brutalization by their governments this last century as a result of “Gun Control” laws....

CONSIDER THIS...This is just part of the known tally....

In 1929 the Soviet Union established gun control. From 1929 to 1953, approximately 20 million dissidents, unable to defend themselves, were rounded up and exterminated.

In 1911, Turkey established gun control. From 1915-1917, 1.5 million Armenians, unable to defend themselves, were rounded up and exterminated.

Germany established gun control in 1938 and from 1939 to 1945, 13 million Jews, gypsies, homosexuals, the mentally ill, and others, who were unable to defend themselves, were rounded up and exterminated.

China established gun control in 1935. From 1948 to 1952, 20 million political dissidents, unable to defend themselves, were rounded up and exterminated.

Guatemala established gun control in 1964. From 1964 to 1981, 100,000 Mayan Indians, unable to defend themselves, were exterminated.

Uganda established gun control in 1970. From 1971 to 1979, 300,000 Christians, unable to defend themselves, were rounded up and exterminated.

Cambodia established gun control in 1956. From 1975 to 1977, one million “educated” people, unable to defend themselves, were rounded up and exterminated.

That places total victims who lost their lives because of gun control at approximately 56 million in the last century. Since we should learn from the mistakes of history, the next time someone talks in favor of gun control, find out which group of citizens they wish to have exterminated (Gun Control and the First Million Mom March 2001).

The United States government is not immune to the corruption of using violent force to unjustly murder its citizens. It is widely believed that the gun control legislation in the U.S. is grounded on similar legislation passed in Nazi Germany in 1938.

When a government no longer fears the people, atrocities become possible such as the murder of members of Randy Weaver's family by U.S. Marshals and FBI agents. Emboldened by the lack of resistance when murdering women and children in Idaho, the Feds moved to Waco, Texas and slaughtered nearly 100 people, including four of their own agents....Had the Feds feared a militia as active as the one in Lexington on April 19, 1775, it is entirely possible that the massacre of Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas on April 19, 1993 would never have occurred. Long live the militia! Long live freedom! Long live government that fears the people! (Pratt & Pratt 1995, pp.1).

I will return to the larger importance afforded to the Second Amendment in this research in the following chapter.

Taken together, the increase in federal government power in the twentieth century has created a condition in which the American dream has been perverted into a totalitarian nightmare.

The receivers of the United States Bankruptcy are the International Bankers, via the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. All United States Offices, Officials, and Departments are now operating within a de facto status in name only under Emergency War Powers. With the Constitutional Republican form of Government now dissolved, the receivers of the Bankruptcy have adopted a new form of government for the United States. This new form of government is known as a Democracy, being an established Socialist/Communist order....Gold and silver were such a powerful money during the founding of the united states of America, that the founding fathers declared that only gold or silver coins can be "money" in America....We the People no longer have any 'money'[Adopting a more populist tone the site concludes] The Federal Reserve Act was legislated post-facto (to 1870), although post-facto laws are strictly forbidden by the Constitution. [1:9:3] The Federal Reserve System is a sovereign power structure separate and distinct from the federal United States government. Prior to 1913, most Americans owned clear, title to property, free and clear of any liens or mortgages until the Federal Reserve Act (1913). [Since that time the American people have been turned into] "subjects" [and] "economic slaves"....Unwittingly, America has returned to its pre-American Revolution, feudal roots whereby all land is held by a sovereign and the common people had no rights to hold title to property. Once again, We the People are the tenants

and sharecroppers renting our own property from a Sovereign in the guise of the Federal Reserve Bank. We the people have exchanged one master for another....Why don't more people own their properties outright? Why are 90% of Americans mortgaged to the hilt and have little or no assets after all debts and liabilities have been paid? Why does it feel like you are working harder and harder and getting less and less?.... Our children will inherit this un-payable debt, and the tyranny to enforce paying it (The Bankruptcy of the United States 2003).

In an analysis not unlike C. Wright Mills in The Power Elite (1957), the Patriot/Militia Movement sees control by this Shadow Government established through the occupation of key positions throughout government, the economy, and public life by agents of the New World Order. These include significant executive, legislative, and judicial branch positions; the staffs that support these positions; the intelligence agencies; military agencies; the Internal Revenue Service; police departments; major corporations, especially banks, insurance agencies, public utilities, security services, and credit bureaus; major media, both print and broadcast; communications networks like telephone and satellite services; organized crime; educational institutions, especially higher education; public interest groups focusing on civil rights, gender rights, and labor issues; international organizations like the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization). The objective is to concentrate resources "under the control of fewer and fewer people" (The Shadow Government 1994). This oligarchy would be able to operate freely to enslave the people by restricting their liberty through gun control. This would be a precursor to the overthrow of American democracy itself:

There are indications that after things settled down, the Shadow Government would allow the establishment of a parliamentary system that

would provide a facade of democracy.... Such a system is not a republican form of government, based on the Rule of Law, or a representative democracy, but merely a tool for control by an oligarchy (The Shadow Government 1994).

The importance placed on a republican form of government will be discussed in greater detail in the Chapter Six. However, one of the fundamental premises of republicanism is that the power of government is defined, and restricted by, a Constitution. This rule of law places sovereignty in the citizenry, which historically was an Anglo-Saxon male property holding class. These citizens, whose rights the Constitution was designed to protect, can never be violated. The emphasis placed on the Tenth Amendment, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," justifies this placement of sovereignty first with the states (more localized) and then with the people (those recognized as citizens). Known as the "Tenth Amendment Movement," Patriots place great emphasis on the primacy of local political units (Barkun 1994, pp. 217). This form of local radicalism is similar to the ethno-Nationalist movements that took hold in the Europe after the breakup of the Soviet Union, where ever smaller groups of people demanded sovereignty in the name of their own distinctive cultural identity or interests (Bennett 1995, pp. 470).

How this new localism manifests in the Patriot/Militia Movement takes the following forms. First are those adhering to "states Rights," who draw their initial inspiration from the Articles of Confederation, then the Tenth Amendment and, finally, the struggle of the Southern states in their succession from the North just prior to the

Civil War. Second is the Posse Comitatus, a movement that coalesced during the Farm Crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. In a Republic, according to the Posse, “the local County has always been the seat of government for the people...[and] The County Sheriff is the only legal law enforcement officer in the United States” (Ridgeway 1995, pp. 130). This form of localism harkens back to the common law tradition of Anglo-Saxon England, a lineage readily acknowledged by Posse members. Finally, the most radical of all localist movements are the Freemen, who claim sovereignty for the individual solely, thus resembling some forms of anarchist thinking (Wills 1995; Zeskind 1998).

The Constitutionally mandated and limited role afforded the federal government leaves no room for federal over-site of the states. Any attempt to modify or reinterpret the Constitution outside the “original intent of the founders” is met with contempt, a position referred to as a “strict constructionism” amongst legal scholars. By focusing extensive attention on the Tenth Amendment (and the preceding Bill of Rights), Patriots call into question additions to the Constitution such as the extension of suffrage to women and African Americans, adoption of the income tax, and usurpation of authority from the states by the Fourteenth Amendment. Similarly, attempts to exercise power through declarations of states of emergency, Executive Decrees, and Presidential Directives are believed to be un-Constitutional attempts to supplant the ratification process by the people.

This vision of limited government links rights to a particular class – sovereign citizens. Sovereign citizens are those whose forebears entered into the social contract that created the U.S. Constitution:

The Republic has Citizens of its own called American Nationals. Those are the Sovereign Citizens who qualify as such by being Members of the Posterity referred to in the Preamble and can only be the Natural Born or Naturalized White Inhabitants of each state whose forefathers delegated by solemn agreement certain powers to the Congress of the “United States” (Jungles 1998).

Such citizens hold a unique position in the polity in that they are not bound by the laws of the national government since their true identity was as citizens of states that merely delegated powers to the national authority. It might be correctly said that there is no such thing as a citizen of the United States. At most, Patriot/Militia ideology holds, the federal government has authority over territory it directly controls – that is, the District of Columbia – or over people, like African Americans, who have become citizens of the United States since the adoption of Constitution.

Ultimately, then, it is not the national government, or the state governments, or the Supreme Court that determines the proper limit on federal government authority over the lives of private citizens. It is sovereign citizens who, as the posterity of the original contract makers, get to decide what is and is not appropriate government action. Moreover, anything that these sovereign citizens decide as inappropriate is, ipso facto, wrong, unconstitutional, and corrupt. Consequently, the importance of guns and armed resistance in Patriot/Militia thought has the additional virtue of reestablishing the nation on its true and righteous path. This decision making process draws from the unchallenged inspiration of the Constitution and usually plays itself out at the local or county level.

Patriot/Militia Ideology as Contemporary Populism:

The capacity of Patriot/Militia action to resist and overcome the federal government idealizes the role the militia played in the American Revolution. Beginning with the battle of Lexington when, on April 19, 1775, Reverend Josiah Clark met the British forces as the elected commander of a well-regulated militia. As the Maine Militia website asserts:

Do we believe Paul Revere's militia unit was part of the organized government of his time? We think not! It was clear to the early patriots that the militia was independent of the organized government and made up of the people who stood ready to repel a tyrannical government from denying the rights of liberty under the Constitution....Furthermore, the founders of our government believed that power should remain in the hands of the people to stop the usurpation of power of government. For this expressed reason, they believed in the militia system where all citizens should keep and bear arms (Maine Militia 2003).

The progression of this modern battle against tyranny begins with a radical Republican call to arms. Initially, (as with the British) the autocratic government will be better equipped and organized, yet citizen-militias will have the support of liberty loving Americans, be more motivated, and have superior local knowledge. Like the early battles of the American Revolution, the citizen-militia will go beyond the call of duty because they are energized by an idea, not by self preservation or selfish ambition.

This vision of history (both past and present) valorizes those organizing around these Patriot/Militia ideas as central actors in American politics and society. As sovereign citizens they have the authority to defy the government, as moral agents "Patriots" are exposing the corruption undermining the republic and American democracy, that is, challenging Melucci's cultural codes. This image of the Patriot

mythic hero creates an identity that links individual freedom to the protection of gun ownership. Furthermore, it suggests a set of strategies to achieve their objectives and, by so doing, encourages other citizens imbued with this image to join the contemporary movement's ranks. Building on the previous cultural ideas and social movements (Touraine's historicity) allows the Patriot/Militia Movement to contest current articulations of American political and social history in a way that provides a plausible explanation for current problems, thus inspiring action.

This identity of citizen militia is argued to be Constitutionally protected. The constitutional argument, for example, rests on an "original intent" understanding of the place of the militia in U.S. life. This right is contained within the structure of the Constitution and Bill of Rights as argued below:

'A well regulated Militia' does not refer to the regular army. It would be absurd to recognize the federal government's prerogative to raise an army in the Bill of Rights since: (a) It is presumed that all governments raised armies. (b) Since Article II amends the Constitution which already recognizes this prerogative. And (c) since the Bill of Rights is in its entirety a limitation upon, not an empowering of the federal government. Nor does it refer to a state's national guard. Had the Framers meant state militias, they would not have connected the militia with the right of the people to bear arms. It does mean a well-organized army of the people by the people. The word militia originally legally meant (Virginia Bill of Rights, Section 13) and still legally means (U.S. Code, Title 10, Section 31) the whole able-bodied citizenry of the country, not the formal armed forces of the United States. Therefore, 'A well regulated Militia' is a well organized citizens' army, not a well-controlled standing army (Free Militia 1994).

Patriots claim that in the 18th century, the word regulation did not, at all, require government involvement. The actions of the American colonists make it plain that a well-regulated militia was well-rehearsed and well-drilled without the control of the

government.

Outside of government regulation and acting within civil society, citizen-militias are those “unorganized” members of the militia. This they contrast with the organized militia of the National Guard (Militia of Montana Manuel, not dated; Maue 2003). The “unorganized” or reserve militia is a legal and lawful part of the armed forces of this nation. It is a military organization recognized by the Second Amendment of the Constitution; Title 10, Section 311 USC; the Dick Act of 1903; the National Defense Act of 1916; and affirmed by numerous court decisions. There is no ambiguity. The “unorganized” citizen militia is not the National Guard or the state “select” militia, or part of the “organized” armed forces of the federal government. It is literally the entire body of armed citizenry. It represents the authority and power of the People over the government and stands as the last defense of the citizens of this country against domestic tyranny. As the North Carolina Citizen Militia explains:

We believe that the truths and ideals represented in the Declaration of Independence, our Constitution and Bill of Rights express the core beliefs at the very heart and soul of America and her citizens. Therefore, the militia is pledged to uphold the ideals expressed in these documents and does not owe its loyalty to any political party, individual, or organization. We believe that America, and her republican form of government, administered with fairness, honesty and integrity, is worth saving....The primary purpose of the North Carolina *unorganized, or reserve militia*, therefore, is to defend the Constitution of the State of North Carolina and the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Further, it is to uphold and guarantee all Constitutional guarantees as documented by the Bill of Rights to ensure that all citizens regardless of race, color, religion, sex or national origin retain the inalienable rights and opportunities established by the Founding Fathers of this great nation (Visitor Information 2003). [italics added]

Or the Indiana Militia:

MILITIAS ARE NOT ANTI-GOVERNMENT.... MILITIA MEMBERS ARE NOT CRIMINALS.... MILITIA MEMBERS ARE NOT EXTREMISTS.... No militia participated in the siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in 1992.... No Militia set fire to any religious group's communal home in Waco, Texas, in 1993. [Instead] The Militia seeks to preserve and practice... rights and liberties (Gun Registration vs. American Freedom 2001).

In the end, then, legitimate power rests in the hands of ordinary, gun-owning citizens, not in the federal government. "Like it or not, the only reason a civilian or unorganized militia exists is in order to keep government in check in order that the government may remain in the hands of the people" (Maine Militia 2003).

Beyond simply asserting their right to protect the Bill of Rights, militias advance a program of grievances and demands designed to expose the "wrongs" of contemporary society.

While there is no single set of goals to which all militia groups aspire, those encompassed in the following list clearly embody much of what the militia wants. Importantly, it is precisely because they see this list as reasonable and constitutional that the militia view their formation and action as necessary and legitimate:

We the People of this great Republic:

- ▶ Demand the immediate removal of all foreign troops stationed on the sovereign soil of the United States of America.
- ▶ Demand that the War Powers Act, the Emergency Powers Act and the Federal Reserve Act be rescinded.
- ▶ Demand an end to the unconstitutional practice of Executive Orders which carry the force of law, and a rescission of all such Orders.
- ▶ Demand any acts and agencies derived from the War Powers, Emergency Powers, or Federal Reserve Acts or Executive Orders be dissolved.
- ▶ Demand the immediate removal of the United States from the foreign body known as the 'United Nations.'

- ▶ Demand an end to all United Nations funding both military programs and all other UN programs.
- ▶ Demand a rescission to all acts, and legislation that in any way infringes on the right to keep and bear arms.
- ▶ Demand a rescission to all acts, legislation and agencies that exceed the powers described in the constitution according to the 10th amendment.
- ▶ Demand that all educational concerns be returned to the several states directly and that all federal involvement in the same cease.
- ▶ Urge all citizens to become self sufficient as individuals, as families, as localities, as counties and as states.
- ▶ Urge all liberty loving citizens to prepare, with God's help, to take the same course of action that our forefathers took in fighting tyranny (A Modern American Declaration of Liberty 2003).

Our goals are just, Patriots claim, and they have legal and constitutional foundations for their existence, actions, and objectives.

These claims of legitimacy draw upon the broad spectrum of American political culture. The idea that individuals are the true sovereign clearly derives from liberal thought, which has at its core *individualism*, and plays on the Revolutionary myth of the citizen-militia. Moreover, this individualism is then linked to a good-versus-evil struggle that draws on the language of Christian *millennialism*, which played a significant role in the early construction of the American nationalist identity. The people's rights and powers become sacrosanct. This *populist* ideology of the Patriot/Militia has the potential to find many supporters.

According to New Social Movement theory, ideas and beliefs draw upon, challenge, and attempt to reconstruct cultural discourse within a society; ideology also validates the adherent's identity. In other words, the worldview expressed and legitimated by the Patriot/Militia Movement assists movement participants in

understanding themselves as members of a group privileged enough to challenge cultural codes and empowered to act upon that knowledge.

This constructive power of ideology follows in the lineage beginning with Lenin and coming to fruition in the work of Gramsci and Althusser (Barrett 1991). Moving away from ideology as “false consciousness,” as articulated by Classical Marxism; Althusser, in particular, developed an understanding of ideology as interpellation or constitution (Althusser 1971, pp. 173). This process of transforming individuals into subjects or actors is fundamental in defining who a person is. The integrative power of ideology provides a model of behavior and action that establishes a movement participant’s worldview through the construction of the “Other,” and advancement of a normative view of society. Yet, as indicated by Touraine, this construction links one’s ideology to particular relationships of power and privilege, some recognized as desirable while others are challenged.

In Patriot thought, this constitutive function of ideology represents itself in the “David” vs. “Goliath” struggle, whereby ordinary citizens act in heroic defense of the “real” America against the “Leviathan” of government. This Patriot folklore of the epic battle with oppression on one side and the common person on the other is illustrated (along with a self described class analysis) in the following excerpt from the California Militia entitled “Who We Are”:

Contrary to what you may have read in the newspapers, or heard on the radio, or even seen on the television news, we are not a group of ‘goose stepping’ anti-Semitic racists with single digit IQ’s.... We are not out to destroy the government. We are hoping to restore it. Our members represent every racial group, every major religion, and both

sexes. Many of our members are college graduates, and a substantial number possess advanced degrees... Most of our people are veterans and many have actual combat experience.... We love America. We know where she's been, and we fear where she's heading.

....We are young blacks who tremble at the sight of a police car in their rear view mirror. We are lawyers who still choke up when we read the Constitution, and we are factory workers and house-wives who refuse to believe that sacred document, the Constitution, has become obsolete. We are ordinary people who have done an extraordinary thing. We have read the writing on the wall, and we have said no. We have read the writing [on the wall] and said 'Hell no!'.... But most of all, we are Patriots, sworn to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States of America against all enemies foreign and domestic (Who Are We 2002).

To be a good American, it appears one has to be an active militia member willing to sacrifice all for the good of the nation. Anything less makes one an agent of the evil that has occupied America's government and is working to destroy ordinary citizens as well. This integrative vision is obviously embedded in particular relations of power and identity. The construction of the "Other" becomes a stark choice between patriotic gun owning Americans who are unwilling to have their rights trampled, and everyone else who fails to see that freedom is under governmental assault.

This privileges the Patriots as the "real" Americans whose actions and beliefs are the foundation of liberty in the United States. Freedom stands in contrast to security and comfort: "Live Free or Die!" and "Don't Tread on Me!" become Patriot rallying cries. Such beliefs are constituted through the construction of the Patriot/Militia identity which calls on the real heroes and real patriots to fight against corruption and tyranny with the prospect of recovering America's promise. Worth dying to defend, this masculine and racially tinged ideology builds its followers into promoters of the true American identity. Individual rights and liberties are seen as the central components of good citizenship.

Such values are under assault from a government “Other,” thus necessitating a struggle to maintain the American mission. Real Americans – those who believe in individual rights and fear excessive government – must join the Patriot/Militia Movement.

Sovereignty, Citizenship...and Guns:

The Patriot/Militia ideology constructs a remarkable vision of American social and political struggles. Agents of a New World Order intent on destroying American sovereignty and usurping individual rights are confronted by “the people” aware of their rights (especially those of armed resistance) who offer the hope of saving the Republic. Average Americans have the legitimate right to restore proper constitutional government in the name of freedom and liberty. Although only a select few Americans can claim the original identity of “sovereign citizen,” most Americans can participate in this Patriot/Militia Movement. Despite the exclusivity within some Patriot/Militia doctrine, all Americans will ultimately benefit by having constitutional rights and liberties restored. Thus, through vigilance, the Patriot/Militia Movement is an example of American values in action, to contest and reconstruct America both culturally and historically.

Despite the many references to the Constitution and legality of rights, this research is not an investigation in jurisprudence. I have only to recognize the special place of importance given to the Constitution and constitutional rights. A detailed refutation of Patriot/Militia claims or a protracted discussion of constitutional history and legal theory would deflect from my project: that is, the cultural location of the Patriot/Militia Movement and its importance in U.S. history. After all, it does not matter

whether Patriots' beliefs are actually "true" in a constitutional sense; what matters is that Patriots believe it. Rather than undertake a point-by-point condemnation of Patriot/Militia ideology, it is more fruitful to situate this movement in its larger cultural and historical context. That is, what contribution has the Patriot/Militia Movement made to our understanding of right-wing populism in the United States?

As stated above, Berlet and Lyons (2000) suggest that Patriot ideology is rife with producerism, demonization and scapegoating, conspiracism, and apocalyptic revelations and millennial visions. In the Patriot/Militia version of right-wing populism, ordinary Americans-particularly white, non-(recent)-immigrant Americans – are good, productive citizens, whereas the agents of a corrupted government are the unproductive demons whose predatory laws and practices favor unworthy people and the interests of the international conspiracy.

These described "evil officials," serving a political order directed from the outside, are promoting policies that will either destroy the citizenry's lives or, if certain members of the community resist, promote the final confrontation between the inheritors of the American tradition and its mortal enemies. Fortunately, from the militia point of view, this battle is likely to see the creation of a new America freed of its corrupted masters, since millions of arms-bearing ordinary citizens will eventually overwhelm and defeat the elites behind the New World Order.

At least two dimensions of militia thought deserve special attention here since they do not appear in the ideologies discussed in the section of this chapter dealing with the history of right-wing populism in the United States. These are the significance of

guns (developed in full in Chapter Six) and the Militia members' insistence that they are not racists. The importance of these claims allows one to extend the Patriot/Militia view of American society to a larger theme of populism that has punctuated periods of ascendancy in American history, and to link Patriots to mainstream organizations in civil society.

Guns are central to Patriot/Militia thinking. Patriots argue that it is only their status as armed citizens that make it possible for them to defend themselves from a predatory government. Guns make it possible for them to save the nation from the evil actions of the Shadow Government. To limit one's access to guns, then, is to limit one's prospects of defending both their own interests (rights and liberties) and the nation's sovereignty (the rule of law). Attacks on gun rights are a direct attack on liberty itself. In Patriot folklore, guns and freedom are inextricably linked. Ultimately, then, Patriot/Militia ideology, in a way "new" to the tradition of right-wing populist thought, introduces the righteousness of the defense of gun ownership as a dimension of protecting and advancing American liberty. As will be shown in Chapter Six, this position is far from "new," instead having deep roots in England's Anglo-Saxon tradition, transported to the Americas by the Puritans, America's "first separatists".

The insistence of not being racist in Patriot thought deviates from much of right-wing populist thought discussed above. Statements on Militia websites frequently denounce any criminal behavior or racism. However, these ethical statements run counter to the insistence on categories like "sovereign citizens," and White or Anglo-Saxon males whose forebears created the Constitution (as in the Tenth Amendment Movement).

These sovereigns enjoy special rights in the political system. There is, in effect, a bifurcated citizen-rights structure, those who have benefited from the history of Amendments after 1791 (adoption of the Bill of Rights) and those to whom these “original” rights were intended. Today, this argument is couched in the language of “states rights”. This strict “constructionism,” or “original intent” argument questions the validity of the civil rights and women’s suffrage movements, as well as the legitimacy of income taxes and, especially, the usurpation of state’s power by the Fourteenth Amendment. How, then, do Patriots square this circle with the insistence that they are not racists, even as they make judgements and draw conclusions that appear racist?

It is possible to construct a Patriot/Militia position that detracts from their racialized arguments and paints members as civil rights defenders worthy of the nation’s support. From this perspective in Patriot ideology, only certain citizens are sovereign, and so only they have the right to judge, consent, or nullify government’s actions. However, all citizens have rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Yet, if an African American disagrees with an action of the federal government, he or she has no right to reject the decision since it is the national government that guarantees that person’s rights through the Fourteenth Amendment. By contrast, those people whose forebears signed the original social contract that became the Constitution are in a position to evaluate and accept or reject the decision since their rights are protected by the Bill of Rights that no government can contest.

The bifurcated and differential application of rights is not racist, according to Patriots, it is constitutional. Furthermore, this system guarantees everyone equal rights in

practice – African Americans, women, and other minorities have the same right to free speech as do sovereign citizens. All that differs is where the final authority to judge the limits of rights lies. For the Militia, it is the sovereign citizen, whose actions in defense of human liberty are virtuous because they benefit and protect everyone. Thus, members of the Patriot/Militia Movement insist they are not racist, indeed, they are the nation's truest defenders.

This last sentiment, that the Patriots are the nation's last and best hope, justifies the Militia ideology in American history. Like their Revolutionary forebears, Militia members become benevolent hero warriors – motivated by patriotism and human rights – to make or restore America to its original form. They are all the more heroic because they are defending the essential rights (specifically the First and Second Amendments) and must prepare to use guns and face the threat of violence from a manipulative, evil government to save the nation. This image of the citizen-warriors has a long history in Western thinking that transcends the short history of right-wing populism in America.

Connecting to this *longe duree* gives the American Patriot/Militia Movement its staying power, as they struggle against the Shadow Government in a populist vein, or as millennialist redeemers of the nation's true heritage. As central actors in the constitution of the national American sentiment, they represent a measure of the viability of cultural and historical challenge within civil society. Their ideology positions them close to many mainstream groups in U.S. politics and to the cultural values that many Americans have been schooled in from childhood. As a consequence, it is important to realize that the Patriot/Militia Movement is not made up of a bunch of "kooks," who can be gawked at

and not taken seriously. Their ideas link up to central themes, not just in American society, but in the Western (read Anglo-Saxon) tradition at large, both have the potential to shape American civil society, culture, and history for a long time to come.

CHAPTER SIX

The Tyranny Response Team, Patriot Movement and Republicanism:

As indicated in Chapter Five, academics, journalists and politicians were caught off-guard by the rapid emergence of the Patriot/Militia Movement in the late 1980s. Sociologists and others scrambled to make sense of this submerged, highly disarticulated and localized set of organizations self-labeled as “patriots.” The attention paid to this emergent movement by the scholarly community and cultural elites has varied (see Aho 1990; Blee 1991; Weeber 1999 and Crothers 2002 for meaningful attempts to understand the movement). Some have sought explanation in psycho-pathological accounts, calling militia activity the purview of “paranoid survivalists” and “conspiratorialists” (Coates 1995; Dees 1996; Fenster 1999; Pitcavage 2001). Still others defined militia rhetoric as extremists in terms of race and the militia as white supremacist (Ezekiel 1995; Novick 1995). Militia groups are also perceived as radical far-right religious fundamentalists, a sort of warrior for God (Martian 1996; Juergensmeyer 2000).

Other scholars have incorporated gender, depicting militias as comprising angry white males (Zia 1991; Ferber 1998; Kimmel & Ferber 2000; Goad 1997). More coherent attempts to understand the Patriot movement have emphasized political economy and the more recent impacts of globalization (Castells 1996; Van Dyke & Soule 2002; Gallaher 2003). Links have been made between militia activity and the farm crisis of the early 1980s, and with the de-industrialization of the 1970s (Stock 1996; Dyer

1997). In each instance, shifts in the economic base have caused the marginalization of certain groups. The result becomes a virulent ideological backlash by these newly dispossessed classes against government and the associated special interest groups identified as responsible for their economic circumstances.

This section understands the Patriot/Militia Movement as a manifestation of long-standing struggles within American (and European) history. In this chapter, the Tyranny Response Team (TRT) and the Patriot/Militia Movement will be placed within a larger historical context, which begins with the Greek city-state and early Roman Empire, and moves to its most coherent presentation in the works of Machiavelli during the Florentine period. The key theme to emerge from this history is a discussion of what it means to be a virtuous people. What necessitates virtue, it will be shown, is a highly localized and responsive governance structure and the importance of a citizen-warrior class, or the right to keep and bear arms. The trilogy of virtue, small scale state-systems, and a citizen-militia comprise the republican tradition.

Republicanism was a force in the English revolution and subsequently imported into the new world through the early Puritan settlements. For this study, the importance of republicanism will be illustrated by how the tradition impacted the crafting and drafting of the Constitution. The key players here are the Anti-Federalists and their objections to a representative democracy based upon a Federalist system of governance. Although they were the losers in this debate, the Anti-Federalists did force key compromises during the ratification of the Constitution. Most notably the first ten amendments, or Bill of Rights. Without the Bill of Rights, the Constitution would not have been ratified, and without

pressure from the Anti-Federalists, the Bill of Rights would not have been drafted by James Madison.

The members of the Tyranny Response Team, and Patriots as a whole, view the Constitution (especially the Bill of Rights) as a sacred document, with many platitudes focused on the Second Amendment, which states: A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed. The Tyranny Response Team's concern over the fate of the Second Amendment places both the Tyranny Response Team and the Patriot/Militia Movement squarely within a republican tradition. Their unyielding defense of the right to bear arms is closely tied to an identity of a citizen militia.

The historical importance of a citizen-based militia is embedded within the larger defense of states rights (local government), community autonomy (direct democracy), and an armed defense against government tyranny and corruption (the right of revolution). These concerns emanate from the Anti-Federalists' critique of Madison's and Hamilton's Federalized schemes for representative democracy at the time of the Constitution's ratification, and the republican tradition as a whole.

Consequently, the Patriot/Militia Movement and the Tyranny Response Team are viewed here as contemporaries of their progenitors, the Anti-Federalists. Both have resisted centralized authority and disarmament, while promoting radical localism and the necessity of politicizing civil society. These themes not only position the Tyranny Response Team and Patriot/Militia Movement within the republican tradition, but also within American mainstream culture, and as a legitimate representative of New Social

Movements – both on the right and on the left.

Genealogy of the Republic:

Good government should be a social and political system that permits all citizens to obtain full Justice, in perpetuity. This chapter will construct a robust conception of “democracy,” drawn from the idea of republicanism as crafted by the revolutionaries of the early United States and the Anglo-Italian heritage that informed their work. In what follows, I trace the genealogy of republicanism from its origin in classical and Renaissance thought through primarily English and American versions of the idea. The early concerns with the public good and virtue, so central to the classical era soon became challenged by more radical uses of republicanism. Especially in the English tradition, issues of corruption and tyrannical states drove calls for a return to republican virtues of citizens’ rights and rule. Later, the the North American colonialists turn these notions against the English themselves, as calls for establishing a republic in the “new world” lead to armed struggle and revolution against a tyrannical English crown. The Patriot/Militia Movement and, more specifically, the Tyranny Response Team would have us believe that, once again, republican demands are being called upon to combat tyranny.

I take as a guiding motto Cicero’s statement: “When we inquire what a Republic means, we should first of all understand the nature of the thing itself about which we inquire” (The Republic of Cicero, Book 1, pp. 24-25; all direct quotes from Cicero are taken from Kearney 1997). The term “republic” may be defined according to the

following seven characteristics:

- 1) primary power invested in the people;
- 2) a mixed balance of separate powers - executive, legislative, judicial;
- 3) primacy of a “political life” of participation in civil society based on the Aristotelian model of the citizen as a *zoon politikon*;
- 4) the virtue of autonomy and self-government in contradistinction to the absolute sovereignty of monarch or despot;
- 5) a commitment to a plurality of views cultivating open debates about the nature of civic virtue – i.e. a democratic conflict of interpretations;
- 6) a government by law rather than by persons - with crucial emphasis on the original moment of law-giving, on the founding constitution or first principles;
- 7) a society of equal rights of access to power versus inherited power.

Classical Republicanism:

I begin our genealogy with what is arguably the standard bearer text on classical republicanism, Cicero’s The Republic. It was here that the term “republic” first achieved systematic articulation. Many of the principles of republicanism had already been adumbrated by Greek authors such as Plato, Aristotle and Polybius, or in Greek constitutions such as Sparta, Athens or Carthage. But it was Cicero who synthesized these diverse formulations into a single summa. Almost all subsequent versions of “classical” republicanism refer to Cicero’s seminal text, right down to Renaissance thinkers like Machiavelli or later English theorists such as Harrington, Sydney and Neville.

Acknowledging that there are differing opinions on the exact nature of a republic, Cicero (in the persona of Scipio Africanus) seeks to clarify the debate at the outset by offering this basic definition: “The Republic is the property of the people” (I, 24-25). He

immediately goes on to add, however, the all-important proviso that “the people does not mean every association of men(sic) however congregated but an association of many under the sanction of the law, and associated for a common object of public service”.

Cicero observes that the reason for people associating for the sake of common purpose and law is not merely preventative, i.e. to compensate for or curb weakness; it also serves the positive purpose of fulfilling our being as political citizens. Cicero is here confirming Aristotle’s famous definition of humans as *zoon politikon*, as a social or political being. Our nature is to be “neither singular nor solitary... [rather it is] to congregate together” (I, 24-25).

Cicero entertains a number of different accounts of the origin of human society. Cicero also suggests that it is in the “nature of men to associate together and, fleeing from solitude, to seek intercourse and form societies” (I, 26). This Aristotelian-Ciceronian doctrine of our intrinsically political nature was to have a profound impact on the development of republican theory from Florentine thinkers like Machiavelli to John Adams during the American Constitutional period. The most essential character of all peoples is that of public emulation and recognition or “the desire to be seen, heard, talked of, approved and respected by people” (Quoted in Hanna Arendt, On Revolution 1963, pp. 119).

Every civic body, which is a constitution of people, is governed by some kind of council. This council is a representation of enduring governance in the republic, and to Cicero, is engendered with significance simply by its historical precedence: “that council which organized the community is the fundamental purpose to which its constitution

must ever be referred” (I, 26 et seq.). Thus, from the outset, we are confronted by two recurring features of classical republicanism: (1) the importance placed on origin or beginnings (the concept of inalienability); and (2) the desired longevity of the Republic (the necessity for a structured governance).

Cicero mentions a third important feature: the model of mixed government. The power of council, and by implication constitutional power, can be given to one person (monarchy), to a select few (aristocracy), or to all (democracy). A government can only attain stability, however, if the original bond “which first induced [citizens] to associate together for public purposes holds good”. In other words, all forms of government are bound by the original moment of constitution.

It is easy to see how a term such as “sacred,” which is frequently used within the Patriot/Militia Movement, comes to envelop one’s understanding of Constitutions given Cicero’s formulation. This, of course, introduces a certain precariousness since the founding bond is not some timeless essence, but an event in history, and exposed to all the vicissitudes of time and place. Cicero is cognizant of this, as his frequent allusions to the previous rise and fall of republics – Carthage, Athens, Sparta – makes plain. Cicero recommends an intermixture of each of the three forms of government by way of counteracting the extreme of any single form. Rule by the one can lead to *tyranny*, rule by the few to *oligarchy*, rule by the many to *anarchy*. Or, as Cicero states, “a despot springs from a king, a faction from the nobles, a mob from the people” (I, 45).

Against the danger of these three extremes, Cicero recommends a Republic which is a compound of all three. What is particularly “republican” about Cicero’s position

here is his insistence that rule by the people be an indispensable part of this new mix. Cicero pens this argument for popular participation in government: “Liberty hath its home in no other form of government except where the power of the people is supreme; and where that is so, certainly nothing can be sweeter; and where there is no equality, there can indeed be no liberty”. As in Athens, equality manifests in free speech, suffrage, military commands and political appointments. A republic of the people is a republic for the people.

The next stage of the argument for Cicero is that a republic of the people is a republic governed by law. “When the law is the bond of civil society”, writes Cicero, “and there is an equal right to the law, in what way is it possible for an association of citizens to be held together when the talents of all are not equal?... rights ought to be equal amongst those who are citizens of the same republic. For what is a state, but an association of right regulated by law” (I, 33-34). Cicero defends the republic against hereditary power. Neither monarchy nor aristocracy should be called republics. A free people, he insists, is one which selects its own form of government and its leader, repudiating the election of kings by blood lineage (I, 33-34). One who rules by oppressing the people is a tyrant, reducing citizens to the condition of servants.

Whenever monarchy opts for tyranny rather than a balance of powers, a wise and courageous republican (such as Lucius Brutus) must arise to readjust the balance and restore a sufficient element of popular participation. Aristocracy does not merit the title of republic either, for here one simply replaces the tyrannical rule of the one with the tyrannical rule of an elite few. Elitist “factions” are no more deserving of power than

individual despots. Cicero's position stands in stark contrast to the belief that those with wealth or noble blood are best suited to rule. A republic should be governed by virtue rather than by royal race or vulgar wealth (I, 34). In Cicero, we encounter a powerful precursor to the Florentine Renaissance argument for widespread civic participation.

Cicero was no proponent of radical democracy, not only does he temper his argument in favor of an equilibrium between all three forms of government; he critiques many of the excesses of popular rule, such as chaos and confusion, neglect of the laws, refusal of authority, and licentiousness. All too easily, a *polis* ruled by the many can degenerate into a "house without a master, a family without a father" (I, 43-44). In other words, grassroots populism unchecked by government can betray republican virtue and provoke tyranny from below. "A tyrant springs up from the excess of liberty... tyrannizing over the very persons by whom he has been raised to power" (I, 45). Hence the argument that if the republican demand for a relatively stable and lasting constitution is to be met, the best solution is a "moderately mixed" government. But this preference for a balance between the three forms of government does not diminish the fact that Cicero's text offers one of the most cogent classical portraits of a participatory republic.

Renaissance Republicanism:

Cicero's text had an enduring impact on the entire tradition of republicanism extending from the writings of Machiavelli down through the English and American variants. What Machiavelli took from Cicero was the realization that republics are historical projects founded in specific times and places and, as history demonstrates,

undergo numerous mutations, appearing and disappearing at various times and places - Athens, Carthage, Sparta, Rome, and later for Machiavelli Florence. The paradox of most socio-political systems is that they attempt to be both universal and particular, permanent yet responsive to specific temporal circumstances, Renaissance republicanism was no different. The leading question for the republican thinkers became: How do republics arise and remain stable over time, given the vicissitudes of historical change?

In his complex and remarkable study, The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition (1975), J.G.A. Pocock explores this question. The revival of the classical republican ideal in sixteenth-century Florence and Venice amounted to an attempt by civic humanists to resolve the problem of a society “in which the political nature of man as described by Aristotle was to receive its fulfillment, seeking to exist in the framework of a Christian time-scheme which denied the possibility of any secular fulfillment” (Pocock 1975, pp. vii). Stated differently, how is one to institute meaningful civic activism – a republican *polis* – in a time where fulfillment was realized in the afterlife? The task of Renaissance republicans was to claim a set of universal values embodied in a republic while actualizing a system in the contingency of real historical existence.

This was to prove a central feature of civic humanism which was committed to the Aristotelian ideal of active citizenship in a republic. The main obstacle, according to Pocock, was the Platonic doctrine that true ideals are universals that exist beyond time, space and historical circumstance. Couple this with the Judeo-Christian tradition which viewed history as only meaningful at the beginning (Genesis and creation), and its end

(Apocalypse and redemption) but not during the actual lived historical period in between. In its most extreme form, this meant that history was a time of temptation and sin which could only be redeemed from the outside, eschatologically, by grace. The problem crystallized for Renaissance republicans around the question of law which, in a republic, would incorporate the rational principles of universal citizenship and the circumstantial conditions and customs attached to each specific community. After all, it was one thing to deduce justice from the principles of natural reason, and quite another to establish a justice system from a set of social practices of a particular peoples.

In response to this dilemma, the republicans of Florence (and Venice) proposed the notion of good “usage” to justify the suitability of law for peculiar conditions. A political custom becomes good because it lasts over time, and it lasts because it works. A culturally and socially conditioned set of criteria, weighted by tradition, became the new measure for a rational society. Though the longevity of the republic was a myth, it was a necessary one for its own self-legitimation. By declaring that custom, predicated on long-lasting experience and reason, was the mainspring of political legitimacy, the Renaissance humanists were implying that a single sovereign (such as a King) has no more privilege than any other citizen. Republican government could now be recognized as a human convention rather than some divinely ordained dogma, one guided by prudence and practice and mobilized by a secular concern to combine the universal with the particular.

Prudence rather than providence legitimized the republic. Citizens were the ones invested with the ability to inaugurate new laws to guide secular history. This ability

became identified with the Latin term, *virtus* (virtue) meaning the power by which persons act effectively in a civic context. Virtue, as will be demonstrated, becomes a mainstay of the Anglo-Saxon adoption of the republican tradition, and acts as a counterweight to concerns of corruption and tyranny. Virtue is a form civic action, largely influenced by the Aristotelian conviction that political and social associations are natural to human beings.

Virtuous action is the ability to interpret particular concerns in terms of their true essences or ends (the universal), and to act for the common good. Active participation on the part of citizens resulted in civic partnership and a viable civil society. This model of republican thinking directly challenged the medieval dichotomy between history and eschatology, between the world of action and of contemplation. The Florentine experiment in republican practice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was formative in emancipating citizens from the weight of authority, by imploring them to take their civic life into their own hands. Not surprisingly, Brutus was held up as the exemplar of the republican citizen who defended the *res publica* against the tyranny of Caesar and renounced imperial Rome.

The radicalism of Renaissance humanists was to direct intellect away from contemplation of pure or eternal forms, to a conversation between people in real time that leads to action. As Pocock suggests, the Renaissance culture emphasized the right of speech, pluralist debate and public decision as indispensable features of modern republicanism. In short, a genuine republic requires open conversation between its citizens, this criteria is not unlike Habermas's communicative action discussed in Chapter

Two. The challenge for this republican ideal of democratic communication is to explain how particular citizens at particular times were able to lay claim to reliable, universally valid meanings. Constitutions became the embodiment of human beings striving for universal “truths” while entrapped within particular historical circumstances.

Constitutional law allowed republics to avoid relativism, establish a time-honored system of values, and replaced the old appeal to divine election or cosmic order.

In pursuit of this objective, the Italian republicans revived not only Cicero but Aristotle’s insistence that the entire citizenry should determine which values are to be chosen if they are to become equated with the good of the whole. The participation of a wide diversity of citizens in the pursuit of a *res publica* represented the politicization of virtue. Virtue became associated with citizenship, a relation in which each citizen agrees to rule and be ruled in such a way that one’s own civic virtue is intimately bound up with their fellow citizens. The pursuit of self-interest must be perpetually balanced with the pursuit of a common good, one shared with other citizens of the *polis*. Recognizing the importance of widespread participation on the part of citizens in power also ran the risk, unless held in check, of degenerating into a formless democracy. The feared result was a rule by a mere numerical majority of an undifferentiated and depersonalized mass, or a tyranny of numbers what de Tocqueville would later call the ‘tyranny of equality’ that is, democracy by majority. Members of the Tyranny Response Team time and again referred to democracy as “mob” rule in reference to this concern on the part of Renaissance republicans.

A balanced polity, by contrast, reconciles the interests of both particular citizens

and universal principles, and is one where good citizenship recognizes interdependency. Virtue becomes the political interaction between fellow citizens actively participating in civil society, this in contrast to the medieval belief in divine grace, nor the monarchist's insistence in the absolute power of a single ruler. Accommodation of the citizen's particular concerns occurred under the rubric of a Constitutional system. Yet, there remained dangers. Once virtue was politicized in the move of power away from the divine to "the social," human beings could become overly burdened with an extreme form of collective dependency. If virtue becomes completely public, subsuming one's private interior life completely, there would appear to be no escape from the all-seeing eye, of society's Law and demands for virtuous action. The identification of virtue with a dynamic and democratic civic life in the republican *polis* could be easily misconstrued. Indeed, the horrific activities of the "reign of terror" were committed under the guise of "Committees for Public Safety" during the French Revolution and speak to republicanism's destructive extremes.

Machiavelli anticipates this swing from republicanism to despotism, from the rule of the many to rule by one, when he writes: "To found a new republic, or to reform entirely the old institutions of an existing one, must be the work of one man only" (quoted in Fink 1945, pp. 12-13). Machiavelli recognized the thin line that existed between democracy and autocracy. He even appealed to the authority of a single-rule of dictatorship as an effective political strategy in The Prince. Because republics are historically founded and humanly instituted, they must have resort to dictatorship in times of transition or crisis – albeit a dictatorship that is constitutionally provided.

But if conservative republicanism sought a solution to the crisis of legitimation in constitutional dictatorship, monarchists would still dismiss all forms of a republic outright. Monarchy, predicated on the absolute indivisibility of sovereignty, would rebut the threat of republicanism (even in its conservative version) as still adhering to the idea of mixed government or a balance of separate powers – executive, legislative and judicial. In both the English and American contexts, republicanism would be used to challenge absolutist power and provide the basis for limiting (as in England) or overthrowing (as in America) royal power. The theory of mixed government and Constitutional law supported the cause of republicans in their opposition to monarchy. Monarchy became fundamentally incompatible with the republican principle of mixed power because it was government by the one!

English Republicanism:

The republican tradition, in both its classical and Renaissance forms, was revived in the modern revolutions of America and France. But not before it exerted considerable influence on the civil war struggles against the Feudal Crown in England. Despite the fact that England was only a republic between 1646 and 1660, the influence of its republican theorists – in particular Harrington, Milton and Smith was considerable, especially in North America (Wood 1969). While English republicanism was ostensibly revolutionary, it was, as Pocock (1978, pp. 334-380) notes, in reality deeply conservative in its nationalist, evangelical and ultimately imperialist aims. I add to this list a deeply “racialized” notion of citizenship and the associated privileges afforded them within the

republican tradition. This racial connotation is directly linked to the Anglo-Saxon people, another aspect of this story that was imported to the “new world”. While “classical” republicanism invoked the emergent European city rather than the empire of Rome as its model; English republicanism revived Rome’s “imperial” dimension. The republican virtues of independent self-reliance, frugality, and a devotion to the public good took a back seat to industrial and commercial expansion.

The nation as city-state, exemplified by republican Sparta, was abandoned as England (and Britain) developed national pride around their leadership in world commerce and colonial expansion. Under the guise of Manifest Destiny, the early American republic emulated this model of development by pursuing commercial, imperial, and racial interests under the cloak of celebrating “frontier virtues” (Horsman 1981). Part of this conjunction entailed the enmeshing of republicanism not only with imperialism, but with forms of nationalism associated with emergent nation-states; hence, the emphasis on citizenship, the rule of law and the exercise of power. Large nation-states like Britain and France shifted the focus of sovereignty from the local community, city or *polis* (advocated by classical republicanism) to more nationalist forms of identity. This search for a secure identity was particularly acute in Britain, which – especially during the reign of Queen Elizabeth – was belligerent and triumphal in its imperial march. Not surprisingly, the model of an expansionist republic advanced earlier by Machiavelli appealed to the imperial interests of seventeenth-century England.

James Harrington’s Oceana, published in 1656, was undoubtedly the most influential tract of English republicanism. It argued for a retrieval of the ancient

republic's emphasis on prudence (or the balancing of power) as a way of challenging the tyranny of modern despots (Feudal Monarchs). Harrington's genealogy of the republic went something like this: while prudence was granted by God directly to the Israelites, and indirectly to the Greeks and Romans, it had been abruptly dispensed with; first, by the corruption of the Roman Emperors, followed by the subsequent tyrannies levied by the Vandals, Lombards, and the Norman yoke in England. The great heritage of classical republicanism, which Harrington first identified with the Hebrew commonwealth and was powerfully revived by Machiavelli, offered a direct challenge to the Hobbes anti-republican Leviathan. Hobbes single-headed state power (or monarchy) directly opposed Harrington and Machiavelli's model of active citizenship.

The Italian city-republics were prototypes for Harrington's commonwealth. Florence emphasized the importance of constitutional law while Venice favored democratic participation, and was a supreme example of balancing democratic equality and aristocratic administration. Moreover, the Italian city-states offered a counter-balance to the monarchical rule by one. Harrington predicted the imminent collapse of the "Gothic" monarchies of seventeenth-century Europe and the revival of classical and Renaissance republicanism. Harrington's English republicanism was attracted to "mixed government" not just because it was egalitarian, but because it was more powerful. Invoking the classical thesis of Aristotle and Cicero that any single form of government led to corruption (monarchy to tyranny, aristocracy to oligarchy, democracy to anarchy), Harrington believed that the emerging English Empire would be best served by a republican balance of powers. This included the active participation of citizens in

popular power. After all, every citizen had a right to robustly contribute to the expanding empire!

Apart from this ideological consideration, Harrington was committed to a genuine form of power by the people. He supported a bicameral system of government – i.e. a balance of lords and commons, with the former proposing legislation while the latter (popular assembly) reserved the right of decision. Moreover, he advocated for the rotation of all offices, with such rotation decided by the “free election or suffrage of the people” (quoted in Fink 1945, pp. 65). To keep power fixed in one person or party was to destroy the life of the commonwealth.

Harrington’s Oceana represented a radical challenge to the “Gothic” formula of power confined to the one or few, together with the old feudal system of land tenure. Harrington is a republican to the extent that he promoted a state where the major portion of power lies in the people, which he called a democracy. He opposed all forms of power based on hereditary and monarchy and was an ardent supporter of the deposition and subsequent execution of Charles I during the so-called Puritan Revolution on 1648-1649. In the dispute between royalists and parliament as to where the sovereign power should reside Harrington is clear: power should be in the people.

On the question of sovereignty, Harrington appealed to the republican maxim that government should be “of laws not of men(sic)”. In other words, it is not good or bad people that made good or bad republics, but good or bad constitutions. Harrington adhered to the basic principle that republics are founded on legal constitutions rather than on the will or whim of a single ruler.

The major achievement of Harrington was to make certain basic republican principles – in particular popular democracy at national level – compatible with the prospect of a lasting world empire of ever-expanding frontiers. Here he connects the radical Puritan nationalism of Milton, who believed that England was an “elect nation” with a vocation to lead the world, with English imperialism. England’s republic, was not for “herself only,” insisted Harrington, but for all mankind. If imperialism lurks behind the mask of English republicanism, nationalism lurks behind the mask of English imperialism. Harrington himself was undoubtedly both a nationalist and an imperialist – and the influence of his thinking on the modern emergence of nation-state republicanism is important in this respect.

While nation-state republics had the virtue of transferring sovereignty from king (the one) to people (the many), they did so largely within the nationalist framework of sovereignty. This framework allowed republicanism to forge a collective identity around nationalism that provided the legitimation of state imperialism in Empire-building abroad. The ideal republic outlined in Oceana was one predicated upon the centralized rule of national sovereignty. This crucial point has often been ignored by the English, who throughout their imperial history have generally considered nationalism a flaw of the nations they colonized, rather than a mirror-image response to their English colonizers.

English republicanism is noted for its fragile mix of British nationalism, classical republicanism, and English imperialism. This union exposes two critical tensions in the republican tradition as it moved through the English experience. First, the issue mentioned above of sovereignty; second, the question of who determines what a good

constitution looks like. In England, the volatility of nationalism, republicanism and imperialism dissolved into open conflict on the sovereignty question, which took two civil wars forty years apart to “resolve”. In this resolution, monarchical power was diminished, although the Crown was maintained in a reduced and, primarily, symbolic role in governance. The struggle for sovereignty developed along two lines: on one side, the indivisibility of sovereignty advanced by theorists like Hobbes; in direct contradiction, was the republican model of mixed government. Sovereignty originally was modeled on the divine power of an absolute God, then transferred to the family or tribal Patriarch, and finally to the king, monarchy or centralized nation-state. In all cases, sovereignty was considered absolute, inalienable and indivisible. The key question was where sovereignty, hence power, ought to reside.

The Puritan Revolution of 1648 epitomized this contradiction as it attempted to pay dual allegiance to a mixed state and maintain an absolute sovereign. In the wake of the 1648 revolution came Cromwell, who used the centralization of authority in Parliament in the new English republic to advance his imperial claims in regions such as Ireland. The people versus the Crown was an effective tool to push back the Norman/Feudal influences from Europe, but it also became a muscular weapon to thwart dissent to the English state at home and abroad. Nationalist interests of republicans like Cromwell (based on absolute, albeit popular, sovereignty) conflicted with republicanism (based on divided power). Moreover, in this transfer of absolute sovereignty from monarch to people, tolerance of differences between groups or parties became intolerable. Now the people, not the monarch, must be one and indivisible. Popular sovereignty

meant that “the people” must be and act as a single whole, “one holy nation” as the Puritan put it. Any individual, or group not conforming to the will of the sovereign “people” was dismissed. To dissent from the absolute oneness of the English nation, was simply not to exist.

Intolerance of dissent made accounting for “good” and “bad” forms of republican parliament difficult, as well as evaluating the effectiveness of constitutional law. The problem here is, of course, the perennial question of who determines the constitution of the Constitution? This second tension in the republican tradition is a deeply sociological, historical and political question. The architecture of a constitutional system has everything to do with the particular historical struggles (or historicity to use Touraine’s term) at the time of a documents formation. What were/are the conditions under which a constitutional document is drafted? Who are the key actors and what are their objectives? Finally, what is at stake in the constitutional design? That is, how is power and the fabric of a society impacted by the adoption (of refutation) of a constitution? These questions along with the concern over where sovereignty resides open up challenges to the type and operation of a constitutional system within a given society.

American Republicanism:

In the American case, the drafting of a constitutional republic comes in the aftermath of a revolutionary break with imperial England and a re-formulation of a previous organization of power based on a confederation of states. Key here is the Federalist and Anti-Federalist debate and the emphasis placed on penning a Bill of

Rights. These actors and issues are critical to the contemporary concerns of the Patriot/Militia Movement and, specifically, the Tyranny Response Team. Their critique of centralized authority and the perceived excesses of power in the Executive branch, echo Harrington's challenge to the monarchy. In addition, is their steadfast belief in the centrality of the Bill of Rights as a protection of liberty and, most importantly, sovereignty. Here, the Second Amendment, the right to keep and bear arms, is interpreted within the republican tradition and a bulwark against the corruption and tyranny of centralized states. What the Americans were able to do is turn the anti-authoritarianism of English republicanism against the English themselves.

The transatlantic connection between English and American republicanism has been somewhat eclipsed by the more conspicuous influence given to the liberal tradition of social philosophers such as John Locke (Kramnick 1990). The rekindling of the republican legacy by scholars like Pocock and Gordon Wood (discussed below) has done much to redress the imbalance in our understanding of constitutional and republican development in the United States. Even before the official republicanism of the American Revolution, republican theory had left its mark on the founding charters of New World colonies. As if drafted by Harrington himself, both the Carolina government plan of 1669 and the New Jersey charter of 1676 included a free ballot and an accountable Grand Council (Fink 1945). The charter of Pennsylvania, drafted by William Penn in the 1680s, comprised these and other republican features such as rotating committees, a popular Assembly, and a secret ballot. Admittedly, the republican model of mixed government migrated to America with a strong Lockean influence and Montesquieu's

stamp on the separation and balance of powers. American republicanism also included, as de Tocqueville later recognized, a dose of the Enlightenment ideology of equality and liberty. Yet, when the founding fathers met at Philadelphia to draft a constitution predicated on mixed government and a constitution of balanced powers, the legacy of English and Classical republicanism was not far from their minds.

The American colonialist's struggle against the English Crown offered a model for challenging monarchical rule under the republican banner. The writings of Thomas Paine, were influential in the anti-colonial struggles of the Irish against the British and in the fall of the French Monarchy (Kearney 1997). Paine himself spent much time in Paris and was also influenced by the French *philosophes*. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789-93), takes its place amongst the English Bill of Rights of 1689 and the American Bill of Rights of 1789-91, as the significant republican testaments to strong citizen rights and protections against the abuses of state power. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man goes even further in its ambition by universalizing the idea of rights to all humanity. The rights begin by emphasizing the individual citizen, then the people or nation, and finally humankind as a whole. In this respect, the universalism of French Republicanism surpassed previous documents by espousing a project for the universal citizen (Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789).

The Declaration of the Rights of Man offers a cosmopolitan republicanism that transcends racial, social and national boundaries by advancing the inviolable rights of all peoples of the world to freedom and equality. Despite the "Reign of Terror" of 1793-95

and Napoleon's imperialism, a number of radical reforms were achieved in the New French Republic: the abolition of slavery, granting of full civic rights to Protestants and Jews, the separation of Church and State, as well as equal rights to inheritance and the right to divorce. Most notably, when compared to the English experience, is the French Republic's fundamental refutation of the monarchy.

What all three revolutions share in common is an attempt to implement republican systems of power founded on the ancient notion of the *res publica* as a community of citizens bound together by civic virtue and participation. Notable in this commonality is the exercise of citizen rights as the fundamental basis for freedom and social justice as well as the most effective means of counteracting state tyranny and corruption. In the republican tradition these two tendencies – participation and tyranny – are linked. A vigilant citizenry stands steadfast against the corruption of power once it is turned over to officials or concentrated in key social institutions such as the state. This dynamic between tyranny and citizen activism stands as the republican foundation of the Second Amendment in the American tradition, and why it and the Bill of Rights in general, represent the central concern of the Patriot/Militia Movement, and the Tyranny Response Team specifically.

In *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967), Bernard Bailyn is emphatic about there being a long standing connection between the English opposition philosophy of republican thinkers such as Harrington, and American political thought.

To say simply that this tradition of opposition thought was quickly transmitted to America and widely appreciated there is to understate the fact. Opposition thought, in the form it acquired at the turn of the

seventeenth century and in the early eighteenth century, was devoured by the colonists.... There seems never to have been a time after the Hanoverian succession [1714] when these writings were not central to American political expression or absent from polemical politics (Bailyn 1967, pp. 43).

Through the tradition of pamphleteers (such as Thomas Paine), deep-seeded republican concerns over the presence of standing armies, questions of liberty, and a profound mistrust of centralized power were cultivated in the colonies a half-century before the Revolutionary War. Power was widely believed to have a pernicious and corrupting effect; while standing armies were associated with the monarchical mercenaries responsible only to the whim of a single ruler.

Similarly, Joyce Lee Malcolm in To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origin of an Anglo-American Right (1994), traces many of the rights codified in the Bill of Rights to the English “glorious revolution” of 1689. Here the unjust and tyrannical practices of the Catholic Monarch James II, such as forced disarmament of the people, were finally challenged by William of Orange. The republican sentiments that had been fermenting since 1644, or, according to Anglo-Saxon folklore, since the Norman “invasion” of 1066 and before, were penned into law as the English Bill of Rights and heralded as a “new Magna Carta” (Kopel 1995; Phillips 1999; Blair 2003; Loyn 1962). Restrictions in the English Bill of Rights on raising standing armies and the quartering of troops, as well as affirmations of *habeas corpus*, trial by jury and the right to keep arms speak to the distrust of power and the necessity of providing a legitimate check against tyranny, both long-standing and fundamental republican tenets (English Bill of Rights, 1689).

The Republican Ethic:

Both Bailyn, Malcolm, and Wood (discussed below) recognized that the republican institutions set in place in England and, later, in the U.S. were not designed to make governance easier or even legitimate; rather, the apparatus of government was crafted to make rule over its subjects arduous. These republican institutions in place in the U.S. Constitution (such as checks and balances) were not an end in themselves; rather, they were intended to complement a citizenry which had long since embraced republicanism and had developed a set of social, political, and cultural practices around a Republican ethic.

The early republican civic ethic of the American revolutionary and constitutional period (1763-1791) bears little resemblance to the prevailing modern democratic civic ethic. Today little is promised to, or demanded of, the democratic citizen. In addition, democratic decision making has become highly formalistic and removed from everyday experience (Habermas 1975). In contrast, the Colonial revolutionaries' conception of the republican ethic acknowledged a host of "sacred" rights. A guarantee to those rights mandated a tremendous sacrifice of its citizens; namely a perpetual vigilance and preparedness as well as the duty to risk one's life in defense of republican rule, which encompassed those precious rights. This relationship between defending the republic and sacrifice was intertwined into the daily set of social practices of Colonial America. To be a citizen soldier in the unorganized militia made the practice of defense an intimate part of the Colonialist's lifeworld. There was very little difference between the lifeworld and the system as a member of a militia.

The contention on the part of both the Tyranny Response Team and the larger Patriot/Militia Movement is that the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution – the right of the citizens to organize armed militias independent of centralized governmental authority – constitutes a critical contribution by the Colonial American revolutionary thinkers to classical republican theory. This challenge to the prevailing modern practice of democracy, situates citizenship and democratic rights within the more intimate sphere of everyday life, as evidenced by the notion of the citizen-soldier and the informal structure of local militias within Colonial America.

The Republic represented an idea that one was connected, through face-to-face interaction, to localized decision making structures. State legislators were the basis for representation and were held accountable by constituents in their decisions as to who would represent their interest when interacting with the other colonialists. This vigilance was embodied within the Second Amendment:

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the *security of a free State*, the right of *the people* to keep and bear arms, *shall not be infringed*. [italics added]

Whereas the contemporary conception of democracy implies that democracy is achieved when citizens become polite enough to conduct politics without resorting to force, the Colonial American revolutionaries firmly believed that just government was made possible when the *weak* acquired the instruments of force with which they could compel the *powerful* to listen and respect their demands.

As Thomas Paine declared in 1775,

The balance of power is the scale of peace. The same balance would be

preserved were all the world destitute of arms, for all would be alike; but since some will not, others dare not lay them aside... Horrid mischief would ensue were one half of the world deprived of the use of them; ... the weak would become a prey to the strong (Quoted in Halbrook 1984, pp. 63).

As Joyce Lee Malcolm (1994) asserts, it is significant that the first charter of civil rights in human history, the English Bill of Rights of 1688, also explicitly articulated the essentiality of the people's right to bear arms as a guarantor of fundamental rights. For the colonists, the practical experience of rebellion, coupled with the uncertainty of republican experimentation, compelled them to ensure that future generations would be able to resort to the same means that they had employed to overthrow dictatorial and tyrannical government: namely, an armed citizenry.

Republicanism declares that the rights of people to wrest power – by force of arms if necessary – from the State must be understood on various levels. First, the right is inalienable, that is unchallenged, non-compromising, and certainly incapable of being withdrawn. Second, the capacity of people to resist authority deemed unjust is a political right, the ultimate check of power resides with the people. This inscribes a citizen militia with a moral character; that is, the critical question of virtue which was so pressing to classical republicanism. Finally, the ability of citizens to organize and bear arms has a practical component. The exercise of democracy, the practice of citizenship, and the participation in a citizen militia are – or should be – a continuum. The citizen militia, in all its manifestations, is deeply embedded within the local community. Only at times of State/National calling or crisis does the militia organize into a more formal military-style outfit. Consequently, this right of resistance should be recognized as unconditional and

as a protectorate against those who would deprive the people of civil liberties.

The American revolutionaries realized that without setting aside power for citizens to reassert their will over the government, government would inevitably trample civil liberties. Logically then, the Second Amendment can be viewed as a “meta-right,” or a right to defend all the other rights. This innovation by the American revolutionaries constituted an improvement on the early conception of a “mixed constitution,” or the separation of powers by checks and balances. To Montesquieu, who is recognized for importing the idea into Europe from ancient Greece, the citizenry were constitutionally empowered to act as a check and balance on government itself. To the colonialists, the failure in this system necessitated checking the abuse of power by force of arms.

The two principal documents of the U.S. founding— the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution – challenge the critics of liberalism who claim that democracy mandates rights, but fails to assign responsibilities for those rights. In the Declaration of Independence the founders clearly stated that the citizen is bound by duty to create a Just Government.

But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is *their duty*, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. [italics added]

Nor was Jefferson’s assertion of this duty merely a rhetorical excess, for this duty was clearly implied in the Second Amendment’s right to keep and bear arms, since the political motive of safeguarding private gun ownership was to fragment the monopoly of potential force of the State. A concern directly rooted in the Anglo-Saxon fear of Feudal

Monarchies organizing mercenary armies to repress popular uprisings, and the Italian defense of the city-state in the writings of Machiavelli. In each historical instance, an armed citizenry implied that such a citizenry would maintain eternal vigilance over government, and react forcibly to transgressions of that government's mandated power. Thus, the Second Amendment implied a citizenry which assumed the duty of vigilance over, and armed action against, its own government.

The unique conception of Colonial American republicanism is more than two hundred years old, yet its relevance to the contemporary rise of the Patriot/Militia Movement offers a direct, and conscious pedigree on the part of those practicing within the movement. Surprisingly, this connection has been largely overlooked, and when referenced, underdeveloped and certainly not studied with any great depth of data or theorizing. Those members of the Patriot/Militia Movement are demonized, treated as an historical curiosity, or viewed as essentially irrelevant to contemporary scholars understanding of social movements and American democracy.

The Relevance of The Anti-Federalists:

In developing a theory of republicanism that fits with the prevailing discourse of the Patriot/Militia Movement, I will invoke recent historical research on the Colonial American struggle, which resulted in the inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution, namely the Federalist vs. Anti-Federalists debates over ratification. Although resistant to Constitutional ratification, the Anti-Federalists were responsible for demanding inclusion of arguably the most important part of that Constitution – namely,

the Bill of Rights. However, it was the Federalists' story which was passed down for two centuries as the primary interpretation of this historical period, while the writings of the Anti-Federalists were either absorbed into the Federalist discourse or ignored as historically insignificant.

The failure to acknowledge a contribution by the Anti-Federalists hinges on two points. First, the turn of history which points out that the Constitution was ratified and therefore the Anti-Federalists were wrong. Second, what it meant to be a democrat or a patriot. Here the interests of the Anti-Federalists are questioned and consequently delegitimated.

Cecelia Kenyon's article "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government" (1955), and her later book, The Antifederalists (1966), marked the beginning of deliberate scholarship focused directly on the Anti-Federalists and their thought. She best illustrates the position that Anti-Federalists were not the "true" democrats of the Colonial period. Kenyon commits the legacy of Anti-Federalism to a hopeless attachment to backward agrarianism and political ignorance. The Anti-Federalists simply did not grasp the significance of a new nation on the cusp of building an empire in the new world. Far from seeing the Constitution's ratification as class warfare with the agrarian "democrats" vs. "aristocratic" Federalists (the Beardian thesis discussed below), Kenyon (1966 pp. xcvi-xcvii) argued that the perceived rumblings of class warfare during ratification simply reflected the hyperbole characteristic of American politics. Kenyon documented that the Anti-Federalists were as supportive as the Federalists of the structures of power, such as checks and balances, that thwarted the

democratic will of the people. By simply opposing what the Anti-Federalists perceived as Federalists conspiring to establish an “aristocracy,” does not make them democrats.

Much of the debate that surrounds the historical significance of the Anti-Federalists delve into the problem of defining the concept of “democrat”. Does representing a particular economic class undermine ones commitment to democracy? If the Federalists were the party of wealth, while the Anti-Federalists championed the common person of limited means, does that make the former less democratic? Historian Jackson Turner Main, fought to defend the Anti-Federalists as the United States “true” democrats. In The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788 (1961), Main conceded that while the leadership of the Anti-Federalists (legislators and the like) were economically indistinguishable from that of the Federalists, their constituency was decidedly distinct in terms of class (Main 1961, pp. 280-281). Saul Cornell (1999) has corroborated this claim using historical data from the period. The Anti-Federalists represented a middling and agrarian class, while the Federalists were predominantly Eastern Bankers and large land holders.

The Anti-Federalist resurrection has broadened the discussion beyond social base, to incorporate the issues in which the Anti-Federalists were concerned. Recent scholarship has focused on the actual details of Anti-Federalist thought. Saul Cornell, Herbert Storing (1981a; 1981b), and others have been responsible for rekindling the Federalist vs. Anti-Federalist debate and redirecting it in a more fruitful direction. Kenyon and other historians view the opposition to the Constitution on the part of the Anti-Federalists as a result of their petty, short-sighted stubbornness. Once the

Constitution was ratified, the brutish Anti-Federalists are consigned to history's proverbial dustbin. In contrast, contemporary scholarship recognizes that many aspects of modern American political ideology is a product of both Federalist and Anti-Federalist beliefs.

Indeed, the current fashion of "rehabilitating" the Anti-Federalists as venerable and legitimate members of the "founders" club is reflected in recent research which will be discussed in the following section. In addition, the Anti-Federalists offer a window not only into the discourse of the Patriot/Militia Movement but, coupled with corporate capitalism, the modern political ideology driving the neo-liberalism of globalization itself. The latter, a trend that, paradoxically, the Patriot/Militia Movement opposes.

Anti-Federalism and Republicanism:

The most definitive work arguing that the republican tradition undergirds the revolutionary period in U. S. History and, consequently, has framed political discourse since is Gordon S. Wood's tome The Creation of the American Republic: 1776-1787 (1969). Colonial America was at a unique time when, in a attempt to resist tyranny, elements of classical republicanism, English Whiggism, and the new politics of nationalism were all brought together. "It seemed indeed to be a peculiar moment in history when all knowledge coincided, when classical antiquity, Christian theology, English empiricism, and European rationalism could all be linked" (Wood 1969, pp. 7). It is the work of English republicans such as Coke, Harrington, Sidney, and Locke that held prominence amongst the American Whigs. This influence was also entwined with a

Puritan millenarianism that perceived England as an “Elect Nation and Chosen People,” a belief that also crossed the Atlantic with the American colonialists (see Pocock 1975, pp. 345). The English republicans identified the rights and liberties embodied in the Magna Carta as a protectorate in the worldly struggle against the Antichrist. God’s Englishmen find themselves embattled in all quarters against arbitrary power and corruption, and must maintain constant vigilance.

According to Wood, English Whiggism promoted an intense mistrust of power in the colonies. Every accumulation of power, however small and piecemeal, was seen as frighteningly tyrannical, and part of some larger sinister plot to usurp the liberty of the colonialists. The colonies looked upon Europe as a corrupt and lost part of their history. While believing strongly in the English constitution and the struggles around the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the larger image was of a decayed and rotten civilization. The “New World” offered new opportunities to place liberty above tyranny. Tyranny was nothing else but the government of one or a few against the many; while liberty was defined as “...power held by the people, with the right of resistance as the ultimate sanction. . . . [the English Whig Thomas Gordon wrote,]. . . Whatever is good for the people is bad for governors; and what is good for the Governors, is pernicious to the people” (quoted in Wood 1969, pp. 18).

The foundation of American republicanism was oriented opposition to centralized power and the necessity of fostering virtue in the people. Virtue meant making personal sacrifices for the common good, but it also recognized that these demands aided in maintaining a robust system of liberties. Keeping the people engaged in political life

allowed a republic to be defended from external threats and avoided the internal decay so prevalent in European societies. Moreover, virtue kept power in local communities and was linked to everyday life. From the revolutionary war, the crafting of the Articles of Confederation, and up to the critique of the Constitution by the Anti-Federalists; an oppositional consciousness against the corruption of undemocratic power marked early American history.

Wood models his understanding of the Anti-Federalist as a challenge to the Federalists who were attempting to usurp power and violate the aspirations of the revolution. As established in the Articles of Confederation, sovereignty should rest in state legislatures, or those institutions most connected with the people. The people represented local control and resisted both despotism and aristocratic rule. The aristocracy was licentious in their actions, cut off from the people and, hence, could never share in their concerns and aspirations, nor represent their interests. “. . . repeated attacks on deference and the capacity of a conspicuous few to speak for the whole of society... was to become a distinguishing feature of American democratic politics,” and in direct opposition to the “elitist social consciousness” represented by the Federalists (Wood 1969, pp. 491-497).

Using the Constitution, the Federalists wanted to restore an elite form of politics that had been eroding since the Revolution. For the Anti-Federalists saw the Constitution was a form of “aristocratic tyranny” designed to check the democratic tendencies of the period. Noted Anti-Federalist Centinel wrote that the Constitution would “raise the fortunes and respectability of the well-born few, and oppress the plebeians... it will lead

to aristocratic government, and establish tyranny over us” (quoted in Wood 1969, pp. 513-514). To the Anti-Federalist, an all-powerful president and an exalted Senate, vestiges of a monarchy and aristocracy respectively, would be far removed from the will of the people.

The Anti-Federalists came to oppose the Federal government for the same reasons that the Federalists favored it: because its very structuring of power and detachment from the people would operate to exclude any fermenting of local participatory democratic mobilization on the part of the people. Wood (1969, pp. 520) best sums up this Anti-Federalist spirit:

...the Anti-Federalists expressed a pervasive mistrust of the new government that has earned them the title of ‘men of little faith,’ a title they would not have disavowed... Yet the Anti-Federalists’ lack of faith was not in the people themselves, but only in the organizations and institutions that presumed to speak for the people...The Anti-Federalists can never be considered undemocratic. They were ‘localists,’ fearful of distant governmental, even representational, authority for very significant political and social reasons that in the final analysis must be called democratic.

Alternatively, the Federalist did not fear centralized power, but the widespread participation of the people from below.

Yet, for the Anti-Federalists and, today, the Tyranny Response Team the rights expressed by the Bill of Rights, many tracing back to the English heritage, constitute the “palladium of civil liberty.” Breaking with or violating this tradition results in corruption and, most importantly for this research, tyranny or the arbitrary and unjustified exercise of power by a centralized authority. In the Whig context, this violation was represented by the British crown. For the Tyranny Response Team and larger Patriot/Militia Movement

today, tyranny is embedded within the Federal government.

Anti-Federalists Thought and State Power:

A key tenant of New Social Movements (NSM) theory is the suspicion and, at times, the outright hostility to centralized authority. The very organizational structure of some New Social Movements makes monitoring by government agencies difficult and sends the message of disinterest in involving themselves with more organized forms of power. Indeed, the very source of power for New Social Movements resides in its oppositional stance to state and corporations, both perceived as the pillars of overly technocratic and administered societies.

This suspicion of centralized authority also has deep roots in American history, and has offered a consistent counterbalance to the belief in the benign nature of governments and corporations (Hartman 2002). The challenge to the relentless centralization of the American state system has periodically coalesced into a series of organized movements to resist the penetration of governments and corporate systems into local communities. Beginning in the 1960s, the flowering of a whole cacophony of New Social Movements is one notable example, and as argued in this research on the right of the political spectrum, so is the expansion of the Posse Comitatus right up to the Patriot/Militia Movement. Yet, this pattern has a much longer history dating back well before the Revolutionary War, with this active resistance against centralization continuing up to the present.

Pervasive fear of centralized authority along with the corruption tied to standing armies (discussed below) are some of the overt linkages between Anti-Federalist and the older English Whig tradition; however, added to this discourse is a uniquely American contribution – localism. Rather than accepting a perpetual antagonism between court and country, the American experience demanded the seats of power be nearer to the people, thus preventing power from becoming distant, disinterested, and potentially tyrannical. The people need effective access to decision making along with the ability to force political change; this is what gives the American republican experiment its particular character.

The Anti-Federalist challenge to the Constitution has provided inspiration for a distinctly American style of radical politics, one fashioned around the idea of participatory democracy and equality. With the expansion of the frontier, Jeffersonian democracy looked away from the “civilized” colonies to a “New World” of opportunity. Part of the draw to move West was a critique of growing state control over the lives of its citizens. For the early Americans expanding West, the ability to “escape” remained a consistent theme in the post-Revolutionary War years. Similarly, the Jacksonian era ushered in Progressivism, which again was an assault on the centralized and elite character of the United States government.

While the yeoman was apotheosized during the Jeffersonian era, Andrew Jackson embraced the Plebeian. Both classes stood outside the citadels of government power. Finally, although Populists might have been the spiritual heirs of Anti-Federalism, they were not consciously asserting an Anti-Federalist legacy. The Populist movement,

beginning in the late 1870s and continuing through the early 1920s, did reject the penetration of large scale farming, big city banking, and the Federal government in to local communities (Goodwyn 1978; McMath 1993).

Even though the Anti-Federalists were defeated in one of the greatest political struggles in American history: ratification of the Constitution; their legacy continues to define the nature of political life in the United States. Questions today about domestic spying; the role of the judiciary, especially the issue of original intent versus concern by the political right over “legislating from the bench”; the issues of torture and *habeas corpus* surrounding the detention facility at Guantanamo, Cuba; the appropriateness of calling up the National Guard to fight in Iraq; and the power of the executive branch to execute the “war on terrorism” are but a few points of contention that harken back to the Federalist - Anti-Federalist struggle.

The original casting of the Anti-Federalists as parochial back-country politicians, who having neither the vision or intellectual capital to challenge the Federalist, can be written off as simply too narrow-minded and is no longer defensible. The Anti-Federalists did base some of their arguments on questionable foundations (such as the American republic remaining small-scale and fairly homogenous). Yet, their larger critique of the Constitutional architecture promoting rule by an institutionally insulated Aristocratic elite, and a representative system that maintains an undemocratic distance from the people, seem well founded. Today, scholars have recast the Anti-Federalists away from being “men of little faith” to defenders of a more democratic conception for the Republic.

Interest in the Anti-Federalist legacy has not been restricted to the pages of law reviews or the academic muse of historian and sociologists alike, but has spilled over into popular political culture. As this research indicates, self-styled citizen militia, with their suspicion of government, have claimed an association with the Anti-Federalist, and with the importance of maintaining vigilance against centralized power and a preparedness to resist the ever present possibility of tyranny. To see the Patriot/Militia Movement only occupying the fringe of American political culture is just as inaccurate as having relegated the Anti-Federalists to the dustbin of history when the Constitution was ratified in 1791.

Historian Saul Cornell (1990) uses the Carlisle, Pennsylvania riots of 1787 to uncover the ideology of the Anti-Federalists in their struggle with the Federalists over Constitutional ratification. The Carlisle riots are associated with the more historically significant Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786. In the latter, former Continental Army Captain Daniel Shays led an "army" of almost 9,000 angry small farmers from Western Massachusetts against state government (Szatmary 1980). Shays, a staunch Anti-Federalist, represented the many frontier people and those without wealth or prestige. This class comprised the base of those opposed to Nationalists' or Federalists' Constitutional designs. Their grievances were high taxes, excessive merchant debt, and, most importantly, the growing preponderance of wealthy Eastern elites in the state house. Massachusetts had in place a much reviled set of restrictions on office holding that allowed only wealthy property holders to sit in government.

Shays and his followers believed their actions were an expression of the popular will of the people. They had the right to protest and if necessary, by force of arms,

dismantle this unjust and anti-republican system of power. Ironically, the state militia itself was dispatched and, eventually, repressed the rebellion.

The Carlisle Riots represented another clash between Federalists and Anti-Federalists, that took place over several days in Carlisle's town square (the heart of civil society). Contemporary observers on both sides of the ratification debate have been struck by the clear class divisions that separated Federalists from Anti-Federalists. Evidence obtained from the 1787 tax lists for Carlisle showed that: "The median assessed tax for those Federalists was roughly four times as much as that of Anti-Federalist petitioners and roughly seven times that of the jailed rioters" (Cornell 1990, pp. 1155). Politicians, judges, wealthy merchants and large land holders lined up against yeomen, mechanics, blacksmiths and unskilled laborers. The town was divided between the merchant elites, who were strongly Federalists, and the population as a whole, who were Anti-Federalist. As Cornell (1990, pp. 1153 & 1164) states:

Anti-Federalists in Carlisle showed little interest in the vision of national greatness that inspired many Federalists. Rather than accept the Federalist idea of a large republican empire administered by a small elite, Anti-Federalists defended the ideal of a confederation of small republics in which republican liberty and popular participation were the defining characteristics of political life... When Anti-Federalists did invoke classical republican figures, they favored the defenders of the late Roman republic, such as Brutus, men who symbolized the battle against tyranny. In marked contrast, Federalists favored figures such as Publius, the great founders and lawgivers of republican antiquity.

In the view of Anti-Federalists, the supporters of the Constitution had disregarded the sentiments of local inhabitants, acted contrary to the will of the local majority, and revealed their own arrogant contempt for the people.

What ties the Carlisle Riots to Shays's Rebellion is that both took place within the context of the Constitution's ratification process. The debate over the federal Constitution went to the heart of republicanism. Centralization was set against a government that was geographically localized, face-to-face, and close to the people both in terms of access, but also representatively accurate. Those in power reflected the make-up of their constituency. This verisimilitude would be lost in a distant and hierarchical federal system.

Revitalization of scholarship on the Anti-Federalist has uncovered perhaps the earliest known struggle over the nature of power and its relationship to civil society. The Anti-Federalist provide us a historical window into many of the themes that later resurface in the Patriot/Militia Movement and the Tyranny Response Team.

Saul Cornell in The Others Founders: Anti-Federalism & the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788-1828 (1999, pp. 30-31) identifies several critical themes which unite the diverse voices of the Anti-Federalists. First is the question of scale, which includes issues of the concentration of power and representation. Second is the threat of a return to aristocratic rule, which introduces the relationship between class and power. Third is the insistence on a separation of powers. This would thwart the rise of an all-powerful executive branch and, for the Anti-Federalists, necessitated the need for strong judiciary rights, most notably trial by jury. Fourth was the inclusion of a Bill of Rights. Finally, the fear of standing armies as a tool of state repression, which – by its contrast – highlighted the importance of a citizen militia.

On the question of scale, the Anti-Federalist viewed the Constitution as abolishing

the federal character of the Union by consolidating power in a single national government. The Articles of Confederation were believed to be the foundation upon which a post-revolutionary government would be built. With some modifications, a Confederacy of sovereign states would provide the essential check to a Federal government. The states were seen as being robbed of important functions necessary to protecting the liberty of state citizens. Since republican governments capability of sustaining liberty is possible only in small republics, consolidated government undermines both republicanism and liberty.

This concern over concentration or, in our context, centralization originated in classical republican thinking, and has as its ancillary a wide dispersion of power residing in more responsive and democratic institutions (such as, town meetings versus national plebiscites). The republican tradition taught that the health of a free commonwealth was based on the “virtue” of its citizens, which was measured both by their public spirit *and* the institutional access they had to influence the public good. The unselfishness of virtue was directly connected to ones ability to engage actively in the discourse of politics, the very heart of how a republic reaches decisions and sustains its vitality as a community. Critical to this tradition was size, the most effective republics were small commonwealths; a large empire would have to be governed autocratically, thus facilitating a movement toward tyrannical rule.

The importance of scale introduces the issue of representation, especially the question of proportionality. Federalists wanted large representational districts, to facilitate decision making at the national level by simply limiting the absolute number

that would partake in debate. Anti-Federalists agitated for small districts, preferably having political questions resolved in state legislatures, believing these political bodies were closest to a classical republic. Today, New Hampshire, with a small state population but over 400 state representatives, is a model of republicanism. Federalists wanted representatives who acted along objective interests and were sufficiently removed from the whim of the people. Their orientation was to deliberate with other representatives. Anti-Federalists wanted their representatives to reflect the people, and whose fundamental concern was to communicate with their constituents. The original First Amendment to the Constitution, supported by the Anti-Federalists but ultimately rejected, mandated such a small ratio of representative to citizen, that: “Had the amendment been ratified as originally worded, today’s House of Representatives would be required to have more than 4500 members” (McWilliams 1989, pp. 13).

A corollary argument to the concern over concentration was the Anti-Federalists fundamental belief in the basic principles underlying the Articles of Confederation.

The confederation is a league of friendship among the states or sovereignties for the common defense and mutual welfare – Each state expressly retains its sovereignty, and all powers not expressly given to congress – All federal powers are lodged in a congress of delegates annually elected by the state legislatures... Each state has a vote in congress, pays its delegates, and may instruct or recall them; no delegate can hold any office of profit, or serve more than three years in any six years – Each state may be represented by not less than two, or more than seven delegates (Federal Farmer, quoted in Bennett 1978, pp. 43).

The Articles were viewed as protecting the sovereignty of states by ensuring that national representatives were closely tied to state legislatures. Moreover, the absence of a permanent executive prevented the possibility of a return to a monarchical system of rule.

Congress would be directed by a rotating head appointed within the body itself, and matters of particular importance such as taxes, treaties, and war would be administered through a committee system. Many of the rights that later became the Bill of Rights were already present in the Articles of Confederation, such as jury rights, free speech, and the importance of state militias (Morgan 1992).

The second of Cornell's themes addressed the possibility that the Constitution would actually undermine republican principles by promoting a return to European-style aristocratic rule. Again, the question of representation was central. Federalists espoused the idea of a natural aristocracy of virtuous elites, whose wealth, education, reputation, and talents set them apart from the common people. Only a natural aristocracy could raise itself above parochial interests and work for the common good, thus ensuring the vitality of the republic. The Anti-Federalists referred to this as "aristocratic tyranny," countering that leadership resided in any level of society. These populists believed that true representation could not be dictated by the few on the many, but required that legislators actually resemble their constituency. Virtue is best achieved when society's diverse (read local) interests are represented.

The absence of appropriate checks on the aristocratic elites, who controlled the government at the Federal level, would inevitably decay into corruption. Unless sufficient power is returned to the people through state legislatures, there is little to prevent collusion on the part of the well connected elite. The Executive branch, House and Senate would form a cabal opposing and undermining state's sovereignty. The absence of term limits, forced rotation of office, state control over elections, and adequate

separation of powers would revert the American experience to the European monarchical system. In Europe, Crown and Court ran unchecked over the liberties of the people, and ultimately degraded into a state of tyranny.

Even James Madison, who drafted the Bill of Rights and was a staunch supporter of the Federalist cause, reassessed his position in the 1790s after witnessing a rapid consolidation of power in the Federal government. As Cornell (1999, pp. 167) writes, "...Madison conceded an essential point that had been central to the Anti-Federalist critique: the desire of some Federalists to use the Constitution as the instrument of a aristocratic counterrevolution." Jefferson's tepid support for the Constitution also waned in the years just after ratification. In a letter to Washington, he lamented that the "prophecy" of the Anti-Federalists had largely come true. "The Anti-federal champions are now strengthened in argument by the fulfillment of their predictions" (Quoted in Cornell 1999, pp. 166).

Charles Beard's 1913 work gives us an early and systematic look at the relationship between class and power. Beard argues that the Constitutional Convention of 1787 in Philadelphia represented a *coup d'etat* of the revolution by a wealthy elite. The Anti-Federalist writing as Centinel referred to the convention as a "late-revolution" and those in control of it as "The wealthy and ambitious, who in every community think they have a right to lord it over their fellow creatures"(quoted in Beard 1913, pp. 312).

The very calling of a convention was done without a vote and went well beyond its charter of strengthening the Articles of Confederation. Large propertyless masses were excluded from participation and those of modest means were involved only through

representation. Beard (1913, pp. 17) asks:

[Suppose]...that substantially all of the merchants, money lenders, security holders, manufacturers, shippers, capitalists, and financiers and their professional associates are to be found on one side in support of the Constitution and that substantially all of the major portion of the opposition came from non-slaveholding farmers and the debtors – would it not be pretty conclusively demonstrated that our fundamental law was not the product of an abstraction known as ‘the whole people,’ but of a group of economic interests which must have expected beneficial results from the adoption?

Men like Alexander Hamilton, “the colossal genius of the new system” (pp. 100), built a Constitution to further their own economic interests, by centralizing the money system, supporting manufacturing, and Constitutionally protecting property rights and securities. Beard (1913, pp. 324-325) concludes: “The Constitution was essentially an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities.” Ratified by “no more than one-sixth of the adult males,” the Constitution was neither adopted nor or created by the people. This concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few violates a republic, as Centinel (quoted in Beard 1913, pp. 314-315) warns:

A republican or free government can only exist where the body of the people are virtuous and where property is pretty equally divided. In such a government the people are sovereign and their sense or opinion is the criterion of every public measure; for when this ceases to be the case, the nature of the government is changed and an aristocracy, monarchy, or despotism will rise on its ruins.

While not unique to the Anti-Federalists, their concern for a separation of powers (Cornell’s third theme) was a corollary of many of their other reservations. The extensive

powers that were given to the president risk creating an elected monarchy. An executive branch would violate the Anti-Federalists insistence that small states and local communities attenuate a civic spirit based on common acquaintances. Large states and concentrated power in an executive branch would result in the rulers only knowing the people in so many abstractions. Not only is the threat of oligarchy very real, but so was a return to monarchy an explicit possibility amongst the Anti-Federalists.

The Senate was written off by the Anti-Federalists as aristocratic and simply too far removed from the popular will. Similarly, the Supreme Court and Judgeships being nominated by the President and approved by the Senate, illustrated how one branch of government – the judiciary – was controlled by two of the least democratic components – the Executive and Senate. This represents the dangerous blending of functions that the Constitution invites. However, drawing upon long standing common law, the Anti-Federalists did demand trial by jury (that is, trial by one's peers) as a strategy to combat the undemocratic nature of the judiciary. The jury system reinserted the community into the administration of the law.

Anti-Federalists believed trial by jury was closely linked with the writ of *habeas corpus* and access to representation. While these were liberties afforded to individuals, they also operated to check the potential for governmental tyranny. Trial by jury was an essential “palladium of liberty,” a “check on the judiciary authority,” and the “democratic branch of the judiciary power” (McWilliams 1989, pp. 21). Jury trials made the judiciary a public institution and gave common people a share of influence over it and a right to participate in it. As Anti-Federalist Richard Henry Lee, who wrote under the pseudonym

Federal Farmer stated:

...the people of the United States shall always be entitled to the trial by jury... the people still hold the right to be sacred... Security against ex post facto laws, the trial by jury, and the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, are but a part of those inestimable rights the people of the United States are entitled to, even in judicial proceedings, by the course of the common law (Federal Farmer, quoted in Bennett 1978, pp. 109).

Cornell's fourth Anti-Federalist theme involves the absence of a Constitutional Bill of Rights, which, while not exclusively an Anti-Federalist's complaint, was taken up in their struggle. While it can be said that the Federalists provided the American political tradition with the Constitution, the legacy of the Anti-Federalists was the Bill of Rights. The Constitution simply omitted a declaration of rights establishing essential liberties retained by the people, such as freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, trial by jury, and for the Patriot/Militia Movement, and Tyranny Response Team the right of individuals to keep and bear arms. The Anti-Federalists believed that the Constitution allowed the Federal government to be far removed from the people and facilitated a concentration of power in the hands of a unrepresentative elite, both were inimical to ensuring liberty. During the pre-ratification and ratification period, a consistent Anti-Federalist theme was the ridiculous absence of a bill of rights. These Amendments would return some of the power back to the states, for instance Amendment Ten, as well as ensure a set of fundamental rights and liberties for the people, as does the first Amendment.

The Bill of Rights was designed to place a strong emphasis on popular sovereignty. If the Constitution set out to establish the structure and workings of power,

the Bill of Rights was a reminder to the Federalists' ambitions that the primary check rested with the people. In a Republic, citizens should be given the right and capacity to act against state power. Law Professor Akhil Amar (1991, pp. 1132) considers the Bill of Rights as a Constitution in and of itself.

A close look at the Bill [of Rights] reveals structural ideas tightly interconnected with language of rights: states' rights and majority rights alongside individual and minority rights; and protection of various intermediate associations – church, militia, and jury – designed to create an educated and virtuous electorate. The main thrust of the Bill [of Rights] was not to downplay organizational structure, but to deploy it; not to impede popular majorities, but to empower them.

Finally, and of greatest importance for this research, is the Anti-Federalists opposition to standing armies and their defense of citizen militias. The Constitution did not prohibit standing armies during times of peace, which threatened the integrity of the state militia. Influenced heavily by the English Whig and republican traditions, the Anti-Federalists recognized that one way you limit the capacity of a centralized power to act (in the English context the monarchy) is to restrict its access to a standing army. Anti-Federalists believed that for Republics to survive there must be a constant protection of liberty from the ceaselessly aggressive forces of state power and that this was ensured only through the steadfast vigilance on the part of the people.

Particular to these defenses was a two-fold problem for the Anti-Federalists: first, to prevent the existence of a permanent standing army; and second, to ensure the continuation of a free militia system at the state and community level. The first concern is closely tied to issues of representation. With the creation of larger congressional districts in the new Constitution, the “seeds of tyranny” are planted. Representatives, far

removed from the influence of the people, would be more likely to call upon standing armies to prosecute state policy – foreign and domestic – that would benefit a aristocratic elite and not the people as a whole. This link between standing armies and what the Tyranny Response Team coldly refer to as “bureaucrats” is best illustrated in this quote from the Federal Farmer:

We all agree, that a large standing army has a strong tendency to depress and enslave the people; it is equally true that a large body of selfish, unfeeling, unprincipled civil officers has a like, or a more pernicious tendency to the same point. Military and especially civil establishments, are the necessary appendages of society... they are oppressive where unnecessarily extended and supported by men unfriendly to the people (Federal Farmer, quoted in Bennett 1978, pp. 84).

These fears allude to memories of a tyrannical Crown’s mercenary forces rampaging unchecked across the English countryside, and were fresh in the revolutionary consciousness of the colonialists.

The Anti-Federalist argument, “...in its simplest terms, denounced the centralization of military power in the hands of unrepresentative institutions as inherently detrimental to the balance of a free constitution” (Cress 1982, pp. 101). Tyrants had historically deprived citizens of their liberties by raising standing armies, while simultaneously neglecting the militia. For this reason, the second concern amongst the Anti-Federalists was to make a militia system central to the Constitution.

A militia, when properly formed, are in fact the people themselves, and render regular troops in a great measure unnecessary... the constitution ought to guard against a select militia, by providing that the militia shall always be kept well organized, armed, and disciplined, and include... all men capable of bearing arms, and that all regulations tending to render this general militia useless and defenseless, by establishing select corps of militia, or distinct bodies of military men, not having permanent interests

and attachments in the community be avoided... to preserve liberty, it is essential that the whole body of the people always possess arms, and be I taught alike, especially when young, how to use them... *The mind that aims at a select militia, must be influenced by a truly anti-republican principle....* (Federal Farmer, quoted in Bennett 1978, pp. 124). [italics added]

While Section 8 [16] of the Constitution gave Congress the authority to, "...provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia"; the Second Amendment returned control over the militia to states and the right to bear arms to the people.

As indicated in the earlier part of this chapter, the centrality of an armed citizenry to "keep rulers honest" has a longstanding tradition in republican thought. Machiavelli idealized the citizen-warrior as the staunchest bulwark of a republic. The most legitimate protection against corruption was the economic independence of the citizen (a theme echoed later in the English context by James Harrington) and their ability to become warriors in defense of the city-state and their liberties. We can almost call this "sociology of liberty," one that rested upon the role of arms in society. A society structured around the citizen-warrior has three aspects: politically an allowance must be made for arming all citizens; morally, an ethic of virtue must be cultivated in the citizenry so that they will fight for the republic; and finally, economically there must be opportunity for the warrior to return to civilian life and not make a career out of war. If these conditions are not met, tyranny and corruption will envelop the republic.

English republicans John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon in their Cato's Letters warn: "The Exercise of despotic Power is the unrelenting War of an armed Tyrant upon his unarmed Subjects: It is a War of one Side, and in it there is neither Peace nor Truce...

Men that are above all Fear, soon grow above all Shame” (quoted in Shalhope 1982, pp. 603). The message from Machiavelli through the Anti-Federalists, and finally the Tyranny Response Team is that: Rulers must always be restrained, and an unarmed populace merely encourages the tendency toward tyranny and oppression. This concern is a cornerstone of the republican tradition. Even James Madison in Federalist, #46, suggested a standing army should be no more than “one twenty-fifth of the number able to bear arms.... the advantage of being armed, which the Americans possess over the people of almost every other nation... forms a barrier against enterprises of ambition, more insurmountable than any which a single government of any form can admit of... [in Europe] ...the governments are afraid to trust the people with arms (Federalist Papers, pp. 242).

This standing army versus militia dilemma would be resolved by the following Anti-Federalist equation. The military ought to be subordinate to the civil authority, while the militia ought always to be armed and disciplined, as the supreme power is in the people. Yet, the permanent presence of a standing army under the exclusive control of the executive branch would invite the increasing use of the military in civil society. During the ratification debates, Virginia delegates objected to the absence of a right to bear arms in the constitution. They believed that this would lead to a standing army, which they described as “grand machines to suppress the liberties of the people... We ought, strictly to guard against the establishment of an army – whose only occupation would ... at some future day, deprive us of our liberties, as a reward for past favors, by the introduction of some military despot”. Similarly, Patrick Henry extolled the militia as the last “means of

defending our rights, or of waging war against tyrants... Have we the means of resisting disciplined armies, when our only defense, the militia, is put into the hands of Congress?... The militia is our ultimate safety. We have no security without it” (quoted in Malcolm 1994, pp. 156).

The collection of taxes, maintenance of public law, and implementation of federal legislation would default to the force of military rule, by “...establishing an armed force to execute the laws at the point of a bayonet” (Brutus, quoted in McWilliams 1989, pp. 28). Luther Martian, a Maryland Anti-Federalist stated, “...when a government wished to deprive their citizens of freedom, and reduce them to slavery, it generally makes use of a standing army for that purpose, and leaves the militia in a situation as contemptible as possible” (quoted in Cornell 2000, pp. 12). In a highly centralized-militarized state, this penetration of the armed forces into civil society would turn citizens into “... slaves of an arbitrary despot” (Cato, quoted in Storing 1981b, pp. 84).

As the Anti-Federalist Brutus commented, the new United States should structure itself to give the world an example of virtue and happiness, and not follow the European governments that were “framed for armaments and war” (quoted in Rose 1989, pp. 93). Although occurring after the organized influence of the Anti-Federalists, Napoleon’s rise to power in post-revolutionary France, best represents the concerns of the Anti-Federalists. Napoleon’s Empire was a politically centralized regime, with a single uniform national administration. In the march toward national unity, Napoleon leveled local liberties and built his power squarely on the military force of a permanent standing army, that terrorize its citizens and neighbors (Skocpol 1979).

The interest in Anti-Federalism, and republicanism in general, can be attributed to the concern with the growth and power of the capitalist state. As indicated in Habermas's work, the logic of penetration by bureaucratic state systems as well as large corporations has heightened the need to understand and in some way protect the lifeworld. In this framework associations in civil society become the new breeding ground for social change. Here, New Social Movements have proven useful in understanding this process. These movements have shown a generalized hostility to the structured/centralized power represented in modern undemocratic social institutions. Concentrations of power in state and economy have spawned repeated instances of protest movements, and if we conceive of the Anti-Federalists as one such movement, it seems their critique of state power has proven quite prescient. In the American context, especially since WWII (and maybe the Civil War), the Federal government has ascended to near complete dominance.

Pope (1990) has analyzed the ebb and flow of social struggles in America as a series of "republican moments". These periods are characterized by movements toward "direct popular power" that forced major structural change. At these times, established institutional means were rejected, as were attempts to negotiate with existing political elites. There was a call to re-democratize localities and appeal to "the whole people" for change. Pope (1990, pp. 306) identifies six major republican periods in U.S. history: the revolutionary era and subsequent ratification struggles; the Jeffersonian upsurge; the Jacksonian period; the Civil War and Reconstruction; the Populist Era; the New Deal; and finally the New Social Movement beginning in the 1960s and 70s.

In each of these "moments," people organized and struggled to create alternate

social and political practices. New discourses emerged that not only challenged the existing codes that legitimated the status quo, but operated at a cultural “rather than pecuniary” level. Moreover, these struggles found alternative means of representation, usually in civil society. Frequently, they started as localized single-issue mobilizations, which gave them a decidedly militant character.

During republican moments, groups that are disadvantaged in interest-group bargaining develop unorthodox forms of direct popular power. The popular assemblies and boycott movements of the Revolutionary era helped to compensate for malfunctions in the representative process. Reformers circumvented politics-as-normal during the Jacksonian era by calling state constitutional conventions. Conservative women invaded the ‘gendered space’ of taverns and saloons, while their radical counterparts parlayed female control of household consumption into collective power by boycotting such targets as British importers, slave industries, and discriminatory employers. Industrial workers occupied factories and engaged in general strikes; African-Americans boycotted, sat in, and marched; and the list goes on (Pope 1999, pp. 320-321).

These multifaceted forms of resistance, which Pope refers to as an “equalization from below,” are led by a forceful intervention by the citizenry. Staying true to the republican tradition of citizens challenging power, Pope (1990, pp. 328) suggests that: “A strong case might be made that the right of resistance was incorporated into the Constitution via *the second amendment right to bear arms.*” [italics added]

Localism is the corollary of this long standing concern with overly powerful centralized states dating back to the Anti-Federalists and informing our understanding of New Social Movements. In The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction (1998, chapter Three), Akhil Amar rehashes the two dominant interpretations of the Second Amendment. First a more populist slant, that emphasizes “...the right of the people to

keep and bear arms...” In this approach, the individual is at the center of the right to be armed, whether for self-defense, hunting, or taking up arms against rulers that have turned tyrannical. Any reference to militia in this context means the unorganized militia, which is all the people able to bear arms. The people must maintain a state of preparedness for self-defense, even against a domestic governments attempt to oppress and disarm them. This concern was aptly put by Edward Abby: “If guns are outlawed, only the government would have guns” (quoted in Levinson 1989, pp. 650). This reading of the Second Amendment follows the American political tradition that is fundamentally mistrustful of state power and vigilant about maintaining ultimate power, including the power of arms, in the populace.

The second reading of the Amendment, Amar suggests, is a Federalist one. What is emphasized is the importance of a well organized militia under the auspice of state legislatures. This is a state’s rights reading where a well regulated militia is “...necessary to the security of a free State...” States are responsible for keeping a “select” militia for its own security and for potential call-up by the Federal government. An individual right to keep and bear arms would not exist in this interpretation. Only those participating, collectively, in the “organized” militia would be allowed to exercise this right (Uviller 2002). According to Cress (2000), only those affirming the republican virtue of civic service would earn the right to keep arms.

My research is not intended to uncover the original intent of the Second Amendment. Although the debate between individual versus collective rights has become a critical part of the gun control debate (Nisbet 2001). In my field work, I heard

both accounts of the rationale for the importance of the Second Amendment right. What is relevant to the research here is that neither the “Populist” or “Federalist” interpretation considers the Federal government to have ultimate sovereignty. At best, state’s rights is the largest political entity given legitimacy in the militia (hence gun) debate. Again, the significance of localism comes to the fore. Whether in the hands of the people as a whole or with State militias, the Federal government is kept at bay. Even in the Federalist reading, the States have the implied power to call their militias out against the Federal government itself, as was threatened in 1802 when Jefferson was not given the nomination.

Post-structural theory suggests that history is held together by complex articulations and “...regarded not as an ascendent *continuum* of democratic reforms, but as a discontinuous series of hegemonic formations or historical blocs” (Laclau and Mouffe 1985 pp. 71). In this reading, key tenants of a bloc, such as localism in the Anti-Federalist tradition, don’t have a underlying unity but are essentially contested concepts. Significance can be attached to them in many ways. One of the most fascinating developments around republicanism in general and localism in particular is how they have become mainstays in movements across the political spectrum. As stated earlier, New Social Movements on the left have embraced localism as meaning participatory democracy, civic activism, and non-institutionalized ways of practicing power. Similarly, the contemporary political right has also utilized Anti-Federalist ideas. Most importantly their brand of localism geared toward a hostility to large government. As indicated in Chapter Five, the right-wing populism of the past half century takes a localist stance

against an encroaching Federal menace.

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 was a watershed in the resurgence of a right-leaning localism. Following upon Goldwater's scathing critique of the New Deal, Reagan added to a hostility to centralized government. Reagan attacked the unelected judiciary, reverted to discussions of original intent in Constitutional proceedings, began laying the foundation for dismantling the New Deal welfare state, and promoted state's rights on issues such as gun control and abortion rights. All the while, he was expanding the Federal government's role in the military industrial complex, and introducing Federal jurisdiction into state law through the war on drugs. These two trends have continued since, under both the Democratic and Republican Administrations. But his ability to tap the long standing anti-government sentiment in American culture resulted in his history making victory in the Presidential election of 1984, and his near apotheosis in the hearts and minds of many American citizens today.

The ability of Anti-Federalist ideas to function in so many contexts is one reason the tradition has endured so long. The challenge to power and recasting of control to the people has given us the images of civil rights activists resisting racism at the counter of a diner, women declaring the locality of the body "political," and environmentalists making the connection between the planting of a tree and global warming. On the right, the fears expressed about the Federal government, especially after Waco and Ruby Ridge, by Patriots in the Militia Movement, are eerily reminiscent of those same concerns marshaled by Anti-Federalists over two hundred years ago, when they saw the Constitution unleashing a Leviathan.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Fieldwork Data:

Chapter Seven is organized around two themes. First is the modeling of the findings using Michael Burawoy's Extended Case Method and New Social Movement theory. Second is a presentation of the fieldwork data on the Tyranny Response Team and the Patriot/Militia Movement. The fieldwork data will be subdivided into a general overview of the field sites chosen; and, using primary data, three dominant themes in the New Social Movement literature: globalization, civil society and identity, will be developed.

The chapter will conclude by acknowledging the need for reformulating existing New Social Movement theory in light of the anomalies that arose in the study of the Tyranny Response Team. Most notable is the rejection of democracy as a political or ideological principle by the Tyranny Response Team (TRT) and the Patriot/Militia Movement as a whole, in favor of republicanism. Three new conceptual extensions are introduced: Inalienable Anarchy, Republican Radicalism, and Anti-Federalist Populism to bridge the gap between existing New Social Movement theory and the field anomalies. The Conclusion ends this research by presenting a reformulated New Social Movement theory that incorporates the challenges of studying right-wing movements.

Synthesizing Theory and Data:

This section will offer a brief summary or discussion of the research findings. The data will be organized by combining the methodological principles of Burawoy's Extended Case Method, and the conceptual imprint left on New Social Movement theory by Habermas, Touraine, and Melucci. Table 7.1 (following page), "Extended Case Method and New Social Movements, a case of the TRT," offers a summary of the argument and is meant to be a reference throughout this section of the chapter. Table 7.1 is arranged to enhance the importance of integrating a theory and method connection in the final presentation of the data. Burawoy's Extended Case Method has four strengths that have been integral to this research. First is the theory-laden approach, which acknowledges good ethnography has as its objective theory development. By starting one's field inquiry with an overt theory in mind, the researcher gets a jump-start on creating (or reformulating) new theory. In Table 7.1 the New Social Movement themes of globalization, civil society, and identity, are given prominence as starting points both in the fieldwork and for structuring the data.

The second strength of Burawoy's work is his insistence that the themes of domination and resistance operate in ethnographic work. These themes couple nicely with the globalization vs. civil society tension articulated in all three New Social Movement theorists used in this research. Moreover, Burawoy's emphasis on history allows an understanding of identity construction that extends through space and time. This was most helpful in going back in history to the U.S. revolutionary period (and beyond), to grasp the motivations and perspectives of the Tyranny Response Team. Third

is Burawoy’s recognition that theory is always an unfinished project. A theory which can respond effectively to the presence of data driven anomalies, is better theory. As stated above and indicated in Table 7.1, the most significant anomaly in this research was removing democracy as the organizing discourse of New Social Movements and replacing it with a republic, or as stated more broadly in Chapter Six, republicanism.

Table 7.1: Extended Case Method and New Social Movement Theory, a Case of the TRT

Dialogues	Macro	Meso	Micro
Observer w/ Participant	Tyranny	Bill of Rights	Patriot
Local Process w/ Extra Local Force	New World Order & Repressive State	Second Amendment Right	Challenging the “Other’s” Codes
New Social Movement Themes	Globalization	Civil Society	Identity
Extended Case Themes	Domination	Resistance	History
Anomaly	↔ REPUBLIC NOT A DEMOCRACY ⇒		
New Theoretical Extension	Inalienable Anarchy	Republican Radicalism	Anti-Federalist Populism

The fourth quality of Burawoy’s Extended Case Method, is the identification that these anomalies emerge through a series of dialogues, which demands of the ethnographer that they listen to the voice(s) of those being studied. In Table 7.1, the initial dialogue is between observer and participant, or at the level of fieldwork. Here the

ideas of tyranny, the centrality of the Bill of Rights (read Second Amendment), and the self conception of a patriot are established. The connection to what is going on in the field with larger forces or strictures is the second dialogue. At this level, the field is challenged by contradictions and confrontations. The New World Order and oppressive States fit nicely as proxies for the concept of globalization, and are seen as structures of domination. Similarly, the struggle over gun rights takes center stage in civil society as the Tyranny Response Team resists attempts to restrict those rights. Finally, the conflict between the “enemies” of the TRT’s cause (such as Million Moms, S.A.F.E., Police and government), become manifest as these organizations struggle to control cultural codes (what is liberty, what is freedom, where does power reside). This confrontation necessitates the need for strengthening identity, as one enters the battlefield, with control over history (Trouaine’s historicity) as the ultimate objective.

In Table 7.1, the last row is a recognition that theoretical reformulation is required to address those anomalies that have arisen within the ethnographic context. As indicated in this chapter’s introduction, Inalienable Anarchy, Republican Radicalism,, and Anti-Federalist Populism are the new conceptual bridges to facilitate an understanding and explanation of right-wing movements, within New Social Movement theory. In the Conclusion, these concepts will be fully developed.

Expos, Rallies, and Shoot Outs:

This section gives the reader a sampling of the types of events I participated in while researching the Tyranny Response Team and the Patriot/Militia Movement more

generally. I have picked out three events that are very different and span the length of time I spent gathering data for this research. First is the Preparedness Expos of 1996 and 1998, held in Denver, Colorado. I collapsed both Expos into one discussion since they were so similar. Second is the Tyranny Response Teams's Denver Police Spy Files Rally, which was held April 21, 2002, on the west steps of the State Capital building in Denver, Colorado. This was very representative of Tyranny Response Team events, since the Capital steps were a frequent venue for the Tyranny Response Team when protesting or rallying. Finally, my attendance at the three day .50 Cal BMG Rifle & Machine Gun Fun Shoot! in May 2002. The length of time for the event (I was there two days) gave me insight into the connection between the work of the Tyranny Response Team and the larger gun community. Presentation of these events is drawn from field notes, and each was public in nature, as were all the Tyranny Response Team activities I attended. Appendix B is a list the entire known range of Tyranny Response Team activities; while Appendix A gives a listing of all the interviews and speeches chronicled in this research.

Preparing for the Certain Unexpected:

The battle against the tyranny of a One World government by today's survivalists, and the apocalyptic Christian eschatology of the end times was well represented at the Preparedness Expos of 1996 & 1998. Both events were held in the old Coliseum in Denver, Colorado. The theme of the '96 Expo was "Peace of Mind in a Changing World" and at the '98 Expo, "Be prepared, Avoid Chaos". The Preparedness Expos were created by a group in Midvale, Utah and were a fascinating display of the way the

Patriot/Militia Movement has blended with anxieties of the day, such as Y2K (at the time) and social collapse (more generally). Booths in the hall ranged from mainstream financial planning to hard-core survival seminars, food preparation, self defense, and strategies to rebuff the ever present intrusion of the government into personal life. Y2K dominated the conversation at both Expos.

The deeper you went into the hall the more the displays became militant and conspiratorial. The Militia of Montana (MOM), Randy Weaver, Michigan Militia leader Mark Koernke (in 1998), along with other “Patriot” associations, were all grouped together. There were Militia of Montana baseball caps with their signature “MOM – the Mother of all Militias” printed on them, as well as MOM T-shirts, including one that stated simply, “Angry White Guy”. Bumper stickers proclaimed, “Don’t let Clinton Gore your Gun Rights,” “I Love my Country, but I Hate my Government,” and “The U.N. – Peace through Terror,” were for sale.

Paladin Press displayed dozens of preparedness books such as, *Secrets of the Federal Reserve*, *Vigilantes of Christendom*, *The New World Order: Takeover America*, *Blueprint for Survival*, and *Citizen Soldier*; as well as more sinister texts such as *Protocols of the Seven Elders of Zion*, the holocaust revisionism of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and the anti-Semite text, *New World Order: The Secret Rulers*. Videos like *The Countdown has Begun*, *The True Story of Waco*, *Millennium 2000*, and *America in Peril* could be purchased or ordered.

Numerous “seminars” were held (for an additional fee) throughout the weekends. Populist Party candidate Bo Girtz, riding the publicity of his success in negotiating an end

to the Ruby Ridge standoff, gave a very popular seminar entitled, “Are We In the Biblical End Times?” I attended a lecture by Bob Fletcher of the Montana Militia, titled, “Weather Control as a Weapon”. In this talk, Fletcher presented information about a secret government program in Alaska that is controlling the weather and causing drought in the upper mid-west. All this to, “Bring the farmers, Americans last independent group, to their knees.” Other Seminars looked at the impact of NAFTA & GATT (Terry Reed), where hidden cameras were taken into Mexican shopping centers to show how Mexican “upper-class lifestyles” were thriving at the expense of the American worker. Finally, Robert Spear, the guru of self-defense and preparedness, gave a talk Sunday afternoon (in 1996), on “Surviving the Coming Famine”. Spear implored the people to prepare for imminent social collapse by learning to compost your own waste, and to fight and kill with your bare hands. “Before the fall, you need to learn how to fight for what you have... After the fall we, as righteous patriots, have to come back together,” in what Spear called “covenant communities.”

The Expos brought together an assortment of characters, including survivalists, militiamen and women, and all manner of paramilitary patriots and anti-government zealots, as well as would-be Rambos, and just curious onlookers. Many wore fatigues and other military dress such as their metals from service. Real concern was placed on the incidents at Ruby Ridge and Waco [especially at the ‘98 Expo], and several booths drew parallels between the “vicious and murderous attack on a small, independent American church [Branch Davidians] by fascist law enforcement agents” and the practices of global tyrants like “Idi Amin, Moammar Gadaffi, the Ayatollah Khomeini,

and Saddam Hussein”. At Expo ‘98, a defense lawyer for the surviving Branch Davidians presented photographs of the Waco “never before seen by the public,” which showed military vehicles methodically tearing down the Branch Davidian compound in a “seek and destroy” military mission [Just a year later a major documentary, *WACO a New Revelation* was released corroborating these images].

Public Rallies and Political Intrigue:

On April 21, 2002, I attended a Tyranny Response Team (TRT) rally in response to the Denver Police Department’s admission that they were keeping secret files on various organizations, including the TRT. I was informed by a Tyranny Response Team member in the crowd, that the TRT had attempted to get over forty organizations to attend the rally; however, they succeeded in attracting about ten groups: various motorcycle groups including the Riders for Justice, members of the Republican Party, Libertarian Party, Constitutional Party, Rocky Mountain Gun Owners, Sisters of the Second Amendment, and a Boulder Peace group. They wanted the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) there also, but they have distanced themselves from the TRT, due to the TRT confrontational tactics. A representative from the Libertarian Party told me that they, too, were questioning the TRT rally behavior, which they believed to be counter productive.

In talking with several of the 75 people present, I found sympathizers on the left from Boulder as well as conservatives. The rally was held on the West steps of the Capital building. There was both media coverage [Denver Channel 7] and police

presence. The Riders for Justice and other groups targeted were given prominent seats on the steps while speeches were delivered. Speeches ranged from police and government surveillance, organized resistance/solidarity, and governmental attempts to contaminate the food supply.

The crowd consisted mostly of white males, with many accompanied by family members. Most significant was the larger number young males in the crowd. Many had on masks and some form of camouflage to hide their faces from the police. Mostly this was political theater, there was a lot of heckling and bantering with the police, who were just off to the North of the gathering. The current President of the TRT was the master of ceremonies. He wore a suit with a patriotic American flag tie. Another prominent member of the TRT [and future President] also wore a suit with a tie that had a coiled snake on it. He later informed me that this was the Gadsden flag, and was used by the South Carolina militia in the revolutionary war.

As customary at all TRT rallies, proceedings began with the Northern Colorado 1st Regiment Drum & Fife Corps., which was comprised of five men and young boy [who carried the flag]. They were all clothed in colonial revolutionary attire [the Blue Coats], and playing the national anthem, which was followed by everyone reciting the pledge of allegiance. The American flag was prominently displayed throughout the event. Clearly members of the Tyranny Response Team and anyone else in attendance saw themselves as very patriotic Americans.

The President began the speeches by stating the purpose for the rally and indicating the need of the police to publically admit their keeping of secret files. Parallels

were made between the tactics of the 1960 suppression of civil rights organizations and now. Frequent references were made to Constitutional rights and the violation of civil liberties by the police actions. Tremendous antipathy was expressed toward the police and their “gestapo” methods.

I am fiercely, and grimly, proud to have my name and body under the surveillance of Denver Police Intelligence units. I am proud that they are afraid. By demonstrating their fear of me. They acknowledge my power. By expending resources upon me, they acknowledge my capability. By monitoring my movements, they acknowledge my importance. And by labeling me criminal for simply exercising the rights that the founders of our nation considered a sacred gift from God; they show themselves in opposition to the sacred imperative of human freedom. They proved to me that my opposition to their tyranny is not only right, it is not only necessary, it is also my sacred duty, as Jefferson said: To swear my hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of Man (Speech, April 21, 2002).

The First Amendment was championed and the President finished by quoting historical notables like Benjamin Franklin on the need for citizen vigilance against State repression.

The second speaker was an elderly female who identified herself as a working philosopher, writer, and speaker.

We’re here today because all of us share a common outrage. That outrage is directed, along with our disgust and contempt, towards those who grossly abuse official power, and thereby spit and tread upon the most sacred right of our society, which is to speak out according to your conscience. All of us here today are criminal extremists, according to the Denver Police Department. You’re not allowed to possess a conscience in Denver. If you do, it’s serious enough to prompt them to put your name in a file, in a police basement somewhere (Speech, April 21, 2002).

Her presentation was well organized and impassioned. Her delivery was bellicose and assertive. She held a staff in her hand [like Moses!] and was dressed in all black. The

main themes of her talk were personal, and organized resistance to government tyranny, government and police intrusion into their private lives, and the need to take back those lost freedoms. “They will not leave us alone” was her mantra.

After her speech, several Tyranny Response Team members announced that police across the street were taking down licence numbers off car and motorcycle plates. The President on the podium yelled “eat shit mother fuckers” and flipped them off. Tyranny Response Team “security members” [the wording on their shirts!] and Riders for Justice went over to confront the officers. Upon seeing this the police withdrew.

The next speaker spoke of the State as an oppressive force in society. His use of language was very anarchistic. Rather than refer to government, he talked of the State.

I demand that these files be opened! I demand that these files be read! I demand that those responsible be brought to justice before the courts of our People! Now, my tyrants, you will feel us bite! The choice we have is simple. Do we accept our assigned role as peasants under the foot of the sovereign lord? Or do we shoulder the responsibility we bear as free men and women, to dictate to the State how we will consent to be ruled? Make no mistake, the machine of the State will not accommodate us. It will give little weight to our presence here, and it will ignore our demands so long as we have no power to destroy it. If the State will not answer the demands of the People, then the People must force the State to heel (Speech, April 21, 2002).

At this time, I became sidetracked in a discussion with a Libertarian candidate for governor. I had been handing out flyers on my research and people were approaching me. My initial gatekeeper to the TRT had also introduced me to several members, and many remembered me from previous rallies and protests.

The rally was open enough to allow two unplanned and spontaneous speeches. One was by an Hispanic man, the other by a “biker”. The biker began by stating he was a

lawyer and a Democrat, but had shown up with the Riders For Justice and supported their concern for being the target of secret files. The biker said: “I may not agree with everything I have heard here today, but I do believe our Constitutional rights are being taken away and need to be protected” [crowd cheered]. The Hispanic male was a paralegal, and spoke passionately about civil and Constitutional rights. He told the crowd that he supported the Tyranny Response Team and their cause. Both speakers, though unplanned, were warmly received.

After the event, I was invited by the TRT President to accompany 13 other TRT members to a local pub for beer and dinner. At the pub I was able to conduct two interviews, as well as ask TRT members how their movement fit into the larger democratic tradition in America. Most members were adamant that they were not a democratic movement. They identified democracy with majority or mob rule. One TRT member insisted, “America is a republic NOT a democracy. Democracy is the tyranny of the majority at the expense of the minority. But more importantly, a republic is a political system that restricts government, while maximizing personal rights and liberties.” When asked about the organization of the TRT, the President jokingly said, “its like herding cats!”

Guns & Community, on Message at the Fun Shoot:

Since the mid-1990s, the Militia/Patriot Movement has received considerable media coverage, although little of it has increased the public’s knowledge about the historical significance and cultural complexity of the movement and those who participate

in it. During the same period, however, participants in the movement have been busily committing themselves to building up the movement – organization by organization – and creating opportunities for these organizations and their members to get together. One such festival – a sort of festival of guns – is the .50 Caliber BMG Rifle & Machine Gun Fun Shoot (hereafter referred to as the .50 Caliber Shoot). The annual event is sponsored by Rocky Mountain Gun Owners (RMGO) and Rocky Mountain Fifty Caliber Shooting Association.

Rocky Mountain Gun Owners is Colorado’s largest gun lobby organization. In 1996, Dudley Brown, a graduate of Colorado State University (CSU), founded RMGO as a no-compromising gun lobby in Colorado, and is and staunchly independent of other gun rights organizations. While at CSU, Brown was a Republican Party activist (founded the College Republicans), although today he claims RMGO is non-partisan.

Based in Denver, RMGO is dedicated solely to the Second Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. As stated on their website:

Our strategy is simple: don’t give an inch. We believe that freedoms have been eroded far too quickly in our country, and that our rights must be reclaimed through the democratic process. We believe that Americans have been given a *right by God*, and recognized through the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and numerous state constitutions, to *keep and bear arms*. [italics added]

Similarly, Rocky Mountain Fifty Caliber Shooting Association is a gun advocacy organization, except they are oriented toward activities such as the .50 Caliber Shoot. The Shooting Association tries to organize the event each yearly in the Fall and Spring, depending on the availability of a location. The Rocky Mountain Fifty Caliber Shooting

Association describes themselves in less strident terms than RMGO. Their flyer identifies them as “a group of shooters dedicated to promoting *Sporting uses* of the .50 Cal. BMG cartridge in the Rocky Mountain Region.”

The event is usually hosted by a sympathetic rural land owner, who makes a track of their property available. Throughout the years, the event has been held in both Wyoming and Colorado, and has not always been an annual happening. There is no guarantee the .50 Caliber Shoot will take place each year; the year after I attended (2003) no place could be procured and the shoot simply did not occur. I attended the 3rd Annual .50 Caliber Shoot, a three day event that took place on May 3rd, 4th, 5th of 2002. That year they congregated out past Wiggins, Colorado, deep in rural Morgan County. This sparsely populated area of Eastern Colorado offers a safe refuge for those who see themselves as outcasts in a country that has not only forgotten its heritage, but has consciously gone against the very principles required for the founding of the Republic. A citizenry must be armed and prepared to resist tyranny, whether foreign or domestic, and the .50 Caliber Shoot offers just the opportunity to hone one’s skills.

The .50 Caliber Shoot is organized around attendees paying to fire an arrayed ensemble of guns toward a variety of targets stretching out into a fallow field. The “firing line” (or as one TRT member called it the “shooting gallery”) is strictly monitored by organizer representatives and sits atop a hill overlooking the firing range. Targets ranged from an old camping trailer, with the words “Saddam’s House” spray painted on it, to several automobiles (all loaded with live propane tanks which yielded large explosions when directly hit). One auto was “tagged” with the letters “BATF,” another “FBI”. The

firing line featured over 150 shooters (who had to register for the event in advance at a cost of \$80.00 per 10x10 shooting line space). The Tyranny Response Team had a space and was showcasing several guns including a .50 caliber.

From talking with TRT members and through general observation, operating on the firing line was hard work. It was especially hot and dry during the event and fires routinely started in the trees or hill just beyond the range site. When this occurred a “reconnaissance” team was “dispatched” to put out the fires. This was in the form of a “convoy” of military vehicles (mostly jeeps, but there was one personnel carrier), with those riding along dressed in full military regalia (down to a series of hand grandes strapped across one person’s chest).

Spectators paid a \$5.00 admission fee and then for an additional fee for each gun they wished to fire. Families, couples, and groups of friends strolled up and down the line, asking the shooters about their guns and occasionally firing a few rounds. From a platform atop a trailer, the main range officer blared commands through a set of speakers. Line officers paced up and down the range, ensuring a safe firing line. I observed many vendors allowing people to shoot for free, especially women and children, of which there were quite a few. In fact, I was quite surprised by the large number of families in attendance, some of which stayed and camped on Saturday evening. Camping was encouraged and there were scores of people with RVs in the field above the shooting lines. No alcoholic beverages were allowed through the gates, but in the camping area there was plenty of people cooking, socializing, drinking, and selling guns back in forth. Gun sales on the firing line and in the vender’s booths were strictly prohibited.

At the end of the event RMGO estimated over 3200 attendees came through, with Saturday being the heaviest volume day. On Saturday evening, there was a tracer display where tracer bullets were fired into the range. The effect was showy and reminded one of a 4th of July fireworks show, or better yet, a scene from *Apocalypse Now*.

The .50 caliber is by no means a small gun. But it wasn't the biggest gun on display, that honor belonged to the WWI British 4.5 inch Howitzer tank artillery (with the mini-tank to accompany it!). There was a raffle organized with the winner having the honors of actually firing-off a Howitzer shell into the distant hill. The term “.50 caliber” is in reference to the bullet, which is one-half inch in diameter. When I fired the .50 caliber, I was amazed at the power, both from the recoil of the gun and the damage the bullet did on the firing range. The noise was deafening as well, all those in the “shooting gallery” were required to wear ear protection AT ALL TIMES! Other calibers that were available to shoot were .22, .223, .308, and .475.

After attendees finished on the firing line, they were funneled up the hill to take in information from the 20 plus organizations, of which the Tyranny Response Team was one. I participated in managing the TRT booth on Saturday afternoon, selling the popular blue and gold “Tyranny Response Team” t-shirts and passing out literature. Plenty of these t-shirts were worn by attendees, and one TRT member told me the t-shirts are “keeping the organization solvent.” Other t-shirts in the crowd read: “U.N. – Peace through Terror,” “The 2nd Amendment isn't about hunting, or target shooting... It's about FREEDOM,” “God, Guts & Guns Keep US Free,” and even a “Had Enough? (with a sniper hiding behind a tree) MILITIA.”

From the outside, the .50 Caliber Shoot can be viewed as little more than a counter-cultural spectacle, an entertaining diversion of “rural folk” to be treated with trite cliches and superficial stereotypes. However, the participant-driven characterizations of the .50 Caliber Shoot were personal, culturally aware, and socially significant. The .50 Caliber Shoot was a mini-festival lasting several days where organizations coalesced and collectively focused their resources toward the creation of culture. Everything at the .50 Caliber Shoot seemed motivated by a deep desire to express and exchange ideas and, most importantly, to let others generate meaning for themselves through the act of firing guns. To experience the gun’s allure, power and fascination. The creation of culture around the shoot became nothing more than an act of making sense of the world. In addition it provided an opportunity for participants to focus and reinforce essential principals undergirding the community. Most significant was the primacy of guns as a foundation for identity. All other social derivatives such as freedom, liberty, patriotism, and – yes – family were anchored in guns. As one vendor aptly stated to me as he was handing out copies of the Bill of Rights and the Second Amendment:

The freedoms of the First Amendment mean nothing without the backing of the Second Amendment. When a government, even ours, wants a population without access to guns, they are up to something no good. Not only do we have the right to know, but the right to resist the unchecked power of government (Interview, May 4, 2002).

At a micro level, the .50 Caliber Shoot provided the opportunity for participants to bring their own interpretation to the event. The event can be understood as a mode of communication amongst adherents that transmits a unique kind of knowledge about societal structures and the ways in which they might be challenged through imagining,

creating and enacting other alternative ways of living. These are ways that place at the center of our collective conscience the importance of remaining armed and vigilant in the face of external threats irrespective of whether these originate from across the globe or within our local communities. This accepted experience places the Tyranny Response Team, the Patriot/Militia Movement, and their participation in the .50 Caliber Shoot in an environment that is geographically and culturally distanced from the so-called “normal” world. By shooting guns, the attendees manifest themselves in opposition to a culture of conformity and quiescence. The .50 Caliber Shoot offers a point of observation of a culture that inherently promotes a critically distanced, self-reflexive understanding of themselves and provides perspective for their interpretations of the world within the context of the event. Nothing need be held back, as all guns were possible and all ways of living thinkable.

The idea of “distancing” is a fundamental aspect of cultural “reflexivity,” which basically entails the ability to distance oneself from what is given as “normal” or “natural” in order to examine the structures (and strictures) within which one lives and acts. Participants of the .50 Caliber Shoot wore “a siege mentality” on their sleeve as a badge of honor. There was a decidedly “us” versus “them” orientation. This coupled with a cultural and geographical distancing established the means of gaining perspective through what was referred to as “reflexive ethnography” in Chapter Four.

Reflexivity at the .50 Caliber shoot worked on many levels. First, there was the individual’s experience of the shoot. Coming to the shoot and firing weapons such as machine guns, mortars, and of course the .50 caliber is not a normal part of one’s life. As

one attendee told me: “It’s better than watching the history channel.” This contributed to a breakdown of routine and mundane life and added a festival atmosphere to the weekend through an association with “guns as entertainment”. Parents brought their young children down to the firing line to shoot small weaponry, while the fathers (and mothers) took to the larger more menacing arms.

Second, the environment lauding guns intertwined a with a more serious message of resistance promoted by the sponsors and vendors. This is reflexivity at a socio-cultural level, or Burawoy’s (discussed in Chapter Four) middle dialogue between local processes (the .50 Caliber Shoot) and extra-local forces, or strictures (dire warnings of losing rights). Once the ritual of firing weapons was experienced, attendees were funneled up the hill where they were reminded by vendors to be attentive toward gun rights and advised that groups such as Sane Alternative to the Gun Epidemic (SAFE) worked to deny these rights. This vigilance is best summarized by the Tyranny Response Team’s “Mission Statement”:

The Tyranny Response Team is the embodiment of mans(sic) desire for freedom. We believe in the fundamental rights of all human beings. Our rights do not come from a majority vote, from politicians, or even from the Constitution – and they are not subject to infringement by a government which ignores the Supreme Law of this land.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men(sic) are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights.

We pledge our commitment to the absolute restoration of our Bill of Rights, and further, to strict adherence to the legal and moral principles of the Declaration of Independence, upon which this nation was founded. We will rise against any assault on the unalienable rights granted by our Creator.

If you believe in Liberty, and in the Truths upon which this nation was founded, you are a member of the Tyranny Response Team.

There was plenty of mingling amongst vendors and attendees, as well as conversations focused on the importance of guns both personally and as part of their community.

The .50 Caliber Shoot created the space for members of the gun community to become “new” people through their experience with the guns. They were introduced into a social dynamic that was created through the ensemble of groups and organizations. This operated as a pseudo-community and assembled around vendor representatives, sponsors of the .50 Caliber Shoot, and those camping. All three merged in the evenings to share stories, food, and enjoy the outdoors. These experiences served to present the participant with an alternative reality that, when juxtaposed with the so-called “hostile” world out there, is quite contrasting.

As stated in Chapter Four, the classical ethnographic model undertaken during most of the twentieth century chauvinistically imposed understandings and interpretations on the cultural practices of other peoples and societies. Little attempt was made, or recourse provided, to the “Other” offering them an opportunity to speak back to the ethnographer. What is called “reflexive” ethnography by Buroway and others has been an attempt to overcome some of the difficulties presented by such critiques by acknowledging that any ethnography says as much about the perspective of the ethnographer as it does about the people being studied. Moreover, good ethnography should offer those being studied a role in crafting an understanding of the research site.

This section associates “reflexive” ethnography with .50 Caliber Shoot participants’ conception of their own cultural context. Attendees interviewed during the three day event become de facto ethnographers of their own socio-cultural condition.

Their experiences, while empirically documenting the event, are also a cultural proxy for the Patriot/Militia Movement as a whole. The .50 Caliber Shoot is a moment in the life of the Movement, it represents the power of the participants through their practice of the Second Amendment. Looking through the lens of a sociologist, the significance of this event can be viewed through two distinct perspectives. On one hand, there are the participants' observations, which make clear how deeply the Shoot's ritual and carnival environment around guns impact their perceptions of the world and their place in it. On the other hand, the .50 Caliber shoot is a reflection on the larger "mainstream" culture as well. The world at large, with its perceptions of the Patriot/Militia Movement and having not attended an event such as the .50 Caliber Shoot, depict its participants through shallow media interpretations, which rarely capture the fullness of experiences and do little more than recapitulate stereotypical notions of a "gun culture".

The attempt to represent those who embrace the Second Amendment by focusing on the spectacular and sensational presents the Movement as a sort of anomalous "fringe" counterculture. This cultural distancing places the Patriot/Militia Movement outside "our" cultural traditions, and is similar to the early ethnographers portraying of so-called "primitives or savage," as existing in a past time, disconnected from "our" culture and society. Yet, as mentioned in Chapters Five and Six, the Patriot/Militia Movement is ensconced in American history and speaks directly to some of the nation's central tenets. Attempts to discount and distance such groups and organizations merely as exotic gun nuts, devoid of seriousness, and thus not real, is similar to what Frederic Jameson (1995, pp. 48-49) meant when he wrote that late capitalists societies, driven by postmodern

cultures, transform “....the ‘real’ into so many pseudo-events [in which] countercultural forms of cultural resistance and guerilla warfare... are all somehow secretly disarmed and reabsorbed,” thereby reducing them to spectacles. Similarly, French Situationist Guy Debord (1995) theorized “the society of spectacle” as one in which our creativity has been stifled under capitalism and in which our attention is endlessly diverted from the political sphere leaving us unequipped to see, let alone influence, the economic processes that regulate our lives.

These distancing techniques leave the impression that those outside the “mainstream,” such as the Patriot/Militia Movement and the Tyranny Response Team, are simply gun obsessed males. Further, these “marginal types” come to the .50 Caliber Shoot to escape reality by creating alternative ways of being in the world. But the Movement and the .50 Caliber Shoot do more than offer a means of escape. They provide an avenue to perform alternatives, and to enact different social codes, which can be imparted to attendees, as practical tools for resisting the hostile and corrupt “outside” world. In possession of the truth, and protected by the armed right of resistance, those at the .50 Caliber Shoot and members of the Patriot/Militia Movement are able to organize and act in the world. These events reaffirm the community’s values and beliefs around guns.

The .50 Caliber Shoot exposes “the system” and its inherent ideology to scrutiny through the critical reflexivity brought about by “performing” and “acting out” alternatives to it. By coming together and participating in what is widely believed to be a right under threat – that of having and operating guns – those participating take part in a

collective ritual of opposition to gun control legislation, authoritarian states bureaucrats, and a hostile mainstream culture. This idea is reflected in the following excerpt from an interview at the .50 Caliber Shoot:

Participant: I got goose-bumps the closer my van got to the Shoot site. My experience was fantastic and moving on so many levels. I am glad to be part of the crowd who gets it[!] Coming to the .50 Caliber Shoot means we all created it, it comes alive, with it's own consciousness. We can [pause]...we should allow the .50 Caliber Shoot to carry over into the rest of our lives... The amazing thing about coming here is the togetherness felt among a diverse and previously unacquainted crowd of people. That is real community[!] (Interview, May 5, 2002).

Attendees are able to turn or bend back upon themselves, and reflect upon the relations, actions, meanings, codes, and other socio-cultural components that comprise the group, all the while doing so in opposition to society at large.

In this research, a critical feature of the New Social Movement theory expressed by Habermas, Touraine, and Melucci, is that movements, far from being marginal or peripheral activity, are central features of the post-industrial landscape. Moreover, the struggle for power, voice, or autonomy occurs within the cultural realm. Cultural performances, such as the .50 Caliber Shoot, are not simple reflectors or expressions of culture or even of changing culture, but are themselves active agents of change. They are representing the eye by which culture sees itself and the drawing-board on which creative actors sketch out alternative designs for living. Again, as indicated by the New Social Movement theorists mentioned above, the twentieth century in the West was been marked by the waning of the traditional sites for collective action, namely the state and economy. Consequently, new forms and places have to be created by actors intent on organizing and

resisting Touraine's technocratic system.

The challenge for social movements is daunting as they are up against factors such as commodification, corporate control, consolidation of cultural resources and expressions, and bureaucratic states that dominate public space and discourse. Viewed in this light, cultural performances can be understood as essential social technologies for negotiating and bringing about change. An emergent aspect of New Social Movements becomes not only an adversarial message, but a new found means of collectively re-creating community and constituting identity. In this sense, New Social Movements provide almost a ritualistic means by which participants can reflexively and critically create "distance" from the "normal" socio-cultural existence. Far from requesting to be stakeholders in "the system," New Social Movement activists resist apprehension or co-optation. A self-imposed distance offers relief and space for resistance. This valued space, according to the New Social Movement theory, is that of civil society.

The establishment of critical distance from normative culture in order to combat that culture is primary for New Social Movements. In modern Western society, where critical self-reflection and awareness are paramount values in the process of making meaning, it is imperative for citizens to engage in collective performative practices that are distanced from the mainstream. These practices, here in the form of the Patriot/Militia Movement, are created spaces where participants can critically evaluate their personal circumstance, as well as heighten their social awareness of how values and norms are constructed (whether alternative or mainstream). The .50 Caliber Shoot is an extension of this process, part of the "praxis" of movements in the West that present not

only challenge, resistance, and critique, but also reflexive self-discovery. New Social Movements like the Patriot/Militia Movement and events such as the .50 Caliber Shoot are cultural performances that advance the acquisition of reflexive knowledge.

Events such as the .50 Caliber Shoot remove participants from their normal environment to an immanently experienced alternative world which creates the conditions for reflexivity. This idea was expressed in many interviews conducted. For example, one respondent replied:

Participant: In the real world you're in overdrive. Sometimes you're not even aware of your surroundings, and when you are at the .50 Caliber Shoot, partially because you're in the middle of rural Colorado, you become very much aware of yourself, what you're capable of, what you're doing, what you're thinking, and what is important to you. You're just more aware of your immediate surroundings [pause]...I guess, much more than you would be in the real world, because in the real world you've got [pause]... everything is pretty much taken care of, is cared for. We've got instant food; we've got instant entertainment; we've got instant oh [pause]... pretty much an instant world.

Interviewer: What does the .50 Caliber Shoot bring home to you, what does it make you think of.

Participant: The shoot makes me think of security, and how I take for granted security. I guess that's another instant [laugh] the cops are instant security, but they are also state employees. This get-together reminds me that I have to be responsible for my own defense. My own interests are not those of the cops [gesturing to a State Patrol officer who is wandering through the crowd]. This shoot-out reminds me that nothing is instant so you need to be very conscious and very aware the whole time (Interview, May 4, 2002).

By engendering critical distance, the .50 Caliber Shoot induces an altered perception. The culture of the event and the environment combine to create a opposite place both physically and cognitively. As another attendee stated:

Just seeing those guns all lined up like that. The —16, AK47, Browning 1919, M60, Thompson machine gun, and of course the .50 caliber put me

in a different place. There is something so magnificent about having someone ask you if you would like to fire a gun you have only seen in catalogues. Coming here I experience what people and our daily lives should be.... Personally, firing these guns allows me to be free, and it removes my limits.... When you go to work every day, and you get home, you cook food, you watch television, you have sex with your wife, and you go to bed, and you go to work, and you do the same thing again and again and again you're doing it like a routine. You can do it without even noticing you're there yourself. But here there is no routine, and every time you do something it's something new. You realize things about yourself [because] you actually have to look at yourself. And you look at yourself because you use all the other people as mirrors so you see yourself through all the other people (Interview, May 4, 2002).

The .50 Caliber Shoot facilitates this context in which a “critical distance” can be achieved by spatial and temporal, cultural and social distancing. Participants are momentarily freed from the constraints and ideological prescriptions that restrict thought and action in order to forge new meaning in their world.

Behind the carnivalesque atmosphere of the .50 Caliber Shoot resonates the political power of the Patriot/Militia Movement. Underlying the .50 Caliber Shoot is a communication network that stems from “ethnographic” experience of guns and their importance in American history and the personal lives of the attendees. Out of this process is generated the capacity to become culturally and individually reflexive. In this sense the .50 Caliber Shoot acts as a “nodal point,” marker of sorts for the larger Movement it represents. By coming together specifically to shoot and talk guns, the .50 Caliber Shoot creates cultural and collective frames through which individuals gain a sense of self and community. The objective is not just to foster self-discovery, but to provide a context in which to explore the possibility of an alternatively ordered society.

Those participating in the .50 Caliber Shoot and the Patriot/Militia Movement as a

whole become creative agents in the emergence and construction of reality. To challenge domination through resistance requires the incorporation of culture and imagination. Gatherings such as the .50 Caliber Shoot punctuate the existence of larger movements. They offer a forum for bringing together an imaginative process of projecting the “what might be” onto the “ what is, and what has been”. By creating a connection between the possibilities and the challenges, movements establish spaces to imagine *and* experience alternative ways of being. Yet, reflexive ethnography demands not only critical self-reflection, but the extension of one’s self into something larger, that is to act politically. On the surface, the .50 Caliber Shoot *is* a “fun shoot,” but the sub-text involves a serious act of defiance, a language of rebellion, and a set of social practices to take back into “the world” to further the insurrection.

New Social Movement Themes in the Field Data:

The following section uses some of the primary data from the field to develop an understanding as to how the Tyranny Response Team is thinking about globalization, civil society, and identity.

The New World Order, State Repression, and Global Domination:

The phrase New World Order is frequently cited as originating, in the American context, with President George H. W. Bush on September 11, 1990, before a joint session of Congress. It was the end of the Cold War, Gulf War I appeared a success, and Germany was reuniting:

We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. . . . Out of these troubled times, . . . a *new world order* can emerge; a new era – freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace, an era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony (quoted in Abanes 1996, pp. 76). [italics added]

The New World Order was heralded as a time in which old divisions between nations no longer mattered, and a new system of collective security was envisioned by the drafters of the United Nations Charter.

The New World Order fits nicely with the concerns advanced by the Patriot/Militia Movement, and with some secularized modifications, is well represented in the Tyranny Response Team discourse. Amongst Patriots there has been a persistent fear of the New World Order, which is played out through tax slavery, Soviet (or foreign) troops on U.S. soil, spy computers, and militarized “.... law enforcement agencies [who] have turned on the American people. [and are] the next step in the emergence of an American police state, and eventually a world government” (The Calm Before the Storm Troopers, 1996, pp. 18).

For Patriots, the New World Order has come to symbolize all that is wrong with the erosion of Constitutional rights, as well as a rallying cry for anti-government sentiment and globalization fears. The editorial viewpoint of a militia publication, *The Free American*, opens with a warning about this New Order:

The Free American is committed to restoring the Constitution. We are against the *looting of America by foreign interests*.... Charges by the media that patriots are anti-government is a blatant lie. We are against “Corrupt” government officials, traitors and government sponsored terrorism. We will support with our lives, fortunes and our sacred honor the Constitutional Republic against all enemies, domestic and *foreign*, so

help us God (Editorial Viewpoint 1998, pp. 2). [italics added]

Yet within the Patriot/Militia Movement the New World Order has many dimensions. One such interpretation is heavily imbued with Christian eschatology, where plots that were foretold in Revelations subjugate humans to the global tyranny:

Flashpoint has received astonishing evidence of an incredible, new “Beast 666 Universal Human Control System.” Officially called L.U.C.D., this grotesque system of universal slavery is – even as you read this – being implemented by federal and international intelligence and police agencies. The new Beast 666 system will mandate that every man, woman, and child on planet Earth be issued a high tech, “Smart” I.D. card, called a Universal Biometrics Card. The chilling system is slated to be fully in operation by the year 2000, to celebrate the dawn of the New Age Millennium.

This I.D. card allows the New World Order’s police state to track and link every man, woman, and child on planet Earth.... Project L.U.C.I.D. is being implemented at the direction of the Inner Circle of the Illuminati. Using the global internet, the system has been developed and is being installed by international corporations, working jointly with United Nations consultants and U.S. intelligence and law enforcement personnel. Project L.U.C.I.D. is Satan’s diabolical, end-times system of total and absolute human control. It will put mankind under the direct subjection to the Antichrist and his jackbooted, Gestapo-thug storm troopers. Every government on Earth will cooperate to oppress its citizens. *There will be nowhere to hide!* (Project L.U.C.I.D. is Here! 1998).

All the usual suspects are present in this lengthy excerpt, from the government and its international conspirators, down to the United Nations, with Satan working behind the scenes.

Seventh Day Adventist, whose religious world view is deeply apocalyptic, approach the New World Order as a continuing struggle against the Papacy (Lawson 1997; Krakauer 2003). In a “Papal” New World Order, the Vatican has joined forces with United Nations to further the Inquisition. Their objective is to subjugate the

republican inspired Constitutional freedoms of America and England, based in Common Law, to the yoke of Canon Law. The Magna Carta and Bill of Rights are pitted against the hierarchy of Rome and Papal deceit: *The battle for freedom through the centuries was not fought in a vacuum. This battle was fought against tyranny – particularly the tyranny of Rome with its Inquisition and Canon Law* (Cherith Chronicle 1996, pp. 4) [italics in original].

Patriots have also added a racial or ethnic component to the New World discourse, believing that Jews and other internationalists are lurking behind globalization. Col. Jack Mohr's widely circulated brochure "Treason in High Places" lays out a Zionist World Order.

TODAY WE KNOW 'THAT COMMUNISM IS A ZIONIST-JEW PHENOMENA', the evidence being overwhelming. Long before the end of World War II, THESE JEWISH ZIONIST COMMUNISTS were in our State Department and other government agencies planning the 'grand illusion' of all time upon the world, 'THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER', much of it copied from THE SOVIET UNION CONSTITUTION.

Small acts of national espionage and treason soon snowball into a global plot by internationally minded Zionists, with American sovereignty sacrificed under the feet of this global cabal (Eaton 1996).

The Tyranny Response Team has taken a more secular approach to the New World Order. Moreover, they do not advance well orchestrated international conspiracy, rather concerns over the Constitutional rights are due the systematic growth of repressive states. A key tool in this process has been the growth in Executive branch power through Presidential declarations of emergency and Executive Orders. Both have the potential of

suspending the Constitution, further restricting State's rights, and providing a pretext for U.N. control. According to TRT members the latter has already begun when Clinton joined U.S. gun control to the U.N. campaign to rid the world of small hand guns. "We went to New York City to protest over that one," decried one TRT member.

The year 1933 is seen as watershed for the TRT, when FDR declared a state of emergency:

FDR, after he got into office, March of that year, a state of emergency was declared because of the terrible economic crisis. Well the courts have decided for along time, decreed in several cases, that a state of emergency is identical to a state of war. In a state of war government can do anything it wants. Which means that the Constitution is suspended.... Its an Alice in Wonderland that we have now. The Federal government is basically and completely outside its bounds, and its taken over all the functions that should have been the State's.... Now the states are beholden to the Federal government....The entire thing is upside down! (Interview, May 8, 2002).

For the Tyranny Response Team, the Federal government becomes a proxy for globalization. Whether Harbermas's penetration of the system into the lifeworld, or Touraine's distant and highly centralized bureaucray run by technocrats, in the TRT discourse the Federal government occupies that role:

The irony is that Bush claims Osama Bin Laden attacked freedom, yet he [Bush] is willing to hand down marshall law under the guise of calling himself a "Patriot" & the Patriot Act – which allows the FBI to tap into your bank accounts & phones of people who aren't terrorists, people who aren't Muslim or part of the Nation of Islam. Now they have carte blanche to go after their political enemies – which is what the FBI has been doing since its inception. It's a police organ which is used to go after political enemies be they communists, socialists. It they don't like you & you are not part of the establishment, they will screw you over (Interview, April 4, 2002).

This continuing theme of domination begs the question of resistance, and in order

to effectively resist, argue the Tyranny Response Team and the Anti-Federalists before them, you need access to guns. It is this tension to which I now turn.

The Second Amendment and the Struggle over Civil Society:

Taking back the streets is a major theme for the Tyranny Response Team. The leadership has openly lauded the Civil Rights struggles of the 1960 and 70s, as well as the anti-globalization struggles that took place in Seattle in 1999, and seeks to emulate their tactics. These are seen as the great resistance movements of their time. Not only did they confront state power but they challenged widely held cultural assumptions of the day as well.

The struggle to push back the intrusive state and challenge its “cultural agents” like the Million Moms takes place on the streets. The control of civil society must be accomplished in a face-to-face confrontation with the “Other”.

The TRT fears the nation is slowly slipping away from the dream of the founding fathers into a perverted and false sense of freedom. That is the tenet on which the TRT was founded just over a year ago, on a cold December night. We marched on the governor’s mansion to protest pending gun control legislation. There wasn’t any joining on that night, I was one of the original seven members. It simply hatched itself. We were all tired of being pushed around by political forces and not really being heard. The same concern finally drew many people out of their comfort zone (Interview, March 30, 2001).

The TRT is an alternative to “politics as usual,” or what they call the “meet, eat, and retreat” approach. Here members of a “protest” organizations, sit around and have a meal while “bitching” about the world, and go back too their dull lives. Instead, the:

Tyranny Response Team was willing to hit the streets & meet the

opposition head on. Whether it was a politician or public official the TRT is a good vehicle for disrupting events of the opposition. An opportunity to come face-to-face. The usual means of voting & writing a letter or sitting down one-on-one & have an intelligent discussion with somebody who wants gun control. All those things seem to be of no avail (Interview, April 4, 2002).

The Tyranny Response Team insists that the responsibility for keeping watch over Constitutional rights falls directly upon groups in civil society. The government's interest is in violating and eroding rights not in protecting and enhancing them. The police are not defenders of the Bill of Rights, rather they are destroyers the Bill of Rights. Why? Because they "work for the State". Politicians and bureaucrats can't be trusted with civil liberties. Not only that, they require constant monitoring:

When the individual becomes subservient to the State, the individual has no rights... we're talking State-sponsored tyranny. Joseph Stalin, Hitler, Pol Pot ... If you don't have the ability to ward off the excesses of government, then there is nothing to stop that from happening. The first thing that happened when Hitler took over was to take all the guns from the citizens (Interview, March 30, 2001).

This responsibility resides in the people, who can take up arms in order to control State power on the streets of civil society.

The power flow moves in the direction of the people to the Constitution, and finally to government. The Constitution is a document that, rather than imbuing government with power, limits its power. The primary defense of the State and protection from corruption of the Constitution, rests with the citizen militia bearing its own arms. The defense of both this right and responsibility exists into antiquity, and was born of the covenant between God and the exiled Jews of the Old Testament (Interview, May 8, 2002; Senate Hearings 1995 with Norman Olson [[Michigan Militia], pp. 94).

Identifying the enemy is essential in constructing a movement identity, both collectively, and for those individuals engaging in political action. Whether exchanging information, or insults, the Tyranny Response Team's encounters with the Million Moms, Sane Alternatives to the Gun Epidemic (SAFE) Colorado or school children lining up to see President Clinton's 2000 visit, were engagements on the streets of civil society. These skirmishes were designed to establish the presence of the Tyranny Response Team, and let the opposition, the enemy, know that they were not going to "roll over any more" (Speech, February 3, 2000). The challenging the "Other" is the next New Social Movement theme, and is discussed below.

Confronting the Other and Challenging Codes:

Melucci makes the point that not only do New Social Movements emphasize identity, but that identity becomes a political tool used in the struggle over capturing the meaning of cultural codes. These challenges can occur between organization or movements in civil society (discussed below) or directly with State power. The following excerpt between Senator Specter and Michigan Militia leader Norman Olson, best exemplifies this duel over control of cultural codes, and indirectly one's very identity:

Senator Specter. I cannot understand how anybody could would bomb the Oklahoma City Federal Building as a matter of retribution.
Mr. Olson. Well, then, you don't understand the problem that we have had in Northern Ireland, you don't understand the problem that we have had in South Africa, you do not understand the hatred and the retaliation and the retribution and the revenge that has been going on around this

globe since time immortal.... No, sir. I believe you are trying to lay at the feet of the militia some culpability, responsibility. You are trying to make us out to be something that we are not, much as the press has tried to do over this last year. We are not what you think we are. We are not what the press wants to feed to the American people..... We are people who love our Government and love the Constitution.... but the thing that we stand against is corruption. We stand against oppression and tyranny in government and we, many of us, are coming to the conclusion that you best represent that corruption and tyranny (The Militia Movement In The United States 1995, pp. 98).

By meeting your opponent head-on not only are these identities put to the test, but they assist in advancing your cause, and in the process writing history. Battles over the cultural language of rights, protections, safety, as well as discourses around freedom, liberty, power, identity, and the “Other” are all indicated in this call to arms by a Tyranny

Response Team member:

When the Million Moms gather for their Mother’s Day rally [they] can expect a strong showing from us. Not everyone, there will be supporting the Moms’ push for gun control. On the other side will stand the Tyranny Response Team (TRT) and we plan to show up in full force to protest what we see as an erosion of our individual rights and a continuous threat to the Bill of Rights..... This upcoming event is about gaining support and becoming stronger as an organization. We’re saying to people: We want you to come out and demonstrate that there is another side. There is a debate that needs to go on.... Guns are our focus, especially the Second Amendment, which clearly demands easy access to firearms for protection from oppressive groups such as Million Moms. Basically, we are raising the price of tyranny (Interview, April 12, 2001).

Opposition builds identity. The interplay between the Million Moms and the Tyranny Response Team gave purpose and provided motivation for people to take to the streets. Once the Million Mom Marches stopped after May 2002, the TRT’s numbers began to decline as well. This was acknowledged by the TRT leadership. Some

attributed it to the TRT's victory, but MMM and SAFE Colorado had already pushed through major anti-gun legislation in the State. Most importantly they had been instrumental in seeing that Amendment 22, became law in 2001 which required background checks at gun shows, and was the bane of the TRT. Amendment 22 was passed on a state-wide referenda in November of 2000 with over 70% of the Colorado voters approving it. This overwhelmingly support, for the Tyranny Response Team, is just another example of how democracy – as mob rule or the tyranny of the majority – violates fundamental rights.

The question: Can you think of examples in American history where groups like the Tyranny Response Team have organized to achieve their goals? Was very instructive in assessing the organization's identity. Answers ranged from the Ethan Allens Green Mountain Men to the well-known Minutemen of the Revolutionary period. In all cases the Tyranny Response Team was touted as a truly grassroots movement, which set it apart from the Million Moms and SAFE. These organizations were being run and their members manipulated by a corrupt set of special interests.

The Million Moms were presented as having two dramatically different levels of leadership, the hidden elites and rank and file. The rank and file are assumed by the Tyranny Response Team to be misguided though well intentioned. They are women who are upset about violence and rightfully so. They are fearful for their children and rightfully so. They want to do something and rightfully so. But they are misadvised. They are dupes of a distant leadership, which is off sequestered in the citadels of power in Washington D.C.. Not out in the trenches of the cultural war over gun rights. The story

told by the Tyranny Response Team is that the Million Mom Marcher founder presents her self as a simple housewife who has never been politically active. One day she begins to worry about guns, and just decides to start the Million Moms. When in “fact” she was “...a professional public relations specialist and activist in the Democratic Party. Their funding comes from [the Democratic National Committee] as well as their organizational strategy. Unlike us, they are not a grassroots movement” (Interview, April 12, 2001).

This chapter has provided the reader with some of the substance of the fieldwork experience. From rallies and protests, to events and gun community activities, the Tyranny Response Team has been a central player along the Front Range since its inception in December of 1999. Moreover, the Tyranny Response Team illustrates nicely the New Social Movement themes of globalization, struggles over civil society, and the challenges of constructing an identity in the face of the “Other”. Yet just as importantly, the Tyranny Response Team indicates additional theoretical work needs to be done to fully assess how republican ways of thinking and acting fit with New Social Movement theory. It is to this question that I now turn in this research’s concluding chapter.

CONCLUSION

Introduction:

This chapter continues the reformulation of New Social Movement theory which began in Chapter Seven. Inalienable Anarchy, Republican Radicalism, and Anti-Federalist Populism become the new conceptual schemes that allow for the extension of New Social Movement theory into the domain of political-right movements. The fundamental transformation is the move from democracy to a republic. While radical, or participatory democracy, is the rallying cry for New Social Movements on the left; republicanism informs the actions and intentions of movement participants on the right. By introjecting republicanism into this research, I do not mean to suggest that this idea operates only amongst right-wing movements. The Peoples *Republic* of China offers an example of the use of republican ideas in a politically-left movement. However, what I do claim is that republican ideas *best* explain the persistent presence of right-wing movements throughout American history.

In the final section of this chapter, I ask the question: How can we extend New Social Movement theory to incorporate issues and concerns of the Tyranny Response Team, namely the importance placed on the United States being a Republic? Can this challenge of republicanism be incorporated into New Social Movement theory *and* remain faithful to the theoretical insights proffered by Habermas, Touraine, and Melicci at the beginning of this research?

Reformulating New Social Movement Theory based on Republican Theory:

I am advancing three new conceptual themes as a result of my research on the Tyranny Response Team and the subsequent demands that republicanism has placed on New Social Movement theory. These are Inalienable Anarchy, Republican Radicalism and Anti-Federalist Populism.

The Anarcho Liberation:

Inalienable Anarchy is the conceptual extension, or reformulation, based on the first set of themes presented in the literature, that of globalization within the New Social Movement discourse and domination as identified by Burawoy's method (see Table 8.1: Reformulating New Social Movement Theory at the Macro Level, a Case of the TRT, on the following page). In addition to these theoretical connections, Inalienable Anarchy is coupled with the empirical findings of repressive states (New World Order) and tyranny that originated from the actual fieldwork with the Tyranny Response Team.

Inalienable Anarchy is predicated on the idea that there are bedrock rights that cannot be removed from those individuals "in possession" of them (that is, the citizen). A key tenet of anarchy has been the importance of liberation from constraint, whether – as in this research – from the shackles of the State, or from other forms of authority such as ideology (like religion). This abolition of authority has a decidedly anti-hierarchical character to it. Structures of power should not be dominating and, certainly, not centralized. Both truncate one's potential, and most importantly, one's freedom. Liberation from authority has as its objective the maximizing of personal freedom in

terms of desires, inclinations, social interaction, and action. By attaching the tradition of anarchy to the idea of having something inalienable, we begin to see that “ownership” and action become one. Inalienable Anarchy indicates that the path to liberation has, as a necessary condition, control over a power or force that facilitates action. In this research, that key element is fundamental, or inalienable, rights. In this sense, Inalienable Anarchy is defined as a “Freedom of Action”.

Table 8.1: Reformulating New Social Movement Theory at the Macro Level, a Case of the TRT

Dialogues	Macro	Transformation
Observer w/ Participant	Tyranny	Suppression
Local Process w/ Extra Local Force	New World Order & Repressive State	
New Social Movement Themes	Globalization	
Extended Case Themes	Domination	
Anomaly	↔ REPUBLICANISM ↔	
New Theoretical Extension	Inalienable Anarchy	Liberation

At the macro level, with the introduction of republicanism, the theoretical shift in New Social Movement theory is from suppression to liberation. In the articulations coming from the Tyranny Response Team prior to the reformulation, the overarching themes are that of control and the thwarting of one’s ability to act freely. This theme is

indicated in the following interview excerpt, where a Tyranny Response Team member and gun shop owner decries the communities resistance to his gun store on main street:

It is outrageous that a handful of people here in Longmont would deny a man his God-given and constitutionally guaranteed rights simply because the goods and services he offers to the public do not conform to their idea of political correctness, sense of esthetics or what they would like to see on their Main Street.... Make no mistake about it. This is not about guns, this is about freedom. If the good people of this town don't rise up and scream bloody murder over this attempt by an elite group of thugs to use government to harass, intimidate and destroy the livelihood of an honest, decent, law-abiding man simply because his philosophy, values and business clash with their world view then something is terribly wrong (Interview, January 6, 2001).

Tyranny, the New World Order, and Globalization all operate at the macro level as ascendent structures of domination. When reading the works of Habermas, Touraine, and, certainly, Foucault (although not used in this research) you come away with a bleak picture of the possibilities for people to influence and alter the direction of social structural transformation. Yet, ensconced within the republican tradition, Inalienable Anarchy counters this dark vision by tying rights to liberation. Here this connection is made by a Tyranny Response Team speaker, after 911:

The conflict between liberty and tyranny. Between the freedom of our people, and the presumed security of the State. One struggle is as old as the other. Never surrender your inalienable rights to tyrants who promise security... who promise safety... who promise peace and wealth and calm if only they are allowed to rule unhindered. I refuse to accept any offer of bondage! We, as a people, need not surrender our inalienable rights in order to preserve our Republic. Our children need not grow up as the property of the State, in order to have that distant day of peace and loving prosperity.... We are a free people and determined people. We guard their liberty, and their rights, and their freedom here at home; from those who seek to subtly change the nature of our Republic from a land of freedom and opportunity, to a place of suspicion and control (Speech, October 20, 2001).

Moreover, by grounding these rights in a sphere beyond challenge, even by the most repressive states, republicans give themselves a foundation upon which to act in the world, irrespective of the technocratic forces allied against them. Unlike most New Social Movement theory which uses the language of rights to advance social causes, these republican rights are not viewed by the Tyranny Response Team as social constructions. Rather, the rights are anchored in a space almost beyond time, and certainly beyond history, that is, they are non-negotiable. This deep connection between liberation and inalienable rights was a dominant message at the “Bill of Rights Day” panel discussion on December 15, 2000:

As human beings, we each have essential, inalienable rights. These rights are not granted by human law. Nor are they mere privileges, tossed as pacifying crumbs to a starving and beaten people by a ruler.... Our rights are the very fabric and source of our human potential! They are the gateways to our successes... to our joys, and to our very ability to live and prosper. They cannot be taken from us by priest or prince, by law or order. These rights our Constitution recognizes are beyond the laws of Men. They are the fundamental requirements of human dignity... and cannot be destroyed or demolished. They can only – with your permission – be trodden upon (Speech, December 15, 2000).

Simply stated, if the rights I possess are incorruptible, then my freedom to act is also beyond reproach. This becomes an extreme mix of anarchy and libertarianism; an “anarcho-libertarianism” which employs: “Don’t Tread of Me” as its aphoristic quip.

An Offensive Display of Rights:

The second new concept which operates at the meso level is that of Republican Radicalism. This traverses the theoretical landscape to couple Civil Society, from the New Social Movement perspective, and Resistance, from Burawoy’s methodology (see

Table 8.2, Reformulating New Social Movement Theory at the Meso Level, a Case of the TRT, on the following page). At the empirical level while I was in the field, there was ample discussion by the Tyranny Response Team around the issue of rights, namely the Bill of Rights with an intense focus on the Second Amendment. A republic can be thought of as having three attributes: 1) that power is not concentrated or centralized, that is, it is traditionally non-monarchical; 2) in an effort to avoid authoritarianism, there is a recognition of Constitutionally protected rights; and 3) that the power resides in the people, whether in representational, direct, or constitutional form. Power to the people best sums up the essential republican message.

Radical is used here as the initiation of a root treatment affecting the fundamental base of something. In this sense, radicalism is a strategy or tactic for action. This action has as its purpose a complete or profound cure of some social ill, and it is believed to be far reaching in its scope. Whereas Inalienable Anarchy suggested a *freedom* to act, Republican Radicalism is premised on the *capacity* to act. Republicanism becomes both a *justification* to act and the basis *upon which* that action actually occurs. Both are linked back to rights.

With the introduction of republicanism into New Social Movement theory, there is a transformation of rights from defensive to offensive. A defensive stance toward rights has at its core the protection of the Bill of Rights as a quintessential republican document. These rights are seen as under siege or threat, from both the State, but also the “Other”, with which the Tyranny Response Team is locked in a battle in civil society. Tyranny Response Team members’ interviews and speeches were replete with references to the decay of rights and their needed defense.

Table 8.2: Reformulating New Social Movement Theory at the Meso Level, a Case of the TRT

Dialogues	Meso	Transformation
Observer w/ Participant	Bill of Rights	Rights as Defensive
Local Process w/ Extra Local Force	Second Amendment Rights	
New Social Movement Themes	Civil Society	
Extended Case Themes	Resistance	
Anomaly	⇔ REPUBLICANISM ⇔	
New Theoretical Extension	Republican Radicalism	Rights as Offensive

The following excerpt is indicative of this dynamic of defensive rights:

I fear that a privileged class has risen to rule over the common people and that we are closer to returning to a monarchy than at any other time in our history. We have retained the appearance of a republican form of government, but continue to allow our republican rights to be taken away. This has largely materialized today. In less than a month George the Third [with great emphasis] will become President. There will be all sorts of imperial pomp and pageantry as if he were a king!.... In a true republic, the citizens themselves are virtuous, the government must be kept good by the people or it will degenerate. Educating people on the importance of the Bill of Rights is a place to start (Interview, December 15, 2000).

Conversely, in an offensive minded approach to rights, rather than just protect Civil Society and push back the intrusive State, the Tyranny Response Team – armed with republican rights – believe their task is to remedy the situation by returning the balance of power back to its republican form. When on the offensive, the Tyranny Response Team’s tone shifted as did the subject matter. Here history was on their side,

and like the Minutemen before them, they were living *in* history. Rights, rather than held and protected, should be practiced or exercised. From Lexington to Longmont; Concord to Colorado, the Tyranny Response Team was embracing and expanding the essentials of the human condition. Their mission, to be on the side of history that promotes liberty and freedom:

It's not like it's difficult to make the Million Moms look foolish. Virtually every claim made by the Million Moms is either a flat-out lie or a deceptive half-truth. The Million Moms actively support policies proven to increase violent crime, especially against women. Meanwhile, the side advocating the rights of gun owners is the side with well-documented support and with *moral superiority* because it advocates civil rights, self-defense, safe communities, and a properly limited government (Interview, April 21, 2002). [Italics added]

In this shift from defensive to offensive rights, Don't Tread on Me is transformed into "Take Back the Streets".

The street is used by the Tyranny Response Team in two ways: first as a site of resistance, and second as a mode of amplification. As a practical tactic, the Tyranny Response Team defended the erosion of their rights by open and hostile struggle with the "Other" on the streets.

The mission statement [of the Tyranny Response Team] does not only mention that we are interested in the Second Amendment issues. The purpose of the group is to defend the original ten, the first ten Amendments to the Constitution known as the Bill of Rights. Right up with the Second Amendment is the First Amendment. The right to redress the government.... The theme [of our rallies], regardless of where or why, has been: taking back the streets! This idea has become a popular notion with the right wing, something they don't ordinarily do, taking to the streets demanding our rights – this was something done in the 1960s.... Even if the TRT goes by the wayside, we have started something. People are going to the streets and the TRT set the example by overcoming the fear of taking to the streets, obstructing things and screwing things up for the opposition and nobody is going to stop us (Interview, April 4, 2002).

Taking back the streets, they believed, was the Tyranny Response Team's contribution to history's continuous challenge of protecting rights in the face of tyranny. By taking back the streets, the Tyranny Response Team reclaimed civil society.

We are willing to go to war to defend the Bill of Rights. We are going to get in their faces every time this [gun control] issue comes up.... The Million Moms are a liberal front group lobbying hard to destroy the Bill of Rights.... We've started something huge here. We've been giving the Million Mom Marches, I like to call them the "commie mummies," heartburn all over the country (Speech, May 13, 2001).

By reclaiming civil society, "taking back the streets" was transformed to "talking back on the streets," as the streets were then used by the Tyranny Response Team to amplify their message.

The taking of the streets is situated within the republican language of action. If government resists, then armed force would be necessary. The struggle over the Bill of Rights and, in particular, the Second Amendment is really a contest over who will have the ability to project their normative vision onto their contenders. Should this capacity reside with the State or with the people? If with the people, their ability to act autonomously requires they control the key institutions of civil society (culture, family, education, civil association, and religion).

This struggle is radical in that the stakes are for the control or ownership of fundamental republican rights. Whoever prevails has the capacity to profoundly alter their relationship to power and, in a post-industrial society, the ability to make history (Touraine's historicity). According to the Tyranny Response Team, historical struggles or social movements can either turn back toward tyranny (the Monarchical path) or

toward greater freedom (the anarcho-libertarian path).

Coming to Terms with Virtue:

The final conceptual reformulation is that of Anti-Federalist Populism. At the micro level, this idea provides a theoretical link between Identity and History, and at the empirical level, between a Patriot and the Confronting of Codes (see Table 8.3, Reformulating New Social Movement Theory at the Micro Level, a Case of the TRT, following page). Anti-Federalist Populism speaks to the questions: What are the *Effects* of Action? and *Who* Should Benefit? As indicated in Chapter Five, one important way to understand both the Patriot/Militia Movement in general and the presence of defined groups like the Tyranny Response Team is their connection to Populism.

Populism, that distinctly American tradition, prefaces its movement by radically separating the State from civil society, or the people from government. In addition, this bifurcation of state vs. society lends itself to the populist language of elites vs. the people. A key principle of both populism and the Anti-Federalist legacy is the ascription of virtue and wisdom to the common people, which places them in stark contrast to a corrupted elite. This, as mentioned in Chapter Six, was a dominant theme amongst the English Whigs in their opposition to the Monarchy, and was widely circulated by the Tyranny Response Team as well.

Boulder should follow up passage of its [gun control] laws by posting a sign at the city limits welcoming rapists, home invaders, and other criminals. A disarmed populace invites criminal mayhem. You can add me to your list of criminals. I just purchased an assault rifle.... Our rights come from God, not from the state government or the City of Boulder.... I did not come here to beg you to exercise my rights. Our days of begging you are over. My rights are not negotiable (Speech, June 21, 2000).

Table 8.3: Reformulating New Social Movement Theory at the Micro Level, a Case of the TRT

Dialogues	Micro	Transformation
Observer w/ Participant	Patriot	Code of Corruption
Local Process w/ Extra Local Force	Challenging the “Other’s” Codes	
New Social Movement Themes	Identity	
Extended Case Themes	History	
Anomaly		⇔ REPUBLICANISM ⇔
New Theoretical Extension	Anti-Federalist Populism	Code of Virtue

In American history, this motif of corruption and virtue was a critical motivation of the American Colonialists to break with England, and has been present in social movements across the political spectrum. Whereby, only the people are anointed with a quality of moral excellence. This gives them the sole right as arbitrator or judge of the goodness or badness of human action. Evaluating the effect of action, both in terms of its direction and its impact, rests with the people (whoever they may be) not State bureaucrats, cultural elites, or corporate magnates. Hence, Anti-Federalist Populism refers to the *Effect* of an Action, that is, its result or outcome. The phrase “Where the people are armed, the state can govern, but it cannot rule,” issued by a member of the Tyranny Response Team in an interview, November 11, 2003 exemplifies the idea of *effect*, or judgment, of an action.

By placing the people in opposition to an elite cabal, Anti-Federalist Populism

reintroduces the importance of virtue. As indicated in Chapter Six, virtue holds an important place in the republican tradition. Defined as action taken for the common good, virtue has been a key justification for the taking up of arms by a people against an enemy (both foreign and domestic!) throughout history. In this research, prior to the influence of republicanism in New Social Movement theory, a code of corruption framed the struggles between the Tyranny Response Team and other groups in civil society. The “taking back” of the streets was for the express purpose of “talking back” to the opposition. The discourse of the Tyranny Response Team and the “Other” was around the restriction of these rights.

By introducing Anti-Federalist Populism, the cultural emphasis on corruption is transformed into a code of virtue. This alternative cultural logic repositions the Tyranny Response Team from resister to advancer. The Tyranny Response Team is taking up the virtuous fight of advancing rights. These are not just any rights, but fundamental rights that are not associated with any faction (elite or otherwise), and, thereby, are beyond corruption and tyrannical control. Moreover, they are virtuous in that they are universal in their application, as indicated in the following dialogue between interviewer and TRT member:

Participant: “...fundamental laws have a basis that goes well beyond majority whim. We are not talking about whether to make j-walking a misdemeanor or a felony. We are talking about the right to free speech, guns, protection of one’s person. These [rights] were made by people but have a justification beyond people.

Interviewer: Do you think they are sacred?

Participant: Yes I do. Because they benefit all people not just a special class of people. I believe in gun ownership, and I am unwilling to allow anyone else from not [emphasis] having the same right, even if they don’t exercise it. Do you own a gun?

Interviewee: No... no, I don’t.

Participant: But you still have a right to have one don't you?

Interviewer: Yes, I do.

Participant: That's what I mean by a fundamental right! In a democracy, majority rules, even if the majority wants to violate a fundamental right, such as the Second Amendment. But in a republic these rights are in place to protect against them or others from being taken away (Interview, December 15, 2000).

Although it makes for good political theater, the objective of taking to the streets is seen by the Tyranny Response Team as an act of republican virtue. Virtue because what is being defended and protected benefits every one, not just those locked in heated exchange. The defense of these republican rights allows citizens to remain free. They reflect the common good because, while they are possessed by everyone, they are owned by no one. This is what the Tyranny Response Team refers to as a fundamental right, and what is worth fighting for. To guarantee one's access to fundamental rights, one must extend these rights to everyone. Within a republican tradition, fundamental rights are seen as a national treasure – not only to be protected, but to be exercised in perpetuity.

Coda: Sacred Texts and Social Movements

In the beginning of this research, I indicated that the history of New Social Movement theory has paralleled the rise of progressive left-leaning movements. In fact, as initiated by Tourane in The May Movement (1971), New Social Movement theory could be seen as a cataloging of these movements. Yet, little attention has been paid to the conservative movements on the right of the social, cultural, and political spectrum. Identity politics, the politics of difference, civil rights, counter hegemonic nodal articulations, and anti-globalization struggles were all thought to be a product of, and to

exist in, left-leaning movements. However, over the past 20 years there has been a dramatic expansion in right-of-center movements.

In the American context alone, the success of the Christian-right would have been unthinkable during the 1960s and 1970s. Not only have movements on the right co-existed along side (and in some cases as a response to) progressive struggles, but in many ways, since the mid 1980s, they have been far more successful in advancing their message. Today, many of the ideas in the Patriot/Militia Movement and Tyranny Response Team, such as a deep suspicion of the federal government to apocalyptic fears and the necessity for preparedness, have been institutionalized (Phillips, 2006).

According to a recent USA Today/Gallup poll, since 2002 there has been over a 300% increase in the percentage of Americans who think their civil liberties are being too restricted due to the “war on terrorism,” with 41% of Americans holding this position (Government Phone Records Reaction, 2006). Similarly, that same poll found that 83% of Americans believed corruption was a serious problem in government (Government and Politics, 2006). Couple this with Gallup polls indicating that 82% of Americans worship a “Universal God” and believe it shapes their daily lives in *concrete* ways (CBS News Poll, 2006). More to the point, 83% of Evangelical Protestants believe the bible to be the literal word of God (Newsweek, 2004). Evangelicals now comprise over 25% of the American population, a figure not including the two million Mormons and Jehovah’s Witnesses. Of that Evangelical population, 71% now believe that we are nearing the “end times” and that the world will come to a apocalyptic end in an Armageddon battle between Jesus Christ and the Antichrist (Phillips 2006, pp. 102).

This volatile mix of suspicion and outright antipathy toward government, fear of losing civil liberties based in the Bill of Rights, and a belief in an imminent and epic struggle between an evil power and the universal forces of good that will determine the fate of the world, all reinforce the world-view of Patriots and TRT members alike. More importantly, they have become mainstays in the larger mind-set of the American population. While most Americans would probably abhor the idea of being affiliated with a militia or, for that matter, the Tyranny Response Team, they would find unsettling commonalities if they were to sit down and talk with them. According to this research, this should come as no surprise, since it has been argued that, as movements, militias and the Tyranny Response Team have operated within the American mainstream.

Given these contemporary dynamics, what might a reformulated New Social Movement theory look like? One that incorporates the anomaly of republicanism, as indicated in this research, and envelops right, or conservative, movements. Surprisingly, part of the answer comes from the Habermasian tradition. In Chapter Three, Cohen and Arato (1999) argue that *fundamental rights are the institutional framework that social movements make claim to in civil society*. For the authors, these rights become an organizing principle for progressive New Social Movements. For these left-leaning movements there is an recognition that “fundamental,” fundamentally means that these rights are the outcome of social and historical struggles. They take on the stature of “fundamental” in that they are widely agreed upon and are used as justification within many social contexts. In other words, despite being fundamental, they are still social constructions.

Progressive movements have embraced fundamental rights as a means of enhancing difference based on identity. For instance, the gay marriage issue is part of a larger New Social Movement fight for gay rights. The progressive argument has reached out to fundamental rights as a justification for their struggle; that is, the socially recognized protections and responsibilities of marriage, while maintaining their difference as gay men and lesbian women. Fundamental rights become significant at the level of difference.

The practice of radical democracy in left-leaning New Social Movements, while embracing the tradition of fundamental rights, ultimately manifests as local movements organized around identity and based on difference. Ultimately, the general applicability of fundamental rights fragments into the many causes and rationalities of different movement participants. Contingency becomes the overarching sentiment as universals are rejected in favor of the “uniqueness of application” of a “fundamental” right. Larger or more sustained struggles become more difficult as each movement has incorporated and absorbed any discourse around universals into their agenda.

The Sierra Club can't talk to Earth First, who can't communicate with the Earth Liberation Front, who, in turn, has a different take on the environment than Friends of the Earth. Holding together a struggle or building a larger resistance movement becomes mired down in the particularities of interpretations of fundamental rights such as sustainability. Isn't it the point of New Social Movements anyway, that larger movement articulations are at best fleeting and at worst terrorizing and totalitarian!

Those movements on the right have also embraced the concept of fundamental rights. In so doing, they are also attempting an intricate balance between universals and

particulars. One that has, in the end, been more successful than those on the left. For progressive New Social Movements, fundamental remains a contingent concept. Social and historical circumstances determine how a right develops, as well as how that right is appropriated by a particular movement. In contrast, rights in conservative movements have taken on a much deeper and universal understanding. In my research amongst the Tyranny Response Team, and in the larger discourse of the Patriot/Militia Movement, rights are unabashedly essentialistic.

The Bill of Rights is a sacred document rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition, which ultimately originates in the “word of God”. In short, fundamental means that rights are God-given. The foundational claim that the Bill of Rights is a sacred text and that the rights contained in them are God-given makes organizing in their defense a much more profound act. Moreover movements organizing in the name of God are one’s that can withstand the well organized forces of tyrannical States, technocratic societies, and the vagaries of global transformation. The colonization into a lifeworld grounded in God-given rights, although violating the spirit of Habermas’s conception, is far more capable of resisting the influences of intrusive social institutions.

Republicanism becomes the key concept connecting this interplay between the particular and the universal in right-leaning movements. Republicanism is a critique of the distancing or de-contextualizing that occurs when people, communities, and nation-states are faced with globalization. A Republic reconnects, or re-localizes, power in the people. The fear of a non local power is at the heart of the critique of globalization. Moreover, from the Tyranny Response Team down to the Anti-Federalists, this fear has framed populist struggles throughout American history.

By grounding power in the people, republicanism offers a radical localism that, while similar to progressive movements, is predicated on an unchallenged set of fundamental rights. These rights, for those who identify with them, act as a shield to guard against tyranny, centralized authority and institutional corruption. For the Tyranny Response Team, it was the difference between belonging versus representation. Belonging is direct, personal and immediate, and was exemplified at the rallies where people, each in possession of these fundamental rights, came together to exercise them and, in the process, built community. This community was an affirmation of their connection through these rights, but it also was their affirmation of their personal liberty to exercise them. This gave the TRT its anarchistic bent. Conversely, representation which is indirect and bureaucratic was what the Tyranny Response Team was renouncing.

Finally, the identity of “Patriot” gave members of the Tyranny Response Team the personal strength and collective conviction to face, not only the tyranny of the State, but to challenge the “Other” on the streets of civil society. The republican tradition gives common people from all walks of life the capacity to stand united against all forms of organized power, and thus, connects this tradition with its populist legacy. By basing my identity as a patriot on sacred texts such as the Bill of Rights, Who I Am becomes much more substantial and unitary, yet remains concrete enough to build a social movement around. In short, it’s much easier to organize “with God on your side”. Maybe that is truly the moral of this fable.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS AND SPEECHES (by date)

Prior to 2000:

April 7, 1997; Fort Collins, Colorado
One Interview; One Speech

2000-2001:

February 3, 2000; Denver, Colorado
One Interview; One Speech
February 22, 2000; Fort Collins, Colorado
One Web Posting; One Speech
April 12, 2000; Denver, Colorado
One Speech
May 14, 2000; Denver, Colorado
One Interview; One Speech
June 21, 2000; Boulder, Colorado
One Interview; Two Speeches
December 15, 2000; Loveland, Colorado
One Interview; Two Speeches

2001-2002:

January 6, 2001; Longmont, Colorado
Two Interviews
March 30, 2001; Longmont, Colorado
Two Interviews
April 12, 2001; Denver, Colorado
One Interview
October 20, 2001; Denver, Colorado
Three Speeches
May 13, 2001; Denver, Colorado
Two Interviews; One Speech

2002-2003:

April 4, 2002; Fort Collins
One Interview
April 21, 2002
Three Interviews; Three Speeches
May 3 & 4, 2002; Fort Morgan, Colorado
Five Interviews
May 8, 2002; Fort Collins, Colorado
Two Interviews

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS AND SPEECHES (cont.)

2003-2004:

April 3, 2003; Fort Collins, Colorado

One Phone Interview

November 11, 2003; Cheyenne, Wyoming

One Pone Interview

1997-2004 Total: 24 Interviews and 16 Speeches = 40 Contacts

APPENDIX B: EVENTS (by type and date)

Events Related the Research:

- 1) Preparedness Expo '96, Saturday, November 8th & Sunday, November 9th (Attended) 1996, Denver, Colorado.
- 2) John Trockmann speech, "America's Judgments: Tips and Suggestions for What Lies Ahead in the 21st Century." (Attended) Monday, April 7, 1997, Fort Collins, Colorado.
- 3) Preparedness Expo '98, Saturday December 4th & Sunday December 5th (Attended) 1998, Denver, Colorado.
- 4) October/November 1999, meetings of The Committee to Restore The Constitution, Fort Collins, Colorado (Attended).

Known Tyranny Response Team Events:

- 5) Thursday, February 3, 2000, Denver, Colorado; "Second Amendment Civil Rights March" (Attended).
- 6) Monday, February 21, 2000, Fort Morgan, Colorado; "Anti-Governor Rally".
- 7) Tuesday, February 22, 2000, Fort Collins, Colorado; "Protest at Million Mom March meeting" (Attended).
- 8) Monday, March 6, 2000, Denver, Colorado "Anti Sane Alternatives to the Firearms Epidemic (SAFE) and Jim Brady protest" (Attended).
- 9) Friday, March 31, 2000, Longmont, Colorado; "Anti-Governor Rally".
- 10) Wednesday, April 12, 2000, Denver, Colorado; "Rally at President Clinton's Visit" (Attended).
- 11) Sunday, May 14, 2000, Denver, Colorado; "Protest at Million Mom March" (Attended).
- 12) Tuesday, May 16, 2000, Denver, Colorado Hyatt Regency "Anti Bell Campaign Rally".
- 13) Tuesday, June 20, 2000, Denver, Colorado; "Anti SAFE Rally".
- 14) Wednesday, June 21, 2000, Boulder, Colorado; "Boulder City Council Meeting" (Attended).
- 15) Friday December 15 2000, Loveland, Colorado; "Bill of Rights Day" (Attended).
- 16) Monday, January 8, 2001, Denver, Colorado; "Anti SAFE Rally".
- 17) Saturday, October 20, 2001, Denver Colorado; "Pro 911, Anti 'New World Order' Rally" (Attended).
- 18) Sunday, May 13, 2001, Denver, Colorado; "Protest at Million Mom March Rally" (Attended).

APPENDIX B: EVENTS (cont.)

- 19) Monday, June 25, 2001, Laporte, Colorado; "Rally at American Legion Building".
- 20) Saturday, July 14, 2001, New York City "Rally at the United Nations Building".
- 21) Saturday, December 15, 2001, Denver, Colorado; "Bill of Rights Day".
- 22) Day unknown, February 2001, Denver, Colorado "Protest at the Anti-Defamation League offices".
- 23) Sunday, April 21, 2002, Denver, Colorado; "Spy Files Rally" (Attended).
- 24) Friday through Sunday, May 3-5, 2002; Morgan, County; ".50 Cal BMG Rifle & Machine Gun Fun Shoot!" (Attended).
- 25) Thursday, August 15, 2002, Fort Collins, Colorado; "Protest at Million Moms March meeting".
- 26) Saturday, December 14, 2002, Denver, Colorado; "Bill of Rights Day Rally".

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Thank you for meeting with me. I will be asking you a series of questions about your interest and involvement in the Tyranny Response Team. Please answer the questions based on your understanding of them. There is no right or wrong answer. If you so choose, you may not answer any of the questions I will be asking.

Question Group A.

1. I understand you have been involved with the Tyranny Response Team, why has it been important for you to participate in the TRT?
2. What events have you participated in with the Tyranny Response Team?
3. What are some important issues you see the Tyranny Response Team attempting to address?
4. Has involvement in the Tyranny Response Team changed your views on some of these issues?
5. Do the concerns of the TRT have any place in the larger history of America?
6. In the future, what activities or events do you see as the most effective way for the Tyranny Response Team to be heard?
7. In your view what is the goal of the Tyranny Response Team?

Question Group B.

1. To the best of your knowledge, how many members are in the Tyranny Response Team?
2. As a small group, how might the Tyranny Response Team be successful?
3. Are there other examples in your own life where you have been involved with groups like the Tyranny Response Team?
4. Can you think of examples in American history where groups like the Tyranny Response Team have organized to achieve their goals?
5. Who do you think are opposed to the goals and objectives of the Tyranny Response Team?
6. Who do you see as your allies?
7. What is so significant about having the word “tyranny” in Tyranny Response Team?
9. Who is tyrannical?
 - A. How did they get to be this way?
 - B. How can this tyranny be ended?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT (cont.)

Question Group C.

1. When you think of America as a democracy, what does this mean to you?
2. What do you see as the state of American democracy today?
3. How has our democracy become this way?
4. How has democracy today changed from what our Founding Fathers envisioned democracy to be?
5. How can the Tyranny Response Team help to restore democracy?
6. What do you think about the future of democracy in America?