

DESIGNATING DEVIANCE:  
CHAMPIONING DEFINITIONS OF THE APPROPRIATE AND  
THE INAPPROPRIATE THROUGH A CHRISTIAN POLITICAL VOICE

By

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**DESIGNATING DEVIANC**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation begins from one central claim about the understanding of social life - that the unit of analysis most appropriate for the task of sociology is the joint act (Blumer, 1969). If we are to understand social life, then we must take our social science to people and their accomplishments.

My research attends to one specific set of accomplishments: the designation of the objects of our worlds as appropriate or inappropriate. This, I argue, is the essential quality of the social dramas which accompany the designation of deviance. This extended process of promoting definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate, I refer to as the process of championing. Championing is built upon the accomplishments of Becker's (1973) labeling theory, yet carries with it a critique of this tradition. Championing is my attempt to examine the generic dimensions of deviance designation.

My theoretical claims find their empirical application in a study of one group of champions - the actors who comprise the Christian Heritage Party of Canada.

Within this group we find those who promote their religious based definitions of the way the world ought to be within the setting of Canadian electoral politics. My research examines the activities and perspectives of these actors. Attending to deviance designation as accomplished action, my work examines the perspectives of actors, their careers of involvements, the symbolic relevances of political policy, and the sales dimensions of political recruitment.

My work is derived from a phenomenological interactionism. It confronts the social world with a methodology of participant observation and interview and a naturalistic respect for an understanding of life as it is lived. The sociology of deviance is a sociology of everyday life.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Perhaps one of the most disquieting aspects of submitting and defending a dissertation, at least for a sociologist, is signing your name to a document which attests to the fact that one is the sole author of the research. That I am the one who bears sole responsibility for the content of this thesis attests to this. However writing is in and of itself a social endeavour. There are several key people whose touch are seen in these pages. My intention is to ensure that these people do not go unrecognized. Any contribution that my efforts have produced is in part theirs.

I have been privileged to work under a dedicated thesis committee. William Shaffir, as my supervisor, has served as teacher and critic. His ability to maintain a balanced perspective has helped me through some less than easy times during this research. Richard Brymer's efforts to produce a "workable" sociology of deviance have been invaluable to me. While we, at times, differ over the answers, we share many of the same questions. This, I think, is agreement in its most beneficial form. David

Counts, whose continuing efforts to "speak sociology" were helpful, encouraged this work by examining the sociology in his anthropology. Hopefully, I have made some small steps towards the reverse.

The contribution of others extends beyond my immediate committee. In late 1987 sociology lost one of its truly creative thinkers with the passing of Graham Thomlinson. I valued Graham's input into this work. He lived his sociology - my discussion of the "sociological moment" reflects his direct input into this project.

Readers will also find the input of Robert Prus throughout this thesis. As my M.A. supervisor, Bob instilled in me a lingering appreciation for generic process. His "lingering appreciation" in my progress is valued only somewhat less than his friendship.

There are others in "academia" who have contributed to this thesis. It is particularly rewarding when those who have no obligation to one's research take an interest in it none the less. I appreciate the helpful criticism of members of my department, fellow conference attendees, and various readers. Hopefully I have heard and acted upon your concerns.

A fieldwork project goes nowhere without the co-operation of one's respondents. While they must, by

necessity remain nameless, their words and actions are the reference point for my analysis. Your assistance in making sure that I garnered as complete a "picture" as possible has strengthened my work immeasurably.

I would also like to acknowledge the financial support of this research by McMaster University and by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council through their doctoral fellowship division.

The final words I reserve for my family. The loving support of my parents, Herb and Iona, is a strength that has helped to keep me "real" during the strains of fieldwork. To my children, Matthew and Samantha, I thank you for offering your Dad a hug no matter how the day went. To Sheilagh, my wife, who has the distinction of being one of the few people to have read every word that is written here, thank you. Your support as a colleague and a friend has made this thesis both stronger academically and more of a pleasure to complete.

## PREFACE

This thesis is a collection of nine chapters directed at examining the social process of promoting definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate. It confronts the way we contextualize the process of constructing deviance, the interactionist theme of generic concepts, the methodologies we employ to "know" the social world, and the activities of those who care enough about their world to try and change it.

My work begins by attempting to shed the deviance mystique. The study of deviance need not be limited to the accounts of "nuts, sluts and perverts" (Liazon, 1972). The designation of the appropriate and the inappropriate are features of everyday life. They are present in our typifications of "good" and "evil" and our activities which attend to these notions. From this perspective, the study of deviance may be as fully undertaken within a society of saints (Durkheim, 1938) as it is amongst card and dice hustlers (Prus and Sharper, 1977).

This thesis is loosely divided into three sections. The first, encompassing chapters one through three, attempts to articulate an approach to the study of deviance which is

consistent with a phenomenological interactionism. The second section, chapter four, reflects my statement on methodology. This chapter examines my choice of research setting, discusses my use of participant observation relative to the practical accomplishment of this research, and addresses the strengths and shortcomings of this approach. The third section, chapters five through nine, examines the process of promoting designations of deviance within a Christian political party. My concern here is to present the designation of deviance as a practical accomplishment understood relative to social process - the coordination of lines of action.

This research encompasses a range of substantive issues. Aspects of this work speak to a sociology of religion, political sociology, social movements, social policy, the sociology of marketing and sales, and foremost, the sociology of deviance. In addition, readers are encouraged to attend to the relevance of this work to "traditional" interactionist themes of impression management, careers of involvement, closure, accounts, perspectives, self/other identities, recruitment, and the symbolic relevances of social objects.

While it is my hope that readers will find both the time and the inclination to consider my work as a whole, I

realize that in practical terms this is often less than likely. With this in mind I have constructed these nine chapters to be more or less "free standing". Each, save the conclusion, contains a unique problem or task. Therefore, for example, readers with an interest in the sales qualities of the Christian political process in Canada will find chapter seven of particular relevance. However, I would encourage all readers to attend to the material presented in chapter five before starting into the substantive detail of later chapters. The material there provides an essential description of a relatively little known political party.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **LABELING THEORY AND A DIVERSITY OF TROUBLES: A CROSS-CULTURAL CRITIQUE**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

While the extended labeling tradition may be fruitfully traced back to Tannenbaum's (1938) now classic statements, and the early work on careers by Shaw (1930), it is with the comprehensive and systematic writings of Becker (1963) and Lemert (1972) that a clearly identifiable labeling tradition emerges. From its inception, the labeling tradition generally has laid claim to an attentiveness to generic social processes (Becker, 1963). The task in this chapter is to engage in a critical examination of the possibility of a generic labeling theory through attending to both the strengths and shortcomings of this tradition.

I am encouraged in this direction from the productive discussions arising from the 1984 conference "Deviance in a Cross-Cultural Perspective: An Ethnographic/Interactionist Perspective" and two subsequent and related conferences in 1985 and 1986 housed at the

University of Waterloo. At these conferences it became clear that the term "generic" is somewhat problematic. Scholars engaged in studying generic social process are inclined to view the criteria for designating a concept as generic from very different perspectives.<sup>1</sup> Central here is the question of whether a concept need have demonstrated its cross-cultural applicability to be considered generic.

It is my position that generic concepts must be equally effective in providing an understanding of human life in the Inturi forest, the Kalihari desert, or the streets of Detroit. If a conceptual framework fails in this task, then it has failed to capture a truly generic aspect of the human experience. While concepts may provide an understanding of a particular situation or class of situations, they do not serve as generic concepts without demonstrating their cross-cultural applicability.

The implications of this position are two-fold. First, it posits that regardless of the extremes of cultural diversity, there are elements of human experience which are common to all people. Therefore, generic concepts may establish positions which articulate the lowest-common denominators of social life. The search is not for social laws which govern the direction of social life, but for concepts which attend to the shared social experience of peoples generally. Second, this position accepts the possibility of culturally universal aspects of social

experience.<sup>2</sup> The notion of universality requires that the sociologist's claim for generic concepts be cast as a claim that all social action of the class X involves social process Y. This creates a situation whereby it becomes the task of the research to de-throne concepts from the class of generic concepts through discovering empirical evidence which is contrary to the position of the conceptual framework. Just as we disprove that all swans are white by finding the black swan, we demonstrate that concepts are not generic by producing the exception to their rule. We accept concepts as generic with the full knowledge that further research may call their cross-cultural applicability into question. Variants of this position are to be found within the cross-cultural approaches to deviance reflecting the themes of: (1) the quality of the act, (2) traditional labeling theory, and (3) anthropology and labeling theory.

#### **ON THE QUALITY OF THE ACT**

Edgerton's (1976) work on cross-cultural deviance provides a recent and systematic statement which holds that certain classes of acts are deviant or "criminal" in both western and folk societies. His statement moves freely from discussions of inter-personal violence to suicide to incest. Drawing on a range of sociological and anthropological thought, Edgerton (1976) provides the reader with numerous examples which aptly demonstrate that folk societies have

indeed experienced fist fights, marital disputes, and suicide. Most assuredly, Edgerton (1976) is not alone in his call for an examination of specific categories of acts as the basis for identifying cross-cultural deviance. Though reflecting highly divergent theoretical traditions, we find a similar emphasis on the quality of the act in Davis' (1937) discussion of prostitution<sup>3</sup>, Freud's (1950) examination of the cultural universality of the incest taboo, and Brownmiller's (1975) position on the universality of rape.

Those working from this orientation may provide a range of empirical illustrations of the range of human behaviour. However, from a phenomenological perspective, I would argue that an emphasis on the quality of acts fails to provide a generic model of deviance. This criticism arises from a recognition that authors working from this orientation generally fail to ask two central questions of their data.

Firstly, we find that authors working from this position tend to assume that the act in question is intrinsically immoral, dysfunctional or maladjusted. This designation is made with an absolute disregard for the extended world view, normative order, or social roles of the folk society to which western notions of deviance are extended. The central question here is, is it meaningful to speak of inter-personal violence, for example, as reflecting

a universal deviant category, if "combat" serves as a normatively valued pursuit appropriate for "gaming", "raiding", or resolving other 'troubles'? We find varying degrees of acceptance of interpersonal "combat" discussed among the Deer Eskimo (Valentine and Vallee, 1968), the Cheyenne (Hoebel, 1978), and the Yanomamo (Chagnon, 1977). Presumably a sociologist who attends exclusively to the quality of the act would join a Yanomamo raiding party to study deviance, while ignoring the young male with no "taste" for "raiding" who gathers plantain with the women.

Secondly, an emphasis on the quality of the act assumes that the Western conception of the act coincides with that of the folk society. While both the sociologist and those of the folk society may identify the untimely death of a community member as troublesome, the sociologist's designation of the act as suicide, may contradict the community's designation of the happening as indicative of taboo violation (Keesing, 1982), or homicide (Counts and Counts, 1984). It is possible to entertain the notion of a society devoid of the concept of suicide - one which maintains that an individual is incapable of taking their own life. What may appear to be "suicide" to an outsider may indicate the hand of a malevolent spirit to those of the community. This is a fact of Kwiao life apparent to all but the smallest of children and the "ignorant ones". A lack of attentiveness to audience

definitions may produce a sociologist who, in the eyes of the Kwiao, falls into the latter category.

(6)

#### A LABELING FRAMEWORK: PROCESS AND PERSPECTIVE

The labeling tradition has proven itself to be a lasting and productive approach towards the understanding of deviance. Certainly a portion of this success comes from the tradition's attentiveness to both social process and the perspectives of the social actors engaged in the production of deviance. Davis' (1972) discussion stresses the range of inquiry which has been fostered by initial statements on labeling - from the perspectively-based evaluation of deviant life worlds to processually-oriented discussions of the development of deviant roles and identities. This dual emphasis is found within Becker's (1963) now famous definition of deviance:

social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather the consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender." The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label (Becker, 1973: 9).

✓

We find an emphasis on perspective here through Becker's position that deviant behaviour is behaviour so designated. This reflects an essentially phenomenological position in which perception makes it so. In elaboration and expansion on this theme, we find both Lorber (1967) and

Prus (1975) emphasizing the importance of "private" typings on the part of the "deviant" who engages in self-designation, as well as the potential moral entrepreneur who may or may not make their evaluation public. The extreme of this position is demonstrated by Prus' (1984) assertion that deviance reflects "any thought, deed, or act thought disrespective by some audience (Prus, 1984: 1)."

The more processually oriented aspect of Becker's approach to deviance is to be found through his emphasis on the means by which labels are "successfully applied." This theme, indicative of Becker's sequential model of deviance, reflects earlier natural history approaches (Shaw, 1931) and processually based frameworks (Garfinkel, 1956), and has subsequently been applied to the study of social problems generally (Blumer, 1971).

Through emphasizing the process of societal reaction, Becker (1963) has cast deviance into a dramaturgical framework, wherein the accuser and the accused engage in something of an uncertain "conflict" with an uncertain outcome. The production of deviance becomes framed within the interaction sequence of the moral entrepreneur and the potential outsider, leading some to locate deviance relative to the outcome of this process. As Schur concludes, deviance reflects the, "collective reactions that serve to isolate, treat, correct, or punish individuals engaged in norm violating behaviour" (Schur,

1971: 24). Most assuredly Schur's (1971) more functionalist interpretation of labeling theory diverges in several important respects from Becker's extended statement.<sup>4</sup> However his work does encourage us to closely examine the extent to which the labeling model presupposes the outcome and direction of the "drama of deviance". To accomplish this we turn more specifically to the key "players" in the interaction sequence - the outsider and the moral entrepreneur.

### **The Outsider**

The "outsider" is the term used by Becker (1963) to refer to those who have shared the common social experience of being identified as "one who cannot be trusted to live by the rules of the group" (Becker, 1963: 1). This designation need have little to do with whether one has "actually" violated group expectations or not. Infractions may go unchallenged, the "innocent" may become the "accused". This position illustrates the distinction between rule-breaking behaviour and the label of outsider - a central tenant of the societal reaction approach.<sup>5</sup>

Lemert contributes to our understanding of this distinction with his concepts of primary and secondary deviance. To state briefly, primary deviants are those who maintain essential group identifications apart from acts of norm violation. Secondary deviation refers to the

circumstances under which self-identifications are "organized around the facts of deviance" (Lemert, 1972: 63).

Lemert, like Becker, shows little interest in studying primary deviation through arguing for and demonstrating the appropriateness of a sociological understanding of secondary deviation. It seems that primary deviation holds its greatest sociological value in that it contributes to an understanding of the "path to secondary deviation" (Lemert, 1972).

Given this theme, it seems worthwhile to question the extent to which "outsidership" is central to labeling theory's conception of deviance. That is, if societal reaction fails to identify individuals as standing apart from the circle of "normal" members of the group, then would the labeling framework consider deviance present (Becker, 1973:15)? With some qualifications I think the answer to this question is no. We have already seen that Becker chooses to reserve the term "deviant" for those who have been labeled as such. It is this distinction which serves to differentiate rule-breaking behaviour from deviant behaviour. It serves to equate deviance with outsidership - or secondary deviation. To identify outsidership as an essential component of the "traditional" approach to labeling is to recognize that this approach, at least to some extent, identifies the process of deviance with a given outcome. That is, the process of deviance in part produces

"outsidership", effectively making the designation of individuals as outsiders a central focal point of the drama of deviance and defining deviance in relation to the outcome of this process.

### **Moral Entrepreneurs**

Moral entrepreneurs occupy a central place in the labeling approach to deviance. They both establish and enforce the rules around which the drama of deviance revolves, yet these rules do not represent some "objective" moral standards or some "objectified" social conscience. Rule-making is contextualized in terms of the activities of rule creators and is illustrated through their attempts to promote particular world views and bring about accompanying legal and moral change.

Becker closely aligns his discussion of rule creation with Gusfield's (1955) examination of the Woman's Christian Temperance Movement and moral crusades generally.<sup>6</sup> The prototype of the rule creator is the moral reformist - those of "privileged social class" who maintain the moral superiority and humanitarian virtues of their position over alternative world views. This view of the moral crusade has proven useful in elaborating on the establishment of sexual psychopath laws (Sutherland, 1950), the identification of social problems (Blumer, 1971), entering moral crusades (Lofland and Stark, 1965) and the identification of cultural

(Lofland and Stark, 1965) and the identification of cultural "scapegoats" and "prima donnas" (Klapp, 1962).

The rule creators' activities take place in the moral/legal arena. Given that context it is not surprising that Becker's discussion of rule enforcers focuses on the formalized role of police forces. Professional rule enforcers have only a limited stake in the content of the various rules, but find their services required through the existence of the rules. They maintain continued "employment" through qualified successes which demonstrate both the advantages provided by their labours as well as the continued "need" for their services.

Rule enforcers play a central part in the public designation of wrong-doing. However, as Emerson and Messenger (1977) illustrate, much of the regulation of deviance takes place apart from the formalized activities of police forces and court systems. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to "soften" Becker's discussion of rule enforcers by recognizing that this activity may be engaged in by those who occupy no "formal" enforcement role.<sup>7</sup> However all are engaged in the activity of publicly labeling wrong-doers and wrong-doing - a theme which proves problematic when examining cross-cultural materials.

#### **ANTHROPOLOGY AND LABELING THEORY**

There is a very small body of knowledge which we can

ethnographic data in a deviance context appears to have been of relatively limited concern to the anthropologist. The process of researching this question becomes one of sifting through ethnographies searching for illustrations of behaviour which have proven problematic or socially troublesome. However, and unfortunately for the purpose in this chapter, many such descriptions fall short of answering the questions of the sociologist.<sup>8</sup>

The "Deviance In a Cross-Cultural Context" (1984) conference provided a range of anthropological materials which were considered in terms of a sociological model of deviance - and predominantly a labeling model of deviance. Throughout this conference, discussions of the labeling process, of the making of outsiders and of the activities of moral entrepreneurs, were punctuated by comments from many anthropologists that this model did not reflect the social realities among "their" people. The remainder of this discussion focuses on this problem. Given our understanding of the labeling model of process and perspective, what is there within this highly productive and informative model of "western" deviance that limits its applicability cross-culturally? To attempt some answer, we turn to the anthropologically informed concerns of: (1) societal scale and (2) social cognition.

#### Societal Scale

Drawing on earlier statements,<sup>9</sup> Brymer (1984) and Raybeck (1984) argue that the level of complexity present in a given community qualitatively affects the production of deviance therein. Therefore, while labeling theory may accurately reflect the production of deviance in an industrialized society it is considerably less responsive to explaining deviance in camp or band level organizations. This argument is based on a discussion of the unique aspects of small scale social organization which limit the practical usefulness and appropriateness of labeling as an approach to regulating deviance.

The small scale social unit is characterized by its "information-rich" context (Raybeck, 1984: 26). That is, the life history of individual members is readily available to other community members. A rather complete "dossier" on each band member makes up a portion of the "working knowledge" for those with whom they share their lives. In band life there is little shortage of specific information to draw upon when engaging in joint action. Therefore the generalized stereotypes which are a part of the labeling process are of limited value. This is reflected in the difficulty of anthropologists studying band level societies in even finding generic terms in the native languages of folk societies for classes of offences. Instead, troublesome instances are recounted in terms of specific actors and the circumstances of their actions.<sup>10</sup>

However, Raybeck (1984) also stresses that instances of trouble in small scale societies are considerably less frequent than in their more complex counterparts due to: (1) the high level of integration in small scale societies, (2) a relatively consistent, shared set of values, (3) relative equality between band members, and (4) a high level of tolerance for deviance which does not threaten the "social order". Even within this "harmonious" view of band life we find Raybeck entertaining the rare circumstances where the activity of one member places the social order at risk. Despite the presence of this "hard deviance" we find Raybeck arguing for the relative absence of secondary deviation or outsidership. While the activity of the individual may prove troublesome, rarely does this serve to alter their relationship to other band members for any extended period. The practical advantages of promptly re-integrating the "fallen" member generally outweigh those which might accompany the production of a deviant identity. The comparatively high level of social integration and interdependence present in small scale societies makes the designation of one member as an "outsider" highly problematic, potentially disrupting the band's hunting/gathering activities, kinship relationships, and producing intra-band conflict. The deviant as outsider, Raybeck (1984: 19-20) argues, is most likely to occur where the contribution of the individual to the maintenance of the

social unit is relatively low. In this case, reducing the deviant's level of "social participation" through outsidership, holds relatively few costs for the large scale society. Clearly this is not so in a small scale society where the hunting activities may fall on the shoulders of three or four individuals. To designate any one of these as someone not to be trusted is to place the group itself at risk.

I would suggest that the implications of Raybeck's (1984) argument are three fold. First, he both theoretically and empirically challenges the cross-cultural applicability of labeling theory. This is accomplished by illustrating through ethnographic detail,<sup>11</sup> the practical difficulties and problematics of labeling in a small scale context. Fundamentally, the labeling model does not accurately reflect the production of deviance in a cross-cultural setting. Secondly, Raybeck's position extends to small scale societies as they may exist within a large scale setting. The extent to which cooperative units such as families, religious sects, and retreatist groups approximate band social organization in an industrialized setting is related to the effectiveness of labeling theory as a model of accounting for deviance in these contexts. Thirdly, the societal scale critique of labeling theory questions the generic applicability of models of deviance. If the experience of deviance is qualitatively distinct between

settings then the possibility of bridging these settings conceptually seems remote. We are left with separate theories of deviance to account for its occurrence in the Amazon basin and the classrooms of Moscow. In the place of a model of deviance, we have the pre-existing model of systems requirements, social cohesion and normative order. Raybeck reminds us of our functionalist roots, and in doing so thoughtfully draws out inadequacies in the processual framework of labeling theory. But as we have demonstrated, labeling theory embraces both the notions of process and perspective. It is towards an examination of a perspectively informed approach to deviance that we turn our attention.

### **Social Cognition**

The notion of social cognition is a relatively simple one, yet its implications for explaining and understanding social life are far reaching. I associate the position of social cognition with the phenomenological tradition generally, and the writings of Alfred Schutz more specifically. It takes as its theoretical starting point that people direct social action from an existent and emerging set of meanings, definitions and typifications. Such cognitive frameworks are established and modified through interaction and reflection - designation and interpretation. It establishes human actors and their

counterparts as sculptors of their worlds, embuing the physical and social world around them with both its meaning and its colour.

This position not only sees world views as appropriate topics of sociological analysis, but sees them as essential to the sociological enterprise. If we take the phenomenological position that meanings are problematic and adopt the Blumerian stance that they are socially situated, then any attempt at producing a generic theory of deviance need be informed by these considerations.

The labeling model of deviance is one of social action and of social process. However, social action is produced on the basis of a given cognitive framework. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to ask what system of meanings is presumed to be operating within a given culture-context to produce the labeling process. I would suggest that the processually based model of outsider and moral entrepreneur combine to suggest that:

1. human individuals are distinguishable from the collective,
2. human individuals are active agents, capable of causing world events,
3. individual action is distinguishable from collective action,
4. notions of accountability and responsibility are a part of the process of explaining troublesome events,

5. the drama of deviance involves specific actors, performing specific roles in a generalized sequence,
6. individual identities may be transformed through the designation of deviance,
7. this transformation has the potential to reduce or eliminate the social participation of the individual.

These assumptions and tenets of the labeling tradition contain both the basis for its unmatched gains over the last two and a half decades and the reason why it will never, in this form, prove itself wholly adequate as a cross-cultural model for the explanation of deviance. Interactionist research has demonstrated the wide-spread applicability of the sequential model, careers, outsiders, stigma and the moral entrepreneur. This success has led some to encourage the recognition of related processes as the basis for directing a generic sociology (Prus, 1984; Wiseman, 1985). However, my position is that cross-situational similarities in social process are indicative of comparable cognitive frameworks. That labeling theory finds wide-spread application speaks not to the generic quality of the social action but rather to the wide spread adoption of the meaning system upon which it is based. I would suggest that if we examine the world view of a community, the extent to which it is congruent with the assumptions of labeling will have a direct bearing on the applicability of the model for explaining the community's deviance. The more divergent

for explaining the community's deviance. The more divergent a community's world view, the less likely we are to find the labeling model adequate.

The empirical data available appear to bear this out - and do so with particular poignancy amongst peoples who maintain substantially divergent explanations for the causation of world events and/or identify social action with collective action. Among the Kwiao (Keesing, 1982) and the Washo (Downs, 1966) we find examples of peoples who may account for the causation of world events through intervening supernatural forces. This is particularly true for the Kwaio in the case of misfortune or trouble, for their view of social life is one of harmony and co-operation. The presence of trouble, in virtually any form, appears to be defined as arising from outside the "naturally" trouble-free circumstances of social life.

Misfortune in Kwiao society is defined as the product of the activities of malevolent spirits - the "adalo kwasi". These spirits are omnipotent and omnipresent. They may be "angered" for the violation of any range of Kwaio taboo. Despite this, we find the Kwiao making only a limited effort to identify the source which angered the spirit world. Rather they seem to engage in general rites of purification following particularly troublesome events.<sup>12</sup> Since people are "naturally" rule-abiding, behaviour which violates generalized expectations arises from outside the

individual. The "aldo kwasi" are responsible for producing rule violating behaviour. To hold the individual accountable for this is a foreign notion to the Kwiao. Further, to seek out the members of the community whose taboo violation produced the actions of the "aldo kwasi" is also problematic. While attempts in this direction may occur, they are undertaken with the full knowledge that the anger of the malevolent spirits may have arisen for taboo violation located in the future, or for violations perpetrated in the past by one's ancestors.

I would suggest that the cognitive framework of the Kwiao serves to illustrate my theoretical position. In this case the absence of a notion of individual causation of troublesome events serves to preclude the production of deviance as it is conceived in the labeling model of deviance. Kwiao understandings of trouble appear to lack the notion of community members as "special kinds of people" who operate outside the rules.

We are led to a similar conclusion when examining communities where explanations of social action are cast in collective terms rather than more individualist notions.<sup>13</sup> In such communities the presence of trouble is indicative of a "community based" problem. That it may manifest itself in the social action of a community member, may prove irrelevant to the collective understanding of deviance. We find Inuit explanations of miscarriage (Frederiksen, 1968;

(Turnbull, 1961), and !Kung management of hunting failure, (Marshall, 1976) reflecting this theme of locating trouble in a community context.

While each of these events produce trouble in their given context, the notion that this problem is somehow related to the action or qualities of the individual is not present. In its place we find strategies which emphasize collective action to "right" a perceived wrong. Miscarriage brings about a series of purification rituals, marital disputes initiate a community oriented attempt at reconciliation, and hunting failure may lead to the use of magic to assist the hunters. Labeling here is limited to the designation of the act, as individual identity is intimately tied to collective identity. Successes are the community's successes, and its troubles are the community's troubles. To designate a community member as someone who stands apart from that community and its rules requires a fairly complex level of individuation. Therefore, we would expect to find the designation of deviant identities limited to societies who have integrated notions of individuation into their world view. It seems that societies lacking this notion must also necessarily lack the notion of individually based deviant identities.

#### IN CONTEXT

The range and richness of human culture and society

at times makes the possibility of a generic understanding of deviance - or any social phenomenon for that matter - seem highly unlikely. The range of societal organization and human cognition seem to necessitate an emphasis on the forms of our associations rather than their content. As I have attempted to make clear in the preceding, conceptual frameworks which make specific assumptions of the cognitive representations of the people they study, or which presume the nature and outcomes of a particular process, seem unlikely to provide this elusive generic model. While labeling theory does not appear to be the answer, perhaps it does ask some of the most central questions.

Becker challenges conventional sociology with his work on deviance. He asks us to recognize that both the rules of a community and the identification of their transgression are socially situated. However, the model of moral entrepreneur and outsider is inadequate in a cross-cultural context. But the potentials of an emphasis on perspectives and process seem large indeed. A shift in emphasis from the process itself, to the perspectives that endow it with meaning and serve to direct it provides us with an opportunity to investigate the social definition of deviance. Through it we gain a clearer understanding of the location of deviance within given communities, and an appreciation of their attempts to endow troublesome situations with meaning. Such a shift moves our attention

from that which has been designated as deviant, to an investigation of the perspectives and processes accompanying the activities of those who promote definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate - the social process of championing.

## NOTES

1. For example, see Prus (1985) and Wiseman (1985).
2. This is in contrast to Quinney (1970).
3. Davis' (1937) discussion is not only a cross-cultural argument but is extended to primates as well.
4. Most notably with respect to Schur's (1971) emphasis on a relatively non-problematic and identifiable normative order.
5. This position is consistent with the now "classic" works of Tannenbaum (1938), Kitsuse (1962) and Lemert (1972).
6. For a related Canadian discussion of the Women's Christian Temperance Union see Thompson (1975).
7. The activities of such "self-appointed" rule enforcers are discussed by Roznachuck (1984).
8. This problem is illustrated by Brymer (1984) and Prus (1984).
9. See for example Ball (1970), Douglas (1970), and Pfohl (1981).
10. This tension is illustrated in Marshall (1976), and Counts & Counts (1984).
11. For example see Thomas (1959), Turnbull (1961) and Scott (1976).
12. For a thoughtful examination of the notion of purification in folk societies see Douglas (1966).
13. For a discussion of the historical development of individuation see Archibald (1987).

## **CHAPTER II**

### **TOWARDS A GENERIC MODEL OF DEVIANCE: CHAMPIONING DEFINITIONS OF THE APPROPRIATE AND THE INAPPROPRIATE**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

As I have argued in the preceding, the labeling theory which has served the study of deviance so well for the past quarter of a century is not up to the challenge of an interactionist tradition which seems to be moving towards a greater attentiveness to generic process and cross-cultural dynamics (Couch, 1984; Prus, 1985). As Becker (1973:178) notes, labeling theory is not a theory of deviant action *per se*. It does however articulate a position on the nature of rules, rule enforcement, and the direction and outcomes of such stigma contests.

As one might expect, researchers generally in agreement with labeling theory's overriding emphasis on a sequential model of deviance have nevertheless found the model lacking when discussing specific theoretical or substantive issues. There has thus been the development of various "sub-schools" within interactionism generally, and the study of deviance more specifically. For example,

Douglas (1984) divides interaction theories of deviance into a triad composed of symbolic interactionism (which includes the dramaturgical models of Goffman, 1959; 1961; 1963a, 1963b and the labeling theory of Becker, 1973), interactional conflict theory (eg., Simmel, 1950; Vold, 1958) and sociological phenomenology (eg. Garfinkel, 1967; Douglas, 1970b; Denzin, 1984). While concerned with more than just interactionist approaches to deviance, Downes and Rock (1982) similarly differentiate symbolic interaction (aligned with the works of Erickson, 1962; Kitsuse, 1962; and Scheff, 1966) from its phenomenological counterparts (typified through the work of Schutz, 1964; Garfinkel, 1967; and Douglas, 1975).

Interactionist approaches to deviance contain a wide range of boxes within which to classify the labours of our fellows. We have labeling theory (Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1972), differential association (Sutherland and Cressy, 1978), neutralization theory (Sykes and Matza, 1957), societal reaction theory (Kitsuse, 1962), social constructionist theory (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Hawkins and Tiedeman, 1975), subcultural theory (Cohen, 1966), dramaturgical models (Goffman, 1959), a phenomenology of deviance (Schutz, 1964; Manning, 1980), ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1956; 1967), existentialism (Douglas, 1972), and a cognitive sociology (Cicourel, 1973). These divisions exist within those who could come to some general consensus

that "[s]ociety is what individuals are and what they do; society is constructed by the individuals' vastly complex interactions" (Douglas, 1984:8).

I would contend that these divisions have arisen not so much over fundamentally opposing views of the nature of social life, but rather reflect varying emphases on the questions asked of the social world. For example, I see no inherent disjunction between the view of social life which informs Sykes and Matza's (1957) notion of neutralization, and Hawkins and Tiedeman's (1975) position on the social creation of deviance. The former examines how people come to violate rules they generally support, while the latter asks how formal designations of deviance created and applied. Similarly, societal reaction theory's emphasis on the extent to which deviance represents a relative and interpreted phenomenon, is not in contradiction to Garfinkel's (1956) "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies".

By emphasizing the common ground which makes these models of deviance "interactionist", perhaps we can make some headway towards articulating an interactionist model of deviance. Couch (1984), Prus (1985) and Wiseman (1985) have provided us with something of a mandate to explore a generic interactionism. Generating concepts, types, and theories and the application of these across substantive and cultural boundaries is of course no small task. It requires a

commitment on the part of scholars working in a range of fields to ask some previously unorthodox questions of their data and their theory - questions of the order, "what can the activities of door-to-door salesmen teach us about national political campaigns?", and "does this 'theory' of deviance have any relevance pertaining to the regulation of trouble among the Deer Eskimo?" It is only by entertaining these cross-situational and cross-cultural questions that we can make some headway towards generic concepts.

One of the results of efforts in this direction is a limiting of the distinctions which divide interactionists, and an emphasis on the fundamental assumptions of group life which bind "interactionists" or interpretive/naturalistic social scientists together. This results in a focus of attention on the edict qualities of group life - the essentials which make human interaction distinct and upon which attempts at examining substantive problems must ultimately be based.

In that labeling theory fails to adequately address the process of deviance cross-culturally (as demonstrated in chapter one), I would suggest that it has also failed to identify the essential qualities of deviance as the product of human activity. This chapter attempts to make some tentative steps towards articulating a processually based model which focuses on the edict qualities of deviance as a social phenomenon. Towards this end we "strip down"

interactionist approaches to deviance by examining the fundamental assumptions of group life which inform an interactionist position. Working up from these basics, I attempt to construct a "Blumerian approach to deviance". The resulting processual model, which I refer to as championing, is discussed in some detail, as are the essential features which accompany the interactional process.

#### **SOME NOTES ON THE BASICS**

It seems we can make little headway towards articulating a generic model of deviance until we make some effort at examining the essential features of human group life. That is, what qualities do we see as being essential features of human activity? Once we establish these qualities, we then have some "yardstick" from which to evaluate conceptual models and theoretical formulations. The greater the extent to which a conceptual framework respects these essential features of group life, the greater the contribution we would expect it to make to an increased understanding of the generic features of social action.

Thanks to the work of three generations of interactionist scholars, there is no need to "re-invent the wheel". Those working in this tradition have provided exhaustive and fairly complete accounts of what they hold to be the fundamentals of group life (eg. James, 1893; Mead,

1934; Cooley, 1956; Schutz, 1964; Blumer, 1969). Recently, Prus (1988) has elaborated on a conceptual model which attends to the underpinnings of the interactionist tradition. Prus (1988) argues that "human behavior may be said to be (a) perspectival, (b) reflective, (c) negotiable, (d) relational, and (e) processual in its essence" (Prus, 1988: 6). If this skeletal framework reflects the essence of group life, then we need examine in somewhat greater depth what we intend here with this five part conceptual framework.

### Perspectives

In Blumer's often quoted, yet nonetheless relevant statement on the premises of symbolic interaction, he begins by articulating that, "the first premise is that human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them" (Blumer, 1969: 2). With making this the first premise of symbolic interaction he places this tradition firmly within the phenomenological school of social thought.

By emphasizing the perspectival nature of human life, we see an emphasis on phenomenon rather than numena. The search for the underlying truth value of social objects is discarded in favour of an examination of the relevance of social objects for life as it is lived. The meaning of acts and objects does not reflect some inherent quality of these

features of social life. Rather, meaning is placed firmly within the realm of the social and is clearly established as the product of human interaction.

To maintain that human group life is perspectival is to associate interactionism with a tradition of scholarship which encompasses Schutz' phenomenology, James' pragmatism, and Dilthey's interpretivism. As we begin to examine the implications of an attentiveness to the perspectival qualities of group life, the relative simplicity of Blumer's initial premise gives way to an appreciation of the implication of this position for an understanding of human action.

If meaning is situated within the perspectives of actors, then such meanings become problematic. They cannot be discerned by "any reasonable person" or separated from the lived experiences to which they give direction and from which they reciprocally arise. Social action cannot be understood apart from the definitions which actors bring to their actions. Therefore sociology cannot acquire an understanding of, nor an accurate description of social life without attending to the cognitive representations which actors make of their worlds.

### **Reflective**

I see the term reflective as a statement on the general cognitive capacities of human actors. As we have

been taught by several "old masters", human actors possess a "self" and as such human action is to some extent self directed. James (1893), Mead (1934) and Cooley (1956) share in a conception of self which emphasizes the reflective capacity of human actors. They teach us that actors can stand apart from their action. The reflective capacity of actors is demonstrated through our ability to treat ourself as we would another - capable of being praised or blamed, of admonishing or comforting.

I would suggest that the notion of "self" and the accompanying theme of the reflexivity of actors must be seen as clear and distinct from the social process of the individuation of the person. The essential quality of the self is located in the human capacity to be an object unto themselves. It is vital here to not predetermine the form which will be constituted by such self objects. Whether the self will reflect identities constructed exclusively relative to membership in a collective, or will reflect more or less complex levels of individuation comments more on the interactions one has with ones fellows than on the overall capacity of reflective thought. The self may be manifested in a variety of forms. Yet regardless of form, the self attentive qualities of social actors illustrates the reflective capacities of human agents.

Accompanying this theme of the self is the reflective capacity of actors to anticipate future events

and to reconstruct the past. As a variety of Schutz' essays demonstrate (1964, 1970a) the world view of contemporaries includes references to ancestors and those who will follow. Actors may examine their actions relative to their perceived implications for the memory of those who have gone before, as well as the implications of those who follow.

To recognize the reflective capacities of human agents is to note the complexity of truly social action. Actors bring to the interaction sequence the potential for making a range of indications and identifications. Actors can anticipate future lines of action, reconsider options, and redefine the relevances of symbolic interaction for the significant social objects of their worlds.

### **Negotiable**

To emphasize the negotiated aspect of social life is to attend to the relatively creative aspect of people's interactions with one another. It involves the recognition that the social world is the product of joint activity. As such, it is fundamentally a product of lines of action worked out between actors. The social world is not so much in constant flux as it is the product of such relative uncertainty. It therefore continually rests on the precipice of the contingencies of uncertainty.

Through interaction, people are quite capable of objectifying their worlds into a relatively stable pattern

of interlocking roles, norms and recipes of action (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Schutz, 1970b). The emergent and negotiated qualities of these "taken-for-granteds" may come to be replaced by the relative assuredness of accompanying objectification. However, the social process of objectification does not serve to negate the essential qualities of a fundamentally negotiated order.

Thus order is an accomplishment of social action. Regardless of the relative permanence or structural qualities of the interactions between actors, these patterns of interaction retain their negotiable qualities. Unlike the physical restrictions imposed by the natural world, the social restrictions and limitations upon interaction sequences can be transcended through a process similar to that which facilitated their initial creation. Actors are free to dispense with rules which no longer serve to facilitate ongoing interaction. We can come to a general agreement that we will not employ violence against one another. We can codify this principle, socialize our children to respect it, and still resort to interpersonal violence. This theme serves more as an illustration of the negotiable aspects of social life than it is an "explanation" of interpersonal violence. The product of such negotiations may involve the suspension of generally agreed upon rules of conduct. However, whether we choose to act upon the underlying assumptions created by the

collective or challenge them, the choice is a fundamental feature of every interaction sequence, and thereby demonstrates the negotiable qualities of the joint act.

### **Relational**

When speaking of the relational quality of social life, Prus (1988) refers to "people's tendencies to develop particularistic, interactive bonds with others" (Prus, 1988: 5). To place an emphasis on this theme is to, like the network theorists, recognize the relative "strength of weak ties" (Granovetter, 1974), and to prioritize the associations which serve as a common bases for interaction.<sup>1</sup>

However, interactionists generally have been relatively unwilling to explore the range of "interactive bonds" which serve to bring peoples together. Blumer's (1969) emphasis on the joint act has produced a generation of researchers who have studied face-to-face interaction or people's accounts of these acts. As a result we have seen a generation of harsh criticism of Blumer's (1969) version of symbolic interactionism from those who see it as overly individualistic, astructural and ahistorical.<sup>2</sup> I would suggest that these criticisms address this fundamental question of the nature of the "interactive bonds" which interactionists posit for the social world. Meanings, which are so central to Blumer's interactionism, are generated through "the interaction that one has with one's fellows".

The interactive bonds which serve to provide the arena within which meanings are acquired hold a vital importance for understanding the accomplishment of social life (Blumer, 1969: 2). We ask, to what extent is Blumerian interactionism attentive to historical and structural elements which may impinge on the relations between people - to what extent is the Blumerian conception of society attentive to these dimensions.

The tension in Blumer's (1969) notion of society rests between the extent to which the social structure impinges upon the emergent qualities of the joint act. It is the tension between what Alexander (1987) refers to as "randomness" on the one hand and the "common and pre-established meanings of what is expected in the action of the participants" on the other (Blumer, 1969: 17). Alexander (1987: 224-226) associates this tension with a "trap", a "dilemma", and a "problem":

"Ongoing activity", Blumer suggests, "establishes and portrays structure or organization." [Blumer, 1969: 7] But you can't have it both ways. To 'portray' structure is to describe something which is already there; to establish structure is to create something which is not (Alexander, 1987: 225).

Unlike previous critics of Blumer (eg. Huber, 1973a, 1973b; Stryker, 1980), Alexander (1987) shows an attentiveness to the Blumerian recognition of social structure and routinized action. However, he makes the error of interpreting Blumer's (1969: 17-18) assertion that "even in the case of pre-established and repetitive action each instance of such

joint action has to be formed anew" as an "undermining" of social structure (Alexander, 1987: 226). Bolstered somewhat by the recent interpretations of Blumer by Maines (1988a, 1988b) and Morrione (1988), I would suggest that Blumer's work is more of a re-definition of structure than it is an undermining of it. By prioritizing human activity, structure takes on the qualities of a dependent variable - "one looks to human association and its forms of relations for the explanation of social organization and its forms. Not the other way around" (Maines, 1988a: 5).

This position does not negate the routinized aspects of social organization, nor does it undermine social structure. What it does do is clearly identify social structure as a product of human activity. "Social structures don't act; people and their groups do" (Maines, 1988a: 5). Blumer tells us that structure is established and portrayed through ongoing activity (Blumer 1969: 6-7). This, in a stripped-down form, is what Berger and Luckmann (1967) refer to in their discussion of objectification. Yet Alexander (1987) tells us we can't have it both ways. If we can't have it both ways then presumably it must be one way or the other. Either structure is established or it is portrayed. This alternative is unacceptable. It reduces human action to the mimicking of a pre-established ritual of unknown origin, or the continual recreation of the wheel by unreflective actors.

Alexander's (1987) attempt to make our knowledge of the social world subservient to the dictates of syllogistic logic doesn't work. To maintain this position requires rejecting James (1893), Weber (1958), Schutz (1964), Husserl (1965), Blumer (1969), Marx and Engels (1972, p.107-164), and Dilthey (1976). This I am not prepared to do. I would suggest the reverse of Alexander's (1987) claim is true. The relations between actors necessarily reflect the life world they share - structure, norms, patterns of association and all. This Schutz taught us if we care to learn, and Blumer does little to "undermine" this position if his writings are taken in their entirety.<sup>3</sup>

However the structure of the life world did not rise out of some primordial sea, but is the product of the interaction between actors and their fellows. It is here we find Blumer's "randomness". That social organization reflects one dimension over another demonstrates its cultural interactional dimension. The stage upon which social life is accomplished may influence the nature of the performance. However if we lose sight of the consideration that the stage itself is an accomplished performance and open to "remodelling" then we make social life less than it is.

The discussion here has led us on a long theoretical road from the initial assertion that people develop particularistic, interactive bonds with one another (Prus,

1988: 6). However, when I refer to the relational aspect of society I mean more than like-likes-its-like. Certainly people come together out of common interests, purposes and intentions. The life-world into which each of us carry our social labours is at the same time restrictive and liberating. Peoples' joys and fears, their ambitions and potentialities are shaped through their interactions with others and the interaction patterns inherited from predecessors. Interactionist notions of social relations must attend to structural dimensions. Very rarely is there only "one game in town", however few of us determine the rules once we begin to play. We cannot loose sight of order, be it normative or otherwise, as a social creation. A sociology consistent with Blumer's vision, is structurally attentive, yet avoids determinism regardless of the type.

### **Processual**

In referring to process I intend to denote social life as accomplished activity. That is, social action represents ongoing activity accomplished through a particular natural history (Shaw, 1931). An emphasis on process is an emphasis on the "hows" of social life. An attentiveness to process dispenses with questions of ultimate causation associated with simultaneous models in favour of an examination of the careers which accompany the sequential accomplishment of social action (Becker, 1973).

This is consistent with a naturalism typified in the natural sciences by Darwin (1968), in anthropology by Douglas (1966) and in sociology by Shaw (1930) and Denzin (1969). A processually attentive sociology conceives of a society understood in terms of action, and takes such action as the starting point for an understanding of life as it is lived (Blumer, 1969: 6).

A processual emphasis respects the relevance of the other dimensions of social life we have discussed - specifically the perspectival, reflective, negotiable, and relational qualities of human interaction. A processual focus fully empowers these dimensions and their relevance for social action. An understanding of the process which is the interaction sequence requires an attentiveness to the definitions of actors, the self/other designations which people bring to their acts, the accommodation of action and the various relational dynamics (and statics) which facilitate interaction. It is within the process of accomplishing social life that these dimensions come to fruition. The successes and failures of our fellows can only be fully understood relative to the process by which they unfold.

#### **CHAMPIONING: A FRAMEWORK FOR CONTEXTUALIZING DEVIANCE AS SOCIAL ACTION**

In this section we examine the synthesis of a

sociology of deviance guided by these essential qualities of social life. This synthesis I refer to as the process of championing. The championing model arises in a response to meet the shortcomings of labeling theory as a cross-cultural approach to deviance and as an attempt to confront data acquired with those who actively champion definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate. From this perspective, championing is the social process by which actor's private designations of the moral standing of any person or group, act or actions, or system of belief, come to be acted upon, made public, and promoted. Therefore, the study of championing necessarily involves the study of social process and the perspectives which serve to make such action meaningful. Like all social processes it encompasses the perspectival, reflective, negotiable, and relational qualities of social action. As a model of deviance it is to some extent subservient to the overall position on the generic nature of social action. With it, I have attempted to articulate the essential conceptual components of a phenomenologically informed interactionist approach to social action.

While the complexities of the process will be elaborated in the following, readers may find the leap from the essential qualities of social life to the specifics of deviance as championing somewhat of a grand transition. Yet in both cases we are examining social life as accomplished

action. This is both our point of departure and our point of return. Championing is the term I use to differentiate between the social process by which people promote the moral claims they make of their worlds, from the various array of other processes in our worlds. Through championing we investigate the process by which people act as proponents of morally attentive world views. Data for understanding championing may be drawn from wherever people promote definitions of the way their world "ought" to be. We engage in championing through the socialization of our children, the teachings of theological explanations of world events, the ideologies which serve to provide the justification of the existence of nation states and their respective authority over the activities of individuals, through the presentation, adaptation, and integration of world views which define the realms of possibility and impossibility - which serve to demarcate the praiseworthy from the blameworthy. This implies that we are as interested in the championing activities of the judiciary and the clergy as we are the Communist Party and the Boy Scouts - as curious about the process accompanying raising children as we are with the fleeting debates over capital punishment at a lunchroom counter.

An adequate model of deviance requires the ability to remain attentive to the dynamics of formal and informal sanctions regardless of the form, content, or outcomes of

the collective definition of trouble. Towards making clear this process and the synthesis which informs it we examine championing relative to the perspectival, reflective, negotiable, relational, and processual features of group life.

### **Championing and Perspectives: Beyond the Rose-Coloured Glasses**

Davis' (1971) article stresses the importance of common sense notions for the relative success of sociological manuscripts. The sociologist produces the interesting, through theories and data which demonstrate that the world may not be as it appears to be. Becker's (1963) now classic statement accomplished this, as did the often cited complementary works of Erickson (1962) and Kitsuse (1962). They joined in a voice which said that the aspects of our worlds which we had come to see as inherently problematic were not necessarily so. Rather, their deviant status was conferred upon them by a social process of definition. Deviance, like beauty, was in the eye of the beholder.

This position serves as the cornerstone of what has come to be termed the interpretive paradigm.<sup>4</sup> From this position we learn that deviance is first and foremost perceived trouble. The sociologist need not be in the "business" of generating policies and programs. What

constitutes the field of deviance are those social objects which people come to define as criminal, bothersome, annoying, problematic or troublesome.

The notion of championing falls squarely within this extended interpretive tradition. However, I am willing to go somewhat beyond the positions of Becker (1963) and the recent review of the basic components of deviance of Dotter and Roebuck (1988). An emphasis on the priority of the perspectives of actors empowers the collectives we study. Our concepts become subservient to a naturalism dedicated to understanding the worlds which we explore and attempt to understand. The labeling tradition recognizes this and gives a voice to the words and perspectives of participants.

If the content of deviance is perspectively located, then we need to examine the extent to which the forms of deviance are similarly perspectively informed. As stressed in the previous chapter, circumstances under which individual identities are challenged do not always occur where outsidership is a possible outcome. Not all peoples conceive of the forms of deviance as labeling theory has cast it. Our models of deviance need to remain attentive to these world views. Actors may not be seen as the originators of their socially disruptive acts. Troubles may be understood solely in collectivist terms.

The equivalents of theology, social and physical science which a people bring to their understanding of

deviance are as relevant to sociology as their relative designations of troublesome objects and circumstances. We need to ask perspectively informed questions such as, what are the sources of trouble, how is trouble recognized, and how is trouble managed. With the appropriate answers the concepts of outsiders and moral entrepreneurs may be stripped of explanatory relevance. The notion of championing makes no presupposition as to the range of answers possible to these central questions. The richness of human culture seems to suggest that any such foray would be foolhardy. In the place of such answers we can only offer readers a naturalism which prioritizes the meanings that actors bring to their action. While we lose some of the "givens" that made the application of labeling theory popular in educational and criminal settings, we gain the ability to explore the range of human experience which constitutes trouble.

#### **Reflective Actors and Deviance: Championing and the Self**

Given my position on the perspectival nature of deviance, I consider deviant any social object perceived as troublesome by some audience. While this demonstrates the essentially social nature of deviance designations, it does little to comment on the circumstances under which such designations are accomplished. The following discussions will address this theme.

When we refer to the reflective capabilities of social actors we are referring to their cognitive abilities to serve as an object unto their own actions. Actors may attend to the impressions they offer to others, experience contradictions, anticipate potential actions of others and develop contingencies and lines of action. The world views which actors bring to interaction sequences encompass a range of moral imperatives and general guidelines of appropriate action. However, impinging upon these moral designations are the no less relevant concerns and dilemmas captured through the reflective capacities of social actors.

In day to day life few of us serve as "indiscretion detectors", alerting our fellows to every transgression of some internalized rules. The social costs of such behaviour appear high. To call attention to the perceived indiscretion of another holds implications for the self which are not lost on social actors. Folk knowledge offers a range of social commentary of the type, "friends don't talk religion or politics and stay friends". Both of these subjects are inherently moralistic ones. To align one's self with one position is to offer a statement of belief with which the person can be identified.

We speak here of the interpretations which people make of their relations to others as they undertake their activities. Champions may ask questions such as, "do others share in my objection to x?", "is this in fact an occurrence

of x?", "do I have any authority or power here to speak out on x?", "will identifying this occurrence of x as troublesome alter my relations with others?", and so on. Despite how firmly we may believe in some moral precepts, we may find a range of circumstances under which we are unwilling to apply them to others or where we may excuse ourselves from their domain.

This leads to the important consideration that an individual may serve as judge and jury towards their own action. Miall's (1985) article on involuntary childlessness illustrates this general theme of self-labeling. As objects unto our own acts we can find aspects of ourselves either praiseworthy or blameworthy. There is no need for a dyad or triad to facilitate the accomplishment of deviance designation. In this instance the champion of the designation and the target of the designation are the same. This both demonstrates the necessity of an attentiveness to the reflective qualities of actors, and questions the appropriateness of models of deviance which focus on the content of a pre-determined interaction sequence.

**Championing and Negotiated Designations: Deviants Fighting Back, Talking Back, or On Their Back**

Gouldner's (1970) critique of labeling theory challenges the tradition for portraying the deviant as a man on his back rather than a man fighting back. What or who he

is fighting back against remains somewhat unclear. This theme has been embraced by the new criminology of Taylor, Walton and Young, (1973, 1975), whose school of thought has alerted us to the political relevance of deviant action (Taylor and Taylor, 1973). Rules reflect the interests of some segment of the collective. Their application empowers some and often restricts the lines of action available to others. The arrest of an actor for theft carries with it a range of symbolic and functional implications as Durkheim (1938) and Cohen (1966) have demonstrated. Within this act we find an affirmation of the authority of the collective, a reiteration of the moral order and the preservation of the appropriateness of private property.

Thus as orderly and as punitively directed as this seems, we are dealing with a negotiated order. We have recognized the perspectival nature of the rules themselves and the reflective qualities of actors. While maintaining them, the model of championing must fully empower the targets of deviant designations. That is, we seek to clearly distance ourselves from the interpretations of labeling theory which would view the cry of a single moral entrepreneur as sufficient to transform the previously respectable into a social leper destined for a long ride down the "slippery slope" of inevitable social exclusion.

We know this is not the case. The social objects to which we may direct our scorn have their proponents.

"People have the abilities to influence and resist one another's viewpoints, definitions, and experiences" (Prus, 1988: 6). As such, the moral order is not so much given as it is shared. Actors can suggest that the rules are inappropriate, that under the given circumstances they are temporarily neutralized, or that they or the collective they represent are not accountable for the perceived transgression. Accusations can be repelled, definitions challenged, and alternatives for public consumption offered.

By recognizing the negotiated dimension of deviance designation, the model of championing empowers the potentially designated. We recognize the potential of these actors to respond to the claims of others. We are confronted with competing champions to the extent to which we find those designated reflecting alternatives and proposing in act or word a world view of the appropriate and the inappropriate. This model entertains the idea of seeing the accused as a competing accuser. This may be clear in the case of those who are designated as deviant for their ideas - ideas which critique a political economy or demand racial equality. Yet we are also dealing with the accounts of competing champions when we read the words of Sykes and Matza's (1957) juvenile delinquents or when we hear from Humphrey's (1970) proponents of a homosexual lifestyle.

At times the accused may support the appropriateness of their own designation and/or punishment. By so doing

they champion on behalf of the given. Instead of being a competing champion, they find themselves on the same "side" as the accuser. However either way they remain a proponent of definitions of the appropriate.

The accuser and the accused are brought together in a social process of designation. To cast both as champions respects the negotiated and emergent qualities of the process which they share. Blumer (1971) recognizes this dual position of the accuser and the accused in his discussion of the social creation of social problems. Schur (1980), in an attempt to reflect the inherently political nature of this process, refers to such episodes as stigma contests. This is a useful piece of imagery as it stresses the commonality that binds both champions together. Both are playing the same game and yet there is no need to assume that they begin play on anything approaching equal terms. The negotiated aspect of social life reflects in part, the power, authority and legitimacy to which competing champions can lay claim. To further appreciate this aspect we turn to the relevance of the relational qualities of social life to the designation of deviance.

### **Social Relations and the Process of Championing**

Elites, ruling classes, bosses, adults, men, Caucasians - superordinate groups generally - maintain their power as much by controlling how people define the world, its components, and its possibilities, as by the use of more primitive forms of control (Becker, 1973: 204).

The ability of social actors to successfully promote their definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate rests, in part, upon the particularistic bonds within the collective to which they can lay claim. Extending Becker's (1967) original notion, Hills (1980) refers to such comparative differences within complex societies as "hierarchies of credibility" (Hills, 1980: 45). In an attempt at a somewhat more generic approach, Garfinkel (1956) attends to this dimension as one aspect of successful degradation ceremonies. Denouncers must establish the relational dimension of speaking on behalf of the collective.

Towards extending the process of championing we ask in whose interest are the rules created? The answer to this question requires an attentiveness to the interactive bonds of relevance within a given collective. People come together out of a range of interests and concerns. These associations are established through the practically accomplished activities of actors. People do not share some intrinsically occurring affiliations in terms of class association, ideological commitment, or birth order. Networks are established and maintained. They facilitate joint action, the preservation of collective interests, and the understanding of static notions such as hierarchy, authority, and structure in action terms.

In practical terms, this consideration focuses on

the bonds of varying degrees of permanency which impact upon people's relative participation in the moral life of the collectives they share. These bonds may be of kin groups, ethnic communities, subcultures, religious associations, professional associations, or issue oriented coalitions. Such relational dimensions are central for understanding a range of action from the appropriateness of a Cheyenne retaliatory raid (Hobel, 1978) to promoting dialogue between nation states (Gorbachev, 1987), from the role of third parties in interpersonal disputes (Roznachuck, 1984) to the coalitions which form to confront a perceived social problem (Spector & Kitsuse, 1973).

#### **Championing as Process: Doing Deviance Designation**

I have selected a verb - championing - to denote the understanding of the social context of deviance. The definition of social objects as troublesome is accomplished through interaction and is facilitated through the joint act. Championing falls squarely within the tradition which views social life in action terms. Whether we refer to these orientations as natural histories (Shaw, 1930), sequential models (Becker, 1973), processes of interaction (Blumer, 1969), or career models (Skipper & McCaghy, 1970; Prus and Irini, 1980), we are fundamentally dealing with the same issue. Social life is built up along lines of action, with various contingencies and alternatives open to actors.

What facilitates action at one time may hold little or no relevance for facilitating ongoing action. As Becker (1973) taught us, asking why people become marijuana users tends to blur the contingencies of ongoing involvements - reducing the natural history of action to a causal model of simultaneous "forces".

A focus on process encourages the researcher to examine the "how's" of social life. Championing is in part, a social constructionist model of deviance as accomplished activity. It provides a conceptual framework for examining the "how's" of deviance. However, our questioning begins by examining the processes by which actors attempt to promote the troublesome qualities of some social object. From this perspective the categories of deviance are not given but are created by the activities of champions and are continually re-examined and/or re-affirmed by the process of designating trouble and acting upon those designations.

I would argue that this is the key to establishing something approaching a generic sociology of deviance. By focusing on the process by which a collective's notions of trouble are transmitted, applied and acted upon, we facilitate a fully interpretive sociology of deviance. By shifting attention from the designated to the process of designating we generate a focus which is capable of embracing the created troubles of human life in all the richness of forms that they present themselves. The basic

feature which all occurrences of trouble share is the process of promoting that particular occurrence as an instance of the inappropriate. This, in its most basic form is the process of championing.

There is however, no singular process of championing. The natural history may be said to apply to the designation of trouble wherever it may occur. The negotiable and perspectival nature of social action precludes us from constructing such a grand scheme. Whether attended to by their original authors or not, previous attempts at "generic" models of deviance have fallen somewhat short. The first chapter here demonstrated my concerns with labeling theory. Similarly, Garfinkel's (1956) insightful "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies" provides a natural history of this social phenomenon. However, Garfinkel's work is a very specific form which the management of trouble may take. Similarly, Dotter and Roebuck's (1988) model of interactionist approaches to deviance is, like labeling theory, bound to labels and the transformation of identity. Again this is but one form which trouble can take.<sup>5</sup>

The shape of championing as an approach to understanding deviance designation within the Mbuti, a football team, or a correctional center is a matter of empirical investigation. All that is offered here is an interpretive approach to deviance and the designation of

trouble. This approach focuses on process, on the joint act, and on deviance as accomplished activity. It is processually attentive and informed. It does not however make any claim of having the ability to foreshadow the natural history of events or of being able to articulate a recipe of action which all episodes of championing share. I cannot conceive of such a model which would continue to fully respect the perspectival, negotiable, relational, and reflective qualities of social action.

#### IN SUM

Hills (1980) entitled his work "Demystifying Social Deviance". His point, in part, is that we are dealing with a phenomenon which is first and foremost a social phenomenon. The implication is that if our theories, notions, and concepts are accurate and helpful, then they will speak as fully and as fruitfully to the study of deviance as they do to the range of accomplishments which encompass the range of human action. We do not require a separate **theory** of deviance, of education, or of the particularistic experiences of some subgroup of peoples. What we need are accurate theories and conceptual models that respect human experience. Once so equipped, we have the basic tools to attempt to generate a greater understanding of our worlds.

Championing is an approach to the study of deviance

which attempts to articulate these basics. We began by asking, "what are the fundamental features of group life?" My answer to this question is hardly original, but it is I hope, consistent with an interpretive tradition, and allows for a respect of life as it is lived. Championing is my response to the question, "if these are the basics of social life, then what are their implications for the study of deviance?" My approach has been one that builds upon the processually attentive research of others. By so doing, the reader should have a clear indication of the perspective from which my empirical research is conducted.

The grounding statements arising from this approach to the study of deviance are as follows:

1. The form and content of deviance can only be understood relative to the world view of the collective. No social object, be that a person, act, or thought is inherently deviant.
2. Deviance is a social construction accomplished through joint action.
3. While deviance may take many forms, the common thread which links all cases is the designation of trouble by some actor(s). Such actors who promote, affirm, or challenge the moral claims of a collective we refer to as champions. The process by which such activities are undertaken we refer to as championing.
4. Championing is, in part, a "stigma contest" (Schur,

1980). As such it has political dimensions. The relative power, authority and nature of social relations of competing champions is vital to an understanding of the nature and outcomes of championing activities.

5. Championing is a social process. As such, it may be profitably cast in natural history terms. Of particular relevance here are questions concerning people's careers of involvement in championing campaigns, the natural history of championing associations, and the career of social objects as the targets of championing activities.

6. The processual qualities of promoting designations of the appropriate and the inappropriate transcends levels of societal complexity, dynamics of collective world view, and macro/micro distinctions.

7. Championing is accomplished action. As such, the reflective capacities of actors and the negotiated dynamics of social life inform accompanying social processes.

8. Championing is not a theory of deviant behavior. It provides a conceptual context consistent with the interpretive tradition, from which we may investigate the social creation of trouble.

**NOTES**

1. Canadians working in this tradition include Anderson (1974), Erickson (1980), Wellman (1980), and Carrington (1981).
2. A recent proponent of this position is to be found in Alexander's (1987) 'lecture', "Individualism and the Work of Blumer and Goffman" (1987: 215-237).
3. Readers will find the empirical application of this theme in Blumer's substantive work on Race and Ethnicity (1958), and fashion (1968).
4. This is in opposition to the more structural and static normative paradigm (Hawkins and Tiedeman, 1975).
5. The components of the Dotter and Roebuck (1988: 24) model are "rule and rule enforcer, act and actor; behaviour setting and audience; and societal reaction and the reaction of the deviant to the label".

## **CHAPTER III**

### **THE SOCIAL TYPE OF THE CHAMPION**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

While influenced by the work on typing by Weber (1946) and Scheler (1954, 1980), Schutz' phenomenologically based social types blend a sociology of knowledge with an attentiveness to what Blumer (1969) would later term joint activity and an empathetic understanding of the perspectives of social actors. The insight of Schutz's "Homecomer", "Stranger", and "Well-Informed Citizen" rest within a careful study of the experiences of actors. Marginality is established not only by one's social location, but also by the life events which constitute marginality (Stonequist, 1937). It is this blend of the life world with the world view which serves as the basis of Schutz' social types.

Schutz (1964) work ferries the reader on a journey of understanding. As Brodersen (1964) illustrates, the application of social theory for Schutz focused on "the inner meanings of human conduct" (IX). The life situations of actors find their expression and manifestation through their living and experience. The structure of the life world

impinges upon their actions, contextualizing relations within the now. Yet such structures take on sociological relevance through experience, through life as it is lived.

The essence of this theme may be illustrated through the "stranger". Schutz (1964) designates the stranger as "an adult individual of our times and civilization who tries to be permanently accepted or tolerated by the group which he approaches" (91). Implicit in this definition is the assumption of the location within an out-group or a generalized "they" relationship. The experience of the stranger is the product of attempting to modify a "they" relationship into a "we" relationship. Such attempts involve a reformulation of actors' world views. Recipes of action which previously facilitated everyday life may become a hindrance to emerging affiliations. The experiences of ongoing assimilation of the stranger involve the "social work" of constructing world views and establishing a shared present. Schutz' emphasis on the pre-assimilated stranger draws out the generic features of those who stand on the threshold of collectives - confronting an objectivity which challenges the taken-for-granted world of others and a doubtful loyalty to shared symbols of the "tribe" (Schutz, 1964: 104-105).

Drawing on this theoretical tradition and the empirical contributions of others, this chapter attempts to examine the social type of the champion. While I have

previously suggested that a phenomenological model of deviance construction may be profitably cast in terms of championing, here I am more or less concerned with perspectives rather than process.<sup>1</sup>

Interactionist theories of deviance attend to the audience-relative qualities of deviant designations. From Becker (1963), Blumer (1971), and Prus (1984) we hear a similar message. Deviance is audience specific; it is not a quality of the act but a quality attributed by the perceiver - deviance is a disrespectable definition attributed by some audience. This chapter turns its attention to that audience by exploring the ground which promoters of definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate share. This commonality combines to designate the social type of the champion.

#### ON COGNITION

As Coser (1963) has demonstrated, the observations of our novelists make profitable grist for the sociological mill. As Ivan Ilyich lays dying, the judge of others becomes his own critic (Tolstoy, 1981). Illness takes on a moral meaning, and self/other identities are transformed in the wake of a condemnation of a life which produces such pain. Orwell (1984) explores the world of social movements and the combination of power and morality. "Four legs good. Two legs bad.", becomes a "battle cry" different only

substantively from the range of moral crusades in which people engage.

Tolstoy and Orwell examine very divergent themes in their respective works. Typical of Russian novelists of the mid to late 1800's, Tolstoy crafts a detailed profile of the man struggling with questions of mortality. We find Ilyich questioning the ultimate purpose of his misfortune. Why ought this have happened to him, becomes one of several themes Tolstoy explores. Orwell examines totalitarianism, with a critical eye to rule formation and the preservation of "special" interests.

What these divergent works share is an attentiveness to questions which focus on the "oughts" of social life. Such questions are the bases of Aristotelian and utilitarian ethics, a grounding point of Weber's (1958) analysis of European capitalism, and an essential element in Sutherland and Cressy's (1978) theory of delinquency. The typified notions of what social actors ought to do in any range of settings hold direct implications for a range of scholars, from theologians to philosophers, from historians to sociologists. In turn, the implications of the range of oughts acquired through interaction with others impinge upon the socialization of children and the waging of wars.

Irrespective of whether we are dealing with folkways or norms, codified principles or generally agreed upon rules of conduct, these notions linger within generalized recipes

of action acquired through ongoing interaction with the life world. Such representations identify zones of moral relevance. They give us clues as to the morally endowed "symbols of the tribe" - those social objects and acts which are made good and those which are morally devalued - that which is made sacred and that which is of the profane.

The world view of social actors contains a range of socially derived and experimentally based knowledge. These recipes of action combine the shared experiences of self and others into a potentially contradictory web of typifications serving to facilitate life as it is lived. The morally endowed oughts are an essential aspect of these representations which identify the range of reciprocal obligations and behaviours which we may come to anticipate from our fellows.

The world view identifies a collectives' virtues as well as the duties it may reasonably expect from its members. Further, the world view reflects a collectives' prohibitions - the "ought nots" which serve to designate the undesirable and the reprehensible. Accompanying this range of designations are a myriad of moral qualifiers which suspend the "oughts" and "ought nots" under "appropriate" circumstances.

Locating these definitions within the world views of actors is intended to link them explicitly with a process of social construction. This cognitive framework of "shoulds,

"shouldn'ts and maybe's" reflects actors' participation in a life world which to them may appear objectified but which is transmitted from one to another through the joint processes of externalization, internalization and objectification (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). A phenomenologically based sociology sees such moral designations as perspectively located. They reflect the shared experiences of a collective, are transmitted through joint activity and impinge upon the working out of everyday life. The study of deviance and deviant designations necessarily refers back to the collectives' moral claims and the distribution, application, and interpretation of these often times objectified yet perspectively situated typifications of propriety and impropriety.

#### **ON KNOWING DEVIANCE AND OTHER FORMS OF TROUBLE**

In summation, cognitive frameworks for designating troublesome occurrences represent an aspect of the stock of knowledge that each of us brings to our everyday activities. As a general statement there is little added by this. The various proponents of the interpretive traditions of the sociology of deviance have emphasized the audience relative qualities of designations of trouble now for some four decades (Gusfield, 1955; Becker, 1963; Cohen, 1974; Dotter & Roebuck, 1988). To locate these representations relative to Schutzian concepts of typification, world view and life

structures seems to me a reasonable extension of his thought. Notions of trouble arise through interaction with ones fellows, exist within a framework of recipes of action, and have a practical implication for life as it is lived.

One of the practical implications of these "recipes of trouble" has been the modification of self/other identities relative to the extent to which actors (and social objects more generally) are seen as supportive of the collectively valued. As a result of sociologists' efforts in this area we have seen the development of a range of social types which attend to the products of stigma contests (Schur, 1980) and honorific ceremonies (Klapp, 1969).

At the "meta-level" we have Durkheim's (1915) distinction between the sacred and the profane. However, more in line with actors and their definitions we note Becker's (1963) "outsider", Goffman's (1963b) stigmatized, and Klapp's (1962) "heroes, villains and fools". Researchers in this tradition have also utilized social types to examine the range of participants within specific settings, such as Humphreys'(1970) typology of the tearoom and Jeffery's (1981) typification of patients in casualty departments.

While attention to the types of deviant actors has been rich and varied, comparatively little work has been done in establishing typings of proponents of deviant designations. This said, the exceptions are notable indeed.

Drawing from Gusfield's (1955) work on moral crusades, Becker (1973) has produced perhaps the most often cited typification of deviance designation - the moral entrepreneur (Becker, 1973: 147-163). Quite inconsistent with the criticisms of Gouldner (1968), and Colvin and Pauly (1983), Becker's (1973) notion of the moral entrepreneur attempts to address the inherent power dimensions in deviance rituals. By reflecting upon the theme that rules represent the interests of some collective, Becker's conceptual framework of rule creator and rule enforcer provide a context within which to ask - "whose rules?"

One general area where the substantive application of this model of interlocking types has proven especially fruitful is the sociology of medicine, and the medicalization of deviance more specifically. Freidson's (1970) insightful extension of the notion of the moral entrepreneur to the practical activities of physicians contextualizes their work relative to the promotion of moral definitions. In addition, Conrad's (1987) essay explores the implications of these designations for the control and conceptualization of deviance.

Researchers exploring the morally laden activities of political and religious enterprises have been somewhat more reluctant to extend Becker's (1963) model to their substantive areas. Instead, typification here has tended to focus on generic qualities of the institutions (Crozier,

1964), the relative imbeddedness of adherents (Hoffer, 1951; Lofland & Stark, 1965; Toch, 1965), or the system of belief which characterizes the enterprise (Weber, 1958: 155-183; Klapp, 1969: 49-57; Lipset and Raab, 1970: 3-33). Some such "typifications" have themselves entered the sociologist into the somewhat difficult role of moral evaluator. For example, Westin's (1964) distinction between the "hate right" and the "semi-respectable" right becomes evaluative. To add an air of "respectability" to a collective which "hates" communists while more actively discrediting those who "hate" Jews places the sociologist in the position of suggesting legitimacy to one form of hate over another.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the consideration that physicians, religious leaders and politicians are involved in moral enterprises, the type of the moral entrepreneur may more adequately capture the lived experiences of the "committed crusader" than the range of people who may find themselves involved in varied stigma contests. Indeed, this should not be surprising. When Becker (1963) created the moral entrepreneur he had in mind the "fervent and the righteous" engaged in a "holy" mission (Becker, 1973: 148). While this may accurately depict the Women's Christian Temperance Union at the turn of the century<sup>3</sup> or the commitment of contemporary physicians to a "medical ethos", it does little to reflect the experiences of those who, while sharing a range of personal "commitments", come to promote moral

definitions through the working out of their everyday activities.

#### **MORAL WORK AS ACTIVITY IN EVERYDAY LIFE**

The students of deviance as joint activity have made a concerted effort to overcome the "deviant mystique". Prus and Irini (1980), DesRoches (1988) and Katz (1988) share in their attention to deviance as accomplished activity - undertaken through a social process not so different from marketing or negotiating activities more generally. The social constructionists have questioned the extent to which the paranoid are products of interactional sequences which facilitate the creation and maintenance of identities of paranoia (Lemert, 1962).

As a result we have seen a continuing trend away from "special" theories of deviance. The qualities of the social world which are central to the orientation of Schutz (1967), Blumer (1969) and Douglas (1970b) find no substantive barriers in their application. The works of interactionists in this tradition have produced a sociology of deviance which speaks directly to life as it is lived. The concepts which these interpretive scholars bring to an understanding of social life apply fully and thoughtfully to naive check forgers (Lemert, 1953) and to undergraduates attempting to complete degree requirements (Albas and Albas, 1986) - to the "cloaks" adopted by mental patients

(Edgerton, 1967) and medical students (Haas and Shaffir, 1987).

While we have demystified the deviant, the promoters of deviant designations remain something of unique characters often cast as the committed exception. Becker's (1973) rule creators are such "true believers" (Hoffer, 1951).<sup>4</sup> They approach the world with a clear sense of the "evil" that exists and the benefits awaiting all once the collective is sucessfully cleansed. Speaking of the rule creator Becker writes:

He operates with an absolute ethic; what he sees is truly and totally evil with no qualification. Any means is justified to do away with it. The crusader is fervent and righteous, often self-righteous (Becker 1973: 148).

Becker's (1973) type of the rule creator may capture some aspects of the world view of the committed reformer. However, social "movements" are made up of a range of proselytes and their recruits, from those who "live" the beliefs of the group to those who share them when it is socially convenient (Bertoia, 1988; Grills, 1988a). Becker's (1973) type of the rule creator fails to capture the range of actors engaged in the day to day expression of "rule affirming activities". People need not act with the levels of personal conviction, the sense of moral certitude, or with a general interest in the well-being of others that Becker's (1973) rule creators share, yet may be engaged in "rule creating" behaviour.

Becker's (1973) typology is therefore too restrictive. While useful, it is also somewhat misleading. The activities of those who have moral definitions to offer to their fellows are more wide ranging than the rule enforcer and rule creator will permit. As we have noted, the "moral entrepreneur" has found its usefulness as an analytical type in empirical research. Therefore, it seems of little advantage to borrow Becker's (1973) term and revise its meaning. Towards generating an alternative which is somewhat more attentive to the promotion of definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate in everyday life, the following discussion will examine the social type of the champion.

#### THE CHAMPION

Hopefully from chapter one the reader has a clear indication of what Becker (1973) intends with his notion of the moral entrepreneur. From my perspective, the champion encompasses this and goes beyond it. In the language of the syllogism, all moral entrepreneurs are champions but not all champions are moral entrepreneurs.

By champion, I refer to all those who come to promote definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate through the working out of their everyday lives. Unlike the moral entrepreneur, who is seen to engage virtually exclusively in fervent, politicized campaigns of moral

definition, the notion of the champion attempts to attend to the range of morally charged definitional encounters which make up the day to day experiences of life as it is lived.

Champions are those who engage in sharing, reaffirming, and challenging the range of "oughts" held by the collective - from the ways of the folk to the objectified and apparently "inalterable" moral taken-for-granteds. At one level this makes champions of us all. Whether we buy a loaf of bread or "make off" with it, cast a ballot or refuse to vote, we are to some extent making an evaluative comment on the collective which we share through our social action.

While social actors attend to the moral qualities of their actions with fleeting degrees of attentiveness, the life-world into which we socialize children and strangers is replete with the "oughts" of the collective. The process of socialization, is in part, a process which makes champions of parents and teachers and of classmates and programming executives. Becoming a competent member of a collective involves acquiring the "oughts" of the reference group. Those who offer up these "oughts" are a collective's champions.

The framework of a collective's definition of the appropriate and inappropriate refers to a specialized form of social knowledge. Like all social knowledge, we would expect to find differences in the distribution of, awareness of, and attentiveness to, notions of the appropriate and the

inappropriate. Some people may attend to the moral implications of acquiring consumer products. Considerations of whether the establishment is morally appropriate may be made relative to the treatment of employees, the suppliers of products, the national affiliation of the parent company or virtually any other dimension. Champions are capable of endowing any social act or social object with moral tones. However, the knowledge base from which these designations are made varies greatly between actors.

Noting similar differences in the acquired world view, Schutz (1964) examines the problem of people's relative willingness to "accept unquestioningly some parts of the relatively natural concept of the world handed down to them and to subject other parts to question" (Schutz, 1964:122). In an attempt to differentiate social actors relative to their respective "zones" of the taken-for-granted, Schutz (1964) distinguishes between the "man on the street", the "well-informed citizen" and the "expert". Knowledge utilized by the "man on the street" is unquestioningly accepted and of practical usefulness. Through employing ritualized recipes of action, the "man on the street" gets along in his world without necessarily understanding that world. For example, the "man on the street" may utilize routinized strategies for starting an automobile. However, if these fail to have the desired result, the "man on the street" has few recipes on hand to

confront the disruption in routine.

The expert lies at the other extreme of Schutz' (1964) typology. Their knowledge is specialized and based on "warranted assertions" (Schutz, 1964:122). While the automotive engineer may employ similar routinized recipes for starting an automobile, these are accompanied by a complex array of knowledge pertaining to both the "hows" and the "whys" of the operation of the automobile.

Between these two extremes lies the well-informed citizen who "neither is, nor aims at being, possessed of expert knowledge, [nor does he] acquiesce in the fundamental vagueness of a mere recipe knowledge or in the irrationality of his clarified passions and sentiments" (Schutz, 1964: 122).<sup>5</sup> Schutz (1964) argues that an appreciation of the typified distribution of knowledge is essential to the understanding of a range of social phenomena - from theories of professions to the interlocking networks which join "expert", "well-informed citizen" and "man on the street" in interdependent and complementary performances (Schutz, 1964:123). The food technician who designs the "latest" in snack foods, draws on the specialized talents and generalized knowledge of distributors, packagers and advertisers who in turn direct their efforts to the "tastes of the masses".

I would argue that the designation of deviance involves similar, knowledge-based work. As such, Schutz'

(1964) typification which deals with knowledge in its most generic form should speak to this more specific problem. In light of this model we see Becker's (1973) type of the rule creator as focusing exclusively on a particular framework of knowledge claims. His rule creators hold specialized knowledge, and attempt to add legitimacy to these claims through enlisting verification from professionals and experts (Becker, 1973:150). It should not be surprising then that Freidson (1970) found Becker's (1973) model helpful, for with physicians we find the moral entrepreneur who can act as their own expert in efforts to promote the medicalization of deviance. However, as Schutz (1964) has taught us, a more complete understanding of social phenomena is dependent, in part, on an attentiveness to the distribution of knowledge. Following this lead and encouraged by Becker's (1973) gains, I look to extend the notion of the champion relative to the dimensions underlying Schutz' (1964) typification.

To do so generates a three part model attentive to the qualitative distinctions in moral knowledge which actors bring to their interactions. The social type of the champion is comprised of the scripted champion, the well-informed champion, and the expert champion. These types vary relative to the "morally-endowed" social knowledge which actors have at their disposal. Scripted champions possess routinized understandings of the appropriate and the

inappropriate. In contrast, expert champions bring specialized knowledge to the moral issues of their time, while well-informed champions promote moral claims of their worlds from a position which is reason-based. We now turn our attention towards a more complete understanding of these types.

### **Scripted Champion**

For the Kwiao of the Solomon Islands, the notion of "child" refers in part to one who has failed to grasp the cosmology of the collective (Keesing, 1982). An inattentiveness to the "moral certainties" of the group identifies one as something other than a full participant - as someone who is not fully "in touch" with reality.

The social reality in which actors live is their construction. As Berger and Luckmann (1967) have demonstrated, the objectified and externalized qualities which stand apart from actors are acquired through social processes. What is the creation of actors comes to stand apart from the process of creation taking on objectified qualities - becoming "what is of the world" as opposed to "what is of our collective hand".

The notion of the scripted champion speaks directly to these themes of a socially constructed yet objectified reality, and the accomplished internalization of this reality as an aspect of acquiring member status. Scripted

champions are the repositories of a collective's objectified notions of moral order and certitude. They act upon learned moral meanings, lending support to these acts through the "givenness" or objectified appropriateness of a sequence.

The scripted champion utilizes typified and routinized notions of the appropriate in everyday life. These notions serve a practical usefulness in facilitating joint activity with one's fellows. They reflect shared understandings of the norms, folkways and mores we might reasonably expect to be shared across our ongoing interactions with others. Such "moral givens" of our worlds serve to facilitate a range of social activity from Kwakiutl potlatch to democratic nation state election.

While scripted champions incorporate a range of morally attentive typifications into their world view, they tend to be relatively inattentive to their role in the promotion of a given perspective. Scripted champions may teach their children that they ought to love their father. However this may be shared in much the same sense as admonitions of common safety. The scripted champion promotes moral definition as "fact" within a generally coherent order. What is "right" and "wrong" is perceived as a given, in much the same sense as cosmological referents to nature or the origin of species may reflect taken-for-granted realities. Unlike Schutz, few ponder the existence of

trees. For most of us they share in an external opposing reality - a givenness. For the scripted champion, ideas within the moral realm have taken on a similar external quality and have a permanence and inherent truth quality.

The type of the scripted champion reflects a world view which actors may bring to the morally endowed aspects of their lives. I do not refer here to specific kinds of persons, but rather to the stock of knowledge which actors bring to their interactions. To borrow from the language of schema theory, I am suggesting that actors, through interaction with their fellows and self reflection, come to establish scripts of "bad things", "the inappropriate", "the profane" and so on. For scripted champions, these typifications take on an objectified reality as a part of the life world. The perspective of this champion is one such that "X" is inappropriate. Its existence within the schema of "the inappropriate" establishes the necessary and sufficient conditions to establish its inappropriateness.

These typified frameworks of the appropriate and the inappropriate need in no way be consistent by some external criterion of rationality or logic.<sup>6</sup> People are quite capable of opposing the taking of human life as a general virtue, while at the same time advocating collectively sanctioned life-taking through armies, raiding parties, judicial punishment, etc.. Techniques of neutralization (Sykes and Matza, 1957) may suspend one "ought" in favour of

another, producing dilemmas which might perplex the student of ethics but which constitute an essential quality of the working out of life as it is lived.

At this point the reader may question in what way the scripted champion reflects an aspect of "championing" as we have discussed it in chapter two. In what ways do scripted champions engage in the process of promoting definitions of good and evil? In the simplest form, they accomplish this by acting upon their taken-for-granteds as given. We lend credence to the notion that we ought to love our mothers through attending to a range of honorific ceremonies and parent/child based obligations. In this light, the act of sending mother's day cards is not morally neutral. Therefore the scripted champion who sends such a card, is engaged in championing activity through promoting generalized notions that we ought to love our mothers, whether or not they attend to the moral qualities of their acts.

Sutherland and Cressey (1978) incorporate this general theme into their theory of differential association. By classing acts relative to the degree of favorability towards rule violation, and the potential implications for the construction of definitions, they note, to use my term, the championing qualities of day to day life. At the broadest level normative and norm violating behaviour may be seen as a form of championing albeit a form which serves of

limited analytical use.

Scripted champions may also attend to the moral qualities of acts more thoughtfully and with a greater sense of purpose. They may become actively involved in the moral education of their children, in campaigns and programs directed at promoting a particular moral world view, or virtually any other campaign of moral designation. The designation of scripted champion refers not to the nature of the moral campaign but to the framework of social knowledge and the world view which people bring to their acts. Here we find scripted champions engaging in joint activity, directed in part, by established definitions.

Contemporary campaigns to promote a given moral agenda include a range of actors. Some members of such moral campaigns reflect the type of the scripted champion. Their involvement reflects a "man on the street" orientation that the objects of their campaigns are wrong. While these people have much to teach us about such fundamental aspects of campaigns as recruitment techniques, careers of involvement, and the world view of participants, rarely are scripted champions the "movers and shakers" of such campaigns. They lack the social knowledge and the public endorsement which accompany those entrusted with tasks central to the defence of the "sacred symbols of the tribe". Such tasks are often left to the well-informed and the expert champions. We will examine the latter first.

### **Expert Champion**

Schutz (1964) describes expert knowledge as:

restricted to a limited field but therein is clear and distinct. [The expert's] opinions are based upon warranted assertions; his judgements are not mere guesswork or loose suppositions" (Schutz, 1964: 122).

Within their restricted fields, experts develop "argued for" positions. They lay claim to specialized knowledge, and establish "fields" by demarcating areas of relevance. As such they compartmentalize areas of the life world as within or without their domain. They also in part, determine the "rules of evidence" which serve to differentiate warranted assertions from the unwarranted.

The expert champion is one who brings such "warranted assertions" to bear on problems of moral relevance. Expert champions are the moral specialists of the collective. However, we find a "division of labour" between expert champions. In fact the range of experts who lay claim to specialized knowledge pertaining to the "oughts" of social life is wide and varied. For example, within university communities we find individual experts who explore the ethics of research within their discipline, as well as committees of experts struck to oversee the ethics of research more generally. We have departments of philosophy, with faculty claiming expertise in various systems of ethics, and we have schools of theology which in part train future experts on moral problems. Further,

experts in fields which tend to be less oriented towards issues of the appropriate and the inappropriate may adopt advocacy positions based upon their expert knowledge. As a result scholars may lend their expertise to a range of perceived problems, from the nature of the monetary system to institutionalized racism.

While the university community illustrates the "division of labour" between expert champions, it is by no means the sole repository of such moral specialists. By casting the expert champion relative to the idea of a collective's moral specialist, this notion is hopefully somewhat cross-culturally attentive. As we move between collectives varying both societal scale and world view, we also vary the comparative basis by which social knowledge may be understood as distinct, and assertions may be identified as "warranted". Small scale societies may lack specialized roles readily identifiable as expert champion. However, the type of the expert champion is not role dependent. We may find expert champions among those most familiar with the "cosmology of the clan".

As such, "expert" champions may occupy virtually any role within a collective, yet the "circle of believers" which support an actor's claim to the "warranted assertions" they make may vary greatly. Such expert champions may act upon their expertise only under circumstances where the shared "moral order" fails to adequately respond to the

emergent quality of social life. For example, the arrival of a flock of birds who have strayed from their migratory pattern may introduce the potential of a new food into an indigenous community. However, expert champions may be called upon to determine the appropriateness of the consumption of this new addition and its relative place within established patterns of food sharing. An elder's expert knowledge in such matters may be used relatively infrequently, as established meanings serve to facilitate everyday life adequately. However, with the introduction of life events which introduce new dimensions or produce perceived dilemmas, expert champions may be called upon to make some effort at establishing normalcy.

Thus morally attentive expert knowledge may be found among a range of actors. The "warranted assertions" of which Schutz speaks, are ultimately social products. Moral claims take on their warranted qualities through casting them relative to rules of evidence. Expert champions share in an attentiveness to the rules of evidence upon which their moral claims are based. Those versed in Aristotelian, Utilitarian, or Franciscan schools of ethics adopt very different positions relative to the designation of acts as appropriate. It is, however, the construction of a range of assertions to maintain their position rather than the content of these assertions which establishes each as an expert champion.

Relative to the process of championing, expert champions may play a number of roles. They may create the moral position, policy or stand that comes to be actively promoted by themselves and/or others. Expert champions may propose the initial principles which come to be adopted and acted upon by others. Further, expert champions may extend the warranted assertions, upon which a previously shared belief is based. As expert champions examine a problem, demographic, medical, psychological, theological or any number of considerations may be brought to light. As a result, proponents may find their "side" of an issue supplied with a range of warranted assertions which may lend credence to their position. Proponents of a position may demonstrate the "reasonableness" of their stand utilizing assertions generated after their own "conversion".

Not only may experts generate the moral stand, as well as a range of assertions to support it, but they also may become personally involved in extended championing campaigns. As Blumer (1971) has discussed, the involvement of those perceived by others as possessors of expert knowledge may lend a credibility to championing endeavours. The expert champion maintains a specialized world view which takes little for granted that is not the product of clear and distinct knowledge. These actors play a vital role in the promotion of moral meanings. Yet, it is with the type of the well-informed champion that we find the actors who

are responsible for much of the social action involved in promoting moral definitions. This type lies between the scripted and the expert champion in our typology, and we turn our attention to an examination of the nature of this world view and its implication for the process of championing more generally.

### **Well-Informed Champion**

Well-informed champions differ from our other two types in the degree to which they are willing to incorporate taken for granteds into their world views (Schutz, 1964: 123). The scripted champion's perspective is almost exclusively comprised of these taken for granteds. The expert champion's world view rejects a reliance on such givens in favour of a reliance on validation through clear and distinct knowledge. The well-informed champion lies somewhere in between, "he neither is, nor aims at being possessed of expert knowledge (nor does he) acquiesce to the fundamental vagueness of a mere recipe knowledge (Schutz, 1964:122)."

The moral claims which the well-informed champion makes are "reasonably founded" (Schutz, 1964: 122). That is, they are grounded upon a body of evidences and arguments acquired through interaction, or to rephrase Schutz (1964), they are founded upon reasons.<sup>7</sup> While the well-informed champion lacks an appreciation of the "technicalities and

implications" of the problems confronted by experts, they nevertheless attend to the products of expert labour (Schutz, 1964: 123).

The world view of the well-informed champion incorporates recipes of moral knowledge with the claims established by experts. A moral precept may be warmly embraced as their own and expert claims may serve to provide a base of reasons for this position. However, rarely is this base of reasons distanced from its source and incorporated as a taken-for-granted, or the product of one's own intellectual labours. To do the first would reduce this information to "mere recipe knowledge". To resort to the latter would threaten the presentation of self. If one points to a painting and claims to be the artist, then the audience may challenge that claim. Such challenges the well-informed champion would be ill equipped to confront in light of a lack of expert preparedness.

My point is simply that knowledge produced through expert labour remains identified with this generalized endeavour, as long as it maintains its "clear and distinct" qualities. Well-informed champions have a practical interest in maintaining this link between their "reason-base" and the expert labours which produced it. Proponents of a given position lend support to their claims by demonstrating the expert based qualities of their reasonableness. We find well-informed champions prefacing

their arguments with disclaimers of the type, "I am no theologian, but the moderator of the church says ...". Through such statements these champions demonstrate the expert base of their position but distance themselves from the claims made.<sup>8</sup>

Within the championing process, we would expect to find well-informed champions as those who are the "movers and shakers" in consciousness-raising campaigns. Free from the technical constraints impinging upon expert champions, yet possessing a reason-based world view of the appropriate and the inappropriate, the well-informed champion holds a base from which assurances of the correctness of their position can be drawn and shared with others to bring them "on side". From this base of reasons, well-informed champions see themselves as qualified to evaluate the competing claims of experts (Schutz, 1964: 123), as well as the recipe knowledge upon which scripted champions act. Thus by virtue of their "in-between" status, well-informed champions are particularly well suited to facilitating key aspects of contemporary consciousness-raising campaigns. From recruitment to policy construction, from media relations to fiscal planning, well-informed champions play a key role. They may be found interpreting and assessing expert knowledge and implementing it relative to collective notions of appropriate outcomes.

#### RESEARCH NOTES ON THE SOCIAL TYPE OF THE CHAMPION

When confronting the social process of promoting definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate, the research should recognize the range of actors that come to be involved in such campaigns. When we speak of the Women's Christian Temperance Movement, Greenpeace, or as we are about to examine, the Christian Heritage Party of Canada, we are not speaking of some singularly minded collective. Such movements recruit and attract a range of actors. We can differentiate these people by a variety of "measures" (eg. levels of imbeddedness, rates of participation, etc.). While the type of the champion is fundamentally empirically based, it is qualitatively oriented towards the world view of participants. It suggests that we can profitably gain a more complete understanding of those who promote moral definitions by attending to the distribution and types of knowledge that actors bring to their worlds. The triad of the scripted, well-informed and expert champion constitute my answer to this general problem.

Whether other researchers will find this typology of practical usefulness remains to be seen. Within the relatively short history of the discipline of sociology, typologies have spanned only limited research interest.<sup>9</sup> However, with sufficient disclaimers in place, I would encourage researchers to examine what I have done here thoughtfully and critically.

I would suggest that these notions have a research potential among small scale societies. Anthropologists (Counts & Counts, 1984; Raybeck, 1984) have alerted us that our interactionist theories of deviance do not meet the demands of the regulation of trouble amongst their peoples. I have argued in chapter two that the process of championing may prove of greater usefulness here than the process of labeling. Similarly, the type of the champion may more adequately reflect the dynamics, or perhaps statics, of small scale life than the type of the moral entrepreneur (Becker, 1973). A community may generally lack occurrences of trouble or those who may be seen as actively promoting definitions of moral change. There is no reason that communities must share the assumptions of social life which pervade our collective "western" culture. It seems that the sociology of deviance is as much a sociology of order as it is a sociology of disorder. Despite the great difference in world view between these collectives, I see no theoretical barriers to investigating champions among the Kwiao, the Andaman islanders or Jesuit priests.

I would also hope that students of social movements more generally would find this typology applicable, if only as a heuristic device for selecting a "sample". While a particular movement may have 10,000 members, a random sample may not be appropriate for the types of research questions asked. If one wishes to learn about the formation of policy

and programs, a single in-depth interview with an expert champion directly involved may provide more relevant data than 20 interviews with scripted champions recruited to the cause. If we recognize that actors within such movements may be profitably differentiated on the basis of the type of knowledge possessed, then we may sample on the basis of the type of knowledge which we wish to gain.

Social life blends together process and perspective. For analytical clarity we have separated the two, into the process of championing on the one hand and the type of the champion on the other. As Blumer (1969) has taught us, these two aspects of the joint act are in part what makes social life social. In the "real world" champions engage in championing amongst people who may not want to be championed, where a lack of funds may end their efforts, where coalitions form and come apart, or in an atmosphere of trying to gain influence and attain power. My empirical research addresses championing as a practically accomplished activity, with successes and failures, with scripted foot soldiers and an expert "elite." It is within this framework that we examine the championing activities of the theologians, the politicians and the sales force that make up the Christian Heritage Party of Canada.

## NOTES

1. This distinction is necessarily somewhat arbitrary. As perspectives are the product of joint activity and social action is directed from audience definitions, a reciprocity exists between these two fundamental aspects of social life which can be partitioned only for the benefit of analytical clarity.
2. Barrett's (1987) recent attempt to address this general problem has led him to focus his types of "radical" right and "fringe" right on the definitions of participants. While allowing for a more complete understanding of participants' worlds such designations are, by their very nature, substantively limited.
3. For a Canadian exploration of this substantive issue see Thomas (1975).
4. As Hawkins and Tiedeman (1975) demonstrate, the distinction between rule creator and rule enforcer is often tenuous at best.
5. This review is intended to assist readers in "touching base" with Schutz' typology. For an indepth discussion see Schutz' (1964: 120-134) essay "The Well-Informed Citizen: An Essay in the Social Distribution of Knowledge".
6. This consideration is as appropriate for the scripted champion as it is for the other two types. This is not to imply that only scripted champions incorporate inconsistency into their world view.
7. Schutz' phrase "reasonably founded" brings with it some intellectual baggage with which I am uncomfortable. It creates a typification somewhat dependent upon the "reasonableness" of an actor's position. However, the criteria by which "reasonableness" is to be distinguished from "unreasonableness" is unclear and highly problematic from a phenomenological position. To emphasize a grounding upon reasons distinguishes the well informed champion from his scripted and expert counterparts without including the implication of some outside criteria of the worthiness of ideas.
8. Of course knowledge generated through expert labour may come to lose its association with this process, and be incorporated within the recipes of knowledge shared by the community.
9. This is with the notable exception of Weber's (1946) notion of bureaucracy.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODS: A NATURAL HISTORY APPROACH

#### INTRODUCTION

Pollner (1987: 3-5) lets us eavesdrop on the mythical conversation between two "terrestrial anthropologists", one a student the other a mentor. The student, arriving on Earth in an effort to capture an "anthropology of man", suggests that their task has been successfully accomplished by the distinguished scholars whose work is housed in the equally distinguished journals. Dismayed, the mentor admonishes:

Do you not see that the procedures you refer to as the 'social sciences' are integral features of the world you set out to examine? Have you not used as a resource what well might have been the phenomenon? These journals you present, aren't they the stories the story-tellers tell?... Your task did not call for an evaluative concern.... Such evaluations are of interest only in the ways in which they are carried out by members in-the-world (Pollner, 1987: 4).

We, like the mentor in the above, share an intense interest in capturing life as it is lived by members in-the-world. However, I share an empathetic "kindred spirit" with the student who sought answers in the volumes penned by others. A common ground shared by life as it is lived, and life as

it is depicted by social science, is that both are captured by narratives. While the laboratory report is more structured and routinized than dinner conversation, both are accomplished through social action and form part of what we have loosely called "everyday life" (Douglas, 1970b).

It seems worthwhile to recognize that this dissertation may be considered one of the stories that the story-tellers tell. This entails an appreciation of this research project as a part of the world which it attempts to understand. This research is in and of itself a social accomplishment, which was made possible by joint acts negotiated between myself and others.

Like many other "traditional" statements on method, this essay has as its goal the clear link of my previous theoretical statement and the techniques of research. Yet I also look to give the reader a clear sense of how this project was completed, specifically, what was done, how was it accomplished, what sorts of hindrances arose, and how these were confronted. To attempt to take the reader 'into the field', this chapter will begin with a series of narratives. The first of these will focus on the theoretical background which I bring to fieldwork, followed by a look at the process of getting into this research setting. The third narrative will focus on the process of becoming an "informed researcher", and in the fourth section, we will examine the transition I tried to make to

"professional researcher". Following this we will review some of the fundamental concerns that transcended this project. Specifically, I examine the themes of adopting a theoretical focus, the nature of the interview setting, some hazards in the field, shortcomings in the data and the relative strengths of participant observation.

#### **TOWARDS CONSTRUCTING A NATURAL HISTORY**

##### **Linking Theory to Method**

The "theoretical journey" of this research began with the realization that labeling theory was not as powerful a generic model as I had originally believed. Becker's (1973) claim that the common ground which deviants shared was the "experience of being labeled as outsiders" had seemed both adequate and accurate (Becker, 1973: 10). It was the work of a number of anthropologists (Counts and Counts, 1984; Preston, 1984; Raybeck, 1984) that alerted me to the inability of this position to capture "deviance" amongst "their" people. Chapter one of this work attempts to address the implicit shortcomings of labeling theory as a generic model of deviance. The second chapter recognizes these shortcomings and attempts to limit their impact by rejecting a focus on the "label of outsider" as the fundamental commonality of deviance and replacing this with an emphasis on the process by which moral definitions come to be promoted within a collective. This process I refer to

as championing. What all deviance has in common is the social designation of trouble. Chapter three differentiates those who promote definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate relative to the social distribution of knowledge, producing the social types of the scripted champion, the expert champion and the well-informed champion.

The empirical problem then becomes to explore the ideas put forward. First, we must look back to the theoretical underpinnings upon which this work is based. I have previously adopted an interpretive position which views social life as fundamentally perspectival, negotiable, emergent, reflective and processual in nature. I therefore must adopt a methodological position which respects these dynamics of social life - a methodology which facilitates an attentiveness to life as it is lived.

I am indebted here to the works of Blumer (1969), Matza (1969), Douglas (1972; 1976), Schatzman and Strauss (1973), and Strauss (1987). Though differing at times in matters of interpretation, all share in a commitment to a naturalism and to the premise that claims of the social world (be these concepts, models, or grand theories) must be based on a "direct examination of human group life" (Blumer, 1969: 49). We must take our concepts to "the people" and not the reverse.

The notion of championing is cast in action terms,

relative to accomplished social process. If we are to respect the position which calls for examining our social claims relative to a first-hand examination of group life, then we must take our "curiosity in all things social" to those engaged in the phenomenon in which we are interested.

For me, this meant a direct examination of peoples' attempts to promote definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate. The theoretical stance adopted in this research leaves me no other choice. Surveys, laboratory settings or detached content analysis are simply not adequate to gain an intimate familiarity with emergent process and perspective. It was therefore virtually theoretically predetermined that fieldwork would be the basis of this study. There seemed to be no way to maintain the claims I made without examining them in the "real world".

My problem then became not so much one of how, but with whom? I had cast championing broadly. As a result its empirical application could be found in a variety of settings. The research question that I was most concerned with was, "what is the social process of promoting moral claims?" Since I was concerned with process, I wanted an opportunity to study activity. I also decided on studying a group. While championing need not take place in a group setting, I was looking to ground this research in a strong base of participant observation and interview. An existing

group could afford me access to public and private settings, provide a context for collective action, and provide a network of contact upon which interviews could be based. Groups however, contain the added risk of potentially excluding the researcher. Therefore, I adopted the position that I was exploring the process first and foremost. Groups that come together in part out of a concern over moral "issues" are a fertile ground for understanding the process of championing more fully. However, I was aware that "group studies" involve certain risks that strictly processual or conceptually directed "sampling" do not have.

While I was looking for a group that was active in its pursuits, my selections were limited by a range of factors. Some concerns dealt with the quality of this research, while others were more personal, from creating a project manageable within a reasonable time line, to an appreciation of the demands of fieldwork on one's intimate social obligations. These concerns combined to create an "avoidance list" of which, in all fairness, the reader should be made aware. I would in no way suggest that these are not valuable areas of study. They simply were not right for me at this time.

I rejected the study of local, issue-oriented campaigns. My concern was over the uncertain timelines that these campaigns follow, and the limited involvements actors may have with them. Such campaigns are open to long delays

in process - awaiting government hearing or court decisions.

I also rejected the study of championing within a small scale society or in a setting which would require a relocation of my residence. My reasons here were personal. Such a move would request a commitment to the research process on the part of others which I was unwilling to make.

Finally, I also decided to avoid associations dedicated exclusively to the promotion of hate. Many champions may hate something - high taxes, environmental destruction, landfill sites, etc. An appreciation of "social disgust" is part of the research and I am comfortable with that. However, I do not think I could fulfill the goal of generating an intimate familiarity with the worlds of my respondents when their hate was directed at some racial or ideological quality of their fellows. I fear my personal distaste would impede my scholarly judgement. I applaud Barrett's (1987) study of the "racist right" in Canada. I would not have been able to do what he accomplished.

With this general position in mind, I began to look for a field location which would afford me access to examining, in some depth, the process of promoting moral evaluations. Three arenas of action seemed particularly worthwhile for consideration: a proselytizing religious community; an examination of the championing aspects of medical professionals; or the moral work accomplished through some level of politics. At this point I was simply

considering options, and asking, "what sort of settings might afford an opportunity to learn more about the social process I am interested in?" As my questioning was not limited to a specific substantive area, I was more concerned about a viable field project than I was as in producing a statement relative to a sociology of religion, medicine or politics.

#### NOTES ON A FIRST ATTEMPT

The practical requirements of graduate course work led me to 'the field' with an eye to this general problem in January 1986. At that time I hoped that the research undertaken would be the preliminary research for this project. However, this was not to be the case. This earlier research focusing on the promotion of moral definitions (Grills, 1988b), examined the processes accompanying the activities of a group I referred to as the Canadian Radical Left. This communist based, federally oriented political party came to my attention through a legal dispute between one of the members and an Eastern Canadian University.

During this project, I became aware of a series of obstacles to continuing the research, specifically: the perceived threat to which some members felt my research would expose them; the relatively small number of participants; the isolation of similarly oriented groups in

other cities; and the relative inactivity of participants. This project did however, teach me that the "politics of the fringe" might prove a fruitful arena of study.

While looking for a new group for this project, one such struggling political party happened to slide an announcement of an upcoming meeting under the windshield wiper of my parked car. That announcement carried the party's name, (the "Christian Heritage Party of Canada"), an invitation to share in a "vision for Canada," and the directions to their upcoming meeting. Prior to this note, I had never heard of this association. I was looking for a group which cared enough about their world to try and change it, regardless of left or right political leanings. However, of initial concern was exactly how far right was a group calling itself the Christian Heritage Party? With this question in mind, I made my way to the meeting announced on that card I found under my windshield. I wanted to know if this was a group capable of helping me learn more about the social process of championing. I also wanted to determine if this group was a political front for the Ku Klux Klan, The Aryan Nations or some similar organization of the radical right. An answer of yes to the latter would mean a hasty retreat, to the first would mean the initial contact of a new field project.

#### **Approaching an Opportunity**

There is a certain nervous tension in approaching a group known only by name for the first time. I had no idea what I would be approaching that night, however, I did have some "hunches" given my recent experience with the radical left. I thought I would be dealing with a small meeting of between 15 to 25 attendees, where my presence would stand out. I expected a rather diverse group, with discussions focusing on matters of ideology and personal commitment.

I found instead a high school parking lot filled to capacity 30 minutes prior to the scheduled start of the meeting. Rather than a back room, the meeting was held in a 1400 seat auditorium, and as I was soon to see, the vast majority of those seats were filled. Instead of locally isolated aggregates, I heard a party leader speaking of establishing a new "truly" and exclusively federal political party. Debate over doctrinal issues was replaced by speeches on yet to be ratified policy statements. The quiet resignation yet private opposition so common within the radical left of my previous work was replaced with a sense of urgency and a vocal display that this group would have an impact in the next federal election still a year and a half away.

To put it mildly, my expectations were shattered that evening, but my curiosity was aroused. This was a new federal party, a little more than eight months old, with 1200 members nationally, and it was able to deliver almost

that number to a rally held in southern Ontario. I felt that not only was this group appropriate within the context of championing, but they presented a genuine research opportunity. Within this group I had an opportunity to capture aspects of the religious and political dynamics of promoting moral definitions within the same project. An understanding of this movement seemed particularly timely. The political theater in the United States, Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany had all demonstrated groundswells of "pro-right" sentiment. In Canada, the 1984 federal election saw Canadians elect a Conservative government with an overwhelming majority.

That first night I heard the Christian Heritage Party state that the Progressive Conservatives had not proven themselves to be "right" enough. They were looking to be a voice for the "fully respectable" right - the "Christian right" - in Canadian federal politics. For a field researcher this was a tempting scenario. If a research bargain could be struck, I would have an opportunity to capture aspects of the social construction of a political party from its beginnings. At the same time I would have a chance to explore the promotion of definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate through a Christian political voice. It was clear that this group could provide some helpful insights on the process of championing. The next step would be to gain their permission for such a

research project to be undertaken.

### **The Research Bargain**

As West (1980) notes, the problem of all field researchers is one of gaining access. We are faced with a range of choices which are endowed with ethical considerations and impact upon the nature of the research enterprise. What are we prepared to offer our subjects in terms of protection from injury and personal anonymity? What are we going to ask of them - do we need access to official records, membership lists, financial statements, "private" meetings, office settings, personal time? And finally what can we live without - are whatever the respondents wish to withhold central to the research enterprise, and if so can alternative sources of the information be found? Preliminary efforts at confronting these issues can be done at the researcher's desk. However, it is only when we present the idea of doing research to our "subjects" do we begin to gain a fuller sense of their concerns and uncertainties.

At the first meeting I attended I obtained the necessary information to contact members of the party's national and provincial executives. I met one of these people that night, and introduced myself as a graduate student working on a project which focused on the activities of those "who cared enough about their world to try and

change it". I had found this phrase helpful when dealing with the left, as it does not align one's self politically but shows a respect and interest in what people are doing. My initial contact seemed interested and informed me that he too was a university student. We parted shortly thereafter, but not until he had shared with me his office number.

I used this number a few weeks later, to re-approach members of the Ontario executive with the idea of including their organization within my research. I asked for a meeting to share with them the nature of my research, what I hoped to accomplish, and the part which they could play in helping me. This meeting was arranged and took place in my university office within the week.

I was met by two members of the provincial executive. At that meeting I attempted to explain that my interest in their organization was an academic one and that they would find in me neither a political ally nor an opponent. I expressed to them an interest in both the activities of the party in terms of recruitment, organization, the regulation of dissent, the creation of policy etc., and the perspectives of party affiliates - from the national leader to the rank and file membership. Both "gatekeepers" were interested in why I would want to learn about such things. I shared with them my interest in social process, particularly processes of moral definition. I also told them the focus of my research would be on how the party

accomplished its goals rather than on questions of "why". This seemed to satisfy their curiosity.

Having briefly described what I wanted to learn, I then shared with them the means by which I would try and collect this information. I asked them if either had taken coursework in fieldwork methods. Receiving a negative response I gave each a copy of published research using this methodology (Millman, 1977; Myerhoff, 1980). I pointed out the emphasis in each on the words of respondents. I noted how respondents were able to speak to the reader directly, without having their thoughts reduced to numbers or correlations. I shared with them that it was this sort of data on which I wanted to base my understanding of the Christian Heritage Party. I stressed that this quality of data does not come easily or quickly, but requires time, and an opportunity for the researcher to get to know the setting, to talk to the people, and to watch what is happening.

At this point in the meeting one member of the executive turned to the other and said:

I am pretty comfortable with what Scott is saying. I don't see any reason why we can't go along with something like this. But unless we are willing to be open and honest with him I think we will be wasting his time. What exactly will you be wanting from us? (fieldnotes)

I had been anticipating more opposition to my plans than this and had not really spent much time creating a "wish list". I asked for access to the daily ongoings in their

office, an opportunity to interview them and other members, and access to meetings (at this time I really had no idea as to the nature and types of meetings they held but I knew I would want access to as many as they would allow). I explained that my research was directed by a general set of ethics guidelines, and gave them a copy of these guidelines as distributed by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. Specifically, I assured them of the anonymity of individual respondents, that I would not associate a name with interview data provided to me in the confidence of a research setting.<sup>1</sup> We discussed briefly whether they would request that I attempt to conceal the identity of the group in my writings, and they agreed that due to the distinctive nature of their association such attempts would be in vain.

I also stated that I would make use of the data for "scholarly" purposes. That is, I would not allow third parties, such as journalists, to have direct access to my data, nor would I make use of data within the public press to knowingly harm my respondents. However, clearly, once a dissertation is defended and made public it is open for anyone to read.

These assurances were accompanied by requests on their part which led us to agree that: (1) I would not represent the research project as supported by the party, (2) I would at no time have access to the membership lists,

and (3) the financial specifics of the party (names of contributors, amounts contributed etc.) would remain outside my research domain. Under these conditions they were willing to allow me access to the daily goings-on in their provincial office, and facilitate my attendance at public meetings.

#### **Establishing a Presence in the Field**

The first research role I adopted in this study was that of a "regular" in the Ontario office of the C.H.P.. I spent the first few weeks trying to get some grasp of what was going on. Fortunately, the provincial office at this time provided an atmosphere where I could acquire some of these basics. To call it an "office" was something of an exaggeration. At the time the "operation" was being run by two full-time staff and a team of irregularly attending volunteers out of a room rented from a local college for the summer of 1987.

Through this office came new memberships, requests for speakers from local organizers, materials from the national office for distribution, queries from the press, and the preparations for the training of local organizers and the planning of the "founding convention" scheduled for November 1987. In this setting of seemingly never-ending work, my presence as researcher may have been questioned, but the relative value of an extra pair of hands to type

letters or stuff envelopes was not.

This time period of assisting with "menial" tasks was an invaluable time in the field. It gave me an opportunity to be a part of the day to day happenings in the provincial office. It provided an opportunity to demonstrate the sincerity of my research role and our research bargain. Key actors were quick to discover that "sensitive" information did not make its way to the media or to opposing champions despite my presence. My declared research intentions gave me further latitude to ask questions frequently. I was free to explore issues which were taken for granted by participants. Central here was developing something of an appreciation of "reform" and "evangelical" theology as it pertains to political action.

While personally of a Christian background, my mainline upbringing was sufficiently divergent from these traditions to make their unique features 'stand out'. It was during this time of 'learning the ropes' that my respondents emphasized the importance of my understanding their religious convictions if I were to ever come close to capturing their political aspirations. Upon hearing of my research intentions, participants would take me aside and share with me the nature of their religious conviction. Rarely was this in a proselytizing manner, but rather in one of helping me to understand their world view. Thus, the first two months of the research focused on the activities

in the provincial office, and the interviews attempted to gain a sense of the various theologies which were represented.

#### EXTENDING THE RESEARCH SETTING

After developing something of an appreciation for the world views which loosely combined to constitute the Christian Heritage Party, I began to shift my attention to the activities which accompanied the promotion of these perspectives. To accomplish this, it was clear that I would have to extend my research beyond the office setting. I therefore expressed an interest in attending "public information meetings". These meetings were conducted by speakers assigned by the provincial office to promote membership and establish the basics of an organization in a local riding.

I met no resistance in being allowed to travel to these functions. As sources of ethnographic data these outings were particularly helpful. By traveling with party promoters, I was able to interview them at length in the privacy of a car. We were able to explore a range of issues, without the possibility of being overheard by co-workers or spouses. I found that some of my most candid and helpful conversations came while on the road. Further, I had access to the "backstage" preparations of promoters. While traveling to a meeting, we would frequently discuss

hoped-for accomplishments, the problems of maintaining enthusiasm, and promoters' relative willingness to participate in the process prior to the "event". Conversely, the return trip would provide an opportunity to dissect the evening's events, and to discuss the successes, the shortcomings and the disappointments. These meetings hold a central place in the promotion of the C.H.P. in Ontario, and the candor of party promoters has proven instrumental for my understanding of this process.

By attending the meetings themselves, I had an opportunity to meet with the range of people who were attracted to the function. By talking to those who made their way to these meetings, the career dimensions of involvement became more clear. My informal conversations and more formal interviews stretch from those who arranged meetings as local organizers, to those who after hearing the "party message" stormed from the meeting hall in anger declaring the whole enterprise to be "facist". Further, I was able to gain a clear sense of party promotion as activity. I was in direct contact with, and a part of the process of party promotion. My tapes of these events are the records of the verbal aspect of activity central to the party's work. By attending these meetings (42 in total), from eastern to western Ontario, I was able to gain access to a vital dimension of party promotion.

### Towards the 'Professional' Researcher

Gordon (1987) in his article "Getting Close by Staying Distant," emphasizes the relative benefits when studying proselytizing groups of the researcher removing his/her self as a target of their recruitment efforts. This provides the researcher with some latitude of movement, and distances them from the struggles of their participants.

I began this project representing myself as a researcher and left the field without departing from this role. However, in the process my integrity as a researcher has been questioned, and my general competence as a researcher has been challenged. The researcher's ability to "stay distant" is a curiosity to some and an annoyance to others. The presentations which promote the recruitment of new members, when given to the sociologist are treated as data. I am sure it remains an annoyance to some that after hearing the strength of their conviction to "the cause", after sharing dinner in their home and packing up my tape recorder, I have not signed their membership form.

One of the advantages of establishing a research presence in the field, is that the researcher can demonstrate a commitment to their role. This is of particular value in the study of proselytizing groups. The researcher need not "give lip service" to phrases and beliefs which they may not personally hold. Even among those attempting to attract participants, an onlooker may be

defined as a potential "mole" from the opposition, a potential convert, or a media or security forces spy. My experience suggests that one cannot disprove these allegations but by adopting something of a "professional researcher" status, some of these concerns can be alleviated.

By 'professionalism' I mean to denote the process by which one's respondents may come to view the participant observer as a serious, committed and relatively competent performer of the research role. We can demonstrate this to our respondents over time. A trust can be established within the research partnership by showing a willingness to be inconvenienced in order to gather data, by emphasizing a desire to learn in a non-judgmental manner, and by adhering to the original research bargain.

The researcher can gain the trust of a group through a range of strategies. Some introduce a research dimension into groups where the researcher themselves are previously accepted and considered 'trustworthy'. Others choose to "pass" as members concealing their research intentions yet being afforded the "trust" offered to group members. A third alternative is to gain the "trust" of respondents through moving into the role of the professional researcher. With this increasing level of trust comes increased candor from respondents and increased access to their worlds. While I cannot fully demonstrate the levels of trust

afforded this research project, I can note, within a natural history framework, the increased access gradually allowed to party leadership and the workings of its decision-making apparatus.

Within this project, an important increase in my level of access came in the sixth month of fieldwork. During this time, local organizers were making plans for the "founding convention" of the party. At these meetings the party constitution would be ratified, party policy would be established and the party executive would be elected by delegates from across Canada. At the national level, the interim executive had made a decision which I initially feared would have a detrimental effect on my research. They decided to bar the media, and all non-registered convention attenders from policy and debate sessions.

The one loop-hole from this "banning" was to register for the convention as an "observer". This registration category had been created to allow interested representatives from complementary associations access to the proceedings. After first airing my desire to attend the convention before members of the national and Ontario executive, I more formally submitted my registration documents and was granted access to the convention. I was also asked to serve as the leader's "press secretary" for the week prior to the convention. This involved driving him to and from previously established appointments with the

national and local media.

This access to the leader and to the convention proved invaluable to my research. During my week as "press secretary", I gathered almost twenty hours of interview material, as well as the opportunity to "sit in" on the interviews conducted by the press.<sup>2</sup> The founding convention, attended by over 500 delegates, enabled me to witness the formal creation of the constitution and policy first-hand. It allowed me access to the internal debates which held up procedure and to the points of unanimity around which the collective rallied. It also gave me an opportunity to interview Canadians who had gathered from coast to coast.

In addition, the convention marked the point at which I perceived that my credentials as a professional researcher had been established and confirmed by the key "gatekeepers" within the organization. I was allowed access to meeting halls where the media were prohibited to enter, and this access added a legitimacy to my efforts. My credentials read "observer - McMaster University". While some still questioned the hidden intent of my "snooping", the year following my attendance at the founding convention was one in which my movements within the party were facilitated rather than hindered, and my opportunities for data collection widened.

Following the November 1987 national convention, I

continued with interviews, "dropping by" the provincial office on a weekly basis and attending public meetings held to promote the party. Yet, in addition my increased level of imbeddedness within the group as researcher opened up some new avenues of data collection. I will discuss each of these briefly.

#### LANDING SOME OF THE RELUCTANT INTERVIEWS

Reflecting a variety of concerns, some party affiliates were less than willing to talk with me at any length in an interview setting. The most common objection was that they could not possibly have anything to say that would be of help and often offered to direct me to someone in the party who dealt with the media or who was in a position to speak on behalf of the party. On many occasions I was able to overcome these concerns by stressing that I was not interested in having them speak on behalf of the party, but I wanted to learn about how they became involved in it and why they thought this undertaking was important. Occassionally this approach would work. However, some participants remained reluctant to talk.

I found that the further I was able to distance my work from the work accomplished by members of the media, the more helpful people eventually became. Some members of local executives had been specifically warned not to give interviews for the press. My request for information was

initially treated like those from the press and was "re-routed". However, as my university affiliation became more widely known and my attendance was observed at "closed events", I was gradually able to distance my work from the "media mystique" and more closely align it with a "scholarly enterprise". As a result, some interviews previously denied were gathered, particularly in the last half of this project.

The one group of reluctant respondents which did not give me access are those who have rejected undertaking a taped interview out of a lack of confidence in their ability to communicate in English. This party has attracted many of European ethnic affiliation. During the course of this research I have had occasions where an ability to speak Dutch, German, Polish, Czech, or Ukrainian would have proved an asset. As I lack this ability, I have had to make alternative arrangements. For some, I was able to lessen objections by discarding the tape recorder and taking notes. However, others remained unsure of their ability to communicate and chose not to take part as a respondent.

#### ACCESS TO TRAINING SEMINARS

With an established research presence in the field came access to previously closed meetings. As people became more comfortable with my research, party affiliates would point out events to which I "should" go. Sometimes

respondents have a clearer sense of where the answers to the questions the researcher is asking are located than the researcher does.

After five months in the field, I received the first overture of allowing me into these 'closed' proceedings. A member of the provincial executive asked if I would be interested in attending a workshop conducted on establishing a riding association.<sup>3</sup> I was subsequently given access to 'organizer's conferences', a meeting of the key officers of the national executive, and 'candidate training sessions'. As one member of the provincial executive remarked, "I thought we were taking a pretty big risk letting you into the organizer's conference. But I figured you had been around for a while and no harm had come of it so far, so we might as well take the chance" (Sept. 87).

The candidate training sessions were perhaps the most helpful and the most "sensitive" of the meetings which I was allowed to attend. At these sessions, potential candidates tried to come together with a unified voice on policy and election strategies. The process entailed a fair amount of debate and apprehension which was not meant for "public consumption". This was "backstage" work to give the party and its promoters an election-ready public face.

My access to these candidate training sessions was facilitated by my earlier attempts to gain a greater level of confidence in the 'accuracy' of my use of data and

analysis. In late April, 1988 I provided copies of a conference paper I was to give (Grills, 1988) to three "key" respondents, members of the national and provincial executives. Their comments proved both helpful and insightful. One of these readers admonished me for not "quoting" them accurately - without realizing that it was someone else speaking. Another suggested that my paper was "cold". Upon further exploration, it became clear that "cold" was equivalent to non-partisan. In offering the respondents a paper entitled "Tomorrow For Sale" (contained here in a revised version as Chapter VII), I had anticipated a somewhat harsher reaction.

In July 1988 I was asked to participate in a candidate's training session. An organizer for the event asked if I would be willing to speak about how the C.H.P. could sell their message to the public. I refused. I explained that I was neither willing to take a direct personal hand in guiding their political endeavours, nor could I do so, even if willing, without drastically altering a process I was there to study. In compromise, I agreed to present the content of the conference paper which I had previously shared with them to their meeting of candidates and organizers.

The transition from allowing me in the room in September 1987 to dinner speaker in August 1988 is not so different from what other researchers have found. As Haas

(1977) came to be trusted by his high iron workers, they came to him with their fears. As Leibow (1967) came to develop an empathetic understanding with juvenile delinquents, they shared their "family secrets" with him. Similary, as members of the C.H.P. came to see me as less of a threat, doors that were previously closed were opened.

I have justified my decision to speak at the candidate training session as follows: 1) The meetings would take place with or without my involvement; 2) I was sharing with them information which was available to any member of the research community wishing to seek it out. I was not sharing "raw data"; 3) The focus of my presentation was on how the party had "sold" itself so far. My discussion was descriptive; 4) A failure to participate would have limited my access to a series of meetings which were important to the extended project; and 5) A presentation would give my research a higher profile within the group. As a result of speaking I found candidates seeking me out to volunteer accounts which they perceived would assist me, and my ability to schedule interviews was enhanced.

My claim to the role of researcher allowed me access to a series of meetings which were, to some extent, restricted. However, this same research status also led my respondents to conclude that they could expect something from me in terms of the "fruits" of the research

enterprise. Being able to present this conference paper helped to clarify my research role. With this paper and presentation, a select group of respondents were given some insight into the sociological use of their words, accounts and actions. It allowed me to provide further evidence that I was "living up to my end" of the research bargain. As well, and perhaps of most value, it provided an opportunity for my respondents to comment on the extent to which I was accurately coming to understand their worlds. As one provincial organizer stated, "I won't say I actually liked everything you have found out about us. But I think you have pretty well got us the way we are; warts, halos and all." (fieldnotes)

#### AN INTENSIVE WEEK

As I took an interest in the processes accompanying the promotion and growth of the C.H.P., some of its members came to take an interest in the processes accompanying my work. Some inquired into the various aspects of this project in particular, as well as into the experiences of graduate students more generally. One member of the national executive questioned what I thought I had lost by limiting my research to Ontario. He asked, "What is there about us that you would like to know that you haven't been able to find out?", clearly articulating a concern that had been bothering me.

My research in Ontario had been productive and wide ranging. However, there were two large gaps in my data. One concern was that I had not been able to interview, at any length, the party founders. This party had begun around a nucleus of less than fifteen people, yet I had not been able to gain much insight into those first few meetings or talk to the key actors. Secondly, I had but only the most superficial understanding of policy formation. I had attended the policy sessions at the national convention and sat in on policy discussion at the local and provincial level. However, much of the policy work was done by committees in British Columbia. I would not be able to gain anything approaching a complete understanding of policy formation unless I talked to these key individuals.

I shared these concerns with the member of the national executive who had initially queried me. His response was to tell me that the only way I was going to find these things out was to go to British Columbia where the party started and interview these people. Recognizing my student status and relative lack of personal funds he made me an offer - if I could get out to B.C. they would billet me so that I might conduct these interviews.

I took advantage of this important opportunity and made my way to British Columbia. In the week offered me, I conducted interviews with a range of people holding positions on the national executive and with those who,

while at one time more active, were now somewhat less involved. During that week I conducted over thirty five hours of taped interviews and attended two meetings involving members of the national executive. My hosts facilitated a large part of my access. I provided a list of those who I would like to contact and they suggested additional people to talk to who would also be of value. My hosts made initial contact with potential respondents, sponsoring me into interview situations.

This sponsored access and the resultant data has strengthened the pool of interviews which I have to draw from for my analysis. It provided insights which were not available to me in Ontario. However, the thirteen months that I had put into the field prior to making my way to British Columbia facilitated this research opportunity. Members of the national executive in B.C. shared with me that when they first heard of my research they were concerned that I might be using this claim to disguise some considerably less noble intentions. However, my extended presence, the relative confidence placed in me by the national leader and members of the provincial executive in Ontario, and the lack of harm that had come from my work served to allay some of these concerns. The research presence that was constructed in the earlier days in the field facilitated a level of co-operation that made a one week trip into British Columbia both constructive and

profitable.

#### **ON THE FUNDAMENTALS**

The previous discussion in this chapter was intended to give the reader a sense of the natural history of this project and my changing role as researcher in it. It was written to give the reader an appreciation for the emergent qualities of the project itself, and the various levels of access to information which I was afforded. In the following discussion, we will examine some of the methodological issues that extend beyond the project. Specifically we examine: adopting a theoretical focus, the interview setting, some hazards of the field, the nature of unexplored data, and a comment on the reliability of qualitative data.

##### **On a Theoretical Focus**

The theoretical focus for a study such as this develops with an increased understanding of the perspectives and activities that combine to identify the uniqueness of a collective. I came to study this group exclusively out of an interest in exploring the theoretical problem of championing. The broadest of my theoretical questions was how do people promote definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate. However, the answers to this question involve some theoretically directed classification.

The process of presenting data is ultimately based upon the central activities of my respondents. The division of chapters and the organization of the data therein reflects the world I have been studying. While the concepts and analyses of my work falls within an extended tradition of ethnographic research, such concepts and models are ultimately grounded in the activities and perspectives of actors.

While I would maintain the grounded qualities of my theoretical arguments, the data for this project were not gathered randomly from all potential respondents. Drawing from my earlier experiences in the field, I began to identify aspects of C.H.P. activity central to the growth of the organization and thereby central to the work of the organization as a championing collective.

By its very nature, championing involves the social activity of promoting ideas - albeit a specific class of ideas. My initial sorting of data reflected this theme. The fundamental question I asked was do my data tell me something about the activities of establishing the C.H.P., or do they speak more specifically to the world view of the actors involved or the world view which the "party" claims to hold.

Once this basic qualitative distinction was made, I then looked to my data to discover what aspects respondents considered necessary for the collective. I will deal here

with questions of social process first. The practical realities of the elections act and the income tax act dictate that those wishing to "start up" a new political party in this country must do so on the financial gifts of interested parties. It is only when a party has run fifty candidates in a federal election that it receives its "tax number". Currently, any party holding tax exempt status may issue a receipt to private citizens facilitating a tax "write-off" of seventy-five dollars for the first hundred donated, resulting in a twenty-five dollar out of pocket expense from a one hundred dollar donation to the party of choice.

From the first day of this research it was clear that generating sufficient membership to achieve tax-exempt status was a key goal for this fledgling party. This goal meant being "election ready", and as a result, the activities of party members have been focused on the general goal of "election readiness". Reflecting this, my analysis of process focuses on those activities which have proved central to establishing a fully recognized political party, specifically, the process of promoting the party, the process of policy formation, and the career dynamics of personal involvements.

In terms of perspectives, it was clear that I could not understand the activities of the group without understanding the ideas put forward or more generally held

as virtuous. During my first few months in the field, respondents showed a great amount of concern over my ability to "get their opinions right". Some offered lectures on cosmology, slide shows, reading material and biblical passages for my consideration. While I am sure that many of these people found my detached treatment of their personally cherished beliefs somewhat disappointing, their insistence on the importance of these ideas necessitates a discussion of the world view of participants. Reflecting the relative importance of perspectives and definitions, aspects of this work have been dedicated to exploring the world view of participants, the definition of opposition, and policy as an affirmation of a collective world view.

#### **The Interview Setting**

After approximately four months in the field, I began interviewing extensively. Prior to this I had few concrete notions of who I should be talking to or what I should be asking. Chapter three of this dissertation deals with the distribution of knowledge at a theoretical level. However, this issue holds practical implications for the accomplishment of this type of project. The researcher must decide who to talk to, ultimately based on the sorts of questions we want answered.

While any party member could tell something about becoming involved in the C.H.P., only a select few could

give any insights into policy formation, the operation of a national executive, or the public promotion of the party. This is a function of the social distribution of knowledge. An attentiveness to this theme encourages the researcher to ask who can provide the information of interest. For some questions, expert champions are needed to understand the issue, but for others a cross-section of the views of scripted and well-informed champions may not only be adequate but preferable.

For this research project, I found the focal questions most adequately addressed by the well-informed and expert champions of the group. When examining questions of world view or policy construction, those who were either involved first hand or who have considered the issues and can express themselves prove to be of the greatest value. This may not be known when requesting an interview but it can be gained within the setting. In the following, the data are biased in favour of expert and well-informed champions on two counts. Firstly, they were more likely to hold the information that my theoretical questions were directed towards. It is of little advantage to interview people "at random" about specific issues when this knowledge is better attained by talking to an intimate group of actors. Secondly, this bias reflects a strictly editorial dimension. If four quotations made the same point, I was inclined to retain those with the highest level of clarity.

This decision favours those who have established an ability to communicate orally - primarily well-informed or expert champions.

Along with participant observation in varied settings, a series of formal unstructured interviews was conducted with those involved with the C.H.P., ranging from the party leader to "new" recruits. In total, 52 respondents were interviewed, involving 71 interview occasions of 30 minutes or more, producing in excess of 92 hours of interview data.

In these unstructured interviews, respondents were encouraged to provide great detail in their elaborations. An interview schedule was however used as much for the benefit of first time respondents as for myself (Appendix 1). People agreeing to undertake an interview do so with pre-established notions. One preconception seems to be that the interviewer will ask a set of pre-established questions. As one respondent pointed out, "You have been talking to me now for almost half an hour. When are you going to ask the real questions?" I had been interviewing the respondent for half an hour, but the conversational style of our discussions lacked the rigidity expected. I responded by removing a file folder from my briefcase and continuing with the interview as before. However, my respondent seemed much more comfortable with the increased formality of the interview.

Closing off the interview was generally a three part process. First, I would ask the respondent if there was something about their involvement with the C.H.P. which they wanted to share with me that we had not had a chance to discuss. This "free time" was helpful as it gave me a sense of what the respondent thought was important, yet was previously unsaid. We would generally explore their concerns here in some depth. Second, I would give participants an opportunity to ask me any questions they had remaining about the purpose of the interview, how I would be making use of the data, etc.. Generally, respondents took this opportunity to ask me a few personal questions. Third, I would offer participants my business card in case they wanted to get in touch with me, and ask them if there was anyone else locally who it might be helpful for me to contact. While initially this proved helpful, I found respondents often thought of the same five or six names. In general, these key five or six people were of more help in identifying local members to interview than were the general body of respondents.

Most interviews were arranged after meeting participants at party functions. Occasionally they would take place at the meeting hall in a corner of the room, however, most of the time the interview would take place in a member's home or in a vehicle on transit to or from a meeting. As a rule, a tape recorder was used to construct a

verbatim record of interviews.<sup>4</sup> One respondent showed a concern over the relative permanency of taped conversation stating, "I don't mind if you use it as an electronic note pad, just as long as it is erased promptly." Another wanted assurances that I would be the only one to listen to the tape because they "sounded funny" on tape and would be embarrassed if anyone heard a recorded version of their voice. For another, a concern over the tape arose after our conversation. He contacted me stating, "I told you things I haven't told my wife in that interview. I don't know how you got it out of me but I want you to assure me that you have erased it." It had been erased and I offered to send the dated tape to him, but he declined stating that all he wanted was the tape to be erased. However, these comments were the exceptions and most respondents were quite comfortable with being recorded on tape, as many had some previous experience in both "public life" and with the media.

In a twist from many ethnographer's experiences, I found two respondents who suggested that they would not give an interview unless it was taped. They wanted the additional assurance of accurate quotation that a tape recorder afforded. One said, "I have seen what people can do to your words. If you use that machine there is a better chance you will get it right."

Prior to the interview, respondents were also made

aware of the usage I would make of conversations. They were informed that I was working on a research project on the growth of the C.H.P., that I was concerned with the activities of those who cared enough about their worlds to try and change it, and that the tapes would be coded and the data presented in such a way to prevent the direct association of their names with the comments shared with me in confidence.

In anticipation of some forms of respondent resistance, I constructed a written version of this research bargain (Appendix 2). It was signed by only one respondent. At other times this written contract was not even discussed. The respondent was comfortable with the arrangements presented orally and was anxious to proceed. Frequently however, my statement on the research intentions of the interview was greeted by one common questions from respondents: "are you a Christian?".

Early in the research, I made the mistake of answering this question in the affirmative and offering limited evidence for my answer. The problem was that my evidence was not necessarily acceptable to all respondents. For example, some identified my Presbyterian religious heritage as "non-Christian". The belief of some respondents that their particular religious affiliation was the only means of salvation and their interest in attempting to "correct" my personal theology changed the interview

setting. While providing useful data on world views and beliefs, in such settings it proved difficult to keep respondents "on track".

Subsequently, I found it of advantage to respond to the question, "are you a Christian?", with a simple "yes". Whereas some respondents had previously challenged my personal denominational affiliation or some other aspect of my personal belief system, a simple "yes" response to their question left no "clear cut" area for attack. Freed from this interpersonal dimension, I was able to go about my work. However, a willingness to identify myself with the extended Christian religious tradition proved to hold direct research advantages. It was the most important reason why my consent forms were rarely signed. As one respondent who was initially reluctant stressed, "That form is just a piece of paper. Signing it won't make me feel better. What I want to do is shake on it. Your word as a Christian is more valuable than anything lawyers can get their hands on." During interviews, respondents used phrases like, "you said you were a Christian so I can share this with you", or "I wouldn't tell anyone but a Christian this ...".

#### **Some Hazards of the Field**

When doing fieldwork within a group the researcher is, to some extent, dependent on the gatekeepers of that group for continued access. It would be foolhardy to

underestimate the potential for the exclusion of the researcher. "Street Corner Society" would have looked very different if "Doc" had terminated his relationship with Whyte (1981) early on in the project. While this study had no "Doc", it did have the support and sponsorship of a few key individuals within the organization. These people held executive positions and were able to facilitate my access to the party. While I was never directly threatened of having their co-operation removed, this practical consequence of sponsorship lingered. Those powerful enough within an organization to grant access are also powerful enough to deny it.

Therefore the researcher must attempt to conduct the study within the research bargain. In my opinion, it was essential that this project be completed without a hint of "wrong-doing" on my part. I was aware that a "leak" of sensitive information could be blamed on my presence and there was little or no way I could adequately defend myself. The potential discreditable nature of my position was brought home by a "nick-name" I acquired from one of the party's youth members. This individual took to calling me "Woodward" - a less than subtle reminder of the similarity of my position and that of the journalist who "broke" the Watergate story. Thus, one of the most pressing hazards of the field comes from the respondents. Some never come to completely accept that a research interest is nothing more

than that. At times, challenges to research status can become direct and pointed:

He: How do we know you aren't working for the national coalition or the conservatives?

Me: I have told you who I am. I have made both the provincial office and members of the national executive aware of my research intentions. Beyond that I have no way of proving to you that I am not a member of a particular organization other than to give you my word.

He: I have no idea how good that is. I'll keep an eye on you. (fieldnotes)

Perhaps more dramatically, one C.H.P. member suggested that my presence was representative of the "forces of darkness":

He: Are you a member of this party?

Me: No. I am here to learn more about its growth and the people involved with it.

He: You must be the one I heard about. The guy who is writing a book about us or something.

Me: I am a graduate student working on thesis research.

He: I don't know how you can do this without joining us.

Me: I am not here to be an advocate for the ...

He: All I know is there are two forces in this world. The saving blood of Jesus Christ and the hand of Satan. If after hearing the word of the Lord here tonight you can still hide behind the lies you have learned in those universities, then you have declared yourself very clearly. I just hope that when people hear what you write, that they hear the evil you represent. (fieldnotes)

Such challenges were generally rare and of fairly short term impact. The former was relatively private, however the latter destroyed my ability to "mingle" among a group of evangelical church members following a public speech. I tended to share the "intent" of these objections with members of the executive. They shared with me that it was not uncommon after a public meeting for someone to call and inform them that someone was at the meeting with a tape recorder or that they saw someone interviewing Mr. V..

These executive members stated that their standard response had become, "we know about him, he drove up with us." While members of the executive were able to diffuse many of these concerns, the efforts of some to discredit my research standing were a continuing source of concern.

The integrity of the research project was also challenged by other's public comments which party members attempted to affiliate with my work. This was most pressing on two occasions. During the national founding convention, I had been working the convention floor soliciting interviews and discussing the proceedings. To make my movements easier I introduced myself as a sociologist from McMaster. However, on the second night of the convention, a faculty member in my department was interviewed on the local nightly news and apparently associated the growth of the C.H.P. with the rise of facism in Europe. Having not seen the broadcast I arrived on the convention floor on the third day to a continuing barrage of criticism.

She: How could you do that to us?

Me: Do what?

She: Say those horrible, mean things on the news last night.

Me: I really don't know what you are talking about.

She: Last night, a sociologist from McMaster, was on the news. I didn't see it, but I assumed it was you. They said he really ran us down.

Me: I was asked to do an interview by Channel 11 and 13 but I refused them. I really don't know who they talked to but it wasn't me. (fieldnotes)

This was my first encounter of the day.

Fortunately, the interview was complete with pictures and I

don't bear any resemblance to the faculty member involved. However, even though I was not held personally accountable, the incident did have an impact. The group gathered was continually looking for attention from the media, and what was received was pondered, magnified and rehashed. During the course of that day, delegates discussed, "what the sociologist said" and "what the guy from McMaster said". This necessitated me avoiding both personal identifications for the remainder of the convention. As one respondent who had been aware of my project for over six months observed:

That professor in your department didn't do you any favours. Does he not like you or what? All he did was re-inforce what people here think about university people. That they are all Marxists - that they spout off on things that they don't know anything about. If I was you I'd keep a pretty low profile for the next little while. But don't worry I've been telling people that it wasn't you (riding association member, fieldnotes)

Another relatively short-lived accusation came from the suggestion that I might be supplying the press selected aspects of my data. A member of the press in Eastern Canada who penned a rather critical article of the party, happened to have the same last name as myself. This led some to believe that while I was doing research, my brother was writing less than favorable articles about the party with my help. However, with my assurance that I had never heard of the gentleman and the cessation of his writing concerning the C.H.P., the issue faded as quickly as it arose.

There are threats to fieldwork projects that arise from the very nature of the research itself. Primers which

serve as "cookbooks" to doing fieldwork (Strauss, 1987), rarely deal with some of the practical hazards which can suddenly arise. However, the maintenance of the research project may depend on the extent to which the "damage" from such episodes can be controlled.

#### **Unavailable Data and the Resultant Shortcomings**

For a variety of reasons and circumstances discussed earlier, I selected the C.H.P. for study as an exemplar of those engaged in the process and perspectives accompanying the definition of trouble. Specifically, this dissertation is an exploration of the practical accomplishment of promoting a Christian political witness. While my research efforts have been directed towards this end, some aspects of this political process remain beyond the dimensions of this project. As the final "shape" of my analysis is directly influenced by these shortcomings, I will review the most pressing. These include: the varying roles of women, problems of regional diversity, questions of financial sponsorship, and an inability to fully explore a sequential/career model of involvement.

#### **VARYING ROLES OF WOMEN**

The Christian Heritage Party has brought together the members of various Christian denominations towards a political objective. In attempting to interview and

interact with the members of these various church organizations, I found my access to the perspectives of female participants limited.

One source of limitation came from my own life circumstances. Being male, in my mid-twenties, from outside the community made making an unsponsored approach to groups of women who would often gather off to the side after a meeting difficult at best.

In addition to this problem, some participants in the C.H.P. deny the appropriateness of the involvement of women in the political process (beyond simple enfranchisement). They do not accept the ordination of women, reject being "led" by women, and do not believe that women ought to have an "active" or "high profile" political role. Yet these women are involved in a federal political party. They are members, vote in internal party matters, and assist in staging meetings, even if at times they are restricted to traditional custodial or secretarial duties. I wanted to learn more about their involvements, and their perspectives. However, I was, for the most part, unable to accomplish this. As one woman shared with me:

What you want to talk about is really none of my affair. (But you are involved with this party. I'd like to know what you think?) Listen, it is not my place to say. If you want to know about this you should maybe come by the house. When [Jim] is home. He will tell you about it. He worries about the politics in our family. I have my own worries and politics isn't one of them. Politics is for the men to talk about (party member, fieldnotes)

Despite the declaration from the above respondent,

the women in the C.H.P. do talk politics. However, some were unwilling to talk to me. This, in part, results in the voices of female participants being under-represented in my following discussion. However, my attempts to capture the perspectives of those who hold leadership positions in the party also restricted my contact with female party participants. For example, the party's "interim executive" which was in place until the founding convention counted women in two of its eleven positions (both were spouses of other members of the executive). Provincial vice-presidents and presidents were exclusively male and candidates in the election of 1988 included five women among the 63 candidates offered by the C.H.P. for office. While no endorsed stand exists which excludes women from leadership positions, a theologically charged perspective restricting involvement by women is held by some members. This perspective served to limit my research access to women, and to limit their access to positions of relative influence within the organization. Demonstrating this theme, a woman who was locally active yet hailed from a tradition of biblical literalism stressed:

I was at a board meeting the other night and as the chair I was asked to lead them in prayer. So I did. I couldn't help but look at those men down there letting me lead them in prayer. I don't like saying this but they are a bunch of wimps. Women have to lead when men abdicate their responsibility to lead. This isn't the way it is supposed to be. If you look in the Bible you will see when it discusses the endtimes it says "and they shall be led by women". All I know is that whenever women have to do the things that the men should be doing you are in for trouble. Big trouble. (local executive member, fieldnotes)

## REGIONAL DIVERSITY

This research focused, for the most part, on the activities of those involved with national concerns within the C.H.P.. Insight into more localized themes - the views of typical members, the operation of local riding associations - comes from data collection carried out within the province of Ontario. This limitation arises out of the practical constraints of completing a dissertation. Despite how profitable the trip may have been, I could not be in Yellowknife and Halifax, nor could team research be employed.

However, if I could not take this project to the people across the country, then Ontario provided a more than adequate "home base". While the party began in B.C. it is in Ontario that it has produced the greatest volume of membership, estimated by C.H.P. organizers to be between 50 and 66 percent of the national membership. As a result, Ontario has the largest number of elected riding associations and ran the largest number of candidates in the 1988 election of all the provinces.

Further, Ontario provided the locale for the the national founding convention, the national candidates' training sessions and the national election headquarters. As a result, people who I could not travel to meet made

were of great value, they tended to be with the expert and well-informed champions of the group. Respondents were more than willing to assist me in giving my work more of a national focus. As readers explore the data presented they will hear directly and indirectly, from C.H.P. members representing seven provinces and the Yukon territories. However, the data which provides this work with some attentiveness to regional diversity, is also limited to those so committed to the enterprise that they were willing to travel to Ontario. The voices of the rank-in-file membership from outside Ontario remains, for the most part, unheard in the following discussions.

#### FINANCIAL SPONSORSHIP

An additional practical constraint on this research is my inability to comment at any length on the financial sponsorship of the C.H.P.. Part of the initial research bargain was that the financial affairs of the party would remain outside the domain of this project. Indeed, much of this information is unavailable to the general membership and is treated internally with a fairly high level of "confidentiality". Yet, these data could be collected. To do so, however, would cast further suspicion on the research enterprise and would require a renegotiation of the research bargain. This I was not prepared to do. In the following chapter, I will speak briefly to the practical concerns

chapter, I will speak briefly to the practical concerns surrounding finances. However I do not have the data available to explore the process of fund raising.

#### CHAMPIONING AND THE CAREER MODEL

I will deal with careers of involvement in more depth in Chapter six, however, this natural history approach to exploring peoples' involvements in championing activities brings with it some methodological problems. As these shortcomings have a bearing on the data available in the entirety of this project, I will briefly discuss these issues here.

Firstly, I recognize the longitudinal focus of the career model which explores the processes accompanying peoples' initial involvements, continuing involvements, and disinvolvements with various activities (Prus and Irini, 1980). However, a relatively "new" collective may lack a "pool" from which to explore the process of disinvolveent. This is the case with the C.H.P.. The group is still enjoying its recruitment "honeymoon". They have yet to receive extended attention from outside their ranks. The information which members receive is, for the most part, supplied by the party. As of yet, no one has been asked to renew a membership.

I do not suggest that the process of disinvolvemnt has not taken place. The C.H.P. has produced its

disgruntled members. However, to this point they are a fairly rare phenomena, limited to those who actively return their membership cards or those who move directly from initial involvement to disinvolvedment. These ex-party affiliates are not only relatively rare, but are difficult to talk with as well. After leaving the party, they do not share a common direction. Some reject politics altogether, while others renew their memberships elsewhere. It is through existing C.H.P. members that I have come in limited contact with these ex-members. A lack of the disinvolved means that this work speak only partially to the extended career model. In addition, the data upon which the larger project is based lacks extended input from those who have become somewhat more disillusioned with the C.H.P. enterprise.<sup>5</sup>

#### **On Behalf of Participant Observation**

A survey of the sociological classics includes a wide range of work accomplished by those employing the methodology of participant observation and interview. To be counted among these are "The Jack Roller" (Shaw, 1930), "Street Corner Society" (Whyte, 1981), "Outsiders" (Becker, 1963), "The Urban Villagers" (Gans, 1965), and Lofland's (1977) "The Doomsday Cult". All of these works have made a contribution both to empirical knowledge and to the concepts which social science construct to make sense of social

life. All have accomplished this outside of the positivistic tradition which, in an effort to mimic the "natural" sciences, offers statistical assurances to their readers that their data is reliable, valid, and generalizable. The classics of this methodology have no tests of reliability to offer, nor do I. The evidence that I can offer as to the relative "truth value" of my work is the evidence upon which participant observation as a methodology rests. It is to these relative strengths that we turn our attention.

Becker (1970) provides two analytic reasons why data derived through fieldwork ought to be taken "seriously as evidence" (p. 43). We will deal with these in order. Firstly he states:

[T]he people the field worker observes are ordinarily constrained to act as they would in his absence, by the very social constraints whose effect interest him; he therefore has little chance, compared to practitioners of other methods, to influence what they do, for more potent forces are operating. (Becker, 1970: 43)

Here Becker (1970) comments on the nature of the research enterprise and reiterates the point made elsewhere (Becker, 1958). Fieldwork gives the researcher access to life as it is lived, rather than peoples' reconstructions of events, contrived settings, or anonymous surveys. The reference point of empirical research is ultimately the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). What we must be willing to ask of our methods is, what is the source of their data? For field methods that source is human activity - the joint act,

methods that source is human activity - the joint act, emergent, negotiated and processually accomplished in all the booming, buzzing confusion that may be present.

The question for field research then becomes, how do we know the effect of researcher influence? Becker's (1970) answer to this question is that the researcher has comparatively little opportunity to influence the research setting, as the social constraints which were operating before his arrival continue to operate in his presence. This does not occur when the research enterprise becomes detached from the practically accomplished activities of actors. A lack of "ordinarily" operating constraints frees respondents to attend more closely to the research instrument - whatever its nature.

However, a researcher's presence holds some implication for the joint act. Certainly my efforts within the C.H.P. have been attended to by actors, and my presence at times has been taken into account. Actors would occasionally avoid using the proper name of someone recently making a financial contribution, or of someone being considered as a candidate while in my presence as a recognition that there was someone outside the "inner circle" present. However the same behaviour was observed when dealing with "rank and file" members who were to remain "on the outside". My presence was far less important to these same people than the contingencies of their adopted

roles. All of the constraints pressing upon the party leader as he defends party policy to a journalist, or discusses the merits of his new party to a small group of potential members operate regardless of my presence. While the position of professional researcher provided me with access I would not have had otherwise, the constraints operating on actors as they attempted to construct policy or hold a meeting served to diminish both the importance and the effect of the researcher.

Becker's (1970) second evidence for the appropriateness of fieldwork focuses on the quantity of the data from which the field worker has to draw. He states:

[T]he field worker inevitably, by his continuing presence, gathers much more data and ... makes and can make many more tests of his hypothesis than researchers who use more formal methods. (Becker, 1970: 43-44)

By sharing one aspect of the lives of social actors, field workers have at their disposal a range of data cross-sectioning an array of human experience. We are present through participants' routines, emergencies and tragedies. Our notions of social life are built from these shared experiences and our discussions about them. When I write about the process of promoting involvements in the C.H.P., my conclusions are based upon a range of data collection opportunities. Understanding this one aspect of party activity has involved traveling with promoters, discussing their anticipations for the evening and their analysis after its end. It has involved attending and tape-recording

involved interviewing and conversing with the people who have made their way to the meeting and the local people who organized it, trying to track down those who are offended by what they hear and listening to the excitement of others at their new party affiliation. It has involved acquiring the taped presentations of party promoters from the Atlantic provinces to British Columbia, and it has involved interviewing those who attempt to close the sale, one on one, with those who were unable to attend the public meetings or who were not wholly convinced the first "time around".

As Becker (1970: 53) stresses, the conclusions which are based on data such as these are "subjected to hundreds and thousands of tests". Initial notions are discarded as the practical activities of actors contradict them. Conclusions are informed by the perspectives of those involved and the processes accomplished by them. By so doing, we establish a methodological approach to understanding social life which is consistent with a naturalism, yet which offers clear and distinct arguments for the "truth value" of its claims.

#### A FINAL WORD

I began this chapter by reminding readers that the enterprise of "doing" social science and the results of those efforts are as much of the world as that which they

those efforts are as much of the world as that which they purport to study. This dissertation is one of the "stories the story tellers tell". However, I encourage readers to see it as one extended "story". This chapter on method speaks as much to the theoretical position of my work as it does to the data presented hereafter. I have attempted to work from a unity of assumption. The claims I make on the nature of social life and the accomplishment of deviance designation also prioritize a methodological focus on life as it is lived. This position facilitates the presentation of data relative to the perspectives of actors and generic social process.

## NOTES

1. This said, I also have some latitude in my analysis when I am dealing with public statements rather than private interviews. The names of many of the people who were to become my respondents are a matter of public record. Anyone interested can quickly discover that at the time of this research the leader of the Christian Heritage Party (C.H.P.) was Ed Vanwoudenburg, or that its President was Bill Stillwell. I reveal no secrets by saying this. And as Spector (1980) illustrated, when we deal with public figures in our research, it may impede the quality of our work to make ineffectual attempts to conceal the obvious.
2. This experience was not as valuable as I had initially hoped. By the third or fourth interview I was able to predict the questions asked by the media with a fair degree of accuracy. They tended to be interested in surface details (how many members, federal or provincial, policy on moral issues etc.). Once this data was gathered, the continuing repeat performances offered by media representatives were of little help.
3. Prior to this I had received, at best, luke warm responses to my requests to attend internal meetings. Some of these meetings were of decision-making bodies whose make-up was determined by the constitution or other 'official' party documents. Some saw the presence of one from outside the quorum as not only potentially revealing, but also precedent setting. This exclusion was of relatively minor concern as I had been able to establish a network of interview contacts extensive enough to have access to actor's perceptions of meeting contents and proceedings.
4. Few of my respondents chose to have me take notes instead of using the tape recorder - a choice I offered them. However, some did express some apprehension about its presence. See the discussion, "Landing some of the reluctant interviews" in this chapter for a complementary discussion of this issue.
5. Readers with an interest in this theme are directed to my discussion of conflict and conflict resolution in Chapter VIII.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **"DANIEL AND HIS THREE FRIENDS":**

#### **A DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW OF THE CHRISTIAN HERITAGE PARTY**

##### **INTRODUCTION**

Do you believe in miracles? I do. Never let our smallness in numbers fool you. Because with the Lord on our side anything is possible. Just like Daniel and his three friends who stood alone and placed their faith in the Lord, victory can be ours. (national executive, taped public meeting)

The analogy of the Christian Heritage Party to the biblical story of Daniel and the lion's den<sup>1</sup>(Dan. 6:16-24) is one which is frequently put forward by both party members and party promoters. The intended message is clear - regardless of the apparent impossibility of the task at hand, there is nothing which their God is incapable of accomplishing. This chapter examines this "task" and what the C.H.P. brings to it. The discussion is, for the most part, descriptive. Through the information presented, I hope to give a clear sense of what the C.H.P. is, where they have come from, where they think they are going, and why they think they are going there. In the following I also consider some of the external constraints on their

activities created by the democratic process in Canada and share with readers something of an overview of established party policy. An examination of the social activities which accompany these issues will be considered in subsequent chapters. The purpose here is to provide readers with a context from which to "make sense" of the following chapters.

#### **GETTING THE BASICS DOWN: WHAT IS THE C.H.P.?**

The Christian Heritage Party of Canada is a duly registered political party with the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada.<sup>2</sup> In practical terms, this means that a total of 125 people were convinced to join together in an attempt to start a new political enterprise. Once these memberships and signatures were gathered, they were then presented to the electoral office in Ottawa. The party, party name and accompanying identifiers were registered in June of 1986.

With this formal act, a new player was brought into the sphere of electoral politics in Canada. However, many of these party affiliates had previously been involved on the fringes of the stigma contest that is modern democratic politics. Some had been involved at the social movement level of promoting Christian interests on visable moral issues such as Sunday shopping, pornography, and abortion. The C.H.P. provided an "extension of an existing ... movement into the sphere of electoral politics" (Bottomore,

1979: 49). Historically, Bottomore (1979) associates this trend of extending an existing movement into electoral politics with the rise of socialist parties. He argues that those with representation in parliament (conservative and liberal interests), organize from the top down, under the control of parliamentary leaders, whereas socialist parties are bottom-up organizations.

With the C.H.P. we find a group whose policies are, for the most part conservative in nature, yet whose dynamics of growth and internal organization mimic the historical trends generally associated with socialist movements.<sup>3</sup> If we examine the qualities of the socialist movements at the end of the nineteenth century and the early decades of this century we find some striking similarities with the C.H.P. of 1988. First, both attempt to politicize a previously non-politically active segment of the population, and both have attempted to do so through directing the activities of those involved in other associations towards electoral politics. Second, Bottomore (1979) speaks of the socialist movement as "the avant-garde of a class which was striving to bring into existence a new kind of society" (p. 50). Members of the C.H.P. see themselves at the forefront of politicized Christendom in Canada, noting the courage of their efforts by joining together under hymns such as "Dare to be a Daniel", and calling for a society directed by Bible obedient life styles. Third, both the C.H.P. and early

socialist movements see their "struggle" as more important than existing institutions - the C.H.P. states that the "Word of God is the final authority above all man's laws and government" (Party Constitution, Article 1, Section 2c). Fourth, Bottomore (1979) stresses electoral politics as but one dimension for the socialist "struggles". So too, the C.H.P. identifies the "struggles" of promoting Christian government as extending to issues outside electoral politics to include "self government, family government and church government" (national executive, fieldnotes).

Fifth, Bottomore (1979) typifies socialist parties as ones wherein "parliamentary leaders were considered subordinate to the leadership of the mass party" (p.50). Substantive evidence which supports this observation in a Canadian context, is contained in Chi and Perlin's (1972) review of the location of power within the federal New Democratic Party of Canada (N.D.P.). However when we examine the distribution of power within the C.H.P., we notice similar trends: an emphasis on the relative autonomy of local riding associations, the bureaucratic function of provincial offices, and an elected national executive whose decisions require the endorsement of the membership through delegate selection and regularly held conventions.

When we constructed our constitution we took a long look at the constitutions of other parties. We looked at a number of them, but in ours you see a strong influence of the Social Credit [provincial, British Columbia] and the N.D.P. [federal]. People can say what they like

about their policies but their party is the most democratic of the major parties. We are a grass roots organization. The people who have made this party go anywhere have come from just around the corner. If we ever lose sight of that we are in trouble because these people are our strength. When you look at our constitution you see that. (national executive member, interview notes)

While the constitution of the C.H.P. is a rather lengthy document, perhaps nowhere is it made clearer that the founders of this party intended it as a "grass-roots" organization than in the powers held by membership at national conventions (C.H.P. Constitution, Article VI, Sections 1 - 11). During these bi-annual conventions, the elected representatives from riding associations (as well as members of the C.H.P. executive board and any Senators or Members of Parliament who are Party Members) meet with the power to:

- (I) Elect the Leader of the Party.
- (II) Elect the executive members of the Party.
- (III) Amend Party Policy and [the] constitution except for the Party principles.
- (IV) Rule on resolutions tabled through Riding Associations. (C.H.P. Constitution; Article VI, Section 2b).

Thus, the conservative politics practiced by the C.H.P. shares much with the socialist politics practiced during the rise of European and Canadian parties of the "left". Most certainly the content of the "vision of tomorrow" that each offers is markedly different, yet both generated involvements in similar processes while employing similar means.

Bottomore's (1979) essay suggests that conservative

and liberal parties tend to act and be organized in one way, while socialist parties organize and act in another. The C.H.P. defies such ease of classification. Indeed, I am reluctant to employ loose systems of classification for this reason. They tend to cloud the commonalities which even the extremes share. I will leave to the reader to decide the extent to which the C.H.P. reflects a revolutionary or a reform party, whether it belongs to the "left" or the "right", or if it is a party of "hate" or "respectability". Such designations serve more to evaluate the enterprise than provide one with a sense of its essential features.

This comparison of the C.H.P. with Bottomore's (1979) classification of socialist parties gives us a glimpse at some essentials. The C.H.P. is a political party, organizationally designed to empower its rank and file membership, firmly committed to its range of "struggles", and working with a previously non-political segment of the population. From an interactionist perspective, that the C.H.P. shares these fundamentals with other political parties seems relatively non-problematic. Each is faced with entering electoral politics from a position outside the established "system". That collectives with varying political philosophies would construct similar answers towards "doing" politics speaks to the generic qualities of social life. Approaches to the study of human life which divide activities on the basis of some

ideological barriers seem certain to fail as the emergent nature of social action blurs such distinctions.

#### **PARTY GROWTH THROUGH PARTY EYES**

It becomes somewhat difficult for an ethnographically based study to speak to the demographic characteristics of the group under research. Fieldwork allows a sense of the dynamics of the group in question, but the specific demographics of a national political party are not available through this methodology. However questions of membership numbers and location remain pertinent. Readers want to know how many members they have and where their concentration of support is located. The answers I have available have arisen through fieldwork. I have undertaken no survey or national head count. Through interviews with party executives, I have gained a sense of the importance of the "numbers" for the practical accomplishment of the tasks at hand and collective definitions of success and failure.

#### **On Numbers**

According to party figures generated from membership lists, membership in the C.H.P. has grown from 1200 members in February 1987 to near 15,500 at the start of the federal campaign in October 1988. I have no reason to believe that these figures are artificially inflated. As one party

promoter suggested, concerns over impression management produce a fairly high level of interest in assuring the accuracy of membership figures:

Question: You told me on the way up tonight that you had almost 7000 members but in your speech you said that you had 6500 members. Why the discrepancy?

Answer: There could have been someone from the press there tonight. We do have almost 7000 members, we sent a bundle out to B.C. this morning. I know we have them but they won't be processed into our computer for a couple of days. In the meantime the press might call the national office, say, "how many do you have?". They tell them 6700 or whatever because they don't know what is coming to them from us. So I always make sure my estimates of membership are on the conservative side. I don't want someone writing that we speak about integrity in government and lie about our membership. (provincial organizer, taped interview)

My fieldwork suggests that the present membership breaks down along fairly identifiable lines. While the party began in British Columbia, over one half of the party's membership base is now located in Ontario. Other concentrations are to be found in Alberta and British Columbia. The C.H.P.'s efforts in Eastern Canada began in earnest later than in other areas, and as a result membership lags behind. However, the C.H.P. ran candidates in the 1988 election in all provinces except Saskatchewan.

#### **On Religious Affiliation**

In terms of religious diversity, the C.H.P. has built its membership base primarily within three church communities. The first and most extensively represented is the Reformed church community including the Canadian

Reformed Church, the Free Reformed Church, the Christian Reformed Church, and to a lesser extent, the Netherlands Reformed Church.<sup>4</sup> In addition, and varying by region, we find members of evangelical and Roman Catholic Churches playing important roles in promoting party interests. I use the term "evangelical" loosely here to refer to a range of independent and affiliated churches, from Gospel Temples and Peoples Churches, to Pentecostals and Salvationists. Also, I do not speak of Roman Catholicism generally. I refer more to that segment of the church which actively opposes abortion and subscribes to the "Interim"<sup>5</sup> than to those who support the ordination of women and approve of the church's participation in the World Council of Churches. The C.H.P. has yet to make significant headway into the mainline Protestant churches. A national party promoter discusses this issue:

This party is not a church. It is not a church party. If we are going to go anywhere we have to attract people from a wide range of churches. If they can sign our membership form I want them as a member. This is a problem because some of these people have never done anything together. Christians are notorious for fighting between themselves. We have to show them that there are more important battles out there that they have to get together and fight. (national executive member, taped interview)

#### **On Ethnicity**

Thus maintaining a religious diversity is a concern, as is promoting ethnic diversity within the C.H.P.. During the party's first year of existence, approximately 75% of

members were from a Dutch ethnocultural heritage. While current estimates place the proportion closer to 30 or 40% of the membership base, promoters show a continued concern over being identified as the "Dutch Party". During the early days of the candidate nomination process, party executives were observed checking the list of nominated candidates for the relative proportion of "Anglo" sounding names. In addition, speakers with Dutch names and accents often emphasize their status as "Canadians by choice", or simply as "Proud Canadians":

Sometimes it gets frustrating when people discount what we are doing by saying "well it is only the Dutch party". You must have seen by now that we have some standard answers for that question. I think the best way to do it is to emphasize that we are all concerned Canadians. [Other promoters] take it further. Pointing out what the Dutch have contributed, what Canada has given them and what they want to put back. But I'd rather play it down.... People are looking for a reason to write us off, there is no point in bringing things like that up unless the audience brings it up. (party promoter, interview notes)

#### **On Other "Variables"**

These data not only speak to the numbers and the characteristic of the C.H.P., but also denote the primary features of membership to which the executive attend. Party promoters only infrequently concern themselves with the socio-economic status of their members, the overall representativeness of the age of participants, or the gender split among members. However, absolute numbers, religious diversification, regional representation and ethnic

diversification are frequent topics of discussion. Each of these dimensions holds a direct and immediate impact upon the practical accomplishment of promoting the C.H.P. agenda. Generating a membership base provides the volume of members necessary to fund the organization, and to provide the volunteer services necessary to support local riding associations and candidates. Extending regional representation increases the extent to which C.H.P. promoters can present their enterprise as a "national" alternative. Religious and ethnic diversification serves to extend networks of contact along which recruitment efforts can be established.

These are therefore the important dimensions for C.H.P. promoters. A part of life as it is lived involves an attentiveness to these "independent" variables. I use this attentiveness to provide the reader with some descriptive detail. However, these data were gathered through the observation of people undertaking their day-to-day activities, and should not be wholly divorced from the activities in which they arose.

#### **CANADIAN DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND BEING A FOURTH PARTY**

During the three federal elections in 1979, 1980 and 1984, the list of "fourth parties" included the Social Credit, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninists), Union-Populaire, Rhinoceros,

Nationalist, Libertarian, Confederation of Regions Western Party, Green Party and the Commonwealth Party. With the dissolution of the 33rd Parliament, the C.H.P. joined the Western Reform Party as newcomers to this list of what have been a group of "also rans" since the Social Credit won no seats in the 1980 election. Through the 1980's, the Canadian House of Commons has been reserved for members of the "Big Three" - the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals and the New Democratic Party. The last time a leader of a fourth party was invited to join the "Big Three" in a national election debate was in 1968 when Réal Caouette (leader of the Social Democrats) joined Pierre Trudeau, Robert Stanfield, and Tommy Douglas in a televised "confrontation".

Political parties in Canada vie for some sign of voter favour within a single ballot simple majority system. This form of democratic expression tends to produce a two party system (Bottomore, 1979: 53). This is however, nothing more than a general trend. Divisions within a nation may see a range of social movements enter the electoral process, with each experiencing a range of political success. Whereas we find political observers in the late 1960's and early 1970's contemplating the new face of Canadian politics and the emergence of a "third" party (Manning, 1967; Pinard, 1971), current efforts by the soothsayers of political fortune speak of a return to a two

party system - this time without the Liberal Party.

If this system of political representation is difficult for third parties, it is more than challenging for Canada's range of fourth parties. In the federal election of 1984, all votes cast for those outside the "Big Three" totalled 3.13% of the popular vote (data obtained through secondary analysis of the Parliamentary Guide, 1987). The C.H.P. is now a part of this political "reality".

An additional external constraint of the Canadian democratic process involves the "tax status" of federal parties. Those parties which run 50 candidates in a federal election obtain "tax status" enabling them to issue receipts for donations. This status continues until the next writ, when once again a minimum of 50 candidates must be offered to the electorate for this status to be maintained. As mentioned previously, this status produces a tax advantage to individual contributors of a net out of pocket expense of twenty-five dollars from a donation of one hundred dollars. The resultant advantage to political parties in terms of fund raising should be clear.

Those who attempt to establish a new political party must do so without such tax advantages. The funding which produced the pre-election 1988 C.H.P. was gathered without tax benefits to the donors. In effect, the vast majority of the monies raised were gifts from Canadians who supported the ideas and efforts of the C.H.P..<sup>6</sup>

One of the amazing things about this party was that when we needed it the money was always there. I'm not saying that it wasn't a little close sometimes. But we have built this party to where it is today. We are a national party, we have seven full time employees, first class office space and we are in the black. This is all from the donations of average Canadians. There is no big bank-roll behind us. Most of the time it comes in twenty dollars and hundred dollars then five dollars. We have had a few four figure donations too but these are the exceptions. (national executive member, taped interview)

**MEMBERSHIP BARRIERS: "NON-BELIEVERS" NEED NOT APPLY**

Without attempting to be trite, the one common dimension which all C.H.P. members share is their signed membership form. While this form has gone through some revisions, it has maintained a common emphasis on restricting party participation relative to Christian belief. The following is the statement of belief which prospective members were asked to sign in 1988:

Party principles are based on these Biblical ethics and are unalterable:

- a) We believe that there is one Creator God, eternally existent in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We believe in the Lordship of Jesus Christ.
- b) We believe the Holy Bible to be the inspired, inerrant written Word of God and the final authority above all man's laws and government.
- c) We believe civil government to be under the authority of God.
- d) We believe the purpose of civil government is to ensure freedom and justice for a nation's citizens by upholding law and order in accordance with Biblical principles.
- e) We believe that decision-making processes by civil government must not in any way contravene these Biblical principles.

I support the Party Principles and wish to become a Christian Heritage Party Member. (Membership form, April 1988).

I examine the implications of this stand relative to

the process of promoting involvements in the chapter "Tomorrow for Sale" (Cht. VII). As my purpose here is more descriptive, I look to draw the reader's attention to more general themes. It is important to recognize that this form is directed at restricting membership to those who share a specific set of beliefs. This is not a party which has said, "if you agree with us on abortion, join with us." The C.H.P. has set forth a set of fairly specific world view indicators. These statements restrict to the point that it would be inaccurate to suggest that membership is limited to Christians. There are many in Canada's "mainline" Protestant denominations who would differ theologically with the statement of belief constructed by the C.H.P.. Specifically, the C.H.P.'s claim of the "inerrancy" of the Bible is indicative of a theological division between Protestant churches who, when reading scripture listen "to the Word of God" and others who listen "for the Word of God".

This "exclusivity of membership" has led the C.H.P. to be charged both publically and privately as an organization which discriminates on the basis of a religion. A member of a provincial executive explains his position on this question:

I would like to point out that the discrimination, if there is discrimination, the perceived discrimination let me say, is not intentional. It is not as though we consider ourselves any better just because we are Christians. We are not an exclusive club. We welcome Canadians of all religions and cultural backgrounds to join with us in our cause. But, and there is a big but,

we do insist that they sign their agreement asserting basic principles such as are outlined in our membership agreement application.... Whoever signs the form and pays the fee is a full voting member of the C.H.P.. If someone is a practicing Jew or Muslim and yet signs the form it is not in our power to question their orthodoxy as a Jew or a Muslim. If they are willing to sign their agreement to the Lordship of Jesus Christ, one Creator God, and the infallibility of Holy Scripture we have to accept them as members. (provincial executive member, taped session proceedings: organizer's conference)

**"A BLUEPRINT FOR RESTORATION": A PRIMER IN C.H.P. POLICY**

The phrase "a blueprint for restoration" comes from the cover of the C.H.P. policy book. This eighty page booklet, which is available to anyone wishing to purchase it, contains the policies which were ratified at the founding convention in November 1987. The discussion here is intended to give the reader a sense of the range and content of C.H.P. policy. The C.H.P. maintains a range of policy statements covering a wide spectrum of federal issues, from law as the "basis of Christian civilization" to national sovereignty, from a definition of Canadian nationhood to the management of national resources. My intent here is to provide the reader with an overview of where the C.H.P. as a party stands. Towards accomplishing this, I have edited a cross-section of C.H.P. policy into one of four general themes: 1) the nature of Canadian federalism, 2) the rule of law, 3) the nation's business, and 4) the nation's people.

### The Nature of Canadian Federalism

C.H.P. policy affirms the existence of the nation state as God ordained. It maintains that Canada's national heritage is a Christian one - hence the name the Christian Heritage Party.

Citizens of Canada should be made aware that Canada's Constitution recognizes God as supreme which implies that the spirit of our laws and policies should always be in conformance with Biblical principles. We believe that our Christian heritage lies at the heart of our national identity, and that this identity desperately needs to be awakened and revitalized in order that our nation might be restored to moral, social, political, and economic vigour and prosperity. (C.H.P. "Policy and Program", 01.1, Sect. 2)

The C.H.P. position reaffirms Canada's independence, monarchy, and existing parliamentary system (Policy 02.0, sect. 1-3). This emphasis on national sovereignty includes a rejection of what the C.H.P. has chosen to term "globalism".

We affirm that it is unwise to work toward a one-world government under which all nations would be asked to give up their national sovereignty. This necessarily would be a syncretistic fusion of contradictory values, cultures and institutions which could produce only initial paralysis followed by the imposition of dictatorial rule under dominant ideology.(Gen. 11:1-10, Rev. 13:7-18) (Policy 02.0, Sect. 4).

This position combines with a view of national defence which calls for a bolstering of Canada's armed forces towards "independent preparedness", the maintenance of existing alliances, and the extension of the role of the military into law enforcement (Policy 02.1, sections 1,2 and 5). This position on defence extends into the C.H.P.'s

approach to external affairs and Canada's relation to the Soviet Union.

In light of the Soviet government's history of unbridled expansionism, subversion, broken agreements, and brutal suppression of freedom (e.g. its ongoing persecution of Christians and Jews), Canada has no choice but to cooperate with other freedom-loving states to preserve peace and liberty through strength until verifiable disarmament agreements can be reached that do not threaten our national security....In light of the Soviet Comintern's boast to lull the west into a false sense of security and then smash them with an iron fist, it is incumbent upon western nations to be cautious about relaxing their defences. (Policy 02.3, Sect. 4)

#### The Rule of Law

This section provides an overview of the C.H.P.'s position on law and its application in specific life circumstances. The C.H.P.'s position on law is somewhat unique. It sees the need for law as arising from the theological notion of original sin and the basic content elements of such laws as "set forth" in Holy Scripture (Policy 06.0, Sect, 1). This theme is amplified by what the C.H.P. entails by "justice".

Justice consists of judicial procedures based on God's revealed Word as found in the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20:1-17), amplified in direct instructions to the Prophets, and perfected in the teachings of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. These principles and practices were the conscious bases of the Common Law as developed in Great Britain over fourteen hundred years, and imparted to Canada, amongst others. We assert the importance of maintaining the principles of the Common Law. (Policy 06.1, Sect. 2)

This approach to law suggests a "Bible-based" orientation to codified morality. The assurances afforded by an exegesis

of the Word provide the C.H.P. with fairly clear and firm stands on issues that Canadian legislators have found to be "dilemma producing". By way of illustration, I present C.H.P. policy on the nature of human life, pornography, censorship, reproductive technology, and homosexuality.

#### HUMAN LIFE

We affirm that human life is sacred from conception and has God-given value, regardless of race, age, gender, or physical or mental handicap (Ex. 4:11). Furthermore, no race or gender has greater intrinsic value than another. We believe that the human body is the property of God, and that no one but God has the authority to terminate human life except in accord with the expressed provisions of Holy Scripture (Gen. 9:6; Lev. 24:17; Gal. 3:17). No person, institution, or government shall tolerate, encourage, or decree death by means such as abortion, euthanasia, or suicide (Policy 06.3, Sect. 1).

#### PORNOGRAPHY

We affirm that the value and dignity of the individual is derived from the fact that 'man was created in the image of God' (Gen. 1:27; Col. 3:10). Deliberate degradation or abuse of the human condition (either real or simulated) is, therefore, an offence against God. In consequence, all human degradation (e.g. pornography) shall be proscribed by law with punishment as may be appropriate (Policy 06.3, Sect. 2).

#### CENSORSHIP

...In our own time 'censorship' is necessary to protect the weak and gullible from the avaricious. We make no apology, therefore, for asserting that a required code of ethics incumbent on the mass media and entertainment industries, both printed and electronic, is necessary to halt the debauching of public morals, particularly those of the young (Policy 10.0, Sect. 1).

#### REPRODUCTIVE TECHNOLOGY

Except under very special circumstances and controls,

human genetic engineering is an attempt to alter God's creation artificially, and, therefore, does not properly respect the sanctity of life. Forms of reproductive technology and methods of birth control leading to abortion, non-therapeutic experimentation, and assaults on the fidelity of the husband/wife relationship, are contrary to our principles (e.g. embryo experimentation, invitro fertilization, artificial insemination by donor, surrogate motherhood, I.V.F., and insemination of lesbians) (Policy 06.3, Sect. 4).

#### HOMOSEXUALITY

...We affirm that heterosexual, monogamous marriage is God-ordained as the foundation of the family (1 Tim. 3:2; Titus 1:6), and that any other form of union whatsoever is Biblically prohibited (Lev. 18). We believe that widespread violation of these prohibitions inevitably leads towards moral collapse and social disintegration.

It should be beyond the power of any legislative or administrative body to recognize, affirm, condone, or discriminate in favour of, identifiable sexually aberrant individuals or groups (Isaiah 5:20) (Policies 06.4, Sections 1-2).

#### A Nations' Business

The business policies supported by the C.H.P. are far reaching and extensive. They deal with such varied issues as standardized weights and measures (04.1, sect. 1), inter-provincial free trade (03.5, sect. 5), resource management (05.0), and marketing boards (05.2, sect. 7). I would suggest that given the purposes of this chapter, it is more helpful to elaborate on the basis from which these diverse policies begin rather than explore each in detail. In dealing with questions of economics, party promoters frequently refer to man's "stewardship" of resources. This refers to man's theological place as a "caretaker" of that

which, in the last instance, is not his.

We affirm that responsibility to develop the earth and harvest its resources was given to man (Gen. 1:28), and that man is therefore accountable to God for his role as a steward (Gen. 2:15, Luke 16: 1-2). Stewardship of property must include the right to produce, buy, sell, trade, donate, or bequeath goods or property (Gen. 23: 15-16, 2Sam. 24:24, Acts 5:1) (Policy 03.0,Sect. 2).

To paint C.H.P. policy with a fairly wide brush, their approach to the nation's business is one which envisions less government involvement in economic production, a free market economy, a "flat tax", and cooperative labour relations, all occurring within a capital based economy, fueled by free enterprise and maintained through assurances of the "right" to private property.

We affirm the privilege to private enjoyment of property (Deut. 19:14, Lev. 25:34), not for abuse or despoilation (Lev. 25:17), but as a trust from God (Gen. 2:15). Private property is a Divine providence essential to man's economic prosperity, physical well-being and intellectual freedom (Micha 4:4) (Policy 03.0. Sect. 3).

#### A Nation's People

As a nation, Canadians make up something of a mosaic, be it vertical or otherwise (Porter, 1965). We are a mixture of cultures, languages, custom and tradition. These dimensions are further complicated by the various foci of "special interest groups" which produce specific areas of concern such as native affairs and women's issues. To provide the reader with a sense of C.H.P. policy on these social/cultural issues, I present C.H.P. policy on multiculturalism, immigration, veteran's affairs and the

role of women.

#### MULTICULTURALISM

We affirm that people of various ethnic backgrounds should be free to observe their native cultural traditions provided that these do not violate the laws of Canada. Public funds should not be used in the furtherance or promotion of any particular ethnic culture as we strive to forge a uniquely Canadian identity. We support that concept of multiculturalism which appreciates the diversity of our peoples while not diminishing respect for Canada's Christian heritage (Policy 01.1, Sect. 3).

#### IMMIGRATION

We affirm that every sovereign state has an indefeasible right to determine who shall, and who shall not, be admitted to residence. The rate and criteria by which immigrants are admitted from the various nations should be under constant review to ensure that any influx of immigrants does not create imbalances which could jeopardize Canada's culture, national identity, or economy (Policy 01.3, Sect. 1).

#### WOMEN

We affirm that the most important role in society which women can perform is that of home-maker and rearer of children; further failure in this role imperils the rising generation and the future of society and the state. We, therefore, assert that government efforts should be directed primarily towards so ordering the economy that mothers will not find it necessary to supplement family income by work outside the home. We believe that women who chose to be homemakers should have the option of contributing to the Canada Pension Plan and that their contributions should be deductible from the spouse's taxable income (Policy 06.4, Sect. 6).

#### VETERAN'S AFFAIRS

We affirm that more honour and recognition is warranted on behalf of Canada's surviving veterans and spouses in order to remind young people of the high cost that Canadians have paid in previous generations to preserve our freedom.

Canadians serving with our allies in combat against communist forces in Vietnam or other world trouble spots should be duly recognized and eligible for veteran's benefits (Policy 09.4, Sects. 1-2).

This brief review of C.H.P. policy hopefully provides the reader with something of an answer to the question "what do the C.H.P. stand for?" Their framework of policy is unique relative to the other players in Canadian electoral politics. While the C.H.P. may come to the same policy decision on a given issue as another party, the emphasis on Canada as a "Christian nation" and the role of God and Biblical Law in all things, provides C.H.P. positions with a distinctive footing. Biblical interpretation and content is inseparable from C.H.P. policy statements. From this overview, readers should also gain an understanding of the range of policy covered by this new political party. This is not a "single-issue" party constructed solely to champion for Christian moral issues. Christian Heritage Party policy attempts to extend Christian belief into all spheres of federal politics. By so doing, marketing boards and the provision of day care become issues to which Christian principles of belief are applied.

#### **ON COMING TOGETHER: CONTEXTUALIZING BECOMING A "PARTY"**

When we review either the C.H.P.'s growth as a national political party or its policies, it is essential to contextualize these elements as the practical accomplishments of party members and promoters. Policy

formation and membership recruitment reflect aspects of politicized championing. As stated previously, championing involves the social process of promoting definitions of the inappropriate and the appropriate. Clearly, this can be accomplished outside the realm of electoral politics, however, it is this domain which was chosen by the dozen people who began this enterprise in British Columbia.

In the final presentation of this overview of the C.H.P., I look to provide readers with a sense of the initial directions of the C.H.P. at its founding. In the following, we briefly examine participants' notions of the first days of the party and the collective concerns which led them to form a new federal party.

To make clear the extent to which such an enterprise is the product of accomplished action and joint acts it is helpful to note that this group began with a meeting of twelve people, around a table-tennis table in British Columbia. Prior to this first meeting, some of the participants had never met. However, all had come together through a loosely constructed network of contacts accompanying present and past social movements.

If we start from the very beginning, we decided, that was (J.) and myself because we lived together on (K. Drive) ... we were neighbours for years, we decided that we had to get involved in some shape or form. It is like, you have lots of ideas but the proof is in the fact that you are going to do something about it. [Before we went to that meeting] we felt that there had to be some form of Christian witness within the political sphere and we felt for one reason or another that this political

Christian witness wasn't being evident in the policies and programs of the existing government. (national executive member, taped interview)

My first introduction to the C.H.P. came through (L.T.). She and I had been in conversation with each other for a year or so previous to that. L. is one of the leaders of the pro-life movement, I, because I felt the need to stand up for what I believed as a Christian, had done so through my local church and I was the person who was trying to bring in films and speakers and I didn't get very far. Well anyway, trying to get whatever resources I could get I ended up speaking with L. As a result, L. and I became friends even though I had never met her. We had only talked over the phone and because of a growing sense of frustration that I had over the abortion issue with other social issues, L. and I occasionally fell into conversations over one thing and another and one time L. told me that she and her husband and some other people were at the formative stage of trying to get people together to form a political party. I told her that I thought that was a good idea, that it was the only way that we could bring about any real change and I would be interested. (national executive member, taped interview)

Founding members of the party commonly expressed the notion that electoral politics was the domain within which to affect "real change". This conclusion was generated more through a growing sense of closure than it was reflective of a *prima facia* empowerment of political process. The twelve people brought together around a table to discuss entering electoral politics were, for the most part, not unfamiliar with championing Christian definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate. While this was the first time this group had come together, they shared experiences in opposing abortion, Sunday shopping, pornography, school curricula etc.. Some had also supported the federal Progressive Conservatives or the provincial Social Credit in previous campaigns (as discussed in the first section of this

chapter).

While these championing activities provided previous involvements in promoting definitions, they also contributed to a sense of closure. Provincial efforts to oppose Sunday shopping had seen legislation passed in B.C. which allowed "wide open" Sunday shopping. A long running campaign against abortion had produced an "unacceptable" situation of 65,000 abortions in Canada per year.<sup>7</sup> Efforts to establish a "Conservative" government in the general election of 1984 which would be more attentive to "Christian values" were, as early as 1986, seen as ineffective.

Hindsight is twenty-twenty but when I saw the Conservative majority I was really filled with hope. I thought we would finally have a parliament willing to take a firm stand on some of the very important but very difficult issues. It didn't take very long though before I saw what was happening. The pro-life members were on the back benches. Jim Jepson was the only exception. There was scandal after scandal. You just knew things weren't going to get any better and they certainly looked like they were going to get worse. When I saw what the Conservatives were like I knew it was time for something new. (national executive, fieldnotes)

This may come out sounding funny but when I went to that meeting and there were twelve of us around the ping pong table I didn't know what I was doing there. I don't think anybody really knew what we were doing there. I am sure that (J.B.) and (K.T.) had some idea, but the audacious thing was it just came out. Okay, let's start our own federal party and basically it started out from, okay, are we going to do it. Let's give it a try, and the reasons for and against doing such a thing were bounded about.... What it came down to was do we have a choice. What haven't we tried that might be more effective. We had tried everything, petitions, lobby groups working within parties, literally everything and every time we had been stopped by the politicians. So we said okay let's do it. (national executive, taped interview)

**IN SUM**

The last respondent tells us that the dozen people gathered together decided to "do it" - to undertake establishing a federal party reflecting Christian values. The discussion within this chapter has attempted to provide an overview of the C.H.P. enterprise, both in terms of the external constraints to which actors need attend, and the dimensions which make the C.H.P. a unique player on the Canadian political landscape. This groundwork is essential. It provides the context within which actors accomplish their acts and within which the perspectives of actors are made meaningful. The following discussions deal, for the most part, with the pre-writ C.H.P. of 1987-88. The remaining chapters examine the activities and perspectives of those who have chosen to champion their world view within electoral politics.

**NOTES**

1. In this biblical account, Daniel and three companions are placed into a situation of near certain death. However, the intervention of God served to preserve the lives of all involved.
2. By "duly registered", I refer to a federal party whose constitution and legal name are recognized and to some extent "protected" by the authority of the Chief Electoral Officer.
3. For a valuable discussion of the growth of socialist politics in Canada, see Young's (1969) "The Anatomy of a Party: The National C.C.F. 1932-61" and for an insider's account, see Knowles (1961) "The New Party".
4. These churches are collectively yet colloquially referred to as the "Dutch Reform Church".
5. The "Interim" is a pro-life Catholic-directed journal of the political right.
6. The exception to this was an occasionally used "loop-hole". Donors would at times provide the C.H.P. with pre-election interest free loans. These loans could then be "repayed" and converted back to donations once tax status was achieved.
7. This figure is used by party promoters and is generally taken as accurate by party participants.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **PERSPECTIVES ON CHAMPIONING ACTIVITIES: A WORLD VIEW OF INVOLVEMENTS, PERFORMANCES AND OPPONENTS**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Blumer's (1969) premise that people act toward the world on the basis of the meaning which that world holds for them, produced a symbolic interaction which is attentive to the cognitive constructs of social actors. It does so without undermining the processual and negotiated features of group life. While an attentiveness to world view is in and of itself methodologically individualistic, it does not imply a psychological reductionism. The reference point remains the joint act. However, to establish the intimate familiarity with participants' worlds demanded of a phenomenologically derived interactionism, it is necessary to develop a sense of the meaning which acts hold for the actors involved. In this chapter, we turn our attention towards an examination of the perspectives on process.

Specifically, this chapter examines audience definitions relative to two aspects of C.H.P. championing activities. The first section deals with the process of

involvements. Adopting a sequential/career model, I examine the participants' accounts of their initial involvements and the circumstances of increasing imbeddedness within the group. Secondly, I examine participants' "definition of the situation" (Mead, 1932; McHugh, 1968). This section is particularly concerned with the collective definitions of "right", "success", and the opponents to C.H.P. efforts.

#### **ON INITIAL INVOLVEMENTS**

Within the loose body of scholarship that we come to refer to as the "literature", there is a relative uneasiness associated with the data and models utilized to "make sense" of peoples' initial involvements. This tension, I would suggest, arises out of the range of questions which researchers ask of their data. When we employ field data to gain some insight into people's involvements, the problem lingers as to what we wish to learn of these activities. It seems that this questioning breaks down along three lines associated with the questions how do people come to be involved, why do people come to be involved, and how do people see their involvements?

This questioning is not mutually exclusive. Becker's (1973) essay on becoming a marijuana user deals with the questions of both process and, within a sequential framework, causation. Similarly, Skipper and McCaghy's

(1970) review of the career of the stripteaser examines the process of becoming, and the motivations which constitute the reasons for involvement. Prus and Irini (1980) apply the careers model to the hotel community generally and to prostitutes more specifically. Their model tends to focus more on learning the perspectives of the community and increasing social embeddedness via the processes of recruitment, seekership, drift, closure, and multiple involvements.

My point is that while these scholars were addressing essentially the same problem - that of becoming a member of a community - they produced very different results. By way of contrast, Becker's (1973) model is one of "logical necessity" and Prus and Irini's (1980) is one of "logical completeness".<sup>1</sup> It is more my intent to make the reader aware of this theme and its implications for my work, than to make an attempt to "resolve" it.

In confronting this problem of examining careers of involvements, I have situated my research relative to audience definitions. However, I have classified the data in action terms relative to the processes of which respondents speak. The following discussion is a review of actors' perspectives of their involvements - how they came to be involved, to overcome resistances or in some cases, reject involvement. In accomplishing this I utilize elements

of the career contingencies model (Prus and Irini, 1980) as the data warrant. This, I believe, is the most accurate reflection of these data on questions of involvement. Committing to a political movement, in many cases, involves an inventory of personal belief and a review of options. This process is often a "private" one, shared "after the fact" through interview. As such, the data I can bring to bear on this question are intimately linked to actors' perspectives.

### **Recruitment**

In this section we will hear from the recruiters and the recruited. I attempt to focus the interaction here within small groups, from dyads up to four or five participants. The process of promoting involvements on a larger scale is examined in the next chapter.

The C.H.P. is a proselytizing group. Its success as a political party depends, in part, on its abilities to attract members and the funding which they bring. Over the duration of this study, the activities of party promoters were directed in great measure towards recruiting membership. Organizationally, the C.H.P. is influenced by the relative abilities of local ridings to recruit members. A minimum of 100 members were required to become a "fully elected riding association" capable of fielding candidates

in the 1988 election. Further, internal party funding formulas tended to result in ridings with the largest membership generating the largest operating budget. Thus not only is membership of value to the party as a national movement, there are also direct "benefits" for local organizers to see individual ridings generate ever increasing membership numbers.

This organizational emphasis on recruitment produces a corresponding primacy of this theme among respondents. It is often only the "initial converts" in a given area who do not, at least in part, associate their careers within the C.H.P. with the recruitment activities of party promoters. While party members may become involved through a range of processes, many respondents note the relative importance of others in facilitating their participation.

I wouldn't have signed up here tonight if it wasn't for T. over there. I don't even think I would have been here. We had a school board meeting this week. He and I both sit on it. He said to me, "are you going to the meeting on Thursday?". I said, "what meeting?". So he says, "the one for the Christian Heritage Party". I've got few enough nights at home as it is, the last thing I wanted to be doing was going to a political meeting. But T. said it was important that I give them a listen, after I heard them he said I could do what I want. I will tell you right here in front of these people that I like what I heard, I signed up tonight and I've got a membership here for my wife to sign. (party member, fieldnotes)

We have never been to one of these events before. We were out for the first meeting. We heard about it through [a member of our church]. [He] came by one evening to talk to us about it. I'm not sure what it's all about but I thought if (B.) is for it, it must be alright. So I asked him if he believed in this party, and he said that he thought it was one of the most

important issues today. Well, that was good enough for me and my wife so we joined up. (party member, fieldnotes)

If I look back right to the very beginning, it was my school [principal] that got me involved. She told us that there was a group of people from out in B.C. that were trying to get a Christian based party going. The thought had crossed my mind before - the idea of a party based on Christian principles - but I likely still wouldn't have done anything if someone else hadn't got it started. But me and [a couple of others] met with K.. He asked if we would help to see if it would get off the ground. That was the start of it all. Not very grand is it, a few guys sitting around a cafeteria table. But that was it. (provincial executive, fieldnotes)

How did I end up here? She dragged me here. My wife that is. She heard this guy interviewed on the radio when I was at work. I came home and she said "My prayers have been answered". I thought we were having another kid. Turns out it was a political party. She said we have to go and hear them. So here I am, now I'm out forty bucks and am going to be getting a membership card in the mail. It's alright but I am not exactly ecstatic, but anything for peace and harmony, you know. (party member, fieldnotes)

While the above statements speak to the generic theme of recruitment, they also alert us to the relational dimensions which are brought to recruitment activities. Efforts to encourage involvements in one activity or another do not occur in isolation from the personal histories available to actors, or the constraints which impinge on each in day-to-day interaction. These dimensions qualitatively alter the recruitment process for both the recruiter and the "recruitee". Whether we are dealing with long time friends, in-laws, or fellow employees, these previously established relationships serve to influence

attempts at recruitment. At times such relationships facilitate it, but they may also serve to identify potential recruits as "off limits".

[My children] have been supportive in varying degrees. I haven't pushed them. I want them to be involved because they want to be involved, not because daddy tells them to. Two of them just signed up, but they are very busy with sports and church activities. There hasn't been much for them to do at this point. But once the election comes along I think they will get involved in banging on doors, doing car washes and that sort of stuff. (provincial executive, taped interview)

Like myself, I have signed up a few members. A lot of them from my church. But some of them I won't ask. The families of the guys who work for me I won't ask. It's not right. A boss can't ask that of his men. People could take it the wrong way. Sign this, you know, or look for work. So I won't ask it of them.... But I know they are good men, so I will say to someone else, you know you should ask B. there if he would like to become a member. But it can't come from me you see. (party member, fieldnotes)

While relationships may, in part, identify "appropriate" targets for recruitment activities, the range of those considered "appropriate" is varied. To capture some of this variation and its relative impact on the recruitment process, I differentiate between three recruitment "circumstances": 1) recruitment within an extended personal history context, 2) recruitment via shared affiliations and 3) cold calls. We will deal with each of these in order, hearing from both the recruited and the recruiters.

#### RECRUITMENT WITHIN AN EXTENDED PERSONAL HISTORY CONTEXT

Within our most intimate affiliations, we often have extended information available about those with whom we share our lives. We know of these others in a multitude of roles and through a range of involvements. Large portions of personal histories are shared with us, and we tend to develop a fairly complex array of definitions which constitute our understandings of these "key" actors.

Recruiters speak of bringing these personal histories to bear on their recruitment activities. They are capable of identifying those who are more than likely to be receptive to their "message" and, conversely, to anticipate those less likely to share their "enthusiasm". The personal histories which recruiters have "at hand" provide a ready list of likely candidates.

When they said we were going to have a membership drive in our riding and they wanted me to put down the names of five people who I thought might be willing to join I had a hard time really. I am the only one in my family that has been born again. The others just don't see the need, I pray for them but they just don't see. But I do have some good friends who love the Lord, so I put their names down. (party member, fieldnotes)

I don't know how to explain it to you. Look at the membership form, I couldn't even ask my father to sign that. He couldn't, that's it. But my brother is a completely different story, I showed it to him, now he is starting to get things going [where he lives]. You just know, this is for M. I've got to get him signed up. He would want to be signed up. (party member, taped interview)

Similarly, those who are the "targets" of recruitment efforts may draw upon the extended personal histories at

their disposals in an effort to overcome initial concerns. In fact, the personal relationships established between actors may, at times, have more bearing on the initial "success" of recruitment efforts than do qualities strictly associated with the party.

To be absolutely honest with you I am not here tonight for the Christian Heritage Party. I am here for (J.). I have never seen him throw himself at anything quite like he has taken on this. His father and I went to school together, I've known him since he was up to here [indicates about "knee high"]. One night he got up the courage and came by the house saying he wanted to talk to us about this new party he was involved with. He seemed a little nervous. I told him to put all the papers away and that I had two questions for him. The first one was did he believe that this would be a better thing for Canada. He said yes as firmly and as clearly as he could. The next question was where do we sign. I have never known (J.) to try and pull the wool over anybody's eyes. If he believed in what he was doing enough to ask for my help then he's got it. (party member, fieldnotes)

#### RECRUITMENT VIA SHARED AFFILIATIONS

Rarely are relations with those whom we share our worlds so complete as to constitute an extended personal history. More often than not, we share fairly selective parts of our worlds with others. It is upon these shared experiences that we generate typified notions of others. While these notions vary in completeness of detail, they are the basis upon which we generate typifications of those who accompany us in our joint acts.

For those who attempt to recruit others into the C.H.P. "fold", such generalized notions of those more or

less likely to be "responsive" to their message, serve to set out networks of affiliation upon which recruitment efforts can be based. Thus, recruitment efforts tend to be directed towards those considered by recruiters as likely members. However defining likely recruitment targets and gaining access to these targets may prove relatively problematic:

We were talking to this chap [United States Presidential Aid] and he said I can talk to left wingers and they know people in Paris, Rome and London. They can quote names of left wing contacts throughout the world, they are so organized they call it networking. He said, I talk to right wing groups such as yourself and you don't know anybody but your next door neighbour. It's true. So for a political party just starting off we've got thousands of churches across Canada and that is really where our main membership should come from and yet do we know them or do they know us? I mean there is really no hierarchy within the church setting that you can lock into as a political party because, I mean, they are simply not supposed to be political, they are not supposed to touch politics with a ten foot pole. That's how diverse the groups are. So we are not in anyway able to network, we just had to build up our contacts by word of mouth. (national executive, taped interview)

What the above respondent intends by the term "network" and the term's sociological usage are two different things. I would suggest my respondent believes that in starting a new political party, there was no pre-existing "network" of "politicized" Christians which they could "tap". However, if we look at networks relative to the particularistic bonds of varying intensity which people construct with respect to their social relations, we begin to see the importance of the networks upon which the C.H.P. is based. These networks

of shared affiliation provide avenues for recruitment activity whether on a "one-to-one" basis or on a larger scale (such as the distribution of 25,000 information leaflets during the 1988 federal election at a southern Ontario tour of the Billy Graham Crusades).

The recruited and the recruiters speak of the relative importance of such shared affiliations for the facilitation of building a membership. A review of data on this theme emphasizes the C.H.P.'s utilization of three complementary yet distinct networks of contact as sources of potential recruits. Specifically, these are church affiliations, political affiliations, and complementary crusading affiliations. We will examine each briefly.

#### 1. Recruitment and Church Affiliation

Churches provide a "rich ground" for party recruitment activities. This should be less than surprising. Like the C.H.P., selected Christian churches represent the few associations which require similar statements of belief from their members. Recruiters know in advance that members of certain churches "can" sign their name to a profession of belief in the trinity and the inerrancy of the Bible. Given the party's emphasis on recruiting only those with a certain system of belief, Christian churches provide a network of association through

which "believers" can be accessed.

Sometimes when we get started in an area all we can get is one church. I figure that is better than nothing. We get one person as a member and he gets some of his friends like that. But pretty soon that thing starts to dry up. They just aren't getting anywhere. That is when we have to say get out into the Christian community. Visit those churches. That can be tough. Some of our people are from very isolated traditions. Sometimes we have to give them a push. Telling them that we don't want you to worship with them, just get them involved. (provincial executive, taped interview)

The way I will know if this thing is going to go anywhere is when I look at the members of our local executive. When I started I knew everyone from somewhere else. Now there are people there that I have met only through the C.H.P.. It is a good thing. If you had told my wife five years ago that I would be over at the Roman Catholic church meeting with the priest asking for his help on anything she would have laughed you right out of the house. But I was there. We had a good talk. There was a lot we agreed on. Now one of his people sits on our executive. He has brought a whole new group of people to us. That is the way this thing will grow. Next week I have a meeting with a Baptist committee. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

Those who actively undertake "church based" recruiting speak of the process in mixed terms. Working within one's own congregation or faith group is not necessarily "easy" or non-problematic. As implied in the previous quotation, some speak of the "unsettling" aspects of these activities as assumptions of the relative unity and likemindedness of "believers" comes to be challenged, and successes arise from unexpected "allies".

I don't exactly know how many people here and there I have signed up. After the first two dozen I started to lose track. But I don't think I would be blowing my own horn too loudly if I told you that I have signed up over sixty. Most of these are from my own church. It really isn't that hard. I give them the pamphlet. They say "I

will look at it". I tell them "no, we are just starting out and we are poor. I just have one, why don't you look at it now". So they look at it. I say "is there anything there you can't put your name to". They say "no". So I say "Here is my pen".

There are some though that I just can't get. It bothers me too. Like if you don't sign up, what should it worry me? But these people are in my church. If they don't think the Lord has a place in politics, where else do they think He doesn't belong? That bothers me. That really bothers me. Some nights when I come home I have prayed for the ones who wouldn't become members. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

One of the things you get used to is the ministers being fairly reserved about this. They can be very cautious. I can't say that I blame them. But sometimes the only contact we have to a church is the minister. That's it. So I have approached the ones from [my denomination]. There are two others in this riding. The one didn't want to have anything to do with it really. Basically he wished us the best and told me to leave him alone. But the other one was all on for having us in to talk. I'm thinking, this guy likes to live dangerously, but at this point I won't turn down any breaks we can get. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

As suggested above, church based recruitment is accomplished with varying degrees of "formal" sanction from church officials. At times a congregation is "worked" for membership exclusively by the laity within the group. On other occasions, clergy have become relatively active in the process of promoting the C.H.P.'s "well-being" within their congregation. During the course of this research, clergy have been observed leading their congregations in prayer calling for a divine blessing upon the C.H.P.'s endeavours, have turned their sanctuaries over to party promoters to provide the "sermon" during regularly held services of worship, have personally endorsed the C.H.P., and have

called on their congregations to "vote Christian". Such "clergy sanctioning" activities have been observed within a range of denominations - from Roman Catholic to Canadian Reformed to churches of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. The relative importance of clergy involvement should not be undervalued. However, congregation members and clergy alike express a range of concerns over direct clerical involvement in party promotion.

I stop just short of telling my congregation to become members of the C.H.P.. I do tell them that it is time for them to become politically active. I tell them that if they don't there may not be a church left for their children to worship in. Make no mistake, the secular humanists would like nothing better than to legislate us out of existence. By passing laws against what Christians believe they are directly attacking us. By creating a national debt that will burden our children and restrict their freedom we are under attack. Here out of the church itself I can be quite outspoken and you have seen that I am. I tell it like it is. I tell people to get behind this thing. The time is now. Inside my church we set our spiritual lives straight and ask the Lord for his guidance. But it can't stop there. It is time to roll up our sleeves and get to work. I for one am not above that. (clergy/party member, fieldnotes)

Despite being very involved myself, I have never really discussed this much with my minister. He knows what I do and what we are doing. I have never asked for his public commitment though. You know to have him come out and speak for us. If he wants to offer we will accept. But I won't ask. His first obligation is to minister to us. If becoming a member would get in the way of that then it is better that he doesn't. But I want to make sure he gets to the polls to vote. That is important. (local organizer, taped interview)

Sure I was worried about what would happen tonight. I took a big risk you know. Letting these people into my church. I have never held a political discussion like that in the sanctuary. I prayed about my decision a lot. It came down to this, if there ever was a time when God's buildings needed to be made political - you know - it is

now. This election coming up is crucial. I wish these people well. They are standing up for what a lot of us believe. But this is the end of the road for me. I can't stick my neck out any further. If this is going to go any further, one of the people in the church who heard them tonight is going to have to take over.  
(clergy/membership status unknown, fieldnotes)

## 2. Recruitment and Political Affiliation

Like the church groups previously discussed, competing political parties provide a network of recruitment. Whereas church membership may be seen to "predispose" potential recruits to the faith claims of the C.H.P. world view, the politically active share a divergent yet complementary "predisposition". The C.H.P.'s political recruits tend to share in a general level of politicization - sharing a common "faith" in the relevance and importance of political involvement. This is something not necessarily shared by those with ties exclusively to the Christian community.

The particularistic bonds which people form relative to party politics in Canada are somewhat unique. For the most part, they lay dormant until rekindled by party oriented activities such as nomination meetings, fund raisers, social events and general elections. However, C.H.P. recruiters have found these bonds to prove particularly helpful in the recruitment of members.

I wouldn't actually say that we have raided our opponents' camps but we have talked to some of them. When the election is called [one incumbent] is going to

get a real surprise. We have his president, vice president and secretary from the last campaign signed up. But we asked them not to resign from the P.C.'s [Progressive Conservatives] until the writ was dropped. Do you think that might get their attention that we are serious about this? (provincial executive, taped interview)

You build a party like this slowly. I have been talking to some of [the incumbent's] people. I know that they aren't all happy with him. There are some very strong Christians who worked to get him elected that I know through my church. I took them aside and tried to politely show them that they had been let down. It didn't take too much convincing. But once we got them with us it was time to ask them to get us in touch with people that were involved with his campaign last time around to see if they would be willing to give us a hand. We don't get a lot of members that way but we do get some of our most important ones. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

The data collected over the duration of this project suggest that C.H.P. members have experienced a range of previous political involvement. It would be inaccurate to attempt to depict C.H.P. membership as resulting from mass defections from one existing party or another. All of the "Big Three" - the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals and the New Democratic Party - have lost supporters to the C.H.P..

I'm C.C.F./N.D.P. from away back. Back when men like Tommy Douglas and Stanley Knowles were at the helm. Now look at what they've got. Svend Robinson and Ed Broadbent. That party started as a Christian party. All of their founders were Christians. We believed in applying the gospel to our government programs. That's how it got started you know, we wanted to see a country that made moral decisions, not just business decisions. But the whole thing got side tracked by the unions and others to where it is the most immoral of the bunch. When I saw that happen I just got out of politics. But this Christian Heritage thing was enough to get me back at it. (party member, taped interview)

Politically I was very frustrated, I had been a member of the P.C. party for years and years. I had faithfully

gone to a lot of their meetings both provincial and federal, at the local level and you know I have gone to vote on various issues for candidates and nominating people for the conventions and so forth and so on and especially when we were nominating delegates for the leadership convention locally. I helped in that, I personally helped recruit my friends and neighbours and said we have to go down there and vote for such and such a fellow who is going to vote for so and so. But already there you can see a lot of political maneuvering even at the very basic level, and all they wanted was more power, and all of the things that makes politics abhorrent for a lot of people I think. So when I saw the Christian Heritage Party pamphlet, a party based on proper policies and programs rather than just individuals doing their own thing to get power ... and I saw that their policy and platform were all worked out on principle rather than expediency focusing on what is right rather than doing what is popular that is where I was at. (provincial executive, taped interview)

I have voted Liberal since I arrived in this country. And you know right now if you asked me why I did this I could not tell you. It seemed like every one I knew voted Liberal so I thought this must be right, you know. Now I see this is not right. Now my English is improving I see it is not alright. Now I hear what they say myself it is not alright. It is like this, if you are a Catholic you must do certain things. If you don't, you are not a Catholic, see? I am a Catholic and I think I can only vote for the C.H.P.. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

While these data capture something of the range of political involvement which precedes entering the C.H.P. fold, these respondents tend to underestimate their relative importance to the party's activities. As national and provincial organizers have emphasized, the successful recruitment of those who have been previously politically active is a high priority. Such individuals bring an established familiarity with the political process - the elections act, canvassing, convention planning, chairing

meetings, etc. - and provide insight and contacts relative to the "opposition". The practical constraints on a new party is that if they are looking for a politically experienced candidate, riding executive, policy chair, or leader, they will have had to have gained that experience elsewhere. To bring these people "on board" requires something of a political conversion which in and of itself is problematic.

Let me put it to you this way. Changing my politics was a little like changing my church. It takes time. You have to admit to yourself that you were barking up the wrong tree. For a stubborn guy like myself that takes some time and some long hard thinking. J. and B. were by the house twice before I gave it a really serious thought. I listened to them to help them out, but I wasn't thinking they were talking about me. Then they said how about you are you coming along with us on this. My reaction was no, no way this thing won't work. I'm known for my politics around here, I'm not going to jump horses now. I'll tell you what it came down to, it came down to who am I going to serve. I decided staying put served myself, not my country or my God. Once I decided that I didn't have a choice left. I'm telling you that signing that membership form was not one of the easiest things I have done in my life. (local organizer, taped interview)

### 3. Recruiting Via Complementary Crusades

The issues which the C.H.P. attempt to bring forward into Canadian electoral politics are issues which are shared, at least in part, by a range of complementary championing interests. These groups share in their attempts to promote the "good" and designate "evil". However, they do so while remaining outside players within party politics.

They may attempt to influence political process through lobby groups, block voting or court challenges to legislation. The C.H.P. has, to some extent, actively recruited amongst these groups. Most notable here are recruitment efforts within the extended "pro-life" movement (Alliance for Life, Birthright et al), the "traditionalist" family oriented lobbies (R.E.A.L. Women, Family Forum), and Christian business associations (Reformed Christian Business and Professional Association and Christian Farm Federation of Ontario).

The C.H.P. message to these groups tends to be fairly straight forward. Their efforts are directed at demonstrating that the C.H.P. is the federal party that reflects the position of these various lobby groups. By so doing, they make some headway into gaining the favour of these associations and their membership.

The two most important issues for us in this election are going to be daycare and abortion. They are the ones that distinguish us from the other parties. There are a lot of pro-life people out there with nowhere for their vote to go. The people who join Alliance For Life are our people. We have to get our message to them and let them know that they finally have a federal party that they can join with a clear conscience and vote for without swallowing hard first. The daycare legislation is great for us because it shows that the parties have no respect for women who stay home to raise their kids. Forget Free Trade and Meech Lake, these are the bread and butter issues that will make this party grow. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

The split in R.E.A.L. Women may actually prove good for us. We have a message very compatible to what the people who are leaving them are saying and I hope we can establish ourselves as the political party of their

choice. If we can do that we can pick up a thousand memberships or so right there. (party promoter, fieldnotes)

#### COLD CALLS

My previous discussions of recruitment deal largely with the range of associations focused upon by party recruitment activities. However, my data contain some circumstances of recruitment not yet encompassed by our presentation. Much like salespersons who may "try their luck" by offering their products or services with little "preselling", C.H.P. recruiters may attempt to promote party membership in a similar fashion. A wide array of social settings may provide an opportunity for party recruiters to attempt to sell the virtues of their political movement. While such efforts may be accompanied by fairly high levels of uncertainty, they provide an opportunity to "test" the party "image" outside an "inner circle" of the like minded.

I have a completely different approach to people I don't really know. When I [go on a job] I may not have worked with these people for years and may not see them again for months or years so I don't waste any time. When we get on politics, which is quite easy to do, if you have some time between flights, I have some pamphlets in my brief case. I start talking politics, I ask them if they are happy about what is going on. It doesn't take much to get their unhappiness explained and so you ask them, if there was a candidate who stood for the following policies would you vote for him. And they say of course I would and I spring on them that there is a new party called the C.H.P., these are the policies we stand for and the next time there is an election I expect you to vote for this candidate. They say, show me his name and we will vote for him. It is unbelievable the kind of response I get. (provincial executive, taped interview)

I'll ask anybody to join the party. I'm going to ask you when you turn that tape off then you will have to decide so you have got that to look forward to. I ask the girls at the bank, people in the grocery store, it don't matter. I'll tell you about one. I was meeting with people in my church. Two lived almost right next door - one house in between them. So I am walking and I have to pass this house. I figure if both his neighbours should be members then he should too. But I don't know what to say at the door so I ring the door and ask for his neighbour. He says sorry you got the wrong house. So I say I'm sorry, that I was to meet B. to talk about a new political party, maybe he had heard of us, the Christian Heritage Party. Just like that you get them talking, and I say well I can't see any reason why you shouldn't be with us I've got an extra membership form right here.  
(party member, taped interview)

### **Seekership**

Prus and Irini (1980) utilize the term seekership to refer to the process by which someone comes to the hotel community through a fascination or curiosity with the life style. In these cases, the participant more or less "recruits" the collective rather than the reverse. There is, to use Lofland and Stark's (1965) phrasing, a "self-defined attraction" towards an activity.

Through our relations with others we come to establish typified notions of self, of the varied identities we share and the particularistic bonds which accompany these identities. Such notions are far from static. They, like social life generally, are both problematic and negotiable. Actors may move from hero to villain in rapid succession (Klapp, 1962). The hero making encounter and the villain

making encounter alike, hold implications for the process of seekership.

Seekership relates to ones' self-other identities and to the social relations which one can access. While a person may come to see themselves as a "thrill-seeker", the thrills they may seek are, in part, influenced by the particularistic bonds they may form (Sato, 1988). People may develop seekership aspirations which go unrealized or move between seekership activities as alternative routings develop to accomplish similar ends. Further, some collectives may actively restrict access to those who seek admission.

The data available on seekership within the C.H.P. suggest that this "self-determined attraction" is for the most part limited to those who share a clear definition of self in terms of a "believer in Christ", and who have come to define their previous politicized activities as somewhat less than effectual. This dual "attraction" to Christian belief and political action combines to provide a "pool" of respondents who refer to their initial careers within the C.H.P. as more of a completion of a journey rather than the beginning of one.

I have prayed for these people to come into my life. I have prayed before the Lord to provide and now He has. We are genuinely blessed to have the Christian Heritage Party. When a nation goes away from the Lord it will be punished and you can see it happening all around us. The children dying, their mothers being beaten in their homes, their fathers treated as garbage, people being

told that they can depend on the state. But the state has to depend on the Lord. I have been waiting for the Lord to show me how He needs me to fight His battles. As soon as I heard that there was a political party true to His word I knew I had to join them. My prayers had been answered. (party member, taped interview)

The above quotation makes reference to a recurrent theme among those who speak of their initial involvements in terms of seekership. This theme involves associating the "desire" for political involvement (or the establishment of the C.H.P. as a vehicle for that involvement) with divine intervention. For a people who believe in an omnipotent God, anything can be attributed to His volition. When discussing recruitment with respondents, I found them willing to contextualize this activity relative to the joint acts accomplished with others. However, where respondents sought out the C.H.P. more or less "on their own," I found their subsequent involvements often contextualized relative to divine intervention and providence.

I don't think anybody was really involved in getting me into this, it was just my own frustration really. I think God does that within people. He gives them a desire to do and when you do what God gives you as a desire it accomplishes and satisfies. And if you don't do it you end up unhappy. Well, I am giving up quality time in my life right now to the Christian Heritage Party and I get satisfaction from that. I am pleased because I can see that there is something to work for. If there was nothing to work for I would fall by the wayside and just go on and do my own thing. (national executive, taped interview)

To be honest with you the answer to your question is very difficult for me to explain in words. Through my daily devotions God showed me that our society was becoming more and more anti-nation, anti-family, anti-community and anti-church. I thought we should do something. And

that was it. I thought something had to be done. I was reading my Bible, in Hebrews, I can tell you (respondent picks up Bible), here, in Hebrews, Chapter 26, verse 8, it says, "Five of you will chase a hundred and a hundred of you will chase ten thousand, and your enemies will fall before you." That was it I knew I had to do something. By the time the Christian Heritage Party came along you see, I was waiting for them. No one had to convince me, I made sure they were doing God's work and said, alright what do you need? (local organizer, taped interview)

Seekership as a means of initial involvement within the C.H.P., is dependent on establishing some relational contacts within the organization. Obviously, not all who seek out Christian based political involvement are going to join the C.H.P.. Some simply will lack contact with the party, while others will have their "attraction" for involvement consumed by other associations, ranging from other political parties to the range of competing championing interests. It seems that those who seek out the C.H.P. do so more out of a general interest in politicizing their Christian world view than in joining a specific crusade.

At the beginning I was determined to do something, whether it be for the pro-life movement or politically .... So I could have gone to the political alternative that Heritage was offering or I could have gone into the pro-life. I tried several times getting involved in the pro-life side but for one reason or another I never seemed to get it to come about and I ended up at (D's) for a meeting and this was right at the very, very, beginning. I liked what I saw and I took H.T. and some other local people along with me and we sort of got involved one way or another and that was the beginning of it. (national executive, taped interview)

I had contact with the C.H.P. at a public meeting that took place probably six months ago where J. spoke. What

he said was completely congruent with the way that I had felt since I was in my late teens. I have always been interested in politics from a Christian perspective and on this intersection of theology and political science. I took degrees in both areas and because of that interest in my twenties - and when I heard J.'s presentation I was very taken by it. (candidate, taped interview)

### **Closure and the Emergence of Involvement<sup>2</sup>**

Lemert (1953) uses the term "closure" to denote situations where peoples' obligations to financial "necessities" are overcome through "naive check forgery". The perceived pressures to meet external obligations are seen to promote involvement in deviant activity. By extending this notion into other settings, we note the relevance of closure as a means of routing people towards certain activities and involvements.

With respect to initial involvements, participants in the C.H.P. at times refer to dimensions of closure. A review of these data leads me to suggest that the perception of closure arises from two complementary yet distinct world views. Both share in their emphasis on the pressing necessity for and an obligation to the enterprise of Christian based political activity. However, a divergence emerges relative to the source of the obligation and the direction of the desired outcome. To explore this we differentiate closure produced through a dispensationalist theology and closure resulting from a "social gospel." I

will briefly examine each relative to implications for promoting initial involvements.

#### DISPENSATIONALIST THEOLOGY AND INITIAL INVOLVEMENTS

A dispensationalist approach to scripture divides the world's history relative to a divine "timetable". We find Christians who adopt this approach speaking relative to the time of creation, the time of miracles, the time of Christ, the tribulations, and the end times. Central to the dispensationalist position is the notion that the history of the world is predetermined and destined to unfold in a God ordained sequence of events. These events are foreshadowed in the writings of the old testament prophets and climax relative to the second coming of Christ and the destruction that is contained in the Book of Revelation. A variant of this tradition is contained in what has been colloquially termed "Armageddon theology" and has been popularized by Lindsay (1970, 1982).

Respondents speak in impassioned terms relative to these themes. Their words suggest a sense of closure pertaining to their place within this ordering of history - and ultimately man's destiny. Participants may describe their involvement in the C.H.P. as part of a larger struggle of mystic and titanic proportions. A world view which contains within it the certainty of destruction and the

promise of salvation holds direct bearing on participants' perception of their involvements and how such affiliations are made meaningful.

When I heard of the Christian Heritage Party I said praise the Lord. I witness to His glory everyday and in everything that I do. This is one more opportunity to bring His name to the people who need to hear Him the most, the Bible says the Lord will come like a thief in the night. I believe that. Those people who laugh at us, who spit at us, they will be lost when He comes. But maybe one person will look at our pamphlet, will say let's see if these guys are true to the Bible, and pick up their Bible for the first time in years. We have witnessed to that person. (party member, fieldnotes)

I will explain this to you. Satan is all around us, luring people away from Christ so that they loose their soul to him. I see it all around. Do you think all those women would kill their children by having abortions if Satan were not turning their heads. He uses people to do his work. This will go on until Christ comes and puts the run to him. Until then we have to keep the faith. Whenever Christ says here is an opportunity to do My work and you turn it down, you are doing Satan's work, you see? Satan will try to stop the Christian Heritage Party, no doubt about it, because it carries the Lord's name. But that is why Christians have to join because we have no choice. We are involved in this fight and we can go it alone or we can do it together. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

#### CLOSURE AND A SOCIAL GOSPEL

Some party members speak of the dimensions of closure relative to the desire to avoid the perceived social consequences of the "de-Christianization" of Canadian "society". Somewhat less concerned with "masterplans" and apocalyptic visions, participants from this general tradition emphasize the "ills" produced by straying from a

"Bible-obedient" life style. Involvements are promoted, and closure illustrated, by participants' emphasis on the importance of their membership to "stem the tide".

Party members offer a range of evidences as to the immorality of contemporary lifestyles and the direct consequences of these transgressions. Common referents include abortion rates, the A.I.D.S. virus, divorce, pornography, and "daycare". The underlying theme which unites these various perceived troubles is participants' tendency to see them as indicators of a "sick" society. The "remedy" for what "ails" is a "return to Christian values". This perspective is, in many ways, consistent with mainline Christian traditions which hold that God, in some form, punishes vice. Closure is produced by the relative urgency which participants may come to associate with defined troubles. Through this, career routings may be encouraged by a definition of the situation which sees the promotion of Christian "values" as an urgent and necessary need for one's shared collectives.

I was determined to do something ... I was determined that I would no longer stay silent about the road to destruction that I saw our country on. I felt it sort of incumbent on me to do something, rather than just talk about it and feel frustrated about it. (national executive, taped interview)

I believe there are two kinds of justice, man's laws and God's laws - spiritual laws. All I know is if you break God's laws you are in deep trouble. Like this A.I.D.S. thing. That is God's doing. I am not saying he did it to punish homosexuals or anything. I am saying it is God's doing, okay. Now God says man shall not lie with man,

that's one of God's laws. We have been breaking that law and we will be punished for it. But I don't know how, maybe A.I.D.S. is the punishment for that one or maybe it is for something that we did two thousand years ago. I don't know God's thoughts why he does this or that. But I do know that if you break God's laws you are going to be punished. Unless we can show people that, that what they have been doing is wrong, things are going to get an awful lot worse here before they get one bit better. (party member, taped interview)

When the Supreme Court struck down our abortion laws, I said, "that's it, it's time to get serious about this." I had been a pro-life member for years, still am. But it seems the only way we are going to get the politicians attention is to hit them where it counts, right in the ballot box. It is the only way to stop the abortion holocaust. The 65,000 children who died when the law was in place wasn't enough to do it, voting for pro-life candidates from the other parties wouldn't do it, so I said it is time to go all the way. This issue is too important to let them play politics with it, so if it means forming a new party and trying to generate enough votes so that they start looking over their shoulders then it is a good thing. I want to tell you, that I want to save the lives of those children more than anything else. I will be where ever we have the best chance of doing it, if not the C.H.P. then somewhere else. (local organizer, taped interview)

#### **On Drift and Multiple Involvements**

I conclude this discussion of actors' initial involvements within the C.H.P. by noting the complexity of the routings which facilitate participation. A sequential model of social life, one which is fundamentally processually attentive, must recognize that the activities and affiliations which promote peoples' involvements are continually emergent. As such, translating a "curiosity" about a political party into membership, may involve a

multiplicity of routings, potentially combining seekership with recruitment within a context of promoting closure. The routing of any given member may involve one or more of these dimensions in varying orders and in varying degrees of personal relevance. During this research, I found that some respondents account for their initial careers within the C.H.P. relative to dimensions of seekership, and yet, party promoters recount their successful and persuasive recruitment of this same individual. I would argue that such variances demonstrate the relative importance of a perspectively attentive approach to careers of involvement.

Further, Matza's (1964) notion of drift, may transcend these various routings, serving to facilitate, in part, the processes of recruitment, seekership, and closure. Drift occurs when actors come to see themselves as being freed from "moral constraints" - or more generically a perceived freedom from "normal concerns" (Prus and Irini, 1980: 248). My data suggest that this perceived freedom holds its greatest importance relative to overcoming previous political allegiances. If we contextualize party support for the Progressive Conservatives, for example, as a constraint to C.H.P. involvement, then "drift" away from the "party fold" (or a lessening of ones' resolve or commitment), may facilitate other involvements. While previous data relate to recruiting along party lines,

"successful" recruitment may depend, in part, upon an increased perceived freedom from "normal concerns".

I have never voted anything but Tory since I was able to vote. I will tell you, I have never been so disappointed in a government as I have been with Mr. Mulroney's bunch there in Ottawa. The whole bunch of them lack courage, they bow and scrape to Quebec, like the fighter contract and the Meech Lake Accord. We vote them in with a majority and they start right off by lying to us. Until the C.H.P. came along on the scene a while back, I figured that was it, there was no one for me to vote for.  
(party member, fieldnotes)

### **Rejecting Membership**

While I have little data which speak to the issue of those who become disinvolved after accepting membership, I can briefly address the issue of those who, despite some initial involvements, reject continuing participation. These actors come into "contact" with the C.H.P. through the routings previously discussed. Yet, for a varied range of objections, they attempt to distance themselves from the C.H.P. enterprise.

Those who attempt to recruit members on behalf of the C.H.P. have developed typified notions of these common objections to membership. Such typifications permit recruiters to anticipate resistances to involvement and to "pre-plan" attempts to overcome such objections.

[By January 1988], I became aware that [an Ontario riding] had constructed a listing of the ten most common objections to becoming involved in the C.H.P. and the responses to these objections which were to be used by recruiters. Objections considered included: (1) discrimination against non-Christians, (2) the preference

to work within existing parties, (3) the inevitable "decay" of the party's principles, (4) the separation of church and state, (5) the right wing nature of the party, (6) that Christians have no right to organize politically, (7) the C.H.P. will split the vote in favour of the Liberal and New Democratic parties, (8) the C.H.P. will never go anywhere, (9) the C.H.P. will not be successful unless it forms a government, and (10) the C.H.P. is a Dutch party. (my fieldnotes)

What really gets to me is that I can tell you right now what people are going to say, you won't get anywhere, your name won't work, you will help out the N.D.P.. But you know what all of these are. They are excuses. If somebody would say to me, I've read it over and I don't agree with the principles of the party I believe this or this, I would say thank you for giving us a fair hearing and I would be on my way. That person has taken a look at us and said no thank you. That I can take. But mostly what I hear are excuses, "not right now", they say. Well, does the wolf have to be right at their door before they buy a gun? (local organizer, fieldnotes)

I get the same old negatives from a lot of people, we will split the vote, and this is a three party country, it is impossible to start a new party and Christians should work where they are within the existing organizations and this kind of stuff. (provincial executive, taped interview)

Whatever they say I have an answer for them. If they say "I'll mail it" I say, "I'll save them the stamp." If they say, "I'll vote for your candidate", I say "If you don't become a member you won't have the chance." What I try to do is I try to make it so easy for them to join that they can't come up with a reason not to that we can't sort out. I even have a couple of people in the riding willing to help out with the membership fees. So if someone says, I'd like to but it is pretty expensive, I can say that if they really don't have the money another Christian will put it up for them. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

However, despite promoters' efforts to anticipate audience objections, some potential recruits remain "hard sells". Recruitors seem willing to exert extended efforts to recruit those who may prove of particular benefit to

their endeavours. While these efforts meet with varying levels of "success", the long term benefits of such efforts remain a focus of recruiters' perspectives.

One fellow that I've worked with a bit in a social organization and I talked about it [party membership] and he just doesn't get turned on at all. It doesn't interest him. In this particular case I think he faked disinterest because he is not convinced about the Christian party. Now this fellow is kind of quiet and he has to look at something over a longer period of time before he decides on something. So I fed him a little bit with a negative response, I dropped it, a week or two later I sent him some more and so on. I've been working with this guy off and on for probably a year, he lives in my riding and I have tried to sign him up, I've said, "you ought to join D., and then he says we are going to split the vote, next time he says we will be the cause of the N.D.P. getting elected, and then he says I don't think it will work. All these excuses, who are you going to get to run, but I keep feeding him stuff and finally, well he and three buddies went fishing and he signed up these other three guys for us. He signed up three guys, now he's not signed up but he signed up the others. They got talking politics in the ice fishing hut, drinking too much beer and whatever, and he took my line and he convinced the other three guys and they were signed up when they got back. So all my work brought three members in the end. (provincial executive, taped interview)

Despite recruiters' efforts, some prospective members who have experienced varying levels of initial involvement with the C.H.P. and its policies reject continuing involvements. While opportunities to access the perspectives of those who reject membership are limited at best, those rejecting membership often do so with a range of vigour and intensity very similar to the range of commitment and intensity which marks the political "passions" of C.H.P. supporters.

I really don't know about this. I agreed with a lot of what they had to say but this is a big step and you know they really don't seem to know what they are doing. Claiming to be a national party with ten thousand members. To me that's just silly. Maybe after they go through their first election they will get a little more realistic, set out some objectives that are attainable. You never know, I'm not ruling them out, but they will have to make a lot of changes before I change my vote or my party. (audience member, fieldnotes)

I have one word to describe those people, facists. That is what they are, plain and simple. They think they have a monopoly on truth and anytime I hear somebody talking like that it scares me. It really scares me. I hope they stay right where they are, small and insignificant. [How did you end up here tonight?] I came because I am a Christian and I wanted to see what these people are doing. That's it for me. I'm leaving, I've heard all I want to hear. (audience member, fieldnotes)

I don't like to stand in judgement of any man. That is the task of the Lord. I am sure that [H.] is sincere in his beliefs, however there is a great opportunity for the exploitation of Christianity here. It is one more chance for the press to drag the name of the Lord through the mud. As long as they keep God at the head of this organization they will be alright. But if they try to replace God's wisdom with the wisdom of men they will surely fail and bring disgrace to the name of my Lord and Saviour. I won't join their party tonight because I won't support any organization that calls itself Christian unless I am sure that they are true to the word of God. (audience member, fieldnotes)

These people should not have the right to do what they are doing. In theory there could be a party governing this country that I could not join, and that's not right. Somebody should do something to put a stop to this, this Christians only thing is really offensive. (member of the press, fieldnotes)

#### **CONTINUING INVOLVEMENTS: FROM MEMBERSHIP TO ADVOCATE**

In this section, we move from an examination of the perspectives of acquiring membership generally, to the

perspectives of those who have extended their level of personal involvement and commitment to include continuing involvements with the C.H.P. and its organization. Career progression within the C.H.P. may bring with it increasing organizational responsibility and accountability. Further, becoming an "active member" may be accompanied by changing perspectives through a re-orienting of actors' world views. Actors' knowledge at hand may vary - scripted champions may take it upon themselves to become "well-informed" in certain areas, while the knowledge of the expert champion may be actively acquired.

In the following, my purpose is to examine the perspectives of those who have taken on positions of relative responsibility within the C.H.P. with respect to their careers of involvements. Drawing on participants' accounts of their experiences, the discussion will focus on three dimensions of the routing of advocacy. These include: 1) adopting a perspective, 2) developing relational entanglements, and 3) identity transformation. I will address each in order as it pertains to encouraging continuing involvements.

#### **Adopting a Perspective: Learning Definitions**

The process under which new perspectives are developed and nurtured seems indispensable to the

development of continuing involvements. Sutherland and Cressey (1978) taught us this when they demonstrated that criminal behaviour is learned and that what is learned involves both the techniques and the motives of the act. It is difficult to participate within a community unless one is willing to come to see the world as that community sees it. This process of conversion is a part of becoming a member of a cult (Lofland, 1977), a nudist (Weinberg, 1973), or a member of the hotel community (Prus and Irini, 1980). It involves coming to see the world differently, and these changes in perspective facilitate continuing involvements in one setting and may serve to limit the relative accessibility of others.

While the C.H.P. is not a "greedy institution" as Coser (1974) uses the term, it is a demanding one. It asks its members for their time and their money, their ideological support and their adherence. In exchange, it offers the visions of a "better Canada" and a public platform for the application of biblical teaching to matters of political policy. The previous discussion of initial involvements suggests that regardless of the routing participants follow, their involvements with the C.H.P. are, in part, facilitated by previous "conversion episodes" - either religious, political or both.

However, actors rarely come to the C.H.P.

"dedicated" to pursuing further involvements. Reflecting the shift in perspective experienced by actors, many of those who are "signed up" continue to retain their concerns and doubts over the value of their involvements and the general worth of the enterprise. Yet some dispel such "dissonances" more easily than others - some find the "party line" easier to "tow" than do others. Overcoming such concerns and resistances is profitably cast in process terms. Hoffer (1951) and Blumer (1957) both stress the importance of attending to social action within crusading interests in order to appreciate the content and form of its direction. Through emphasizing the "process of agitation," Blumer (1957:148) stresses that commitment to a "cause" is rarely attributable to unification of a "pre-established appeal" and a "pre-established psychological bent". Instead, the prospective believer:

has to be aroused, nurtured, and directed, and the so-called appeal has to be developed and adapted. This takes place through a process in which attention has to be gained, interests awakened, grievances exploited, ideas implanted, doubts dispelled, feelings aroused, new objects created, and new perspectives developed. (Blumer, 1957: 148).

We make a grave error of interpretation if we see this process as the "creation" of a wholly new perspective. For some party members, increasing involvements may involve few re-definitions of the situation. For some, the C.H.P. position is compatible with previous "conversion episodes".

Becoming an active or involved member of the C.H.P. may involve little cognitive reorganization. The process of conversion has taken place - but has been accomplished elsewhere. Participants may view their involvements as a relatively "static" continuation of belief. However a significant "new object" has been created - a party member, and a perspective has been developed - one which sees the C.H.P. as a "defender of the faith".

I guess what I'd say is that the Christian Heritage Party agrees with me more than I agree with it. I mean I believed these things a long time before these guys came along and I will be believing them a long time after they fade away. I'm from the Christian Reformed Church, you see. I've been thinking this way a long time. When you're a kid you think some crazy thoughts, but ever since I was old enough to know better I've known the right thing from the wrong thing. (local organizer, taped interview)

Me, I took very little convincing. When I heard the leader there say on the radio that they were based on the great commandment to "Love God, and your neighbour as yourself" I knew they were in right. I knew something else too, that it wasn't going to go easy for them, that people are sinful, and some of them would be into this for their own good. But you know that, and if you get together saying we love God, then it will come out right. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

While some active members spoke of a pre-established affinity with the C.H.P. world view, others recounted both public and private struggles with party policy, personalities and procedure. These themes are united through the process by which actors attempt to overcome perspectively based hindrances to continuing involvement. This process, facilitated in part by the activities of

others, tends to focus on a disjunction between actors and the collective as to what constitutes the appropriate and the inappropriate. When resolved in favour of the C.H.P., this produces a shifting of definitions and the facilitation of involvement. When dissonances remain, involvements may be limited relative to the perceived "seriousness" of differences.

Of course this kind of thing (party politics) attracts strong minded people anyway, myself included. I don't know anybody who goes to a church and thinks that someone else's church is better. If they did they would be going there, you see. We are going to have problems that way, we are going to run into situations where people have to make some tough decisions. It is hard to say my church or my [pastor] is wrong on this one. But that is what it is going to take, I have had to do it and others will too. (provincial executive, taped interview)

For me it was particularly difficult. Your ordinary member hasn't even read through the policy book, but as a candidate for the party not only did I have to know it, but I had to stand up for it. I had to rethink my position on abortion. I had always thought of myself as pro-life. I was against abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or where the life of the mother is at stake. But this wasn't pro-life enough for them.... I don't think that (the national executive) would have signed my nomination papers if I hadn't changed my position. My local people were very supportive, if I hadn't, in good faith, been able to take on their position we would have run as independents. But I read over the pro-life literature and decided that my position was in fact in line with the party's. (candidate, taped interview)

I struggled with their policy on capital punishment for quite a while. I worked actively lobbying my M.P. to vote for life on the capital punishment issue as I have on the abortion issue. I am opposed to men who are as sinful and evil in their hearts as I am passing the death sentence on a fetus, on the elderly or on a criminal. Their arguments for capital punishment were just not convincing to me. But, I liked just about everything else, and I mean that. So my decision was should I join

with these people even though they were pushing a position which I disagree with. Clearly, here I am so you know what my decision was. My wife and I talked about it, we finally decided to not just become members but to get involved. We felt if we sat on the sidelines our silence would indicate agreement so here we are working locally and I will be trying to make the argument for life at [the] [national convention] next year. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

### **Developing Relational Entanglements and Perceived Obligations**

While taking on the perspective of the group may be both problematic and involvement enhancing, we cannot account for continuing involvements by attending exclusively to the "cognitive work" of actors. Social life is group life. As such, the relational bonds we establish with one another serve to influence subsequent action. One's varying involvements establish bonds which, relative to their intensity, are constraining.

The process of building a political party depends, to a large extent, on establishing a "political machine" built upon an essentially voluntary association. Party promoters ask their volunteers for a range of involvement - from taking on the organization of a province to stuffing envelopes. In "exchange" they offer a dream. For promoters, this may at times, seem like sparse "pay". However, the willingness of others to give of themselves may serve to promote the continuing involvements of others.

Party promoters with varying levels of organizational responsibility, would recall their reciprocal obligations with other relations when confronted with "rougher times" or personal doubts. The relevance of relational entanglements to continuing involvements are illustrated in the following:<sup>3</sup>

I would walk right now if it weren't for some of the people involved in this. Personally, I figure I owe nothing to the people out in B.C.. The way some of us have been treated while [some people] play their little power games, and it is not just here it is in [Westville] as well. The reason I stay is because I love these people and I believe in this right here (respondent points to abdomen). Some people here act from the head and others act from the heart, but when I look at what people have given to make this work I am amazed. It is the commitment of these people that keeps me going sometimes. (party member, fieldnotes)

This may sound very odd to you but I can't leave even if I want to. I can't leave until the people here are done with me. I am the one that got most of them into this so I can't just walk away from it, they'd think I was some sort of snake oil salesman. But I don't want this forever, I have other things I want to do outside of politics. But once I'm in I have to wait for them to get tired of me, to [elect someone else to my position]. Then maybe I could leave quietly, but I just couldn't do it now. (party member, fieldnotes)

### **Identities and a Restriction of Options**

How we see ourselves and how others see us, in part, shapes our interactions. The deviance "literature" attends to the dynamics of acquiring, managing and transforming a range of "disreputable" identities.<sup>4</sup> Much like their counterparts on the "other side" of the law, C.H.P.

promoters may find their party affiliation playing a part in their definition of self and their relations to others.

Actors' experiences with such dynamics are uneven. Some find their new found identity to be reputation enhancing while others selectively disclose their party affiliations in an attempt to engage in "damage control". The difference here tends to focus on the range of identities and affiliations upon which actors lay claim. For some, the C.H.P. is seen to offer employment opportunities. Therefore, personal identification with the organization and its positions is desirable. For others, involvement with the C.H.P. is but a secondary involvement with possible negative consequences for actors' abilities to lay claim to alternative roles.

When people think of the C.H.P. in [this area], mine is one of the first two or three names they think of. I have a lot of personal support here, I am not ashamed to say it.... Once [my position changes] I become a member of the national executive, I also have the power when it comes to the campaign because the candidate appoints his own campaign committee according to the constitution. So I set up a parallel structure in the riding with a lot of overlap. That way you make a quick maneuver by playing the political game, you set up your campaign structure with the people you want and you make sure there is enough overlap onto the executive and you take a majority there and you've got control of the organization. I will continue to hold influence in the [provincial] wing simply because of my reputation. Because, I think that what you may very well see is the possibility of certain public candidates, that I have assisted in recruiting, by-passing some of the national [organization] and their ridings will go on their own using "private" input, if you know what I mean. (candidate, taped interview)

Personally, I have to be very careful with my support of these people. I have a great deal to lose if my

affiliation with them were to become public knowledge. That is why I actually wanted to talk to you, I wanted your assurance that my name would not appear in your report. You see, I support what these people are doing and what they stand for, and I am able to accomplish some of it in my own small way. But if it were known that I had ties here I think the outcome would be predictable and, shall I say, much of what I have accomplished so far would go for nought. (holder of elected office, membership status unknown, fieldnotes)

While actors may become increasingly uncomfortable with identities associated with the C.H.P. and become increasingly disinvolved, my data generally support the notion that reputations as a C.H.P. supporter tend to encourage continuing involvements. Respondents tend to speak of their increasing participation relative to a diversity of processes. Much like the multiple routings which may facilitate initial involvements, identities and reputations combine with audience definitions, relational bonds and ongoing processes of recruitment to promote continuing involvements. Reflecting the emergent nature of this process, respondents who currently hold postions of relative authority within the C.H.P. often began their careers within the organization with little forethought or anticipation of their current levels of involvement.

The [local] election was in May of 86, later that year I got a phone call from [the national office] to see if I would set up a meeting for [the national leader] in [Westville], and I had never heard anything from these people [for months]. I turned them down, I said I'm not interested, I am interested in provincial politics, I'm not interested in helping you guys. E. phoned me up and said, "You wrote me a letter, you encouraged me to do this and this and this, you have shown that you care, just organize one meeting and we will leave it at that."

I said, okay, I owe it to myself, my conscience won't allow me to say no, you guys are trying to do something good, I'll help you.... [The national leader] stayed at my house that night and after we discussed a lot of things I recognized that what the party was trying to do was worth supporting. I talked to my wife, I said maybe I could help them out for a while.... They are obviously a small number of people, all green, virtually all green. I don't have really anything to offer them except I have some experience in organizing public meetings for my own election. So I helped them organize the first couple of tours for [the leader], and he convinced me to let my name stand as a [provincial] interim president.... I promised to deliver enough delegates from [my province] so that things would be covered as far as the convention was concerned, we managed that. Somewhere during all this I lost my desire to get elected into provincial politics and all I want to do now is help. (national executive, taped interview)

I had absolutely no intention of getting this involved. You wouldn't believe how many hours in the day this eats up. I started by trying to help them out locally, it just sort of grew from there, a little bit at a time. People would come to me with this problem and that problem. I'm the type that figures if a job is going to get done you do it yourself so I took on the position of riding president. It has really grown since then, now I am involved provincially and federally and it seems that everybody around here comes to me with their problems. It is like, we don't know what to do, put it on M.'s desk. (local executive, fieldnotes)

Identities and reputations may also serve to promote continuing involvements by restricting actors' relative abilities to retain or establish alternative involvements. The students of managing disreputability have taught us this (Becker, 1963; Goffman, 1963b; Edgerton, 1967). In various circles the identification of actors as C.H.P. supporters is a stigma producing episode. As a result, respondents tend to emphasize that the closing off of alternative options serves to limit the range of their involvements, not their

general resolve.

I had worked for a local [aldermanic] candidate for the past two municipal elections. This time around, even though it was during the federal election and we had our own campaign to worry about, I went by to see what he needed in the way of help. He said to me, J. you have become pretty involved in this Christian Heritage thing, and I don't think it would be good for a municipal campaign to get an association with a particular federal party. He said that we had always been above that sort of thing. But I can tell you that if the [Tory incumbent] had decided to endorse him he would have accepted in fifteen seconds. It was a nice way to say it to me, but I heard him loud and clear, and I guess I understand so I left, never went back. I just worked that much harder on our campaign. If you are like me you end up going where you are wanted. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

One of the things you realize is that people in politics have very long memories. I had been working in the local P.C.'s both federally and provincially for a while. There are people who I had known through the P.C.'s for years, now I meet some of them on the street and they won't acknowledge me or my wife. That's not everybody mind you, just a few. Some of them figure that because we are on the scene their boy will lose, that we are traitors or something. But I know from their response that if this [C.H.P.] folds down the road that I can't go back. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

#### **Contextualizing Involvements: A Summary Statement**

The previous discussion has attempted to examine the perspectives of actors relative to their careers of involvements. Towards this end, I have utilized data from actors who reflected upon their own careers and those who were recounting their efforts to promote the involvements of others. This duality, perhaps more than any "fabricated" argument, illustrates the collective nature of entering a

social role, be that a C.H.P. member, a heroin user (Waldorf, 1973), or an "Israeli" (Gitelman, 1981).

The problem of understanding the promotion of involvement in a collective clearly unites the central themes of a phenomenological interactionism - that of perspective and process. Involvements are generated and their continuance encouraged through joint acts. It is actors' negotiated and accomplished action which generates recruitment, closure, or relational entanglements. These acts take place within a symbolically rich context and are endowed with meaning by actors.

The self-other indications which combine to produce membership in a politicized championing endeavour extend outside the arena of direct observation. We gain access to these indications through the reflections of actors. They are no less "real" for this. However, it is essential to recognize that when we explore, through interview, actors' personal histories, we gain data on their understanding on this process - an account of perspectives of involvements.

#### **ON A COLLECTIVE WORLDVIEW**

In an attempt to "round out" my review of the perspectives of those involved with the C.H.P., the following discussion will focus on more "traditional" aspects of the "definition of the situation". Specifically,

this discussion focuses on three related aspects which influence C.H.P. definitions of social objects. These include: collective definitions of right, collective definitions of success, and collective definitions of "enemies".

### **Collective Definitions of Right**

I have previously defined championing as the social process of promoting definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate. Hopefully my work to this point has elaborated on the relative complexity implied by this statement which belies its surface value simplicity. A similar elusive simplicity is to be found when we examine the content of any collectives' "appropriate".

For example, it tells us little to know that a collection of actors support "clean lakes". It is a small group indeed which advocate pollution. However, those who are "environmentally aware" come to their positions through a range of paths. Interests relative to property values, business successes, recreational uses, animal rights, "green" philosophies, and paternalistic responsibilities may combine to produce a "lobby" of those concerned with "clean lakes". As we have learned relative to the diffusion of marijuana laws (Becker, 1963) or the discovery of child abuse (Pfhol, 1977) politics do indeed make "strange

bedfellows".

Therefore, to know that C.H.P. members and policy constructors alike oppose either universal day care or the Meech Lake Accord tells us little beyond its descriptive value. A range of associations have reached similar conclusions. Yet, the Liberal/N.D.P. provincial coalition in Manitoba opposes Meech Lake from a very different set of concerns than the C.H.P..

Recognizing this, I have chosen to dispense with an inventory of issues which constitute C.H.P. definitions of "right". In the previous chapter, I have provided readers with a sampling of C.H.P. ratified policy. In the following discussion, we turn our attention towards the "root images" upon which actors' definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate are based. I examine the world view of actors which facilitates the typification of world events as reprehensible or praiseworthy. To accomplish this we explore actors' definitions of "right".

I think we have done what we believed was right and if you wonder what is right it is what is in conformity with Biblical revelation in the old and new testaments. I would think that there are principles of conduct for political life which can be drawn out of the Biblical record, I would think that the great commandment to love God and to love your neighbour as yourself is fundamental. The ten commandments are equally fundamental. Then the Christian political responsibility comes out of such new testament passages as the thirteenth chapter of Romans. So I think with respect to the created order, we have a concept of scripture that man is the steward, is accountable to God for its treatment - the treatment of the environment, of the created universe, and so it is right when we do things

that are going to enhance that universe. The other thing is the great commandment, therefore we are going to do things as Christians that will enhance the quality of life of other people, especially those that are less fortunate than ourselves. Those are the things that distinguish right from wrong - those touchstones.  
(candidate, taped interview)

The above respondent demonstrates the basics of the "root images" which typify the "politicized" Christian world view. While respondents may vary on a range of issues, nowhere in this research did I find more extensive unanimity of perspective than with the root images upon which the distinctions between the appropriate and the inappropriate are based.

For participants, God is a living, active being. That is, He takes a participatory role in world events. Chance happenings are discounted - to believe in chance is to suggest that there is an aspect of life which does not reflect the playing out of God's will. Order is a created order; human life and the activities of peoples are seen relative to this creation.

All of life then, is subservient to God's will. But this is a will which is not random nor unknown. For participants, access to the "rules" upon which the appropriate and the inappropriate are based relies on an attendance to and an exploration of the "word of God". Participants hold the Bible to be the "inerrant word of God"; it is seen as the indisputable and final word on a

range of social issues and social relations. For example, all members who seek elected or executive offices within the C.H.P. are required to sign a document referred to as the "Solemn Pledge of the Christian Heritage Party." This document, reproduced in its entirety in Appendix 3, clearly demonstrates this taken-for-granted that law is God ordained. On issues of human sexuality it states:

That God has established laws of sexual morality for the well-being of society, prohibiting pornography, prostitution, adultery, incest, homosexuality and other sexual abberations which abase man, as well as defile and pollute our nation. (Solemn Pledge of C.H.P.)

The taken-for-granteds of C.H.P. participants include these notions of a living God who has revealed His will in scriptures. This is a given. As such, much of this content proves relatively non-problematic for those who have come to be involved in this championing endeavour. Differences of interpretation relative to single issues tend to be discounted in favour of an emphasis on a unity based on these "root images".

I think the important aspect of the C.H.P. is not necessarily the principles, whatever they are, but the fact that we have principles - that we have to be based on principles. Our principles as such may change depending on who comes into the party. But the principle of being based on biblical principles can't change, well if you change that you become a party just like the rest. For instance, certain tenants of our policy are undoubtably going to change. It is not the policy that I or a lot of people got in for. It just so happens that a lot of policy is the same as I would see. But you take for instance this capital punishment theme. Well, our policy now is that we are in favour of it, but I can see if a lot of people come in who are thoroughly against it, we may have to throw that out as policy which is fine

with me. Just as long as people are saying, see here, this is where Christ stands for compassion, and we ought to emulate that. If they put that through the convention that is fine. You, see? (provincial executive, taped interview)

The discussion of what constitutes "right" would not be complete without noting the generally held implications of "doing right" relative to the "celestial city", or the "Kingdom of God". This theme reflects the reciprocal relations between the "worldly" and the "Godly". Not only does the "word of God" hold implications for actors in their day-to-day activities, but the worldly actions of persons hold eternal consequences for both one's self and one's fellows.

In my efforts to help bring an end to the abortion holocaust I came to the conclusion four years ago that this great country of ours was headed for disaster. I felt that nothing could be done to change the course of events by working through existing political parties.... We must always remember to do what God wants us to do and one must do it God's way, not man's way. On this second point a person is in serious danger of losing his own soul. (national executive, fieldnotes)

#### **Collective Definitions of Success**

While there is a singleness of mind among participants regarding the fundamentals upon which the C.H.P. agenda is based, there is considerable disagreement as to the content and direction of that agenda. In this section I briefly examine participants' world views relative to successful accomplishments within the C.H.P..

Actors hold a range of views on the purpose of C.H.P. endeavours. For some, it is first and foremost a political party. As such, its relative success or failure demands evaluations in political terms. For others, it is but one more vehicle within which Christians can demonstrate their obedience to God's word. For still others, the party is a platform from which to extend a "witnessing" to the "Glory of God". While actors may move between these different, yet not wholly incompatible perspectives, such definitions produce very different interpretations of the significant symbols of the collective.

By gaining insight into actors' perspectives of what constitutes success, we learn more of their perceived purposes of the enterprise. Towards this end, this section will examine participants' notions of successful accomplishments within the C.H.P.. Specifically, I examine success as obedience, success as witnessing, and success as political influence.

#### OBEDIENCE AS SUCCESS

So I say to all of you, let's not give up. Let's look ahead. What the C.H.P. has accomplished in two years is historic and I am convinced that by working together in faith and dependence it will be a historic accomplishment what we do in the future. God doesn't demand of us success. He demands of us obedience and he blesses obedience with success. (candidate's concession speech, election night, 1988, taped data)

Generally, participants' notions of obedience relate

directly to the nature of "right". That they choose the term "obedience" is in and of itself informative. It reflects the subservience of the created to the omnipotence of the creator. For participants, the way the world "ought" to be is a given. What is in question, is the extent to which they and their fellows will adhere to the appropriate or stray towards the inappropriate. This theme is problematic.

Persons are seen as inherently sinful, given to disobedience and a range of vulgarities. Given this perceived propensity for persons to "stray", some participants within the C.H.P. evaluate the relative value of the enterprise and its overall level of success as the extent to which the enterprise remains true to the taken-for-granteds of God and of His inerrant and eternal laws.

These themes combine into a world view which prioritizes the relative consistency of C.H.P. policy, practice and performance with this objectified notion of "right". Success may come to be measured in terms of the relative merits of the C.H.P. as a Christian organization.

[We have done well here.] We were faithful to the calling we believe that God gave us to give a demonstration of His kingdom. I feel that as Christians we are called to give demonstrations of His kingdom through little pilot projects of the kingdom of God on earth. I would hope that in some very limited sense that my family is, that my company is, that our [other business] is, that the Christian school system is, that what we do as Christians in politics is too in some limited sense, because we are too sinners, saved by God's grace all be it - that we can give a glimpse of something

better and I told a meeting that I had at our campaign headquarters, as we are doing our Christian politics we are in some limited sense trying to build the kingdom of God on earth, knowing that we are never going to be successful if for no other reason than we are sinful people and we can't do anything right.... Winning is nice, oh we'd love to win. But in a real sense we are winners before we started because we are doing what is right and we are going to do it rightly. In that sense we were winners before we started. (candidate, taped interview)

Once God takes a back seat forget it. There is nobody at the steering wheel. I am a passenger. People always seem to feel that they are the ones that have got a hold of the steering wheel and I don't. I am a passenger and God's got the steering wheel and must be at the front of the car that I am in. I rely on Him for prayer, I rely on Him for the study of scripture, I rely on Him to talk to me through the people I meet.... It is like that with this party. We have to keep God at the steering wheel. If we ever, ever lose sight of that then we might as well just pack up and call it a bad job. (national executive, taped interview)

#### SUCCESS THROUGH "WITNESSING"

While some participants identify success as the extent to which the C.H.P. as an "organization" remains God-directed and subservient to His Word, others look towards the interpersonal dimensions which are a part of "promoting" a political movement to locate and isolate indicators of success. For many of these actors, the prospect of introducing Jesus Christ as a living and personal God to those who are willing to listen is of pressing importance. While differences in theology influence whether the argot employed refers to being "saved", "born again" or becoming a "professing" Christian the intent is generally the same.

The C.H.P. is seen as a vehicle which can introduce the Christian world view to those who might otherwise not hear it, or who have "failed" to see that its "message" is a personal one.

I use the term "witnessing" here loosely. I do not speak exclusively of active attempts to promote the conversion of others to Christianity. However, party promoters and members alike have suggested that the C.H.P. has a role to play in a "political witnessing". While this is not so much directed at personal conversions of faith, it may be seen to hold implications for this process. Participants may come to associate party success with the extent to which this political witness is accomplished - the extent to which their "message" is made a personal message. Relative to this theme, we find participants emphasizing the successes of the C.H.P. relative to its role in this witnessing, and their respective activities within this process.

You know enough about the party to know that life is one of the issues that we are very much concerned about, but involved with life is the issue called post-abortion trauma where someone who has had an abortion goes through a guilt process that has to be healed somehow. I had a person come to me who had had an abortion ten years ago, and had never talked to anyone in her whole life, in the past ten years and chose to come to me to share this information. At the very beginning she totally destroyed and devastated me because I am not a counsellor, a psychologist, a psychiatrist - I have zero experience in that, but this person chose to trust me because of the way I deliver. People understand and read that I do care. I care personally and that is why I am here [promoting the C.H.P.].... [Some time later] the

individual who talked to me about her abortion told me that being able to talk about this thing has totally changed her life. Oh that is a high. It is an unusual high, because in politics highs are measured in, or success is measured in numbers. A politician is only happy if he has a huge crowd, has a huge vote and is elected. If I never accomplish anything else in the Christian Heritage Party except that this one individual will go through life happy, no longer grieving, recognizing that someone in the world does care, then nothing else has to happen. I am happy. This is a major high. (national executive, taped interview)

Sure sometimes it is hard, some nights I would just rather be home with my family. I don't know what sort of vote we will get and to be honest I don't really care that much. I don't think I could keep doing this, saying well there is one more door, maybe if I knock on it we will get one more vote. That wouldn't do it for me. What I say to myself to keep going is there is one more home where I am going to proclaim the name of Christ. After that who knows. God can turn people's hearts. Some people you go to the door and they say to you "Praise Lord". I know that I don't have to stay there, they don't need to hear from me do they. I take the longest, if they don't throw me out, where there is a woman with children who says she has never heard of the Christian Heritage Party. Then I say well you should hear about them. I make sure those children hear the word Christian in their homes. (campaign worker, fieldnotes)

#### SUCCESS THROUGH POLITICAL INFLUENCE

The preceding definitions of "success" emphasize the more "religious" aspects of the C.H.P. enterprise. However some, while not necessarily less committed to the "faith claims" of the party, come to evaluate the party's performance in primarily political terms. This shift is important for understanding the dimensions of collective action. It is the difference between whether the C.H.P. is

a political party based on "religious precepts" or whether it is a group of people united by a common faith who are involved in politics. Party members and promoters alike have yet to resolve this question. Perhaps this difference is made most clear in actors' competing definitions of success.

For those who define the enterprise as primarily a political one, their evaluations of the party's relative success tend to be in terms of Canada's electoral political system. During the course of this research there have been a core of party executive members at the riding, provincial and national levels who have sought to share with me evidences of the C.H.P.'s place as a "respectable player" within Canadian federal politics. Efforts towards this end may emphasize a range of indicators: increases in membership, regional diversity of membership, media attention, attention by political opponents, the relative diversity of policy, numbers of election-time volunteers, signs, and votes cast. What unites these various indicators, is their emphasis on the view of the C.H.P. as a challenger to the security of the parties who are sitting in the House of Commons. Those who look towards political indicators of success tend to do so relative to the "Big Three", rather than evaluate their performances relative to other "fourth" parties. The following, rather diverse

comments illustrate this extended theme:

We will have arrived politically when the Conservative strategy for fighting an election includes taking us into account. When they start going over their ridings poll by poll and begin saying, "that one is the C.H.P.'s, what are we going to do about it," then this will be a very important breakthrough for us. We may not even be noticed by the press at this point, but when we begin to be noticed by the other parties then we will have really come a long way. (local executive, fieldnotes)

I think we will have to make our mark as a political party before anyone will take notice of us. This means winning. Until we win a seat in the House all of this has been a dry run. Sometimes the people here who say that they are in this just for the glory of God annoy me. I do everything to the glory of God, but that doesn't mean that we aren't in this to win. If you really want to do this for God, then we better find a way to get some people into the House so that they can do that every day that parliament sits, not just during an election. Until we accomplish this we are just one of the also-rans. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

The key word for us is credibility. We have to be credible, that means we have to be seen as a political machine. I don't really like that word, but that is what it takes. Becoming a machine that can deliver votes and offer the Conservative, the Liberals and the N.D.P. a serious challenge. I want them to be looking over their shoulders and saying, where did these guys come from. I would love to see us win, but if we can't win I want to see us be given credit for helping to knock off a high profile member on election night. (national executive, fieldnotes)

The issue of whether participants define the C.H.P. enterprise as one which is to be measured by organizational "obedience", personal "witnessing", political influence, or some marriage of these themes is fundamental. Through these dimensions we gain a sense of the typified meanings and purposes which accompany joint acts. This data illustrates what actors, in part, look to accomplish through their

participation.

The data suggest that there is a range of diversity on this theme. Such differences may prove a hindrance to collective action. Those directing their efforts towards political success may find their actions exposed to the ongoing scrutiny of those concerned with "obedience", while those engaged in "witnessing" may be relatively unwilling to concern themselves with more internal party matters such as policy construction. Conflicts which are produced, in part, through these differences in perspective, may encourage some to reconsider their involvements and/or redirect their efforts. Utilizing an extended analogy, the following respondent speaks to this general issue:

I would say that my [decision to change roles] centers on the differences in philosophy as to how the party is going to get where it is going.... [We all] want to build this house and [we] recognize each other's sincere intent in doing so and [they] want to put aluminum siding on the house and I am convinced that it has to be brick. We are spending our time arguing whether it is going to be aluminum siding or brick rather than building the house. I have to respect the fact that they are the duly elected national executive and just like the contractor and the home owner the contractor has a lot to say because he is building the house but ultimately even if he doesn't think it is the wisest thing he has to give way to the homeowner who is footing the bill. [The national executive has] an elected mandate to do so, however, I have one problem, I am a bricklayer. So I have found a solution to that, there is a fireplace inside the house called (local riding) and we'll go build it. (candidate, fieldnotes)

#### **Collective Definitions of Opposing Interests**

This chapter has attempted to provide the reader with an understanding of the range of worldviews which comprise what may loosely be termed the C.H.P. definition of the situation. As a collective the C.H.P. is far from being of "one mind". While there are themes which participants seem to approach with near unanimity (i.e. the inerrancy of Biblical text, the "bible-based" nature of the party), a range of other issues are considerably more problematic. The following discussion explores one such area of diversity - participants' definitions of "the opposition". We are concerned here with participants' understandings of the "forces and interests" which actively limit their abilities to engage in championing activities. This does not deal simply with those with whom C.H.P. members disagree - this would be a long list indeed. Rather, this section is concerned with what participants see themselves as "up against", the hindrances to their accomplishments and their generalized notions of the "opposing forces". Towards this end, we examine participants' perspectives on satan and secular humanism.

#### SATAN

Just as God is a real and personal entity representing truth and order for participants, so too may the "forces" of absolute evil be defined relative to

malevolent spiritual entities. Reflecting the common emphasis among members towards viewing the Bible as inerrant, Satan tends to be viewed as an active participant in world events. In part, Satan is made real because "he" has a biblical reality. An existence at this level is, in and of itself, sufficient to "convince" participants of the "incarnation of evil".

While participants may, for the most part, be in "theological" agreement with the existence of Satan, the extent to which actors attend to this dimension in their day-to-day activities varies greatly. For some, the notion of "Satan" reflects a fairly "distant" abstraction of "evil". For others, Satan is "alive and well on planet earth" (Lindsay, 1972). These are different interpretations of a common theme - both perspectives attend to the "supernatural" manifestation of evil. Within the range of interpretation this quality is not lost. However, participants differ in their relative willingness to define such forces as active in their lives.

Sure, if you want to know if I think Satan exists, I'd say sure he exists. But what it is all about I don't really know, I don't really like to think about it. I'm not sure we are even supposed to know much about it. I figure there is this long fight going on between God and Satan and we are stuck here somewhere in between, but once you give your life over to Christ that is it, Satan has lost. As long as you remain true to God, Satan has to go someplace else to try and do his thing. (party member, fieldnotes)

My husband and I set up a new church a little over five months ago and Satan has been firing his arrows at us

just as fast and furious as he can. He strikes out at anything established in God's name and the people in this party are going to find this out very soon. He will attack them from so many different places they won't know what is coming. He will attack them from within and from every corner you can think of. (audience member, fieldnotes)

We need this party to try and stop what Satan has been doing to this country. He has been working his way into people's hearts, taking them away from their churches and taking their churches away from God like he has done with the United Church there [refers to the potential to ordain those of homosexual orientation]. Well we are here to stand up and say no more, you're not going to turn this country into one more Godless empire on your list. (party member, taped interview)

The practical implications of maintaining a world view which provides for some form of "supernatural" opposition is two fold. Firstly, it extends the "parameters" of one's endeavours. Participants may see themselves as involved in more than a political party. Their political struggles may be defined relative to the extended struggles between "good and evil"- the struggles between God and Satan. As such, involvements may be enhanced and continuing involvements encouraged. Secondly, there is little of which Satan is not capable. A wide range of collective short-falls may be defined as the product of "Satanic influence". If one's opposition includes a malevolent entity capable of a range of evils, then more worldly actors may, to some extent, be absolved of responsibilities and "random misfortunes" may be defined as indicators of the presence of "evil".

Satan puts ideas into peoples heads, he makes them think things they wouldn't otherwise come up with. He can make people forget to do things they were supposed to, or lead them astray in other ways. He tempts people to sin, to go against God and we are weak people and sometimes we fall into his trap. The only way to avoid it is to keep our strength with the Lord, to pray for his help and guidance. The reason I am telling you this is to explain to you why I pray for [the party leader] every day. If we don't pray for him, Satan will try to lead him astray, to do things he should not do. When he is away from home and the people who love him, Satan may try to move into his lonely heart so I pray everyday that he is never lonely and that the love of Jesus Christ is always in his heart so that when Satan tries to have his way he will find that there is no room there. (party member, taped interview)

We have to fight this thing [globalism] with everything we have got. Satan controls the air, this world is his but God is the guide behind all creation. I believe this and anyone who doesn't, can't see what is going on right before their eyes - the way countries are coming together, the rise of ecumenical churches. All of this is the work of Satan weaving his master plan. There are a lot out there who call themselves Christians who are Satan's deceivers. (audience member, taped interview)

One of the things that I am sure of is that there are two forces in the world and when it comes right down to it I really don't care what you call them - good and evil, right and wrong, or anything else, like darkness and light. But I know that God is on one side of this and Satan is on the other. You can't get paranoid about it, you know looking for evil in everything that appears good, but everything has that two sided potential and I just pray that I am smart enough to tell the difference. (party member, fieldnotes)

#### SECULAR HUMANISM

Just as Satan typifies the supernatural struggle in which participants are engaged, secular humanism has come to typify the world view which party promoters and members alike rally against. Participants associate the notion of

secular humanism with non-theistic philosophies of morality and social relations. While a wide range of ideas and associations may be defined by participants as indicative of the "onslaught of secular humanism" (common alternative referents are "radical feminism" and the "homosexual community"), the underlying quality which establishes their "inappropriateness" is their relative disassociation from a theistic world view.

At a metaphysical level, the definition of the "appropriate" and the "inappropriate" divide cleanly between God and Satan. By classing opposing philosophies as indicative of secular humanism, party promoters attempt to create a similarly clear dichotomy between good and evil, between a "God-based" and a "Godless" country.

Fight we must my friends, the very survival of Canada built as a nation on Christian principles is at stake. The Christian community has far too long been inward directed and silent when the need was there to speak out and as a result we have vacated the public square and we have capitulated with the onslaught of secular humanism. My fellow Canadians this is the time, the historical moment, we have to set aside our historical prejudices and single issue hang-ups to look at the big picture. What do you want Canada to be? A nation under God, or a nation without a God and the choice is as clear as that. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

An appreciation of this perceived dichotomy is essential to understanding the activities of party members. Secular humanism is not simply a competing system of philosophy with which party members happen to disagree. My data suggest that other religious orientations tend to be treated as

respectable alternatives, deserving of a certain level of tolerance.

If I were living in India and they had a Hindu Heritage Party I would likely end up working for that party. I wouldn't become a member, but I would appreciate what these people were doing. If they were saying that this country has a Hindu heritage and we want to preseve that and that means preserving the family and life and so on I would be in there working for them and I think that as we grow and people from other religions see that we are essentially standing up for the same things they believe in, they will be our supporters. (provincial executive, fieldnotes)

We have been charged with being anti-semitic and with opposing other religions. This is just crazy. I would protect the right of a Jew or a Sikh to worship freely in his own way with my life. The security that they have to worship in their own way in their own church is the same freedom that protects my right to worship. (national executive, fieldnotes)

Thus, alternative theologies are not the "enemy" that secular humanism is defined as. When the lines are drawn in a dichotomy between a "God-based" society and a "humanist" society, followers of other theologies are defined as potential supporters more than as opponents. Unlike alternative theologies, secular humanism is cast as a religion which is inherently problematic and flawed due to its "man-centered" focus. Through an emphasis on this theme, promoters attempt to re-direct the charges of critics who oppose the "blending" of religious belief and political action. By defining secular humanism as a religion, promoters tend to contextualize politics as a contest between competing religious perspectives.

Make no mistake, secular humanism is a religion. It has replaced God with man but it is still a religion. When Svend Robinson stands up in the House of Commons and talks about enshrining sexual orientation in the Bill of Rights he is making a religious statement. He is saying, I think things should be this way and not this way and this is religion. (provincial executive, taped interview)

What has happened in this country is that every opinion is legitimate except the Christian view. You talk about discrimination, the moment that we raise the religious perspective we are charged with discrimination and that very charge is evidence of reverse discrimination. My friends, I ask you, when a person called up and said you have no right to base your politics on your religion I asked him, Okay, what do I base it on? If I can't base it on religion then what can I base it on. Irreligion? If I can't base my views on Christian views what can I base them on? The people who support abortion, they act on their religion, even if that religion is atheism, they believe in something. So why should they have any more right to speak than I should? (party promoter, taped public meeting)

Participants tend to "credit" secular humanism with the decline of Canadian society. Within a causal framework, secular humanism is identified as the source of a nation's problems. It is perceived as the antithesis of the C.H.P. world view. It is their primary opponent, and represents the "tide" which they attempt to stem.

Why are the plights that beset mankind increasing in intensity and in scope. And the answer is as simple as it is profound. Mankind has thrown away the textbook of true education, God's word, and he has quietly obliterated God, - has declared God incompetent or to use the words of Nietzsche has declared God dead. Furthermore, man has declared himself wiser than God, he re-wrote the curriculum of God's laws on his own terms and finally man rejected the one teacher, Jesus Christ, who came to disclose to us the full counsel of God. They wrote him off as out of touch with reality, what is called reality today my friends is in reality despair.... And all the sceptics that tell us that all our efforts are in vain my friends, are left speechless if asked this question, "show me your success statistically over the

last thirty years, show me how humanism, man without God, has made us evolve into a better society, a more compassionate society, the so called just society." (party promoter, taped public meeting)

It is down to us or them, only one of us will come out of this standing. Either we stop the grip that secular humanism is getting on our society now or we lose to them for a very long time. They have burdened our children with a massive debt and made it so they can't pray in school. If you are anything but a Christian the lawyers and the politicians are there to hold your hand. But if you are a Christian you are told to be tolerant. Well, I will tell you tolerant doesn't mean being a fool. The humanists declared war on us thirty years ago and we didn't notice, well I have noticed and we are ready for a fight. (local organizer, taped interview)

The term "secular humanism" is the focal point of the C.H.P.'s typification of its opposition. It is seen as the world view which has led to the range of "social ills" which these actors seek to "cure". Party policies were initially constructed to counter the "humanist philosophy". Party promoters, both publically and in interview settings, stress the importance of contextualizing their actions relative to a response to "humanism". Through gaining an understanding of champions' definitions of their opposing interests we gain a clearer sense of the direction and purpose of their collective actions.

We are, so to speak, fellow tenants of the same high rise building called society. It is built by humanists and paid for, largely, by Christian taxes. And we hear the growning and the creaking of our building and we know that it's going to collapse. And no, we are not like rats leaving a sinking ship, we see ourselves as rescue workers specifically trained to rescue victims of a disaster and elevate their plights. (party promoter, taped public proceedings)

**IN SUM**

It has been my intent to provide readers with an overview of participants' world views. As Blumer (1969) taught us, we cannot hope to appreciate the joint act unless we develop an intimate familiarity with the world of actors. Despite the allure of this image, we can never fully know the world of the other. The other, must always remain elusive (Barber, 1988). To forgo the enterprise because of this inherent elusiveness would be foolhardy. Humans are symbol using creatures. Through symbols we make sense of our world and share our worlds with others. To gain a sense of the significant symbols of the group is an essential aspect of understanding a collective's actions. This discussion has attempted to share with the reader these collective typifications.

This chapter has been divided into two sections. The first has dealt with actors' perspectives on involvements, be they initial contacts or a continuing enterprise. Through this material, we have gained "intimate" insights into the "conversion" process and extended the notion of "career" into the political setting.

The second section of this chapter has focused more exclusively on perspective and has attended less fully to process. Here I have attempted to utilize participants'

words to provide an "intimate familiarity" with the root images that are a part of participants' definition of the situation. Towards this end, we have examined the related themes of collective definitions of "right", "success", and "opposing forces". Clearly, this has not been a complete synopsis of the C.H.P. world view. It was not my intention to construct such an inventory. Rather, I have attempted to construct an overview which would attend to the basic underpinnings of perspective which hold direct import for collective action. An attempt at generating such an understanding is an essential part of Blumerian interactionism and Schutzian phenomenology. However, the cognitive images of the world take on their sociological relevance within the context of the joint act. In recognition of this, the following chapter explores the social process of publicly promoting the Christian Heritage Party.

**NOTES**

1. I mean here that one cannot conceive of a marijuana user who does not use marijuana nor can one conceive of a process of involvement that is not, at least in part, captured by Prus and Irini's (1980) "omnibus" package.
2. The discussion here is limited to a brief consideration of closure relative to initial involvements. For a more complete discussion of this theme, see the presentation in chapter VII entitled, "Creating Moral Closure".
3. Given the relative "sensitivity" of the data in this section, I will refer to respondents simply as party members. A review of the data should make clear to the reader the necessity for this temporary shift in data categorization.
4. For example, see Rubington and Weinberg's (1981: 381-500) edited work on these themes.

## CHAPTER VII

### TOMORROW FOR SALE: THE PUBLIC PROMOTION OF A CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE

#### INTRODUCTION

We didn't get as many memberships here tonight as I thought we would so it is going to be up to you to go after these people we have on the information sheets.

How do I do that?

You give them a call. Ask them if they have found anything they object to in our pamphlet. If they have some try and deal with them. If they don't tell them you will be around in half an hour to pick up their twenty bucks and their membership.

(Laughs) Seal the deal. Put some pressure on them. Now we are talking a language I understand, sales. (provincial organizer instructing local organizer, fieldnotes)

This chapter examines one of the key aspects of C.H.P. recruitment strategy: the public information meeting. Through extending the marketplace analogy (Prus, 1989a; 1989b) this paper examines "salesmanship" relative to the championing process. While hopefully providing adequate descriptive detail to make this aspect of social life "come alive", readers are encouraged to view this work relative to the more generic "sales" qualities of recruitment activities.

This chapter focuses on data obtained through interviews with well-informed and expert champions within the Christian Heritage Party - those people involved with party formation and those who have occupied a relatively public role in the promotion of the organization. These people have taken upon themselves the task of presenting party policy in a range of public settings; from church basements to 1,500 seat auditoriums, from "stringers" representing community papers to press conferences before Canada's national media. In the following, I examine the process which accompanies attempts by these party promoters to move an audience from onlooker (sometimes a reluctant onlooker at that) to supporter, member, and financial contributor.

Encouraged by the perspectives and phraseology of the participants themselves, readers will find the following discussion organized relative to the process of "selling" the C.H.P. in public settings. While the marketplace is an appropriate and somewhat understudied domain for the extension of sociological concepts, it is useful to have a fairly far reaching notion of this substantive area. People offer a wide range of social objects to a wide range of consumers. Not only shoes and stereos, but the products of their creative endeavours (Becker, 1982) their physical labour, their selves (Goffman, 1959) and their perspectives

are offered to audiences to be accepted or rejected, or at times ignored. In an attempt to examine this theme further, the following discussion utilizes the public information meeting to examine the processes of: setting the stage, establishing credibility, presenting disclaimers, promoting involvements, discrediting competing alternatives, and closing the sale.

#### **SETTING THE STAGE**

The public information meeting is often the first extended effort made by the C.H.P. to establish a membership base in a riding. The meeting is organized, promoted and chaired by members of the local community who were previously brought "on side". Party membership is not required of these initial organizers, rather they are sold on the idea of the appropriateness of Christian political action. If these people become members, all the better, but the aim of the provincial organizers involves generating a local team within a riding whose responsibilities begin and end with the public information meeting. Once such a meeting is held, the party will have generated a contact base within a riding from which to launch a recruitment drive and organize subsequent meetings if required.

Initial contacts within a riding generally come from one of two sources. Much like networks of recruitment

(chapter VI), they either reflect an extension of networks of contact already established in other ridings, or they are generated through contacts with a local church:

We had an odd one yesterday you'd be interested in. You know we have been thinking about getting something together (further North). So I called the minister of the Christian Reform church there yesterday. Went through some of the preliminaries. (For example?) I told him that we believed it was time for a true Christian voice in politics, that the abortion decision was weighing heavy on Christians and that we deserved a moral choice to cast our ballot for in the next election. You know, the same basic theme. So anyways, I finish off by asking him if there was anyone in his congregation who was politically concerned who might be willing to help us to set up a meeting in their area. He stopped me right in the middle and said, "Well what about me?" That surprised me because most clergy, especially reformed, are reluctant to get involved personally. We normally get a contact or two from them. But this guy was willing just to jump right in there so I said great let's talk. (riding association executive, fieldnotes)

These initial contacts handle the practical details of co-ordinating the meeting such as hall rental, refreshments, decoration, and local promotion of the event. Promotional activities tend to focus on generating attendance by those most likely to be supportive of the message the party has to offer. While publically directed promotion may take the form of "spots" in the "community happenings" sections of the local media, far more extensive efforts are put forward to promote the attendance of those who have been actively involved in their respective church communities and perhaps have been involved in some aspect of the political process.

Over the course of this research project, I have attended 42 public meetings sponsored by the C.H.P.. Attendance at these meetings has ranged from 7 to over 1300, with an average meeting attracting between 28 and 35 people. The meetings which occurred towards the beginning of this study attracted primarily two age groups: those who appeared to be between the ages of 12 and 24, and those who appeared to be over fifty years of age. Those who appeared to be between 25 and 49 frequently made up less than 25% of the audience. However, more recently this general trend has been changing. Organizational efforts in ridings are generating a higher level of involvement for those in their "middle years"; moreover, subsequent meetings in ridings tend to attract a larger section of the community in this age group. As sons and daughters recruit parents and as parents recruit their children, the network of party affiliation extends through the church communities to those who are already being looked to for leadership in other areas of social life.

Initial conversations with those attending such meetings make clear the "church dependent" nature of the networks utilized by the C.H.P. in this initial building process. Some meetings are held in the sanctuary of church buildings themselves, at times scheduled to coincide with a regularly held service of fellowship. This combination of

political recruitment and religious observance has been noted exclusively within evangelical assemblies. A more common pattern sees the meeting held on theologically "neutral" ground. However, the church affiliation of those in attendance tends to parallel that of those involved with the local organization of the event. While the party keeps no official records of the church affiliation of its members, the executive have a clear indication of where its support is to be found:

Without a doubt the strength of this organization is within the Reform community, the Canadian Reformed and the Free Reformed. Next I guess would come the evangelical churches, the pentecostal assemblies of Canada and then third would be the Roman Catholics. They are quite a diverse group. We saw it the other night where the one priest was with us and the other was against us. But we are going to get more support from these people down the road when we make clear that we are the only national party with a clear statement on the protection of the unborn. (provincial executive, taped interview)

The growth of the C.H.P. within the reform community is founded upon not only a common theological perspective but also a shared Dutch ethno-cultural heritage. This has led some critics of this organization to refer to it as "nothing more than the Dutch Party". While members of the national executive have estimated that during the party's early stages of growth membership may have been as much as 70% Dutch current estimates are closer to 25% of their now 16,000 members.

While a common ethnic community has facilitated

growth the members of this organization are bound together more by their theologically influenced politics than by any other single factor. The remainder of this chapter focuses on this blending of Calvary's message and the ballot box. The task involves the examination of the processes utilized to move the people who have made their way to this meeting to pay twenty dollars for a year's membership and sign the following statement required of all members:

We believe in one creator God and the Lordship of Jesus Christ, and the inerrancy of the Holy Bible as the inspired word of God.

We believe that the major functions of government are to uphold law and order, to maintain justice in the land, and to ensure for each individual:

- 1) the sanctity of life from conception to natural death
- ii) the privilege to own property
- iii) freedom of religion, speech, and assembly
- iv) the freedom to live one's life according to Biblical principles.

We believe that any legislative decision or plebiscite to be held must not contravene any Biblical principles.

I/we support the above principles and wish to become (a) Christian Heritage Party Member(s). (membership application, Nov. 1987).

#### **ESTABLISHING CREDIBILITY**

In much the same fashion as medical students (Haas & Shaffir, 1977), C.H.P. spokesmen look to bring a legitimacy to their enterprise. The message they have to offer is one which combines an interpretation of Christian theology into a political program. Attempts to speak on

this theme and impose degradations based upon it require, as Garfinkel (1956) demonstrated, the empowerment of the denouncer to speak on behalf of the principles held by the collective. Public information meetings begin, almost ritualistically, with an attempt to establish the subservience of those gathered to an externally operating divine will while demonstrating the C.H.P. as a viable political entity. Towards this general end we find the majority of meetings opening in prayer. These are not primarily denominationally oriented gatherings at which politics will be discussed. Rather, this is a political rally with inherent religious dimensions. The initial prayer provides an opportunity for organizers to demonstrate a common ground which those in attendance. Prayers serve to thank God for his various blessings as well as to invoke a blessing on those present, on the task before them that evening, on the general work of the C.H.P., and on those currently in political office. What follows are three fairly typical invocations:

O heavenly Father, we give our thanks for this country that You've given us to live in. We give You our thanks for the freedom that we have to assemble together to build the Christian Heritage Party. We pray for parts of the world where it means prison or death to assemble as we are tonight. Give us hearts that we never forget the blessings which You have provided in multitudes too great to count. We ask Your blessing for those who rest in authority over us. We pray that You will keep them in the way of wisdom and understanding. Bless our time together this evening. We ask that it be a time of fruitful fellowship. We commit ourselves now and forevermore to Your service, through Jesus Christ our

Lord and Saviour. Amen. (local clergy, taped public meeting)

Father we desire to sound an alarm in the land of Canada. Lord, we desire to raise up a prophetic sound of trumpets to warn the people of our land, to warn our nation of the judgement we know is coming if present trends continue. Jesus, it is an awesome task we face but who knows, if we do sound an alarm, if we unite together as one, and sound that alarm, raise our voices as one man, who knows but that You might just turn our nation around. Lord, we will never know unless we do unite. Father, as we unite tonight, we're hoping that somehow we'll be better equipped after this meeting to come together and warn our nation and to speak of both Your judgement and Your merciful kindness and compassion, and to this end we pray and give You all the glory, in Jesus name. Amen. (local clergy, taped public meeting)

Dear God and our heavenly Father, we bow before You tonight, and thank You for the opportunity You have given us to meet together and hear about the newest federal political party, the Christian Heritage Party of Canada. Lord, we thank You for this great country Canada, for the freedoms and securities we enjoy here. We pray also tonight Lord, for our present government. We pray that You will guide them and would our nation and its leaders acknowledge You in all they do. Thank You for the Christian Heritage Party, a party that seeks to return christian values and ethics in to the political life of Canada. We pray that You will bless this meeting, we ask it in Jesus name. Amen. (riding president, taped public meeting)

The symbolic importance of a time of common prayer may extend beyond the expression of a common set of beliefs and the implication that the following political message is subservient to these standards. As a researcher travelling with the "key performers", I spent much time trying to understand the aspects of audience dimensions to which they attended and which they designated as of particular relevance. For these key players "prayer time", while

respected, was a precursor to the message which they intended to deliver. As a representative for the local community was often selected to lead participants in prayer, "prayer time" was a dimension of the meeting often outside party promoters' immediate control. Promoters' hope was that the prayer would not prove divisive, reflecting the theology of one tradition to the exclusion or degradation of others present. However, the importance of "prayer time" as an illustrator of the collective nature of the present political enterprise may easily be lost to the casual observer. As one member of the clergy shared with me:

Something pretty special happened here tonight and I must say that I am glad I was here to see it. Did you notice? ... Of course not, you're not from around here. See the fellow standing over by the coffee and the other one over there putting his coat on. Well, their kids fell in love. One's Free reform and the other's Canadian reform. They wouldn't let those kids get married because they were from the different churches. I'm pretty liberal about these things. If they wanted to get married in my church that would have been fine. But these two fellows are from another generation, you understand. When I got up to do the prayer tonight I couldn't help wondering if these two would pray together. I looked down at them and they looked at each other you know, it took a little time, I don't think either one wanted to be the first to bow his head, but they did, almost together. I know I asked the Lord right there to give me the words to touch these families.... If this party can bring together people like that and get them to pray together then it has a bright future ahead of it. (local clergy, fieldnotes)

While credibility is initially established through a clear demarcation of the shared aspects of Christian belief, it also includes efforts to demonstrate that this fledgling

party is worthy of being taken seriously in a political sense. Having never fought an election, party credentials are offered relative to the initial organization process. Key aspects which are brought forward here include the momentum accompanying the growth of the party and its "truly national" character:

The party was founded on June the 17th, 1986 which is a little more than a year ago. And the party started with 125 members. As of today a little over a year later, we have approximately 2000 members and are continuing to grow. The national office is located in British Columbia. There are offices across Canada, in Alberta, Manitoba, here in Ontario, in Quebec and in the Maritimes. (party promoter, Oct., 1987, taped public meeting)

The Lord has blessed us with incredible good fortune. Through His grace our numbers continue to grow. I can say without hesitation before you tonight that we have 6500 members across this country. This is truly remarkable growth given our beginning as a small group of 125 in June 1986. (party promoter, Feb., 1988, taped public meeting)

While the message of party growth serves to establish legitimacy and promote subsequent involvements, it also provides some speakers a context from which to imply the God-sanctioned qualities of the enterprise in which they are engaged. By producing an argument which implies a link between the party's organizational successes and the demonstration of God's favour, party enthusiasts may suggest a divine sanction of the party's activities.

I don't know if you believe in miracles but I do. I believe that the growth of this party is a gift from God. When we were planning the convention we had just under 1500 members. But when they asked how many were planning to attend I said between 800 and 1000. It takes faith in

the Lord and faith in the people of this party to imagine the possibilities of the Lord's work. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

When you look at this party, when you look at what we have accomplished from coast to coast you see a truly remarkable event taking place. You just don't get this far on your own. We are praying for God's help and we are receiving it. (party promoter, fieldnotes)

#### PRESENTING DISCLAIMERS

Drawing from the theme of Hewitt & Stokes (1975) work, we recognize that disclaimers form an integral yet continually emergent aspect of the presentation by party representatives. Such attempts to limit performances are utilized to anticipate and re-direct potential challenges to the material to be presented, to the party, or to the self of the presenter.

The nature of such disclaimers vary relative to the audience. Young speakers (in their early twenties or thirties) suggest to their more senior audiences that relative lack of life-experience may colour their view, producing a "dreamer" or the errors of "youthful exuberance". Speakers from the Dutch community when addressing primarily "Anglo" audiences recognize an accent that may hinder communication while creating a bond between speaker and audience relative to the liberation of Holland by Canadian forces in World War II.

While claims that may serve to limit the performance

vary between audiences and speakers, some disclaimers seem to be part of the presentation regardless of audience dynamics. Much like Prus and Sharper's (1977) "road hustlers", party promoters maintain their "shows" by changes in audience rather than changes in performance.<sup>1</sup> Audience dynamics may become routinized and typified. Whether the gathered group is more evangelical or more "reformed", certain concerns and questions are perceived to linger in both groups. Initial disclaimers provide a framework from which the typified concerns of an audience can be addressed and subsequent "big questions" can be deflected or diffused. More specifically, disclaimers here focus on "rookie politics", and the range of issues encompassed by federal politics.

### **Rookie Politics**

My data suggest that party promoters encourage audiences to demand less of them than they might from more established political alternatives. Whereas the "big three" have existent political "machines", the C.H.P. is actively undertaking the recruitment of people who may provide the infrastructure of such a subsequent organization. As such, the message is one of "join us in the creation of this party". Exactly what the party is to become and where it is going is something of an uncertainty to party promoters.

The emergent nature of social life impinges itself upon the work of party promoters. They have a "product" to offer potential members which is itself something of an uncertainty - open to growth pains and subtle changes in direction:

My task tonight is to introduce you to the Christian Heritage Party of Canada. Now that's not such an easy task when you consider a couple of things. (Bill) mentioned the fact that we are a very young party. We just came into existence in June of 1986. We're still awaiting our founding convention which is scheduled for November of this year. As such we really do not have formulated yet all of our policies and our policy positions. We have enacted a lengthy process which involves all of our membership and various policy committees in terms of ratifying our policy. It is a process which will conclude at the national convention. So it is premature for me this evening to anticipate what you, the delegates, may be passing and rejecting.... So I'm very descriptive in what I can say tonight. (Party promoter, Oct. 87, taped public meeting)

### **Confronting Infinite Tasks**

In many cases "policy statements" are statements of intent rather than specific plans for accomplishing a given end. For example, the following is the party's policy on "Globalism":

The policies of Canada's Department of External Affairs should in no way further the aims of a global political federation, or otherwise compromise Canada's national identity or sovereignty (Policy Resolution 02.3, Founding Convention, Nov. 87).

As such, party promoters are on their own when dealing with issues of the practical accomplishment of a given policy. In light of these problems, we find some promoters avoiding

"policy oriented presentations" in favour of discussions of Christianity, politics and the moral issues that unite "true" Christians:

This evening we could talk about each issue point by point and I could try to demonstrate how I believe the Christian Heritage Party is unique as it addresses each area of government. But to do so would first of all be deceptive, because it would imply that the Christian Heritage Party has come into existence as a result of particular issues. This is not the case. The Christian Heritage Party is not a single issue party. It is attempting to address all areas of government in the entire spectrum. As such, just to choose a few issues and say this is the Christian Heritage Party and this is how it is different is to do an injustice. There is another difficulty with trying to deal issue by issue, and that is we won't do fairness to the issue. As I said the issues are very complex.... I am approaching the subject this evening from a thematic perspective and answering with you the question, "What is it to be Christian in politics?" (Party promoter, taped public meeting)

The range of substantive issues that make up federal politics are a far-reaching and overwhelming array of concerns from marketing boards to national defence, from senate reform to the Meech Lake Accord. Much like the work confronting university students (Bernstein, 1972), the preparation of a party promoter on these issues is necessarily incomplete. Audiences bring with them concerns over ways in which federal policies have impinged upon their lives. From addressing one audience to the next, promoters do not know whether they will be asked to comment on native affairs, South Africa, victim compensation programs, or how unemployment benefits are distributed to fisheries workers

in the off-season. While audience concerns may be anticipated in a general sense, the specific nature of audience dynamics remains something of a "wild card":

There are some questions you always seem to get whereever you go. How many people do you have? What about the name Christian Heritage Party? Aren't you going to split the vote? Then there are the ones that change depending on where you are. Like when you are in a rural riding, you always get questions on agricultural policy, and sometimes on bilingualism. But the difficult ones are the specific questions on an area of policy that we really haven't had a chance to work out a clear statement on. What do we say to a fellow, like the one we had tonight who wants to know how we would change the milk marketing board. I have to answer his question generally with our position on marketing boards. But he is really looking for us to say something specific about milk. But I can't know all about milk and chickens and beef and pork and wheat .... (party promoter, fieldnotes)

Party promoters utilize several strategies to draw their audiences' attention to the expansive nature of federal politics and the limiting effect of this diversity. One such technique is to direct inadequacies in performance to the presenter rather than to the party which he represents. Party promoters suggest to audiences that "there are many issues I don't understand and don't pretend to understand", while suggesting that "if I'm unable to answer all of your questions tonight I will be willing to get back to you if you leave me your name". Implied here is the party's ability to respond to concerns even if presently the promoter is unable.

#### PROMOTING INVOLVEMENTS

As Sykes and Matza (1957) alerted us, one of the more interesting questions of social life concerns peoples' violations of rules which they generally support. The concept of neutralization provides a framework from which we begin to understand this question. However, just as neutralization may serve to accommodate juvenile delinquency, it also provides a useful conceptual framework from which to understand more fully peoples' attempts to suspend obligations, commitments and beliefs which they are inclined to support. We may excuse ourselves from principles we generally support as the emergent qualities of social life impinge upon relatively static typifications of the appropriate and the inappropriate.

While viewing techniques of neutralization in an increasingly generic sense, I would suggest that party spokesmen promote involvements through supplying techniques of neutralization for anticipated lines of resistance. Party promoters speak of their work as the "awakening of a sleeping giant" (fieldnotes). The social scientist might chose to describe this process as the politicization of an extended religious community. Phraseology aside, both speak to a central aspect of the work carried out by the C.H.P. and its supporters.

The religious communities represented at C.H.P. meetings reflect a range of perspectives, yet all tend to

refer to the scriptures as "the truth" of man's existence and to identify themselves together as "Bible-believing" Christians<sup>2</sup>. Within this tradition, there is a clear endorsement of the separation of the church and state, and a tendency for community members to include activities in their lives which can be seen as contributing to a Christian life style. As such, C.H.P. meetings include people who do not own a television or a radio, who have never been a member of a political party in their lives, and who have never cast a ballot in a federal election.

Who would I vote for? None of them are Christians in what they do. If I were to try and vote for one my wife might pick the other and we'd cancel out each other's vote. Better to stay at home and let others with the stomach for such things to go about their business than vote for what we have. (audience member, fieldnotes)

The task set before the party promoter involves politicizing an audience which has, in part, formed some objections to blending church and state - of "dirtying" one's hands in what amounts to an exclusively secular affair. To be sure, some audience members are veterans of the political process, reflecting careers of involvement in alternative political enterprises. But these political movements have Christians working within them, and have not yet been so clearly tied to a Christian world view. The following discussion focuses on techniques used by party promoters to neutralize objections or "rules" which serve to deter Christian participation in the political process.

Specifically, I examine cleansing the enterprise, stabilizing the enterprise, and creating a moral imperative of involvement in the enterprise.

### Cleansing the Enterprise

Party organizers refer to the difficulty they face in promoting involvements relative to public images of those who actively engage in the political work. Typified notions of politicians as "untrustworthy", "two-faced", and "evasive" promote audience resistance and serve to further distance the "Christian community" from the political enterprise. In much the same fashion as used car salespersons may try to distance their performance from the discreditable images of their role that others may hold (Swan & Ortinau, 1988), party promoters attempt to distance the Christian political enterprise from the field of party politics more generally. A member of the national executive illustrates this theme:

For the past twenty years people in this country have gotten used to their politicians lying to them. Remember Trudeau in '80 vs. Clark. Clark said there would be an increase in gas taxes, Trudeau said no way, he wins the election and before you know it the taxes are up. He tries to excuse it away but people say we were lied to. This is what we are up against. People say we know politicians and they are liars, so if you are a politician you must be a liar too. I have to agree with them, they have been lied too. But we have to show them that this is a sorry state when you cannot trust your Prime Minister, we have to get across that we are honest and open and trustworthy. (national executive, fieldnotes)

purpose of appealing to the greatest number of voters so that they can hold on to their positions of power. They don't really want to lead. I had an opportunity about eight weeks ago to watch the provincial legislature in Saskatchewan in operation and if that is an indication of what happens in all our legislatures then even I can begin to understand the cynicism and despair of Canadians. But, my friends, the Christian Heritage Party is different. We are different because we address all these issues from a biblically based set of principles. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

A distancing technique which party promoters utilize to help overcome audience resistance to the disrespectful nature of politics involves the Christianization of the political process. By asking "what does it mean to be a Christian in politics today?", party enthusiasts attempt to neutralize objections which focus on the inherent corrupting influence of politics and the power dimensions which accompany it. By maintaining that the party involves Christians first and political pundits second, promoters attempt to establish a form of political expression which is qualitatively distinct from the mainstream.

In practical terms, this is done by reformulating the political message. "Political ends" of winning elections and forming governments are dispensed with as representing "unprincipled government by consensus and public opinion poll" (fieldnotes). Party promoters put forward a "blueprint" for political action whereby the standard for evaluation is "obedience to God's word". This obedience produces a view of the political enterprise which

puts forward honesty, the permanency of moral precepts, the praise of opponents, and a rejection of populist notions of success:<sup>3</sup>

Let me suggest to you that the first thing that should stand out in a Christian approach is honesty. We must not seek to address every political issue simply trying to gain political points. Our aim is not that which will improve our standing as a party. God's word and Canada's well-being, those are the standards with which we must look to as we seek to address current political issues. As we pray as we have been commanded to, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven", we must be able to do that each day with a clear conscience, knowing that we have not imposed God's will simply for political ends. Being honest my friends, means that I can't come here tonight and condemn everything that goes on in Ottawa, because there are some commendable things that go on in Ottawa.... As such I will (bring) to your attention that the current government has initiated some very positive things in the last four years.... Being honest means that I should come here tonight to commend the Minister of Justice for some of the anti-pornography legislations which have come out of Ottawa in the last few months. Very commendable legislation.... You see it is very easy to criticize. We are going to do some of that tonight. But if you're going to criticize, you'd better be prepared to recommend. You'd better be prepared to give credit when they do something right. That's why I suggest to you that the first thing that must stand out is honesty in a Christian approach to politics.... You say that this approach to politics may not lead to seats in the house of Commons, may not lead to us ever forming a government. If that is the Lord's will then so be it, because my Lord does not demand from me success, he demands first and foremost obedience. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

### **Stabilizing the Enterprise**

Party promoters view their audiences' subsequent involvement in the party as, in part, contingent on their ability to neutralize audience concerns relative to the

future "moral fiber" of the party's membership and leadership. Invoking the name "Christian" brings with it audience expectations as to the nature of the political enterprise and invites comparison with other enterprises which have united under the banner of Christianity. These comparisons may do little to make the task of party promoters easier. The record of Christian political enterprises in Ireland, South Africa, the Netherlands, West Germany and to a lesser extent the United States do little to enhance the image of this Canadian endeavour<sup>4</sup>.

One of the toughest questions that I know is out there is how can we be sure that this party won't go like the others. The European Christian parties that have continued to slide to the left to the point that their policies cannot be defended biblically. I don't have a clear response to that.... Ultimately it come down to a belief, in a faith that God will continue in his support of our efforts and not allow us to go astray. (party promoter, fieldnotes)

With an awareness that "this question is out there" and may hinder recruitment efforts, party promoters attempt to assure audiences of the long term stability of the collective. Specific strategies utilized in an attempt to neutralize audience resistances involve demonstrating the grounding of policy in the immutable word of God, and the restriction of membership.

#### PARTY POLICY AND THE WORD

Audience concerns over the mutability of party

policy are at least in part shared by executive members of the party. In response to the possibility of a subsequent "hostile take-over" of the party machine by those seen as less committed to the "word of God" than to making political "mileage", the party executive proposed (and delegates to the first annual convention overwhelmingly approved) a set of "unalterable" principles which form the ideological cornerstone of this political endeavour. These unalterable principles are:

We believe there is one Creator God, eternally existent in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We believe in the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

We believe the Holy Bible to be the inspired, inerrant written word of God and the final authority above all man's laws and government.

We believe civil government to be under the authority of God.

We believe the purpose of civil government is to ensure freedom and justice for a nation's citizens by upholding law and order in accordance with Biblical principles.

We believe that the decision-making process by civil government must not in any way contravene these Biblical ethics. (C.H.P. Party Constitution, Article I, 1987)

Party promoters, both at the national and provincial level, refer to these "unalterable principles" in an attempt to demonstrate the stability of the C.H.P.. They are seen to root the party to a set of precepts which participants see as immutable. The party, in its most extended sense, is subservient to the word of God, and this word is the "rock upon which the house is built".

Your dedication, your conviction, your resolve, your love for God and country make up th[e] compound th[at] will hold [us] cohesively together and if we fail to build on the unalterable principle, if we lose sight of what is our strength, then I warn you this day that we will crumble like sand and will blow away in the wind of compromise and will have become unworthy of the name of our political party. If we remain at all costs true to our principles like Gideon and his band we will be invincible. By God's grace we will become the conscience of this nation and a greater blessing irrespective of the degree of actual power we may obtain. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

As a party we address all our policies in light of our principle. We believe that God's rule is supreme in all life. And in Canada we recognize the supremacy of God in our constitution. We are truly a nation with a Christian heritage and as Christians we must live our whole life to God's glory, not just our religious life, but also our business life, our family life, our social life, and yes, our political life. You can't separate your life into little pieces, life into little compartments, life must be lived as a unit. As Christians we recognize that God rules supreme in all of life. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

While linking the party to the immutable word of God may serve to alleviate the concerns of some audience members and thereby promote subsequent involvements, this rigidity may also serve to hinder continuing involvements. Reflecting the relative degree of compatibility of this position with the theological perspectives of audience members, participants may come away with very different views on the importance of this aspect of the party position:

I must say to you that I find their position on several issues quite disturbing. Their stand on the sanctity of life for example, I have stood before my parishioners on many occasions demanding action on the abortion issue. I was excited to hear of a party who clearly supported us in this. I come here tonight, and the form for

membership requires that I qualify my support for the sanctity of life. See right here, "Capital punishment notwithstanding". I will tell you that my support for the sanctity of life has no qualifiers on it, I am against abortion, euthanasia and capital punishment. The way they word this, that their principles are based on the word of God, it makes it sound as though if you disagree with them that you are a poor Christian, misinformed, or confused. I think I am none of these. Nor do I think that they are. You are not going to resolve debates like these by quoting scripture. (audience member, Sept. 87, fieldnotes)

We have to state clearly that the Bible is the final word. If we don't, some of these people that call themselves Christians yet don't base their faith on the word, may try to change this party. Like the United Church, I don't even know why they call themselves Christians, ordaining homosexuals and women. We don't need people like them in here. If they want to vote with us fine, but if they ever start running the show here, I'm out. (audience member, fieldnotes)

#### "CULLING" THE MEMBERSHIP

Party promoters further assure prospective recruits of the long term stability of the enterprise to which they themselves are committed by drawing to their attention the membership requirements of the party. The C.H.P. has the distinction of being Canada's only national political party which requires its members to profess belief in the tennants of a religion<sup>5</sup>.

In terms of encouraging involvements, this allows promoters to stress the common ground which all members share. A confidence in the future direction of the party is developed through demonstrating a unity of perspectives which transcends particular populist issues:

which transcends particular populist issues:

We have incorporated into our constitution a statement of faith which we require all our members to sign. This statement is general enough that it allows for the participation of Christians from a wide variety of denominations. Yet, we hope it is focused enough that it will enable us to have some stability and direction in the future.... The reason for our unity is we have common Biblical conviction, and we seek to express those convictions in the political arena. We not only know what we agree on, we also know why we agree, and this gives us confidence that as the unknown issues of tomorrow arise this party will remain united when other parties are struggling to maintain unity in the face of internal dispute. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

In practical terms, perhaps no position taken by the party has "drawn more heat" than their restrictive membership policies. Those committed to this policy struggle with the possible resultant loss of support amongst other "orthodox" religious communities who support C.H.P. policy, yet may distance themselves from an exclusively Christian enterprise. The national press have found this theme grist for their "mill". Veteran political journalists are unaccustomed to this form of political expression in a Canadian context and often appear offended by it. Internally, national and provincial representatives struggle with those of other religious orientations who submit membership forms<sup>4</sup>.

However, this "Christians only" policy provides a position from which the party can actively recruit those to which their message is directed. In their view, those who are offended by this can remain offended - the C.H.P.

does not want them anyway. Members of the party executive hope that the party's political agenda will serve to invigorate members of the Christian community who are veterans of the political process. Yet, the politicization of the traditional religious community requires a Christian organization. It is in the campaign to politicize this "Bible-believing" community that the party's restriction to Christians has its greatest appeal. As a member of a provincial executive has reminded me frequently, this is the "sleeping giant" which they hope to bring together.<sup>7</sup> It seems that without a doubt, this policy has served to promote the involvement of many. During the last half of 1988, the party was growing at the rate of about a thousand members a month, and some of the party's membership would be lost if not for the exclusively Christian membership.

#### **An Obligation to the Enterprise**

The activities of party promoters tend to encourage their audience to become increasingly comfortable with the idea of political involvement. As we have seen, this includes attempts to neutralize common objections to the political enterprise which audience members are perceived to share. Efforts here focus on demonstrating to the audience that political involvement does not inherently contradict theological commitment nor need it necessarily involve a

party promoters, their impression of their audience and the local issues impinging upon the community. However, qualifiers aside, promoters may take an opportunity to stress the importance of Christians "getting involved" in the political process. The message becomes one which is less focused on the "join with us theme" and more directed to stressing that the audience has an obligation to "do something":

The Bible commands us to be salt and light. You cannot spread light by hiding it under a bushel. How do you shed light in a world where so many important decisions are in the hands of the politicians? You have to go where they are. We have to stand up at the all candidates meetings and ask each candidate what they are doing to protect the unborn. It means supporting your local right to life groups. It means doing what we can for the Family Coalition Party.<sup>8</sup> (party promoter, taped interview)

While this argument may serve to lay the groundwork for promoting involvements in the C.H.P., it is something more than a sales technique to those who use it. Unlike the merchant who may have little or no personal involvement with the products they offer, party promoters are deeply committed to the principles which they put forward. When asked about the implications of promoting involvements in issues important to the Christian community and its place in the "sales pitch" for the C.H.P., a member of a provincial executive reminded me:

I suppose you're right. We do do some of that. We do say you have an obligation to get involved. I think it is their duty as Christians to become involved. And I do want them with us, to help fight the next election. But

remember, I would rather have the C.H.P. fold right now, than have the abortion situation continue as it is. Sometimes we make political mileage out of issues, out of ideas. But I'd give up everything we have accomplished to stop the murder of 65,000 Canadians. (party promoter, interview notes)

#### **DISCREDITING ALTERNATIVES**

In a fashion similar to "mainline" political enterprises, C.H.P. promoters may attempt to discredit the activities and personalities of those political figures who currently occupy seats in the House of Commons. By restricting discussion for the most part to those who hold elected federal office, party promoters place their comments on the level of the national political stage. Comments concerning other "fourth" parties are generally reserved for the questions of audience members. There is little to be gained by "fighting" with the "also rans" when one is trying to portray the image of a serious contender. Party promoters from across the country turn their attention to the record of other political parties in an effort to dissuade audiences from personal involvements with the "Big Three". While the path which a promoter may take to reach the conclusion varies, the conclusion is often the same - a Christian cannot vote for one of Canada's three major parties and remain true to their faith.

The performance of Canada's federal politicians are addressed relative to key moral issues which form a basis of

unity within an audience of many diversities:

Regardless of where I am speaking you can count on the abortion issue as a winner. We are all unified on that. So I start with that one. It brings people together. The P.C.'s are vulnerable on this issue. And let's face it, the Conservatives are our main competition for the votes of these people. (party promoter, taped interview)

If the Conservative Party is most in line with the audiences' view, then the New Democratic Party is at the greatest odds. Audience members harbour concerns as to the long term goals of the N.D.P.. Their policies on the nationalization of sectors of the economy, the rejection of the free trade agreement, a pro-choice stand on abortion, and the removal of Canadian forces from N.A.T.O. are quite divergent from the beliefs of those from the more traditional Christian communities which are represented at meetings. The N.D.P. tends to be viewed as an avowedly socialist organization which may be subversively communist.

As a relatively out-spoken audience member affirmed:

That Ed Broadbent is in the pocket of the K.G.B.. You'd have to be a fool not to see it. The way he and his comrades carry on. They are out to hand this country over to the Kremlin on a silver platter. (audience member, fieldnotes)

The extent to which the audience rejects the policies and programs of Canada's federal voice of the "moderate left" proves a valuable tool in party promoters' efforts to discredit Canada's other two parties of the "center". Party promoters draw out for the audience evidence of the inherently "socialist" nature of Canada's

direction in federal policy. Moral issues central to Christians are brought forward, the similarities of the alternatives' performance on these issues are emphasized, and differences are minimized:

If it is really human suffering, if it is really human life that they're concerned about, I challenge every member of the Parliament to stand up in the House of Commons tonight, and to answer about the 65,000 Canadians murdered in cold blood last year. When it comes to apartheid Ed Broadbent doesn't hesitate to move a motion, John Turner doesn't hesitate to second it and the Prime Minister faithfully agrees. When it comes to the issue of abortion, all three are silent. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

Similarly, actions by cabinet ministers are linked with the position of Canada's only self-professing homosexual member of parliament.

Do you honestly expect our cabinet ministers to protest these family values which we know are the building blocks of our society? I cannot count too much on people like trade minister Pat Carney, who thought it appropriate to wish the Vancouver Gay and Lesbian Association a happy Gayfest 1986.... Or with the Minister of State David Crombie, did you expect him to raise objection, while his department denies funding to R.E.A.L. women when they apply on the basis that they are an anti-abortion group, yet has no hesitation in granting an application form to the very same group when they apply under the fictitious name, "Association for Lesbian Mothers". Or perhaps it was Svend Robinson of the N.D.P. you were counting on, who recently recommended constitutional protection for a fourteen year old boy to have anal intercourse with [adult male homosexuals]. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

While party promoters indicate that the C.H.P. offers a range of policies on various issues, it remains the "moral issues" which provide the basis of attack against the established parties. The Christian world view which they

established parties. The Christian world view which they promote is one in which abortion is murder, homosexuality is an "abomination before the Lord", capital punishment is a "God-ordained responsibility of government", and the lifestyles which people live need be "Bible-obedient". Central to promoters' message is that these positions are Christian positions. They reflect God's inerrant and unchanging law, and are not open to alterations relative to modifications in public opinion.

In something of a ritualized degradation ceremony (Garfinkel, 1956), party promoters, speaking on behalf of collectively defined "values", identify political alternatives as challengers to the Christian world view. Through demonstrating that the "Big Three" fail to hold a more traditional Christian stance on central moral issues, party promoters distance their political opponents from the "inerrant word of God". The more successful this distancing, the more the ready-made typification of Christianity and its opponents comes into play:<sup>9</sup>

Make no mistake, there are two forces in this world, Christianity and secular humanism. Socialism, communism, globalism are all the tools of the secular humanists. You can see Satan's hand in all these things, in the abortions, in the way he turns peoples minds. We have to stop our politicians from doing Satan's work. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

The attempt at discrediting alternatives reaches full circle with the unification of the "Big Three" relative to their

audience is a clear one: "all of your federal political alternatives are non-Christian alternatives. A vote for any of them is a vote for socialism and thereby a vote against preserving Christian values."

You know we are often asked the question, are you guys out to form a fourth political party. My answer is no, we're not. We are out to form the second, the other three are all the same. Ladies and gentlemen the C.H.P. has arisen out of necessity because there is no real alternative offered Christians in politics today. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

There is so little difference between the parties is it any wonder that Ed Broadbent and John Turner are already discussing a coalition government. You people in Ontario already know what this can bring. Whether we have a Turner government or a Broadbent government, a Turnbroad government or a Broadturn government, let me tell you my friends we are going to take a broad turn down the road to socialism.... The conservatives are not much better. We have three parties which are different shades of the same colour. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

#### CLOSING THE SALE: CREATING MORAL CLOSURE

It has been said that the only thing necessary for evil to triumph is that good men do nothing. (local organizer, taped public meeting)

Much like any sales performance, the C.H.P. performance hinges on the close - the attempt to generate involvement from the "good men" assembled. The following discussion examines the moral closure which party promoters create in an attempt to solicit membership, generate funds, and encourage prayer for the continued success of the party. While Lemert's (1953) cheque forgers found the practical aspects of meeting their financial obligations "conspiring"

against their best intentions, party promoters attempt to limit the options available to their audiences through creating a moral closure. The obstacles to alternative involvements placed before audiences are not ones of social location or the practical aspects of everyday life, but rather are the constraints of a world view and the attempts by others to create and maintain dissonances within that frame of reference.

We can profitably review previous discussions here in terms of this generic theme. Much of the earlier C.H.P. presentation contributes to establishing a sense of moral closure. Through the promotion of involvements, party representatives attempt to demonstrate the appropriateness and necessity of Christian involvement in the political enterprise. While political involvements are encouraged, promoters attempt to discredit the "Big Three" as representative of the policies and programs which Christians need unite to oppose. Efforts here attempt to effectively restrict the direction which this "required" political involvement may take. Through earlier attempts at establishing party credibility, promoters have presented their organization as a "truly Christian" political alternative. Attempts to close the sale unite these themes by suggesting that the C.H.P. is the place for Christians to put forward the political voice which they have a duty to

put forward the political voice which they have a duty to express.

Like Prus' (1989a) vendors, party promoters may be relatively inattentive to the use of closing techniques, or may shun this aspect of the sales analogy:

I am there to openly and honestly tell them about our party, to answer their questions as truthfully as I can. I do see myself as a salesman for the party at times, but (some of the others) they go for a big finish. They try to leave the people they are talking to no other choice but to join. Personally I'd rather leave them with a way out. If they are going to go out that door without becoming a member after hearing what we stand for, then I'm not sure that we needed them as a member anyway. (party promoter, taped interview)

This is a striking difference between vendors and the work of party promoters. While vendors may have a "personal stake" in the goods they offer for sale and have an interest in the "qualities" of the consumer, much consumer exchange is fleeting and impersonal. C.H.P. promoters do not seek to sell a membership to just anyone with the ability to purchase. While the "pitch" is directed to "Bible-believing" Christians, so too is the close. Specifically, promoters attempt to create a moral closure through: (1) an appeal to history, (2) an appeal for the victims and, (3) an appeal for the facilitation of Christian expression. As one party promoter characterized, these efforts are perceived as necessary to generate the required action - to translate rhetoric into the commitment of individuals.

The greatest enemy our party faces is apathy. We have to show these people that they have a responsibility to

I am rarely any other way. If you don't put some pressure on them they will say nice things but not get involved. You have to lay it on the line. You have to say, now it is up to you. Can you look your grandchildren straight in the eye and say that you tried to do something. (party promoter, fieldnotes)

### Appeal to History

Schutz (1964, 1970a) demonstrates that the creative aspects of social interaction allow actors to "transcend" temporal boundaries - drawing together predecessors, contemporaries, and the images of Tiresias into a constructed Here. Through this process, predecessors become social objects, and appeals may be made on their behalf. Reciprocal obligations may be imposed on contemporaries in light of the "sacrifices" of forefathers. Party promoters resurrect the images of the original "Dominion of Canada", the participants of the Charlottetown Conference, and their dependence on scripture as a personal guide in the formation of the nation state of Canada.

And who will deny that we in Canada have a Christian heritage. If someone asks you, is this country Christian, ask him what is it? Is it Buddist, is it Muslim, is it Hindu? Of course not, it is Christian. Evidences of that are abounding. Look at our Constitution. What does it say? The very opening premise, "Whereas Canada is based on the supremacy of God, and the rule of law", our original name, Dominion of Canada, has its roots at the Charlottetown Conference of 1864, when Sir Leonard Tilly stood up and read Psalm 72, "And He shall have Dominion from sea even unto sea and from the rivers unto the ends of the earth." You go to Ottawa, you go to the Peace Tower you will find that text inscribed in stone together with Psalm 72 versus 1 and 2, "Give unto the King thy judgements O Lord and also to the King's son" .... There is a Christian heritage that our

forefathers saw fit to pass on to us, and it is this heritage that is under attack. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

One thing that the good old days in Canadian political life had was a common set of values, a common purpose. Twenty years ago our nation could truly be considered a Christian nation. Many more people considered themselves Christians. Many more people actively practiced their Christianity in society. There were certain moral standards that every one agreed to. Abortion was wrong, euthanasia was wrong, pornography was wrong. The family and all it stood for was right and the dream about these bygone days is in part what my vision is all about. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

Party promoters argue that Canada has a Christian heritage, and that audience members have an obligation to be proud of this heritage, and to continue the work undertaken by their predecessors. What begins as a historical treatise becomes a personal admonishment. Moral closure here takes the form of placing before the audience an implicit dilemma: either they support the Christian Heritage Party and the precepts upon which "this great nation was founded", or they endorse alternative involvements which constitute an abandonment of the labour of fathers and the sacrifices of a nations' martyrs. Alternative involvements have been discounted as non-Christian. Party promoters solicit audience involvements through appeals to loyalties of those who have gone before.

#### **Appeal for the Victims**

Party promoters find that a particularly effective

Party promoters find that a particularly effective method of closing the sale involves soliciting participation on behalf of those members of the community who are seen as "victims" of current government policy. Audience members find their involvements encouraged on behalf of "the weakest members of our society". The message is comparatively simple, albeit based on a complex web of shared definitions. Individuals have a duty to protect the helpless, be they the "unborn", the A.I.D.S. patient, or the "indebted grandchild". The C.H.P. casts its policies and programs as protective of the weak. It calls on those who share an interest in the protection of the "victims of secular humanism" to join with them.

While audience members may differ in their relative definitions of "victims" worthy of protection, party promoters utilize typified notions that those who attend their meeting are of "one mind" on the abortion issue. Audience members are encouraged to see their involvement in this campaign as having the potential to "save lives" in the "protection of the unborn". Further, the medical act of abortion is cast as a victim producing encounter with consequences for the everyday lives of those it "touches". Audience members are encouraged to join together to "prevent" ongoing victimization.

In my community there was a lovely couple. They were living together and she got pregnant. And he said, "I love you baby, I want to marry you but not right now.

and would be over with.

Time passed and they got married and were blessed with a child. She looked at that little baby and said to her husband, "What was the one like that you made me kill?" Their marriage broke up, both grandparents are upset. One abortion has had a terrible impact on seven lives. When the pro-abortionists say that it is only a woman's affair they are lying my friends. (party promoter, fieldnotes)

As recognized by party promoters, the designation of victims may serve multiple ends towards the extended definition of their performance. Promoters tend to be aware of the potential of their words being utilized for media presentations on the party generally. Therefore, information may be selectively disclosed in an effort to distance the party from "undesirable" designations. Of particular concern, is the possibility of being defined by audience members as representative of the "radical right"<sup>10</sup>.

We have to be careful to mix our condemnations with compassion. That sounds funny. What I mean is that we say that homosexuality is wrong, it is sodomy. I will make no apology for that. But we can't come across as the anti-homosexual party. We'd be murdered in the press come election time. (party promoter, fieldnotes)

The strategy which party promoters have utilized has focused on the designation of A.I.D.S. patients as victims. Through an appeal to the sanctity of human life, party promoters encourage individual involvement on behalf of those who may face euthanasia. While party membership is promoted on behalf of the weak, the "overall" impression is seen to be enhanced by demonstrating through policy the "condemnation of the sin and not the sinner".

I predict that we will be the last and the best friend of the homosexual community in this country.... The very same people that are the most active proponents of putting homosexual rights in the Canadian Charter of Rights ... I suggest to you are the very same people who will offer the solution that we really can't afford to sustain all of these A.I.D.S. victims. Perhaps we should let them die with dignity.... May I suggest to you that it will be left to you and me to stand up and say these are human beings still created in the image of God. God takes life, God gives life, God takes life and we don't interfere. In the end the last friend of the homosexual community will be the Christian Heritage Party. And I suggest to you that we will have a tough fight on our hands to defend the lives of the A.I.D.S. victim as we have today defending the right to life of 60,000 Canadians murdered through abortion last year. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

As we found with C.H.P. appeals on behalf of predecessors, similar appeals may be made on behalf of those of subsequent generations. Moral closure may be created through the designation of one's duties to anticipated others. Key to C.H.P. promotion here is their general policy of "stewardship" - the responsible care of a range of government duties. Audience members are encouraged to define their involvement with the C.H.P. as beneficial for their children and their grandchildren. Promoters emphasize this theme relevant to the national deficit:

And then this week we find that we have a government which in times of prosperity cannot manage to get its deficit down below 132 billion dollars. Now we need to be a party which says, that is immoral! That isn't just not practical, that is theft! That is robbery! That money has to be paid down the line. We are robbing future generations and our party is in a position to put that in terms of the ten commandments and denounce this kind of dishonesty and theft. And to say in no uncertain terms that Canada needs the size of its governments drastically reduced. And that we should be the party to say those things with absolute clarity and with

conviction. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

### **Appeal for Christian Expression**

Party promoters also encourage involvement through emphasizing a duty of participation based on the facilitation of Christian expression. Audiences are encouraged to consider personal activity within the party on behalf of the extended Christian community within their riding. Party promoters attempt to demonstrate a moral imperative of action by suggesting that Christians in effect are disenfranchised. Previous efforts to discount opponents are recalled. Audiences are encouraged to reach the conclusion that without a C.H.P. candidate in their riding, "Christians of conscience" will have no candidate for whom they can vote. Involvement is encouraged relative to a shared Christianity - a shared basis of expression.

I ask you tonight, ladies and gentlemen. Does this riding ... deserve a Christian Heritage Party candidate in the next election? Do Christians here deserve an opportunity to cast a vote for a man or women of integrity - who stands forthrightly on Christian principles. That is the decision you will have to make tonight. Are you willing to help make this happen? Do you want to help us send out a clear message that Christians will be silent no longer? (party promoter, taped public meeting)

Love, that is why we are all here and that is why those of you who are members of the Christian Heritage Party joined, because of a love for God and country. Who is that country, that is your neighbour, that is not just some figment of someone's imagination, that is your neighbour next door, if it is your neighbour in Alberta or your neighbour in Nova Scotia. That is the neighbour you love when you get involved with the Christian

Heritage Party. (party promoter, taped public meeting)

Techniques of moral closure utilized by party advocates attempt to promote audience participation through generating moral imperatives of involvement. Such attempts are grounded within typified notions of audience perspectives. Promoters see these efforts as limited to the recruitment of membership. Appeals made to comparatively homogenous audiences are anticipated to be very different from the techniques to be utilized when garnering the more extended public support seen as necessary during an election:

I'll just say that things had better change when the election comes down. We are going to have to change the way we do things. We have to drop this "Christians only" focus. It will be time to hit the issues - abortion, capital punishment, free trade, universal day care. This is where we can make points. I can't be too critical, we have been doing well. But it is time for a change. (provincial executive, fieldnotes)

#### IN SUM

Blumer's (1971) essay encourages the researcher to attend to the qualities of joint action which accompany the designation of life events as troublesome or problematic. This chapter has attempted to provide some insight into the emergent, negotiated and audience attentive qualities of political recruitment campaigns. I have focused here on the processes accompanying promoters' more formal presentations to audiences. However, readers are encouraged to see

recruitment efforts as ongoing activities. Such meetings may serve to "get the ball rolling" - providing a local membership base from which more extended recruitment activities may be undertaken.

Attentiveness to the process and perspectives which accompany the activities of people as they go about their lives seems central to the sociology which Blumer (1969) proposes. To do so lessens macro/micro distinctions, focusing productively on the "social work" which is accomplished. Through attending to the sales qualities which accompany political recruitment campaigns, I have attempted to alert readers to a generic dimension of promoting activities. By utilizing the joint act as the unit of analysis we emphasize life as it is lived. The canvas for that action may be as broad as federal politics or as limited as fleeting dyadic relationships. However, both may be fruitfully examined via a processually attentive approach to social action.

## NOTES

1. Performances vary over time and between promoters more than between audiences. This said, however, performances tend to share common elements of a unified "message".
2. This is in contrast to those religious communities who have shifted theologically from seeing the Bible as **being** the word of God to a position which sees the Bible as **containing** the word of God.
3. Readers are encouraged to note the linkage here between perspectives on success and the "impact" of these notions on social action.
4. Press interviews with the party leadership often discuss the efforts of the party to distance themselves from "religious scandal" south of the border - the Jim and Tammy Bakker affair, Swaggart's follies and the Robertson try for the Republican nomination. However in practical terms, party promoters have developed responses to these questions more to deal with the media than to confront the pressing concerns of those whose involvements they are actively promoting. The personal lives of religious leaders in the United States hold little sway on the efforts of the C.H.P.. While such scandals may help shape public perceptions of Christians more generally, they hold little relevance for challenging the faith of "true believers" (Hoffer, 1951).
5. Readers are directed to the content of the party membership form as presented on page 5 of this chapter.
6. For example, one submitted form had the statement "We believe in one creator God" underlined, while the person claimed a Muslim affiliation.
7. This is the same "sleeping giant" to which I refer in the discussion of promoting involvements.
8. The Family Coalition Party ran candidates for the first time in Ontario's 1987 Provincial Election. It has a provincial focus, and therefore will not be running candidates in opposition to the C.H.P. in the near future.
9. This theme is discussed in greater depth in the section in chapter VI, "On Satan".
10. The "radical right" is becoming an increasingly vocal perspective in Canadian politics. See Barrett (1987) for an anthropological view on racism and the Canadian right.

## **CHAPTER VIII**

### **CONSTRUCTING POLICY: NOTES ON THE SYMBOLIC RELEVANCE OF A COLLECTIVE STATEMENT OF FAITH**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter examines the symbolic relevance of C.H.P. policy and its program for "government". As we have seen, C.H.P. policy is varied. This is not a "single issue" group - participants have made a concerted effort to distance their endeavours from such charges. A key element in this is the construction of a far ranging statement of policy.

My work on understanding the relevance of the collective statement of faith that is a party's policy begins by asserting the fundamentally symbolic nature of these politicized programs. To construct a statement of policy which belongs to a collective is to construct an abstract object (Blumer, 1969: 10-12). That the content of this object is ideas rather than the concreteness of physical objects is of limited social relevance. At a symbolic level objects take on a perspectival existence which transcends other differences.

Edelman (1976) argues that the political existence of the collective is inherently symbolic, from the myth that is the state to the emotion that is patriotism. He states:

The symbolic side of politics calls for attention, for men cannot know themselves until they know what they do and what surrounds and nurtures them. Man creates political symbols and they sustain and develop him or warp him. (Edelman, 1976:1)

This chapter confronts the creation of political symbols within a specific context. Political policy, like any object, is a social creation. That is, its meaning is socially derived out of a process of "definition and interpretation" (Blumer, 1969: 11). This is a fundamental aspect of group life. Through this process we learn of our worlds, transform them and share them with others. However, the meaning of objects is not fixed. A politician may move from hero to villain to fool, with an apparent lack of effort (Klapp, 1962). And so it goes, for "human group life is a process in which objects are being created, affirmed, transformed, and cast aside" (Blumer, 1969: 12).

Reflecting this dimension, I examine C.H.P. policy relative to the shifting face it holds for actors. This chapter focuses on the symbolic relevance of these transformations of meaning. In an attempt to respect the natural history of such "transformations", my discussion explores three distinct frameworks for understanding the construction of policy. These include: (1) policy as

antidote, (2) policy and the sociological moment, and (3) policy and the acquisition of a public face. Each of these discussions focuses on a different aspect of the processes which combined to produce C.H.P. policy, both as a codified statement of principle and as a tool for the practical accomplishment of party promotion. The following discussion examines the symbolic relevance of policy from "working papers" to founding convention to federal election.

#### **POLICY AS ANTIDOTE**

Party promoters refer to the political agenda of the C.H.P. as "comfort for a hurting nation" (fieldotes). The two themes of "comfort" and "hurt" are intertwined. We cannot understand the policy statements constructed by the C.H.P. without attending to the "troubles" that they address. Interviews with those who have taken a direct hand in writing C.H.P. policy have stressed the importance of defining their efforts relative to "stemming a tide" which is inherently "hurtful". In this sense, C.H.P. policy is perceived as a response to the inappropriate.

[We are like] the person that is trying to rip a very tasty piece of meat that is poisoned from a very hungry dog. Now if you really love that dog and you want that dog to survive and you don't want to lose him you will put your own self at risk to try and extract meat from the jaws of that hungry dog. Even knowing that that dog might attack you because you are trying to get at something he really wants. So the secular mindset will interpret our activities as trying to deprive, like the homosexuals, them of their rights, but what we are actually trying to do is preserve society by trying to

reduce something that can actually do a lot of damage to our culture. So in doing that, by ripping the positioned meat out of the jaws of our society we stand to be attacked by the very people whose lives we are trying to save. I think that is biblical, I think that is what the Lord would have us do to stand up for what is right regardless of the consequences. (national executive, taped interview)

There is no way out of the mess that we are in but to follow a biblical lifestyle both as individuals and as a nation and that is all that our policy statement is, is a way out. It is simple really - here is a problem or an issue. What does the Bible say? Sure there are times when we disagree but for the most part we are together - like there is nobody here that thinks that adultery is okay. When you get people thinking they can just do what they want, you run into problems and those are the problems we have got today. Our policies are common sense. They say to people if you want to fix what is wrong this is the way to do it. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

If policy is, to some extent, defined as an attempt to "fix what is wrong", then it seems beneficial to explore the implications of what constitutes "wrongness" for the process of policy construction.

#### **Policy as a Response to Secular Humanism**

In the previous discussion of actors' definitions of opponents, I have dealt at some length with secular humanism. Actors' notions of their opponents are a part of the extended typifications which are employed to direct action. My argument in the following combines these two themes. I would suggest that we cannot divorce the process of constructing policy from its symbolic relevance as a response to "what ails" - to secular humanism. Fourth

parties are freed from the possibility of actually having to govern based on their collective statements of belief. While participants may approach their task of constructing policy with an intense personal commitment, the focus is not one of creating a program for government. Instead, we find the emphasis placed on "battle readiness", a readiness which contextualizes policy relative to two "forces".

You will find we believe that there are essentially two spiritualities, two kingdoms in conflict right now, and it is becoming more visible everyday. We have had sort of a mutual truce between Christianity and humanism for generations, and there has been some element of peaceful co-existence even though the Bible says that there can be no peaceful co-existence and that we are actually called to war when we become a Christian. We are at war with the world system which is antagonistic to God and so we have to find out what the Bible is saying in all areas of the governance of our nation and our culture and oppose that humanistic trend in all aspects of government - find out how government relates to these different areas and pass laws accordingly. (national executive, taped interview)

I think everybody is called to battle, it is just that the humanist tend to be more conscious of that battle that is going on while the Christians are always talking about love and compassion and understanding and being peace makers. But the Bible says we are called to war, there is a conflict going on and what we are seeing right now is that war. We have had freedom, people don't understand what freedom is or how we arrive at freedom and I think that Christians have a better understanding because we know that freedom is a spiritual quality and is intrinsically connected to obedience to God's laws. (national executive, taped interview)

C.H.P. policy is seen by its architects to be, in part, a response to this perceived struggle between Christians and the "enemies of God". What varies is the extent to which such "enemies" are viewed as an "organized" and purposive

collective, or are more loosely identified with a general "moral decay" or a "turning away from the church". Yet regardless of this dimension, actors emphasize the place of policy as a response to opposing interests.

If you understand the agenda of the secular humanists, if you have read the humanist manifestos,<sup>1</sup> I think you would find with every statement that they make that our principle is basically in opposition to their statement. So first of all, to understand the humanist mindset you have to be familiar with the humanist manifesto and then you will find the principles that we uphold in our policy statements would be a mirror image of what that manifesto says and that immediately puts us in opposition with the broad thinking of the mass majority in our secular public, because succeeding generations have come to be increasingly secularized through the education and through the mass media. (national executive, taped interview)

Our purpose is not so much to take on identifiable groups, we are more working to challenge a certain mindset. It is the mindset that says it is okay to legitimize gay rights, that supports radical feminism, that is out to destroy the family. Most people would say oh no I support the family. But they don't realize that by burdening our people with excessive taxation, by forcing women out of the home to make ends meet, by allowing the state to raise our children that is just what we are doing. So our policies say just wait a minute here, what you are doing is wrong, this isn't the way God would have us do it, this isn't good for your children. (provincial executive, fieldnotes)

#### **Policy as a Practical Accomplishment: A Research Note**

The initial policy statements which were brought to the C.H.P. membership for ratification were assembled through the joint efforts of a committee. This committee, composed at any one time of fewer than a dozen people, met in British Columbia through the early stages of this

research project at a time when I was collecting data on party promotion in Ontario. As a result, I have no observationally derived data to direct at this question of initial policy construction. However, we do gain a sense of the emergent and at times tentative nature of this process through the accounts of participants. The process of writing specific policies came to be typified and simplified by participants to reflect two dimensions of their respective activities: (1) biblical validity, and (2) policy construction and attending to the other.

#### BIBLICAL VALIDITY

At a perspectival level, this notion is fairly straight forward. Policy constructors expressed a continuing and ongoing concern with the subservience of their statements to biblical principles. Reflecting this, we find a wide range of C.H.P. policy "supported" by chapter and verse references to biblical text. This process of examining whether biblical support for a particular position can be garnered is identified as a primary aspect of establishing a position for consideration.

For me the first step when I have to give my attention to a policy matter is, is it right. I mean is it biblical, of course sometimes this is easier than others. I don't think there is any biblically based argument for abortion. But how does the Bible say we should treat native people - I think you can work it out but that is when it takes a lot of work. (provincial executive, fieldnotes)

[As a committee] we would go through just wads and wads of information, suggestions that had been put to us from our members, we would make certain statements the best that we can as to what the Bible is saying on this particular issue. So we make certain statements, then these statements would go out to our membership and then our riding associations would strike a committee, look at what we [the policy committee] are saying, ask for changes and send those changes back to [us]. (national executive, taped interview)

The process of determining what constitutes a "biblical" position reflects the emergent and negotiated aspect of social life. While participants may be of one mind as to the inerrancy of scripture, the interpretation and application of biblical principle as social policy may prove relatively problematic. Scripture is diverse - those with a range of positions may readily garner "bible-based" support for their arguments. While participants emphasize the "biblical" nature of their policies and programs, this may be understood as a collective point of departure. C.H.P. policy is not simply biblically derived - it is the product of the joint acts of actors. As such it undergoes a range of social processes reflecting its relative emergent, negotiated and problematic qualities. The interpretation, definition, and designation of a particular policy claim relative to its biblical consistency is essential to the process of policy construction. It also proves to be a source of division between participants reflecting a range of concerns from theologically derived agendas to the concerns of populist politics.

We have to get it clear here, are we Bible believing Christians or are we New Testament Christians? Christ didn't come and say "here is the word of God, it replaces everything that was said before." He said that His word was the fulfillment of the Old Testament, it was an extension not a replacement. So it won't do to ignore the teachings of the Old Testament or to quote Christ out of context when we have a passage in the Old Testament which deals with the issue directly. (local organizer to member who challenged a specific policy as contradicting the teachings of Christ, fieldnotes)

Sure there is a lot of diversity in that room. I am just glad you are not from the press, they could have a field day with some of what is going on here. (Specifically?) Well you hear W.B. and what he was saying on immigration, it was pretty much keep them out unless they are professing (Christian) residents of the U.S. or Great Britain. The press would just love to tar us as racist ultrafundamentalist kooks. We have to be careful, there is a biblical basis for what he is saying and there are people in the room who believe it too - that God separated the races gave them different languages to keep them apart and that if that is God's order then we shouldn't have an immigration policy which breaks down that order. Then there are those who find that sort of thing to be totally wrong and they point to other parts of the Bible. This is what we are up against. (provincial executive describing policy discussion at a meeting of local organizers, fieldnotes)

#### POLICY CONSTRUCTION AND ATTENDING TO THE OTHER

Despite an emphasis on preserving the biblical bases of C.H.P. policy statements, such claims of the way the world ought to be are written by key participants, brought before committee, collectively refined, distributed to membership for discussion, revised, and eventually brought before delegates at convention for a policy by policy vote of approval. This fundamentally social process is one of negotiation, compromise, integration, dialogue, and

interpretation. It involves an attempt by those setting policy to move beyond what is biblical towards that which also reflects the collective "will" of their recruited membership.

We would get policies submitted to us by each member of the policy committee and we would all look at these policies. We would also get policies submitted from all over Canada, some of them right out to lunch and some were really good stuff. For instance, on the economic question, we really got some first rate support in dealing with free trade. I can't really say that I submitted a lot per se because I had so many other responsibilities, but it was a joy and a pleasure to go sit on those committees where we met every week, sometimes two sometimes three times a week to get these things finished. One of the things that kept us going was knowing that we would be bringing the policy to the members - that we were trying to speak for them too. It was a joy to be able to sit in and put in my two cents worth onto the policies in that book. (national executive, taped interview)

Throughout the process of constructing policy, its authors attend to a range of symbolic relevances. Their practical activities of constructing a collective statement of faith reflect these various dimensions. Their claims as to the appropriate and the inappropriate stand on behalf of a theologically "united" collective engaged in the process of electoral politics - a process which involves a public performance. Reflecting this dimension, policy construction attends to the "other", be they member, electorate or press. These themes unite as actors' definitions of the "other" and the place these actors hold within the political process impinge upon the construction and modification of policy.

Bilingualism was a real problem for us. Most of us were of the opinion, well we are westerners you know, and therefore feel a little bit looked down upon by the eastern establishment and it was a little bit of a chip on the shoulder type of thing. It was to the point that we had had enough of bilingualism being rammed down our throats. We wanted to make a statement that would say "No more"! So we just said no, no more, that was our first proposal, no more bilingualism. Then somebody said, "Hey come on, we are supposed to be a federal party here, you can't do that we'll get slaughtered. It is a bilingual country." We had to think, adjust our biases and our attitudes so then we said, "Okay, we are a bilingual country, we do accept French and English". But then we had to decide how we would phrase that. We don't want French invading everybody's life when it is not necessary. We are also good stewards, this is one of the points if we were government of Canada we would have a look at bilingualism as necessary within the federal government ... but we would not support bilingualism for bilingualism's sake. We got rid of the temper we had over it first and then we had to rationally think what was equitable and fair in the circumstances and so I suppose every contentious issue that came up in the policy committee went something like that. (national executive, taped interview)

Take capital punishment, you immediately want to hang everybody in sight. But you say to yourself it is not possible to do that kind of thing. I suppose the inability ... to effect the social decision-making politically makes one a little bit anxious and a little bit upset with the system to the point where you feel you can have an affect on the system. The whole years of pent up rage and anger spilt out on the policy table and that was inevitable on some things. So we had to work through this and come to a conclusion which was reasonable. (national executive, taped interview)

The policy statements which the policy committee and national executive of the C.H.P. brought to the founding convention for ratification by the membership reflected a range of participant concerns. The C.H.P. policy manual is subtitled "a blueprint for restoration". Our discussion here has attempted to examine the process and perspectives

which combined through the initial construction of this document. As policies come to be ratified, bound within a book, and referenced relative to section and subsection they may come to be objectified - divorced from the practical activities of which they are a product. However, this process and the concerns of the actors involved shaped the final product. That C.H.P. policy represents a direct response to the perceived threat of secular humanism, or that C.H.P. policy represents a "Christian based" counter to the Humanist Manifestos I and II appears nowhere in the final document. However, both its form and content are shaped by these themes.

It is not my intent here to mystify the practical activities of those involved in policy construction. My intended emphasis is on the fundamentally social quality of their joint acts and the appreciation of policy statements as the product of those endeavours. However a policy of a specific issue is more than a simple claim as to the way the world ought to be. It holds a range of symbolic relevances as a cure for what ails, a response to opposing interests, a biblically "valid" claim and a political policy. It is these themes which impinge on the practical task of constructing policy. Recognizing this diversity, we turn our attention towards the process of policy ratification at the founding convention and the symbolic relevance of the

"sociological moment".

#### RATIFYING POLICY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL MOMENT

I am indebted to Thomlinson (1986) for the notion of the sociological moment.<sup>2</sup> The sociological moment is an occurrence within everyday life wherein the taken-for-granteds of the collective are challenged, suspended, negotiated and layed bare. It is in part what Garfinkel (1967) attempts to create through his exercises in social disruption, or "breaching". within the context of a naturalistic sociology. The sociological moment occurs when the taken-for-granteds of actors will no longer carry them through the joint acts they have undertaken - when the social world reveals its negotiated, emergent, and problematic qualities.

Thomlinson was not much for definitions - for him sociological moments happen within our lives and within our research and the distinction between the two is at best a heuristic device and at worst an outright fraud. We do not require one theory to account for social life and another to live it. The notion of the sociological moment is a part of this unity reflecting a sociology of everyday life. It is to be found in the social construction of knowledge, the sociology of smell, and the cultural experience of food festivals (Thomlinson, 1987). Perhaps I can best illustrate

by recounting an example utilized by Thomlinson to make his point.

The sociological moment is anywhere where there are people. On our way here we stopped at a truck stop. While we were there some toast got caught in the toaster and it burned to a point that there was smoke rolling out of the kitchen - that stench just layed in the restaurant. Now everyone who was there knew what had happened. But a few minutes later a couple walked in with their children. You could see it on their faces, it was beautiful. You know, a restaurant isn't supposed to smell like this, what sort of place is this, should we stay, the whole thing. So they sat down but the couple keep talking and eventually he gets up and the rest follow. As long as that smell hung in the air, peoples' expectations were violated, they had to make new decisions, things weren't going as they had planned. These moments come along; these are sociological moments. (my notes of a discussion with Thomlinson, May 1987)

An attentiveness to the sociological moment encourages those employing fieldwork methodologies to examine their data relative to such naturally occurring discontinuities in action. For the most part, social life unfolds within our generalized recipes of action. Such happenings are the bases of our research observations. However, occasionally circumstances arise within the field which challenge participants' typified notions producing occurrences wherein the taken-for-granteds become, if even temporarily, challenged. Such moments provide the researcher with a unique opportunity to examine the reconstruction of order, the regulation of dissonances, and the joint acts which accompany these processes. By so doing, we gain access to elements of group life which may

remain concealed - elements revealed through the sociological moments of our research.

#### **A Natural History of the Moment**

The following discussion is derived from data reflecting one such moment which took place during the ratification of policy at the C.H.P.'s founding convention in 1987. My work is based upon an audio tape of events and a series of interviews conducted with key participants. My commitment to preserve the anonymity of taped interviews requires that this data be presented simply as "convention participant". Also, reflecting this concern, all data has been edited to the third person. However, I can state that the series of events we will explore in this section involves members of the national executive, provincial executives, and delegates to the convention.

It is my intent to give the reader a descriptive sense of the processes accompanying the breakdown of the joint act and the attempts by participants to re-establish a collective order. The following events took place over a time period of twenty minutes. Casting the activities of participants in process terms, we will examine the sociological moment relative to: 1) challenging the collective consensus, 2) attempting to maintain a consensus, 3) re-asserting the challenge, and 4) imposing

order.

#### CHALLENGING THE COLLECTIVE CONSENSUS

Delegates to the founding convention were faced with the task of ratifying the party's constitution and policy statement. In practical terms, this involved voting as a body on each policy, subsection by subsection.<sup>3</sup> In an attempt to facilitate the practical accomplishment of this task, organizers established the following procedure for ratifying policy:

... our first policy session ... will not include debate on any policy resolution. Instead, this session, in which each of the resolutions will be voted on silently, will provide the basis upon which the three following Policy Sessions will be held....

Voting procedure during the Policy Session I will occur as follows: Each delegate will receive a voting card. Session Chairman, ... will indicate each individual resolution and read the title, but he will not read the contents of the resolution. After the introduction of the policy resolution delegates will indicate their vote by means of a voting card. Non-ratified policy resolutions will be referred to a Policy Advisory Committee for modification and will then be debated during the three subsequent policy sessions. ("Important Notice", printed material distributed to delegates)

However, in practical terms, this procedural goal of "silent voting" was never fully realized. Earlier constitutional sessions involved at times vocal input. Such input violated previously agreed upon rules and altered the outcome of voting. The theme of allowing discussion within settings where it was previously prohibited is the context within

which this discussion of the sociological moment begins. It is at this point that actors bring the process of ratifying policy to a halt, and by so doing challenge the consensus upon which the collective's joint acts have been based. This challenge arose from two fronts typified by the following:

We were sent, in the west, packages which stated that on [the first evening] there would be no discussion, a lot of us in the west payed big bucks, reserved tickets at that time, some may have come later [the next] morning simply knowing that discussion on policy and everything else would not begin until [today]. YOU changed the rules. (convention delegate, taped session proceedings)

Mr. Chairman, I would like the assembly to support the point of privilege and then to also bring a motion laying out the rules so that we can bring back a little bit of debate on these points on the constitution that allow for debate. A point of privilege once it has been accepted by the chair in a previous session as being in order, remains in order until such a time as it has been dealt with by the assembly. I feel that the delegates' rights or responsibilities have not been properly allowed for and this is the point of privilege that I am speaking to. (five seconds applause followed by 28 seconds of silence) (convention delegate, taped session proceedings)

It is important for readers to attend to the significance of these public challenges to the process of ratification at the convention. These actors challenged the fundamental rules by which the approximately 500 people present had been playing their collective game. It was a challenge to previously accomplished acts and cast into doubt the shared bases upon which the collective could continue to act.

In Thomlinson's (1987) example, the stench of the

burning toast is all pervasive. It is not necessary to draw actors' attention to its disruptive qualities, even though actors may engage in this activity. At the convention, however, the hindrance to the joint act is somewhat more subtle. Its qualities are articulated by actors in something of a truncated degradation ceremony. However, within the sociological moment, it is the collective consensus of the group which is placed "on trial".

#### ATTEMPTING TO MAINTAIN THE COLLECTIVE CONSENSUS

Similar to the active resistance of deviant designations by targets (Prus, 1975), actors may attempt to preserve the "integrity" of the collective consensus. Challenges to the continuance of the joint act may be discredited, redirected, or invalidated, as may challengers themselves whose relative position to speak on behalf of the group, personal "motivations", and hidden agendas may be called into question.

Illustrative of this generic theme, efforts on the convention floor attempted to preserve the collective consensus and to diffuse the source of the sociological moment. Specifically, activities focused on discrediting and redirecting the challenge to the collective consensus.

All members, I think the time is here to take stock of ourselves as on the work which we have achieved. Mr. D. has challenged some of the procedures which indeed we have changed for the benefit of the members to facilitate better discussion, to make it possible for those in the

future to have a greater opportunity to bring changes and modifications. This is only our first convention, two years from now we won't only have fifteen riding associations we will have the benefit and the knowledge of perhaps fifty riding associations, who can discuss it on the level of each individual members [in the format] of resolutions that have to be dealt with and I deem that the point raised is detrimental to the purpose of this particular meeting and I would like to see it ruled out of order. If someone would challenge the chair we should vote on it. (convention delegate, taped session proceedings)

In all fairness to everyone, if there are people that feel that something has been done wrong yesterday when we voted why do we not take those people, we have maybe five or six, we can have a meeting afterward, they can tell us their concern, we can sit down separately, but let's go on with the business we have now. (convention delegate, taped session proceedings)

These efforts to preserve the collective consensus were followed by some procedural posturing consistent with the requests of the first delegate. The "point of order" which had produced the initial challenge to the collective was ruled out of order by the chair. This produced a "challenge to the chair", and subsequently a vote by delegates in support of the chair's ruling.

This attempt to impose a consensus through democratic process was less than successful. Upon the rejection of the challenge to the chair, the process of questioning the collective consensus of the group continued. Yet instead of being cast in terms of respecting delegates' "rights" and the perceived "unfairness" of rule changes, the subsequent challenge focused upon gaining access to the issue of concern through a procedural "side-door".

## RE-ASSERTING THE CHALLENGE

Immediately following the defeated challenge to the chair, a delegate rose and stated:

I didn't want to do this but I would like to bring a motion to reconsider a motion, ... the motion that I would like to reconsider would be the motion which we voted on yesterday, Article three in the constitution, number 3a. (which reads "There shall be a Youth Caucus to involve young persons in the political activities of the Party. Their work is not to act independently but to complement the Party on all levels and as such to work in cooperation with the Party executive" [emphasis added].) (convention delegate, taped session proceedings)

The change sought here by delegates was simply the replacement of the word "shall" for the term "may". However, the symbolic relevance of this motion extends beyond the specific issue it addresses. It follows immediately after a challenge to the overall integrity of the convention procedures and a concerted defence of the collective consensus - a defence which involved both rhetoric and ballots. The assertion of the challenge in this way denied the over-all effectiveness of efforts to continue with "things as they had been before". Reflecting this, we find participants struggling to preserve the joint act which had previously served to facilitate the ratification of policy by undertaking a range of symbolically endowed activities directed at re-establishing and imposing a collective consensus.

IMPOSING A COLLECTIVE CONSENSUS: AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE GROUP

The sociological moment occurs within a processual setting. It is a process with something of an uncertain outcome. Whether the joint acts of actors may be maintained following these moments of disruption depends, in part, on the extent to which actors are willing and/or able to reaffirm the "taken-for-granteds" of the group. This discussion focuses on the activities of participants directed towards re-establishing the "taken-for-granteds" of the group and the facilitation of policy ratification.

The delegate's "motion to reconsider" and the collective voice of dissent it typified became the target of a range of symbolically charged efforts which appealed to the fundamentals of the group. As participants searched for the shared definitions which would facilitate the continuance of their endeavours, the sociological moment reached its zenith. These efforts included: 1) an appeal for the rule of "law", 2) an appeal for divine intervention, and 3) imposing order and the symbolic demonstration of unity.

1. Appeal for the Rule of "Law"

An initial attempt to re-establish a collective consensus focused upon objectified notions of appropriate procedure in meeting settings. By turning to an "outside

authority", in this case "Robert's Rules of Order" (1981), actors attempted to articulate a basis for a collective consensus.

A motion to reconsider cannot be applied to a vote on a motion that may be renewed within a reasonable time. It has been outlined to this convention how what we are doing can be presented for policy change to our riding associations and to our next convention. I believe that is a reasonable time, I would suggest that any motion to reconsider would violate Robert's rules of order. (followed by four seconds of applause) (convention delegate, taped session proceedings)

This claim holds several practical implications. Firstly, it distances actors from the charge that the "motion to reconsider" was inappropriate. The inappropriate qualities of the challenge can be associated with the codified rules of an expert authority. Secondly, if this argument is accepted, there is no need for the group to cast a ballot on a potentially divisive issue. If the rules which allowed for the initial "motion to reconsider" are perceived to prevent it under these circumstances, then the motion can be ruled "out of order". Finally, the claim made here attempts to effectively close off this form of challenge for the duration of the policy sessions, attempting to discredit any "motion to reconsider".

This suggestion was not immediately addressed by those in positions of relative authority. Instead, this appeal for the "rule of law" was directly followed by an appeal for divine intervention.

## 2. Appeal for Divine Intervention<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps I should explain what it is we are about to do, I guess you can all feel the level of tension and frustration building in this room, and I see many heads nodding in agreement and we have had the same situation at our policy meetings. When this happens what we have found works well is if we take a moment and pray and ask the Holy Spirit to come upon us and give us wisdom and council. That is the intent of what this is.... I would like to ask you now to bow in a word of prayer.

Heavenly Father, Lord, we need Your hand of love to come upon us at this moment. We need You and we ask for Your wisdom and Your peace to come here now. Lord there are many with differing viewpoints and although it may seem strange, we are all fighting for the same cause. We are all arguing for Your cause, oh Lord, for we all do surely love You. I am sure we pray for that love, a love not only for You but a love for one another. Lord, please send Your Holy Spirit humbly upon us to get this work done quickly and efficiently, and we ask this in Jesus Christ's name. Amen. (convention delegate, taped session proceedings)

Like earlier attempts to provide the "rule of law" as the basis for a collective consensus, here we find prayer serving a similar symbolic function. Through prayer, participants are reminded of their shared faith and their love for one another. These are powerful images; images which have the potential to identify any who might choose to proceed with their dissent as somewhat less "loving" or "faithful" to their beliefs as those who are inclined to "get this work done quickly and efficiently".

These images are made all the more potent by the prayer's request for direct, divine intervention in the activities of the group. Through prayer, God is asked to take an active part in the ratification process of C.H.P.

policy. Further dissent, or filibustering on the part of participants would be in direct contradiction to what the "Holy Spirit" was requested to facilitate. Through this prayer, the fundamental beliefs of the group are layed bare. They are layed bare in such a fashion that continued opposition to the joint act would reflect opposition to the fundamentals of the group itself.

### 3. Imposing Order and the Symbolic Demonstration of Unity

Drawing on the additive qualities of preceding appeals for the rule of law and divine intervention, organizers took the step of ruling the "motion to reconsider" out of order. Therefore there was no vote and no discussion of the issue. The previous appeals "set the stage" for this decision. It was not simply made by a member of the collective holding a position of authority. It received symbolic sanction via the portrayal of the fundamentals of the group. It was based on collectively adopted rules and took place immediately after a prayer which requested the wisdom of God. It is within this context that the public opposition to the procedure of ratifying policy ended and the disruption of the joint act typifying the sociological moment came to a close. This end was signalled by a rather spontaneous yet symbolically rich expression of the "successful" maintenance of the collective.

Chair: I have just ruled the motion to reconsider out of order, okay, moving along these items were tabled, they are now open for our consideration.

Delegate interrupting: Mr. Chairman, may I make a special request? My heart is pounding a little bit with the tension. I really appreciated the prayer. May I ask that we all sing one stanza of [To God Be The Glory] to relieve the tension a little bit?

Chair: Good idea. Let's all stand up.

Delegates, singing, no "abstainers" observed: To God be the glory, great things He hath done. So loved He the world that He gave us His Son; Who yielded His life in atonement for sin and opened the Lifegate that all may go in .... (taped session proceedings)

#### **Accounts of the Moment: The Sense-Making Activities of Actors**

The sociological moment is a notion fundamentally grounded in social process. It takes the joint act as its methodological starting point by recognizing the often tenuous and inherently problematic nature of human action. The moment itself and the activities accompanying it are a part of this continuing drama. What endows the sociological moment with its uniqueness is its disruption of the taken-for-granteds of actors. However, participants' accounts of such moments and their outcomes may reflect a range of perspectives. An emphasis on the sociology of the moment is a descriptive abstraction. For participants the experience can be disillusioning, frightening, maddening, or encouraging. These themes are reflected in participants'

accounts of events. Through a review of interview data, this section briefly explores these accounts. I have divided the data into two sections. The first confronts the perspectives of those who viewed events relative to the extended process of ratifying policy and the use and/or abuse of power. The second section deals with the religious aspects of the moment and its relevance as an indicator of divine intervention.

#### THE MOMENT AS PROCEDURAL CRISIS: ACCOUNTS I

I was somewhat scared that if we pushed it once more that we would have torn that whole thing to pieces and I didn't want that to happen so I quit, I didn't want to tear things apart. That would have been very wrong. (convention delegate, taped interview)

I remember sitting there during it all thinking that this can't be happening. I knew it had to be resolved quickly, we had to find a way out but I couldn't think of it. I ended up just sitting there through it thinking we have come this far and it is going to fall apart over how we vote or whether we may have a youth caucus or we shall have a youth caucus. But of course now that I look back on it it was more than that. The problems were much more severe than I realized then - some people, though I'm not one of them, got the impression that the interim executive was just trying to have its way with people. That they travelled to the convention to rubber stamp what the executive wanted. But through it all I just sat there, I couldn't think of one thing to say to help. Even today I don't know what I would have said, but I do really think we came close to having the convention and the party come apart right at the seams. (convention delegate, fieldnotes)

Regardless of which side of the challenge delegates favored, participants tended to emphasize the relative importance of events. To them this was not a simple

difference of opinion. It was a challenge to the enterprise in which they were engaged. It is in part a question of power - a question of who establishes the rules and whose interest their application appears to serve. While participants may not use these terms, this theme of contextualizing the sociological moment relative to the distribution of power - to the ability to be heard, to represent, and to be represented - is addressed repeatedly in accounting for the moment they shared.

If you are going to understand what happened here you have to realize that the people who were there were new, they were there because they cared. They were there because they knew what we were doing was right. But there were little things that they wanted to get on the floor but they didn't understand how.... What happened was that some of them were stepped on and I thought some of them were stepped on unjustly. I have later come to the realization that it wasn't so much their being stepped on as it was just that nobody knew what they were doing and they didn't realize, at least that is the impression I get, they didn't realize that they were hurting people or they didn't realize the extent.... I wanted people to have an opportunity to speak.... I felt that a lot of the people there were representing a large group. If they go back and say, "These people would not let me talk", we can lose not only one individual but a whole group. (convention delegate, taped interview)

When I came here as a voting delegate I was supposed to have a vote and a voice. But it turns out I only have a vote. It turns out to have a voice 33% of the other delegates have to have seen some problem in a resolution. Now most of them haven't even read them over, and if they have they say, "sounds good to me." But how many of them understand criminal law, or international debt, foreign affairs, you see what I'm getting at. By not being able to speak we will lose out in the long run and the people who wrote this book of policy will get exactly what they want. Now you have to ask yourself, did this happen by accident or was this done so that certain people could have their own way. I don't believe in accidents or

chance or luck, everything happens for a purpose.  
(convention delegate, fieldnotes)

In politics perception is reality and you saw it here. We limited debate so as to get through all of the resolutions we had to vote on. But the problem was we waffled, we didn't stick to our guns. We gave a little here, we gave a little there and then the flood gates opened. We were all so new at this we didn't even see it coming. (convention delegate, fieldnotes)

Actors' definitions of their shared sociological moments may prove to hold consequences for their subsequent actions. For those who understood the moment relative to procedural crisis and the relative distribution of power, subsequent actions varied greatly. Some chose to voice their disapproval by voting against the current party leader in a constitutionally required affirmation vote. Others discontinued their involvements with the party altogether, while for still others the sociological moment provided experiential evidence of the necessity of their continuing involvements. What these varied responses share is an attentiveness to the sociological moment as an event of relative importance in constructing typified notions of one's involvements and associations.

I will tell you this right now. I don't like what I saw going on in there and I know exactly what I will do about it. They won't allow debate and this is fine, but then the leader gets up and has his say and tells people how to vote. I don't like it, that is wrong, eh. So what he can't tell me to do is vote him, and I'm not going to. When I came here I thought I would but I can't do it now. If he flies off like that here with us what do you think he might do in front of the press. (convention delegate, fieldnotes)

I was very, very disillusioned, discouraged, disgruntled,

not for myself but because the organization left a lot to be desired. I didn't know how to change it. I didn't know if we'd be able to change it, bring it back to a plausible direction. I know from the work that I have done since that time that we did loose and are still loosing good people over what happened at the convention. There are a lot of things that hurt and they will continue to hurt. I have managed in my travels to continue to show people that I do care and most of the people I can show that just the fact that they were there and they do care is enough to keep them going. Some of the errors made stopped them, that (evening) was one of the most major errors I have had to overcome. (convention delegate, taped interview)

That [evening] showed me just how much we have to learn. It is easy to get over-confident. To say look how far we have come, aren't we doing well. Then something like that happens. It shows you just how fragile we really are and how important it is for us who really believe in this to work that much harder to make it better, stronger, to get the right people in the jobs that they are best suited for. Myself, I don't necessarily think I am the best person to be doing what I am doing but right now there is no one else. I thought I would see it through to the convention then someone else could have a go. But they need me more after this convention is over and everybody goes home than they ever did. For me it comes down to do I believe in this or not and I most surely do. There are going to be mistakes, some big ones and some little ones. We have to say it was a mistake and move on. We have to keep reminding ourselves what we are here for. (convention delegate, fieldnotes)

#### THE MOMENT AS RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE: ACCOUNTS II

For some participants the moment had far less to do with matters of policy, procedure and the relative power of actors. These themes and the issues they represent are defined relative to a "worldly view" - a secularism. Such a perspective is rejected in favour of one which attends to the religious dimensions of participants' life experiences.

You are going to have a task explaining [what happened that night] to other academics. How do you explain the Holy Spirit? First of all you can't because they aren't going to believe you. You can't put it into a test tube and look at it just by a process, a scientific process. You have to be able to repeat something to show that it is true. We can't do that with the Holy Spirit and even I've met people who were in that crowd who really aren't Christians I think, that thought that it had nothing to do with the Holy Spirit. But those who believe and can sense the Holy Spirit will look at that from one perspective, others will look at that from a different perspective as emotionalism, manipulation from some worldly view they are going to perceive that same actions, that play of humanity, that interaction, from one position and others are going to see it from a different position. I guess one day we are going know where the truth lies. But, I think it was the Holy Spirit. (convention delegate, taped interview)

I am glad you were there because if you weren't it would be almost impossible to explain.... What you saw was the Holy Spirit moving. We talked a moment ago about prayer and that God answers prayer. I have seen God heal people. I have seen God's hand at work. What we believe as Christians is the truth - there really is a God, a God of the whole universe and He exists. He exists in our lives. I know from various meetings we have had before ... that people are earnest, they believe in the same thing. But we are different human beings, we approach life from different perspectives. You are adamant and I am adamant and we come together like this, in a clash. I have noticed when we would stop and pray ... it does a couple of things. It humbles us if we can bow our heads and pray to God acknowledging that we no longer know what we are doing and we need His help. Secondly because there really is a God and because He really is present at the meetings He changes things.... What happened that [evening] was the Lord, I could feel the whole thing turn right then. The next day, even that evening it changed, the whole thing changed. (convention delegate, taped interview)

From this perspective the events that I have cast as a sociological moment become a religious experience. The maintenance of the collective consensus is defined relative to divine intervention. Readers will recall that, through

prayer, the Holy Spirit was called to take a direct "hand" in the resolution of conflict. For some participants, this happened. The consensus of the group was maintained, however tenuously, and this maintenance provided evidence of God's hand in proceedings. This said however, I have no reason to believe that if the outcome had been different - if for example a block of delegates had walked out in resignation - that this too would not have been defined as a religious experience. An infinite, omnipotent and omnipresent God is capable of anything. Once the assembly joined in prayer, what may have been religious symbolism to some became the context for divine intervention for others.

The real answer is this. It is that there really is a God of this universe and for whatever reason He answers prayer. I have seen prayers answered over and over again in my own life and my friends and neighbours as well. It is important that you not loose track of that. There is a spiritual power involved. (convention delegate, taped interview)

The participation of this spiritual power holds direct implications for the continuing involvements of those who share a common faith in divine intervention. The moment may provide evidence of God's favour upon their endeavours. This in turn may serve to confirm the appropriateness of one's involvements and provide assurances that "God's will" is being done.

I was moved by Thursday evening I really was. When things seemed at their darkest we were able to pray together. That was an emotional experience for me being in a room of 500 Christians all together who all believe in the same things asking God to help us. And when we

got the problems over with and we all sang together I wanted to stand up on my chair and shout "Praise the Lord". Because without His help we wouldn't have made it through that night together. In your lifetime you get very few chances to see that hand of God at work and I consider myself privileged. When I go home and make my report to the riding there I am going to tell them about the power of God's love first. (convention delegate, fieldnotes)

Sometimes you wonder if what you are doing is what the Lord would have you do. If He were here right now what would He have us do. I always have had that feeling about the C.H.P., you know, how can I be sure it is right. I'm not saying I am sure, but I am a little more convinced after being here at this convention. God must have a use for us because He didn't let us down. He was there when we needed Him. I'm just a working man but you don't have to hit me over the head. I know when I see a prayer answered and I know who answers prayers and it is as simple as that. (convention delegate, fieldnotes)

#### **PACKAGING THE DREAM: POLICY AND ANTICIPATING THE ELECTION OF 1988**

The following discussion focuses on the process of preparing C.H.P. policy to go before the press and before the electorate. Previous work in this chapter has dealt with policy as primarily an internal "party document". However, in the following we share a transition experienced by participants - a transition from creating the trappings of a political party to anticipating an upcoming federal election.

By August of 1988, speculation was running high that Canadians would go to the polls in the fall. While the possibility of the Conservative government allowing their

administration to linger into the fifth year of its majority mandate remained, the C.H.P. chose to hold a candidate's training session to prepare their representatives for the upcoming election. Much of the data in this section come from these training sessions, from interviews with candidates from across Canada and members of the national election "team", and from the training sessions themselves. I utilize these data to explore participants' activities relative to the extended exercise in impression management which characterizes electoral politics. I am more concerned here with the anticipation of "going public" that accompanies fighting an election than with election time strategies. It is towards an understanding of this issue that we examine the themes of establishing election issues and instructing candidates.

#### **Distinguishing Between Party Policy and Election Issues**

The distinction between party policy and the issues upon which the C.H.P. chose to fight their first election reflects the extended process of impression management. Like Goffman's (1963b) stigmatized, Edgerton's (1967) mentally "disadvantaged", and Haas and Shaffir's (1987) medical students, party "strategists" attend to the public impressions of the party. Policy, to a large extent, carries that impression to the "people". Political

enterprises often come to be typified relative to their policy claims. Aware of these generalized notions, party strategists may selectively emphasize aspects of party policy, actively promoting some and distancing the enterprise from others.

Party policy and the policies offered to the electorate are two different "beasts" with different symbolic relevances reflecting the products of divergent, yet related social processes. Party policies reflect a collective statement of faith. They are, for the most part, statements of belief endorsed by the group which articulate a shared "vision" of the appropriate and the inappropriate. To take these same policies to the electorate involves a transformation indicative of the distinction between constructing a collective consensus and the presentation of that consensus. Illustrating an attentiveness to this theme, participants showed an extended concern with the public typification of their efforts.

I think that the first thing that comes into peoples' minds when they hear our name for the first time is that perhaps we are a group of rabid, right wing fundamentalists. I know that was my concern when I first heard of this party and I would think that that thought first crossed your mind. The name makes you think right wing, then the next question is how far right? I think that is fair to say. Now we are aware of that and it is a burden we will have to overcome. We have to show people that our policies are compassionate, that we have a definite social conscience. While if pressed I would say we are more right than left you wouldn't be treating us fairly to say we are a right wing political party so we can't give people the chance to do that. We have to

keep pounding away at our compassionate side as well.  
(local organizer, fieldnotes)

This will be a long process .... What we have to do with our policy is get ourselves identified with a handful of them. Our book is good, it shows we are prepared to offer opinions of a truly federal government. But when people think of the Christian Heritage Party I don't want them thinking of us as the anti-Soviet party. This isn't where our support is. It is with the pro-life groups, it is with traditional people with traditional values. When people think pro-family, pro-life, pro-environment I want them to think of us. That is what it is going to take. We cannot try and do too much. We have to stake out our territory and defend it against all comers. (provincial executive, fieldnotes)

Our strategy must be that our policies are based on our principled statements which are wholesome and which are good. This is where we have a solid foundation, nobody can shake us off that foundation because it has stood the test of time. If we stay on that foundation and begin to address the issues as they exist in Canada today and we begin to zero in on the mistakes made by the government in power and previous administrations because they did not apply solutions and programs based on those principles then we will be on solid ground. But if we make the mistake of going out on a limb it is like walking with a rope around our neck asking where the nearest tree is. (national executive, taped interview)

**Instructing Candidates: On the Media and a Collective Presence**

While members of the "federal campaign committee" may attend to the relative advantages of managing impressions via the selection of certain policies for election time presentation, in the last instance it is the candidates which carry policies to the electorate. This is a practical reality of "fourth party politics" in Canada. Except for access to a thirty-second "free time" political

broadcast on national television, the range of fourth parties generally must go without the media attention and daily coverage which follows the leaders of the "Big Three".

For party strategists, "the media" remains something of an uncertain element. The national media, radio, television and the press provide a public visibility to endeavours and to some extent may serve to legitimize performance within the political "arena". On the other hand, participants have relatively little control over the aspects of their activities which gain media coverage, or the light within which they will be portrayed. This dual edged concern is typified through participants' characterizations of their relations with the media. These notions combine an element of distrust with the perceived relative advantages of generating media attention.

The media, you see, portrays the secular mindset. It has been well documented that the C.B.C. has a left leaning bias and we have to be aware of that. We have to be aware that we will be called the "God-Squad", that there will be veiled references to the scandals south of the border. The media won't like us, I am speaking here of the secular media - they won't like us. We are coming from a completely different way of looking at the world than they are and that won't help us win them over. (national executive, fieldnotes)

Some of the members of the national executive are very cautious when it comes to the media. They think they are just waiting there to do us in. But what they don't realize is that we aren't news. I'm not saying that we won't be news but we aren't news yet. It is important that we try to be news on our own terms. We want to be news because we made a difference politically - that we elect a member, that we have a hand in who sits in the House that sort of thing. We most definitely do not want coverage of our mistakes - of one of our candidates

saying something way out in left field. (provincial executive, fieldnotes)

If I were to point the finger to where our most vocal opposition has come I would most definitely go to the written word. Because you can only say so much on T.V.. The impact of T.V. is possibly far greater than the media but you can't belabour something too often on the T.V., but you can belabour much more in the printed media.... We have had our fair share, I think we have more than our fair share. But, if any thing, it is free advertising for the Christian Heritage Party. I would possibly say that the negative articles, well, you see, I don't mind what the printed media says about us as long as they spell our name correctly. What I am saying is that people who are looking for a positive alternative in government will recognize that despite all the charges that are levelled against the Christian Heritage Party they will recognize there is a reasonableness about us.... I'll let [our opposition in the press] advertise us, this is all free. We don't mind one little bit. (national executive, taped interview)

An attentiveness to the media illustrates an important "shift in ground" relative to participant's activities - it involves an attentiveness to the increasingly public nature of the collective's actions. The statements of party promoters and candidates alike hold the perceived potential of discrediting the enterprise and "overshadowing" accomplishments.

I'll tell you what scares me in my little corner of the world is that some candidate will say someting that is wrong, that is hateful, that is non-Christian and that the press will pick up on it. Can't you see it, "Christan Party Calls for White-Only Immigration". That would just be disasterous for us here. I have had to work hard to assure some of our even strong supporters that this party is not like that. I can tell you right now that if that happened anywhere I would lose support right here. So I worry about other candidates coming down with hoof in mouth disease. (candidate, taped interview)

At these sessions sometimes I find myself saying, Boy,

I'm glad the press wasn't here to hear that. We have people who are not thinking like representatives of the Christian Heritage Party. They are thinking like they are expressing opinions over a cup of coffee. Some people were saying things that were wrong, totally wrong, not just wrong because they didn't fit with our policy but wrong because they were not legal, they didn't fit with the constitution, they were impossible to implement. (national executive, fieldnotes)

The above data were shared in the confidence of informal interview settings. However, candidates found a similar point stressed by a member of their national executive during "training sessions" for the anticipated election.

You are going to be battling with people that are battle hardened, that have been in the trenches long before you even got your shoes dirty. [If you make mistakes] they are going to take you to the cleaners and are going to hang you out to dry. And this Christian Heritage Party will be portrayed by the media as ridiculous, as way out in left field and not knowing what it is talking about. (national executive, taped session proceedings)

The concern of participants focuses on the management of impressions - the attempts of actors to portray respectability, moderation of thought and credibility. In terms of the practical accomplishment of this endeavour, candidates who will be carrying the C.H.P. banner to the electorate are brought "on side", "media ready" versions of policy are constructed, and candidates are instructed on their use. This brings us full circle to the relevance of discussing impression management and perceptions of the media within a chapter dedicated to the construction of policy. The process of constructing and articulating policy varies with respect to the symbolic relevances which it

holds for actors. We have seen that policy is typified and acted upon very differently when contextualized as a response to secular humanism than as a statement of a collective consensus. By "training candidates" in the appropriate presentation of policy and attending to the potentially discrediting activities of the "media", policy is again transformed. Its symbolic relevance changes as the activities and practical accomplishments of actors change. To illustrate, we compare the ratified policy of the C.H.P. to the "instructions" on the presentation of these policies given to candidates - instructions which attend to the presentation of policy within a public setting. I provide the reader with two examples which are "mainstays" of the C.H.P. platform: daycare, and abortion.

#### DAYCARE

We affirm that universal daycare should not be provided by the state. Besides being prohibitively expensive, such a scheme would only encourage mothers to neglect their primary duty to rear their own children. We believe that children are not better reared in an institution outside the home. (C.H.P. Policy 06.4, Article 7)

We have a good solid position on daycare, the national board gave us many alternatives. Your fight is to be that we believe in the choice of women in regards to their careers, there is nothing wrong with that. But we also believe in the diversity between man and woman in society. Because there is equality based on diversity that if a woman decides to have a family, to have children, it is her choice. We are not making up her mind. She is making up her mind so if she decides with her husband or as a single parent, and you are not moralizing here, you may not like it but it is none of

your business, it is her responsibility and never forget it, and she decides to have children she should not expect the state to pay for it. Now you are on safe grounds. If a mother wants to have three children all by herself there is not a thing you are going to do about it. You may not like it but you certainly can't legislate against it. But you certainly can do one thing. You can say that action must be coupled with responsibility, that is accountability in order to have freedom and if you stress those facts you can say yes there are people who leave their children. There are fathers who go to find greener pastures and I ask you my friends should the tax payers pay for their hobbies. Boy, I'll tell you, you will get a good laugh out of that one, you are on solid ground. You say that we as a party believe that when someone takes upon themselves the responsibility which is fatherhood or motherhood that responsibility must be lived up to and not at the cost of the Canadian taxpayer. Now you must say one more thing. You must say, you must stress, you must hammer it home, that we are a compassionate party. That although we may not approve of the sin we will never condemn the sinner. You will make points with that and it is Christian too yet. Now you are going to say we live in a broken society and in a broken society we need daycare. But first and foremost we believe in mother care. You can't go wrong with that one. (national executive, taped session proceedings)

#### HUMAN LIFE

We affirm that human life is sacred from conception and has God-given value, regardless of race, gender, or physical or mental handicap (Ex. 4:11). Furthermore, no race or gender has greater intrinsic value than another. We believe that the human body is the property of God, and that no one but God has the authority to terminate life except in accord with the express provisions of Holy Scripture (Gen. 9:6; Lev. 24:17; Gal. 3:17). No person, institution, or government shall tolerate, encourage, or decree death by means such as abortion, euthanasia, or suicide. (C.H.P. Policy 06.3, Sect. 1)

On abortion, some very wrong statements have been made [at these meetings] with regards to abortion. My friends, you must maintain two things, a compassionate answer must go hand in hand with an uncompromising answer. And if you come with a holier than thou attitude and you forget the poor girl that is having an abortion and you forget the single parent and you forget all the

other aspects and you just say I am against abortion under all circumstances [you are in trouble. We have to stress] that a nation has no future until it realizes that it must protect its most defenceless members within a community. We believe first of all in choice, choice in the right of a mother to make a decision, and that decision is not to get pregnant if she doesn't want a child, and stress right away that the choice also applies to the boy because it take two to say yes and one to say no. You are on solid ground my friends and no one will be able to defeat you. (national executive, taped session proceedings)

#### IN SUM

When we confront the policies of a political party we are examining ideas about the way the world ought to be. This is as accurate of the C.H.P. as it is of the N.D.P. or the Communist Party of Canada. These ideas, about the role of women, the role of government and of the nation state that we share, are a central part of the stigma contest which is electoral politics. These ideas are the definitions of the inappropriate and the appropriate which politicized actors champion. As such, an attentiveness to the social process by which such ideas are generated, affirmed and presented becomes a part of examining championing in its extended context. But in so doing we cannot loose sight of political policy as practical accomplishment.

Policy is generated through the joint acts of actors and through this process becomes an object which is attended to through an ongoing process of definition and

interpretation. My work in this chapter has attempted to capture elements of this process. It is this problem of casting political policy (a policy that becomes objectified and codified by article and subsection) in process terms that unites my work in each of the subsections of this chapter. Through examining the "creation" of policy, its ratification at convention, and its public presentation, we gain a sense of the very different objects that policy becomes. The collective statement of faith which is party policy holds the potential to represent a range of symbolic relevances for actors.

This range of definition cuts across my work. As the symbolic relevance of policy changes, so too do the activities of participants. Blumer (1969) teaches us that it cannot be any other way. People act towards the objects of their worlds on the basis of the meaning that those objects hold for them. As the definition of objects change, processes which attend to these objects change as well. By attending to the symbolic foundation of social process, this chapter has examined political policy in action terms. Each subsection utilizes a somewhat different conceptual focus; we begin by attending to actors' definitions of the situation, move to an examination of the sociological moment and complete the discussion through casting participants' activities relative to impression management. This

diversity is encouraged by a naturalism which takes the data as the reference point for subsequent conceptualizations. Despite this diversity, each of these subsections addresses the overriding problem - the examination of political policy as practically accomplished activity.

**NOTES**

1. Here the respondent refers to the documents "The Humanist Manifestos I & II" (1973).
2. Much of the thought to which I refer in the following remains unpublished following the author's untimely passing. I have sourced here one of Thomlinson's last published works. Readers will find no reference to the concept of the sociological moment within it. However it is indicative of the sociology of which I am speaking - one which takes life as it is lived as the subject of study and revels in sociology in common places. What follows is my own interpretation of what Thomlinson has taught me. He deserves credit for the original concept. However, the alteration and definition of the notion is my own, as should be criticism of the relative usefulness of this approach.
3. This extended process required over 200 voting occasions.
4. It is not my intent here to question the sincerity of participants. My observations deal exclusively with the relevance of prayer to the processes accompanying the sociological moment. Prayer, in its many forms, holds implications beyond the sociological. This said however, my purpose here is the development of a further understanding of social process. An exploration of the other relevances of prayer I leave to those more qualified than myself.

## **CHAPTER IX**

### **A CONCLUDING STATEMENT: FEDERAL ELECTIONS, DESIGNATING DIVERGENCE AND A GENERIC SOCIOLOGY**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

On November 21, 1988 Canadians went to the polls. For the first time they had an opportunity to vote for candidates of the Christian Heritage Party. Just over 100,000 chose to do so. In this final chapter, I will provide the reader with an overview of C.H.P. performance in their first general election, contextualize participants' perspectives on their performances, and examine the contributions of this work to a phenomenological interactionism.

#### **ELECTION '88: ON LEAVING THE FIELD AND ELECTION PERFORMANCE**

For researchers who employ some form of sequentially derived model of social life in their work, the process one is studying never fully concludes. Even if one's "people" were to disband and the group were to no longer exist, the members disperse, their ideas disseminate and careers of involvements become re-directed. There is always something

else worthwhile understanding which lies just beyond the termination point of one's research.

In my case, what lay beyond this research was the federal election of 1988. As a result, the federal election remains something of a footnote to this work rather than an integral part of it. The reasons for this are several. This research was undertaken as part of a doctoral program with deadlines and obligations. Elections are relatively uncertain events. We can be reasonably sure we will have an election but we cannot know its exact timing. As a result, my time in the field focused on the activities of participants relative to the formation and creation of a politicized championing endeavour. I simply did not have the luxury in practical terms of waiting for the Prime Minister to request that the Governor General dissolve parliament.

It also became clear during the course of the research that the election itself would be one more step in the natural history of this championing enterprise. It was not the focal point to which participants were directing their actions. It was one aspect of party building not the purpose of it. I think the data examined in the preceding chapters illustrate this point.

In addition, an election involves the redirection and reorientation of activities. The social processes

encompassed by fighting a federal election are somewhat distinct from those examined here. "Election time" produces events with a unique natural history which encompass a range of particularistic activities such as creating a public presence, vying for attention, garnering support, establishing strategies for success, confronting opposition, and so forth (Hershey, 1974; Mauser, 1983). This constitutes a major "shift in ground" from the processes I had previously studied. An understanding of these processes would require duplicating my accomplishments over the last two years in little over eight weeks. I had neither the resources nor the desire to see this through.

In Altheide's (1980) "brutally honest" account of leaving the field, he notes that one of the indications of the appropriate time to leave the field is boredom. When the experiences become routine, perhaps one has gained all the richness of data that there is to be acquired. This, in part, reflected my experience. After nearly two years in the field, I knew the "lines" and the "catchy phrases". For me, the activities of the C.H.P. during the election were "repeat performances". A party that "came out of nowhere" for journalists and much of the electorate was, for me, simply "making public" an organization whose perspectives, policy, and "sales techniques" I had already come to know.

This said however, I did undertake research during

the election. I conducted interviews, went "door-knocking" with candidates, and attended party rallies and candidates meetings throughout six Ontario ridings. Portions of this material have been included in previous chapters. While the data I was able to collect were insufficient to include a chapter on the social process of promoting a championing message to the electorate, I did gain an opportunity to extend my data, strengthening my arguments throughout. The previous discussions confront fundamental aspects of politicized championing activity - during an election or not.

Yet the election did provide a unique opportunity to attain a quantitative statement on a qualitative process. It provides a descriptive measure of the political impact of the process I have examined. Tables 9.1 (C.H.P. Voter Support) and 9.2 (C.H.P. Candidate Performance Relative to Candidate Performance of other "Fourth" Political Enterprises) are intended to answer a question which I hope readers share with me at this point - the question of how "they did".

Canada's 34th general election saw the Progressive Conservatives gain a majority in the House with 43.3% of the popular vote, the Liberals and the New Democrats captured the remaining seats with 32.4% and 19.7% of the popular vote respectively. All "fourth" candidates combined accounted

Table 9.1. C.H.P. Voter Support in the General Election of 1988 for C.H.P. Candidates by Region<sup>1</sup>

Region	Ridings	Total C.H.P. Vote	Total Vote	Percentage of Popular Vote
East of Ontario <sup>2</sup>	7	5,881	291,599	2.02%
Ontario <sup>3</sup>	31	63,827	1,491,357	4.28%
Manitoba/ Alberta <sup>4</sup>	12	16,499	489,961	3.11%
B.C./ Yukon <sup>5</sup>	13	15,028	568,627	2.64%
National <sup>6</sup>	63	101,235	2,841,544	3.56%

1. Data precedes official report of the Chief Electoral Officer. It is therefore subject to errors of incompleteness and revision through official recount.

2. A total of 5 polls failing to report.

3. A total of 64 polls failing to report.

4. A total of 11 polls failing to report.

5. A total of 32 polls failing to report.

6. A total of 112 polls failing to report.

**Table 9.2. C.H.P. Candidate Performance Relative to Candidate Performance of other "Fourth" Political Enterprises in the General Election of 1988.**

Party	# of Candidates Defeated by C.H.P.	# of Candidates Defeating C.H.P.	% Defeated by C.H.P.
Communist	06	00	100.00
Confederation of Regions Western Party	13	01	92.86
Green Party	05	02	71.43
Independents	24	01	96.00
Libertarians	21	00	100.00
Party for Commonwealth- Republic	06	00	100.00
Rhinoceros	11	01	91.67
Western Reform	05	18	21.74
Total Other	91	23	79.82

for 4.5% of the popular vote and gained no seats.<sup>1</sup> This is the "reality" of fourth party politics in Canada.

It is within the context of this "reality" that I encourage readers to attend to the results of the federal election of 1988. The C.H.P. was a fourth party engaged in its first general election. The relevance of my research does not rest on the political fortunes of this party. My interest is in the process and perspectives which accompany the championing activities in which they were engaged. This said, however, I am aware that my research may be of note to those holding a range of interests - be they interests of the "expression" of religious faith, of collective action, of political party formation, and perhaps in the future, of the history of the Canadian political landscape.

An underlying question which readers may share focuses on the relative "importance" of the C.H.P. Is the C.H.P. in and of itself "important"? The answer lies, in part, with the C.H.P.'s future lines of action. Party organizers must make decisions which will play a major role in shaping the direction of this party as it anticipates the election of 1992/93. Will the party extend its organizational base, actively recruiting members and establishing new riding associations, or will it maintain its present organization and "stabilize" the 63 ridings it ran in 1988? Will the members replace the party leader

and/or members of the executive, modify the constitution, or alter policy? Will membership requirements be made less restrictive? Will the party become the Canadian Heritage Party to distance itself from the political stigma of Christianity? These matters will be decided over the next year and will be resolved, if only for the short term, at the party's second convention in November 1989.

These issues aside, however, the emergence, development and political activities of the C.H.P. of 1986-1988 are of relevance to students of Canadian society and the activities of its citizens. With the emergence of the C.H.P., we see the development of a religiously "segregated" political party. This is unique on the Canadian political scene. One consequence is the politicization of a segment of the Canadian electorate which previously was less than active in politics. Party promoters referred to this process as the "waking of a sleeping giant". It is questionable whether the 100,000 voters who chose to support the C.H.P. constitute a "giant". Yet, those same 100,000 votes also served to distinguish the C.H.P. among fourth parties. Of fourth parties, only the Western Reform Party consistently outperformed C.H.P. candidates. While never breaking into the top three (as the Western Reform Party accomplished), C.H.P. candidates defeated 79.8% of the fourth party candidates they faced (refer to Table 9.2).

This, given its scale, attests to the presence of a relatively "effective" political organization.

However, it is perhaps the C.H.P.'s relative "accomplishment" of introducing a "new" agenda and bases of argument into Canadian politics to which future students of this group and Canadian political activity in general should attend. As my research has indicated, participants focus on a uniquely Christian politics. Their perspectives, arguments and rhetoric are unique. The task facing party promoters is one of "selling" these ideas to voters within a "package" that includes a new federal party. The perspectives promoted by the C.H.P. are "saleable" in a contemporary western democracy. The question remains whether they are sufficient to support and maintain a "new party" in Canada. I can note however, that very similar notions have served the Prime Minister of Great Britain well.

... [T]he Christian religion (which of course, embodies many of the great spiritual and moral truths of Judaism) is a fundamental part of our national heritage. I believe it is the wish of the overwhelming majority of people that this heritage should be preserved and fostered. For centuries it has been our lifeblood. Indeed we are a nation whose ideals are founded on the Bible. Also, it is quite impossible to understand our history or literature without grasping this fact. (Thatcher, 1989)

Using these various criteria, I would argue that the C.H.P. represents a collective of relative importance to students of religious thought and/or political action in a

Canadian context. This issue of the relative importance of the C.H.P., is quite apart from participants' notions of the importance of their activities and the future direction of the enterprise. It is towards this theme that we turn our attention.

#### **ANTICIPATING FUTURE EVENTS: PARTICIPANT NOTIONS**

Participants may cast activities within the present relative to anticipated future events (Schutz, 1967). An understanding of actors' perspectives on the outcomes of the election of 1988 necessarily attends to this dimension of the knowledge of future events. For participants, from the general membership to members of the national executive, the performance of the party in the election of '88 has left them with something of an uncertain future - a future that offers a range of contingencies. Despite variation in these contingencies, actors tend to look towards two future events within the party's natural history as indicators of the direction of their activities. These are the convention of 1989 and the election of 1992/93.

The convention of '89 will provide the membership of the C.H.P. with an opportunity to change key aspects of their enterprise: policy, the constitution, the national executive and the party leader. My data suggest that the "will" is present in Ontario and elsewhere to confront these

issues. The election of '88 alerted those involved in promoting the party to perceived shortcomings within the enterprise. For participants, the "answers" established by the delegates at the next convention to these deficits will shape the party which approaches the election of 1992 - if the collective survives this convention "intact".

To be honest I don't see how we can come out of the next convention with the membership we have today in place. As I am sure you have realized we are a very mixed bag. We agree on Christian politics but we don't agree on how we should go about it. If we keep things as they are there are people who are going to leave, if we change them people are going to leave. But we will have to make those decisions. If we make the right ones we will continue to grow. If we make the wrong ones we will stagnate with the membership we have got minus ten to twenty percent. You can still run a party on the membership fees of those people alone. But it will never be a party of any consequence. (candidate, fieldnotes)

We are agreed that we want change but there is so much that is wrong that we don't know where to start. Do you start with the leader and run someone against him, or do you try to win key positions on the national executive, or do you try and change the policy book and the constitution or do you go for it all. If the convention delegates are ready for change we could go for it all. If not we can try it one step at a time. (member, fieldnotes)

I got involved with this party to change it. When I first heard about them I thought that is an idea that just might work. But when I became more involved I began to realize that it will never work the way it is set up. We have the wrong people in the wrong jobs and the jobs in the wrong places. That's our first problem. Secondly, we have a no-name leader. Look how far the Western Reform's got having Manning as their leader. We need that. We need to be taken seriously in the next election. We cannot do that without professionals in key positions and without a budget in the millions instead of in the thousands. (local organizer, fieldnotes)

These issues and concerns will be dealt with at the

next convention. The process of presenting concerns and garnering delegate support has already begun, both for the advocates of change and for those who seek to maintain the present state of affairs. However my data, albeit sketchy, suggest that this time around the challenge to the collective consensus will be concerted, intense, and organized. At this convention, actors' commitments to the enterprise will have intensified as embeddedness within careers of involvements increase. Participants have more "at stake" at this convention - be it their jobs or the collective expression of their faith.

I have been willing to live with a lot so far. Some of them are little and some of them are major - like our policy on women. As long as we have policies like that we will always have to make apologies for them. I don't know what was going through people's heads the last time around that that policy got put in print the way it is but it is those stupid statements that we have to get rid of. (member, fieldnotes)

I think that we have to come out of the next convention with a clearer sense of direction than we have now. We have to decide if we are serious about this. I will tell you I am serious. I am serious about protecting the unborn. I am as serious as I can get about that. If this party can't make some real headway towards this in the next election I will have to give my staying some serious thought. One of the options that is always open to us is to take our existing organization and sign up as P.C.'s, choose our man and see him nominated as the P.C. candidate. I am not willing to give up on this yet, we have put too much into it, but if we don't see a clear commitment [at the convention] to winning seats as opposed to just writing press releases we will have to give that option some serious consideration. (local organizer, taped interview)

While the national convention of 1989 is the forum

for the next "internal" struggles, it is with the next election that C.H.P. candidates will once again take their message to the electorate. While the election of '88 may have been a disappointment for some, few respondents tended to focus on the "downside" of their efforts. Complimentary referents within the press were lauded, the relative strength of their election results were emphasized, and "star" candidates were praised. Comparative "shortfalls" tended to be de-emphasized and discounted relative to region, the election issues or the inexperience of the party within the context of a first election. A favorable review of "accomplishments" in the 1988 election, provides a context for anticipating performances in the next election and for encouraging continuing involvements and maintaining a commitment to the enterprise. Party anticipation of the election of 1992/93, is contextualized relative to definitions of success in '88.

This was our first election campaign and most Canadians were not aware that we existed before October 1st. To expect voters to embrace a political party that in their minds was only six weeks old and with which they were understandably hesitant (we are after all a political party and politicians are not noted for being well trusted), might have been somewhat idealistic on our part. As the campaign developed, we noted increased curiosity in our party and what we stood for but I fear that many voters did not have enough time to digest what we were saying to the point that they were willing to change lifelong voting patterns.... In my estimation the free trade question cost the CHP about half our votes. Whereas people indicated sympathy with our positions on various issues, they did not translate into votes because people voted on free trade, on the free trade issue.... While the factors of influence and success do play a part

as we try to answer the objections raised against the CHP, they should never be our personal motives for continued involvement. Ultimately, it is for each person to ask him/herself what the Lord requires of them in political activity. The Lord does not require success of his people but rather obedience and he chooses often to bless obedience with success. And so the challenge of the CHP continues seeking to be faithful to our God and in faith, waiting for him to bless our efforts. (member, written communication)

Sure we were all a little disappointed when we saw the results starting to come in. And they started from the east where we didn't do so well so that maybe made it a little worse. You are always hopeful aren't you. You say to yourself well this one and that one, they have a chance. There were a few in Ontario that I thought had a chance to come right up the middle, but they were right at the bottom. That is a little demoralizing. Then I started holding my breath, saying how bad is it going to get. But in the morning after you have a chance to really go over things you see it wasn't really so bad. We didn't make fools of ourselves and a few Tories will be looking over their shoulders next time. When you realize that they will be looking at you and you see the Globe [and Mail] calling us "surprising" and saying that the next time around we may just shake the other three around a bit you realize that we really did accomplish something. It is that more than anything else that makes me look forward to next time around. If [our M.P.] thinks we gave him a surprise this time we are going to be giving him a run to the finish next time. (local organizer, taped interview).

I really don't have any patience with the people who say you only got 1000 votes or 1200 votes so that's it, I am leaving. For me I say so this time we got 1000 say, so next time let's try for 3000, then the time after that 6000 and then maybe the next time we will win it. So it may take twenty years before we have a real chance of winning here. But in other ridings they got 3500, 4000 votes. You see, so there maybe in eight years they will have a real chance. They don't have as far to go as we do. So yes, I am looking forward to the next election and the work starts tomorrow and I mean that, the work starts tomorrow. (candidate, fieldnotes)

#### SOME FINAL THOUGHTS ON "MY" PEOPLE

In the process of the practical accomplishment of fieldwork, researchers often come to identify, at least in part, with those they are studying. This ranges from the personal integration of "going native" (Miller, 1952; Gold, 1958) to the personal contamination of associations with disreputable actors (Barrett, 1987). While the experiences of most researchers fall somewhere between these extremes, we are somewhat changed by our respondents. It is difficult indeed to "make sense" of Whyte's (1981) march on city hall apart from his personal relationship with "Doc" and the participants of the street corner. It is Mierhoff's (1980) intense commitment to understanding the experiences of the elderly which encourages her to adopt the "social indicators" of the elderly to experience "first-hand" the problems of scaling the steps into a bus. Field researchers share the lives of the people to which they attempt to apply their discipline. These shared experiences are unique. While we may present them to professional colleagues through interviews, fieldnotes and transcribed proceedings, these experiences remain ours. Our subjects - be they hookers, Mennonites, bike gang members or political activists - become ours through the shared experiences of the research setting.

Through fieldwork our respondents become multi-dimensional actors. They become more than representatives

of the testing of a hypothesis or the examination of a social process. Their children die, they get married, they experience success and failure. The field researcher is not insulated from any of this. The "real world" impinges upon one's research whether established concepts "fit" it or not.

Through a project such as this, one's respondents are "made real". We share a small part of their personal histories. Our typified notions of participants become more complete and increasingly accurate. I have attempted to share this with my readers throughout. I have attempted to capture the diversity within the collective, the intensity of participants and their capacity for disillusionment. I have attempted to show a people who have combined a religious world view with a political witness and are struggling to "sort out" which half of this equation is to take precedence.

These people are not charlatans, although some present or future participants may divert the enterprise for personal gain. The people who are involved share a notion of the way in which their country ought to be governed, the nature of its laws and the responsibilities of its citizens. It is the activities of those involved in the C.H.P. relative to the promotion of the definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate that brought this group to my attention. An examination of the activities of

participants reveals the complexity of accompanying process, and in so doing renders the explanatory power of initial typings of "fundamentalist", "right wing" and the like, next to useless. In making respondents our own, field researchers expand our understandings of the complexities of social action by demonstrating the fundamentally social nature of group life.

To this point my concluding comments have dealt with "tieing up loose ends" relative to the empirical dimensions of my work. However, I began this thesis with an extended statement on theory. I will conclude in a similar way, by addressing the relevance of this research to sociology generally, and a phenomenological interactionism more specifically.

#### **DEVIANCE, SOCIAL PROCESS, AND CHAMPIONING: PUTTING PHENOMENOLOGY TO WORK**

Becker (1963) articulated for sociology a relatively simple idea. He said that deviance is socially created by making rules, applying them to particular people and labeling persons as outsiders (Becker, 1973: 9). While the conceptual notion itself is fairly straightforward, the research implications have been so extensive that they have virtually been the "mainstay" of the journal **Social Problems** since the mid-sixties.

My work is perhaps most productively cast as a response to that tradition. However, it is something of an "in-house" critique. I too, share an emphasis on social process and the social creation of deviance. I differ from labeling theory most fully in terms of the "content" of the processes of constructing deviance. The definition of deviance relative to the application of rules to persons and the transformation of personal identities is incomplete at best and ethnocentric at worst. My attempt to demonstrate this point is the focus of chapter one.

In chapter two I have made an attempt at constructing an alternative approach to the focus on labeling. Instead of focusing on associating the social construction of deviance with a specific outcome, I argue for contextualizing deviance relative to the activities of promoting definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate. This process I refer to as championing. Championing and labeling share in their emphasis on the processual and emergent qualities of social life. Like labeling, the notion of championing is based upon a fairly simple idea: deviance is a social construct and the definitions which constitute deviance are shared, applied and acted upon through the joint acts of actors. This approach is both interactionist and phenomenological. I make few claims as to the content of actors' designations or

the nature of the objects to which they may be applied. This, I think, is the fundamental difference between championing and labeling. Championing includes all that is encompassed by labeling and moves beyond it to attend to the process of designating trouble in its various forms. Therefore, I would encourage readers to see my work as an attempt to attend to the generic dimensions of designating deviance alluded to by labeling "theory", rather than as a full-scale rebuttal of this tradition. My intent in chapter two has been to build upon a tradition which attends to the processual, negotiated, emergent, relational, and perspectival qualities of group life.

In chapter three I have attempted to construct a phenomenologically derived alternative to labeling's "moral entrepreneur". Taking Schutz' (1964) essay, "The Well-Informed Citizen" as the point of departure, I have attempted to establish a typification of those who promote definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate which attends to the world view and "social knowledge" of actors. These efforts produce the distinction between the scripted, well-informed and expert champion.

The substantive problem of this thesis and the methodology used to explore it are derived from my theoretical position. My work is based on a phenomenological interactionism. Championing reflects my

attempt to articulate an approach to deviance which is consistent with that position - one which attends fully to the perspectival and processual qualities of social life. This requires an attentiveness to the world views of actors and their joint acts. It requires a richness of data relative to the accomplishments of everyday life. It demands the processual clarity of participant observation and the perspectival depth of interview. Championing is a notion derived from an attentiveness to the richness of joint acts. Its empirical application is to be demonstrated through examining the activities of those engaged in promoting the definitions whose application constitute social troubles.

My fieldwork attempts to examine this process of promoting definitions of the appropriate and the inappropriate within the specific setting of the Christian Heritage Party of Canada. Chapters five through eight examine various aspects of this enterprise. Through this material I have attempted to make championing and champions "real" by attending to the processes involved as the practical accomplishments of collective action.

In chapter five I have endeavored to "set the stage" for the reader. Here we gain a descriptive sense of the nature of the enterprise, those involved, their "official" policies, and what they think they are doing. We also

examine the practical constraints imposed on actors as a fourth party within Canada's system of democratic federal politics.

Chapter six focuses on the world view of participants relative to two fairly distinct problems. The first deals with participants' definitions of their involvements with this championing enterprise. The second involves a review of collective definitions of right, success and the enemies of the group. Both of these sections share an emphasis on the relative importance of the typifications which actors develop through interaction with others, and which serve to make action meaningful.

Chapter seven attends to the "sales" qualities of C.H.P. activities. Championing involves the promotion of definitions. Such promotion can take a wide range of forms. In the case of the C.H.P., the promotion of their agenda includes both the presentation of a morally charged world view and the active recruitment of participants. Utilizing a processually derived model, this chapter examines the activities of party promoters relative to the "marketing" of the C.H.P. agenda.

The final substantive chapter, chapter eight, examines the symbolic relevances of C.H.P. policy. By attending to policy as a social construct, I examine the range of definitions which may be applied to such "policy-

objects" and the various activities which may be directed towards them. In this chapter I emphasize the varying symbolic places which policy may hold within the emergent natural history of the group. While remaining something of a collective statement of faith, the symbolic place of policy changes as it moves from "the cure for what ails" to the focal point of dissention, to the "public face" of the collective. It is this transformation of definition and the activities surrounding it which forms the basis of chapter eight.

#### **THE LAST WORD: ON STRENGTHS AND SHORTCOMINGS**

I have struggled in this work to make a contribution to the sociology of deviance. But deviance is not a discrete sub-section of the discipline requiring its own special theories. The designation of trouble, disruption or disapproval is a part of group life. Therefore, our theories of group life ought to be sufficient to attend to the troubles which people make. Reflecting this, championing, like labeling is not a theory of deviance (Becker, 1973). The theories of group life upon which my work is grounded are the phenomenological interactionism of Blumer and Schutz. Their work contains within it an approach to deviance: it has been my task to attempt to articulate it.

It is however, antithetical to a phenomenological interactionism to adopt a reference point other than the data. My critique of labeling arose from data - from the experiences of those who attempt to apply labeling "theory" in a cross-cultural context. My "solution" to the problems inherent in labeling "theory" are in turn grounded in data - those generated by others and those generated by myself.

This research was, in part, an exercise in generating concepts, in examining the process of proclaiming trouble in a specific setting, and "seeing what we would find". What I have produced is a fairly detailed account of the central activities and perspectives of participants. By so doing I have been able to draw conceptual parallels between my research and similar processes situated elsewhere. At the conceptual level, we can draw parallels between careers of involvements within championing activities and other forms of associations. We can also address this dimension relative to other notions, such as the definition of the situation, impression management, the sociological moment, presenting disclaimers, and creating closure (be it moral closure or otherwise). This commonality of social process provides a basis for the extension of this research into other settings and alerts us to the cross-situational applicability of concepts and possible generic features of social life.

However, my use of these concepts is within the arena of federal politics - within a social "movement" that has attracted the support of over 100,000 voters. Processually derived and directed concepts are relevant whenever one is examining the joint acts of social life. In examining a confrontation between nations or between neighbours, we are fundamentally studying the activities of people. As such, we may attend to the common features of these acts. It is this generic dimension within social process which establishes interactionism as an appropriate theoretical framework for examining "macro" issues, and lessens the relevance of macro/micro distinctions relative to social process.

The strengths of this research are also the sources of its weaknesses. I would argue that the questions I have raised are worthwhile asking. The problems I have attempted to address are pressing and relevant for the interactionist tradition. However, my answers are somewhat less than complete. There remain contingencies unaccounted for and valuable avenues of inquiry left unexplored. For example, can we extend the notion of championing to include a "generic natural history" of the process of promoting definitions of the inappropriate? Perhaps my casting of the process is not rigorous enough to encourage the quick adoption of this notion by other field researchers. Yet,

championing's relatively "unstructured" qualities are intended to facilitate the prospect of cross-cultural applicability. It is only through the examination of instances of trouble by social anthropologists that we can determine if focusing on the process of championing assists in the understanding of deviance cross-culturally. Through an examination of deviance cross-culturally my notions may be refuted. By intent, they can never be affirmed.

Readers will also find my substantive material lacking. The questions I have addressed focus on the perspectives and the processes of the group. Other issues remain, for the most part, unaddressed. However, my focus reflects the "pressing and persistent" themes arising from my fieldwork. Through this we gain a sense of championing as practical activity. Our understanding of the Canadian political "landscape" is enhanced and as a result our naturalistic "record" of "all things social" is strengthened.

This thesis has attended to one player within an extended and ongoing stigma contest. My work has provided insights into party formation, the political expression of Christian belief, the public promotion of definitions of the inappropriate, the social construction of political policy, careers of involvement in championing campaigns and so on. These are all dimensions of championing within Canadian

electoral politics. Politics form but one "battleground" upon which definitions of deviance are contended. Action by the politicized, as they attempt to establish and promote their interests, is relevant to a sociology of deviance. Yet it is no more relevant than the championing activities that occur on playgrounds, during religious rituals, in courtrooms, or within intimate dyads. It is through an attentiveness to the generic features of deviance designation as accomplished activity that we may attend to the fully social nature of the troubles we share.

**NOTES**

1. While this is true of the 34th general election, a subsequent by-election in the Alberta riding of Beaver River in March of 1989 saw the Western Reform party send a member to the House of Commons.

**APPENDIX 1. Interview Guide - First Time Respondent**

**Revised: Feb. 88**

**Section 1: Initial Involvements**

To start off I'd like to find out about your personal involvement with the party.

When did you first hear of the party? What were your thoughts at that time?

How did you become a member? What role did others play in encouraging you to join?

What were some of your initial concerns that had to be resolved before you agreed to membership? Have those concerns all been resolved or have you learned to live with them?

IF APPROPRIATE: As you are now fairly involved with the party can you describe to me in some depth the road which led you to accept your current position? What various elements encouraged you to accept this position? How has your level of involvement here impacted on other commitments?

### Section 2: Party Promotion

Now let's shift our attention to your role as a promoter of the C.H.P..

Can you give me some approximation of the number of people you have signed up as members?

Please try to describe a "typical" encounter that results in signing someone up.

What do you think are the major obstacles you have found to gaining members? How have you come to deal with them?

What are some of the objections people put forward that you have not been able to overcome which result in people refusing to become members?

Do you remember when you had the hardest time "selling" the C.H.P.? What were the results of your efforts?

### Section 3: Continuing Involvements

I'd like to turn your attention now to some of the issues that confront members of this political effort to promote Christian values.

To what extent is your support for this party a part of your personal religious conviction? To what extent is this primarily a political endeavour? Has your view on this question changed over time? If so, how? What role have others played in shaping these views?

To what extent has translating your religious belief into

political action been easy for you? Have you had any concerns? Have others helped you to deal with these? How have members of your religious community reacted towards your involvement? Has it changed your location within this community? If so in what way? Are you comfortable with this? If not, what, if anything, are you trying to do to change it?

#### Section 4: Policy Issues

In this next set of questions I'd like to ask you about policy formation in the C.H.P..

What role, if any have you had in the creation of party policy? How do you see party policy as being constructed? Can you trace the history of a policy statement that was ratified at the founding convention?

Are you comfortable with the unalterable aspects of the party's constitution? Can you tell me about it?

What are the relative strengths and weaknesses of the material contained here?

Are there any policies adopted by the party that you would have difficulty defending personally? Tell me about them.

On the other side of the coin, what policies receive your whole hearted support. Explain to me how this has come to be an important issue for you.

IF APPROPRIATE: Are the other members of your provincial

executive, in your opinion, of the same mind as yourself on policy or are there some clear divisions. How have you dealt with these differences?

#### Section 5: Convention Delegates Only

Now that we have looked at policies in general, let's look at their ratification at the national convention in November.

What was your overall impression of the process of affirming policy at the convention? What were your concerns here?

What sort of impact did the convention have on the organization process in your part of the country?

What happened there that made your job easier and what things made your task more difficult?

Were there any members of your contingent who left the party or who became considerably less involved in party activities after attending the convention? If so, did you intervene to try and encourage them to stay? How did that work out?

#### Section 6: C.H.P. as a Political Player

In this set of questions I'd like you to tell me about the things that the C.H.P. opposes and those elements which oppose it.

What, in your opinion constitute the main threats to Canadians? If you had an opportunity to explain to parents

what they should organize against now in the interest of their childrens' future, what would you say?

What sort of treatment should the C.H.P. expect to receive from the media? Will the media be a place where you can objectively put forward your views in the next election? Please explain.

IF APPROPRIATE: From your perspective, would you say that you can see evidence of Satan's influence in Canadian society? If so where? Please be specific.

How can you tell Satanic influences from other influences? Some of the members of the party have become involved, at least in part, to attempt to change aspects of Canadian society which they find morally reprehensible. Is this true in your case? If so, what aspects of our community concern you?

How do you know that the solution you are offering is the appropriate one?

IF APPROPRIATE: How would you define secular humanism? Do you see secular humanism as an important foe of the efforts of the C.H.P.? Where are its influences?

How do you demonstrate to others a need to act against it?

Have you seen any need to protect your family in some way against its penetration into your home? If so, how?

Would you characterize the "Big 3" federal parties for me?  
To what extent do they provide a place for Christian  
political expression?

If the C.H.P. were to fold after this federal election would  
you remain politically involved by re-aligning your support  
to one of the big 3? On what grounds could you do this?

How would you characterize the people who are politically  
involved in opposing political enterprises to your own?

How would you describe members of N.A.C., the Pro Choice  
movement and the N.D.P.?

#### Section 7: Conclusion

Are there areas pertaining to your participation within the  
C.H.P. that we haven't had a chance to discuss? Please  
elaborate?

Are there others whom you know that might be able to assist  
me further in my research?

Many thanks.

## **APPENDIX 2. Christianity and Politics - Informed Consent**

This form, when signed, indicates the participant's willingness to be interviewed (and tape recorded) for a study on the promotion of a Christian political witness. This is with the understanding that while extracts from our conversations may be used in conjunction with sociological research and publications, no mention of the participant's name will be made in any such usage. The objective of the research is to develop a greater understanding of the practical aspects of generating a political witness.

Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

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Date

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Participant

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Researcher

**APPENDIX 3. THE SOLEMN PLEDGE OF THE CHRISTIAN HERITAGE  
PARTY OF CANADA**

We, citizens of the Dominion of Canada, Executive Members of the Christian Heritage Party of Canada, officially registered as a federal political party on June 17, 1986, adhering to the Christian faith, having as our desire the Glory of God and the coming kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as well as true liberty, safety and peace, pledge before the most high God to uphold the following principles:

1. That the family, consisting of those individuals related by blood, marriage, or adoption, is the foundational social unit of the nation, and that the family has primary responsibility for the welfare, education, and property of its members. Civil government must respect the sanctity of the family and its unique sphere of authority and it must preserve and promote optimum conditions in which the integrity of the family unit can be maintained.

2. That God is the Author of life, and that human life originates at conception. Abortion and euthanasia must be opposed under all circumstances as the shedding of innocent blood.

3. That God has established laws of sexual morality for the well-being of society, prohibiting pornography, prostitution, adultery, incest, homosexuality and other sexual aberrations which abase man, as well as defile and pollute our nation.

4. That parents, not civil government, have the primary responsibility before God for child-rearing and the education of their children, and that parents must therefore have the freedom to educate their children according to the dictates of their conscience.

5. That it is everyone's duty to submit to the God-ordained governing authorities. The primary responsibility of civil government is to protect the lives of a nation's citizens and to ensure that those who violate law and order receive just punishment. Crime should never carry with it reward, and therefore the Biblical principle of restitution and compensation to victims of crimes should be enforced.

6. That the Church is a God-ordained fellowship charged to proclaim God's truth and to set an example of godly living before the world, both outwardly and inwardly. It has no authority to use physical coercion, but only to challenge man's conscience to do what is right. Civil government (or the state) is a God-ordained institution with authority to deal only with the outward deeds of the people. Both Church and State are unique in their responsibilities before God; neither may seek to usurp the other's role, but neither can be free of the influence of the other.
7. That civil government exists to serve the people, not people the civil government, and that people are therefore obliged to sustain civil government through just taxation.
8. That civil government has authority to build up and maintain an adequate military preparedness to protect a nation's unique national identity and sovereignty.
9. That Biblical principles concerning economics should be consistently upheld and respected by civil government, including honest weights and measures and avoidance of currency debasement. We further uphold the principle of responsible free enterprise, meaning maximum freedom to

develop one's talents matched with responsibility before God  
in all dealings with our fellow man.

MY SOLEMN PLEDGE

Before God and man I solemnly declare to uphold  
these nine principles, affirming my willingness to promote  
and defend them out of a sincere desire that God's will  
might truly "be done on earth as it is in heaven."

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