

Temporal Orientation and Political Perspective

by

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(ABSTRACT)

This study uses sociology of time theories to determine the inner-structure of a social movement: the West German Green Party. The data used in this study were obtained from a content analysis of articles found in the New York Times and the Washington Post from 1982 through 1985. Patterns of political/temporal perspectives, described by Mannheim, were explored.

In this study, it is determined that a pattern of political/temporal perspectives exists in the Green Party. A close look at these political/temporal perspectives revealed that over time some change occurred in the pattern. Thus, some support for Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy which predicts change in a social movement's orientations once that movement gains a political office was found.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to determine if a coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives exist in the West German parliamentary party, the Green Party, and to decide if such a pattern has changed over the years since the party formed. According to Mannheim, the innerstructure of a group can best be comprehended by attempting to understand the way individuals order experiences in time. Mannheim believed that each way of ordering experiences was intricately tied to a political view point: "political/temporal" perspectives. This thesis uses Mannheim's descriptions of four types of political/temporal perspectives, found in Ideology and Utopia, in an attempt to learn which perspectives are present in the Green Party, in hopes of grasping that group's innerstructure. Mannheim described four corporeal areas in which individuals may have political/temporal perspectives: culture; ideas; politics, and; motivation. This thesis uses these areas to determine if a pattern of political/temporal perspectives exists among them.

The Green Party is a group of environmentalists and anti-nuclear weapons activists, which emerged from the protest movement in West Germany. According to Michels, when a protest movement group gains representation as an established party, as the Greens did, they tend to lose their original grass roots goals and instead put their energy into maintaining a smooth running organization. Social movements researchers call this tendency "Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy." If a political party's goals changed, it should be reflected by a change in

their political/temporal perspectives. This thesis seeks to determine if the Green Party's political/temporal perspectives in the corporeal areas, have in fact changed over the years as Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy predicts.

Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy has long been important to social movement researchers. It is hoped that findings from this thesis will contribute to current understandings of Michels' theory. Although Michels was concerned with change over longer periods of time, if some change is discovered in four years of the Greens existence it may in fact point to the longer term changes which Michels predicted. It is also hoped that the use made here of Mannheim's political/temporal perspectives will prove to be an effective tool of evaluation and thus gain wider use in both social movement research and social time studies.

At present, most social time, or "sociology of time," studies are concerned with the origins of calendars and time schedules within a culture. Other social time research involve the study of individuals' subjective feelings concerning the passing of duration. This thesis falls within a smaller group of studies in the sociology of time, which are interested in individuals' political/temporal perspectives. It is also related to a series of social time works which are concerned with changes over time. Attempting to understand the Green Party's political/temporal perspectives and changes in those perspectives over time, should prove to contribute to the existing literature in the sociology of time.

The existing literature in the sociology of time is examined in

chapter II of this thesis. In that chapter the philosophical origins of the concept of social time are examined along with the sociological development of that concept into four separate research areas called the sociology of time. Chapter II also refers to some weaknesses in each of these four research areas. The end of that chapter focuses on the areas in the sociology of time which are useful for exploring the Green Party's political/temporal perspectives.

Chapter III focuses on the Green Party itself. That chapter conveys background information about the Green Party so that the reader may understand the goals and aspirations of its members. With this historical background review, a feel for the Party's perspectives begins to form.

In chapter IV statements about the Green Party are analysed in order to learn if a coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives exist across corporeal areas, and to find if these perspectives changed over the years. These statements are taken from the New York Times and the Washington Post from January 1982 through December 1985. Statements are classified following guidelines found in Mannheim's Ideology and Utopia.

This thesis is concluded in chapter V which is a discussion of the findings from the previous chapter. In chapter V also points towards possible future research involving social movements and the sociology of time.

The sociology of time is an area so broad as to encompass works by many diverse writers. This thesis makes use of only those social time theories which are applicable to social movements research. Thus, a

drastic narrowing down of research in the area is necessary. The following chapter reviews major trends in the sociology of time and divides that literature into four groups. The materials relevant to this study then stand out from the rest.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SOCIOLOGY OF TIME

In trying to determine the political/temporal perspectives existing in the Green Party, it was necessary to consider the issues involved in the various empirical studies concerning social time. Thus, nearly a hundred books and articles related to social time were collected. While doing this preliminary search of the sociology of time literature, it became apparent that at least three obstacles to the application of the existing tracts to the problem existed. First, the traditional studies in the sociology of time neglect social movements. Secondly, those studies which do explore temporal orientations in social movements fail to provide a theory of action: they only look at one moment and not change within a movement. The third problem is that the various studies involving social time do not seem related to one another. Instead, the concept of social time varies among writers. For these reasons attempts to establish a paradigm for the sociology of time have failed (Giddens, Aronowitz, Lewis and Wiegert).

In order to discover which of the existing material was relevant to this project, the sociology of time literature was separated into groups according to major likenesses and differences in themes. As a result not one, but at least four separate areas were discovered to exist which are called the sociology of time. It became clear from this discovery that understanding the differences in the four major areas is absolutely necessary for overcoming the problems in the sociology of time and advancing its theories.

In this section the four major areas in the sociology of time are presented using the most often cited exemplars for each of the four areas: 1) Durkheim and the "passing of duration;" 2) Sorokin and Merton and "chronology;" 3) Bloch and Mannheim and "political social time," and; 4) Giddens and "dialectical theory." References are also made to present trends and weaknesses in these areas so that the reader may have a clear understanding of the emergence of the area called the sociology of time, a brief look at the historical origins of the concept of social time follows.

#### -Historical Origins of the Concept of Social Time in Philosophy-

Records of Zeno's famous paradoxes directed against the empirical notion of time date back 2500 years. Zeno questioned the idea of the density of time, that any moment can be divided indefinitely, and concluded that this common understanding of time was a reductio ad absurdum. Centuries of philosophical writings reveal the long obsession with a perceived problem of time. During the philosophical enlightenment period, the search for an understanding of time is apparent in the works of Descartes, Leibnitz, Hume and perhaps the two most influential philosophers of the period: Kant and Hegel.

Kant believed that time was a perceived, not an objective phenomena: time existed only in human consciousness and not outside of it. Kant's work influenced many of the subsequent writers of philosophy and social theory. Such influences can be seen in functionalist sociology today in the separation of theory and practice. The functionalist assumes that the social world can be understood by

"freezing a picture" of it and breaking that picture down into parts consisting of dependent and independent variables.

In contrast to Kant, Hegel believed time and reality must be understood through dialectics. Hegelian dialectics propose an interconnectedness between theory and practice and is against breaking the social world into parts. Broadly stated, dialectics views reality as a totality which is always in the process of forming. Dialectics reject the notion of autonomous things which are immediately knowable by breaking the world into parts, and suggests that there are hidden essences which can be revealed only through mediation and praxis. Hegel's dialectics is best known for its development into Marxist philosophy, but it also influences structuralism, existentialism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology.

#### -Time in Phenomenology-

Around the turn of this century, there were several developments in philosophy concerning time and subjectivity. A new trend arose which favored analyzing society and the individual within their own temporal settings. Individuals' and whole societies' views of time and the world were believed to possibly vary among social settings. An early proponent of this school of thought was Edmund Husserl. Husserl laid grounds for his science of phenomenology which was meant to shed light on the process of cognition beyond that of Cartesian first philosophy. Husserl's purpose was to tell how the human individual (without reference of social situations) thinks, including the perception of time. Husserl's work led one of his students, Heidegger,

to write Being and Time, a work attempting to understand the individual in terms of temporality. According to Heidegger, understanding time-reckoning, our subjective, "phenomenological" view of time, may be the best way to discover how people "create" reality and specifically, how we developed the traditional notions of time which philosophy disputes.

The importance for sociology of such phenomenological works in philosophy is often understated. Today, many sociologists base their work on the underlying phenomenological principle that individuals create their own reality from socially learned assumptions. In the discussion of the sociology of time which follows, reliance, by sociologists, on philosophical ideas is evident.

#### -Four Areas in the Sociology of Time: Durkheim's

##### "Passing of Duration"-

Kantian analytics and Hegelian dialectics developed in different directions. It was along Kantian lines that empirical science grew and in the image of empirical science that the founders of sociology molded their field. Attempting to grapple with century old questions of social and political philosophy through scientific median, Durkheim addressed the question of time. In his Elementary Forms of Religious Life, Durkheim describes observances of time as being social in origin.

"The regularities which I am able to conceive in the manner in which my sensations succeed one another may well have value for me ... but this personal state of expectation could not be confounded with the conception of a universal order of succession which imposes itself upon all minds and all events.

Since the world expressed by the entire system of concepts is the one that society regards, society alone can furnish the most general notions with which it should be represented" (Durkheim, pp. 489-490).

Durkheim hoped that the newly emerging sociology could once and for all put to rest the issue of time debated for centuries by rationalist and empiricist philosophers. The ability to solve this philosophical problem would establish beyond a shadow of a doubt the worthiness of sociology as a science (Turton & Ruggles). Although Durkheim gave no empirical evidence to support his belief that individuals in different societies may perceive the passing of duration differently, some anthropologists continue to test the idea by cross cultural comparisons (Turton & Ruggles). However, in general, Durkheim's sociology of time failed to provide sociology with a viable frame for future research. The modifications of Durkheim's work, which Sorokin and Merton provide, serves as much richer ground for research.

-Sorokin and Merton's "Chronology"-

In 1937, Durkheim's idea of social time was adapted and modified by Sorokin and Merton. Their article entitled "Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis" was written for the sole purpose of looking at time through a sociological perspective. Sorokin and Merton disputed what they conceived to be the general notion in sociology: that time can only be viewed in relation to astronomy: quantitatively and not qualitatively. According to Sorokin and Merton, unequal quantitative periods are sometimes considered qualitatively equal and "time reckoning is basically dependent upon the organization and functions of the group" (Sorokin and Merton, p. 621). For example, some societies mark the length of periods by the time elders or leaders hold an office or live. Also, the length of a week is often determined

by when a market should be held. Sorokin and Merton write: "social phenomena involve `symbolic' rather than `empirical' equalities and inequalities." They conclude that "for facilitating and enriching research in the field of social dynamics, the concept of social time must be reintroduced as an auxiliary, if not a successor, of astronomical time" (Sorokin and Merton, p. 628).

The difference in the idea of social time for Durkheim and the idea of social time for Sorokin and Merton is fundamental. Whereas, Durkheim was interested in the philosophical question of possible differences in perceptions of the passing of duration, Sorokin and Merton concentrated on varying cultural conceptions concerning the organization of time. Durkheim's idea offered no real prospect for overcoming the philosophical issue and the sociology of time could only advance by the change in emphasis which Sorokin and Merton presented. Hereafter, this paper refers to Durkheim's, and related interests as the "passing of duration." Sorokin and Merton's, and similar interests in societies' recordings and observances of time will be called "chronology."

-Contemporary Chronologist-

Needless to say, social time did not become a concern for mainstream sociology. Nor was social time reintroduced as a successor of astronomical time as Sorokin and Merton suggested. In fact, apart from the notable exception of W. E. Moore's Man, Time and Society, and a few scattered articles, Sorokin and Merton's ideas of social time was rarely cited. Then, in the 1970's, a renewed interest in chronology

developed in sociology.

During the 1970's, a branch of sociology known as "leisure studies" enjoyed some popularity. Generally, leisure sociologists look at the organization of time as being dependent on individuals' free-will choices. That is to say, individuals may choose how they organize their time in society so to maximize their own freedom. Leisure sociologists argue that economic freedom cannot be achieved through Marxist revolution. Instead, "the economic answer to the distribution of gains in productivity lies in the combination of leisure and goods (or purchasing power) that will maximize the satisfaction of individuals" (Moore and Hodges, p. 9). Leisure sociologists analyze and predict the trends concerning how individuals' allot themselves free-time in society. Although they are not concerned with cross-cultural comparisons, as Sorokin and Merton were, leisure sociologists are interested in chronology within American society.

Similar interests in chronology were expressed in 1982 by Lewis and Weigert. In an attempt to establish a paradigm for the sociology of time, Lewis and Weigert wrote that society creates a hierarchy or stratification of time, which individuals refer to in present day, industrial America. In order from least priority for the individual, Lewis and Weigert first describe "self time": the phenomenological perception wherein equal amounts of "empirical time" may seem unequal depending on how engrossing the activity is for the one involved. Secondly there is "interaction time": time spent with others, the use of which is dictated largely by cultural norms.

At the top of Lewis and Weigert's hierarchy of time is

"organizational time," characterized by the creation of strict time tables for the completion of projects. Supposedly, in industrial society, individuals give up their needs at the lower levels of the hierarchy as the demands of the higher levels are present. However, it does not seem possible that the phenomenological perception of time can or ever needs to be suppressed and Lewis and Weigert's meaning of such a hierarchy is thus unclear.

Lewis and Weigert suggest that a social time stratification became necessary in society as the growing demand to meet deadlines and follow schedules led to a perceived time scarcity, just as Moore wrote twenty years earlier. Lewis and Weigert write: "one should be able to apply the same principles of social stratification to social time as have been applied to other scarce resources. As the scarcity of resources increases, its value increases, thus intensifying competition to acquire it" (Lewis and Weigert, p. 454). Lewis and Weigert go on to say: "a sociology of time forces us to recognize time, no matter how defined, as a physically and phenomenologically grounded scarcity" (Lewis and Weigert, p. 454). It is clear, however, that a sociology of time has not forced everyone to see time as a scarce commodity.

C. Neil Bull, a leisure sociologist, writes: "time is not a commodity. It cannot be hoarded, and it cannot be exchanged. One person's day is as long as another person's day" (Bull, p. 293). Instead of studying social time in terms of hierarchies and social stratification, Bull suggests that sociologists explore the areas which psychologists have found significant: monthly cycles, proper ages for certain behaviors, optimum durations for social activities, etc.

Unfortunately, Lewis and Weigert failed in their attempt to produce a paradigm for the sociology of time. Instead, they present a series of internal contradictions, confused definitions, and unconnected ideas. These problems are possibly attributable to the fact that the writers of the various social time theories, which Lewis and Weigert combine, meant different things when they wrote of social time, free time, commodities, etc.

A final contemporary approach to chronology worth mentioning is found in the works of Eviatar Zerubavel. While Zerubavel's stated purpose is "to clarify the fundamental distinction between the psychological and sociological perspectives on temporality," (Zerubavel, 1982, p. 1), his work may, in fact, represent the state of the art in one branch of the sociology of time: chronology. In one paper, Zerubavel traces the history of the "standardization of time." The paper is an historical account of the process of standardization: the importance played by railroads; the international conferences, and; the resistance which this process met. In another paper, Zerubavel writes of the French Republican calendrical reform of 1793, calling it "the most radical attempt in modern history to challenge the Western standard temporal reference framework" (Zerubavel, 1977, p. 868). Thus, for Zerubavel as with Sorokin and Merton, historical and cross cultural analysis are the preferred methods for chronology.

Unlike this emphasis on cross cultural comparison, some neo-Marxists' works in the sociology of time focus on various perspectives which individuals have on politics and the past, present and future of society. Mannheim and Bloch's political social time theories are

exemplary of such political/temporal studies. These political/temporal theories may be used to determine the inner structure of a social movement or political party, such as the Green Party in this thesis.

-Mannheim and Bloch's "Political Social Time"-

While Sorokin and Merton wrote about how people organize their calendars, a group of neo-Marxists were interested in differences in political time orientations. Compared to the functionalists' studies of social time, the Marxists are more focused on the same issues among writers, and have a concrete frame of reference for research involving social time: social classes. However, the Marxian political analysis, present in their political social time works, is considered too dogmatic by many sociologists.

Marx provided theories for exploring social phenomena which his predecessors adapted. Foremost is the idea from the Communist Manifesto that bourgeois society is dominated by the past. This idea is central in the works of Mannheim, Lukács, Bloch, and Aronowitz. Furthermore, Marx states in The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte that men make their own history but only within the frame of historical circumstances. This too is a central issue for political time theory.

Mannheim, Lukács, Bloch and Aronowitz all tried to understand the interconnection of social movements and social time. While Mannheim wrote of four ideal types of political ideology, each with corresponding temporal orientations, Bloch looks at only two. However, both Mannheim and Bloch end up with the same value judgment: capitalist ideology is past oriented and should be scrapped in favor of socialist

thought which is present or future oriented.

For Mannheim, the study of political/temporal perspectives was of the utmost importance for sociology. He wrote: "the innermost structure of the mentality of a group can never be as clearly grasped as when we attempt to understand its conception of time in the light of its hopes, yearnings and purposes" (Mannheim, p. 209). Mannheim explained four types of "utopian mentalities" and the differences in the temporal perspectives associated with each. It is important to note that Mannheim himself realized that these four mentalities were in fact only ideal types. He wrote: "no single individual represents a pure embodiment of any one of the historical social types of mentality here presented" (Mannheim, p. 210). Later, critics of Mannheim, such as Howard Becker, mistakenly attack him for believing in the pure embodiment of the ideal types, ignoring that he expressed otherwise.

The four forms of utopian mentality which Mannheim describes are: chiliasm, liberalism, conservatism, and socialism. According to Mannheim, "the chiliast expects a union with the immediate present. Hence he is not preoccupied in his daily life with optimistic hopes for the future" (Mannheim, p. 216). Since the chiliast is not optimistic about the future, he/she does not often participate in politics and is sometimes an anarchist.

In contrast to the chiliast's consciousness being in the present, the liberal is concerned with expanding present conditions in the future. With an eye on tomorrow, the liberal mentality is characterized by "participation in the most immediate trends of present day cultural development, the intense faith in institutionalism

and in the formative power of politics and economics" (Mannheim, p. 224). Although the liberal does not completely ignore historical processes, he/she generally believes in free will and unconditioned progress.

In contrast, conservative mentality emphasizes determinism. The conservative finds significance in the past and "attempt(s) to rescue it from oblivion (Mannheim, p. 235). For the conservative, the past gives all meaning to present experience and innovation is not valuable. On the other hand, the socialist values innovation and believes that the world will change for the better at the time of the collapse of capitalism. The socialist, therefore, is future oriented.

Mannheim believed that a person's political/temporal perspective, either chiliast/present, conservative/past, liberal/future, or socialist/future, could be discovered in each of four corporeal areas. These corporeal areas are: culture; ideals and politics, and; motivation. Statements which an individual makes about culture or about ideas, politics or the things which motivate him/her, reveal a political/temporal perspective on these issues. A sociologist may examine individuals' statements in each of these corporeal areas to determine ones political/temporal perspectives. Also, because each political/temporal perspective is related to the other, an individual may make a negative remark (or "counter concept") concerning other perspectives. Researchers may use these counter concepts to determine that an individual does not hold a certain political/temporal perspective.

In many ways similar to Mannheim, Block wrote that "not all people

exist in the same now" (Bloch, p. 22). Instead, many people seek a return of the "good old days." Bloch believed that the misery experienced by the working class, due to capitalism, could be manipulated to divert people away from a revolutionary consciousness, which Bloch felt would be to their advantage, towards romantic ideas about the past. This ability to divert consciousness away from the real cause of misery was, Bloch thought, understood and used by Hitler. "The benefits" Bloch wrote, "go to the monopoly capitalist upper class, which utilizes gothic dreams against proletarian realities" (Bloch, p. 27). Like Mannheim, Bloch presented the connection between economic structure and time orientation: monopoly capitalism and a romantic past. However, Bloch left the reader there. Beyond the economic connection, Bloch rhetorically defended the proletariat as "synchronistic" and charged that all ways of thought, other than Marxist, were "non-synchronistic."

It is no wonder that Aronowitz and others criticize Bloch's and Mannheim's type of Marxism. Bloch's whole system in particular, and Mannheim's to a lesser degree, is built on the impossible suggestion of omission: all are condemned in the name of historical determinism and the inevitability of socialism following a strictly predetermined and known course. Only if knowledge of the future is presupposed can one call on orientation "nonsynchronistic": a non-synchronistic orientation deviates from the course. This criticism, that one assumes knowledge of the future, was directed by Becker towards Mannheim and, somewhat ironically, by Mannheim himself towards Lenin. It is unfortunate that the historical determinism of some neo-Marxists leads many sociologists

to reject all dialectics. Contrary to Bloch's implications, Marx did not leave sociologists with a cut and dried description of the future or the application of dialectics to the social sciences.

Similar to Bloch, Aronowitz argues that not enough Marxists perceive the non-synchronic nature of society and world systems. Aronowitz claims that although some Marxists, such as Bloch, make attempts to understand various time orientations, they always fall back on class and economic analysis, which Aronowitz sees as problematic. Aronowitz writes: "it is not possible for historical materialism to integrate feminism, ecology, nationalism, or religion on the basis of the problematic of working-class formation - which implies the centrality of the contradiction between the productive forces and the productive relations." Unfortunately, Aronowitz offers no proof for this sweeping statement but dismisses, out of hand, a century of Marxist scholarship. Aronowitz continues: "each social formation exists in a different now, their temporal reference is not only at variance, but is often mutually antagonistic" (Aronowitz, p. 117).

Aronowitz offers sociologists interesting grounds for working with social time, but his work has several serious shortcomings. First, Aronowitz provides nothing over Mannheim's ideal types. Second, Aronowitz addresses only "vulgar materialism": the dogmatic view that all culture derives from economic structure, a view which is unjustly attributed to Marx (see McLellan). Third, and perhaps most importantly, Aronowitz himself makes a strict distinction between cultural and economic elements. In so doing, he ignores half of the dialectical connection between the elements: he ignores the mutual

interdependence. Aronowitz treats the issue onesidedly by emphasizing only antagonisms between cultural and economic development. Moreover, Aronowitz fits Arthur Stinchcombe's description of neo-Marxists: "they have usually taken the tack that Marx's theory was 'too economic,' and so have tried to add a theory of politics" (Stinchcombe).

For research concerning social movements Mannheim's work stands clearly above other political social time theories. Mannheim provides descriptions of four types of political/temporal perspectives which the others neglect. When Mannheim's work is used in conjunction with guidelines for sociological research over time, set by the dialectical view of time, social movements research is enhanced. With such a combination this thesis proceeds to find if a pattern of political/temporal perspectives is discoverable in the Green Party and to find if such a pattern changed over time as Michels Iron Law of Oligarchy suggests.

#### -Giddens' "Dialectical View of Time"-

The dialectical view of time differs from all the forementioned sociology of time concerns. Dialectical theory is concerned with changing the sociological method of inquiry rather than discovering how a society creates their calendar or politically interprets events in time. The dialectical view of time developed in response to the perceived shortcomings of both functionalism and neo-Marxism. This school of thought emerged as a growing number of theorists, mostly European, joined together within the past fifteen years or so (Giddens, Kosik, Bourdieu, Touraine, Williams, Bhaskar, Abrams, Shotter, Pred,

Derrida, Foucault). However, dialectical thinking is not exclusive to these writers but includes many more.

Anthony Giddens is perhaps the most often cited of the dialectical theorists. Giddens identifies several ways in which sociology has suffered by not treating social interaction in the spatial and temporal relationship which he thinks is essential. Foremost, sociologists created and are unable to resolve dualisms: individual/society; subject/object; conscious/unconscious cognition, etc. In addition, sociologists have trouble dealing with change. According to Giddens, researchers either view society as a "timeless snapshot" and time is identified with social change only, or they have the obverse idea of "social stability" and change is not seen as existent within epochs but only between them. As a solution to these temporal problems, Giddens claims to incorporate Heidegger's works into a structuralist frame, resulting in a supposedly revitalized, dialectical theory which he calls "structuration."

Like Giddens, another dialectical thinker, Derrida, argues for revitalizing structuralist theory by adding a temporal dimension. Derrida questions how structure can be ascribed to social reality without reference to an end, and by so referring to the end without losing the development which is ongoing. W. E. Moore's work is a good example of what Giddens and Derrida are against. Moore writes: "though the concept of time is essentially meaningless unless it denotes recurrence and sequence, a 'flow' of distinguishable events, for many aspects of human experience and for many purposes of analysis time may be regarded as fixed, a 'static,' condition or parameter of behavior"

(Moore, p. 6). Regarding time as static, as Moore does, is the major functionalist procedure which dialectical time theory is against.

The central issues which the dialectical theorists share are summarized in five points by Pred:

"(1) For any given area, social reproduction is an ongoing process that is inseparable from the everyday performance of institutional activities...

(2) Through socialization, rules of behavior are absorbed and become taken for granted...

(3) In the simultaneous unfolding of socialization and social reproduction the individual and her or his consciousness are shaped by society, while society is unintentionally and intentionally shaped by the individual and her or his consciousness...

(4) ... one must deal with material continuity...

(5) ... the structural properties of any social system express themselves through the operation of everyday practices at the same time the everyday practices generate and reproduce the micro- and macro-level structural properties of that social system" (Pred, pp. 280-281).

The dialectical view of time attempts to provide a frame of reference for research in sociology without the shortcomings of other writings concerning social change. However, Giddens and the other dialectical theorists have not provided a clear strategy for proceeding with sociological research. Instead, they give researchers points to keep in mind. Sociologists are still left with the task of bringing about results from these points. The major shortcoming of Giddens' dialectics may be found in his attempt to bridge the gap between micro- and macro-levels of sociological analysis. Although he writes of the dialectical interactions of individuals and structure, Giddens' integrative level is clearly micro (Fuhrman).

## -Conclusion to Chapter II-

This paper has, so far, pointed out the differences in four types of social time theories. Of these four types, only political social time theory and dialectical theory are adaptable to research concerning social movements. The other social time theories emphasize differences in the perceived passing of duration or the organization of time schedules. For social movements research, Mannheim's work on political social time is the best social time theory available. His work provides detailed descriptions of four types of political/temporal perspectives in four corporeal areas and counter concepts which may be used as a basis for analyzing statements made by or about Green Party members.

When using Mannheim's theory in social movements research, it is also possible to adapt dialectical theory in order to enrichen the picture obtained through analysis. This may be achieved by analyzing the movement over time to note development, rather than the standard treatment of social movements in a frozen instant. Thus, by combining Mannheim's political/temporal theory with dialectical theory, the existence of a coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives in the Green Party as well as changes in such a pattern over time may be discovered.

In order to understand the Green Party's goals, historical background of the Party is next presented. Chapter III explores the formation of the Green Party and their ascent to political power.

## CHAPTER III

### THE GREEN PARTY

This chapter looks at the historical background of the Green Party and their rise to power. This background information is intended to enrich the reader's understanding of the Green Party's goals, in hopes that this understanding may later be tied to Mannheim's four types of political/temporal perspectives, discussed in chapter II.

Since a goal here is to establish if a coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives across corporeal areas exist for the Green Party, and to determine if such a pattern changed over the years, a complete chapter of historical narration, in addition to the examination of newspaper statements in chapter IV, is desirable. Chapter III also includes a discussion of Green Party politics and dialectical theory, and dialectical theory's opposition to social movement research.

#### -Historical Background Leading to the Election of the Greens-

On March 6, 1983, 5.6% of the popular vote in the West German federal election went to a group of individuals claiming to be anti big government and representing grassroots interests. This vote allowed the Green Party, "Die Grunen," to take a major step towards their goal of breaking the post war monopoly the two major ruling parties, the Social Democrats (SPD) and the Christian Democrats, have had on the German parliament. Although the Greens are identified by many as leftist, these 27 new parliamentarians asked to be seated between the SPD and the Christian Democrats in the Bundestag to symbolically show

their position as neither left- nor right-wingers, but a new kind of political party. This new kind of political party is the outgrowth of a large and growing movement in West Germany, a movement away from established, "status quo" politics.

Writers generally agree that the popularity of the Green party should be viewed in the light of at least four hard learned historical lessons for West Germans. First, popular support for the Green Party results from West Germans' dislike of the politics prevalent during the days of the Weimar Republic. Then, Germany's large and growing industries bought and paid for politicians and political favoritism. Today, public reaction to scandal involving bribes from the huge Flick Corporation to government officials, reaching all the way to Chancellor Kohl, illustrates both their abhorrence of Weimar type politics and also support for the Green Party's position at the forefront of the fight against government corruption. Poles taken at the time show that the Green Party's popularity increased during the Flick investigation (Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 26, 1984).

A second historical lesson leading to the popularity of the Green Party comes from West Germans' experience with the Nazi party and World War II. The devastation of the war is well remembered by Germans who have seen and now fear what a militaristic and too powerful government can do. Many Germans distrust any big government for this reason and to them, the Green Party offers an alternative. The Green Party's program includes a strong stance against both militarism and big government.

As a result of the Nazi experience, militarism may be, for West

Germans, the most feared product of big-government. A 1983 survey by the International Institute for Comparative Social Research asked European opinion leaders their feelings towards the use of military force. 37% of the German respondents felt that "military force should never be used." What stands out about the Germans' response is that it compares to 8% for French respondents, 6% for British and 4% for respondents in the United States. Also, most Germans, unlike Americans, believe that the Soviet Union would not start a war and "disapprove in principle of anything that intensifies confrontation as possibly leading to war" (N.Y. Times Mag., Aug. 5, 1984). It follows that West Germany's support of NATO's recent weapons deployment may reflect more a desire to continue good trade relations with the US than agreement with its nuclear policies. For these reasons it is clear that the Green Party has broad public support for its anti military stances.

A third and perhaps most important historical lesson leading to the popularity of the Green Party comes from the huge environmental problems which post war industrialization has left for West Germany. There is a growing concern among West Germans about water and air pollution and the resulting destruction of the forests. A government study in October 1984 found that half of the country's 10 million acres of trees are dead or dying from pollution (Washington Post, Oct. 19, 1984). This severe pollution problem is attributed to runaway industrialization which many feel now must be curbed. Thus, the Green Party is supported in its belief that the time has come to change the industrialization trend. As first steps toward this goal, the Greens

propose the strengthening of existing legislation for environmental protection and the creation of a strong Department of Environment which acts as an independent ministry with full enforcement powers (Mewes, p. 64). Ultimately, the Green Party wishes to create a new society characterized by industries which will not harm people, now or in the future. Whereas present society destroys the environment as if endless resources exist, the Greens demand that industry become aware that such environmental destruction cannot go on. However, this call for restructuring of industrial society is not a call for the collapse of capitalism. The Greens make no demands concerning the restructuring of classes or economic exploitation of workers. Instead, they ask that capitalists start extracting surplus value in ways that do not destroy the environment.

A fourth factor leading to the Greens popularity is the growing frustration with the SPD among both its former liberal and radical supporters. To many, the Flick affair epitomizes SPD's political corruption, which makes them no better than the Christian Democrats in their eyes. Also, many feel that the continual worsening of the environmental situation shows that the SPD is unable to effectively deal with industry. The fact that the Green Party's rise to power was accompanied by a low vote for the SPD further suggests that a vote for the Greens was a vote against the SPD.

#### -The Road to the Bundestag-

In the 1970's the issues leading to the popularity of the Green Party crystallized. Military issues became more dominate on the

political scene and environmental conditions grew worse. As a result, the number of environmental groups steadily grew. By 1979 some 50,000 of these groups were estimated to exist in West Germany. Germany had not experienced such large scale extra parliamentary political activity in the post war era. The number of people involved in environmental groups reportedly rivaled the total number of registered members of the established political parties (approximately 1.67 million) (Mewes, p. 54). As environmental groups asserted pressure on government agencies, the established political figures responded by demanding legitimate representation of a unified environmentalist view. In an attempt to bring about such a unified body, activists formed the Federal Association of Environmental Citizen-Initiatives (BBU) in 1972.

The BBU pulled together more than 1,000 grassroots environmental groups, representing 300,000 members. The BBU continued to grow, and as they grew they came in contact with many nonenvironmental, yet likeminded groups: social democrats, peace groups, etc. Some of these likeminded groups tried to persuade the large BBU to run candidates for local offices. However, the BBU steered away from electoral politics claiming to be nonpartisan and interested only in grassroots organizing. While the BBU distrusted electoral politics other ecology or "green" organizations did run candidates for local positions with some success.

In 1976, a group of former Social Democrats identified candidates in the Bremen election who were sympathetic to environmental issues for interested voters. The result was the "Bremen Green List." Encouraged by even the small success, the Green List strategy was continued. In

the fall of 1979 the Bremen Greens received more than 5% of the popular vote, making them eligible to enter a state parliament. Although the Bremen Greens split into factions in 1981, they were able to reform the coalition by 1982.

At the same time the Bremen Greens were forming, other green parties were springing into being all over West Germany. While green parties in the northern urban areas tended to be left-wing and communist oriented, the southwestern green parties were comprised mainly of independent nationalist advocating a "third way" between communism and capitalism. Regardless of these differences, most green parties saw a huge opportunity and united to form a national green party. In March of 1983, the newly formed Green Party, "Die Grunen" received 5.6% of the popular vote in the federal election and were able to send 27 delegates to the Bundestag.

#### -The Green Party's Visions-

While this thesis concentrates on the Green Party's political time orientation, other characteristics of the party should be explored in order to shed light on its composition. Next two facets of the Green Party are examined which are of interest to both social movements researchers and sociologists of time. These areas are: the Green Party's answer to Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy, and; their ideas which are compatible with dialectical theory.

-The Green Party's Answer to Michels' "Iron Law of Oligarchy"-

When a social movement becomes a political party, one of the first things which many researchers look for is evidence supporting or refuting Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy. In Political Parties, Robert Michels explains how a social movement's rise to power tends to be accompanied by a split between the group's grassroots supporters and its leadership. Michels studied socialist parties and labor unions and found that as these groups became larger and more powerful, they tended to devote more energy towards maintaining their own structure and less towards achieving original goals. Because of this tendency, according to Michels, organizations move away from democracy and towards oligarchy with a legitimation of power. If Michels' Iron Law is in fact true, then it seems that Piven and Cloward may also be right when they say tactics which disrupt the system are the best tools for social movements as opposed to working towards changing the system from within. But, the Greens would disagree with this too.

In Mannheim's political time terms, Michels' Iron Law might be interpreted as follows. In capitalist countries, political parties operate in the frame of liberal or conservative mentalities. These mentalities serve as the status quo in modern capitalist countries because they advocate the notion of political permanency. Social movements oppose the status quo and advocate political change. But, when a social movement becomes a political party, it's political/temporal perspective ceases to be changed or future oriented and becomes permanent or present oriented.

The Green Party seems keenly aware of Michels' Iron Law and have

taken action to fight against losing their original grassroots supporters. The Greens believe that in order to avoid Michels' Iron Law, they must change the very nature of party politics: from liberal and conservative oriented to grassroots or change oriented. They plan to do this by eliminating the "professional politician." Towards this end, the Green's own parliamentarians give up their government seats to other members of the party every two years, a process they call "rotation." Since individuals rather than parties are elected for a whole term, the legalities of rotation is questioned. However, first term rotation, in March 1985 was carried out.

Changing the attitudes of political party members from orientations towards political permanency, to orientations towards change is a central issue for the Green Party. Members believe that "the Greens are to Marx and Marxism what Einstein was to Newton and Newtonian physics - in short, a qualitative transformation of a worthwhile system whose time, however, is up" (Green Party member Rudolf Bahro in Capra and Spretnak, p. 26).

The Green's Federal Program sums up their notion of the role of a political party:

"Grassroots-democratic politics means an increased realization of decentralized, direct democracy...we have decided to create a new type of party structure, one founded on the inseparable concepts of grassroots democracy and decentralization. We believe that a party lacking this type of structure would be ill-suited to support convincingly an ecological policy in the framework of parliamentary democracy" (Capra and Spretnak, p. 37).

In summary, the Green Party attempts to thwart Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy by replacing professional politicians with ordinary people and by keeping this leadership democratic through rotation of

parliamentary seats. In addition, the party not only tolerates decent, which is viewed as disruptive by other political parties, but looks on factionalism as positive. "I hope that the entire left and the Greens will learn to relate positively to the idea of a faction" says party member Thomas Ebermann. "It need not mean a struggle for power. It can also mean differing experiments, in theory and practice, while accepting plurality - and also learning how to better articulate necessary arguments" (Capra and Spretnak, p. 25).

#### -Dialectical Theory and the Green Party-

The Green Party provides a good case for researchers interested in the dialectical view of time, described in Chapter II, because, politics and attitudes of members are compatible with the dialectical view of on-going processes in society. In some cases, the Green's attitudes towards change are the same as those prescribed to sociology by dialectical theorists. According to dialectical theorists, other existing social theories rely on old and positivistic categories for classifying social movements and thereby preclude the possibility of a new type of party that initiative may bring about. In a sense, by recognizing change and the possibility of new types of parties, dialectical theory legitimates the Green's goals while other social theories demean them.

Both dialectical thinkers and Green Party members believe that a temporal dimension should be included in social analysis and that established theories lack such a dimension. In comparison, dialectical social time theorists believe that social theories in general, and

functionalist theory in particular, treat society as a stagnate given; the Greens believe that established political parties treat society as stagnate. Both dialectical theorists the Greens believe that they present a radical alternative to an incorrect view of social reality. Dialectical theorists call for a new sociology which includes action and praxis in it's theory; the Green Party calls for a new society which includes change and humanity in it's future.

According to dialectical theory, established sociological theory is generally unable to deal with change, revolution or the Green type temporal orientation. To dialectical theorists it is because of the hegemonic status of positivism in sociology that sociological theory is not able to give social movements adequate treatment. Most sociological research proceeds in accord with "administrative orientations found in capitalism ... predictability, parsimony, control and orderly relations" (Wardell and Fuhrman, p. 481). Sociological explanation usually centers on "norms" and "values" and reflects a definite class bias (Friedrichs, Therborn). Social movements often oppose norms and values and thus sociological theory is unable to deal with them. Dialectical theory, in contrast, takes the tact that society should be studied over time and seen as becoming rather than a given system of norms.

Another problem for sociological theory in dealing with Green type politics, and social movements in general, results from the positivistic creation and maintenance of a bifurcation in sociology, as mentioned in chapter II. The relationship between an individual and society has been a major controversy in sociology since it's origin.

Whether sociologists examine social reality from the standpoint of the individual's behavior or with the social structure as the unit of analysis, elements of the other analysis are neglected. The result is that sociology cannot deal with social movements because the structuralism needed to examine the group has no theory of individual action (Giddons).

In the sociological examination of social movements the bifurcation takes a particular form. One major type of social movement theory, known as "Resource Mobilization," analyzes movements according to the availability of resources and the ability of participants to use these resources (McCarthy & Zald, Tilly, Ash-Garner). Resource Mobilization emphasizes factors which support or constrain collective action. Other social movements theory, generally referred to as "Crisis Intervention," emphasize collective defiance (Piven & Cloward) or common grievances and shared ideologies (Smelser, Gurr). Both Resource Mobilization and Crisis Intervention theorists stress the positivistic merits of their own theories. Inevitably, each lacks the merits of the other. Like other bifurcations in sociology, Resource Mobilization and Crisis Intervention cannot commensurate group structure and a theory of action. And, according to dialectical theorists, both fail to deal with social change.

Of the existing social theories, only dialectical theory promises to deal with Green Party type nonpermanency in party design and future orientation. This is because dialectical theory has change at the core of analyses. Dialectical theory renounces the positivistic tradition inherent in both the Resource Mobilization and the Crisis Intervention

perspectives. By renouncing positivism, dialectical theory frees itself from the traditional sociological bifurcation and is able to incorporate a theory of action. Only a sociological theory which conceives structure and action simultaneously can adequately deal with social change, which is the basis of social movements. Using stagnate categories, social movement theories cannot take seriously the Green's promise of being a new kind of political party.

### -Conclusion to Chapter III-

This chapter found that the Green Party's popular support may be attributed to West German's distrust of big government, militarism and pollution due to historical events in their country. It also found that the Greens emerged from a large protest movement and that they are concerned with preserving their own grassroots orientation to thwart Michels Iron Law of Oligarchy. Finally, it was found that some ideas behind the Green Party are very compatible with dialectical theory: social change orientations and the belief that they offer a radical new alternative to old and stagnate ways are both ideas Greens share with dialectical theory.

The next chapter looks at the analysis of statements about the Green Party, made in the New York Times and the Washington Post, in order to determine if a coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives exist in the Green party. Chapter IV examines whether such a pattern changes over a short period of time, as Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy predicts it would over a longer period.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHODS AND ANALYSIS

#### -Introduction-

A goal in this chapter to determine if a pattern of political/temporal perspectives exists for the Green Party across corporeal areas (see Chapter II). If such a pattern is found to exist, a second goal is to discover if this pattern changed over the years since the Green Party formed. A change in the pattern of perspectives may be indicative of Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy (discussed in Chapter III) if such a trend towards change continues.

In order to determine if a pattern of political/temporal perspectives exists in the Green Party, a content analysis of statements concerning the Party, found in the New York Times and the Washington Post is employed. Mannheim's descriptions of political/temporal perspectives in four corporeal areas given in Ideology and Utopia are used to classify statements.

In order to determine if the pattern of political/temporal perspectives changed over time a comparison is made of the classifications of statements from one year to another: using statements from January 1982 through December 1985. It is hoped that findings from this analysis will contribute to both social movements research and sociology of time studies.

#### -Content Analysis-

This study uses a content analysis to determine if a pattern of political/temporal perspectives exists for the Green Party and if such

a pattern changed over time. Content analysis is defined by Holsti as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti, p. 14). In this case, characteristics of Green Party members are identified according to guidelines found in Mannheim's theoretical work.

In Ideology and Utopia, Mannheim identifies specific characteristics of various political/temporal perspectives. According to Mannheim, individuals develop one or more of four possible political/temporal perspectives on life: chiliast/present; conservative/past; liberal/future, or; socialist/future. By looking at individuals' attitudes towards specific "corporeal" issues: culture; ideas; politics, and; motivational forces, the political/temporal perspective of an individual or group may be detected (see Chapter II). This thesis uses a content analysis to discover if a common pattern of political/temporal perspectives exists within the Green Party and to compare these patterns over time.

In addition to noting the political/temporal perspectives, "counter concepts" as mentioned in Chapter II, are also noted. According to Mannheim, the various political/temporal perspectives are interrelated and often antagonistic statements or "counter concepts" are made by individuals against other perspectives. Although a negative statement may not indicate what a person supports, it is noted to show what the person does not support. The number of counter concepts in a given area will be subtracted from the number of political/temporal perspectives in that area, so that the number of political/temporal perspectives in the analysis reflects the number of

political/temporal perspectives found minus the number of counter concepts found. The actual number of counter concepts appear in parenthesis in the appropriate column.

#### -Selection of Literature Cites-

The data for this thesis are taken from the New York Times and the Washington Post. It is widely accepted that no single newspaper provides a direct vision of reality but all are selective in the news presented (Hopple). However, it is felt that by using both the New York Times and the Washington Post, two elite newspapers known for coverage of international affairs, an adequate sample may be drawn.

The set of 68 articles used in this thesis was located using the New York Times Index and the Washington Post Index. The earliest articles used in this study appeared in 1982, when the Green Party first entered parliament. The latest articles used appeared in December 1985, the last date which is presently indexed.

#### -Sampling the Cites-

From the indexes, articles were selected which appeared under the heading "West Germany." Articles listed under "West Germany" which mentioned "the Green Party;" "protest;" "elections," or; "the Alternative-List" (the Green Party before entering parliament, mentioned in Chapter III), were located. From these articles, those which describe qualities of the party were used. Articles such as those containing only descriptions of election results and which do not describe something about the Green Party were discarded. The remaining

68 articles were separated into years.

The articles were then read in order to locate the descriptive statement and to determine who made the statement: the "speaker." Statements which are paraphrased from another individual were attributed to the original speaker cited. This information was recorded according to each theme within a newspaper article and not each descriptive word or number of times a theme is mentioned in an article. Themes were categorized into the appropriate corporeal categories to which they referred: culture; ideas; politics, or; motivational force, and into the political/temporal perspective represented in the corporeal categories.

-Criteria Used to Determine Classification of Statements-

When determining what specific characteristics a statement must possess to be categorized in a particular area, it was important first to clarify the meaning of each corporeal classification. While Mannheim provides descriptions of each corporeal classification, some clarification was still needed in order to operationalize the categories. Described below are the operational clarifications of each corporeal category, followed by a description of what a statement must contain to be categorized in each political/temporal perspective in that corporeal category.

Mannheim describes "culture" in relation to each political/temporal perspective, in terms of attitudes towards art. For this study, the first corporeal category used, culture, was expanded to encompass not only art but more general attitudes towards the present

state of society. Therefore, a person's attitude towards culture means one's attitude towards present day conditions of life.

According to Mannheim's description of attitudes towards culture, the chiliast is not concerned with the past or future and believes only God gives meaning to moments. She/he views the idea of culture, therefore, with contempt. Mannheim writes:

"Chiliastic mentality severs all relationships with those phases of historical existence which are in daily process of becoming in our midst. It tends at every moment to turn into hostility towards the world, its culture, and all its works and earthly achievements..." (Mannheim, p. 220).

The liberal, on the other hand, is very idealistic towards the positive achievements of culture. To the liberal, "about every event there is an atmosphere of inspiring ideas and spiritual goals to be achieved..." (Mannheim, p. 220).

The conservative views culture unlike the liberal in that his/her emphasis is on the value of past experiences rather than possible future achievements. The conservative rejects change and wishes society to remain, or return to, a non-technological state.

Like the liberal, the socialist's cultural interests concern the possibilities of positive achievements in the future. However, for the socialist the emphasis is on material conditions and the emergence of culture from the oppressed strata of society. Mannheim writes:

"The economic and social structure of society becomes absolute reality for the socialist. It becomes the bearer of that cultural totality..." (Mannheim, p. 241).

The second of Mannheim's corporal categories used in this thesis is "ideas." Mannheim uses the term "ideas" to express the different values placed on individuals' knowledge or creative abilities. The

value of individuals' ideas vary among political/temporal perspectives.

The chiliast is not concerned with ideas and does not consider them as important as experience. Thus, according to Mannheim, "the essential feature of chiliasm is its tendency always to dissociate itself from its own images and symbols" (Mannheim, p. 214).

For the liberal, the idea is of utmost importance. "The utopia of the liberal-humanitarian mentality is the `idea'" (Mannheim, p. 219). Ideas and creativity is of such importance that the liberal holds individualism in the highest esteem.

Unlike the liberal, ideas are not important to the conservative. Mannheim writes:

"Conservative mentality as such has no predisposition towards theorizing. This is in accord with the fact that human beings do not theorize about actual situations in which they live as long as they are well adjusted to them" (Mannheim, p. 229).

The conservative believes that ideas are vaporous and that only the past gives value to present existence.

Like the liberal, the idea is important to the socialist. However, the socialist is concerned with material conditions and limitations of the idea. Mannheim writes:

"Ideas are not dreams and desires...they have rather a concrete life of their own and a definite function in the total process. They die away when they become outmoded, and they can be realized when the social process attains to a given structural situation" (Mannheim, p. 241).

For the socialist ideas come from circumstances in society. Thus, value is placed on collectivity rather than a belief in the uniqueness of individuals' ideas.

The third of Mannheim's corporeal classifications used in this

thesis is "politics." Here politics means issues relating to government which a person supports, and the way in which the person supports that issue.

The chiliast's political involvement centers around religious convictions. Mannheim writes:

"The inner illumination furnished by Pietism offers no solution to most of the problems of everyday life, and if suddenly it becomes necessary to act in the historical process, one seeks to interpret the events of history as if they were indications of the will of God" (Mannheim, p. 238).

The chiliast does not believe that political parties offer solutions to life's problems. Therefore, in this thesis any support of anarchy and any appeal to God for solutions to political issues was classified as "chiliast/present" in the "political" category.

The liberal's belief in unlimited progress is apparent in her/his political views. Mannheim writes:

"Participation in the most immediate trends of present-day cultural development, the intense faith in institutionalism and in the formative power of politics and economics characterize the heirs to a tradition who are not interested merely in sowing, but who want to reap the harvest now (Mannheim, p. 224-5).

The liberal believes it is the role of the political party to advance immediate trends which includes expanding industrialization and generally supporting business interests.

The conservative supports the prevailing laws of the state. The conservative believes that these laws preserve the past by establishing limitations and preventing unwanted changes such as chiliastic anarchy; liberal industrialization, and; socialism.

The socialist works politically for the breakdown of capitalism. For the socialist, "the realm of freedom and equality will come into

existence only in the remote future...namely the period of the breakdown of capitalist culture" (Mannheim, p. 240). For the socialist:

"It becomes the task of the political leader deliberately to reinforce those forces the dynamics of which seem to move in the direction desired by him and to turn in his own direction or at least to render impotent those which seem to be to his disadvantage" (Mannheim, p. 247).

Because the socialist is working within the confines of capitalist politics and attempting to bring an end to those same politics, she/he often sees it as necessary to resort to extra-parliamentary political activities. Actions such as demonstrations, sit-ins, and disruptive tactics were classified as "socialist/future" perspectives in the "political" category.

The fourth of Mannheim's corporal categories used in this thesis is "motivational force." For this thesis, "motivational force" answers the question: "why do you do the things you do?"

The chiliast believes that her/his action is based on either the will of God or the fact that political action is useless and anarchy is the only appropriate course.

For the liberal, the unconditioned idea motivates action. The liberal believes her/his actions are based on enlightened ideas of morality. Thus, the liberal gives an ethical tone to human affairs especially when speaking of motivational factors.

For the conservative, the past is the motivational force and it gives significance to the present. Mannheim writes: "everything that exists has a positive and nominal value merely because it has come into existence slowly and gradually" (Mannheim, p. 235). The conservative

acts as she/he does because of the belief that the past is better than the present; the world has gone mad, or; life without change is desirable.

The socialist acts to usher in socialism and is motivated by the belief that material conditions point to the fact that capitalism has run its course. "The `material' conditions...are here hypostatized into the motor factor in world affairs, in form of an economic determinism which is reinterpreted in materialistic terms" (Mannheim, p. 242).

Using the criteria set by Mannheim, discussed above, statements about the Green Party could be classified into political/temporal perspectives when they concerned culture, ideas, politics, or motivation. Specific examples of the classification of statements are given in the appendix. After locating each political/temporal perspective present in a newspaper article, the results may be summed so that we may see if in fact a coherent political/temporal perspective exist for the Green Party and if their perspective changed over the years. At this point it is possible to suggest a couple of conjectures concerning possible results of the analysis.

#### -Conjectures\_

A couple of interesting conjectures apply to this study.

Conjecture 1 may be:

No definite, coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives will emerge for the Green Party, across corporeal categories.

Conjecture 2 states:

The political/temporal perspective of the Green Party will not change over the years.

If conjecture 1 is true, this study will not be able to show that Mannheim's work in the sociology of time is adaptable to this type of social movement research.

However, if conjecture 1 can be rejected and a coherent political/temporal perspective or pattern of perspectives is found to exist within the Green Party then conjecture 2 may be approached in order to determine if a change in the Green Party's perspective occurred in four years as Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy suggests it would over a longer period of time. The rejection of conjecture 2 may lend support to Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy.

The following are the totals for all the political/temporal perspectives found in statements about the Green Party from 1982 through 1985. These totals reflect the actual number of perspectives found in newspaper articles minus the number of counter concepts found in those articles. Following these totals is a discussion of how these findings relate to conjectures 1 and 2.

-Totals-

Table 1 shows data concerning the political/temporal perspectives over the years 1982 through 1985. A total of 123 positive statements are chartered in this table. However, 140 positive statements and 17 counter concepts were found. The number of counter concepts were subtracted from the number of positive statements in the appropriate categories ( $140 - 17 = 123$ ). The number of counter concepts appear in parenthesis. Specific examples of the positive classification of

statements appear in the appendix of this study. The 123 statements distributed across political/temporal perspectives as follows: 1.6 percent were chiliast/present; 17.1 percent were conservative/past; 5.7 percent were liberal/future; 75.6 percent were socialist/future.

Of 123 statements, 30.1 percent of them concerned culture; 9.7 percent concerned ideas; 54.5 percent concerned politics and 5.7 percent concerned motivation. Being a political party it is not surprising that press coverage of Green Party statements were largely concerned with politics.

Of the 123 statements the largest number are conservative/past concerning culture; socialist/future concerning culture and socialist/future concerning politics. Of all the statements concerning culture (n = 37), 46 percent of them are conservative/past perspectives and 54 percent are socialist/future oriented. Of all the statements concerning politics (n = 67), 97 percent of them are socialist/future perspectives. Only 3 percent were chiliast/present oriented.

Notice that the counter concepts appear in areas where positive statements are made. One might expect the counter concepts to appear in areas where no positive statements were made such as conservative/past politics for example. However, as Mannheim suggested, it may be that individuals attack view points which are closest to their own because those appear more threatening. Also of interest may be the fact that in the corporeal area of ideas 6 counter statements were found and 12 positive statements, easily the largest proportion of counter statements to positive statements in any corporeal area. It may be that more threatening differences exist

among party members in the values placed on individuals' knowledge or creative abilities than the differences in the other corporeal areas. The corporeal area of ideas is where difference would be found between the liberal/future value on individual initiative as opposed to the socialist/future value placed on collective action.

Table II shows the number of perspectives found each year. Of the 123 statements, 30.1 percent of them were made in 1982; 46.4 percent were made in 1983; 14.6 percent were made in 1984, and; 8.9 percent were made in 1985. One explanation for this distribution, with the largest number falling in the first two years, is that the Green Party's entry into parliament and the newness of their politics during 1983 was heavily covered by the press. However, once people were used to the Greens' politics the press cut back on coverage.

Table III shows data concerning the speaker. The three categories of speakers represented in that table are Green Party members, newspaper reporters and speakers who are non members and non reporters. The totals in Table III show for each speaker group the number and percentage of statements falling in each political/temporal area.

Of the 123 statements 69 of them (56.1%) were made by reporters. 37 of these statements (30.1%) were made by Green Party members and 17 of them (13.8%) were made by individuals who were neither Green Party members nor reports. This latter group consisted mostly of officials of other political parties commenting on the Greens. The distribution of political/temporal statements about the Green Party is much the same for all three groups of speakers. For all three groups most statements were socialist/future; 73 percent for members, 76.5 percent for non

members/non reporters, and 76.8 percent for reporters. Likewise, for all three groups of speakers conservative/past oriented statements were the second most often type of statements made, and in proportions similar to one another; 16.2 percent for members, 17.6 percent of non members/non reporters, and 17.4 percent for reporters. This may be due to the fact that reporters select statements by Party members and others to back a point or issue in question. A reporter's comments would not be expected to differ from these select statements.

These findings presented above were checked for reliability by an individual, independent of this study, who read and classified statements in 35 articles (50%) which were randomly selected for this purpose. In these 35 articles, 69 statements had been classified by this study. The independent reading of these cites found 63 statements that agreed with the classification used in this study: a .91 reliability.

#### -Findings-

One of the major objectives of this study was to determine if statements made by Green Party members did in fact reveal a pattern of political/temporal perspectives. Towards determining this, we examined conjecture 1:

No definite, coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives will emerge among Green Party members across corporal categories.

A cursory glance of Table 1 reveals that indeed a pattern of political/temporal prospects did emerge. In the area of culture the Greens were either conservative/past or socialist/future oriented.

Concerning ideas they were mainly socialist/future as they were in politics. However, in the area of motivation they were found to be mostly liberal/future oriented. On the basis of these findings presented in Table 1, the decision was made to reject conjecture 1. Therefore, there is evidence of a coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives present within the Green Party.

With evidence of a political/temporal pattern within the Green Party the study proceeded towards discovering if this pattern changed over the years, conjecture 2:

There will be no difference in the Green Party's political/temporal perspectives over time.

Table 2 shows data relevant to conjecture 2. An examination of this table reveals a narrowing of interests within the party over the years. In 1982 and 1983 evidence of each of the four political/temporal perspectives was found to exist within the party. By 1985 only one statement was found which was not socialist/future oriented.

These findings suggest that a pattern of political/temporal perspectives did emerge within the Green Party, and that these perspectives did change over the years. Further discussion of the findings presented in the tables follow in Chapter V.

#### -Conclusions to Chapter IV-

This chapter discussed the criteria set by Mannheim for categorizing statements which concern culture, ideas, politics and motivation, into political/temporal perspectives. It also presented two relevant conjectures: that no pattern of political/temporal perspectives would be found in the Green Party and that no change in

the political/temporal perspectives of the Party would occur over the years. These conjectures were examined looking at two tables of findings from a content analysis of statements concerning the Green Party's perspectives.

By examining these tables it was found that conjecture 1 could be rejected. That is to say, that a definite pattern of political/temporal perspectives in the Green Party had, in fact, been found through the content analysis of newspaper statements. It was also found that conjecture 2, that no differences in political/temporal perspectives would occur over time, could be rejected. Thus, in this four year period there may be some supporting evidence for Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy which would predict a change in political/temporal perspectives over time. From a third table it could be seen that the Party's pattern of perspectives was basically the same regardless of the speaker. For members 73 percent of the statements were socialist/future compared to 76.5 percent for non members/non reporters and 76.8 percent for reporters. Likewise, totals in the other political/temporal areas were close regardless of the speaker. In chapter V these findings are further discussed to point towards possible future research along these lines.

TABLE I

Totals of the Green Party's political/temporals perspectives, 1982-1985

n (%)

|                   | culture      | ideas       | politics     | motivation | Totals         |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| chiliast/present  |              |             | 2            |            | 2 (1.6)        |
| conservative/past | (-1)<br>17   | 2           |              | 2          | 21 (17.1)      |
| liberal/future    |              | (-2)<br>3   |              | 4          | 7 (5.7)        |
| socialist/future  | (-1)<br>20   | (-4)<br>7   | (-9)<br>65   | 1          | 93 (75.6)      |
| Totals            | 37<br>(30.1) | 12<br>(9.7) | 67<br>(54.5) | 7<br>(5.7) | 123<br>(100.0) |

TABLE II

Yearly Totals of the Green Party's Political/temporal Perspectives.  
n (%)

|                   | 1982               | 1983                 | 1984                 | 1985                 | Totals         |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| chiliast/present  | 1<br>(2.7)         | 1<br>(1.7)           |                      |                      | 2 (1.6)        |
| conservative/past | 7<br>(18.9)        | (-1)<br>11<br>(19.3) | 2<br>(11.1)          | 1<br>(9.1)           | 21 (17.1)      |
| liberal/future    | 2<br>(5.4)         | (-2)<br>3<br>(5.3)   | 2<br>(11.1)          |                      | 7 (5.7)        |
| socialist/future  | (-1)<br>27<br>(73) | (-5)<br>42<br>(73.7) | (-6)<br>14<br>(77.8) | (-2)<br>10<br>(90.9) | 93 (75.6)      |
| Totals            | 37<br>(30.1)       | 57<br>(46.4)         | 18<br>(14.6)         | 11<br>(8.9)          | 123<br>(100.0) |

TABLE III

Totals for Each Speaker Type, 1982-1985.  
n (%)Members

|                   |    |         |
|-------------------|----|---------|
| chiliast/present  | 1  | (2.7)   |
| conservative/past | 6  | (16.2)  |
| liberal/future    | 3  | (8.1)   |
| socialist/future  | 27 | (73)    |
| Total             | 37 | (100.0) |

Non members/non reporters

|                   |    |         |
|-------------------|----|---------|
| chiliast/present  |    |         |
| conservative/past | 3  | (17.6)  |
| liberal/future    | 1  | (5.9)   |
| socialist/future  | 13 | (76.5)  |
| Total             | 17 | (100.0) |

Reporters

|                   |    |         |
|-------------------|----|---------|
| chiliast/present  | 1  | (1.5)   |
| conservative/past | 12 | (17.4)  |
| liberal/future    | 3  | (4.3)   |
| socialist/future  | 53 | (76.8)  |
| Total             | 69 | (100.0) |

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

#### -Introduction-

This thesis has been concerned with possibly discovering if a pattern of political/temporal perspectives exists within the Green Party and in determining if such a pattern changed in four years, as Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy suggests it would over a longer period of time. Chapter II reviewed the sociology of time literature and found those theories which relate to these interests. It was found that the political social time theories, particularly Mannheim's, and dialectical time theory were suited for this study.

Chapter III looked at the historical background leading to the Green Party's election to the West German parliament. The notion that the Greens shared some ideas with dialectical theorists was developed in that chapter.

Finally, in Chapter IV, Mannheims descriptions of political/temporal perspectives in the corporeal areas of culture, ideas, politics and motivation, were used as the basis for a content analysis of newspaper statements concerning the Green Party. Conjectures were then introduced assuming that the content analysis would find no definite pattern of political/temporal perspective in the Green Party and that no change in their political/temporal perspectives would occur in the Green Party over time. However, after examining the data it was decided to reject these conjectures and conclude that a definite pattern of political/temporal perspectives does exist for the Green Party and that a narrowing of interests represented by the party did occur over the four years analyzed. Such a narrowing of interest over these four years, found in the Green

Party's political/temporal perspectives, is generally predicted by Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy over a longer period of time.

In this chapter, the findings concerning political/temporal perspectives present in the Green Party are further discussed. Possible future research concerning social movements, in the sociology of time is also pointed out in this chapter.

#### -Discussion-

In Chapter IV two relevant conjectures were introduced in order to discover if a pattern political/temporal perspectives existed in the Green Party, as Mannheim would suggest, and also to find if the political/temporal perspectives changed over the years. Conjecture 1 which states no definite, coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives will emerge for the Green Party, across corporeal categories, was rejected. Instead, the Green Party was found to have a coherent pattern of political/temporal perspectives. In fact, 30.1 percent of the political/temporal perspectives found in analysis, were concerning culture and in this corporeal category the Greens were almost evenly divided between a chiliast/past perspective (17) and a socialist/future perspective (20). Concerning ideas, the Greens were found to be predominantly socialist/future oriented.

The area of politics was where most statements were made (54.5%). Of the 67 statements in this area, 65 of them reflected socialist/future perspectives. Only in the area of motivation were the Greens found to be mostly liberal/future oriented. The liberal/future perspective on motivation concerns the belief that ones actions are carried out because they are morally right.

This analysis found the Greens to be evenly split between chiliast/present and socialist/future perspectives in the area of culture; mostly socialist/future oriented concerning ideas and politics, and; liberal/future oriented in motivation. If the corporeal areas are ignored and just the political/temporal perspectives are examined (totals in Table I) it is clear that most of the statements (75.6%) were socialist/future oriented and the second strongest trend occurred in the conservative/past orientation (17.1%). The Green Party, therefore, is presented in the press as supporting a radical political change in the future. This change for the Greens will occur at the point when the majority of West German voters feel that the present state of environmental and military affairs is no longer viable. Secondly, the press presents a much weaker picture that the Greens believe that the world should return to a simpler time which existed in the past. For the Greens this time would be before West German industrialization had destroyed the environment. This is the pattern of political/temporal perspectives presented in the press as existing among the Green Party and leading to the rejection of conjecture 1.

Conjecture 2 was also rejected based on our content analysis. Instead it was found that the political/temporal perspectives in the Green Party changed somewhat in the four years reviewed here. In 1982 and 1983 statements were made showing that all of the political/temporal orientations Mannheim spoke of were present in the Green Party. By 1985 only conservative/past and socialist/future oriented statements were found. Thus, there may be some supporting evidence for the type of narrowing of interests in these four years which Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy (discussed in Chapters IV and V), would predict for a longer period of time.

It seems that the Greens' own efforts to be a new type of party and avoid Michels' Iron Law, may not be working. However, this evidence is by no means presented as conclusive since only four years of the party's existence has been examined. It is only suggested here that a pattern may have been discovered which, if continued, could be described as Michels' Iron Law.

Another data source for testing this idea that the Green Party's interests may have narrowed over the four year period is perhaps voting records. It is possible that if the Greens tolerate various opinions within the party members may vote differently on issues. As the years go by it may be that less and less variance would be found in voting among members.

What may be equally as important to the party as the idea of narrowing interests is the finding that newspaper coverage of the Green Party is shrinking drastically. While 57 statements were classified in this study for 1983, the Green's first full year in the national parliament, only 11 statements were classified in 1985. This is due to the decreasing number of newspaper articles written. However, this finding does not mean that the Green Party is losing support or government seats. Although in 1985 the Greens in Saarland failed to reach the 5 percent of the vote needed to hold seats in national or state assemblies, in West Berlin they gained 4 new seats with 10.5 percent of the vote. When in the same year the Greens joined with the Social Democrats in Hesse to form a ruling coalition, opponents of the Party charged that the Greens joined with the Social Democrats for fear of losing their seats in a new election. A loss of public support, however, does not appear to be the reason for the decrease in American newspaper coverage of the party. Instead it may be that the

novelty of the Greens may have faded from the public eye. Then again, the Greens may not be involved in as many attention grabbing "radical" acts as they were several years ago. However, the newspaper articles that do appear still present the Greens as a unique political party.

The Green Party's own literature, discussed in Chapter III, suggests that they are a new and unique type of political party. This study found that newspaper statements also suggest that the Greens are unique. In those articles, the Greens' programs and actions are often described as "unconventional" or "countercultural" suggesting unique politics, perhaps the type meant to avoid Michels' Iron Law.

When the Greens first gained their seats in the Bundestag, in 1982, members believed that the victory marked the beginning of a new and unprecedented era for politics. To established politicians, the claim that "old style" politics was waning was unsettling. In turn, non members accused the Greens of trying to make Germany ungovernable. The Greens responded that "ungovernable only means that they won't be able to govern as they are used to" (member Bernd Vetter, N.Y. Times, Sept. 18, 1982).

Instead of old style governing, the Greens proclaimed that they would lead politics away from post World War II standards. Green member Petra Kelly explained: "We're trying to find a third way, a self-determining third way between capitalism and socialism" (Wash. Post, Sept. 9, 1982). As part of this "third way," the party was to employ some unconventional tactics in the Bundestag. This third way was intended to work to avoid Michels' Iron Law.

One such unconventional policy was the practice of "rotation" of the party's parliamentary leaders every two years. Rotation, as mentioned in

Chapter III, seems to have been created specifically to thwart Michels' Iron Law by preventing leaders from becoming "professional politicians" and thus keeping in touch with grass roots interests. This is important to the Greens because they wished to remain, at least in part, a movement of protest.

In another attempt to make a third way in politics the Greens vowed to avoid the creation of political dogma, which they felt limited the other parties. To do this, the Greens not only tolerated, but encouraged differences of opinion within the party. Members claimed that internal conflicts should be viewed as something positive so that a wide spectrum of interests would always be represented. This policy was manifested in the comparison of Greens in the state of Baden-Wuerttemberg, where conservative farmers opposing a nuclear reactor quietly governed in parliament, while in Bremen, radical members were obstructionists in parliament. Tolerating differences should work directly against the tendency Michels predicted.

Because of the value the Greens placed on being a new kind of party which breaks the bonds of conventional politics, the idea of forming coalitions with other parties, a prevalent practice in West German politics, was often avoided. Green Party member Rudolf Bahro explained: "who votes for us knows that we are not capable of a coalition. And that is important for me. We have to make fundamental opposition to what the established parties are doing" (N.Y. Times, Feb. 13, 1983). For the Greens, refusal to form coalitions also gave credibility to themselves as an alternative to established parties.

Thus, in their first years in office, the Greens implemented policies which earned them the reputation of being an "unconventional" party. They

practiced rotation of parliament seats, they tolerated differences of opinions within their group, and they avoided forming coalitions with conventional parties. These practices were intended to guarantee the avoidance of the tendency of a political party to lose their original political/temporal perspectives, which Michels' Iron Law of Oligarchy predicts. However, these "third way" policies all seem to have failed to last through developments in 1984 and 1985.

The turning point for the Green Party may have been the peace movements failure to prevent missile deployment. Several years of antinuclear protest in West Germany climaxed on October 22, 1983 when a million people protested the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in their country. When despite the protests, deployment began in December of that year, the peace movement was broken by a feeling of defeat. By January, 1984, the Green Party began to feel the effects of this defeat.

The party's view of internal conflict was the first "third way" view to fall to Michels' Iron Law. Press articles no longer described the party's internal conflicts in positive terms, but in terms of "bitter rivalries." The party was split into two camps: the "pragmatists" arguing for cooperation with the Social Democrats; and the "fundamentalists" seeking to avoid compromises.

As the conflicts within the party continued, a second basic principle of the "third way" fell. By mid 1984, members such as Petra Kelly, who in 1982 vowed to support the rotation policy, stated that they would defy the rule. When rotation did occur it was only achieved by voting to demote the reluctant members to lower positions in parliament.

Also in 1984, statements in the press concerning the Marxist influence

within the party became stronger. One parliamentary member resigned his position because of the growing Marxist control of the party. Others complained openly about it to the press. Many members began feeling that another "third way" policy, to avoid political dogma, had been lost.

While the Greens were having internal problems, the other major West German parties were absorbing the Greens' issues. Social Democrats campaigned against nuclear weapons and Christian Democrats promoted environmental protection legislation. Both because the Greens' former supporters were changing to other parties for representation and because the peace movement had rapidly deteriorated, more and more Green Party members were favoring coalitions as a last hope for survival. By October 17, 1985 the Greens agreed to form a ruling coalition with the Social Democrats in Hesse, a state where trends for the federal election are often set. Forming a coalition with a conventional party may be considered the final admission of Michel's Iron Law and the end of the Green Party's unconventionality.

#### -Implications-

It was found that a definite pattern of political/temporal perspectives exists within the Green Party. This finding suggests that the sociology of time may be applied to social movements research. It is hoped that this thesis contributes to two areas in sociology: the sociology of time and social movements.

For the sociology of time this thesis has achieved what Mannheim, Aronowitz, and Giddons speak of. It applied a political social time theory and dialectical time theory to a research problem and achieved positive results. These results should be encouraging to those interested in the

sociology of time.

A further contribution to the sociology of time can be found in the separation of the area into four groups, which was done in Chapter II. It is believed that when the sociology of time is viewed as containing four diverse subjects, progress may be made in one of those subjects without being constrained and confused by the content of the others.

Likewise, for social movement researchers, these results should be encouraging. It was shown that social movements may be analyzed by using sociology of time theories. It is hoped that others may follow suit.

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## Appendix

### Examples of Newspaper Statement Classifications

#### Culture

conservative/past      There's a definite trend back to small is beautiful and back to the overseeable (Wash. Post, March 6, 1983. Statement of Green Party member).

socialist/future      "Here in the Federal Republic of Germany"  
Note: condemning      said Dieter Burgmann, a Green politician,  
the past is only      "there are some people, a considerable by  
socialist/      number, who have learned from their atrocious  
future; conserv-      past." (N.Y. Times, Feb. 23, 1983. Statement  
atives want to      of Green Party member).  
return; liberals  
want to expand;  
chialists see  
no difference.

#### Ideas

socialist/future      The sacrosanct Green principle of leadership  
Note: the social-      rotation — to short-circuit the corruptions  
ist/future idea      of power — was inflexibly enforced. (N.Y.  
of collectivity.      Times, Feb. 13, 1983. Statement of reporter).

liberal/future      The "enlightened middle class" are its mainstays, argues  
Roland Vogt, a bearded, soft-spoken member of the

party's 11-member executive committee. "The crisis of mass unemployment puts into question the success of the Green movement," he acknowledged. (N.Y. Times, Oct. 3, 1982. Statement of Green Party member).

## Politics

socialist/future On the economics debate, as on other matters, the rising influence of Marxist groups that have moved into the Green Party was perceptible. (N.Y. Times, Jan. 17, 1983. Statement of reporter).

## Motivation

Liberal/future These are what the Greens call "life and  
Note: motivated death issues," where compromise is  
by morals. unthinkable, immoral. (N.Y. Times, Feb. 13, 1983. Statement of reporter).

conservative/past Conrad Finger, a 62-year-old retired blacksmith in Wangershausen, who says the boarding house his wife, Adelheid, runs would house its guests if the plant came, switched to the Greens. "We have enough electricity, we don't need it" Mr. Finger emphatically said. (N.Y. Times, Oct. 3, 1982. Statement of Green Party member).

## Examples of Counter Concepts

### Culture

conservative/past     Petra Kelly's willingness to hold her own version of a war crimes tribunal in Nuremburg — a city evocative of Nazi triumph and defeat — is a stunning declaration of independence from the past (N.Y. Times, Feb. 13, 1983. Statement of reporter).

### Politics

socialist/future     To assuage their ecological consciences, the delegates elected a second spokesman, William Knabe, a gentle, ineffectual 59-year-old forester who pledged to keep the Green Party green (and, by implication, not Marxist). (N.Y. Times, Feb. 13, 1983. Statement of reporter).

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