

MODELS OF BEHAVIOR IN
AMERICAN RIGHTIST LITERATURE:
A STUDY OF POLITICAL VALUES
AND LITERATURE

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
JACK W. SATTEL
1971

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ABSTRACT

MODELS OF BEHAVIOR IN AMERICAN RIGHTIST LITERATURE: A STUDY OF POLITICAL VALUES AND LITERATURE

By

Jack W. Sattel

This thesis is an effort to combine the perspectives of political sociology and the sociology of literature. Its purpose is to analyze a limited body of fiction belonging to the political culture of the extreme American right. By abstracting from his literature both a portrayal of the forces of history and an elemental conception of good and evil, the concern is with making explicit the constellation of values by which the rightist interprets his social world and orients himself to American society.

The body of fiction analyzed is a product of the renewed rightist movement of the decade of the 1960's. All are political novels dealing in a realistic fashion with either a fictive present or future. All the novels are distributed primarily through the organizations, publishing houses, and book stores of the right. All the novels are of the didactic genre, functioning within the rightist political culture both as socializing agent and a total, idealized statement of the rightist critique and program for American society.

A content analysis was undertaken of the entire sample aimed at eliciting a classification of the recurring themes of good and evil, change and history. The methodological device employed was the construction of both a positive and negative hero-type which were taken to convey in an elemental fashion a portrayal of political reality consonant with and generated out of the world-view of the rightist himself.

It was found that the positive hero embodies not only sociological characteristics which seem reflective of the rightists' own social position, but also a set of values and attitudes intended to mobilize the reader toward rightist politics. In a similar fashion, the negative hero functions to concretize the need to fight the evil he represents, galvanizing the reader toward action. Both models, insofar as they are assimilated and believed by the reader, serve to win support for the ideology and programs of the right.

Further, the configuration of values of both positive and negative heroes are suggested less by previous research regarding the "marginality" or "extremist-personality" usually attributed to the rightist political actor, than by certain recurring themes in the traditions of American political history. In particular, the right does not exist as an isolated phenomenon beyond the pale of American political traditions, but is both a part of and reflection of the American ideology itself.

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MODELS OF BEHAVIOR IN AMERICAN RIGHTIST
LITERATURE: A STUDY OF POLITICAL VALUES AND LITERATURE

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1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very important document, as it contains the President's message to the Congress, and is one of the most important documents in the history of the United States. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the Union at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most important documents in the history of the United States.

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INTRODUCTION

In this century, that section of the political spectrum known as the "extreme right" has experienced three periods of public ascendancy: the movement centering around Father Coughlin in the 1930's; the McCarthyism of the early 1950's; and, the current resurgence of rightist sentiment and activity of the late 1960's around such figures as George Wallace or such organizations as the John Birch Society. Each of these three movements contained a variety of political belief within themselves and each differ in significant ways from the other.¹ Neither of the two previous movements were able to make serious inroads toward the seizure of significant power in this country although, as a minority movement, each was able to cause individual discomfiture to many of their political opponents and targets.

The concern in this thesis will be limited only to the most recent phase of rightist activity--that of the past decade. The focus will not be upon any single organization or party but rather upon what I will later attempt to show is a generalized political culture.

¹Seymour Martin Lipset, "Three Decades of the Radical Right: Coughlinites, McCarthyites, and Birchers", in Daniel Bell, *The Radical Right*, 1964, pp. 373-446.

within this political culture, just as within the established parties, there exists a spectrum of policies and politics, acceptable strategies and tactics. Westin has suggested a continuum within the right that has at one pole, the "hate" right of the Gerald L. K. Smiths and the George Lincoln Rockwells, offering various combinations of anti-Semitism and anti-Black sentiment; while at the other pole is found the "semi-respectable" right of the southern white Citizens Council or the Free Men Speak Society. For Westin, a group like the John Birch Society stands perhaps between these poles. The components for inclusion on his continuum include a rejection of the existing political system, its politicians and parties; a refusal to believe in the integrity and patriotism of those who lead the dominant institutions; the assumption of solutions at hand to international and social problems and the presence of conspiracies when such solutions are not found; and, the advocacy of "direct action", ranging from the formation of new political parties, secret organizations, public pressure campaigns through the use of hate-propaganda and calculated violence. Clearly, no one of these components is in itself definitive of the rightist political culture; in fact, the components are less suggestive of a continuum unique to the right than of many traditional American values that are seldom given public espousal but are real nonetheless.

²Alan F. Westin, "The John Birch Society: 'Radical Right' and 'Extreme Left' in the political context of World War II," in Bell op cit., pp. 239-268.

In the years which have passed since Westin's formulation, much of the public dialogue, at least as conducted within the mass media, has revolved around the extent to which such behavior and beliefs are generalized throughout society. Like the activity associated with the Left today, the right has enjoyed publicity and exposure in the media that is both partial and distorting at the same time. This is probably a necessary consequence of failing to participate in the reigning ideology of corporate liberalism--particularly at a time of structural stress and challenge for that system--but also is probably a result of the encapsulating nature of the medium itself. One question this thesis will attempt to answer however, is the extent to which the Right has been able to manipulate contemporary and historical political symbols within their own constituencies and extend their politics into new constituencies and potential power.

More importantly, the rightist political response can, and should, be understood as a response to a failure in the American political economic system to provide meaningful goals and alternatives for this segment of the American population. Most analysts of the American right have not seen fit to include this proposition into their thinking about the problem. An early tendency in the sociological literature was the focus upon the "extremist" political actor himself as the form for understanding his

political behavior. The assumption often was of the essential viability and unchanging structure of the social system with individual deviations past a certain configuration being labeled pathological, viz. extremist, in both a left and right direction.³ This literature has value for the insights it provides into the personality of the political actor, yet unless one makes a psychological assumption that the politics (and other values) of a culture are merely the reflection of individual idiosyncracies, we must look elsewhere for understanding the politics of the right.

Unfortunately, the most dominant sociological tendency has the quality of being a structural variety of the same side of the coin--the focus upon the marginality of the political right viz-a-viz a working or "stable democracy".⁴ At the macro-theoretical level the concern is with the right in a search for validation of the various dissonance reduction models while the "middle-range" concern has been with exercise of the essentially related notions of status-politics. Thus, considerable sociological literature exists indicating disproportionate support

³cf. Edward A. Shils, "Authoritarianism: 'Right' and 'Left'," in Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality", ed. Richard Cristie and Marie Jahoda, 1954, pp. 24-49.

This phrase and approach most characterizes the work of Seymour Martin Lipset and his associates. See, for example, the overview of Lipset by T. B. Bottomore, "Conservative Man", New York Review of Books, October 8, 1970, pp. 20-24.

for the right among those in status-threatened positions-- typically, the semi-professional and more skilled blue-collar experiencing real or imaginary loss of status and prestige in the face of a changing social structure. By such change is usually meant 1) a technology calling for new or different forms of expertise, and 2) demands produced by black and other ethnic mobility and migration. The major weakness of this literature for those concerned with understanding the entire fabric of American politics has not been the failure to achieve closure at the macro-theoretical level, but rather that this literature has produced little to demonstrate continuity of the variety of rightist politics with the politics and culture of mainstream American life. Many of the specific attributes of the rightist political culture such as exaggerated nationalism and patriotism, anti-communism, racial or ethnic stereotypes exist throughout the American nation. In an exploration of these linkages between the "extreme" and the "mainstream", the sociologist's focus is properly shifted from the merely idiosyncratic to an understanding of the entire social system--illuminating not only the right but the quality and nature of all American institutions.

This thesis, then, will attempt several things: The first is a delineation of the dominant values of the political culture of the right as revealed in its own literary products. Fictional literature, even in the

context of politics, achieves viability by a portrayal of reality consonant with the world-view of the reader. Analysis of such literature provides an articulation of values and ideals not ordinarily reached by survey methods-- which is to say, a total articulation of values and beliefs unstructured in a prior fashion by the survey device or instrument itself. Our analysis of this literature will add to the empirical description of the American right.

Secondly, we will be concerned to analyze the interplay between the ideals and values found in the literary products of our sample, attempting to abstract those configurations which serve as didactic models for behavior. Such models should provide examples of the core set of values around which socialization of the rightist political actor is achieved.

Finally, it will be argued that the rightist political culture is not the product of "extremist" individuals or historical aberration, but is both a part of and reflection of the American ideology itself.

THE USES OF LITERATURE IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

The use of literature as a basic resource for sociological research is not wide spread. In part this reflects the sociologists over-whelming fascination with a single tool--survey technique--and the problems most amenable to that technique. On the other hand, little attention has been paid to the theoretical function of literature and art beyond merely formal restatements of the idea that artistic consciousness and production are determined by varieties of social being.⁵ This represents a real loss to the sociologist. Fiction, film, the visual arts, all can contain some of the most telling truths about society and the individual. This is true whether the sociologist approaches the works of the greatest dramatists and novelists of an era or those products of the clearly second rate and those producing for the mass media or pulp magazines. In any of these cases, literature, as a form of communication, demands that a central problem be defined within the context of a given society, that this problem be developed in terms consistent with the shared image of that society, and in terms of the individuals who compose it.

⁵cf. Milton Albrecht, "Does literature reflect common values?", American Sociological Review, 21:6 (1956), pp. 722-29; George Huaco, The Sociology of Film Art, 1965, esp. pp. 18-22; James H. Barnett, "The sociology of art", in Merton et al, Sociology Today, 1959, pp. 197-214.

"Literature tells us not only what a society was like in a past age, but also what the individual felt about it, what he could hope from it, and how he thought he could change it or escape from it....the fictional character ...sees and records not only the reality around him, but his hopes, wishes, dreams, and fantasies as well. The social meanings of this inner life of the individual are related to the central problems of social change."⁶

If literature presents datum at all levels of human behavior, the sociologist dealing with it must de-limit and order that experience in a meaningful way. The writer or artist has already chosen his limitations: to whom and for whom he is speaking, the important and salient observations to be made in his product, and the convincing and believable truths about human nature that must be enunciated. The sociologist has been less clear in specifying the social and institutional forces that impinge upon the writer, his product, and his audience. And, turning the problem about, the sociologist has been erratic in specifying the impact of art and various aesthetic forms upon and within social institutions. Art has many social contexts whether as commodity, icon, fetish, or propaganda. Albrecht notes that directly or indirectly, "art may bolster the morale of groups and help create a sense of unity, of social solidarity: as used by dissident groups, it may create awareness of social

⁶Leo Lowenthal, Literature, Popular Culture, and Society, 1961, p. XV.

issues and provide rallying cries for action and for social change....(art) may thus be used to criticize as well as to support the social order while performing essentially the same function: that of heightening awareness of the context in which it appears and constituting an objective form symbolizing essential values of that context."⁷

It is this last aspect of art which is most important for our concerns. A political movement which incorporates deep, thorough-going criticism and dissatisfaction with existing society such as does the American right, posits an alternative in its own image. The implementation of such a total program seems to require not only a statement of political principle and strategy, but also a definition of new and desirable values and attitudes, a critique of the old and corrupt society, and a feasible definition of how the new is to be achieved. What we should want to know is not only the official ideology and program of a political group, but also the "folk" or unofficial version of that ideology as it exists in the non-elite milieu of that political group or movement.⁸ In this context, art--particularly

⁷Milton C. Albrecht, "Art as an institution", American Sociological Review, 33:3, (1968), p. 390.

⁸Bo Anderson, "Revitalization movements", reprint from Universitetet Och Forskningen, Uppsala Universitet, number 17.

fictional literature--functions very well. Not only will such literature give support and expression to the goals of a social movement, it is also able to represent the values it embodies as a full and distinct way of life.

Such literature, best understood as didactic fiction, has considerable tradition and a variety of forms. One of the best known examples of this literature exists in the school of socialist realism associated with the period of full-blown Stalinism in the Soviet Union. Here, the attempt to bring an entire society to large-scale industrial capacity included the subsumption of all art and literature to that task. Literature and other attendant art forms of the period repeatedly and thoroughly stressed those values and attitudes seen necessary by the political elite to produce the "industrial man".⁹ Other previous examples in this country include the Horatio Alger genre of fiction of the last century and the sizeable political movements which formed around the utopian fiction of the close of the 1900's--best typified by the series of works following Bellamy's Looking Backward. Similarly, the inclusion and importance of social science fiction in the genre of Robert Heinlein's Stranger in a Strange Land

⁹Paul Hollander, "Models of behavior in Stalinist literature: A case study of totalitarian values and controls", American Sociological Review, 31:3 (1966), pp. 352-364.

or Robert Rimmer's The Harrad Experiment seems to figure both as socializing agent and program in large sectors of the youth culture of the late 1960's.

The form of didactic literature has not only aesthetic but sociological significance. Central to such works is the provision of models of behavior for the participating audience. The literary device most suited to such portrayal is the personification of good and evil in what are usually called "positive" and "negative" heroes. Hollander is correct when he points out that the core of any value system is revealed when conceptions of good and bad are laid bare.¹⁰ His study of the positive and negative hero in Soviet literature is important not only because these literary stereotypes stand as officially designated models of behavior but because presentation of these models involved a summary of the entire system of Stalinist values and the ways and means by which that regime thought the internalization of such new values and attitudes would best proceed. Hollander's description of Soviet literary models as important for Stalin's system of social control is true in varying degrees of the models for behavior in the literature of all literate cultures: "there are many areas of life difficult to bring under adequate institutional control..., covered by explicit rules, political instructions, or ideological propositions. Per-

¹⁰Ibid., p. 353.

sonal relationships are a prime example, which, by their diffuseness and inherent privacy, are difficult to bring under satisfactory political-institutional control."¹¹ Literature and all art provides a potential penetration of this diffuseness and privacy.

It is what we have thus far called "models for behavior" which function as ideal structures not only in the socialization but in the preservation of the integrity and viability of rightist beliefs for the individual actor. It is however to be expected that considerable disjuncture will appear between the idealized norms and values existing only in our literature and the realized structures and behavior of the right. What should not be lost sight of, is that it is the ideal, though incompletely or partially institutionalized, that usually serves as the basis of action and behavior. The ability of the sociologist to "unmask" the ideology of the right (or any social group) by merely pointing to this discrepancy between ideal and actual is easily achieved, yet it often fails to extend our understanding of that ideology in precisely those ways and nuances most meaningful to the participant. The abstraction of models for behavior from the literature of our sample is then, primarily, a methodological device which allows us interpretation of the symbols by which the rightist constructs his own political reality.

¹¹Ibid.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF OUR SAMPLE

The most general criterion for inclusion of a book in the sample of this study is that it be a novel that receives circulation among the political right. Exactly how books were selected will be treated below, but here we want to indicate the general sociological context of our sample.

As suggested earlier, theoretical elaboration of a sociology of art and literature has been rudimentary. Albrecht and Barnett, in two separate reviews of the institutional structures of art, note the existence of a variety of models which posit art as particular forms of interaction between the artist and the public or quite often, as between artist, critic, and public.¹² Both suggest that major structural change in society--whether political, economic, etc.--affect art and literature only in mediated or indirect ways; that is, through those social structures which uniquely constitute the social matrix of art. Considerable ambiguity attaches itself to exactly what these unique social structures might be. Typically, they involve the artistic phenomena itself, including raw materials, specialized skills, tools, etc.; the artist and his various roles; disposal and distribution systems in-

¹²Albrecht, Barnett, op cit.; see also Hugh D. Duncan, Language and Literature in Society, 1953.

cluding publishers, theaters, museums; critics and reviewers with attendant formal principles of judgment or aesthetic; and, finally, the various publics or audiences.

Little precision exists in the formulation of interchange and exchange among these various structures. Clearly, some are operative at the individual or psychological level; others are primarily cultural or social; many may influence or be influenced by other than artistic processes. However, taken together they do have a heuristic value which allows the context of the literature of our sample to emerge.

The original intention of this thesis was not merely to analyze political novels of the right but works that were patently "utopian" in genre. The feeling was that not only would a utopian response--a response understood as a total description of the institutions and procedures of a fictional society or state--be directed toward that which was seen as vitally problematic in the existing political realm, but would also best offer a transcendent or ameliorative gesture at the same time. Some of the novels analyzed are clearly this--Hunt's Alpaca, for example; while others are dystopian in effect--McMichael's Journal of David Q. Little or Ayn Rand's Anthem.¹³ All works analyzed in the sample are, however, set or oriented toward future action and all involve plots set in a political background. Thus all deal with a history that has

¹³See Appendix A for a complete list of sample.

yet to happen in a political setting most convincing to sympathetic interpretation by the rightist. The plots are realistic in style; major characters, whether negative or positive hero-types, were generally introduced early and with little ambiguity as to character type. Many of the same characteristics which Hollander noted about the socialist realist novels he studies, were also found to be accurately descriptive of the novels of this sample--particularly marked features of tendentiousness, plot and character simplification, and politicalization of conflict.¹⁴ In sum, these are definitive of the didactic form.

The books analyzed include two written by the top figures in two rightist organizations--the well-known H. L. Hunt and William Campbell Douglass, the organizer of the "Let Freedom Ring!" network, described in their own literature as "the hard-hitting, tape-recorded, anti-Communist messages delivered by telephone 24 hours a day across the country". Other authors such as Taylor Caldwell and Ayn Rand are regular contributors to rightist political journals and magazines. None of the other authors have achieved the considerable general circulation of these last-mentioned writers; only these latter two, for instance, are published by companies other than houses generally acknowledged as rightist or conservative.

¹⁴Hollander, op cit.

This means eleven of the thirteen works analyzed originate from such houses as Western Islands which is a publishing house for the John Birch Society or the Arlington House which, although organizationally unattached, often publishes for rightist authors or audiences. The actual number of copies distributed is unknown. However, all the works included in our sample are readily available for purchase in rightist bookstores;¹⁵ advertised in their magazines; and, available from the lending libraries of their organizations.

In our introduction above, it was suggested that literature can be seen to function as a socializing agent for the novice political actor, and as a continuing re-inforcement for the previously initiated. There is some impressionistic evidence that it is the latter which is more important for our sample. When asking for "anti-Communist books--especially novels" in any of the bookstores visited, my request was invariably met first by a pro-offering of a book of the factual expose variety rather than the requested novel suitable for the sample. It would not be until I was able to establish myself as "knowledgeable" that novels were offered and then with a discussion of

¹⁵The John Birch Society maintains bookstores called American Opinion Bookstores, in all areas in which it is politically active. These bookstores are staffed with members of the Society. Not as wide-spread as the Birch Society stores are independent, local outlets such as the Conservative Bookstores found in two Michigan cities.

their literary merit ("it's exciting and realistic,...a convincing plot", etc.). It seemed as if this kind of intercourse is reserved for those already sure of their politics and who would already share many of the assumptions about the world that these novels make.

The sample was generated out of the literary review columns of the American Opinion magazine (edited by Robert Welch of the Birch Society) and the American Mercury (an organizationally-unattached magazine of national circulation) from the period 1960 through 1968--the feeling being that this period marked the period to public ascendancy of the newest phase of rightist activity. This list produced eight books understood as political novels in the sense outlined above. To these eight, five further works were added at the recommendation of staff members of the bookstores where the books were purchased.¹⁶

The content analysis undertaken of the entire sample was aimed at eliciting a classification of the recurring themes of good and evil, change and history. An analysis schedule was constructed that allowed first, the indexing

¹⁶The novel Anthem by Ayn Rand pre-dates this period but was included because this work in particular seems to function in this political culture as a "classic" and was regarded generally by bookstore members as important. The other well-known works of Miss Rand such as Atlas Shrugged, etc., are not included in the sample because they receive wide circulation outside of the rightist political culture. For an attempt by a rightist literary critic to place this entire literature within a classic mode--particularly in regard to the proper portrayal of the hero in fiction--see E. Merrill Root, "And a philosophy for today", American Opinion (October, 1964) pp. 57-67.

of the usual socio-economic attributes of all hero-types such as age, occupation, etc., along with an adjective check-list that allowed classification of all descriptive words and phrases relevant to the personality, physical appearance, and inter-personal behavior of each fictional individual portrayed. This provided a rudimentary profile of recurring stereotypes and themes. In addition to this item-analysis, the schedule provided for an initial listing of the type of social interaction found to be most appropriate to each hero-type--whether religious, sexual, economic or ideological. In much the same manner, an effort was made to classify the various presentations of the forces of history and social change. The schedule simply allowed for the listing of those images, concepts, and metaphors within which the fictional actors played their roles and action took place. Special attention was paid to the awareness of class differences and conflict, wholistic concepts of society and change, and mystical (viz., conspiratorial) conceptions of history.

THE POSITIVE HERO IN RIGHTIST LITERATURE

If a prototype of the positive hero exists, it is probably best suggested by Leo Lowenthal's description of the "idols of production" that peopled the popular biographies of the family magazines current in the early part of this century.¹⁷ Regardless of the historical reality, it was these idols of production--portraying the "rugged individualist" in his almost classic form--which were intended to serve as educational models for all readers to emulate. These highly-colored journalistic accounts conveyed very clearly the image that it was only by the efforts of these exceptional few that the foundation of freedom, science, art, and civilization itself, existed at all.

This is not to say, however, that the rightist positive hero is merely a re-creation in fiction of the idols of the past. It is not the specific attributes of either class or personality that today's rightist hero shares with the idols of production--the positive hero of our sample is seldom a full-blown capitalist indulging in self-satisfied knowledge of work well-done and leisure well-earned. Success on such scale is not available to the hero of our fiction, engaged more in a struggle against the evils of a society gone wrong or astray, than in the ordinary, if Spartan, daily competition of early American

¹⁷Lowenthal, op cit.

capitalism. Rather, it is a tremendous nostalgia for past idols and ideals which permeates the novels of our sample. It is as if many of the satisfactions attributed to the earlier period such as work strenuously but well-done, pride in individual accomplishment and expertise, enjoyment of obvious truths of God and country, all would characterize the activity and ideals of the rightist hero were he not found, often against his will, in struggle against evil people and wrong beliefs.

Such nostalgia is important because it is different in quality from the mere attachment to past traditions and values that most sociologists attribute to the rightist population. Lipset and Raab, for example, rest a large part of their explanation of rightist political behavior on what they call a Quondam complex describing a condition of those who have more of a stake in the past than in the present.¹⁸ In such an explanation, the rightist is simply holding to out-moded or dis-utilitarian values and beliefs in the face of "reality", usually for psychological reasons of distinctive self-image. However, the nostalgia that attaches itself to the positive heroes in our sample is not merely a condition of wanting to live in the past. Rather, it articulates values to be striven for in present personal,

¹⁸Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Unreason: Rightwing Extremism in America, 1790-1970, 1970, pp. 460-463.

social, and above all, political action. The attributes and values of the positive hero are more often cast as common human values that motivate all good men; that are seen by the rightist as intrinsic rather than merely historical. The rightist hero functions as a protagonist demonstrating these universal characteristics in the present situation, hopefully carrying the realization of these same values uncorrupted into the future. While the development of these novels and their plots are in many ways naive, none really posit a return to a past history or society as their resolution.

This emerges more clearly if we compare some of the simple demographic differences between the positive and negative hero. The following tables will summarize the education and occupational characteristics of the forty-four (44) positive and forty-five (45) negative figures in our sample. Such characteristics, often important for the sociologist as experimental parameters, are important for different reasons in literary presentation where they serve as the rough framework upon which the personality and values of the hero-type is built. Characteristics as occupation or education conveys not merely a single item of information to the reader but often an entire pattern of associations usually attributed to an individual in such an occupation or of such an age, etc. They serve as a shorthand which allows the reader to quickly either identify or reject a fictional character, particularly where such

characteristics might have high salience in the world view of the reader. For example, we would expect some measure of identification to be generated among rightist readers by a casting of the positive hero in social roles akin to those of the reading audience. Conversely, the negative hero should be distant either in social class or social status.

Table I, below, is a single listing of the occupations of the major male positive and negative heroes in our sample. The table is largely self-explanatory although clarification of the term "bureaucrat" is required. Despite its acceptance into the sociological litany, "bureaucrat" and "bureaucracy" continue to carry a pejorative connotation of make-work, manipulation from the top, and interference in the affairs of those who really produce. The popular image of the "do-nothing" politician is the best example of such a bureaucrat and it is precisely such a depiction of politicians as bureaucrats that forms the largest single occupational category of the negative hero in rightist literature. Likewise, all business and military figures cast as negative heroes also are "bureaucratic" in this mode--the businessmen are executives in large corporations greedy for profit even at the expense of co-existence with evil and/or communism; the military figures are often non-combat staff officers buried deep in Pentagon intrigues far removed from confrontation with the enemy.

Table 1.--Occupations of male positive and negative heroes.

Positive Hero (n=28)		Negative Hero (n=37)	
Military or Police	6	Military ("Bureaucrat")	4
Politician ("Statesman")	6	Politician ("Bureaucrat")	13
("Bureaucrat")	1	Business (corporate)	5
Business (self-employed)	2	Professional (Scientist/ professor)	8
(corporate ex.)	1	(misc.)	5
Professional (engineer/ scientist)	3	Union ("Bureaucrat")	1
(medical/physician)	4	Skilled Labor	1
(journalist)	2		
(teacher)	1		
Religious	2		

The positive hero is, in large part, defined in opposite to the negative hero. Where the negative hero is typically a non-producing bureaucrat (a fuller treatment of the negative hero will be undertaken below), the positive hero is primarily a man of action and a man of production. The politician is no longer merely a bureaucrat; rather, he is a statesman capable of defining political solutions, inspiring confidence in, and successfully leading others. The military men are away from Washington, usually in the field or combat. Most notably, the businessmen are most often found to be self-employed, scornful of the inefficiency and corrupting nature of the large corporation.

This same emphasis on action and production produces interesting contrasts in the literary development of the

character of scientists and other highly educated professionals. The negative hero scientist is typically a professor or intellectual, who, while possessing great scientific knowledge, really has little practical knowledge and even less understanding of common, more mundane, truths. The work he does is esoteric, described even in the best of these novels in cryptic terms often leaving the reader with some uncertainty as to what exactly the scientist is doing and what possible social contribution he makes. Just the opposite describes the work of the positive-hero scientist. Usually, he is more of an engineer capable of meeting everyday problems of production and capable of giving technical solutions to the twists and crises of the plot. Very similar in presentation is the physician positive-hero who is capable of possessing great scientific knowledge with practical application of medicine. In all occupational roles, the positive-hero is distinguished by the obvious product of his labor.

Interesting, however, is the failure of the positive hero to be strictly drawn as a reflection of the occupational structure of the rightist population itself--a reflection we might have expected. Repeated sociological investigation locates the rightist activist in the lower levels of the bourgeoisie, often the owners of smaller independent businesses and professional practices, and among the lower prestige white-collar jobs of the working class.

The major exception to this is the predictable pattern of the somewhat higher status and class position of the leadership of the organizations of the right.¹⁹ Rightist ideology, on the other hand, locates its enemies in the institutions and beliefs of liberalism--which essentially means those who occupy dominant positions in national government, national media, and the universities. The data in Table I indicates the positive hero generally is located in occupations of higher status and prestige than those held by the rightist reader; the positive hero seems, in fact, to be reflective of the existing leadership of the rightist movement.

One reason for this perhaps lies in the large autobiographical component in many of the novels, themselves authored by either spokesman or leaders of the rightist organizations. What seems more important, however, is the repeated emphasis in all the novels on the need for discipline to the authority, directives, and foresight of a few key individuals in each novel. In all of the books of our sample, successful struggle against communism is dependent upon good leadership. And success in leadership in such struggle is usually depicted as being dependent upon many of the same factors responsible for success in

¹⁹Ibid., p. 310.

business or professional life. Adherence to the authority of this "natural" leadership is displayed by all positive figures and figures as one of the most important traits of the positive hero. Such discipline is less a matter of external conformity with the directives and orders from the leadership than an internal cognitive acceptance of the "rightness" of the way by which the leadership has ascended to his superior position. That is, the leader is a natural leader; the product of a social Darwinism that thrust him forward at just the needed crucial time. Submission to such discipline is acknowledgement of the rightousness of the social forces that produced the leadership.

If such capacity for activity and production are the primary attributes of the male positive hero, few such virtues are attributed to the female positive hero. In all the novels, the plot is dominated by male figures and male-oriented concerns; the depiction of women in both positive and negative hero-types is completely within traditional role expectations placed upon women in our society. That means a woman is identified primarily by her relation to "her" man which is a relationship typically of service, if not subservience, in either the place of business or the home. Table II summarizes the data quite succiently.

Table 11.--Occupations of female positive and negative heroes.

Positive Hero (n=16)		Negative Hero (n=8)	
Housewife	6	Housewife	1
Secretary/Assistant	4	Bureaucrat (Gov't)	3
Sexual Object	2	Sexual Object	3
Journalist	2		
Scientist	1		
Student	1	Student	1

Whether as housewife or secretary, the positive attributes of women are most clearly in focus in those roles where she is of service to a man. The female positive figure typically provides ego-support and creature-comforts to her active and productive partner. Even in those roles that are not necessarily reflective or complimentary to those of a particular male, such as a scientist or journalist, the womanly features of the positive female figures are established by a description of her in terms of warmth, submissiveness, beauty, and all the other characteristics of her more traditional sister. In those situations where the woman is identified only by virtue of being an accessible sexual object as mistress or lover, the positive figure provides more than just sexual pleasure for her man; she may be the source of sound worldly advice and the only cosmopolitan figure in all the novels that is also a positive hero. By contrast, the negative female hero is sexually manipulative, self-seeking, and ambitious--in many respects, she assumes attributes that would be positively regarded in the male.

In sum, women of either type are incidental to the plot of these novels and serve only in the very circumscribed and limited roles described above.

Sexual relations for the positive hero are properly undertaken only with one's spouse. This corresponds with an emphasis on the primacy of the family as the source of almost all intimacy, and a de-emphasis on the possibly hedonistic distractions sexual encounter may have for the positive hero. Sexual activity itself seems to be unimportant and treated with little significance throughout the novels analyzed. This has several forms: There is no sexual explicit dialogue in any of the books; even the hyper-sexual activity attributed to the negative heroes is suggestive and only hinted at. There also intermittently appears a naive anti-Freudianism articulated by the positive hero, playing upon the popular misconceptions of psycho-analyses' singular preoccupation with sex. In one novel (The Dispossessed), the negative figures are specifically psychoanalysts, and psychoanalysis itself is shown as an ideology of "brainwashing" and totalitarian control. Finally, the positive hero is repeatedly cast as rational and ascetic vis-a-vis the sensual and possibly decadent negative hero. Such Puritanism becomes highly functional for the positive hero: By avoiding the distractions and temptations of illicit sex, he is portrayed as having that

much more energy for other--more important--tasks and once more the primacy of the family is again re-affirmed.

Closely associated with depictions of sexuality in these novels is the very careful and unusually detailed descriptions of the physical appearance of the positive and negative heroes. The positive male hero is invariably described in terms of strength and impressive physique--he often gives the "craggy impression of inner force"; he is a "spare but stalwart man", "knotty-shouldered but lithe of step". Much attention is paid to his eyes, whether they are "flashing eyes beneath shapely brows", "eyes...with strange banked fires of emotion", or merely "eyes dancing with humor". The positive woman, shunning ostentation and chimeral glamour, is more often than not merely described as "comely" or "pert". Even if it is suggested she is "extraordinarily beautiful", no detailed description is in order other than to say she is the "fairest of the fair" and the possessor of an "earthy eternal (sic) beauty". What emerges is a tendency for many of the personal and social characteristics of a positive hero that we would ordinarily expect to be delineated through interaction with others or by self-reflection, to be conveyed through rather simplistic adjectival formulas such as above. A very similar tendency was noticed by Lowenthal in his description of the idols of production and consumption. In both cases, it is as if the author wanted to impress on the

reader that the hero must be understood in terms of biological or ethnic inheritance; that the individual's personality and social life are primarily reflective of intrinsic biological factors over which little control or change is possible.

Such factors play directly into the existing racial and ethnic stereotypes that many Americans, rightists or not, share and perpetuate; the positive hero is a blend of the heroes of text-book history and Hollywood judged by the standards of beauty, grace, and physical appeal of white America alone. The negative hero then is described and judged wanting by these same standards. If the negative male hero is described as handsome, it is only to insinuate he is effete or guilty of moral turpitude; the negative female hero may be beautiful but a beauty flawed by conceit or fancy. Of even greater interest, however, is the complete absence of negative heroes who are usually stereotyped in American culture--there are no Negro or Jewish negative heroes in these novels. This is unusual particularly in the face of the repeated observation in the sociological literature of the rightist's tendency to indicate anti-Negro and anti-Jewish sentiment in response to survey interviews.²⁰ This suggests the possibility that scape-

²⁰Ira S. Rohter, "The righteous rightists", Trans-Action; 4:6 (1967) pp. 27-35; Lipset and Raab, op cit., pp. 351 ff.

goating and projection of these stereotypes may have less salience in the rightist political culture than indicated by previous research. This is not to deny that racism in this subculture or the mainstream exists, but rather that it does not form an overt pivot around which rightist politics revolve. The constellation of beliefs that form American racist ideology are seldom articulated as such; they form part of the natural order of things about which questions seldom occur.

A good example of this can be found in the few sentences introducing a minor positive figure who is also "incidentally a Negro":

"Judge Hannibal would be a great American--if he could only forget he is an American Negro. He asks us to forget his color--but he never forgets it. He is one of the most race-conscious men in the country--and he should be the least. He is so brainy, so personable, so widely esteemed...."(The Spirit of '76)

The positive image of Judge Hannibal is enhanced and consolidated a few paragraphs later when it becomes evident he will overcome his consciousness of color to join in the struggles along side the major positive figures.

Three things are important about this presentation. The first is that the very mention of race in this case is rare among the books surveyed; as I have said above, overtly racist themes and stereotypes seem to have little importance--being neither challenged nor directly affirmed. Second is

the quality of the response to the initial insistence of the Negro's consciousness of race and blackness. It is the response of typical resentment to anyone who would not immediately choose to be "100% American like themselves", coupled with the indignation at the realization that this is precisely what is being affirmed. The response is that of most white Americans and is not simply attributable to the rightist. Related to this and the few other similar passages elsewhere in this book and the others, is the appearance of racially-identifiable figures only as positive hero types. Such figures are all successful as individuals who have overcome their (admitted) liabilities of race or ethnicity as individuals. Judge Hannibal has "made good on his own and [made] himself a useful citizen...It could be true for all Negroes--it really could". The formula for success--the formula of the positive hero--is in typically American fashion available to all regardless of race, class, or national origin. The possibility of uniqueness in the position of American black people is not discussed; it simply does not appear as problematic in the social universe of these novels.

What emerges out of this therefore, is less a picture of overt racial superiority than an affirmation of group or class superiority. In fact, it should be stressed here that all distinctions and attributes of the positive hero we have thus far made are important distinctions;

they are quite consciously presented as the prime indicators of how the world divides itself into good and evil--we and they. Such a presentation ultimately becomes an ethic which has its base in an appeal to the experience of the reader--the moral validation of the positive hero's action, values and even physicality, is made on the basis of a participation and sharing in similar life-experiences as the reader's own. The difference being, however, that the positive hero is shown to be capable of transforming what might be experienced as liabilities in the real world of the reader, into the very formula of success. The positive hero is like "us"; but by becoming like him, we can assert our own values and priorities to win. While this sort of argument may well be ad hominem, it functions in these novels as a powerful device of asserting group consciousness and group superiority, while simultaneously reiterating the ethic of individualism and mission carried through the positive hero.

The capacity for outrage is another characteristic which is expressed repeatedly in both the thought and action of the positive hero. In most cases the foil or target of such outrage is the negative hero whose overriding characteristic is captured very well by the title of one of the novels--The Equivocal Men. In this book none of the equivocal men are really "evil"--their weakness is a lack of inner strength and an incapacity to

experience moral indignation at the obvious outrages perpetuated around them. They are all men of the system--the titles of each chapter best suggests who they are and the malaise that affects them:

"Man of Letters
 Man of Means
 Man on the Brink
 Man of Learning
 Man of Emptiness
 Man of State
 Man of Obsession"

The sceptical intellectual, the jaded millionaire, a power-hungry bureaucrat--they are all merely "troubled" by what they see around them as the Big Powers "co-exist", religion and morality bend under liberality and situational ethics, and crime rises. The equivocal men are "uncertain", "of doubtful nature", "ambiguous"; in a previous era they would be labeled "bleeding hearts". For the author in his introduction, they are "the most dangerous men in America".

As a consequence of his outrage, however, the positive hero is able to act in the face of such danger and inaction. He is able to cut through the immobilizing bureaucracy that is seen to pervade all aspects of modern life; as statesman, he is not bound to observe the niceties and conventions that surround the detente between Russian Communists and American liberals. Nor is he required to observe the drawing-room conventions that would prevent him from punching an insinuating reporter who has written insultingly of him.

The positive hero will behave, in fact, along the classic lines described by Svend Ranulf's study of moral indignation and the psychology of the lower-middle classes.²¹ The satisfaction of punching your opponent in the nose may be the immediately preferred solution, but the positive hero recognizes such pleasure is only transitory. More usually the solution is found in public exposure and censure of liberal ineptitude and equivocation; reduction of the offending figures to their "rightful place in the scale" and the elevation of the outraged and previously grieved to his proper place. It is suggested that retribution, not revolution, is the necessary antidote; it is punishment--a punishment that "fits" the offense--that is sought rather than revenge. In Ranulf's terms, it is the recourse to a society of law in which the laws are more generally punitive, "efficient", and less disposed to consider "extenuating circumstances" and the "big picture". The positive hero must have the capacity for outrage but also justice in his own fashion.

Closely related to the positive hero's capacity for outrage is the enthusiasm or zeal by which he distinguishes himself in all tasks and undertakings. This occurs in two

²¹Svend Ranulf, Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology, 1964.

distinct forms: First, and primarily, the positive hero is enthusiastic about the skills and labor he performs in his occupation. He articulates a willingness to work hard on all tasks; he is never bored or alienated from his work as such although he is often portrayed as frustrated by less-than-competent superiors who lack both insight into the job that must be done and a willingness to see it done correctly. The positive hero further "understands" the need to perform all jobs--however menial--with enthusiasm and competence. Often the description of how the positive hero actually works includes quite explicit admonishments on the virtues of hard work and the necessity of enthusiastically receiving it. Such work is its own reward. The positive hero is neither a careerist nor toady to mere economic incentive. He has faith that the good life will include hard work; anticipation for easy reward is minimized and deprecated throughout all the novels.

It can not help but strike the sociologist that the positive hero here displays that same enthusiastic instinct for workmanship which sixty years ago Veblen felt to be the potentially redeeming factor of industrial, capitalist civilization. Such enthusiasm is not confined to the workplace although it originates there. Rather, this "instinct"--understood by Veblen as the zealous accomplishment of constructive work--is diffuse and influences the pursuit of all other activity in an individual's life. So it is with

the positive hero. Growing out of a shunning of career and material reward as the goal of work--activity is a continued enthusiasm and zeal in all further undertakings of the positive hero--particularly in the political struggle against the negative hero and his liberalist ideology. Ironically, both Veblen's workman and our rightist hero exhalt work as the foundation for the moral man and the good society.

The willingness to embrace and exhalt work as both necessary and redeeming is a response to the forms of labor in our society probably unique to the rightist political culture. Whatever the reality of two-income families and moonlighting jobs, the mainstream's ideological concern is away from work itself with an emphasis more on leisure and the consumption work brings. Much of the appeal of the organized right resides in this recognition of the continued centrality of work in the lives of most people--and, most importantly, the re-inforcement of the dominant myths and ideology surrounding such work that a doctrine of receiving work enthusiastically ultimately accomplishes. The ability to "lose oneself in work" is only one possible response to the alienated labor of our society--but it is the one the rightist can most logically put forward.

Finally, the positive hero brings the same zeal to his practice and beliefs of religion. The positive hero is not necessarily a Christian although when he is, it is of the

fundamental variety uncontaminated by liberal theological modifications and "this-worldliness". More often, however, he is simply a "believer" in the working out of Divine Order, modest in his own estimation of his role but self-assured of the integrity of his beliefs. Such faith is articulated essentially as an understanding of this Order and man's subordinate and lesser place in it. Religion is neither questioned nor elaborated upon but is assumed to function as guidance in all important matters and tight corners. It is very much the faith of the practical man.

The God of the rightist novel is not an interventionist and accomplishes no deus ex machina. The matter is less clear about the Devil; evil men and evil deeds occur and must be fought against by the positive hero. The communist and his ideology are predictably the prime manifestation of evil in the world, but it is always made clear that evil men and thoughts have existed throughout history. The positive hero has the insight and faith to realize this while the liberal negative figure is portrayed as never quite capable of achieving that same understanding. The result is a bifurcation of the social world into those believing in the existence of evil and the necessity to fight against it, and those who are beguiled by what is portrayed as spurious "sociological or materialist" arguments of relativity and situational ethics. The positive hero does not attempt to proselytize in an effort to close this gap. The gap reflects

one more "fact" of the world that must be recognized and dealt with. The positive hero wins not by converting his enemy but by overcoming him.

THE NEGATIVE HERO IN RIGHTIST FICTION

Rapport and empathy with the positive hero and the struggles he faced were based, as we have seen above, upon establishing the essential identity of the reader's own values and life-experiences with those of the fictive hero. The use of stereotypes, while occurring, was perhaps less than we might have expected from didactic fiction. Rather, the positive hero was seen to be convincing primarily on the basis of shared, and presumably, common human values available in the reader's own life, allowing, or perhaps the word should be forcing, the inference that the positive hero is a person much like the reader.

The situation is different with the presentation of the negative hero. The negative hero is the central literary mechanism by which the enemy is defined; coupled with the presentation of the positive hero, a rudimentary political socialization of those modes of behavior to be both emulated and avoided or fought against can be considered completed. The unique image of the negative hero emerges in several ways: There is a tendency toward early identification of all characters as to hero-type and, typically a subsequent literary development of this character along a single personality dimension. This is most apparent with the negative heroes who are often introduced with a few adjectives indicating a general unsavoriness or hints

of weaknesses and faults to be later revealed. Such traits are usually indicated in the description of the negative hero's physical appearance or presentation whereby his eyes, physique, or perhaps handshake, are clues to underlying and more fundamental negative characteristics. The negative hero will also receive less over-all articulation as a fictional character but instead appears as the embodiment of one or two well-defined negative values. Thus, a major negative hero will typically be "ambitious" and "ruthless" but little attention will be paid to his inner musings, the possibility of self-doubt or self-examination except as a sign of weakness, and to possible obstacles to the machinations he must accomplish in attaining his ends. In this sense, the negative hero, more so than the positive hero, is one-dimensional and stereotypical. He is readily identifiable, and undergoes no "changes of character" by either his own efforts or the social forces around him.

Unlike the positive hero, who emerges as a singular composite of the various positive values and characteristics described in the previous section, the negative heroes are of two distinct varieties. The first, by far the most important both by fictive elaboration and simple enumeration, is the "equivocal man" mentioned in the previous section, and the cluster of values which surround him. The equivocal men are sociologically very similar to the posi-

tive hero but lack the same moral qualities that made the positive hero successful and worthy of emulation. They are passive to the social forces around them--clearly open to manipulation and unable to act even in their own behalf in times of crisis. The other general type of negative hero occurs less frequently, but is present either in the background or central plot in all the novels analyzed. He is the active agent of communism--the figure of evil throughout the world. This spectre is often distant and appears only in vague outline, but always he is capable of possessing and exercising great power. It is he who is behind the shape of history, operating only by Machiavellian principles and only in pursuit of his own ends.

Both figures contribute to the rightist's view of the forces and individuals in the social world which are arraigned against him. The communist, with all the power of evil in the world at his disposal, stands ready to move at any sign of weakness displayed by the positive hero. The equivocators, while never actually communists, are often either their pawns or victims; in either case, they are unreliable in the struggle and serve only to undermine the work and determination of the positive heroes. They become, as we have previously mentioned, the "most dangerous men" of all.

A. The depiction of the communists and their ideology is less interesting than the portrayal of the equivocators

and their ilk. The picture of the communist which emerges is predictable and follows exaggerated American anti-communist stereotypes. The communist is the person "behind" all civil and social conflict; when he has not actually caused an incident, he is always able to exploit it to his advantage. The ends or values which might motivate him are never made clear except to say that his is a single-minded mission to control and destroy. Above all, such a person is portrayed as unprincipled and expeditious. No consideration to religion, the family, the values or desires of others ever is entertained by him except as to how he might subvert them. Further, all means, no matter how reprehensible, will be employed by the communist--murder, torture, deception are the first alternatives to action that he ever considers.

The communist is disciplined and non-spontaneous in a fashion quite dissimilar to the emulative discipline of the positive hero. The communist is "machine-like" and "calculating" carrying out orders in a reflexive and unyielding fashion. Where the need for discipline on the part of the positive hero is understood and internalized, the discipline of the communist is a consequence of fear and punishment from the hierarchy above him. In several of the novels the positive hero will speak enviously of the power and efficiency such discipline can wield, but usually concludes that

ultimately such discipline, bred of fear and evil designs, is contemptible and dangerous. Always coupled with such discipline is the ceaseless activism of the communist--an activism which dictates he be ever on the alert to secure advantage and success. The communist suffers no lapse in either discipline or activity; all his efforts are directed toward the objectives of "international communism".

Finally, the communist is always portrayed as a male. The one exception to this is a single occurrence of a female communist who is in turn described solely in masculine characteristics of both physique and habit. This peculiar limitation can, in part, be explained by the complete acceptance of traditional sex-role definitions by the authors and their milieu--a strong and autonomous figure such as the communist is presented as, is not readily ascribable to a woman. Even more important, however, are the cruel and tortuous methods employed by him. Intended to add to the general repugnance of the communist, these methods give overtones of a sexual sadism and depravity which seem to surround him. In descriptions of his physical being, much is made of his "unusual features", his "obeisity", his "male-ness...that captivated the opposite sex", his "foreign-ness" which might be "semetic" or, more specifically, "his shiny yellow face and glabrous scalp", and, his "imposing...brute strength". The character of the communist in these respects

has its counterpart in the themes and fears which surround the foreigner, the exotic, and particularly, the black American male. To repeat, however, explicit descriptions of either sexual or sadistic behavior does not occur in these books; the sublimated and suggestive descriptions of the communist are firmly not meant to titillate but to disgust and outrage the reader. They contribute to the generally reprehensible character of the communist and his ideology.

B. The repugnance of the communist is established in a very matter-of-fact fashion. There is clearly no need felt to elaborate the reasons why he is to be regarded as a proper model for vilification--he emerges as evil incarnate. The treatment of the equivocal negative hero proceeds more carefully, with greater attention paid to developing his precise identity and the source of his weaknesses and failing character. The central trait of the equivocator is not the disciplined cruelty and deception of the communist, but rather his inability to act decisively in any capacity. In the context of these novels, this means most particularly, an unwillingness to align with the values, goals, and struggles of the positive hero. The source of such inaction is attributed to three distinct characteristics of the negative hero--the equivocator is "over-educated", elitist, and hedonistic. Considered together, these traits constitute the charge that the equivocator's fatal weakness is his cosmopolitanism.

The equivocator is "over-educated" in the sense that he has been exposed to the arguments of pendants and professors to such an extent that all arguments and major decisions are merely academic to him. He is portrayed as constantly searching for extenuating circumstances which will allow him to either "explain away" or minimize all forms of moral and social deviancy which properly outrages both the positive hero and the rightist reader. The equivocator meets all situations with words rather than deeds; in this fashion, he undercuts and weakens the positive hero by dissipating the focus of his fury and outrage. By moderating the tone of the criticism of the communist, by finding "excuses", the equivocator reaps the well-known charge of aiding the communist even if he himself is not a communist. The equivocator becomes the archetype of the Liberal in the rightist litany.

The literary device by which the "over-educated" nature of the negative character is established is of interest. In the display of the educational levels of both hero types below, there appears little significant difference between the two:

Table 111.--Education of positive and negative heroes.

	Positive Hero (n=26)		Negative Hero (n=30)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
High School	1	1	1	-
College	10	3	15	2
Professional	10	1	10	2

While in many of the cases, the level of education was neither specified nor deducible from the context or description of the character, it is apparent that being "over-educated" is not simply a function of years spent in school. As we saw in the previous section, the person who utilizes an education in action and production is highly regarded. Yet if we recall the occupational characteristics of the negative hero from the discussion above, we likewise remember the dominant position of the "bureaucrat" in the rightist's world. Such bureaucrats invariably appeared in positions of power, above the positive hero and working against his ends. The injustice of such a situation is stressed repeatedly in all the novels; it creates one of the central tensions in their plots and finds resolution in the same fashion. No criticism is made of hierarchy and power-relations as such; rather, the entire focus is upon the illegitimacy of ascension to such positions by those who have only "mere book-learning". The bureaucrat's potential product of expertise is denied. The theme recurs in which he is concerned only with theory and fantasy with no understanding of how to "make a dollar or turn or turn a lathe".

The entire notion of the "over-educated" man embodies the experience of resentment that other empirical studies

have suggested permeates the life of the rightist.²² Such resentment has as its expression not a clear understanding of the power relations of modern American society, but a mistrust of higher education and the other institutions of this society. The rightist himself has typically not had access to such education; he encounters the institutional intricacies and complexities of the society only in a negative and interfering way as they intrude upon his own life with their peculiar inefficiencies and modes of alienation. In many ways, the understanding of the centrality of a well-educated and bureaucratically-sophisticated minority in the reproduction of everyday life in this society is sound--whether held by a rightist or a social scientist. What is unique in the portrayal of the rightist's experience in these novels, however, is the focus of resentment on the means of achieving such social roles and positions. Neither questioning the roles themselves as might the leftist, or rationalizing their form and necessity as does the organizational theoretician, the rightist is left with only a bitterness at the injustice of the situation.

The theme of the cosmopolitan negative hero is continued by stressing, in the same fashion, his essentially elitist arrogance and contempt for common people and commonly-held values. Such elitism is depicted as flowing

²²Rohrer, op cit.

from two sources: The first is the very process of "over-education" itself--the experience of dealing with the merely abstract and academic. The process of "over-education" inculcates a false set of values by stressing the ideal over the real; the impossible over the practical. At the same time, the very process of education insures that the intellectual and the dreamer will ascend to self-perpetuating and illegitimate positions of power. Several authors mention the "tyranny of the pseudo-intellectual" and the "mis-educated".

The elitism and arrogance of the "over-educated" does not simply reside in the process of education alone, however. As we have already seen of many of the other positive and negative traits, such elitism also is seen to have ultimately biologic roots. The negative character is revealed to have "always" considered himself better than others--particularly in intellect (in the male role) and in beauty (in the female role). The negative character is vain and inflated, gravitating naturally to the self-congratulatory and unreal world of intellectuals, the university, and the useless maze of big government. Such elitists seek out each other to mutually re-inforce their vanities and egoism--always at the expense of the "common people". It is this particular aspect of elitism which will usually serve in these novels as explanation of the equivocator's

flirtation with and attraction to the hard-core communist. Communism, depicted always as a philosophy and theory of efficient and rational domination of the many by the few, is most attractive to the inner needs of the vain. The communist, of course, will always recognize such vanity and the other personal weaknesses it signals, using the equivocator for his own ends and discarding him as soon as it suits his purposes. There is no sympathy for one used in this manner; the equivocator's inherent faults make his destruction predestined and just.

The cosmopolitan character of the equivocating negative hero is completed with a description of his tendency toward hedonism. Unlike the exaggerated sexual depravity attributed to the communist, the equivocator is portrayed in a state of almost lethargic moral decay. His conceit and vanity have their counterparts in social relations of promiscuity and indolent pleasure-seeking. He strives after mere excitement rather than love; his tastes--whether in leisure, food, sex, or culture--are exquisite and artificial. For the male negative character, there appears intimations of effeteness and homosexuality--although as in the treatment of the communist, these themes are not explicit nor developed as plot-lines. Sexuality exists only as one more avenue that the equivocator--incapable of self-motivation and discipline, but with all the ambitions of the self-important--exploits to secure and hold his advantaged social position and access to power.

The description of the values and characteristics of the equivocal negative hero is directed to converge on both a depiction and critique of the Liberal and his world. The picture of the liberal and the distortions it includes, is in many ways grotesque. Yet it is worth recapitulating for the light it throws on the rightist's perception of the society in which he lives. The tendency of these novels is to portray all social relations in terms of dominance or submission--in short, to make all social relations power relations. The result is a world where the rightist protagonist faces not only the communist as enemy, but also stands with the entire power structure of the liberal and his creation--the vast welfare state--arrayed against him. Liberalism, as a philosophy and practice, is held accountable for the growth and alien character of the bureaucracy of big government; similarly, it is the permissiveness of liberalism that has fostered the ascendancy of public officials who are morally corrupt and uncomprehending of the dangers of communism. The rightist can have no recourse to either these men or the institutions they serve in his own efforts to redeem society.

The situation the rightist will eventually face, therefore, is a decision to carry his own struggles outside the existing channels of legitimate political power. The posture of the rightist positive hero is in this respect an

awkward one--clearly unwilling to align with the currents of revolution as it exists in this century, the most he can offer as an alternative at this time is an opportunity to begin a long and arduous struggle of redemption. It is the portrayal of the possibility of winning that is the most important thrust of the entire sample of novels for the rightist and within the rightist political culture itself. The dominant metaphor of the novels is one of purification; by adding to the sense of urgency and crisis, the books function in a quite self-conscious fashion as calls to action. The books themselves become one more weapon with which to wage the just battle.

CONCLUSIONS

The discussion thus far has aimed at generating a model of those values which serve to guide the rightist political actor in both positive and negative directions. We have attempted to show that the positive hero embodies not only sociological characteristics which seem reflective of the rightists' own social position, but also those characteristics such as discipline and outrage which are intended to mobilize the reader directly. In a similar fashion, we saw that the negative hero functions to concretize the need to fight the evil he represents, galvanizing the reader toward action. The configuration of values in both models appear as instrumental or pragmatic rather than absolute or directed to ultimate goals. This is a somewhat surprising finding given the absolutist terms in which the rightist movement is usually described in the sociological literature, yet it can be attributed to the fact that any political movement vying for power in a serious fashion will allow itself the widest options of contingencies and alternatives. In this respect the models figure as guides to a variety of possible actions; both models insofar as they are assimilated and believed by the reader serve to win support for the ideology and programs of the right.

It remains to briefly comment on how the sample of literature we have analyzed functions in the material day-to-day situations of those who read it. We must begin by

noting that sociologists have been weak in providing information other than attitudinal about the rightist and the social classes from which he is typically drawn. Public and sociological attention has been away from those groups that one critic has labeled as the "white majority between poverty and affluence"²³ for the past decade with perhaps the ironic exception of the problem of right-wing extremism and thinking among them. One implication of such neglect which surely does not escape these people is that social and state concern is only forthcoming as they themselves become sufficiently vocal and visible problematic. The movements and programs of the right draw a good deal of their initial strength and appeal simply because they are available in the lacunae of meaningful--and needed--programs left by the vacuum of the politically liberal center.

Of course, simply being "available" does not sufficiently explain why some people are drawn from this milieu into rightist politics while others are not. Clearly, only a small minority of the white working and middle-classes have been drawn into active rightist politics--contemporary liberal and sociological stereotypes of "authoritarian

²³The phrase is used as the title of Louise Kapp Howe, The White Majority: Between Poverty and Affluence, 1970. The point here, as James McKee pointed out to me, is not that there have been no studies of the "white majority", but that the glare of attention has been upon the poor, the blacks, etc.--and when attention was turned to this majority, it was largely unsympathetic.

worker, etc." aside. One quality of the literature we have analyzed, however, does suggest a primary appeal: While the density and concreteness of day-to-day life in these classes is usually sifted out of most sociological analyses, it is a style of life that many other social critics, novelists, and observers have correctly described as stressing the sensory, the detailed, the non-abstract. In such a context, literature or art--propaganda or program, in order to succeed must similarly partake of that level of detail and abstraction. It is in these respects, that the literature and program implicit in our sample succeed very well indeed. Hoggart's description of the strictures on the literature and art of the working and middle classes of Britain seem generally appropriate:

"(It)...is essentially a 'showing', rather than an 'exploration; a presentation of what is known already....It has to deal with recognisable human life, and has to begin with the photographic, however fantastic it may become; it has to be underpinned by a few simple but firm moral rules".²⁴

Such a "showing" premises all of the literature we have analyzed. The rapid and clear introduction of hero-types; the unequivocal stances they assume; the use of familiar images and problems each of the novels incorporate serve to repeat and reflect the material conditions of life in

²⁴Richard Hoggart, The Uses of Literacy, 1961, p. 100.

these classes. The moralism of the didactic style, easily dismissed by the intellectual or the avant garde, strengthens the appeal and validity of the literature to both the rightist and non-rightist reader. All of the novels of our sample attempt treatment of large themes of good and evil; while similar genre perhaps exist in the romance magazines or situation scripts of television, no comparable fiction that is not politicized in the direction of our sample is as readily available or as attractive.

Further, what has emerged from these novels is less a picture of a "paranoid style" of politics to use Hofstadter's sweeping pejorative, than a constellation of values with obvious linkages to the mainstream of American cultural and political beliefs. The right--at least as revealed in self-depiction through the novels we have analyzed--appears with strong roots in the experiences of American life. While few contemporary sociologists will venture statements comprehensive of anything as broad as "American society" or "American life", such statements do exist from the previous generation of social scientists and are illuminating on this point. Robin Williams, for example, in the early 1950's attempted a sociological interpretation of American society and American values.²⁵

²⁵Robin Williams, Jr., American Society: A Sociological Interpretation, 1952, esp. pp. 386-442.

In an outline of major value configurations, he began by emphasising the stress Americans traditionally place on "achievement", "activity", "strong moral orientation", and so on through a list of fifteen such value-configurations--all of which would be quite compatible and comprehensible to our fictive positive heroes.

The point here is not to say there exists no differences between the rightist stance and what we have called the "mainstream". Rather, to repeat the proposition made at the beginning of this thesis: The right does not exist as an isolated phenomenon beyond the pale of American political tradition--a point much of the sociological literature has sought to make. The rightist position, though clearly at base an expression of alienated existence, is one of the several peculiar mixes of traditions and values which can be found within most American politics. The reasons why people are drawn into the ranks of the right are diverse; the full answer may have to do with anxieties of status or even personality-types although the evidence of this thesis does not suggest this. It suggests instead a choice of political alternatives based on what is available to the individual as determined by the quality of existence in the social classes in which he lives. If such a choice seems to reflect a paucity of vision or nobility, its causes lie outside the individual and his class, and with the society as a whole.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The following is a complete listing of all books analyzed:

1. Alexander, Holmes, The Equivocal Men (Conservative Book Club: New Rochelle, N.Y.) N.D.
2. _____, The Spirit of '76: A Political Novel of the Near Future, (Arlington: New Rochelle, N.Y.) 1966.
3. Caldwell, Taylor, The Devil's Advocate, (Crown: N.Y.) 1952.
4. Douglass, William C., The Eagle's Feathers, (Free Men Speak, Inc.: New Orleans) 1966.
5. Franklin, John (pseud.), The John Franklin Letters, (Bookmailer: N.Y.) 1959.
6. Hunt, H.L., Alpaca Revisited, (H.L. Products; Dallas) 1967.
7. Lumpkin, Grace, Full Circle, (Western Islands: Boston, Mass.) 1962.
8. McMichael, R. Daniel, The Journal of David Q. Little, (Arlington: New Rochelle, N.Y.) 1967.
9. Post, Clinton Thomas, The Conservative Crime, (Exposition Press: N.Y.) 1968.
10. Rand, Ayn, Anthem (Signet: New York) 1946.
11. Taylor, Maurice E., Two Witnesses, (Dorrance and Co.: Philadelphia) 1968.
12. Wagner, Geoffry, The Dispossessed, (devin-Adair: New York) 1956.
13. Woodbury, David, Five Days to Oblivion, (Devin-Adair: New York) 1963.

APPENDIX B

The use of qualitative methods in sociology continues to be an uncommon tradition despite the often tendered opinion that such methods hold particular promise for the discipline. The qualitative methodologies--particularly content analysis--are uneven in their development and applicability to many problems; the feeling one has in attempting a study necessarily involving such techniques (as this thesis does) is of too few paradigms available for consultation to the problem at hand. The methodological techniques and perspectives which contributed most to the development of this thesis are found in Martin Martel and George McCall's essay, "Reality-Orientation and the Pleasure Principle: A Study of American Mass-Periodical Fiction (1890-1955), in Dexter and White (ed.) People, Society and Mass Communications (1964), pp. 283-333.

Of particular help was Martel and McCall's insight that "heroes and villains" can be thought to embody, respectively, the positive and negative values of an era or of a society. In this thesis, the "heroes and villains" became, of course, the positive and negative hero which were seen to function as embodying the values, aspirations and legitimate practices (behavior) of the rightist political actor.

Secondly, this thesis is indebted to the Martel and McCall essay for its discussion of how the purely "sociologic" characteristics of a piece of fiction is capable of interpretation in a qualitative fashion. It was by a focus on the simple ethnographic characteristics such as occupation, education, etc. that allowed the construction and abstraction of the series of social identities which became my construct of the positive and negative heroes. The activities of the fictive characters within these rudimentary social statuses allowed inferences of the values and activities which best seemed to "fit" these statuses.

Because content-analytical methodologies are usually cited for their refusal to allow valid replication, the following list of fictive characters and their initial coding of demographic/ethnographic characteristics is given. The list is composed of the fictive characters sufficiently elaborated in the sample as to hero-type to allow inclusion in the sample; it is not a list of all the fictive characters that weave in and out of the plot-lines of these novels since such a list would include characters of no particular literary impact--characters which are merely supportive or "bit-players". The list is, rather, composed of all those characters seen necessary to build and sustain the plot-line.

LIST OF FICTIVE CHARACTERS

NAME	①		②	SEX	OCCUPATION	③		④
	TITLE	HERO-TYPE				EDUCATION	RACE	
PHL. OBERMEISTER	1	+	B	M	JOURNALIST	B	E	-
LEMUEL BUCKLER	1	+	D	M	MILITARY	B	W	-
SALLY COATER	1	+	B	F	SECRETARY	-	W	-
JEAN DIMONT	1	+	D	M	SENATOR	-	W	-
JAMES RETGER	1	+	-	M	STATESMAN	-	W	-
R. POINDEXTER	1	+	C	M	POLITICIAN	B	W	-
MARK O'MALLEY	1	+	D	M	BUSINESS	C	W	-
NAOMI NATHAN	1	+	C	F	SECRETARY	-	W	-
KARA STORM	1	-	B	F	SCIENTIST	C	W	C
WHIPPERPOOL	1	-	D	M	POLITICIAN	-	W	E
JOHN LITTLETON	1	-	D	M	BUSINESS	-	W	E
CURTIS LAYNE	1	-	C	M	POLITICIAN	C	W	E
HIRAM HEWETT	1	-	D	M	BUSINESS	-	W	E
Miles Fleetwood	1	-	B	M	PROFESSIONAL	-	W	E
BORO DVORSKA	1	-	D	M	SCIENTIST	-	W	E
MIKE COOPER	1	-	C	M	SCIENTIST	C	W	E
BURBANK	1	-	D	M	MILITARY	-	W	E
JERRY CHASE	2	+	B	M	STATESMAN	B	W	-
PHL. OBERMEISTER	2	+	B	M	JOURNALIST	-	W	-
EULA BECK	2	+	B	F	JOURNALIST	-	W	-
Philip Storm	2	-	C	M	PROFESSIONAL	C	W	E
Cal Borton	2	-	D	M	PROFESSIONAL	B	W	E
WARREN SILVERBRIGHT	2	-	C	M	POLITICIAN	B	W	E
T. L. LORRIS	2	-	D	M	POLITICIAN	C	W	E
DWIGHT LEPOI	2	-	B	M	POLITICIAN	B	W	E
JUNO LEPOI	2	-	B	F	HOUSEWIFE	-	W	E
MA FINNIGAN	2	-	B	F	BUREAUCRAT	B	W	E
Gov. FINNIGAN	2	-	-	M	BUREAUCRAT	B	W	E
SEN. FINNIGAN	2	-	D	M	BUREAUCRAT	B	W	E
SAM LEPOI	2	-	D	M	BUREAUCRAT	B	W	E
TOM SHADE	2	-	-	M	BUREAUCRAT	-	W	E
ANDREW DURANT	3	+	C	M	MILITARY	C	W	-
MARIA DURANT	3	+	B	F	HOUSEWIFE	-	W	-

NAME	TIME	WED. TYPE	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	ARE	EQUIV. ARE - COMMENT
JAMES CHRISTIAN	3	+	-	M	TEACHER	C	W	-
MRS. CHRISTIAN	3	+	-	F	HOUSEWIFE	-	W	-
DR. DODGE	3	+	D	M	MEDICAL	C	W	-
ARTHUR CARLSON	3	-	-	M	MILITARY	-	W	E
DWIGHT HUCKINS	4	+	-	M	MEDICAL	C	W	-
BETH HUCKINS	4	+	-	F	HOUSEWIFE	-	W	-
TOKAY WREN	4	+	B	F	SEXUAL OBJECT	-	W	-
TOM MAHAN	4	+	C	M	MEDICAL	C	W	-
SAM YEN	4	-	D	M	BUSINESS	-	O	C
RUDENKO	4	-	C	M	BUSINESS	B	-	C
JASINSKI	4	-	-	M	MILITARY	B	W	C
MARY SWAIN	4	-	A	F	STUDENT	B	W	E/E
MR. HARRISON	5	+	-	M	STATSMAN	-	N	-
JOHN FRANKLIN	5	+	B	M	MILITARY	B	W	-
KATHERINE FRANKLIN	5	+	-	F	HOUSEWIFE	-	W	-
BEN SCHWARTZELDER	5	-	-	M	UNION	-	W	E
THE "OLD MAN"	5	-	D	M	BUSINESS	-	W	E
JUAN ABRAHA	6	+	B	M	STATSMAN	B	W	-
MARA HANI	6	+	A	F	STUDENT	-	W	-
ORLANDO TASSO	6	-	D	M	PROFESSIONAL	C	-	E
MRS. BRAXTON	7	+	-	F	HOUSEWIFE	-	W	-
DR. KAPLAN	7	+	-	M	MEDICAL	C	W	-
ARNIE BRAXTON	7	-	-	F	BUREAUCRAT	-	W	C
ART	7	-	-	M	SCIENTIST	C	W	C
INEZ	7	-	B	F	SEXUAL OBJECT	B	W	E
DAVID LITTLE	8	+	C	M	BUSINESS	B	W	-
MARY BEST	8	+	-	F	JOURNALIST	B	W	-
LARRY BEST	8	-	C	M	PROFESSIONAL	C	W	E
ABBOT LARRIMORE	8	-	-	M	BUREAUCRAT	B	W	C
CARLA	8	-	C	F	SEXUAL OBJECT	-	W	E
NANCY LITTLE	8	-	-	F	SEXUAL OBJECT	-	W	E
MARGARET TAYLOR	9	+	B	F	HOUSEWIFE	B	W	-
MR. BAILEY	9	+	D	M	BUSINESS	A	W	-
JOHN TAYLOR	9	-	B	M	TECHNICIAN	A	W	E
EQUALITY	10	+	B	M	ENGINEER	-	-	-

NAME	TITLE	HERO-TYPE	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	RACE	Equivocator-Communist
LIBERTY	10	+	-	F	Sexual Object	-	-	-
THE COUNCIL	10	-	D	-	BUREAUCRAT	-	-	C
JACOB IRONSIDES	11	+	D	M	STATESMAN	-	W	-
DR. ADAM	11	+	C	M	MILITARY	C	W	-
INEZ BAYARD	11	+	B	F	SECRETARY	A	W	-
DR. SIMON	11	+	D	M	CLERGY	B	W	-
RAVOL	11	+	A	M	CLERGY	B	W	-
T.M. INGERSOLL	11	-	D	M	PROFESSOR	C	W	E
PHIL NEWMAN	11	-	D	M	POLITICIAN	B	W	E
YERMAK	11	-	-	M	BUREAUCRAT	-	-	C
RICHARD TERRELL	12	+	B	M	MILITARY	B	W	-
FRAN TERRELL	12	+	-	F	Sec./Ass't	-	W	-
DR. LEVOUTIER	12	-	C	M	SCIENTIST	C	W	E
MJR. PEAT	12	-	C	M	PROFESSIONAL	C	W	E
REG. WAYNE	13	+	B	M	MILITARY	-	W	-
G. RIAM	13	+	D	M	ENGINEER	C	W	-
CHARLIE	13	-	-	M	PROFESSIONAL	-	W	C
JOHN ARKWRIGHT	13	-	D	M	SCIENTIST	B	W	E
COL. ALPINE	13	-	C	M	MILITARY	B	W	E
SAM BOWDEN	13	+	C	M	ENGINEER/Sci	C	W	-
JOHANNA KIRSCH	13	+	B	F	SCIENTIST	C	W	-

CODE:

- Title number refers to sequence of books as given in Appendix A.
- Age in years where given or directly inferred from context:

0-21 years old	A
21-30 years old	B
31-50 years old	C
50 + years old	D
- Education :

High School	A
College	B
Professional	C
- Applicable only to negative hero:

Equivocator	E
Communist	C

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