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## SOCIO-STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF IMMIGRANT WORKER MINORITIES: THE CASE OF WEST-GERMANY\*

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### I. INTRODUCTION

In purely economic terms the Federal Republic of Germany has been an immigrant society from its very beginning. Till 1961, 13.34 Mill. people emigrated to West Germany, primarily from areas of the former state territory and the German Democratic Republic (cf. Wieduwilt and Jürgens, 1976:138). However, these migrants and fugitives had been of German nationality. True immigration began only after 1961 when the German Democratic Republic closed its border and internal demographic and socio-structural processes decreased the West German work force.<sup>1</sup> The growing industry found new markets in southern Europe for the recruitment of labor. The number of foreign employed—a very large majority of them workers—rose from 0.5 Mill. in 1961 or 2.5 percent of the total work force to a high of 2.6 Mill. in 1973 or 11.9 percent of the total work force; due to the economic crisis it has dropped to around 2 Mill. or a little under 10 percent of the total work force by now.

This paper has two major intentions: 1) to demonstrate that West Germany has become an immigrant society in a truly sociological sense; that the so-called "guest-workers" and their families rather than being migratory workers have become part of the social structure; 2) to advance a socio-structural concept for the analysis of immigrant worker minorities.

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Minority relations theory and research in the past and up to the present have been heavily overloaded with psychological and socio-psychological or micro-sociological orientations and concepts; prejudice-discrimination approaches<sup>2</sup> and inter group relations hypotheses have had a dominating influence on the field. The need for socio-structural analysis in minority research derives from the shortcomings of these—and similar—approaches<sup>3</sup> Looking first at prejudice-discrimination approaches:

- (a) Prejudice-discrimination hypotheses mostly work with an explicit or implicit assumption of a causal-relationship between the two concepts. On a more general level of abstraction the problems of this assumption can be demonstrated by examining the still unresolved question of the relationship between attitude and behavior:
  - an attitude toward persons or objects may be overruled by other attitudes toward the same or other persons/objects that have a higher centrality in the person;
  - behavior (or action) is co-determined by the “definition of the situation,” of which attitudes are a component but definitely not the only or most important ones;
  - an attitude or attitudes may be repressed by material or socio-psychological needs or interests;
  - coercion, for instance the use of force by state authorities, can result in behavior opposite to attitudes.<sup>4</sup>
- (b) Prejudice is a derived phenomenon with only a limited dynamic impact of its own. Prejudice should be sociologically analyzed as part of and in the context of ideological systems and their societal functions.
- (c) Discrimination defined as a behavior category “puts the blame on the single person,” i.e., neglects the socio-structural context of behavior. Discrimination, though always enacted through behavior cannot be equated with it.<sup>5</sup>

Inter-group-relations theory (IGR)—not seldomly identified with the whole field of minority relations—must be criticized for the following deficiencies:<sup>6</sup>

- (a) It works with a meaningless, theoretically and empirically void concept of “groups” as its central category, including “groups” of the small group type to nation states.<sup>7</sup>
- (b) Its hypotheses, a-historically as they are formulated, can easily be repudiated empirically.
- (c) Its origin in or proximity to formal sociology accounts for the weak methodological status of its hypotheses: they are based on phenomenological speculation with the universe of history and present serving as an “illustrative agency;” they are not the outcome of systematic research.
- (d) Attempts to empirically solidify IGR hypotheses, for instance, the well known field experiments by Sheriff, by neglecting the structural context of their testing do not compensate for these weaknesses.
- (e) As a consequence, “explanation” by IGR theory cannot be more than a suggestive analogy.<sup>8</sup>

Orientation of minority problems research to the prejudice-discrimination, IGR or similar psychological or socio-psychological, micro-sociological paradigms leads to an overemphasis on beliefs and misbeliefs, illusions and feelings about reality that certainly are an important part of reality, but not its major constitutive factors; further to a “preoccupation with the interpersonal process in specific community-type contexts” (Zubaida, 1970b:3).

There is much confusion about the concept of social structure. Very often “social order” and “social structure” are used interchangeably. We propose “social order” to refer to the dominant “organizational principle” of a society;<sup>9</sup> “social structure” is

defined as the empirical differentiation of a population derived from its dominant organizational principle. Thus, social order and social structure are different, but interrelated.

Three dimensions of social structure are being proposed: (a) *economic-social position*, the objective differentiation of a population according to its position in the production-reproduction process; this is the most important differentiating principle; (b) *socio-economic conditions*, the differentiation according to material, cultural, and institutional "living conditions" outside the production-reproduction process, largely the direct or mediated result of economic-social position, with relative autonomy of the cultural and institutional sphere; (c) *situational conditions*, the differentiation according to fluctuations of living conditions as a consequence of economic, political, ideological, and psycho-political processes.<sup>10</sup>

## II. ECONOMIC-SOCIAL POSITION OF THE IMMIGRANT-WORKER MINORITY IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Immigrant workers are part of the working class; however, we shall not analyze the *general* characteristics of their economic-social position as workers, rather their special position within the working class. The analysis of their economic-social position tries to determine their position within the working class by showing the branches of the economy where they work, their position within the hierarchy of the single factory and their position on the labor market.

Almost 80 percent of the immigrant workers in West Germany—male and female—are employed as *production workers* (cf. BfA<sup>11</sup> 1973:49 und 1974:13), whereas the percentage of the total work force employed in production is only 48 percent.<sup>12</sup> The major industries where they work are the production and manufacturing of iron, steel and metals, auto industries, electronics, chemical industry, textiles and construction. However, the percentage of immigrant workers between certain industries differs in quite a relevant way. Table 1 presents percentages of immigrant workers in industries with high foreign employment.

TABLE 1  
Percentage of Foreign-employed in Selected Industries (1973)\*

Industry	% foreign-employed
Construction	21.9
Manufacturing of plastics, rubber and asbestos	20.6
Restaurants, hotels	20.5
Production of construction materials and glass	18.5
Textiles, leather	17.4
Production and manufacturing of iron, steel and other metals	15.2

\* Since 1973 a major change of these numbers has occurred in construction only, due to the economic crisis foreign employment has dropped to 12.6 percent (cf. BfA, 1977:18).  
SOURCE: BfA (1974:15).

Regarding the position and status of immigrant workers within the single factory let us first look at the skill level of the work they do (Table 2).

TABLE 2  
Skill Level of Work Done by Immigrant Workers (percent)

	SKILL LEVEL		
	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Male	23	46	31
Female	3	51	46
Male and Female	18	47	35

SOURCE: BfA (1973:68).

Whereas the distribution of skill levels among the total work force is 57 percent (skilled), 32 percent (semi-skilled) and 11 percent (unskilled) for males,<sup>13</sup> more than two-thirds of the male immigrant work force are employed as semi-skilled or unskilled labor. For females, however, these differences do not seem to exist,<sup>14</sup> even though this judgement may rest largely on the crudeness of the indicators.

Just as in other "classical" migrations, immigrants in West Germany had to take up the *unwanted, physically and/or mentally most strenuous type of work*. Assembly lines in car production and foundries are representative of this type of work, where up to 90 percent of the workers are immigrants. In addition, work done by immigrants has been shown to be more *prone to accidents* (cf. Mehrländer, 1969:69).<sup>15</sup>

Two major economic crises have occurred in the history of the Federal Republic; analysis of immigrant employment during these recessions helps to understand the position of immigrant workers on the labor market. Nikolinakos studied the relationship between gross national product and several macro-economic indicators during the 1960s. He found that the closest relation existed between changes in GNP and foreign employment (1973: 64-65). During the recession of 1966/67, immigrant employment dropped from 1.3 Mill. to 0.9 Mill. Employment of foreigners, generally, decreased more than employment of native workers. Economic recovery quickly induced a rise in immigrant employment to 1.3 Mill. in 1969, up to a high of 2.6 Mill. in 1973 (cf. Heckmann, 1977:Table III.2.1).

During the present crisis, there has been a strong decrease again to a low of around 2 Mill. in 1976; this level has been stable since then. The relation between economic fluctuation and immigrant employment is most discernible in those industries that are hit hardest by the recession; in construction, for instance, total employment dropped by 15 percent during the present crisis, immigrant employment, however, by 41 percent (cf. BfA, 1976:1163). To sum up: during recessions immigrant workers serve as a "buffer" against employment fluctuations for the native workers, during recovery and boom their function is one of a "lever" by being at disposal for the extension of production.<sup>16</sup>

Another aspect of the foreign workers' position on the labor market concerns the possibilities of their replacement or substitution. Whether the so-called "guest-workers" are "guests," i.e., migratory workers, or immigrants largely depends upon these aspects of their economic social-position. Possibilities for replacement or substitution are different during times of recovery or boom and times of crisis. For a period of growth Mertens (1974: 4) has demonstrated the non-replaceability of foreign labor in the Federal Republic.<sup>17</sup> Our discussion of the crisis situation—there have been 1 Mill. unemployed during the past years—starts with a historical reminder: the first recruitment of foreign workers—though in comparatively small numbers—occurred as early as 1952, at a time of an unemployment rate of almost 10 percent, or 1.65 Mill. people out of work. In 1955, a first international treaty regulating the recruitment of Italian labor for West Germany was signed, though more than a million Germans were still unemployed (cf. Heckmann, 1977:190). Thus, there exists no simple relation of substitution between native unemployed and foreign employed.

During the present crisis the collective return of the foreign workers would further *aggravate* the crisis. Since they are "engaged in the heavy occupations, those requiring the most physical exertion, that involve the greatest danger, and are least desired by native workers," their collective replacement would not be feasible; their return would lead to large decreases in production with chain effects (Wagner, 1975:152).<sup>18</sup> The "Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft" which is the official organ of the association of German employers, estimates that at least 1.6 Mill. foreign workers will be needed for good by West German industry (Associated Press, Aug. 19, 1976).

These are some of the major aspects of foreign labor as producers. However, "guest-workers" and their families who by now make up a total population of 4 Mill. also are buyers and consumers. The loss of their buying power would again heavily aggravate the crisis. In 1970, with 1.8 Mill. foreign workers, their domestic consumption was estimated at 14 bn. DM (cf. Salowsky, 1971:63). Unfortunately, new estimates do not exist, but the figures should be at least doubled that amount. Thus, as *producers*

and consumers, foreign workers and their families—as a collectivity—are not replaceable as part of the economic system. Certainly, this is the strongest argument in support of the immigration hypothesis.

Before continuing socio-structural analysis a short note on two major characteristics of immigration process seems necessary. Officially, by declaration of state authorities, West Germany is not an immigration country; the foreign workers, supposedly, are migratory workers, not immigrants. What actually seems to support and justify this policy and judgement is the initial motivation of foreign workers themselves to return to their native country after several years of work and saving; in addition, there has actually been a substantial number of returns to the native countries during the past 15 years. Comparative historical analysis helps to understand the relevance and meaning of these facts. As to the subjective side, Znaniecki formulated the "rule" that every emigrant when starting intends to return (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958:Vol. II, 1497). Warner and Srole (1945) illustrated their findings by the interview answer of a Greek immigrant from "Yankee City": "...we all thought we would go back in a few years, but it seems we never did" (p. 106). Elsewhere, we have shown that a similar motivational process develops among "Gastarbeiter" in West Germany (Heckmann, 1977:320-330); immigration seems to be a process, subjectively, developing in the immigration country, not in the native country. As to the actual returns: modern worker immigration is characterized by quite a substantial rate of returns as part of the process. Dinnerstein and Reimers (1975:39), when writing about returns of migrants from the United States back to their native countries report: "Intelligent estimates of how many foreigners returned to their native countries range from a high of nearly 90 percent for the Balkan peoples to a low of 5 percent for the Jews. We do know that the period between 1908 and 1914 immigration officials recorded 6,709,357 arrivals and 2,063,767 departures. During these years, more than half of the Hungarians, Italians, Croatians, and Slovenes returned to Europe." Thus, immigration implies a migration process of which returns are a "normal" phenomenon.

### III. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Socio-economic conditions as a second major and rather broad dimension of social structure refers to the differentiation of a population according to material, cultural and institutional "living conditions" outside of the production-reproduction process. It is largely the direct or mediated result of economic-social position, with relative autonomy of the cultural and institutional spheres. Socio-economic conditions includes as its major aspects income and its uses, housing and ecological segregation, family life, legal status and the immigrant community or colony.

Socio-economic conditions of an immigrant worker population differ in relevant ways from those of the native working class; they are the result not only of factors rooted in the immigrant country but are co-determined by the continuation of social, cultural, economic, and legal relations to the native country, and by needs, attitudes, and behaviors socialized in the emigration country. This paper wants to demonstrate the development or existence of socio-economic conditions among West Germany's foreign workers and their families that are characteristic of an immigrant worker population, thus further strengthening the immigration hypothesis.<sup>19</sup>

Income, certainly, is the most relevant aspect of economic-social conditions since it determines "life chances" in a broad way. Hourly wages of immigrant labor are clearly lower than native wages, more than 10 percent on the average.<sup>20</sup> Since, however, foreigners on the average work longer than West Germans, the resulting income should not be different. The use of this income is a relevant key to the immigrant workers consciousness. Typically, he migrates abroad with the intention to save as much money as possible, to return to his country and open a small business or enlarge and improve his small farm. In addition, the savings are often used for the support of a family and other relatives at home. Although there has been no systematic empirical research into saving and consumption patterns among foreign workers in West Germany so far a lot of evidence from various studies points to a strong decrease of saving as a function of length of stay in the Federal Republic.<sup>21</sup> This is associated with the



dissolution of a concrete motivation to return to the home country and implies the development of bonds to the immigration society.

Though, on the average, the over-all monthly income of immigrant workers may be similar to that of comparable native workers, there exists a specific difference of income characteristics. Due to their functions as "buffer" and "lever" on the labor market, their income, and consequently the totality of their living conditions, are even less secure than those of native workers, from a purely economic point of view, not regarding those insecurities that stem from other sources, for instance from their legal status.

The decrease of savings can largely be explained by two other trends that are part of the immigration process: 80 percent of the foreign workers have moved out of provisional boarding houses or barracks into "individual" forms of housing;<sup>22</sup> usually, migration of the rest or part of the (nuclear) family has been the motive behind this.<sup>23</sup>

Forms of "social disorganization" of the family that have been studied in immigrant families in the United States—by Thomas and Znaniecki for instance—have been shown to exist among the foreign workers population in West Germany.<sup>24</sup> Strain in marital relations seems to stem from two main sources: effects of a temporary separation, and effects of a change in women's roles as a consequence of migration to an industrialized society. Temporary separation during the first phase of the migration process may induce the husband to take up relations with other women in the immigrant society. Separation and living in societies of different developmental and cultural characteristics may also lead to differences in consciousness and behavior patterns among husband and wife; compared to her husband, the wife following him to the immigrant country lacks in adaptation to the new society, a deficiency she may not be able to make up for in a short time, particularly if she stays at home as a housewife. Adaptation differences among the partners may appear to them as personality differences endangering their relation. However, a marital conflict which results from very opposite factors, namely

too fast an adaptation and new learning—as seen from many a husband's point of view—seems to be more frequent among the West German immigrant population. This is a change in women's role due to an independent economic position of the wife—more than 60 percent of married women among the foreign workers population are employed—and due to the learning of more independent behavior patterns in the immigration society.

The majority of the foreign workers' children in West Germany grow up bilingually;<sup>25</sup> language preferences, we believe, are the expression of cultural and national identification preferences. It has been shown that parents use their national language almost exclusively in family interaction; their children, however, prefer to speak German when among themselves (cf. Schrader et al., 1976:95). Studies of preferences of athletes and teams during the Olympics in 1972 demonstrated similar identification and sympathy patterns, with West German athletes and teams being preferred against athletes from their "native" country by the children (ibidem, p. 88). Since parents typically not only preserve certain of their national and cultural traditions but actually want their children to learn and identify with these traditions, there results a *conflict of cultures with the family* between the generations. This again, is a "classical" pattern of family conflict in immigration situations.

The immigration argument, in addition, is supported by the formation of rather stable structures of residential segregation in all large cities of the Federal Republic.<sup>26</sup> Also, the migrant population has been developing for many years forms of social organization on a national basis—from religious communities and political associations to soccer clubs and folk dance groups—a process which justifies to speak of the rise of immigrant colonies, at least in the largest cities. This, again, is a clear indicator of an immigration process, since the formation of colonies has been the classical reaction of immigrant minorities to facilitate adaptation to the new society by the building of institutions and associations on the basis of needs and interests rooted "beyond the water," i.e., in the native country.

## IV. SITUATIONAL CONDITIONS

"Situational conditions" is used to refer to the differentiation of a population according to fluctuations of socio-economic conditions resulting from economic, political, ideological, and psycho-political processes. This category is of particular importance for the analysis of immigrant worker minorities since it conceptualizes the many fluctuations and insecurities in the living conditions of the group.<sup>27</sup> The fluctuations of socio-economic conditions are a result, first of all, of economic fluctuations which hurt the minority worker particularly hard because of his exposed position on the labor market as "buffer" and "lever." Income fluctuations produce chain effects on the totality of living conditions. Fluctuations of socio-economic conditions also stem from political measures, for instance of restrictive laws and/or administrative practices against the immigration population. During the present recession in West Germany a decree was signed by the Federal Labor Administration forcing employers to hire German workers; if they want to employ immigrant workers they are obliged to demonstrate the non-availability of native workers for the jobs in question.

Ideological and psycho-political campaigns against the minority—usually an indirect product of an economic and political crisis—may take the form of nativist or racist movements that may seriously destabilize the socio-economic conditions of minorities. United States immigration history or present day anti-foreign movements in Switzerland provide many examples for this type of threat against an immigrant minority. Though, in the Federal Republic, the ideological potential of ethnocentrism and racism certainly exists within certain strata of the population, there has been so far no relevant *organized* movement against the "guest-workers" that would threaten the immigrants position.

## V. IMMIGRANT WORKERS: A CENTRIFUGAL STRATUM WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS

Different terms have been suggested to denote the socio-structural position of immigrant workers: most often, in West

Germany, the term "subproletariat" is being used (cf. for instance Klee, 1972:25); "marginal group," "national minority," "ethnic group" or "ethnic minority" are other terms frequently used. "Subproletariat" is a misleading term, certainly, since immigrant workers are part of the proletariat, not outside or "below."<sup>28</sup> "Marginal group," if it is meant as a social category denoting "marginal men," is not correct either, since not all immigrants or even the majority of them are marginal men. The term "national minority," we suggest, should be reserved for the context of nationally and culturally heterogenous nation states, as they were formed since the French Revolution. National minorities are not the product of migration—at least not a direct result of migration—but of the formation of the modern nation state. Besides, national minorities—in contrast to immigrant worker minorities—socio-structurally are a very heterogenous population. "Ethnic group," finally, is a concept suited to differentiate among the immigrant worker minority according to national and cultural belonging or origin, but should not be applied to the immigrant population as a socio-structural concept.

To summarize: as to their *economic-social* position, immigrant workers are in the center of the production-reproduction process doing the unwanted, most strenuous and accident-prone type of work; due to their function as "buffer" and "lever," they are endangered, however, in times of crisis, to be thrown to the "margin" of the production process, and a few even completely out of it: their economic-social position is exposed to centrifugal forces. Thus, we suggest an immigrant worker population to be defined as a *centrifugal stratum within the working class*.

Their socio-economic condition usually is characterized as "discrimination." Discrimination, however, typically is defined as a behavior category, putting the blame on the discriminating individual. Discrimination, though always enacted by behavior, as a socio-structural concept should be understood as a *structural deficit* between socio-economic conditions as they derive "normally" from economic-social or class position and legal rights of a population group and realized socio-economic level. Further,

discrimination is characterized by *structural barriers of interaction and social intercourse* on the part of the majority. Tendencies of isolation by the immigrant group—the formation of “colonies”—and the continuation of social relations to the emigrant country further sets apart the immigrant group.

Thus, immigrant workers are a centrifugal stratum within the working class; their socio-economic condition is one of a structural deficit between living conditions “entitled to” and actually realized; their socio-economic condition is characterized by structural barriers of interaction and social intercourse between majority and minority. Living conditions of immigrant workers are affected by frequent situational destabilization of an economic or political-ideological type.

## FOOTNOTES

- 1 Up to 1961 between 150,000 and 300,000 people annually came to the Federal Republic from East Germany, the majority of them well trained and from the most productive age groups (cf. Kruse, 1966:428).
- 2 Early criticism warning against the “attitudes-first-fallacy” (Raab and Lipset, 1959) does not seem to have had a corrective impact on the direction of research.
- 3 Only a summary statement will be possible here for reasons of space. For a detailed discussion cf. Heckmann (1977:87-98, 130-140).
- 4 Martin Luther King: “The law may not make a man love me, but it can restrain him from lynching me, and I think that’s pretty important” (quoted in Rose, 1974:103).
- 5 We shall come back to this point toward the end of the paper.
- 6 Again, only a summary statement is possible. The argument has been elaborated in Heckmann (1977:Chapter II.3).
- 7 cf. for this use for instance Sherif and Sherif (1969:223).
- 8 We believe that similar arguments can be directed against another well know paradigm in minority relations theory, the so-called “stranger hypothesis.”

- 9 for instance feudal, capitalist or socialist society.
- 10 These three concepts will be elaborated in the following passages
- 11 BfA stands for “Bundesanstalt für Arbeit,” which is the Federal Labor Office.
- 12 That means, it is even lower among the native work force.
- 13 cf. Burbaum et al. (1974:243).
- 14 The distribution of skill levels for females in the total work force is 6 percent (skilled), 49 percent (semi-skilled) and 45 percent (unskilled) (cf. Burbaum et al., 1974:243).
- 15 A summary statement by McDonagh and Richards concerning immigration to the U.S. illustrates the similarity of employment patterns: “they (the immigrants, F.H.) are usually engaged in the heavy occupations: those requiring the most physical exertion, that involve the greatest danger, and are least desired by native worker. . .” (1953:311).
- 16 Internationalization of the labor market implies that these “functions” directly affect both workers in the immigration and the emigration countries.
- 17 His argument consists of the refutation of five major logical possibilities for replacement or substitution of foreign labor:
  - (1) a voluntary halt of economic growth;
  - (2) a decrease of growth rates by increasing investment abroad;
  - (3) a compensating increase in productivity;
  - (4) a compensating increase in work hours;
  - (5) an additional recruitment of internal labor reserves.
- 18 To illustrate this argument: the auto industry that has had a boom despite the general crisis was almost unable to recruit native labor for work in assembly lines.
- 19 Due to limited space this can be done, however, only in a summary way. For a more detailed analysis cf. Heckmann (1977:238-294).
- 20 cf. the data in BfA (1973:91).
- 21 cf. Heckman (1977:241-244).



- 22 cf. Eichele (1976:27-28). This does not imply equal rights in the housing market, where foreign workers are strongly discriminated against. Still, it is a significant indicator of an immigration process, since migratory workers usually stay in provisional forms of housing.
- 23 This, of course, led to a change in the demographic structure of the immigrant population—more females, more children—approaching the native structure in relevant characteristics, though still remaining different in others, for instance regarding old-age groups.
- 24 Little systematic research can be reported (Kudat, 1975), but findings are included in studies of a broad survey type, for instance Mehrländer (1974) and Borris (1973). Kudat has collected very interesting case studies on family problems resulting from migration.
- 25 This, however, means very often that they are proficient in neither language.
- 26 For a detailed description cf. Eichele (1976:66-109).
- 27 "Situational conditions" should not be mixed up with changes in socio-economic condition resulting from and expressing *structural changes*; downward mobility of a whole group, of coal miners, for instance, within the working class in Britain and West Germany for the last 20 years would be structural change, not a fluctuation of socio-economic condition.
- 28 Stratification within the "proletariat" or working class should be conceptualized differently; the term suggested further below in the text is intended to specify this internal stratification.

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## THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURE MOVEMENT: MANIFEST AND LATENT PARTICIPANT ATTRACTIONS IN A SOCIAL MOVEMENT\*

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### INTRODUCTION

This paper will focus on the recently organized American Agriculture Movement (AAM) in the context of a social movement. Upon approaching the AAM as a topic of research, one is immediately confronted by the paucity of literature in the professional sociology and agricultural economics journals. This is not to suggest that the AAM has been rejected as an area worthy of research, but is probably due to research lag. Indeed, the 1978 Wisconsin Farmer Survey conducted by the University of Wisconsin's Department of Rural Sociology, among other data collection, solicits information addressing support of the AAM (Wilkening, 1978:7). Of necessity then, most of the data addressing the AAM have been drawn from news periodicals, newspapers, and various agricultural and farm journals.

Even given the probable accessibility of other and more diverse data sources (e.g., surveys and questionnaires involving AAM members, interviews with AAM leaders and members, participant observation in district offices, and so on), there are certain advantages inherent in the sources of data utilized in this paper. First, such data seem sufficient for an initial investigation of the AAM. Second, in the absence of journal articles and other literature, the more "popular" data sources must be dealt with in order to have more specific direction for further investigation,

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