

PRESS

Dream Believers: The Unifying Visions and Competing Values of Adherents to American Civil Religion

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Abstract

The author argues that the language of American civil religion as used in political speech should be understood as the articulations of competing value systems. This study identifies these concourses of belief using Q-Methodology. Further, the author argues that these expressions of belief are used by leaders who are attempting to establish goals for our nation and unify the faithful. By profiling respondents, insight is provided into the rhetorical unification evoked by the articulation of the common values and competing goals these statements represent. Civil religion, then, can be thought of as declarations of principles from competing groups seeking to define what America is and the values that should prevail.

In 1630 when John Winthrop first used the phrase "a city on a hill" to describe the America of his dreams, he was still enroute to this country aboard the ship *Arbella*. He could hardly have imagined that some three-hundred-fifty years later people would still be seeking to claim the promise of that dream nor would he have anticipated that the theme would be employed by both major political parties to describe their rival visions for this nation.

Such political-religious statements abound in our national rhetoric. It is the language Robert Bellah terms American civil religion:

Although matters of personal religious belief, worship, and association are considered strictly private affairs, there are, at the same time, certain common elements of religious orientation that the great majority of Americans share. These have played a crucial role in the development of American institutions and still provide a religious dimension for the whole fabric of American life, including the political sphere. This public religious dimension is expressed in a set of beliefs, symbols, and rituals that I am calling the American civil religion.¹

Since the inception of studies on civil religion, much of the focus of research efforts has been on the study of public addresses.² While these efforts have provided confirmation of the presence of civil religion at work in the major public speeches of our nation, scholars have been thwarted in their attempts to provide a singular

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can be correlated with the responses of other individuals in developing typologic of person who respond similarly. In this way, the results obtained from the applicatio of Q-methodology to the study of civil religion permit us to observe the communic tion between priest and believer—that is, the relevant patterns of belief articulate by our political leaders but ordered and given meaning by the faithful.

Importantly, the researcher does not define these similarities for the subject: Instead, the similarity emerges from the subjects and is then evaluated to gain insight into how certain people order ideas alike. It is due to the abductive nature of th approach that "Stephenson uses Q Methodology as a means of grasping what worth studying, what is really at issue."⁶

Application

The population of civil-religious statements for this study is taken from the public speeches of two major political figures: former President Ronald Reaga and Governor of New York Mario Cuomo. Two-hundred-forty-three content stat ments from twenty-six of their public speeches were selected.⁷ Statements we chosen because they represent the "ideas, values, and beliefs that constitute a fait common to Americans as Americans"⁸ both as ideologically expressed and practicall implemented.

Using two discriminate analyses, the field was narrowed to forty-eight stat ments that coders found to best reflect a tenet of civil religion and provide discrimin: tory power. Coder reliability over time was also tested. In each case, intra-cod reliability was over .80.

Since Q-Methodology requires the use of a small sample, the objective i selecting persons is to solicit the input of people who will presumably provide ric information about the possible types of people that exist in the population. Thirt people were chosen for this study. (People of various ages, occupations, and politic affiliations were selected.) Half of them were drawn from a random sample of 28 naturalized citizens.

The sorting procedure used an eleven point scale designed to place statemen on a continuum ranging from statements which are most representative of a person views to those which are least representative. After the sort was complete, sorte were asked to explain their feelings toward the three statements on each end of th scale. A demographic questionnaire was also used to help interpret the factor array

The data yielded from the sorting were correlated and factor analyzed usin Tubergen's Quanal Program for Q-analysis. The analysis revealed five significar factors. Using the Guilford-Lacy criterion of significance, two-and-a-half standar errors would be represented by a loading of .365; three standard errors would b represented by a loading of .438. For this study, loadings above .400 were accepte as significant thus making any loading significant well beyond the .01 level of confidence.

Table 1 indicates the loadings for each person on the five factors. Four subjec were confounded meaning that they loaded significantly on more than one facto Three subjects remain unique to the factor solution. Together, the factor solutic accounted for 48.6 of the total variance.

TABLE 1
Factor Arrays for Q-Statements in Standard Scores

	Pilgrim	Fundamentalist	Curate	Pragmatist	Determinist
1.	0.308	-0.455	0.149	0.241	0.365
2.	0.086	-0.396	0.208	0.427	0.153
3.	0.167	0.089	0.271	0.023	0.615
4.	0.079	-0.009	-0.168	0.721	0.111
5.	0.316	0.635	0.001	0.254	0.037
6.	-0.128	0.214	0.185	0.513	-0.001
7.	0.006	0.695	0.441	-0.191	0.052
8.	-0.123	0.620	-0.015	-0.004	-0.284
9.	0.186	-0.226	0.074	0.392	0.366
10.	0.286	-0.193	0.269	0.557	0.005
11.	-0.329	0.118	0.036	-0.114	-0.154
12.	0.042	-0.067	0.655	0.160	0.302
13.	0.202	-0.490	0.265	0.495	-0.003
14.	-0.086	0.240	0.551	0.032	-0.081
15.	0.065	0.532	0.011	-0.048	0.478
16.	0.228	-0.108	0.681	0.057	0.141
17.	-0.114	-0.125	-0.092	0.606	0.240
18.	-0.260	-0.002	0.513	0.380	0.183
19.	0.168	-0.016	0.072	0.432	0.015
20.	-0.189	0.096	-0.144	0.110	-0.119
21.	0.411	0.617	0.082	-0.076	0.398
22.	0.374	0.089	0.453	-0.180	0.104
23.	0.011	-0.595	-0.013	0.303	-0.080
24.	-0.310	0.601	0.076	0.374	0.006
25.	0.131	-0.064	0.249	0.097	0.553
26.	0.602	-0.032	-0.043	0.237	0.173
27.	0.638	0.219	0.323	0.013	-0.090
28.	0.006	0.020	-0.081	0.166	0.716
29.	0.351	0.128	0.289	0.422	0.449
30.	0.468	0.038	-0.073	0.497	0.117

Persons clustering in a factor have significant communality with others in their group. These people are also distinct in their attitudes and opinions from those of other groups. This is demonstrated in Table 2 which shows that each of these factors has low communality with the other factors.

Interpretation of Factors

In order to provide a brief identification of the "ideal person" represented by a factor, each type is labeled. The names chosen for the five factors are The

TABLE 2
Correlations between Five Factors

	I	II	III	IV	V
I	1.000	0.328	0.297	0.233	0.129
II	0.328	1.000	0.291	0.150	0.214
III	0.297	0.291	1.000	0.214	0.355
IV	0.233	0.214	0.355	1.000	0.253
V	0.129	0.214	0.335	0.253	1.000

Pilgrim, The Fundamentalist, The Curate, The Pragmatist, and The Determinist. The names and accompanying analysis are determined by examining the computed factor arrays for each typology, the computations indicating differences between factors, and the demographic and interview data.

Pragmatist	Determinist
0.241	0.365
0.427	0.153
0.023	0.615
0.721	0.111
0.254	0.037
0.513	-0.001
-0.191	0.052
-0.004	-0.284
0.392	0.366
0.557	0.005
-0.114	-0.154
0.160	0.302
0.495	-0.003
0.032	-0.081
-0.048	0.478
0.057	0.141
0.606	0.240
0.380	0.183
0.432	0.015
0.110	-0.119
-0.076	0.398
-0.180	0.104
0.303	-0.080
0.374	0.006
0.097	0.553
0.237	0.173
0.013	-0.090
0.166	0.716
0.422	0.449
0.497	0.117

The Pilgrim

The Pilgrim is an appropriate descriptor for this typology because persons who are described regard America as the promised land. Despite the tribulations he encounters, the Pilgrim is ever grateful for the blessings he has found here.

Both persons comprising the factor are naturalized citizens and hold idealistic, if not holy, views about this country. From an examination of the factor, three characteristics of the Pilgrim emerge:

1. The Pilgrim is devoted to an ideal vision of America.
2. He gives thanks for the blessings he receives by giving unquestioned support to this country and its actions.
3. He believes that God guides America's destiny.

The factor array clearly shows that the Pilgrim is devoted to an ideal America. The following items are ranked at the top among statements that most distinguish this type from others:

Statement	Standard Score
8. Only in the United States is there such a rich mixture of races, creeds, and nationalities, only in our melting pot.	2.26
21. The United States is an economic miracle, the model to which the world turns.	2.05
9. I think we seek to include everyone in the success of the American dream.	0.58

Note that each of these statements use superlative statements—"only in our melting pot," a "miracle," including "everyone." Interview statements also reflect the use of superlatives in describing America. The respondents were clear in articulating the belief that America is unique in the world. The use of these terms is an indication that the Pilgrim places America upon a pedestal; it is revered. This is only one way the Pilgrim gives thanks for his blessings.

The Pilgrim is "religious" not only in his devotion to American ideals and in his vision for our future, but also in a very literal sense. He believes there is a God who guides our nation. This is supported through two statements that distinguish this factor from others.

Statement	Standard Score
39. Americans believe with undying faith that in this nation under God, the future will be ours.	1.18
12. American progress began when our people unleashed the invincible spirit of one great nation under God.	0.54

lity with others in their opinions from those of hat each of these factors

real person" represented ne five factors are The

IV	V
0.233	0.129
0.150	0.214
0.214	0.355
1.000	0.253
0.253	1.000

These statements show an acceptance of God's guidance in our affairs. It is again a recognition of America's promise. These are the same acknowledgments of our gratitude to the Deity that is reflected on our coins—"In God We Trust"—or in our Pledge of Allegiance—"One Nation Under God."

But this is not to be confused with a belief in church control over the state. The Pilgrim distinguishes the sanctions of God from those of religions. Two statements help to clarify this point. Both were rated as significantly different from others for their negative loading—that is, the person representing this factor would *disagree* with these statements.⁹

Statement	Standard Score
25. Our public morality reflects the religious values of a great majority of Americans.	- 1.12
2. It is wrong to claim God's sanctions of our particular legislation and His rejection of all other positions.	- 0.66

The Pilgrim acknowledges that religious values are not reflected in our public morality. However, this person would also hold that it is not wrong to claim God's sanction in support of particular policies. One respondent commented that "just because [Americans] don't believe in any one religion doesn't mean we don't have morals or don't know the difference between right and wrong."

Indeed, the Pilgrim believes Americans have a powerful sense of right and wrong. These two statements rank among the least reflective for this typology:

Statement	Standard Score
14. America is destined by history to compete militarily with the USSR in order to keep the peace.	- 2.26
27. No issue is more important for the protection of our vital interests than to achieve democracy in Nicaragua.	- 1.54

For the Pilgrim, competition for the USSR is not destined by history. Neither does the United States have a great need to achieve democracy in Nicaragua. According to one respondent, these are simply "reckless" statements, the very kind that lead to war.

The Fundamentalist

The Fundamentalist is one who adheres to a basic set of principles which he attempts to live by. Those principles include patriotism, hard work, commitment to family, and respect for both the individual and the laws of this country. These are not just abstract platitudes but rather pivotal beliefs central to an understanding of this person.

This factor is defined by seven respondents; two loading negatively on the factor. A negative loading indicates that they are defined in opposition to the factor solution. This factor had the richest mix of respondents: two of the seven were naturalized, four were men, five claimed to be religious although none shared the same faith, two claimed to have no religion. There was also no pattern to other factors such as party affiliation or education.

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The ideal person for this factor is characterized by five dominant attitudes:

1. He believes that success is achieved through hard work.
2. He recognizes the importance and dignity of the individual.
3. He measures individual successes in terms of their contribution to family goals.
4. He is an unselfish patriot.
5. He displays soldier-like obedience to the laws and authority of the country.

The fundamentalist is a hard worker. Indeed, it is through work that he feels he can achieve success. Statements from interviews support this conviction. One person noted that "work is what gets us ahead" while another phrases his support more emphatically: "Hard work says it all—it's how I define the American dream." The work ethic is also reflected in this statement:

Statement	Standard Score
33. America's vision is to see the realization of tomorrow's dreams in the learning and hard work we do today.	2.66

This statement is ranked first among the items that describe this type and is also one which distinguishes this type from the others. Importantly, work is tied to goal achievement.

The Fundamentalist is also a strong individualist. This is not a self-serving, me-to-the-exclusion-of-everyone-else philosophy. Rather, he believes that in America we stress the "importance and dignity of the individual" (statement 17). This item ranked second in the factor array and was the second strongest distinguishing statement.

Although the Fundamentalist believes in the strength of the individual, he also knows that a person cannot succeed in a vacuum. America, therefore, is not successful because of the presence of many talented people but because Americans pool their resources for the success of the nation (Statement 16). The Fundamentalist likens these collective efforts to that of a family. Twice statements in the factor array use the term "family" to describe Americans' commitment to each other. Each of those statements distinguish the Fundamentalist from other types.

The concept of family also helps explain two other statements that express the belief that no one person is better than any other person. Instead, each person is viewed as having a different set of talents to offer. Regardless of who rises to leadership positions, then, those abilities are no more important to the efforts of the family than other role players. This is clearly not an exclusionary position as is evidenced in this statement:

Statement	Standard Score
4. With our kind of government, we made excellence more than the possession of an elite.	0.66

As an unselfish patriot, the Fundamentalist is willing to leave behind his work to aid his country when needed. This person believes that for the great blessings we have received, we must bear great responsibilities. One respondent claims that

“America is one of the few [countries] who can make a difference—so we do have a self-made responsibility.” This is also reflected in this statement:

Statement	Standard Score
38. We the citizens of the richest, most powerful nation that ever existed are like the steward made responsible over a great household.	1.25

As a steward, the Fundamentalist believes that we must watch over our blessings, protecting them if necessary. This may, for example, require coming to the aid of friends under siege (Statement 38). One respondent noted that we must sometimes risk getting involved. After all, “we’re the only ones who are strong enough to fight for those who would destroy freedom.” Another adds, “a strong people won’t run away from these problems.”

Finally, the Fundamentalist believes in the obligation of citizens to obey the laws of the land. This includes laws like prohibition (statement 34) with which a person may disagree. Fundamentalists would hold that laws must be obeyed until concerted group efforts result in effective change.

The Curate

The Curate places moral issues at the forefront of his beliefs about America. His specific charge is to watch over the moral climate created in our nation and to help ensure that America does not forget, as one respondent reminds us, “our moral roots.”

The Curate is also anthropocentric. Government is viewed as a reflection of man’s own inner struggles. In this view, good and evil are two opposing and equally pervasive forces at work. Governments, religions, and other institutional structures are also engaged in the fight.

This factor is one of the three strongest in the five-factor solution along with the Fundamentalist and the Pragmatist. The factor is determined by five persons who loaded significantly on these themes. All persons for this factor claim to be highly committed to their personal religions. All claim to be members of the Republican party.

The Curate is defined by four attitudes:

1. He is preoccupied with the moral issues that America faces.
2. He is an activist in the sense that he believes Americans can and should take steps which will protect man from making unwise moral choices.
3. He believes that devotion to this cause is his mission.
4. He views America as a reflection of man, not of God. Therefore, America, like man, holds great promise but often makes wrong choices.

The Curate is certainly a moralist. Three distinguishing statements help illuminate the curate’s concern with moral issues:

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 Standard Score
 1.25

Statement	Standard Score
20. America will never be whole as long as the right to life granted by our Creator is denied to the unborn.	1.00
10. I am ashamed of how cruelly even this land of freedom dealt with blacks.	1.43
7. I believe the monstrous horrors of the Holocaust taught us that there was an evil afoot in the world that we didn't perceive and that we must be ever watchful.	1.12

Perhaps the single clearest indicator of the Curate's moral commitment is the "Right to Life" issue. It is the top-ranked statement distinguishing the Curate from other types. Given the heated debate on the topic over the last twenty years, it would not have been unexpected to find that it cut across all other lines of explanation and thus provide little insight into the factor solution. Interestingly, the Curate is the *only* factor to have rated this issue positively. All other factors placed it on the "least representative of my views" end of the continuum.

As an activist, the Curate takes his moral charge seriously. He believes that something can be done to overcome evil. This can be accomplished in two ways: first, he can fight *for* the good side of nature by ministering to those who need help; and second, he can help create an atmosphere where evil cannot dwell even if that means legislating morality into existence.

Two statements indicate the Curates' passion for personal ministry.

Statement	Standard Score
23. Americans are called upon to pass on the dream of freedom to a waiting and hopeful world.	1.44
5. Our American past imposes upon us the obligation to do as much as we can for those immigrants who come after us.	1.19

"From those to whom much has been given, much is required" would be an accurate motto for the Curate.

The Curate also believes that man can create a moral climate where immoral acts are not condoned. One way to achieve this is through government laws and regulations. In three statements the Curate holds that private values *should* be at the heart of public policies, there *are* moral principles which should determine public policy, and the state *does* have the right to intervene in private matters of morality.¹⁰

The Pragmatist

This person is very concerned with the validity of statements as determined by the weight of evidence. As these people were sorting items, it was not unusual for them to stop to ask "Who said this?" They also frequently engaged in commentary on the irrationality of some issues and positions.

The Pragmatist is also somewhat battle-scarred. The ideal person for this factor is a bit hardened by life's experiences. This is reflected in statements respondents

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made such as "I used to believe that." Whereas the Pilgrim dreams of America in terms of promise, the Pragmatist views America in terms of what the facts show after the dream has turned to reality.

There is no pattern to the demographic data represented by this factor but the Pragmatist is unified by three attitudes:

1. The government should not interfere in private matters of morality.
2. Americans are basically capitalists. Money motivates us.
3. America can best be served by those who make policy decisions based on facts. The public relations program we have constructed for our country has its place but should not be taken too seriously.

Regardless of the seemingly good intentions of people like the Curate who promote legislation governing moral issues, the Pragmatist is firmly opposed to it. Government controls by their very nature reduce individual freedoms. As one respondent tells it, "Rules and restrictions exist everywhere we go [but a governmental body] can't judge the morals of individuals."

According to persons in this category, a systematic review of our history confirms the Pragmatist's belief that "our country was based on freedom, and that includes moral freedom." Americans came here in order to escape the dictums of civil and religious authorities. Persons attempting to legislate standards for others violate this founding principle. This explains why the two most distinguishing statements for this factor deal with this issue.

Statement	Standard Score
31. Government should not mandate people's morality.	2.36
45. Americans believe that the state has no right to intervene where private matters of morality are concerned.	1.44

The Pragmatist realizes that America does not have *one* morality. We are indeed a diverse people. In order to live together and exist peacefully, we must respect the views of others. Compromise is a necessity. Indeed, compromise is also one of the lessons of history the Pragmatist has learned. For example the Pragmatist is distinguished by the following statement about Lincoln:

Statement	Standard Score
35. I suspect that even Lincoln had to balance moral truth against political realities.	1.24

Like Lincoln, the Pragmatist has had experience moderating divergent viewpoints. One respondent determined that "when you deal with people as a leader, pragmatic views begin to dominate—political realities aren't always compatible with moral truths."

One indicator of the Pragmatist's philosophy is the belief that money makes the world go around. Many claim that it is an unwritten criterion for state decisions. One interviewee claims that "our country has and always will protect its monetary interests." The battle-scars are more apparent in the words of another respondent:

“Because of our capitalistic nature, we do nothing internal or external unless we can benefit from it financially.” This leads the Pragmatist to disagree with statements that contradict the capitalistic theme.

To the Pragmatist, we are not stewards. Stewardship implies responsibility for the distribution of wealth. Capitalists are concerned with the accumulation of wealth. In addition, capitalism does not succeed by including everyone in the wealth. Americans tend to include only those whose services or talents are needed.

Finally, the Pragmatist is a harsh judge and critic. By his very nature, the Pragmatist believes that good decisions require accurate, realistic appraisals. It concerns him that many people believe the fictions we hear about America. For example, he cannot understand the utility of “myths” like:

Statement	Standard Score
23. Americans are called upon to pass the dream of freedom on to a waiting and hopeful world.	- 1.15
8. Only in the United States is there such a rich mixture of races, creeds, and nationalities, only in our melting pot.	- 0.76

These statements are “presumptuous and egotistical.” The Pragmatist recognizes that other countries have as much to offer, a fact mentioned by several respondents.

Instead of myths, the Pragmatist prefers to deal with reality. His blunt policy appraisals are reflected in these two statements:

Statements	Standard Score
48. I think the government lies about giving money to Latin American governments that murder nuns.	0.84
3. Americans tend to think short-sightedly in terms of our own local interest without regard to the concerns of the whole state.	1.23

These indictments of the American character are not to be taken as the projection of un-American sentiments. They do reveal something about our deficiencies. And if we are to remedy them, one interviewee notes, “we must start with the truth and see if we can live with that.”

The Determinist

The ideal person for this factor believes that every future event is determined by the actions and events that take place today; today is nothing more than the harvest of our past. Yet this person is very reluctant to interfere with events that may affect another’s future. The Determinist believes that each person should determine their own future.

The three people who comprised this factor all claimed to have no political party affiliation. They do not perceive themselves as involved in the decisions affecting other people’s lives.

Three ideas characterize this factor:

1. The belief that the present foreshadows the future.
2. The notion that government should only do as much as it has to in order to keep the peace and maintain law and order.
3. Reliance upon one's self to make decisions that will affect the future.

The Determinist believes that all actions have consequences for the future. In terms of America's future, the actions which affect us are frequently mandated by legislative action. The top-ranked statement by these respondents is that "we are a nation of laws—whether we like those laws or not." To his way of thinking, such laws will determine the kind of future we will have and the sort of people we will become.

This is not to imply that the Determinist is also a fatalist. He does not believe we are doomed because of our nature. He merely recognizes that sometimes our actions have positive results while at others they have negative consequences.

The second principle that enters into this discussion is that the laws we establish in order to attempt to override the nature of man is not a cure-all. That is why the Determinist believes that we should not become too zealous in our efforts to legislate quick-fix solutions. These laws will not make our problems go away. Consequently, he believes that the least amount of government is the best amount of government. Rather than impose more governmental laws, the Determinist believes that individuals should make decisions themselves and then live with the consequences.

The Determinist does not believe that it is healthy to get wrapped up in the affairs of others. This philosophy is evident as he negatively appraises these statements:

Statement	Standard Score
5. Our American past imposes upon us the obligation to do as much as we can for those immigrants who come after us.	- 1.30
38. We strengthen the family of freedom every time we come to the aid of friends who are under attack.	- 1.91

The Determinist is convinced that we learn from both our successes and failures. As we have struggled, others will also have to struggle. This is not intended to be harsh. Rather, he believes that others should be permitted to find their own way and their own happiness.

Concluding Discussion

In this study, the author demonstrates that followers of the American dream construct unique symbol sets to express their beliefs. Like various sects within Christianity or other major religions, these concourses may borrow terms, phrases, or symbols from other groups but interpret their significance and meaning quite differently. Discovering these language patterns lays the foundation for theory development that would permit identification of groups of people who interpret the tenets of civil religion similarly and ultimately explain their varying responses and adherence to certain ideas.

The identification of these five typologies begins the process of bringing the tenets of American civil religion into a context that provides them with meaning. The identification of religious motifs (such as the Exodus, the Chosen People of God, the American Israel, a New Jerusalem, manifest destiny, special election, and sacrificial death and rebirth) and belief statements (such as the importance of the individual, freedom, equality, democracy, progress, and brotherhood) are important to establishing what the language of civil religion is. While previous studies have taken the first step by identifying the language being employed,¹¹ this study explains the way Americans operationalize these values in their political decisions. The traits that were once dispersed throughout the literature on civil religion are now brought together "according to their inherent 'logic,' in terms of psychological understanding of the underlying dynamics."¹² Continued research into the values that unify certain groups of people will better enable scholars to understand how these value systems operate.

Further, the structure provided by the factor solution permits theoretical and substantive insights into how the language of civil religion functions to articulate competing goals for our nation. Whether we call the resulting factors patterns of relevant beliefs, the American creed, a cultural religion, the common faith, religious nationalism, the democratic faith, or the generalized religion of the American way of life, American civil religion is essentially a study of competing groups who are seeking to define what America is and the morality that should prevail. The utility of studies on civil religion, then, is to legitimize the political discourse of competing groups:

Analysis should focus on the contexts and uses of civil-religious language and symbols, noting how specific groups and subcultures use versions of the civil religion to frame, articulate, and legitimize their own particular political and moral visions.¹³

Future studies of major political addresses should lead to the discovery of rhetorical patterns of civil religion in speeches that will provide unique insights into political discourse and persuasion.

This study is only a beginning. The results obtained from the application of Q-Methodology do not provide definitive answers about civil religion but do point to definitive directions for research. With this understanding, we are one step closer to understanding the 'promise' of America and the way it guides our destiny.

** The author wishes to thank James W. Gibson, Keith Sanders, Michael Porter, and Craig Allen Smith for their invaluable insights and suggestions during the development of this research.*

Notes

1. R. N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," in P. H. McNamara, ed, *Religion American Style* (New York, Harper and Row, 1974), p. 75.
2. C. L. Albanese, *Sons of the Fathers: The Civil Religion of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1976); R. N. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (New York: Seabury Press, 1975); Bellah, "Civil Religion in America;" R. P.

- Hart, *The Political Pulpit* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1977); Hart, "The Rhetoric of the True Believer," *Speech Monographs*, 38 1971, pp. 249-261; A. H. Miller and M. P. Wattenberg, "Politics from the Pulpit: Religiosity and the 1980 Elections," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 48 1984, pp. 301-317.
3. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America."
 4. See, e.g., L. W. Bennett, "Political Sanctification: The Civil Religion and American Politics," *Social Science Information*, 14 1975, pp. 79-102; S. Bercovitch, "The Rites of Assent: Rhetoric, Ritual and the Ideology of American Consensus," in S. B. Girgus, ed., *The American Self: Myth, Ideology and Popular Culture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), pp. 5-42; C. Cherry, "American Sacred Ceremonies," in P. E. Hammond and B. Johnson, eds., *American Mosaic: Social Patterns of Religion in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1970); N. J. Deberath, III and R. H. Williams, "Civil Religion in an Uncivil Society," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 480, pp. 154-166; M. E. Marty, "Transpositions: American Religion in the 1980s," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 480, pp. 11-23; M. Thomas and C. C. Flippen, "American Civil Religion: An Empirical Study," *Social Forces*, 51 1982, pp. 218-225; R. C. Wimberly, "Civil Religion and the Choice of President: Nixon in '72," *Social Forces*, 59 1980, pp. 44-61.
 5. W. Stephenson, "Concourse Theory of Communication," unpublished manuscript, 1972, p. 23.
 6. K. P. Sanders, "William Stephenson: The Study of (His) Behavior," *Mass Communication Review*, 1974, pp. 9-16, 13.
 7. The population of statements emerged from twenty-six speeches given by Reagan or Cuomo. Two hundred and forty three (243) statements were selected for a structured design testing important themes and presumed effects. Those structures included statements on context that expressed the needs and aspirations for our culture as well as the daily issues that confront us, statements that invoked both traditional images and current motifs, and overt belief statements that imply a relationship between the faith of church members and the expectations of citizens regarding their government. Statements were then submitted to coders to test the integrity of the design. One hundred and sixty one (161) statements emerged with 155 receiving pure loadings from all four coder. Statements within each category that provided the most discrimination were selected for the 48 statements used in this study.
 8. W. Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955), p. 77.
 9. Note that groups define themselves just as much by what they do *not* stand for as by positive affirmations. This data reveals that some statements explain how audiences are united *against* certain value positions.
 10. The three statements are as follows:
 - 32—"Private values must be at the heart of public policies."
 - 26—"There is no moral principle that determines what our political condition should be."
 - 45—"Americans believe that the state has no right to intervene where private matters of morality are concerned."
 11. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*; Bellah, "Civil Religion in America;" C. Cherry, *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1971); Hart, "The Rhetoric of the True Believer;" S. Mead, "The Nation with the Soul of a Church," *Church History*, 36 1967, pp. 262-283; R. E. Richey and D. G. Jones, eds., *Religion in America* (New York, Harper and Row, 1974); C. Strout, *The New Heavens and the New Earth: Political Religion in America*, (New York, Harper and Row, 1974); Thomas and Flippen, "American Civil Religion: An Empirical Study."
 12. T. W. Adorno, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 749.
 13. Demerath and Williams, "Civil Religion in an Uncivil Society," p. 166.