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COMMUNITY LEADERS:

The Social Bases and Social-Psychological Concomitants of Community Power

by

Leonard U. Blumberg

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This was a study of perceptions power in Satellite City, a community of 20,000 persons on the edge of a metropolitan community, in the industrial midwest of the United States. Perceived power was defined as the ability of one person to make decisions that will be determinative for the behavior of others and was viewed as necessary to the fulfillment of the coordinative function. Community leaders were defined as persons who have the coordinative function in groups or in the community as a whole. Attention was focussed on the basis of the differences in perceived power among community leaders, and on the differences between community leaders in their orientation toward the community.

Three bases of the power of community leaders were proposed: high economic power, membership in the upper class, and interrelationships with other persons in voluntary associations. Two modes of orientation toward the community were investigated: the degree to which community leaders were oriented to groups within the community, to the community as a whole, or beyond

the community (the larger the scope, the more inclusive the orientation); and whether community leaders perceived their activities in the community in terms of relationships with persons or in terms of socially defined roles (personalistic-formalistic orientation).

Two kinds of community leaders were interviewed: public leaders and heads of associations. Public leaders were persons whose opinions and decisions were regarded as highly important for the success of broad community-based projects. Heads of associations were the chief executives of voluntary associations, such as presidents and executive secretaries. Eighteen public leaders and 159 heads of associations were interviewed; six of the public leaders were also heads of associations.

It was found that the public leaders tend to be drawn from the highest prestige class of Satellite City but are not the same persons as those who exercise the greatest amount of economic power in the community. Public leaders tend to belong to more voluntary associations, to have a greater diversity of memberships, and to have had more past officer roles than the heads of associations. The heads of associations tend to be more interrelated to the public leaders than among themselves; the public leaders tend to know each other better than they know the heads of associations.

There is no single person who can be designated <u>the</u> top leader of Satellite City. The public leaders

tend to share power with the Chamber of Commerce, which, from a functional point of view, seems to be the "community council" for community-based projects.

It was found that the public leaders tend to have a more inclusive orientation than the heads of associations, and to have a more personalistic orientation than the heads of associations.

The data suggest that previous research and analyses of power in the American community have been too simple and have not taken into account the complex web of relationships through which power actually seems to operate.

PREFACE

A large number of persons contributed to this work from its inception to its fruition as a dissertation. I would like to express my especial thanks to Marjorie Fox Blumberg for her patient companionship. The community leaders of Satellite City and Maple City, who must remain anonymous, were very cooperative in answering questions about their personal affairs. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Morris Janowitz for guidance throughout the project, to Dr. R. C. Angell for his help in the crucial concluding stages, and to the entire committee for their suggestions. My thanks to R. O. Schulze for his help in interviewing and reading preliminary drafts of this work. The following persons helped at various stages by interviewing, typing, or coding: Marjorie Fox Blumberg, Robert O. Schulze, T. R. Johnson, Sol Plafkin, Albert McQueen, Richard Scott, Barbara Ragsdale, Virginia Seitz, Florence Baron, Oscar Grusky, Robert Barnes, and Elizabêth Varley. I wish to express my thanks to The Research Club of the University of Michigan for financial aid in punching, sorting, and tabulating.

Needless to say, the responsibility for this work and its interpretation are my own.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In General

This is a study of power in a small Midwestern American community which will be called "Satellite City." It may be considered a limited contribution to a general theory of community organization, seeking to achieve this objective through a descriptive analysis of community leaders in a single community.[1] Hence, in a more restricted sense, what will be presented is a theory of community leadership and power. The discussion proceeds at the level of the individual as well as the level of the community on the postulate that personality and social roles based upon position in the social structure have mutual consequences for each other. Consequently, attention is focussed on the basis of the power of persons in community leader roles and their orientation with reference to community life and their relationships with other persons in the community.

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[1]There may be a number of different ways in which power is exercised, depending on the kind of community. It is assumed that considerable caution must be exercised in any attempt to generalize from the present study to other communities. The minimal conditions would seem to be approximate similarity in size, socio-economic history, and similarity in assumptions by the general population about the way power should be exercised.

The significance of questions of power for a theory of social organization has been recognized by American sociologists for some time. Thus the Lynds called attention to the need for continued research in 1936 in Middletown in Transition.[1] But both the theoretical treatment and empirical research into community leadership and power by sociologists still leave much to be desired. The situation has only begun to change from what Shils reported in 1948, and the present study may be considered symptomatic of this change.[2]

For the purposes of this study Satellite City may be treated as a social structure which is empirically differentiable from other communities. Further-

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[1] Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York, 1936), p. 100, footnote 32: "There is a definite need for the more exact exploration of a socio-economic control system of this sort through the detailed, systematic charting of the individuals affected, in their specific personal and institutional relationship to the controls. A city is made up of individuals, each presenting a pattern of relationships, individual and organizational."

[2] Edward Shils, The Present State of American Sociology (Glencoe, Ill., 1948), p. 22: "Although sociologists have come increasingly to talk about power, very little progress has been made in its analysis. Most of the work thus far is limited to definitions. Sociologists have lacked the concepts, the first-hand knowledge and the observational techniques and even more important they have not been able thus far to isolate the problem which should be studied. Once the problems are defined and some general hypotheses formulated, then the difficult task of creating methods of observing the exercise of power and measuring the quantities which occur under different sets of conditions or which produce different sets of consequences will have to be faced."

more, it is postulated that Satellite City is a system of social relationships which are functionally differentiated and functionally interrelated.

Power may be conceived as the process by which decisions and events in one segment of the community are determinative for decisions and events in other segments of the community. Insofar as we are dealing with individual persons, power is the ability of one person to make decisions that will in some degree be determinative for the behavior and attitudes of others. Leaving out considerations of "sheer power" or force, power is the ability to utilize the social system to achieve the ends of the person in a manner which is generally permitted by the society. Whether we have reference to an individual person or to some larger segment of a community, power is assumed to be exercised in the context of the social structure; therefore, it is assumed to be subject to the limitations which exist within the social structure.

Since all the segments of the community are functionally interrelated, the ability to exercise power is a property which all segments of the community have to some degree and, consequently, the power of one segment is relative to the power of other segments. The relationships that exist within the social system mean that the power of one person, or one segment of

the community, to achieve his (its) ends, is contingent upon the power of all the others who are presumably also seeking to achieve their ends.

But this ability to wield power is not distributed equally throughout the community. Even though the power of each segment, and each person, is contingent upon the others, some have a much greater ability to wield power than others. Thus power is hierarchical; it tends to "flow" more in one direction than in the other. Those persons <u>from</u> whom power usually flows may be designated as "leaders" and those persons <u>to</u> whom it usually flows may be designated as "followers"; the correlative socially defined patterns of behavior that accompany the exercise of power may be designated as "leader roles" and "follower roles." Most persons take both leader roles and follower roles, but within each stable human grouping and within the community as a whole, it may be assumed that there are those who are leaders as distinct from followers. Taken as a category, and excluding familial relationships, those in leader roles may be designated "community leaders" on the postulate that all human groupings have some functional significance for the community as a whole.

The existence of leader roles is a functional necessity for any differentiated social system, whether group or community. The diversified activities of the

various segments of the system are potentially disruptive of that system and the power of the leaders is directed toward coordinating the system. Those in the leader role have "'responsibility' relative to the possibilities of 'action in concert,'" as Parsons puts it.[1] The realization of this "responsibility" involves having a determinative influence upon the activities of the community or of the grouping involved.

Some community leaders are able to exercise considerably more power than others. First, as a general rule we may say that the larger the unit, the more power it will be necessary to wield to fulfill the coordinative function. Coordinating activities at the level of an entire community, then, involves using more power than coordinating the activities of smaller aggregates within the community. Second, as the unit gets larger, it increasingly becomes necessary to effect a bifurcation of leader roles into policy-forming and policy-implementing (or executive) roles. While power is attached to both types of roles, by the very nature of the distinction we may expect that those in policy-implementing roles will exert less power than those in policy-forming roles.

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[1] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill., 1951), pp. 100 ff. Cf. Ronald Freedman, et al., Principles of Sociology (New York, 1952), pp. 154-155; Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill, 1953), pp. 107-108.

Stating the problem generally, the basis of the differential ability to wield power at the community level is a problem of central interest to a theory of community organization and is the question toward which most of the attention of subsequent chapters is directed.

At the community level, the most readily apparent basis for the power of persons in leader roles is ability to control the economic life of the community. This will be termed "economic dominance." Dominance is the ability of one unit to control the activities of other units through controlling the life conditions, or sustenance functions, of subordinated units.[1] In an urban industrial community this ordinarily seems to take place through the economic structure.[2] In modern

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[1] Amos Hawley, Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure (New York, 1950), p. 221. This concept is similar to the present use of "power" at the community level. This broad formulation is used here because economic power, when it involves more than a few persons interacting in a small group situation, tends to be quite diffuse and impersonal and becomes increasingly so as the unit of analysis becomes larger.

[2] The sustenance structure of the community is more or less identical to "economic structure," as used by Marx. The following statement by Hook brings this out: "By the economic structure of society, historical materialists mean 'the sum total of the relations of production.' The relations of production (involving the material powers of production, of which natural raw materials, inventions, existing skills, techniques and knowledge are a part) constitute the real foundation of the whole cultural complex. . .By the 'relations of production' Marx means not mechanical agencies used in manufacture or the technical organization of the factory but the social relations into which human beings enter or, better still, find themselves whenever they participate in the economic life of society. Property relations

American society this often, though not always, involves the administration of wealth and control over the "relations of production," rather than mere property ownership, since some hiatus has developed between the "owners" and the "managers" of corporate property and production.

The power of leaders at the community level may also rest upon their high position in the system of prestige stratification. One of the conclusions from the voluminous literature which is now available on stratification is that power is the basic quality which is being evaluated in all social rank systems, even though the specific procedure may differ.[1] The power of the topmost social prestige stratum tends to be evidenced in a high degree of influence over the patterns of consumption of goods as reflected in a "style of life" rather than in an active control over the sustenance functions; and approximately equal prestige is accorded to all individuals maintaining a similar style of life. Hence power based on social rank tends to rest more directly upon prestige rather than upon

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are the formal expressions or signs of these social relations of production." Sidney Hook, "Materialism," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, X (1933), 217-218. It is not to be inferred, however, that Hawley has utilized Marx's philosophy of history. His theory tends to be more of a theory of "biological struggle" than of class struggle.

[1] Ronald Freedman, et al., Principles of Sociology, pp. 209 ff.

economic dominance, though it is not unrelated to the latter, of course.[1]

The style of life of the upper classes tends to focus upon the use of wealth--at times to the elimination of an active interest in its accumulation. One of the consequences of this attention on consumption is that economic dominance tends to become residual in the upper classes and to devolve upon those persons who are engaged in the administration of that wealth which makes possible the style of life of the highest prestige classes.[2] At the same time, empirically we should not regard it as unusual if persons in the topmost prestige classes in the local community also take roles

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[1]Though capable of separate analysis, the two are closely related. Thus Weber differentiated between the economic order and the social order. He defined the social order as "the way in which social honor is distributed in a community between typical groups participating in this distribution..." For him, "social honor" is synonymous with prestige. While economic power may be the basis of social honor, very frequently the reverse is true, for "the social order is...conditioned by the economic order to a high degree, and in its turn reacts upon it." H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds., From Max Weber (New York, 1946), pp. 180-181.

[2]Thus Hunter found that the topmost social prestige stratum did not correlate highly with the topmost leaders from the standpoint of power in Regional City. This may explain in part why the lawyer of one of the five socialites on the list of the "top forty" was also ranked among the community leaders. Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, pp. 36-37.

which have a high degree of economic dominance.[1]

A high degree of economic dominance and high position in the system of prestige stratification are insufficient to explain the basis of leader roles in the American community, however. The organized interpersonal relationships between persons in the community, and the accompanying modes of communication between them are also important as bases of power. It is through formally organized voluntary associations, rather than informal groups, that relatively powerless and disparate individuals in urban industrial communities are able to have important effects upon the life of the community. Indeed, at the present time it is often within the context of fellow member roles that, aside from the family, the most significant interpersonal relationships occur. This is not to say that unorganized, private interper-

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[1]This was brought out in the Lynds's discussion of the activities of the X family in Middletown. It may be assumed that this kind of pattern is more likely to occur in smaller communities and in communities in which the differentiation of modes of exercising power may not have had as long a time to develop. Such conditions are probably more likely to exist in communities in a society based upon democratic assumptions in which control by a landed gentry has not had time to become secure, and in which the production of wealth has shifted relatively recently from agriculture to commerce and industry. This would in part serve to explain the differentiation that has apparently taken place in Yankee City that was only beginning to be evidenced in Middletown. Robert and Helen Lynd, "The X Family: A Pattern of Business-Class Control," Middletown in Transition, pp. 74-101; W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

sonal relationships are unimportant as another means of exerting power in a highly differentiated community. They seem to be less directly relevant to a theory of community power and leadership, however, and will be given less attention.[1]

Formally organized voluntary associations have the following generic characteristics:

1. Membership is not usually automatic, but is obtained through a defined (standardized) procedure. Such admitting procedure gives the individual a role which is distinct from the non-member, at least to the extent that he stands in a new relationship (by incorporation within the group) to others. This admittance procedure is not biological reproduction.

2. There is some kind of agreement among those standing in the role of fellow-member as to what is conceived to be that which the members have in common. This may potentially include the entire community; it may be restricted to only a portion of the community and be based on spatial location, occupation, social class, ancestry, education, sex, common leisure patterns, and so forth.

3. There is a minimal formal role differentiation to the point where at least one special type of role in addition to the general member role is distinguished: the executive (administrative, secretarial, and so forth). It may be highly differentiated. In all cases there are established procedures for the assignment of roles. The roles do not inhere in the person. They can, and frequently are, transferred at regular intervals to other persons within the fellow-member category. There is a wide range in the degree of explicitness of the principles and procedures of organization.

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[1]The public press in general is also an important basis of power and a means of wielding power. However, interpersonal relationships are quite attenuated and do not lend themselves to the present analysis when they occur through the press. The press will therefore be regarded as a channel of communication which is used by leaders, particularly at the overall community level, in the course of filling their function.

4. The totality of the fellow-members is not engaged primarily in the production or distribution of goods or services for hire. That is, associations as used in this research are not primarily what may be called business or manufacturing ventures. Usually there is agreement which defines a limited sphere of activity for all those standing in this particular fellow-member relationship. And an individual may stand in many such fellow-member relationships at one time.

Our society is characterized by large population aggregations, a permissive power-situation which encourages private groupings, the relative decline of older types of social relationships such as kin and neighborhood, and a strong continuing stress on the definition of the collective good in individualistic terms.[1] Analytically speaking, and in terms of the postulate of the functional interrelatedness of the community as a social system, outside of the economic structure our society has a problem of mediating between disparate individuals and the community as a whole. The system is too large to permit direct relationships between most persons or even indirect relationships through overlapping clique memberships.

In our society, one "solution" of the "problem" seems to have taken the form of aggregates, formally organized voluntary associations, which are larger than cliques but smaller than the community as a whole. Through them the potentially isolated person may es-

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[1] Robin Williams, American Society (New York, 1951), pp. 466-473.

tablish interpersonal relationships with others so that they may jointly meet their needs. Through multiple membership roles the individual may be related to a great many people, either directly through fellow-member roles or indirectly through the overlapping of memberships of the various associations. This may be enhanced through the formal interrelationship of various associations to which the individual belongs. Thus, the community may be said to operate in part through a network of formally organized voluntary associations.

In the course of mediating between disparate individuals and the community as a whole, formally organized voluntary associations tend to become channels for the collection and dissemination of power throughout the community. Within associations, persons of varying degrees of individual power are tied together through a series of formally defined member roles. Within these associations and on the basis of these member roles, a person can influence the formation and implementation of the policies of the association as a member. He can intensify his ability to exert power upon fellow members through acquisition of leader roles. Insofar as a distinction has developed between policy formation and policy implementation among the leaders, he can seek to acquire policy forming roles. Through overlapping membership and formal structural interrelationships, various associations may exert influence

upon other associations. Singly or in combination, they may attempt to influence various public bodies such as the school board or the city council.[1] Thus, through the formally organized voluntary associations, persons who are relatively powerless individuals can exert some power over the course of events having significance for the entire community, and the community may be conceived as a network of associations along which power is transmitted.

To some degree the "internal" power of voluntary associations, i.e., over their members, rests upon the fact that they facilitate and validate prestige rating in the system of stratification.[2] Persons of approximately equal social prestige tend to belong to the same association and, hence, the power of the highest prestige levels of the community tends to be augmented through aggregation in formally organized voluntary

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[1]The power exerted by voluntary associations has largely been stressed in political and quasi-political considerations of "pressure" or "interest" groupings. That power has ramifications in other facets of community life beside the "purely" economic or political is one of the postulates of the present work, and it is assumed that it is important to explore these ramifications in order to establish more fully the limitations within which power operates.

[2]W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); Marcia Meeker, "The Joiners--Male and Female," Democracy in Jonesville, ed., W. Lloyd Warner (New York, 1949), pp. 115-129; Mhyra S. Minnis, "Cleavage in Women's Organizations," American Sociological Review, 18 (Feb., 1953), 47-53; G. A. Lundberg, et al., Leisure: A Suburban Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934).

asscciations. Furthermore, membership in some associations may enhance one's prestige if he has fellow-member roles with persons of a higher prestige level, and persons often seek to participate in associations on this basis. If a person's class position is in part determined by his associational activity, he is more readily amenable to controls exercised from within the association. Failure to conform leads to subsequent association pressures which may become obstacles to maintenance of class position or stabilization of class mobility; political and even business objectives may depend heavily upon continued "membership in good standing."

Some persons are not members of any voluntary associations. They are, therefore, less completely integrated into the life of the community than others. Insofar as associations are "nucleations of power," these persons may remain relatively low in potential power with few leader roles outside of the family and slight chance to influence the aggregations of power that may be achieved in voluntary associations.

On the other hand, and by the same token, some associations are able to exert much more power on events in the community than others[1] and, hence, individual

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[1]At least three factors seem involved in this differential power of associations. In the first place, the association may have a relatively large proportion

members through their voluntary associations may exert different degrees of power over the community. Through multiple membership roles the power of an individual is potentially compounded. Through multiple membership in a number of associations with relatively high power, the potential power of an individual is even greater. Persons who are not only members, but who are able to mobilize and coordinate highly powerful associations successfully, may exert power far beyond the associations of which they are members and consequently, on this basis alone, the extremes of power in a community may be relatively great. This may be even more intensified through such phenomena as overlapping officer roles, particularly those at the policy forming level.

Relatively stable, intimate, interpersonal relationships may also be important in the power of community leaders. They will be termed "private" relationships in contrast to other more "public" relationships

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of persons of high power in the community as members or have easy interpersonal access to them through members. Secondly, the power and influence of a given association may be facilitated through sharing common personnel at the policy or executive levels with one or more other associations. Thus, assuming relatively little common membership between several associations, overlapping officers would facilitate the transmission of power to a much larger segment of the community than where no overlap at the executive or policy level exists. Thirdly, the association may be able to mobilize large portions of the community around issues that the association supports through the ability to invoke appeals to potent community symbols such as national war dead, commonly perceived international threats, or religious values.

such as fellow-member roles in formally organized voluntary associations and employer-employee roles. Involving mutual personality adjustments at a more fundamental level than public relationships, private relationships ordinarily presuppose a body of common orientations and life patterns which may easily be the basis for a strong "in-group" identification. Persons who are similar with respect to economic dominance, social prestige position, and formally organized voluntary associational activity are very likely to have such common orientations and life patterns, and hence may be expected to have a greater tendency to form private relationships than persons who differ from each other in these respects. Taken by itself, power based on private relationships is likely to be of minor significance for the entire community since it ordinarily directly affects only a few persons. Its significance is enhanced, however, when private relationships occur among persons who already have a great deal of power on other bases. Under these circumstances a highly cohesive grouping may form which is capable of exerting considerable power.

Two studies of the power of leaders in local communities may be brought to bear on the preceding analysis. The Lynds[1] concluded that the X family

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[1]Robert and Helen Lynd, "The X Family: A Pattern of Business Class Control," Middletown in Transition, pp. 74-101.

wielded a pervasive power over the entire community of Middletown. They usually exerted power through other persons, although their power was widely perceived and its bearing on community policies relatively easily imputed. The X family was able to do this because they were major employers of professionals as well as factory workers in an era of great economic insecurity, because they had a strong voice in the local credit structure, and because they stood at the peak of the prestige system as well as of the economic system. The X family had members, or dependent representatives who were members, in the prominent associations of the community--though they apparently were unwilling to assume formal leadership of these associations. The Lynds concluded about Middletown in 1935 that: 1) leadership and power were highly concentrated; 2) control in the community was largely unconscious and that 3) "where conscious, well meaning and 'public spirited,' as businessmen interpret the concept,"[1] the system of control operated generally to identify public welfare with business-class welfare; 4) class consciousness and class oriented behavior seemed to occur spontaneously and not as a result of pressures from the economic dominants; and 5) non-economic as well as economic relationships operated to create conformity--and hence to further the existing

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[1]Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown in Transition, p. 99.

system of power--through incorporating potential deviants within the system in a subtle fashion.

Hunter[1] in his study of Regional City found that the social system was differentiated into several levels of power and influence. There was a relatively small number of persons of high power, but there was no single family which dominated the community to the degree found in Middletown. The primary basis of the power of these "top leaders" of Regional City was economic dominance rather than high prestige position. He found that major community policy decisions were made at gatherings normally composed only of members of the several "crowds" that together composed the top leaders. These were private (rather than secret) meetings, since other persons were aware of them. Once the top leaders formulate policy, they refer it to the voluntary associations for implementation. Hunter concluded that at least an inner core of associations is given an opportunity to discuss policies which are previously established by the top leadership in the community.[2] After minor modifications are made within these top associa-

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[1] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure.

[2] The theoretical analysis of formally organized voluntary associations which has already been given deviates from Hunter in according them much more power. It is at this point that the present work and Hunter's most noticeably "part company."

tions, the "line is set" and everybody is expected to conform and cooperate. Hunter states that this is accomplished by coercion if necessary, but that often the control is much more tenuous. The voluntary associations act as principal agencies to secure not only conformity, but to organize the necessary action to implement final policy decisions. This includes providing leaders for specific projects (often already designated by the top leaders) and providing "booster" personnel when these are needed. Thus, the voluntary associations are primarily channels of communication in Regional City and foci for activating projects which, if they have general community implications, must have the approval of the top leaders.

The present work is not only an analysis of the basis of differences in power in the community, but is also an exploration into the implication of these differences at the personality level. Achievement and maintenance of community leader roles, particularly at the overall community level, would seem to create kinds of problems and relationships not found among other segments of the population, and which, in turn, would be evidenced in the orientation of these community leaders toward the community and in their relationships with other persons.

By orientation is meant a predisposition to define and respond to a situation in a typical way. The

term refers to a frame of reference in the sense of a predetermined context in which objects, events, or interpersonal relationships tend to be perceived and acted toward by the person.[1] The orientation is the setting in which attitudes and behavior are formed and expressed. The actions accompanying the solution of a problem or the verbal expression of an attitude have some influence on interpersonal relations as well as on the satisfaction of individual needs. The results of these actions must be given meaning by the person if he is to continue to live in a social relationship with others, for the person is constantly faced with the demands of others that he respond in some way. One result of this interaction may be to make a given orientation still more important for the person, since the results of the actions, whatever their "objective" meaning, are interpreted by the individual in terms of his existing frames of reference. The function of this process is to give objective consistency or predictability (from the standpoint of the observer) to the behavior of the person. A second function would seem to be that the orientation makes it possible for the individual to respond appropriately and with relative rapidity to the social situations that

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[1]Theodore Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York, 1950), pp. 94, 217 ff. Newcomb also refers to an orientation as "equivalent to 'attitude' in its more inclusive sense of referring to both cathectic and cognitive tendencies." Theodore Newcomb, "An Approach to the Study of Communicative Acts," Psychological Review, 60 (Nov., 1953), p. 393.

confront him.[1]

It is assumed that the normal person utilizes more than one frame of reference in his adjustment to his social situation. In most cases, however, it is probable that only a limited number are utilized by any given person, just as any person has a limited number of roles which are defined during his interaction in a collective situation. With this general thinking in mind, the present work will analyze two dimensions of orientation which have been tentatively designated as "inclusiveness of orientation" and "personalistic-formalistic orientation."

Turning first to the inclusiveness of orientation, in The Community Press in an Urban Setting, Janowitz[2] makes the statement that:

> The study of community involvement and orientation by means of the community press seems to highlight a developmental view of the distinction

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[1]It should be borne in mind that a unidirectional, causal sequence from social position to orientation is not assumed. What is assumed instead is that there is an interaction between the demands of social position and the adjustments of individual personalities. The community is an environment for the individual personality. It limits his behavior by reducing the alternatives open to him. Since he must act in terms of the social structure of the community, there are certain orientations that are most conducive to meeting successfully individual ends. These orientations grow out of the demands placed upon the person in the course of attempting to fulfill community defined roles.

[2]Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting (Glencoe, Ill., 1952), pp. 211-212.

> between 'community' orientation and 'metropolitan' orientation. Local orientations for some broaden out to include wider needs and perspectives, although a predominant balance between the two can be discerned. It is as if the individual had the opportunity to make use of community facilities but he augments the satisfaction of his needs by making use of non-community facilities and thereby creating metropolitan orientations.

A similar developmental approach is used here in the discussion of inclusiveness of orientation. The person first sees himself and sees the community in terms of family and familial extensions--the peer play group and the adult group in the neighborhood. As he leaves the home and lives in terms of the more impersonal community, he will normally tend to perceive his activities as having direct importance for groupings or segments within the community as well as the family. The process probably involves retaining the previous orientation for some purposes, although these previous, less inclusive orientations would probably play a less specifically determinative role in his activities and perceptions. The net effect is the development of a more complex personality.

A more inclusive orientation may and often does develop, so that we may recognize a continuum from completely familial[1] to mixed community and cosmopolitan:

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[1]It may be predicted that the familial end of the continuum may be found among those not having associational memberships or holding them in a restricted and nominal manner in combination with low dominance in the community. Thus the familial end of the continuum may be found among the "urban working-class." It will

the familial, in which the orientation is primarily restricted to the family; the segmental, in which there is orientation to a part or parts of the community, but not inclusive to the point where the individual perceives himself as contributing to or influencing the entire community; the community inclusive, in which the orientation is to the entire community in that the individual perceives himself as contributing to or influencing the whole community; community-regional, in which the orientation is to the entire community and also to the region of which the community is a part; and the community-cosmopolitan, in which the orientation is in terms of the local community as a whole, the surrounding region, and beyond these to the nation or the world.[1]

Given roles that have larger and larger consequences for the entire community, the orientation of

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not be possible to test this at the present time, however. Cf., Floyd Dotson, "Voluntary Associations among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, XVI (Oct. 1951), pp. 687-693; and Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, XI (Dec., 1946), pp. 686-698.

[1]The "true" cosmopolitan, in which the orientation is almost exclusively outside of the community, the local being so dwarfed that it is only minimally relevant for the person, may be regarded as a deviant type. In a sense this person is in the community, but no longer of it. It is probable that a community can have only a very small number of persons oriented in this fashion if it is to retain its integrity as a system--assuming a dispersed system of power such as a democratically organized society.

the person may be expected to become more inclusive. Hawley points out that the power of units which have a high degree of economic dominance is partly based on the fact that "they are mediators of the community's relations" with other communities.[1] It is probable, therefore, that persons filling roles to which a high degree of economic dominance is attached tend to be oriented either in a community inclusive, a community-regional, or a community-cosmopolitan fashion if they are successfully to fill the role. Inherited wealth and position in the "upper-upper" class seem to be accompanied by normal tendencies in this direction. Finally, where leader roles involve power based on the mobilization of the resources of the formally organized voluntary associations of the community, the successful retention of this wide associational base would seem to require a less segmental and a more inclusive orientation in order to meet the demands and expectations of the greatest number of associations.

Turning now to personalistic-formalistic orientation, as the individual moves out of the kinship group, there must be a growth in the recognition that most aspects of daily living may be, indeed must be, treated as impersonal objects. Insofar as the "objects" are persons, there is the recognition that interpersonal

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[1]Amos Hawley, Human Ecology, p. 229.

relationships will proceed most smoothly if they are formalized, so that individuals react to each other in terms of their socially defined roles, or "formalistically."[1] Personality differences constantly intrude into these role-defined relationships, since people insist on being treated and on treating others as persons as well as in terms of their roles: i.e., "personalistically."

Community leadership involves informal, interpersonal relationships as well as formal roles, of course. Indeed, those persons filling leader roles with reference to the entire community seem to be interrelated to a relatively high degree both informally and formally as a necessary concomitant of achieving and maintaining their roles.[2] This stems from the desirability of maintaining easy and low tension-inducing relationships within the relatively small segment of the community in which it may be assumed that community policy is formulated. It involves the adjustment of

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[1]The development of this formalistic orientation facilitates social interaction, since it is possible for those in immediate interaction to assume that a common set of definitions exists for the situation and also since it permits relationships to proceed without requiring fundamental personality adjustments each time the person is involved in an interactional relationship. Hence it becomes the normal mode of orientation toward other individuals because it minimizes "wear and tear."

[2]Floyd Hunter, "The More Private Aspects of Power," Community Power Structure, pp. 171-206.

individual differences between persons who, as leaders at the level of the entire community, have a relatively high degree of ability to wield power, in the recognition that personality clashes will interfere with the accomplishment of basic aims. From the point of view of the community, this would have the consequence of lowering the efficiency of performance of the coordinative function, while from the point of view of the personality this would make it less likely for the person to meet his needs by achieving his goals in a manner involving the least effort.

One of the consequences of this multiple basis of their power is that the relationships between leaders who exercise power at the overall community level probably tend to be poorly defined. There can only be a relatively small number of persons engaged in fulfilling the coordinative function and it is difficult for disagreements to become impersonalized and objectivized under these conditions. One alternative in meeting differences among these leaders might be to attempt to destroy the basis of the power of one of them, a procedure which is likely to prove costly even for the winner. Furthermore, under many circumstances more than two potential foci of power exist in a community and these partly check each other. Consequently it is most likely that persons of high power in the community will conduct their conflicts and will seek to mute

these conflicts and disagreements on the basis of personal interaction rather than formal roles. This carries with it the necessity of anticipating the personal reactions of others who might be involved in community policy formation or its execution, which is the essential feature of personalistic orientation.

In contrast, persons who are in roles to which a high degree of power is not attached face life problems which are similar in many respects to those faced by those who are leaders at the overall community level. Insofar as their activities have reference to the community as a whole, however, their experiences are more likely to be limited to formalized relationships and formal avenues for change. These formal avenues may be in business, formally organized voluntary associations, or government. Assuredly they must engage in personalistic thinking in some of their relationships. But outside of the home, in the area of working in the community and with reference to the community, their relationships are more likely to be encompassed by impersonal procedures which stress formalized roles or treatment of the community as a collection of objects such as streets, stores, and sewage disposal systems.

In a general way, previous empirical studies of community leaders lend support to the position that different community roles and their related patterns of living may be associated with a tendency to perceive the

community in different ways. Hunter's analysis of these perceptual differences between the top leaders and the "understructure" professionals displays insight but is somewhat superficial, being limited largely to a brief discussion of perception of community problems, area of residence, and routes of travel to work.[1]

The conclusions which Janowitz drew with respect to "community" orientation and "metropolitan" orientation have been cited on pages 21-22, above. Inasmuch as the communities Janowitz studied were neighborhoods in Chicago or suburbs adjacent to it, his term "community orientation" seems roughly equivalent to the present usage of "segmental orientation."

Merton and Stewart found it possible to distinguish two types of orientation among "top influentials."[2] Each type seemed to be somewhat different with respect to career patterns and modes of response to questions about the community. The type oriented within the community, they designated as "locally" oriented persons; the type oriented to the world outside

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[1] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, pp. 21-22.

[2] Robert Merton, "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal Influence and of Communications Behavior in a Local Community," Communications Research, 1948-1949, ed. by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton (New York, 1949), pp. 180-219; Frank A. Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown," Sociometry, X (Feb., 1947), 11-49.

of the local community, even when discussing what might otherwise be construed as strictly local problems, they concluded were oriented in a "cosmopolitan" manner. The present developmental approach is a radical reformulation of their concepts, so that whatever similarities exist are residual.

Gus Turbeville, in a study of rural leaders in Lenawee County, Michigan, mentions that he found informal neighborhood leaders were much more hospitable than leaders of formally organized voluntary associations ("formal leaders").[1] In their leadership activities, the informal leaders seemed to lean heavily upon direct face to face relationships in contrast to the formal leaders, which suggests that they tended to be personalistically oriented while the formal leaders tended to be formalistically oriented.

The Present Research

In the present study, two types of community leaders will be compared: public leaders and heads of associations. Public Leaders are persons who are relied upon when basic community policy is being established. Their stamp of approval (or lack of disapproval) is

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[1] Gus Turbeville, Reading in the Rural Community: A Social Psychological Study of Reading and Library Use in Lenawee County, Michigan, 1946-1947, Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Sciences, 1948.

considered essential to completing successfully projects needing a broad community base; projects which presumably will affect events in widely scattered segments of the community. They are persons reputed to have a large measure of control or influence in such areas as municipal policy and "good works," in which the public (or the community at large) is likely to be involved. Heads of Associations are persons filling chief executive offices in formally organized voluntary associations, such as presidents (or analogous officers) and the top paid officers (such as the minister or executive secretary). In general, the distinction between these two types of community leaders is similar to that drawn between informal and formal community leaders.[1]

The public leaders are leaders at the level of the entire community, while the heads of associations are leaders of aggregations within the community. As such, the former fill coordinating functions for the entire community, while the latter fill coordinating functions of segments of the community. Hence, the

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[1]Previous studies have distinguished between informal and formal leaders and between "top influentials" and organizational leaders. They found that the lists were sufficiently different so that prediction could not be made from one to the other. In addition to the works of Merton, Stewart, and Turbeville, cited above, see James E. White, Leadership and Social Structure in a New York Rural Community, Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1948.

public leaders should have a considerably greater ability to exert power in the community than the heads of associations.

The following hypotheses are therefore proposed:

General Hypothesis A: Public leaders and heads of associations differ with respect to the social bases of their power.

Hypothesis A-1: Public leaders are more likely than heads of associations to fill roles with a high degree of economic dominance.

Hypothesis A-2: Public leaders tend to rank higher than the heads of associations in the system of prestige stratification.

Hypothesis A-3: The associational activity of the public leaders is different from the associational activity of the heads of associations and facilitates the power of the public leaders.

The preceding analysis of formally organized voluntary associations and private relationships as bases of power suggested a number of ways in which public leaders facilitate and enhance their power. It is assumed that, while there may be differences in degree of participation as members, these differences are not so extreme as to be relevant. It is assumed further, that membership in the same formally organized voluntary association is accompanied by interpersonal relationships and communication based on common member roles. The following more specific hypotheses are offered in order to help test hypothesis A-3, above.

Subhypothesis 3-a: The public leaders tend to belong to a greater number of formally organized voluntary associations than the heads of associations.

Subhypothesis 3-b: The public leaders tend to belong to more different types of formally organized voluntary associations than the heads of associations.

Subhypothesis 3-c: The public leaders tend to have memberships in the most highly influential associations in the community to a greater degree than the heads of associations.

Subhypothesis 3-d: The public leaders tend to fill a larger number of those associational officer roles which are most important for policy formation than the heads of associations.

Subhypothesis 3-e: The public leaders and the heads of associations tend to be interrelated in their "public" relationships, but not through their "private" relationships, while the public leaders tend to be interrelated among themselves not only through "public" but "private" relationships as well.

If achievement and maintenance of public leader roles leads to role related personal problems and relationships not found among the heads of associations, then, according to the previous discussion, they should be oriented toward the community differently. The following hypotheses are therefore proposed:

General Hypothesis B: Public leaders tend to be similar to one another with respect to their orientation to the community and to differ from the heads of associations in their orientation toward the community.

Hypothesis B-1: Public leaders tend to be oriented toward the community in a manner which is more inclusive than the heads of associations.

Hypothesis B-2: Public leaders tend to be oriented personalistically while heads of associations tend to be oriented formalistically.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNITY SETTING

The community leaders whose characteristics and activities will be analyzed live in a community which has been designated "Satellite City" for the purposes of this study. The name "Satellite City" was chosen because one of the community's outstanding sociological features is that it now lies within the metropolitan area of a major industrial city of the United States. This major industrial city lies in the Midwestern industrial heart-land of the United States. Satellite City is located thirty miles from its center.

The characteristics of Satellite City have reflected its changing relationship to Metro City. From 1900 to 1940 it was in the "fringe area" of the larger city. Metro City had a population of 250,000 in 1900; Satellite City had about 7,000. Metro City's major growth was rapid after 1900; Satellite City lost about 15 per cent of its population from 1900 to 1910. It seems probable that most of this population was lost to Metro City. At that time, Metro City was still too far away for large numbers of workers to commute; and an actual change in residence was required if the expanding

opportunities for employment and trade were to be realized.

By 1920, commuter train service on the major railroad which runs through Satellite City, improved roads, and inter-urban street cars had influenced the situation to such an extent that the population was slightly larger than it had been in 1900. The rate of population growth began to accelerate after 1920, accompanied by a slow change in the character of the community. But in the forty years from 1900 to 1940, the population only just about doubled, going from about 7,000 to about 13,000. This was relatively slow growth in comparison to the rapidly expanding population in the "inner areas" closer to Metro City.

The economic influence of Metro City was gradually strengthened with the growth of small supplier plants and machine shops serving the industrial complex of the area. Most of these plants employed fewer than 50 persons. The largest plant before 1932 was a locally owned heating equipment company that hired about 300 people. Somewhat smaller were such locally owned companies as a box manufacturing company, a wood products manufacturer, and a machinery parts manufacturing company.

In 1932 the Acme Machinery Company established a branch plant hiring about 800 people. This factory made parts for Acme plants located in Metro City and

its suburbs. Its establishment is evidence of increasingly closer industrial relationships between Satellite City and Metro City.

During the period before World War II, Satellite City remained a quiet county town with a social system that was largely independent of Metro City. The Satellite City Liberal Arts College was an important "industry" and its faculty had relatively high prestige in the community. In contrast to other "college towns," the conflicts between "town" and "gown" were muted, and there was an active participation of the college faculty in the social and cultural life of the community. The city's 1,500 Negro residents (as of 1940) had deep roots in the community and conformed to the stabilized segregated system common in the small county towns of the area. Some of Satellite City's women's clubs were among the oldest in the State. Its little theatre was one of the first in the country. Its leading families tended also to be the wealthiest. They had a personal interest in the industry and commerce of the community. They had a personal interest in the community, and the community had a personal interest in them.

In the period since 1940, there have been significant population changes in Satellite City and the neighboring townships. Satellite City grew from about 13,000 to about 20,000 residents, of whom about 2,000 are Negroes. The adjoining township populations grew

from about 5,500 to 21,000 people, of whom about 2,500 are Negroes. There had been few Negroes in these townships before the war.

Accompanying these population changes were changes in the occupational distribution of the area. Table 1 gives only the major occupations within Satel-

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN SATELLITE CITY, 1940 AND 1950[a]

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1940 N	1940 %	1950 N	1950 %
Professional	539	11	1032	14
Proprietors, Mgrs. and Officials, excl. Farm	360	8	502	7
Clerical and Sales	899	19	1654	23
Craftsmen and Foremen	654	14	951	13
Operatives	1152	24	1560	22
Laborers, excl. Farm	445	9	311	4
Service, incl. Domestic	599	13	1072	15
Farm Operators, Managers, and Laborers	27	1	27	b
Not Reported	64	1	77	1
Total	4739	100	7186	100

[a]Compiled from Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Population, Vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), Table 33; and Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950. Population, Vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 35.

[b]Less than 0.5%.

lite City. Complete data on the occupational distribution of the residents of the surrounding townships was

not readily available. There was a decline in the proportion of laborers ("unskilled" workers) in the population. There was a slight increase in the percentage of service workers of all kinds. There was also a rise in the proportion of professionals and clerical and sales workers, which is partly attributable to the establishment of a divisional office of the Acme Machinery Company in Satellite City and partly because Satellite City has become a service center for the surrounding industrial population.

These changes reflect a changed relationship with Metro City which is now relatively close in terms of time and distance. Major industrial expansion and changes in ownership which took place during and after World War II have intensified the economic dependence of Satellite City.

Thus the Delta Plant, employing over 10,000 workers, was built during the war near Satellite City. To facilitate production of war equipment and the movement of personnel, a superhighway was built between Metro City and Satellite City. During the war the Delta plant was managed by the Acme Machinery Company, but by 1953 it was occupied by the Barnes Company, Acme's principal competitor. It now is a supplier plant for industrial products which are assembled and marketed elsewhere.

Industrial expansion and ownership changes took place within Satellite City as well. Generally speaking, the shift toward a supplier relationship to Metro industry increased and the larger plants were sold to Metro City companies. The Acme Machinery Company plant hired over 2,000 workers in 1953. The home heating equipment company is now owned by "outside interests" which are developing new product lines associated with the major industry of the area. The Satellite City Box Manufacturing Company is still locally owned but only employs less than 150 people. The number of small supplier plants has increased, but their proportionate influence has declined. In terms of employment, the Acme Machinery Company and the Barnes Company, both absentee-owned corporations, now definitely dominate the scene; Satellite City now has the tone of an industrial community rather than a residential-commercial one.

The social life of the community reflects these changes. The college faculty and the "town" still work together, but the "gown" seems to have much less prestige and much less influence over affairs than formerly. Names of persons prominent in the news include not only the owner-operators of moderate-sized industrial plants, the owners of retail business, and the professionals, but also the "representatives" of the larger absentee-owned industrial plants.

Crime and juvenile delinquency have increased, to the dismay of old-time residents. The increase of both Negro and White residents who were not accommodated to the old system has been accompanied by increasing racial animosities. There are tensions in Satellite City and the adjoining townships over annexations which have been intensified by the problems of providing water, sewerage, and schools for expanding populations at "reasonable" tax rates.

Changes in other areas of community life are not so easily identified and therefore their consequences for the present research are less discernible. However, the changing number of formally organized voluntary associations may be interpreted as a consequence of these industrial and population changes. In the period after 1940 an indeterminate, but probably sizable, number of associations was formed, particularly churches and occupational associations.[1] In the summer of 1953 there were approximately 187 formally organized voluntary associations for White adults, as Table 2 brings out.[2] Most of them are sex and race

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[1]The proliferation of associations is illustrated by the establishment of at least five new associations in the six months after the summer of 1953 when most of the field work was done.

[2]This figure may be as many as ten associations low because of difficulties in obtaining information. The data also do not include the various church "circles" which are usually subsidiaries of the women's societies in most churches.

segregated, and some are age segregated as well.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF WHITE ADULT ASSOCIATIONS IN SATELLITE CITY, BY TYPE[a]

Church	25
Church Related	17
Recreational and Youth Working	15
Patriotic, Civic, and Political	23
Charitable, Health, and Welfare	17
Fraternal and Benevolent	37
Women and Educational	23
Occupational	28
Unclassified	2
Total	187[b]

[a]See Appendix II for discussion and description of categories.

[b]In addition, there were 16 Negro voluntary associations of all types.

The development of such a large number of formally organized voluntary associations probably means that location in key roles in a small number of highly influential associations is even more important than in the past for the acquisition and maintenance of the power that accompanies public leadership.

Taking a more general view, it seems likely that the basis of power in the community is probably shifting away from personal relationships based on

friendship, familial ties, and locally owned industry ("rule by notables") to relatively impersonal relationships based on filling key roles in key associations, or on being conceived as the "representative" of one of the major absentee-owned industrial enterprises.

Linked with this transition, there is probably a rise in social ignorance with respect to the identification of public leaders. This is probably in part a result of the partial transfer of power outside of the community and in part a result of the greater elaboration of the entire social system so that the "upper levels" are no longer within the purview of members of the community who have relatively little power.

In spite of the changes that have taken place in Satellite City, it has a reputation among surrounding cities for having singularly effective leadership. Thus, it "puts over" a large Fourth of July carnival and parade annually, which the surrounding cities do not seem to be able to do. Its Chamber of Commerce is highly successful, while the Chamber of Commerce in a city twice its size is perennially being "reorganized," and its community-built and operated hospital is one of the best in the immediate area.

While changes have been taking place in Satellite City, it seems doubtful that Satellite City may be considered a "disorganized community." Prospective pub-

lic leaders who have come into Satellite City as a result of the changes since 1940 probably have largely fitted themselves into the existing scheme of things with relative ease. Indeed, this "new wine in old bottles" procedure may be considered a characteristic of organized community life; by reasserting old modes of doing things within the framework of altered conditions, the community is able to maintain a relatively stable social system and to resist permanent disruption.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

The present chapter will discuss the field research definitions and procedures used to identify the community leaders and the reasoning associated with these procedures. Two different types of community leaders were distinguished in Chapter I: public leaders and heads of associations.

Public leaders are persons who have a wide following in the community. They are relied upon for opinions when basic community policy is being established. They are regarded as outstanding in community affairs. Their stamp of approval (or lack of disapproval) is considered essential to completing successfully projects which need support beyond a relatively small number of people; projects which presumably will affect events in widely scattered segments of the community. They are persons reputed to have a large measure of "control" or influence in such areas as municipal policies and "good works," activities in which the public (or the community at large) is likely to be involved. They are the people who are conceived by most knowledgeable persons in the community as "the really important people" who "really run things around here."

Heads of associations are persons who are "grass roots" leaders at a lower community level, with a more limited following in the community and a more limited ability to exercise a determining influence on major community policies. The general argument of Chapter I was that these community leaders have differing degrees of power as evidenced by differences in their social roles.

Several different procedures are available for ascertaining the public leaders. The social anthropological technique usually leans most heavily upon the trained observer who "sketches in" community relationships as he sees them. This technique may use a limited number of informants, but these are usually selected in an unsystematic way, and the conclusions essentially rest upon the judgments of the observer as to who are "really" the public leaders.[1]

Another technique is to rely on a relatively small number of well-informed residents in the community. This gets around the problem of possible bias of the observer and reduces the potential error of the

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[1]The resolution of the problem of "reality" and the "perception of reality" is not solved in the present work. It may be argued that what "really" happens and the "real" locus of power may be different from what the informants perceive, no matter how the informants are selected. The proof of this proposition is difficult to obtain, since it demands an extended period of study with access to the private area of decision-making. This was not possible.

observer, since presumably the well-informed resident may have information which is hidden to the investigator. The principal difficulty of this technique seems to lie in the method of selection of informants and the possibility that persons in other segments of the community which were not sampled may perceive the community leadership personnel in a different way than the informants. Furthermore, the use of a small number of informants may not allow for the possibility of variation in perception among equally well-informed persons all coming from the same social level.

The use of informants may be expanded, however, into what may be termed the "nomination technique." This involves interviewing a relatively large number of presumably well-informed residents from all segments of the community. By using a relatively large number of people, the reliability of the final list is enhanced. The disadvantage in the nomination technique is that there may be persons at some parts of the community who have only a limited idea of events and persons in the community around them, i.e., who may be quasi-isolates.

Social knowledge is probably influenced by participation in community affairs. Thus, as Chapter I suggests, the "working classes" probably have a limited familiarity with the community as a whole as well as of the persons who fill public leadership roles.[1] This

[1]This seems to be particularly true of working-

does not mean that they will not know any public leaders at all, but that their interests are focussed elsewhere, and the community may be so diversified and impersonalized that the "top" levels are not easily discerned from the "bottom." However, in terms of the theory advanced in Chapter I, formally organized voluntary associations are important in the distribution of power in the community, and persons in key power roles in these associations are therefore more likely to have an awareness of who the public leaders are, even when their own power in the community may be quite limited. To make the nomination technique more effective than random sampling, persons in key power roles in the formally organized voluntary associations were used as informants.

Heads of associations seemed to be such persons. They may be defined as: the presidents (or analogous officers) and the top paid executives (such as ministers or executive secretaries) of the formally organized voluntary associations. Most associations have other officers besides those which have been designated "heads of associations." Rarely does one person completely dominate an association, so that the term is not meant to convey complete domination by a single person in a

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class women, if we may accept the impressionistic conclusions from some of the present interviews.

single role. But the head of the association may be expected to have the respect of the members of the association, sufficiently so that he is permitted considerable control over its meetings and acts as the top executive for its affairs over a period of time. In many cases he seems to represent the group as a whole to non-members and many communications are addressed to the membership through him, so that his actions in taking his role may strongly influence the relationship of the association to the rest of the community. At the same time, achieving the role and taking the role involves some recognition and use of power within the association, and as a consequence, the heads of associations are more likely to be oriented to power and influence.[1]

Not only was it desirable to use heads of associations as informants for the nomination technique, but it was desirable to interview the heads of all the associations in the community. The discussion in Chap-

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[1]This is in agreement with White's findings that a random sample of the population of a small New York community tended to stress the "social justice in decision-making" and the "representative of the people" aspects of leadership while the Heads of Organizations tended to stress power and authority aspects of community leadership. James E. White, Leadership and Social Structure in a New York Rural Community, pp. 834-835. For a summary of this finding, see his "Theory and Method for Research in Community Leadership," American Sociological Review, 15 (Feb., 1950), p. 56. On this basis, the hypothesis can be advanced that heads of associations have a more accurate perception of who the economic dominants are than do non-leaders. The present study will not test this hypothesis, however.

ter I suggests the importance of interlocking associational memberships and interlocking associational officerships. Through a knowledge of these relationships, we may infer how associations facilitate the development, reinforcement, and transmission of power throughout a substantial part of the community. Complete knowledge of all the members and officers of all the associations in the community would be most desirable. But, since membership lists of many associations would have been impossible to obtain, the analysis of interlocking relationships can most practically be limited to interlocking officerships. Insofar as officerships may be conceived as concentrations of power within given associations, knowledge of interlocking officerships will give considerable insight into the distribution of power in the community through the associations. The less complete a list of officerships, presumably the less we are able to trace the lines of power based upon interlocking officerships. And it is therefore desirable to gather as complete a body of information as possible about the officers of all the associations rather than sampling a few.[1]

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[1]With a few exceptions, the political limits of Satellite City were treated as the boundaries of the community. This seems justified since this is the common perception of the general population and the nomination procedure relies upon informants who cannot be assumed to have a "more sophisticated" definition. Thus, the list of associations was limited to adult associations having Satellite City as the central office location or

Associated with the analysis of interlocking officerships is the problem of the interlocking relationships of heads of associations and of public leaders through their associational memberships. If public leaders have more power than heads of associations, and if public leaders are interrelated through associational memberships and officerships to the heads of associations and among themselves, then we have gone far in demonstrating one of the ways in which formally organized voluntary associations act as channels for the diffusion of power. The more complete our knowledge about the memberships and officerships of community leaders, the more this will be possible. And for this reason, it is desirable to have complete information about the associational memberships of all the community leaders rather than a sample of them.

In spite of the desirability for completeness, Negro heads of associations and Negro formally organized voluntary associations were omitted from the study, when it became apparent that interviewing would have to be done by a Negro interviewer in order to get responses that could be used in the study. A Negro interviewer was employed, but an insufficient number of interviews

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in which Satellite City is the locus of activities. Exceptions included a labor union whose members were employed in numbers in the community but whose headquarters was in the county seat, and a church just over the city limits. Cf., Amos Hawley, Human Ecology, p. 246, for another definition of a community.

was conducted. However, from the few interviews which were conducted with Negro heads of associations, it seems that, from the standpoint of identification rather than human ecology, two communities exist in Satellite City. Thus, when Negro respondents were asked a question about "the community," they tended to respond in terms of "the Negro community" as distinguished from the White community. But when Negro respondents were asked questions about "the community as a whole," they seemed to respond in terms of a White-dominated Satellite City community which included both Whites and Negroes. Similarly, many White respondents answered questions in a fashion that implied that the Negroes were only incidental to the community life. Sometimes they responded in terms of a White community and the necessity of communicating with a Negro community. They thought it necessary to enlist the cooperation of a Negro community through "Negro leaders," who were usually regarded as race representatives rather than public leaders of the entire community.[1] These findings suggest that the restriction to White heads of associations is an important limitation to the analysis of community leadership in Satellite City. They suggest also a greater need for the theoretical analysis and study of communities of subordinated peoples within smaller cities

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[1]Cf., Floyd Hunter, "Power Structure of a Sub-Community," Community Power Structure, pp. 114-150.

like Satellite City.

Table 3 indicates that in the summer of 1953 there were about 187 adult White associations in Satellite City. This list must be considered approximate

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE ADULT ASSOCIATIONS IN SATELLITE CITY, BY TYPE

	Number of White Adult Associations[a]	Number Interviewed[b]	Per Cent
Church	25	19	76
Church Related	17	17	100
Recreational and Youth Working	15	13	87
Patriotic, Civic, and Political	23	18	78
Charitable, Health and Welfare	17	14	82
Fraternal and Benevolent	37	25	67
Women's and Educational	23	21	91
Occupational	28	26	93
Unclassified	2	0	0
Total	187	153	82

[a]Negroes were omitted.

[b]This is the number of associations whose heads were interviewed. In some cases one person was the head of more than one association. In some cases both a professional head and a non-professional head of the same association were interviewed, so that the total number of persons interviewed differs from this column.

because new associations are constantly forming and because some of the existing associations seem to be almost moribund.[1] Only adult associations were considered in order to avoid problems of in-school and out-of-school associations of children, teen-agers, and students at the Satellite City Liberal Arts College. Furthermore, adult associations in the "normal community" are more significant in the overall structure of power and influence in the community. Associations were omitted which were either extremely peripheral to community life or difficult to distinguish from an informal clique because they were seasonal or because they were lacking in rudimentary formal structure.[2] The principal source of information for the list of associations and their officers was the Satellite City Beacon. This was supplemented by information from the Chamber of Commerce and from interviews with heads of associations.

Only about 80 per cent of the heads of associations were interviewed.[3] In general, this was because

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[1]Secret associations (i.e., those which conceal their existence) lie outside the theory.

[2]Family associations (i.e., associations composed of persons having common ancestors directly or collaterally) are probably under most circumstances quite peripheral to community life. Sport teams are often quite temporary and indistinguishable from the informal cliques. Similarly, card-playing "clubs" have an amorphous structure. And some professional "associations" in Satellite City meet regularly for discussion and dinner, but do not seem to have any formally designated officers.

[3]The heads of associations were interviewed with

they could not be found or because of limited time and funds. None of the associations which was missed was among those regarded as influential in the community. Most of the "fraternal" associations were sororities for which little information beyond the name was available. Most of the churches which were missed were without any buildings or permanent facilities in the community.

Seven heads of associations refused to be interviewed. In two cases it was possible to substitute an interview with the head of the same association for either the prior or the subsequent year. The remaining refusals included the head of a recreational association, two ministers, and the heads of two "patriotic, political, and civic" associations. None of them was perceived as a highly influential person in the commun-

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a questionnaire which is included in the Appendixes. It was pre-tested in Maple City, about 50 miles away from Satellite City. Maple City has a population of a little less than 25,000 people. It was roughly comparable to Satellite City in population, therefore. It had two small liberal arts colleges. It had a relatively stable social system until World War II. Indeed, the social system seemed to be even more stable than Satellite City's. It is different in that it is a county seat and that it tends to be more independent in the same ecological sense in which Satellite City has become a satellite and more dependent. The pre-test involved the compilation of associational data similar to that gathered in Satellite City. It also involved interviewing ten heads of associations in Maple City. The interpretation of these interviews led to a re-formulation of the questionnaire, and this re-formulation was used for the collection of data in Satellite City.

ity, nor were any of their associations perceived as highly influential in the community.

In accordance with the nomination technique, the following questions were asked of all respondents:

> Q. 13: Suppose a major project were before the community that required decisions by a group of leaders that nearly everyone would accept. Which ten people would you choose--regardless of whether you know them personally or not?
>
> Q. 14: In most cities certain persons are said to be influential "behind the scenes" and to have a lot to say about programs that are planned, projects, and issues that come up around town. What persons in Satellite City are influential in this way?
>
> Q. 16: If a decision was to be made in the State Capital that affected Satellite City, who would be the best contact man to get in touch with State officials (besides the local members of the legislature)?
>
> Q. 17: Who (besides local members of Congress) would be the best people to get in touch with Federal officials in Metro City or Washington?
>
> Q. 18: Are there any other people who these leaders work with that have not been named so far and who should be included in a list of leaders?

A complete tabulation of the responses of all the respondents (the heads of associations) was made only for the highest 25 persons who were nominated.[1] Rank was based on the combined total number of times a person was named in questions 13, 14, 16, 17, and 18.

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[1]Public leaders were determined on the basis of a complete tabulation of the combined nominations in the questions listed above for the first 143 interviews conducted. A total of 1783 nominations were made for 271 persons. The top 25 persons received 58 per cent of the nominations; the top 19 persons received 52 per cent of the nominations.

Table 4 summarizes the results. It shows that there was no clear demarcation between those considered public leaders in the present study and those who are not.

TABLE 4

FREQUENCIES OF NOMINATIONS AND RANK ORDER OF PUBLIC LEADERS BY HEADS OF ASSOCIATIONS

Name*	Times Named	Rank Order
William Houston	158	1
Robert Drew	110	2
John Milan	108	3
Grant Moseley, III	105	4
Bernard Rush	102	5
James Forme	73	6
Oliver Ford	51	7
Norbert Johns	50	8
Cleveland Chapman	48	9
Arthur Schlaff	40	10
Charles Bernard	37	11
Bard Stevenson	35	12
Paul Warne	30	13
James Taylor	29	14
Grant Moseley, II	27	15
Clarence Peters	26	16
Naylor Guyer	24	17
Philip Haas	22	18
Deming Rogers	20	19
Frank Smith	18	21
Archer Anderson	18	21
Carl Fischer	18	21
Mrs. Bernard (Theresa) Rush	16	23.5
Walter Williams	16	23.5
Joseph Jenkins	15	25

*All names are pseudonyms.

This may be an indication that power is held in degrees in Satellite City. The decision to include and exclude as a public leader was made at the point at which dupli-

cate scores began to occur. It was felt that these duplications probably represented the "fanning out" of leadership into a slightly lower level of power, and scrutiny of community news suggests that this is a reasonably accurate analysis of the case.

Table 45 gives a summary of the number of times various public leaders were mentioned by the heads of associations in questions 13, 14, 16, 17 and 18, taken separately. The rank ordering of the public leaders varies from one question to another, but the results remain substantially the same. Thus, eliminating nominations in questions 16, 17, and 18 influences the total scores and the rank order of public leaders, but has little effect on the membership of the list itself. This is probably a function of the larger average number of responses made to questions 13 and 14 than to the other questions.[1]

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[1]Considering questions 16 and 17, which deal with relating Satellite City to foci of power (largely political, though not necessarily so) which lie outside of the community, a finding is suggested which lends support to those to be reported subsequently. It is probable that on the policy-forming level, there is a tendency for relationships with "the outside" to be maintained through a small number of public leaders. The net effect would suggest that, except for voting, most people are related to events and persons (except, of course, close relatives) in a very tenuous fashion when they occur outside of the local community. This would suggest that the expectation that few persons are mixed community and cosmopolitan in their orientation is not unreasonable.

The initial assumption, based on Hunter, that no head of an association would also be a public leader was not justified.[1] Six of the heads of associations were also public leaders in Satellite City, and to permit the present analysis to proceed, the data on these respondents were included under both the heads of association category and the public leader category.[2] Thus, for statistical purposes, this study discussed 159 heads of associations and 18 public leaders. This is brought out in Table 5.

It was important to determine whether the public leaders agreed among themselves on their nominations of the public leaders and how they agreed with the heads of associations. A "public leader nomination agreement"

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[1]This was based on Hunter's finding that, although the top-most leaders of Regional City belonged to many associations and were on the boards of directors of many, they were rarely major officers or heads of associations. Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, pp. 84-85. There was also White's and Turbeville's findings that informal leaders may not be predicted from a knowledge of who are the formal leaders. J. E. White, Leadership and Social Structure in a New York Rural Community, and Gus Turbeville, Reading in the Rural Community, p. 272.

[2]Somewhat more limited data for the year following indicates that this result is not unique. Thus, in the 101 associations for which information was available for 1953-54, six heads of associations were also public leaders. In three cases, these persons were the same professional heads of associations included in the present research by virtue of continuity in office; the other three cases were non-professional heads of associations, but were not the same three found in the present research and so classified in Table 7, below.

score was calculated on the basis of the combined total number of different persons named by each respondent in questions 13, 14, 16, 17 and 18.[1]

TABLE 5

COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY ROLE CATEGORY

	Public Leaders N	%	Heads of Associations N	%
Heads of Associations only	0	0	132	83
Professional Heads of Associations only	0	0	21	13
Public Leaders only	12	67	0	0
Non-professional Heads of Associations and Public Leaders	3	17	3	2
Professional Heads of Associations and Public Leaders	3	17	3	2
Total	18	101	159	100

Table 6 gives the public leader nomination agreement scores of the community leaders. There was a significant difference between the public leaders and the heads of associations, both with respect to variance and with respect to means beyond the 1 per cent level. Thus, the public leaders not only had a higher degree

[1]See Appendix III, below, for a more extended discussion of the public leader nomination agreement score.

of agreement among themselves than did the heads of associations, but they had a clearer perception among themselves of who the public leaders were than did the heads of associations.[1] This would seem to suggest that the public leaders have at least a moderate degree of self-identification as a distinct segment of the population.

TABLE 6

PUBLIC LEADER NOMINATION AGREEMENT SCORES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

	Score Interval[a]	Number of Public Leaders	Number of Heads of Associations
	0 - 0.9	0	6
1.	0 - 1.9	1	20
2.	0 - 2.9	0	54
3.	0 - 3.9	11	51
4.	0 - 4.9	6	15
5.	0 - 5.9	0	4
	Total	18	150
	D.K.		9
	Mean[b]	3.61	2.83
	f=2.98; sig. beyond 1%		
	t=3.17; sig. beyond 1%		

[a]The higher the score, the greater the ability to name correctly all the public leaders, no more and no less.

[b]Based on ungrouped data.

[1]One public leader had a public leader nomination agreement score of 1.9, which was much lower than the

In summary, the public leader role involves wide acceptance for advice, approval, and active direction of projects that a large number of people feel are "for the good of the community." The heads of associations may be conceived to be "grass roots" leaders at the "lowest level" of organization in the community, and may be conceived to have a much more restricted "public" than the public leaders.

In keeping with the idea of wide community acceptance, public leaders were ascertained through a "nomination technique," which was based on the judgments of a comprehensive listing of the community's heads of associations. While it was desirable to interview all the heads of associations, only about 80 per cent were actually interviewed. On the basis of nominations made by the heads of associations, 18 public leaders were ascertained and interviewed. The overlap between the heads of associations and the public leaders was handled statistically be including the persons involved in both series.

On the basis of a "public leader nomination agreement score," evidence was presented to suggest that the public leaders had a more accurate understand-

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other public leaders' scores. His retirement from active business and his extended vacations outside the community in the last several years may be a partial explanation of his score.

ing of who the public leaders were than did the heads of associations. This would lend support to the idea that, to some extent, the public leaders are a self-conscious segment of the population.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITY LEADERS

To locate the community leaders in the social system by identifying their background characteristics is an initial step in the analysis of the system of power of Satellite City. The characteristics to be considered are sex, age, length of residence, type of occupation, and amount of education. Also, though very briefly, the characteristics of the community leaders with respect to economic dominance will be considered. In some cases the 1950 Census is a basis for comparative materials, while in other cases, the analysis is restricted to comparisons between the heads of associations and the public leaders.

Perhaps the most notable characteristic of the top 18 public leaders of Satellite City is that they are all males. As Table 4 shows, the only woman among the top 25 nominees was Mrs. Bernard Rush,[1] whose husband is

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[1]While Mrs. Rush is an active formal associational leader, it is likely that her name appeared as high as it did partly because she is perceived as representing her husband in the local community. Mr. Rush's activities in State politics tend to remove him from active participation in many community events. It was this removal which led one informant to suggest that Bernard Rush "took care of things" outside of Satellite City and "left things" inside the community to Grant Moseley, III.

one of the public leaders. Among the 48 persons who received 10 or more nominations as a public leader, only 6 were women.[1] Since none of these six women was the wife of a public leader, except for Mrs. Rush, the question of the relationship of the "women's world" and the "men's world" seems worthy of more attention. It is probable that the formally organized voluntary associations are the principal mediating agency between these two "worlds," and that interlocking memberships through spouses facilitate this process.

Table 7 brings out that there are sex differences among the heads of associations. None of the female heads of associations who were interviewed was a professional head of an association, while in comparison, there were 21 males who were heads of associations by occupation.[2] This finding suggests the need for more extensive research into the manner in which women acquire and exercise power in the community. The definitions of the roles of women in our society in most cases limit the possibilities of their having direct power through "independent" occupations. To some extent the professional

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[1] Cf., footnote 1, p. 11: Ch. III.

[2] At least two female professional heads of associations were not interviewed. There were apparently few female professional heads of associations in the community. Most of the male professional heads of associations, though not all, were ministers.

heads of associations are in key roles within their respective associations, and women seem to be excluded from most of this kind of role. It may be, therefore,

TABLE 7

COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY ROLE CATEGORY AND SEX

	Male Public Leaders N	%	Male Heads of Associations N	%	Female Heads of Associations N	%
Heads of Associations only	0	0	61	70	71	100
Professional Heads of Associations only	0	0	21	24	0	0
Public Leaders only	12	67	0	0	0	0
Non-professional Heads of Associations and Public Leaders	3	17	3	3	0	0
Professional Heads of Associations and Public Leaders	3	17	3	3	0	0
Total	18	101	88	100	71	100

that, aside from power exercised through the family, the stress placed upon voluntary associational activity by "middle class" women not only reflects their "social aspirations," but also reflects the relatively restricted base available to women who seek to establish and maintain power independent of their families. If this is true, it is probable that the top woman leaders are much

more dependent for power on the women's associations, and are much more responsive to sentiment expressed within these associations than are the male public leaders.[1]

Table 7 also brings out that of the 18 public leaders, three (William Houston, Naylor Guyer, and Charles Bernard) are professional heads of associations. This is slightly at variance with Hunter's findings that no professional heads of associations were top leaders with respect to power in Regional City.[2] Minimally, these findings seem to support the conclusion that professional heads of associations are infrequently persons with a high degree of power in the community. However, the difference from Hunter suggests that community power structure may manifest itself more directly through formally organized voluntary associations and their leadership in smaller American cities than in the larger metropolitan cities.

In the three cases where the public leaders were professional heads of associations, it seems reasonable to suggest that being a public leader may be a function

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[1] A study of the female "public leaders" is projected by Joan Stelling in "Female Leadership in the Urban Community" (unpublished Sociology honors proposal, University of Michigan, June, 1954).

[2] Cf., Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, Table 1, p. 59. Hunter concludes that in Ragional City the professional heads of associations are "understructure personnel" who have only a moderate degree of power.

of occupying a key role in a highly influential association in the community. This seems to be most true for Naylor Guyer, and somewhat true for William Houston.[1] The activities of both are based on the Chamber of Commerce. It does not seem to be true of Charles Bernard, who is a minister, but whose church is neither the largest nor the most influential in the community. The basis of his public leader role seems to be his ability to be accepted among both the "liberal" and the "fundamentalist" segments of the Protestant faith as it is represented in Satellite City. Since these divisions have social class ramifications, Charles Bernard would seem to have the confidence of representatives of the "lower classes," which are likely to be quite dissociated from the community except through their churches and a nominal membership in a labor union.

Age is a factor which seems to have considerable relevance for community leadership. As Table 8 brings out, there seem to be a disproportionate number of heads of associations between 36 and 55 years of age; the public leaders are concentrated in the 46 to 55 age category. These facts seem to support the idea that persons are selected to fill public leadership roles during a restricted period of the life cycle.

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[1] See Chapter VII, "Community Policy Formations," below, where the role of William Houston is discussed in more detail.

TABLE 8

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY LEADERS AND OF GENERAL POPULATION OF SATELLITE CITY, 1950

Age	Public Leaders N	%	Heads of Associations N	%	Satellite City 1950 Census, White* %	Age
25-35	0	0	34	22	31	25-34
36-45	3	17	50	31	23	35-44
46-55	11	61	42	26	18	45-54
56-65	2	11	24	15	14	55-64
over 65	2	11	9	6	14	65 and over
Total	18	100	159	100	100	

*U. S. Census of Population, 1950, Vol. II, Table 34.

It is likely that those who are younger than 36 do not have their proportionate share of positions as heads of associations because persons in that age category tend to be deeply involved in a series of changes in family life, and are often mobile with respect to occupation and associational membership. In addition, there is probably a general cultural tendency to associate younger age with immaturity of judgment. As family life and occupational patterns become more stabilized, and as status within associations becomes established over time, there may be a better chance of assuming associational leadership roles. It may be expected that it will take an even longer time for a

person to acquire sufficient power and to become sufficiently outstanding to be considered a public leader. Only under unusual circumstances would we expect a younger person (e.g., one under 40 years) to become a public leader. When it does happen, it is usually the result of role ascription and a by-product of inheritance of a high degree of economic dominance.[1]

Persons over age 65 undergo a reverse process in which they are less able to maintain "normal adult" roles. They tend to withdraw from active occupational life, their waning physical strength usually forces a decline in their associational activity, and they may not know how to cope with life in a rapidly changing community and "adjust" by withdrawing. Even among the public leaders there were only two who were over 65: Grant Moseley, II, and Deming Rogers. Both of them have withdrawn from active participation in much of Satellite City life and their sons have assumed most of their community leadership roles. Thus, Grant Moseley, III, is among the public leaders at the present time, while Deming Rogers, Jr. may be a public leader in the not too distant future. In both cases the older men have maintained their positions as public leaders in a residual fashion, possibly because they still are financially independent and perhaps because they still have partial or

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[1] A good example would be the grandsons of Henry Ford.

controlling interests in the businesses which they have turned over to their sons.

Thus, in spite of the extensive literature about American society as a society oriented to "youth," the findings suggest that it is the "middle years" which make most of the important community decisions and see to their execution. The concentration of public leaders between ages 46 to 55 suggests that from the standpoint of the American male who is able to acquire some degree of control over events in the local community, these may well be the "golden years" when his efforts are brought to fruition and to which his phantasies return in his years of retirement.

In addition to age, length of residence seems to be relevant for the acquisition of community leader roles. Table 9 shows that 28 per cent of the heads of associations had lived in the community less than 10 years, while 38 per cent of the heads of associations had lived in the community 20 years or more.[1] Insofar as extensive interpersonal relationships facilitate power within voluntary associations, the older, long-time residents have been able to establish and maintain themselves in key positions in the formally organized voluntary asso-

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[1]Since the limits of the community for the purposes of the study were set at the city limits, it does not seem surprising that 8 per cent of the heads of associations lived outside of the community.

ciations of Satellite City.[1]

TABLE 9

COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN SATELLITE CITY

	Public Leaders N	%	Heads of Associations N	%
Lives outside Community	0	0	13	8
Less than Five Years	0	0	19	12
Five to Nine Years	2	11	26	16
Ten to Nineteen Years	2	11	41	26
Twenty or More Years	14	78	60	38
Total	18	100	159	100
Raised in Satellite City	6	33	23	15

The importance of length of residence in the community for the acquisition and maintenance of power is suggested even more forcibly by the fact that 78 per cent of the public leaders have lived in the community for 20 years or more. It would seem that, ordinarily,

[1]At least one of the newer and younger residents, who was the head of an association, reacted strongly to what she felt was the definite exclusion practiced by the older, long-time residents. She felt that most of the formally organized voluntary associations in the community were split into two "warring" factions on the basis of pre-1940 and post-1940, with the control generally vested in the pre-1940 factions. Though not quite so strongly worded, there were overtones of this reaction in several other interviews.

the establishment of the necessary relationships and the acquisition of the necessary skills take a long time.[1] The exceptions to this generalization suggest that the other attributes which are associated with public leader roles may be acquired relatively quickly if a person enters the system "at the top." Such entry "at the top" is more likely to occur under conditions of relatively rapid change.

Considering next the education of the heads of associations and the public leaders, the most striking fact in Tables 10 and 11 is that 50 per cent of the people of Satellite City had not completed high school or had equivalent occupational training,[2] in comparison

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[1]This relationship of long-time residence to top community leader roles is apparently capable of more general application. Angell found that from about 67 per cent to 98 per cent of the top leaders (mean for the four cities was about 79 per cent) in the cities he studied had lived in their home communities 20 years or more or had been born there and had lived there continuously since birth. See Robert C. Angell, "The Moral Integration of American Cities," American Journal of Sociology, LVII (July, 1951), part 2.

[2]It seemed desirable to distinguish the importance of trade or occupational training. Included within this category are persons who did not complete high school as well as those who did complete it. Trade training includes apprenticeship, extra occupational courses in public school and correspondence courses, and occupational courses of a non-academic nature below the college level. This type of classification seems a more realistic approach to the analysis of educational experience than analysis solely by years of school attendance, since occupational training may be the equivalent of completing high school in many cases.

TABLE 10

COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY EXTENT OF EDUCATION

Extent of Education	Public Leaders N	Public Leaders %	Heads of Associations N	Heads of Associations %
No High School, No Trade	0	0	17	11
High School and Trade	4	22	36	22
Some College	5	28	42	26
Finished College	3	17	33	21
Professional and/or Graduate School	6	33	30	19

TABLE 11

EXTENT OF EDUCATION OF GENERAL POPULATION OF SATELLITE CITY, 25 YEARS AND OLDER*

Extent of Education	N	%
No School Years Completed	45	1
Elementary School and Not Completed High School	4,840	49
Completed High School	2,135	22
College, One to Three Years	1,365	14
College, Four or More Years	1,265	13
Not Reported	140	1
Total	9,790	100

*Data compiled from the United States Census of Population, 1950, Vol. II, Table 34.

to only 11 per cent of the heads of associations and none of the public leaders.[1] On the other hand, while the heads of associations and the public leaders are roughly comparable at the college levels, they both are much better educated than the general population; the public leaders seem to have had somewhat more special training than the heads of associations, as evidenced by graduate or professional work.[2]

Turning now to the occupational characteristics of the community leaders, they are compared with the occupational distribution among the males of Satellite City in 1950 in Table 12.[3] Seventy-three per cent of the heads of associations is concentrated in the professional, business, and white collar occupations, in

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[1]The reader should keep in mind when comparing statistics in Tables 10 and 11, that there are no Negroes among the heads of associations or the public leaders, but that the comparative census data on extent of education are for both Negroes and Whites. This means that the two sets of data are not quite comparable.

[2]Since the Satellite City Liberal Arts College attracts students from other communities, this may also account for some of the persons who reported one or more years of college education in the 1950 census. It is probable that the proportion of four or more years of college is somewhat higher than in a "normal" community because of the faculty of the College. This same phenomenon may also be reflected in the educational characteristics of the heads of associations, since some of them were also on the faculty of the College.

[3]Since most of the 71 female heads of associations were occupied in the home, we will be discussing the occupations of their husbands. It seems most proper, under these circumstances, to take only the occupations of the males of Satellite City for comparative purposes.

comparison with 37 per cent of the general population. In contrast, about 50 per cent of the general population is concentrated in the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled occupations in comparison to 21 per cent of the heads of associations. The contrast between the public leaders and the general population is even more extreme, since all but one of the public leaders are in either professional or business occupations in comparison with about 12 per cent of the general population.

TABLE 12

COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, WITH A COMPARISON OF MALES OF SATELLITE CITY, 1950

Occupational Category	Public Leaders N	%	Heads of Associations N	%	Males, Satellite City* N	%
Professional	6	33	47	30	577	12
Business, Proprietary and Managerial	11	61	41	26	441	9
White Collar	1	6	27	17	755	16
Service	0	0	7	4	448	10
Skilled	0	0	19	12	914	19
Semi-skilled	0	0	13	8	1,197	26
Unskilled	0	0	1	1	297	6
Non-urban (Farmers)	0	0	0	0	24	1
Other Responses	0	0	4	2	47	1
Total	18	100	159	100	4,700	100

*Data compiled from U.S. Census of Population, 1950, Vol. II, Table 35.

In the discussion of public leadership in Chapter I, the argument was advanced that public leaders are persons with considerable power in the community. On the basis of economic determinism and ecological formulations, the hypothesis was offered that: Persons who have public leadership roles will also have roles with a high degree of economic dominance. A more extended analysis of the problem will be found in the work by R. O. Schulze, now in preparation.[1] But it is possible to present briefly a finding which throws doubt on the hypothesis. Only four of the twenty-four economic dominants in Satellite City are also public leaders. At the same time, two of the heads of associations who are not public leaders are also economic dominants. This suggests that, at least in this community, public leader roles do not rest upon control of the sustenance functions.

In Chapter II, Satellite City was described as a community which had undergone relatively rapid change in the decade just prior to the present research. One of the most subtle changes that may have taken place hardly seems to have influenced the characteristics of the public leaders at all, yet it is probably of great

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[1] R. O. Schulze, "Power and Control in the Urban Community," dissertation now in progress, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1954.

importance. It is probable that there has been a decline in the overall importance of the public leaders as a whole with respect to power which is only partly the result of the transfer of power outside of the community through the rise of relatively large absentee-owned supplier plants. Thus, Robert Drew "represents" the Acme Company and Clarence Peters "represents" an important absentee-owned supplier plant. These men probably have as much power in the community today as the local businessmen who formerly owned and operated enterprises of similar or smaller size in the community. Nonetheless, they are not independent in the same sense as the "independent" businessmen they have replaced. Another example of the possible overall decline in the power of the public leaders is the Moseley family, whose relative power and prestige seem to be less than before 1940. A final example is Norbert Johns, who was politically quite important in the community before World War II, but who seems to have experienced a relative decline even though he has remained a public leader. This overall decline is another manifestation of the changed relationship to Metro City in which the leadership of the smaller community must now be seen in a new and larger perspective.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY LEADERS AND THE OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SYSTEM

The role of public leader involves the use of power in community life. While it is presumed that there are other bases of this power, the present chapter will consider the relationship of community leaders to the system of prestige stratification. Prestige stratification is manifested in the "style of life" and in the patterns of deference associated with that style of life. Persons who have high prestige are likely to be "consumption leaders," i.e., their patterns of consumption of time and money tend to be models for those who are lower and who aspire to rise in prestige. These consumption patterns usually assume that relatively large amounts of wealth have been accumulated, so that persons with high prestige may be expected to have more than average economic power. Both because their style of life involves "community service," and because of their wealth, persons who are high in the system of prestige stratification are likely to be public leaders. On this basis, the major hypothesis of the present chapter is that: Public leaders tend to rank higher than heads of associations in the system of prestige stratification in Satellite City.

The present index of prestige class is based upon the comparative prestige levels of occupations. In a large community, such as Regional City, the accumulated wealth of persons with high prestige may be great enough to permit "leisure" activities to supplant almost completely "gainful employment." In a smaller community, such as Satellite City, it is doubtful if this will happen, and it is more likely that persons who have high prestige will be found in occupations which yield relatively large incomes and which permit sufficient leisure so that they may be "consumption leaders" and engage in "community service."

All occupations were classified with respect to occupational prestige on a seven-point scale which was developed by Lenski and Landecker from the National Opinion Research Center Study of occupational prestige.[1] The scale, as used, goes from one (1) as the highest occupational prestige rank to seven (7) for the lowest.[2] On this basis, physicians were given a position of 1 and street sweepers, shoe shine boys, and garbage col-

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[1]For the rationale of this procedure in comparison to the Edwards or Warner procedures, see Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension," American Sociological Review, 19 (August, 1954), 405-413. For the NORC occupational prestige ratings, see Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News, 9 (Sept., 1947), 3-13.

[2]Prestige category 1 was not very useful, and was only retained because the coding operations had progressed so far that changes would have been too expensive.

lectors would have been given a position of 7. A more extended discussion of the kind of occupations classified in each occupational prestige rank will be found in Appendix IV.

Table 13 presents the distribution of community leaders according to occupational prestige rank. Two-

TABLE 13

PRESTIGE RANK OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

Prestige Rank	Public Leaders N	%	Heads of Associations N	%
1[a]	0	0	2	1
2	12	67	40	25
3	6	33	47	30
4	0	0	46	29
5	0	0	19	12
6[b]	0	0	0	0
7[b]	0	0	0	0
Retired, Not Ascertained	0	0	5	3
Total	18	100	159	100

[a]Combined in subsequent tables with prestige rank 2.
[b]Omitted in subsequent tables.

thirds of the public leaders are in what we may term the "lower-upper" class[1] of Satellite City, as compared to

[1]While the tabular data will continue to be

one-fourth of the heads of associations. All the public leaders are in either the lower-upper class or the upper-middle class, as compared to about 55 per cent of the heads of associations in these classes. Even though 25 per cent of the heads of associations ranks higher than 33 per cent of the public leaders, the hypothesis seems tenable. Minimally, we may conclude that the public leaders tend to be selected from the upper classes of the community.

Within occupational prestige classes, public leaders and heads of associations are differentiated further by such characteristics as sex, type of occupation, age, and length of residence. These may be considered "negative" criteria in the selection of public leaders, in the sense that these characteristics help define more clearly who is excluded from being considered a public leader rather than who is accepted as one. Once these negative criteria operate to exclude persons who might otherwise be eligible, others probably assume greater immediate selective importance. The balance of the chapter will first consider these "negative" criteria, and then give some attention to the relationship of

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presented in numerical categories, the occupational prestige classes which they represent may be roughly described in the more familiar terms. The class terms are meant to indicate rough equivalence between the kind of persons in these classes in Satellite City and in other communities of about the same size. The "upper-upper" class in Satellite City is either very small or non-existent, and the occupational prestige category 2 seems best designated as "lower-upper" class.

community leader roles and class mobility. Class mobility may be considered more "positive" in the sense that public leaders are probably selected from persons who are relatively mobile with respect to class, and at the same time mobile persons may actively seek public leadership roles as an aspect of their class mobility.

Turning then to the relationship of sex, class, and the roles as community leaders, there were no female public leaders, as Chapter IV pointed out, although almost half of the heads of associations were female. Table 14 shows that about 36 per cent of the female heads of associations is in the lower-upper and the upper-middle classes, as compared to about 70 per

TABLE 14

PRESTIGE RANK OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY SEX

Prestige Rank	Public Leaders		Heads of Associations			
			Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 - 2	12	67	33	37	9	12
3	6	33	29	33	18	25
4	0	0	18	20	28	40
5	0	0	7	8	12	17
Retired, Not Ascertained	0	0	1	1	4	6
Total	18	100	88	100	71	100

cent of the male heads of associations and all the public leaders. Thus, the female heads of associations tend to be drawn from lower prestige strata than the male heads of associations.[1]

It may be that the differences between the male and female heads of associations are a result of a distribution of associations in the community such that there are a greater number of male-oriented associations for persons in the lower-upper and the upper-middle classes, while there are a greater number of female-oriented associations for persons in the upper- and lower-middle classes. This must remain a problem for future research, however.[2]

Chapter IV has already brought out that the public leaders are primarily in the professional and business-managerial occupations, while the heads of associations include the white collar occupations as well. Within the lower-upper class, public leaders are drawn

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[1]The number of college-trained ministers who were classified in the lower-upper class was fairly large. When these ministers were omitted, the proportion of male heads of associations in the lower-upper class was reduced to 27 per cent and the proportion in the upper-middle class was raised to 38 per cent. Thus, even under these conditions, the male heads of associations still seem to have a higher prestige rank than the female heads of associations. Cf., Table 46, Appendix VI.

[2]An alternative hypothesis may be offered to the effect that in the higher prestige strata, men and women find social outlets jointly more often than in the lower levels, and where there is joint participation, the men tend to head up the organization.

equally from professional and business-managerial occupations, while about 70 per cent of the heads of associations in the lower-upper class comes from professional occupations. In contrast, in the upper-middle class, all the public leaders and 45 per cent of the heads of associations are in business-managerial occupations. In the lower-middle class, about 35 per cent of the heads of associations is in business-managerial occupations, while the balance is primarily made up of persons in white collar and skilled occupations.

Thus it seems that, within the lower-upper class, either professional occupations or business-managerial occupations may be useful as a basis for becoming a public leader; but there seems to be a tendency for persons in professional occupations to become heads of associations. This may be because of the problems of advertizing and professional ethics faced by lower-upper class professionals, compounded by the fact that they are often able to arrange their time more easily than other occupational groups. In the middle classes, community leadership tends to be in the hands of persons in business-managerial occupations. The middle class businessman also uses his associational activity as a means of advertizing and of "bringing in business," even when the ostensible purpose of the association is something else. In addition, in these middle classes, professionals such as school teachers tend to be subordinate, from the

standpoint of power, in spite of the prestige accorded to their occupations, while persons in business-managerial occupations often have considerable freedom of decision, more wealth at their disposal than the middle class professionals, and are more likely to be able to arrange their time to facilitate associational activity.

If we consider age as it is related to prestige class and community leadership, Table 15 brings out that, both in the lower-upper class and the upper-middle class, public leaders tend to be concentrated in the 46 to 55 age category, while the heads of associations in the same prestige classes tend to be concentrated in the 36 to 45 age category. Thus, being in the middle years is important for the person who becomes a public leader, even if he is already in the lower-upper class or the upper-middle class.

Length of residence also has some importance for the selection of public leaders and heads of associations within prestige classes. As Table 16 brings out, in both the lower-upper and the upper-middle classes the importance of having been in the community 20 years of more seems to persist. The direct relationship between length of residence and being the head of an association seems to persist, also, for all but the lower-upper class. This latter finding may be interpreted as tending to confirm the idea that persons who come into the community "at the top" of the power structure rapidly acquire the

attributes appropriate to the actual or potential power which they have in the community.

TABLE 15

PRESTIGE RANK OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY AGE

Heads of Associations

Prestige Rank	25-35 N	%	36-45 N	%	46-55 N	%	56-65 N	%	Over 65 N	%	Total N	%
1 - 2	6	14	18	43	11	26	7	17	0	0	42	100
3	11	23	18	38	9	19	6	13	3	6	47	100
4	13	28	10	28	10	22	14	30	3	7	46	100
5	4	21	4	21	8	42	3	16	0	0	19	100
Retired, Not Ascertained	0		0		0		2		3		5	

Public Leaders

Prestige Rank	25-35 N	%	36-45 N	%	46-55 N	%	56-65 N	%	Over 65 N	%	Total N	%
2	0	0	1	8	7	58	2	17	2	17	12	100
3	0	0	2	33	4	67	0	0	0	0	6	100

Turning from these "negative" factors, the hypothesis is offered that the public leaders are more mobile than the heads of associations. Data to test this hypothesis are available both with reference to the individual respondent's family of orientation and to that

TABLE 16

PRESTIGE RANK OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Heads of Associations

Prestige Rank	Less than 5 N	%	5-9 Years N	%	10-19 Years N	%	20 and Over N	%	Live Outside N	%	Total N	%
1 - 2	9	21	11	26	8	19	10	24	4	10	42	100
3	5	11	3	6	11	23	21	45	7	15	47	100
4	4	9	6	13	16	35	18	39	2	4	46	100
5	1	5	6	32	5	26	7	37	0	0	19	100
Retired, Not Ascertained	0		0		1		4		0		5	

Public Leaders

Prestige Rank	Less than 5 N	%	5-9 Years N	%	10-19 Years N	%	20 and Over N	%	Live Outside N	%	Total N	%
2	0	0	2	17	0	0	10	83	0	0	12	100
3	0	0	0	0	2	33	4	67	0	0	6	100

of his spouse. Table 17 shows that about 70 per cent of the public leaders was upwardly mobile with respect to their family of orientation; about 70 per cent was upwardly mobile with respect to their spouses.[1] In

[1]The downward mobility of the public leaders is lower than is evident in Table 17. In comparison to his

TABLE 17

CLASS MOBILITY OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

Degree of Mobility	Public Leaders				Heads of Associations			
	Orient.[a]		Spouse[b]		Orient.[a]		Spouse[b]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3 or more lower than father	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1
2 lower than father	0	0	0	0	5	3	17	11
1 lower than father	1	11	0	0	20	13	8	13
Same as father	3	17	5	28	59	37	42	26
1 higher than father	6	33	3	17	38	24	44	28
2 higher than father	6	33	6	33	21	13	20	13
3 or more higher than father	1	6	2	11	5	3	6	4
D.K., Not Ascertained	0	0	2	11	10	6	15	9
Total	18	100	18	100	159	100	159	100

[a]Family of orientation.
[b]Family of spouse.

comparison, about 46 per cent of the heads of associations was upwardly mobile with respect to their family of orientation; about 54 per cent was upwardly mobile with re-

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father, one of the public leaders has an occupational prestige rank which was not properly reflected in the original code as taken from Lenski and Landecker.

spect to their spouses. Thus, we may conclude that the public leaders tend to be more upwardly mobile than the heads of associations.

These findings suggest that the acquisition of public leader roles may be regarded as a manifestation of noblesse oblige among those "at the top," and also as a means of demonstrating their fitness to manage community life. This would account for cases like Grant Moseley, III, who inherited lower-upper class position, just as his father did. In both cases it was necessary to prove their individual capacities to remain in the highest class in the community by public leadership activity. By the same token, persons who are upwardly mobile into the highest social class would find it necessary to demonstrate their "fitness to belong." At the same time, filling the role of public leader probably is accompanied by the acquisition of power which is also used to consolidate class position.

In the light of these findings, several conclusions are suggested. First, the activities associated with taking the public leader role may be interpreted as means to acquire or stabilize a relatively high position in the system of prestige stratification in the community. Secondly, the data reinforce the suggestion that the social classes of Satellite City are more discrete than they were before World War II. Thus, Philip Haas, Naylor Guyer, Robert Drew, and Oliver Ford, all

now public leaders, seem to have been upwardly mobile relatively recently. All of them are long-time residents, however, and since it probably takes a long time to acquire the attributes that both accompany and facilitate public leadership, and long-time residents control these avenues to power, it is possible that the new residents will be effectively eliminated from positions of power in the community for some time to come. The exceptions to this are the few persons who "came in at the top."

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS IN THE WEB OF INFLUENCE

Power in the community tends to be based on the relationships between people through formally organized voluntary associations, as well as upon relatively high position in the system of prestige stratification. Associational activities not only manifest the class system and help to satisfy deeper personality needs, but are means for acquiring, wielding, and transmitting power throughout the community. The present chapter will discuss the relationship of the public leaders and the heads of associations to the formally organized voluntary associations, in the assumption that the associational activities of the public leaders facilitate their power and influence in the community. The major hypothesis of the present chapter is: that the formal associational activity of the public leaders is different from the formal associational activity of the heads of associations.[1]

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[1]It is assumed that any differences in degree of membership participation between the public leaders and the heads of associations do not interfere with testing the theory that associational membership characteristics of the public leaders facilitate their power. It is also assumed that common membership in the same association is accompanied by communication between members, so that formally organized voluntary associations act as

One way in which the associational pattern of the public leaders and the heads of associations may differ is in the number of associational memberships. A large number of memberships will give the public leader entree into a larger number of groups in the community. He will participate as a member in formal associational activities by right, rather than by privilege as a guest. Thus, he will be able to keep in touch with what is going on. There is a greater possibility of his being cognizant of the attitudes of other persons in the community. He may also be able to influence the formation and execution of associational policy. And he may have his own attitudes influenced in the role of member of a given association. A more specific hypothesis is that the public leaders belong to a greater number of formally organized voluntary associations than do the heads of associations.

Table 18 gives the number of associational memberships of both the public leaders and the heads of associations.[1] All but one of the public leaders (94 per

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channels for extending power and influence in the community through interlocking memberships.

[1]The data include memberships in associations in Satellite City and elsewhere. While it was not compiled separately, from a knowledge of the questionnaires, it seems possible that the public leaders have a larger number of memberships outside of the community. This would tend to support the hypothesis of a greater degree of orientation outside the community among the public leaders that will be examined in Chapter VIII. Be that as it

cent) have six or more associational memberships, in comparison with half (51 per cent) of the heads of associations. Indeed, all of the public leaders have five or more associational memberships in comparison to three-fifths of the heads of associations. The data, therefore, support the general hypothesis that the public leaders and the heads of associations differ with respect to their associational activity.

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

Number of Memberships	Public Leaders N	Public Leaders %	Heads of Associations N	Heads of Associations %
1	0	0	11	7
2	0	0	11	7
3	0	0	20	12
4	0	0	24	15
5	1	6	13	8
6 - 10	10	55	60	39
11 - 15	2	11	18	11
16 and over	5	28	2	1
Total	18	100	159	100

may, again from a knowledge of the questionnaires, it is probable that if a count were made of the memberships restricted to those within Satellite City, the public leaders would still have a higher number of associational memberships than the heads of associations.

It may be argued that professional heads of associations would find it necessary to belong to many more associations than other heads of associations in order to facilitate their work. If this is so, then the differences between volunteer ("real") heads of associations and public leaders is even greater than Table 18 suggests. Table 19 shows that about 50 per cent of

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS OF PROFESSIONAL AND NON-PROFESSIONAL HEADS OF ASSOCIATIONS

Number of Memberships	Heads of Associations*			
	Professional		Non-professional	
	N	%	N	%
1	3	14	8	6
2	5	24	6	4
3 - 5	8	38	48	36
6 and over	5	24	70	54
Total	21	100	132	100

*Data do not include any public leaders who were also heads of associations.

the volunteer heads of associations has six or more memberships in comparison with about 25 per cent of the professional heads of associations who were not also public leaders. The explanation for this may lie in the relatively large number of ministers in the category of professional heads of associations. Particularly the min-

isters of the smaller "fundamentalist" churches have fewer memberships than do the ministers of the larger and the more liberal churches. To some extent these differences may also be a class phenomenon. But it is likely that, although "lower" class ministers have fewer memberships than "middle" or "upper" class ministers, they have more memberships than their own parishioners. It will not be possible to test this, however.

The works of Komarovsky, Dotson, and Freedman and Axelrod all suggest that we may expect to find that the upper classes have a larger number of associational memberships than the lower classes.[1] Since the public leaders are in the lower-upper and the upper-middle classes, it may be argued that their greater number of associational memberships is another evidence of their higher class position. Table 20 shows that all but one of the public leaders in the lower-upper class have six or more memberships, as compared to 65 per cent of the heads of associations. In the upper-middle class, all of the public leaders have six or more associational memberships, while only 60 per cent of the heads of associations has as many. This finding tends to support

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[1]Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, 11 (Dec., 1946), 686-698; Floyd Dotson, "Voluntary Associations among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, 16 (Oct., 1951), 687-693; Ronald Freedman and Morris Axelrod, "Who Belongs to What in a Great Metropolis?" Adult Leadership, 1 (Nov., 1952), 6-9.

the hypothesis that the associational activity of the public leaders is associated with acquiring and maintaining the role of public leader rather than with prestige class alone.

TABLE 20

PRESTIGE RANK OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Heads of Associations

Prestige Rank	1 N	1 %	2 N	2 %	3-5 N	3-5 %	6 and over N	6 and over %	Total N	Total %
1 - 2	1	2	2	5	11	26	28	67	42	100
3	0	0	2	4	16	34	29	62	47	100
4	6	13	1	2	22	48	17	37	46	100
5	2	11	5	26	7	37	5	26	19	100
None, Not Ascertained	2		1		1		1		5	

Public Leaders

Prestige Rank	1 N	1 %	2 N	2 %	3-5 N	3-5 %	6 and over N	6 and over %	Total N	Total %
2	0	0	0	0	1	8	11	92	12	100
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	100	6	100

Table 47 shows that when one considers only those community leaders who have lived in Satellite City for 20 or more years, over 90 per cent of the public leaders belongs to six or more associations in comparison with about 55 per cent of the heads of associations in the

same category. Table 48 shows that in the 46 to 55 age category, all the public leaders belong to more than six associations, as compared to about 50 per cent of the heads of associations. The differences in the number of associational memberships between the heads of associations and the public leaders persist when we consider class mobility, also. Table 49 brings out that over 80 per cent of the public leaders who are class stable or who are upwardly mobile with respect to their families of orientation has over six associational memberships in comparison to about 65 per cent of the heads of associations who have six or more memberships. Similar findings are evident in Table 50, which presents the number of associational memberships of community leaders when class mobility, in terms of the family of the spouse, is considered.

Thus, differences between the public leaders and the heads of associations in the number of associational memberships seem to exist when the data are analyzed with respect to class, age, length of residence, and class mobility. The differences may be interpreted to show the importance of associational membership in the acquisition and maintenance of power in the community by the public leaders. By having a relatively large number of memberships, the public leaders are able to maintain relationships with a large part of the community, and thereby to exercise power throughout a large

part of the community.

Not all of these associational relationships are on the same basis, however. Various associations serve somewhat different segments of the population of the community,[1] and it is also probable that different kinds of associations serve the needs of somewhat different kinds of persons. It would seem most desirable for a person in a public leadership role to belong to a wide variety of associations in order to maintain most effectively this role in the community. The hypothesis is therefore advanced that: public leaders belong to more different types of formally organized voluntary associations than do the heads of associations.

To test this hypothesis we are interested in the number of community leaders who have memberships in each type of association[2] rather than in the number of associational memberships. Thus, we want to know how many public leaders as compared to heads of associations have church membership or a membership in any of the several fraternal associations in the community. Table 21 gives the number of public leaders and heads of asso-

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[1]W. Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New York, 1941), pp. 87 ff.; George A. Lundberg, et al., Leisure (New York, 1934), pp. 126 ff.; Mhyra Minnis, "Cleavage in Women's Organizations," American Sociological Review, 18 (Feb., 1953), 47-53.

[2]See Appendix II for a discussion of the typology of formally organized voluntary associations used in the present research.

ciations who have memberships in various types of associations in Satellite City.[1] In all but women's and

TABLE 21

KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

	Public Leaders N	%	Heads of Associations N	%
Church	18	100	129	81
Church Related	6	33	51	32
Recreational and Youth Working	9	50	56	35
Patriotic, Political and Civic	15	83	63	40
Charitable, Health, and Social Welfare	18	100	82	52
Fraternal and Benevolent	13	72	57	36
Women's and Educational	6	33	76	46
Occupational	12	67	74	46
Other	2	11	2	1

educational associations and church related associations, the percentage of public leaders in each type of association is greater than the percentage of heads of associations. Only in charitable and church associations

[1] Generally speaking, when public leaders and heads of associations are compared with respect to the number having memberships in various types of associations, by occupational prestige class, age, length of residence, the relative differences revealed in Table 21 persist. Cf., Tables 51 to 55.

does 51 per cent or more of the heads of associations have membership. By contrast, only in church related and women's and educational associations does 50 per cent or less of the public leaders have membership.

The greatest differences between the public leaders and the heads of associations were with respect to patriotic, political, and civic associations and with respect to charitable, health, and welfare associations. Eighty per cent of the public leaders had at least one membership in a patriotic association, in comparison to only 40 per cent of the heads of associations. Patriotic associations direct their activities mainly toward securing and maintaining control over the legitimized power of the state. In a sense we might say that "power is their business," or at least their objective. Membership in one or more of these associations would seem to be imperative for anyone attempting to acquire or maintain power in Satellite City.

All of the public leaders had memberships in charitable associations, in comparison with about half of the heads of associations. Membership in a charitable association,[1] as the public leaders participate in them,

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[1]Membership in this case was taken to mean identification as a member, so that several degrees of membership may be represented here. Generally speaking, casual reading of the Satellite City Beacon suggests that the public leaders were more active as members of fund raising types of charitable associations and that heads of associations were more active in charity dispensing associations.

may be considered in two ways. First, "budding leaders" are given an opportunity to "cut their teeth" in various charitable efforts. This kind of person would be included among the heads of associations in this study. Public leaders seem to go through this stage and emerge into another in which they are wanted in the charitable associations in an active capacity, not only because they have "had wide experience," but because their names and support will give respectability and will help to "push the drive over the top."

Second, charitable activities may be conceived as a way in which public leaders are in contact with the lower classes. The pressures of need and the justification of moral sanction that accompanies charitable association activities probably facilitate the transmission of power from the public leaders to the lower classes.[1]

The larger number of memberships and the greater diversity of types of associations in which the public leaders have memberships seem to bear out the position that public leaders have a broader associational base in the community than do the heads of associations. It

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[1]This type of association may also facilitate communication "up" as well as "down," because of the intimate contacts between agency personnel and clients on the one hand and agency personnel and the public leaders on the other. Hence, the problem of "interpreting the program" which may face the professional social worker is likely to be a particularly persistent one.

is assumed that this broader associational base facilitates the power of the public leaders. However, it is unlikely that all associations are of equal power in the community, and if the public leaders are to establish and maintain power, it would seem most essential for them to belong to the most highly influential associations in the community. Such membership would facilitate the power of the public leaders by giving them an opportunity to influence decisions made in these highly influential associations. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to offer the hypothesis that: public leaders tend to have memberships in the most highly influential associations in the community to a greater degree than do the heads of associations.

The most highly influential associations in Satellite City were ascertained by the nomination technique, which is similar to the way in which the public leaders were ascertained. Appendix IV contains a discussion of differences between respondents in their nominations. While there were disagreements in rank ordering, Table 43 shows that the following associations seem to be the most highly influential associations in the community: The Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Lions Club, Kiwanis Club, the American Legion Post,[1] and the Rotary Club.

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[1]There are two American Legion Posts in Satellite City. One of them is White dominated, if not completely

Table 22 shows that almost 40 per cent of the public leaders had membership in three out of the five highly influential associations in the community, and that about 90 per cent had membership in two or more highly influential associations. In contrast, only about 10 per cent of the heads of associations had membership in three highly influential associations, and

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS OF MALE COMMUNITY LEADERS IN INFLUENTIAL ASSOCIATIONS*

	Public Leaders		Heads of Associations	
	N	Cum. %	N	Cum. %
None	0	0	46	100
1	2	100	21	48
2	9	89	14	24
3	7	39	7	8
Total	18	100	88	100

*Chamber of Commerce, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Lions Club, Kiwanis Club, American Legion, and Rotary Club.

only 25 per cent had membership in 2 or more highly influential associations.[1] The hypothesis, therefore,

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White, while the other is Negro segregated. It is the White dominated American Legion Post that is the highly influential one of the two posts.

[1]None of the female heads of associations had a membership in any of the most highly influential associations in Satellite City. They are clearly male

seems tenable.

Considering Table 22 again, about 50 per cent of the male heads of associations has at least one membership in a highly influential association. Clearly, the public leaders and the heads of associations must be interrelated through common memberships in highly influential associations.

This brings to the fore the consideration of interlocking memberships and officer roles[1] within the associations of Satellite City. Interlocking officer roles and memberships presumably facilitate the influencing of one association by another. Insofar as there are associations which are interrelated through interlocking officer roles and memberships, channels exist for acquiring, wielding, and transmitting power throughout the

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segregated associations. The absence of any women in the role of public leader and their absence from the most highly influential associations are evidences of the male domination of our society--at least at the public level.

[1]The term "officer" is both generic and specific. In the discussion that follows, "officer roles" will be used in the generic sense and "major officer" will be used in the more specific sense. Three categories of associational officer roles are distinguished: "Major Officers" includes high level administrative personnel such as presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, treasurers, executive secretaries, and ministers. Particularly in fraternal and veterans' associations, different titles are given to analogous functions. "Board Members" includes members of boards of directors or analogous bodies, like the "Session" of the Presbyterian Church. "Chairmen of Standing Committees" refers to the chief administrative officer of the more or less permanent committees in the association. In Satellite City these committees sometimes have other administrative officers but these are not considered in the present work.

community.

Interlocking officerships would seem to be especially important because control of persons in roles which are at focal points of influence would make it possible to influence policy formation on a wider base than a single association. Membership in associations with a large number of interlocking officer roles would enhance the possibilities of the public leaders' exercising power in the community. This may be expressed in the hypothesis that: the public leaders have a greater tendency than the heads of associations to be members of those formally organized associations with the largest number of interlocking officer roles.

Information on persons filling officer roles was available for 169 of the approximately 187 White segregated or White dominated associations in Satellite City.[1] Table 23 shows that there were 1256 persons filling officer roles in these 169 associations in 1953, about 80 per cent of whom had only one officer role. On the other hand, one person had 6 interlocking officer roles and 3 persons had 4 interlocking officer roles, and 179 persons had one interlocking officer role.[2] These findings

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[1]Reasonably complete data on persons filling officer roles were available in the Satellite City Beacon for some associations whose heads were not interviewed.

[2]To have one interlocking officer role means that a person has officer roles in two different associations.

suggest that associational officership is spread widely in the Satellite City community. Since so many people are involved, a relatively small number of them is in a position to utilize associational offices as an important means of either securing or exerting power. It suggests that there is only a relatively small body of persons who have more than minimal or token power in the community--the public leaders.

TABLE 23

NUMBER OF PERSONS WITH OFFICER ROLES IN MORE THAN ONE ASSOCIATION[a]

Number of Interlocking Officer Roles[b]	Number of Persons	Per Cent
0	1024	82
1	179	14
2	36	3
3	13	1
4	3	c
5	0	0
6	1	c
Total	1256	100

[a]Data are for 169 Associations.
[b]Data do not reveal interlocking relationships through husband and wife.
[c]Less than 0.5%.

If the hypothesis that the public leaders have a greater tendency than the heads of associations to be

members of those associations with the largest number of interlocking officer roles is correct, then we should find that the heads of associations have a relatively low per cent of memberships in those associations with the largest number of interlocking officer roles. The 169 voluntary associations for which adequate officer data were available were categorized in terms of the number of interlocking officers they had with other voluntary associations. The community leaders were then classified in terms of the number of memberships which they had in associations with from 1 to 29 interlocking officer roles.

Table 24 shows that in associations with 13 or more interlocking officer roles, 40 per cent of the public leaders reported 3 or more memberships, while only 10 per cent of the heads of associations reported 3 or more memberships. The difference between the public leaders and the heads of associations is even greater if we consider all their memberships in associations with 13 or more interlocking officer roles, for all but one (about 95 per cent) of the public leaders have at least one such membership, as compared to only 55 per cent of the heads of associations. Similarly, about 65 per cent of the public leaders has over 3 memberships in associations with from 5 to 12 interlocking officer roles, as compared to a little less than 25 per cent of the heads of associations. The conclusion seems tenable,

TABLE 24

NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS IN ASSOCIATIONS WITH DIFFERENT NUMBERS OF INTERLOCKING OFFICER ROLES

Number of Memberships of Community Leaders	Number of Interlocking Officer Roles of Associations: 0				1				2-4				5-12				13-29			
	P. N	P. %	H. N	H. %	P. N	P. %	H. N	H. %	P. N	P. %	H. N	H. %	P. N	P. %	H. N	H. %	P. N	P. %	H. N	H. %
0	2*	11	33*	21	12	67	101	64	2	11	54	34	2	11	64	40	1	6	73	46
1-2	3	17	76	48	6	33	56	35	11	61	91	57	4	22	60	38	10	56	71	45
3-4	6	33	33	21	0	0	2	1	5	27	14	9	8	44	30	19	6	33	14	9
5 and over	7	39	17	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	22	5	3	1	6	1	1
Total	18	100	159	100	18	100	159	100	18	100	159	100	18	100	159	100	18	100	159	100

*These persons have memberships in associations with at least one common officer.

therefore, that public leaders tend to be in key positions with reference to the associational life of Satellite City through their memberships in those associations which have a relatively large number of interlocking officer roles.

Table 24 also shows that about 40 per cent of the public leaders has 5 or more memberships in associations with no common officer roles, as compared to 10 per cent of the heads of associations. This finding is probably due to the larger number of associational memberships of the public leaders. While some associations which have no common officers may be interrelated at the general membership level, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the public leaders, through their own persons, may serve as integrators of associations that are otherwise somewhat disparate.

These data seem to add weight to the conclusion that the public leaders tend to be located in associational positions which have the widest potential impact on the community. This potential power is probably greater than had been supposed, since a larger proportion of the public leaders than the heads of associations belongs to associations with no interlocking officer roles as well as to associations with a relatively large number of interlocking officer roles. The public leaders are not only in a position to influence associations which have ramifications throughout the community,

but they may also be channels of communication between some of the associations.

Having demonstrated that the public leaders tend to be members of those associations which are the most highly interrelated through interlocking officerships, we may push our analysis of the associational basis of the power of public leaders one step further. Not all officer roles are of equal potential power. Control over those roles which have the greatest potential power would increase the ability to exercise a determining influence over decisions, and to facilitate the diffusion of decisions through the network of associations of the community.

While the allocation of power is not always clear-cut, as a general rule, the board of directors is the policy forming or policy sanctioning body of an association.[1] The board members seem to have greater potential power than the major officers and committee chairmen, who execute policies laid down by the board of directors.[2] We may therefore expect that the public leaders

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[1]White found that men tended to specialize in board memberships, while major officer roles and committee chairmanships tended to have a greater number of women in them. Apparently, men consolidated control in the various associations in the community through controlling the policy formation level. Cf., White, Leadership and Social Structure in a New York Rural Community, p. 392.

[2]It is not uncommon for the activities involved in policy implementation also to have latent policy forming consequences. To include this within the present

tend to occupy a larger number of board memberships than the heads of associations.

But since some associations are much more influential than others, and since the public leaders are busy people, it would seem likely that there is a tendency for their board memberships to be concentrated in highly influential associations.[1] Such a procedure would yield the greatest return of power for the least effort. In comparisons, whatever board memberships the heads of associations might have may be expected to be concentrated in associations which are not highly influential. This may be expressed in the following hypotheses: First, that the public leaders have a greater tendency than the heads of associations to occupy board memberships in highly influential associations. And second, that the heads of associations have a greater tendency than the public leaders to occupy board memberships in non-highly influential associations.

Table 25 gives a breakdown of the type of officer roles of both the heads of associations and the public leaders. The most notable fact is that over 75 per cent of the community leaders has no officer role

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research requires a knowledge of the voluntary associations which is not available. The simpler scheme is therefore relied upon.

[1]Cf., Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, pp. 84-85.

TABLE 25

NUMBER OF OFFICER ROLES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

		0		1		2 and over		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Heads of Associations									
Major Officerships	Highly Influential Associations	148	93	10	6	1	1	159	100
	Other Associations	0	0	100	63	59	37	159	100
Board Memberships	Highly Influential Associations	154	97	5	3	0	0	159	100
	Other Associations	111	70	34	21	14	9	159	100
Committee Chairmanships	Highly Influential Associations	152	95	6	4	1	1	159	100
	Other Associations	126	79	23	15	10	6	159	100
Public Leaders									
Major Officerships	Highly Influential Associations	14	77	3	17	1	6	18	100
	Other Associations	8	44	5	28	5	28	18	100
Board Memberships	Highly Influential Associations	14	77	4	23	0	0	18	100
	Other Associations	8	44	5	28	5	28	18	100
Committee Chairmanships	Highly Influential Associations	17	94	1	6	0	0	18	100
	Other Associations	13	72	4	22	1	6	18	100

at all in the highly influential associations of Satellite City. However, among those who do have some officer role in highly influential associations, there seems to be a tendency for the public leaders to have more major officerships and board memberships than the heads of associations. In associations which were not considered highly influential, 30 per cent of the heads of associations has board memberships in comparison to 56 per cent of the public leaders.

These findings support the idea that the potential power of officer roles in formally organized voluntary associations tends to be minimized in Satellite City. While the hypothesis that the public leaders tend to hold more board memberships in highly influential associations seemed tenable, the power of the public leaders in these associations seems to be more directly evidenced in other member roles than policy forming or policy executing. In associations which are not highly influential, there seems to be a greater tendency for the public leaders to be in positions of power through influencing the policy forming levels of these associations, which seems to support the idea that the public leaders may actually, through their own persons, serve to integrate less influential associations into the system of power of the community.

It may be that in any one year a person fills only a limited number of officer roles, but that from

year to year he shifts from an officer role in one association to an officer role in another association. That is, perhaps there is a "leadership pool" in the community so that over time a person may have filled a large number of roles. Now since the public leaders are older, tend to have been longer in the community, and tend to come from the upper classes of the community, it seems reasonable to expect that a higher percentage of the public leaders than the heads of associations will have filled officer roles in the past.

Table 26 presents a summary of officer roles held in both influential and non-highly influential associations in the period 1945 through 1951.[1] From the data we may conclude that the public leaders tend to have had more major officerships among the highly influential associations during 1945-1951 than the heads of associations. During the same period there seems to have been a fairly clear tendency for a higher percentage of the public leaders than the heads of associations to fill board memberships, also.

These findings suggest that the role of "past officer" may be one of the means through which public

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[1]The conclusions based on the data should be made with caution, for during the interviews it became apparent that some of the respondents could not easily remember their officer roles in the past. This problem seemed to be greatest for the public leaders, although there probably were some cases of underreporting also among the upper status-level heads of associations.

TABLE 26

NUMBER OF OFFICER ROLES OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, 1945-1951

		0		1		2		3 and over		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Major Officerships in Highly Influential Associations	P. L.	8	44	8	44	0	0	2	12	18	100
	H. A.	143	90	13	8	2	1	1	1	159	100
Major Officerships in Other Associations	P. L.	4	22	2	11	2	11	10	56	18	100
	H. A.	37	23	33	21	28	18	61	38	159	100
Board Memberships in All Associations	P. L.	7	39	5	28	3	17	3	17	18	100
	H. A.	98	61	29	18	12	8	20	13	159	100
Committee Chairmanships in All Associations	P. L.	12	66	5	28	0	0	1	6	18	100
	H. A.	102	64	32	20	14	9	11	7	159	100

leaders exert influence in highly influential associations. They suggest, also, that the public leaders tend to shift from one major responsibility to another rather than occupying a large number of associational roles at the same time. To the degree that this is so, it is apparent that the time dimension is important for the analysis of the manner in which power is manifested in the community.

The analysis so far has pointed up membership and officer roles of the public leaders and heads of associations in terms of the relationships which are presumed to exist between them and the general population. The argument was advanced that associational member and officer roles facilitate the establishing and exercising of power throughout the community by making it possible to influence associational policies and activities as well as through fellow member relationships.

On the basis of the same argument, giving attention to the interrelationships between the public leaders and the heads of associations also seems relevant. Even if, as the data suggest, the heads of associations have less power than had previously been supposed, the fact remains that during their terms of office heads of associations are likely to be highly influential, and it would seem advantageous for the public leaders to be in a position to influence the heads of associations as fellow members of the same associations.

The larger number of memberships, the larger number of different kinds of associations in which the public leaders are members, and the larger number of memberships in both highly influential and other associations in which the public leaders are members as compared to the heads of associations seem to suggest the hypothesis that: the public leaders are related to each other through interlocking associational memberships and they are related to the heads of associations in the same manner.

Table 27 shows that about 80 per cent of the public leaders had membership in associations in which 6 or more heads of associations also were members. All of the public leaders had 3 or more memberships in associations which had 6 or more heads of associations, in comparison to about 50 per cent of the heads of associations. Thus, the larger number of memberships of the public leaders in formally organized associations has the consequence of interrelating the heads of associations more highly to the public leaders than to other heads of associations.

Table 28 shows that 50 per cent of the public leaders had 5 or more memberships in associations in which there were 6 or more public leaders. Almost all (17 out of 18) of the public leaders had over 3 memberships in associations in which there were 6 or more public leaders, in comparison to only 12 per cent of the

TABLE 27

NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS IN ASSOCIATIONS IN WHICH HEADS OF ASSOCIATIONS HAVE MEMBERSHIPS

Number of Memberships		Number of Heads of Associations: 1 N	1 %	2 N	2 %	3-5 N	3-5 %	6 and over N	6 and over %
None	Public Leaders	9*	50	10	55	3	17	0	0
	Heads of Associations	60*	38	85	53	54	34	28	18
1-2	Public Leaders	6	33	7	39	5	28	0	0
	Heads of Associations	79	50	68	43	78	49	56	35
3-4	Public Leaders	3	17	1	6	8	44	3	17
	Heads of Associations	15	9	6	4	22	14	38	24
5 and over	Public Leaders	0	0	0	0	4	6	15	83
	Heads of Associations	5	3	0	0	5	3	37	23
Total	Public Leaders	18	100	18	100	18	100	18	100
	Heads of Associations	159	100	159	100	159	100	159	100

*These persons have memberships only in associations in which there is more than one head of an association.

TABLE 28

NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS IN ASSOCIATIONS IN WHICH PUBLIC LEADERS HAVE MEMBERSHIPS

Number of Memberships			Number of Public Leaders: 0 N	0 %	1 N	1 %	2 N	2 %	3-5 N	3-5 %	6 and over N	6 and over %
	None	Public Leaders	18*	100	1	6	7	39	1	6	0	0
		Heads of Associations	14*	9	81	51	104	65	76	48	105	66
	1-2	Public Leaders	0	0	8	44	8	44	7	39	1	6
		Heads of Associations	60	41	65	41	52	33	71	45	35	22
	3-4	Public Leaders	0	0	4	22	2	11	3	17	8	44
		Heads of Associations	45	28	11	7	3	2	10	6	17	11
	5 and over	Public Leaders	0	0	5	28	1	6	7	39	9	50
		Heads of Associations	40	25	2	1	0	0	2	1	2	1
	Total	Public Leaders	18	100	18	100	18	100	18	100	18	100
		Heads of Associations	159	100	159	100	159	100	159	100	159	100

*These persons have memberships only in associations in which there is at least one public leader.

heads of associations. Thus, the public leaders seem to be more highly related to each other through common associational memberships than to the heads of associations.

These findings lend support to the idea that the public leaders are in a position to influence the policies of a large number of associations through their memberships in these associations. Not only do they belong to more associations than the heads of associations, but they tend to have a concentration of memberships in those associations in which the greatest number of heads of associations are members. They are thus in a very favorable position to influence the heads of associations. The relatively high degree of interlocking memberships among the public leaders suggests that they are able to bring their influence to bear collectively in some of the associations of the community.

The analysis of associational memberships and roles points up the relationship of public leaders and heads of associations through the formally organized, voluntary associations of Satellite City. "Private" or clique-friendship relationships are also an important mode of relationship for people in modern life. However, clique relationships are even more restricted with respect to social status than are the formal associations of the community.[1] Hunter pointed out that the top

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[1]Marcia Meeker, "Status Aspirations and the

leaders of Regional City seemed to work well together on a highly personalized basis.[1] It seems reasonable to expect, therefore, that the heads of associations are largely restricted in their relationships to the public leaders to formal associational activity. On the other hand, it would seem likely that the public leaders are related among themselves not only through formal associational activity, but in a more "private" manner. This would suggest the hypothesis that: the public leaders and the heads of associations tend to be interrelated in their "public" relationships, but not through their "private" relationships, while the public leaders tend to be interrelated among themselves not only through "public" but "private" relationships as well.

Table 29 gives the "public" and "private" relationships of the heads of associations and the public leaders to the public leaders. Findings based on Table 29 must be considered with caution. Data on private relationships are based on questions 21 and 22 of the questionnaire which ask if any of the leaders who were mentioned earlier in the interview are close friends or relatives of the respondents. The evidence from the

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Social Club," Democracy in Jonesville, ed. by W. Lloyd Warner (New York, 1949), pp. 130-148.

[1]Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, "The Structure of Power in Regional City," and "The More Private Aspects of Power."

interviews suggests that the assumption of private visiting and clique relationships among both the public leaders and the heads of associations may be much less important than had been assumed.[1] The data on public relationships

TABLE 29

NUMBER OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELATIONSHIPS TO PUBLIC LEADERS

	Public Relationships				Private Relationships			
	Public Leaders		Heads of Associations		Public Leaders		Heads of Associations	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	1	6	74	47	1	6	108	69
1-2	3	17	47	29	6	33	42	26
3-5	4	22	26	16	4	22	7	4
6 and over	10	55	12	8	6	33	2	1
Not asc.	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0
Total	18	100	159	100	18	100	159	100

must also be considered with caution, for there is some evidence that it may be inaccurate. In questions 23, 24, and 25, the respondents were asked if any of the leaders mentioned previously were employers, business associates or clients, or if the respondent had worked

[1] Thus, one of the leading women in the community, who was also the head of an association, said: "We don't visit back and forth, we see each other in our clubs."

with them personally since 1950 on some project or plan. A general impression of the interviews is that the lawyers, in particular, among both the public leaders and the heads of associations were reluctant to mention clients. From the present point of view, this is unfortunate because this might have revealed power relationships between persons who might otherwise seem to be unrelated.

Table 29 shows that about 50 per cent of the heads of associations said they did not have the type of public relationships with public leaders about which inquiries were made, while only one public leader said that he had none.[1] Table 29 also shows that about 25 per cent of the heads of associations stated that they had 3 or more public relationships with the public leaders while, in comparison, 33 per cent of the public leaders had public relationships with other public leaders. Thus, many of the heads of associations have some public relationships with the public leaders, but the public leaders are more interrelated among themselves on a public level than they are to the heads of associations. This is not inconsistent with the findings on interlocking associational memberships.

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[1]This finding is not inconsistent with previous ones because of the nature of the questions asked which restricted "public relationships" in such a fashion that common associational membership was probably not a part of the perceptual field at the time of response.

Table 29 shows that only 25 per cent of the heads of associations seemed to have any private relationships with the public leaders, while only 5 per cent had 3 or more private relationships with the public leaders. In contrast, over 50 per cent of the public leaders had 3 or more private relationships with other public leaders. It is unlikely, then, that there is a high degree of intimacy between many of the heads of associations and the public leaders. But it is very likely that the public leaders are close personal friends as well as joint wielders of power and influence in the community.

These findings strengthen the suggestion that there exists the basis for a high degree of unity of action on the part of the public leaders because of the intimacy and multiplicity of relationships that exist between them. At least some of the public leaders may find it possible to come to agreements on policies in a highly informal manner in the give-and-take of friendship rather than in formal roles. It seems likely that the mutual duties and obligations which exist in the interrelationships among the public leaders would tend to make them at least moderately cohesive and unified in their attitudes toward public issues and in their relationships to the community at large. It would seem that the personal relationships existing among the public leaders might make it difficult for newcomers to "break

in."

Summarizing, analysis of the web of associational relationships among community leaders brings out more clearly the significance of formally organized voluntary associations as potential means to acquire, wield, and transmit power throughout the community. The public leaders seem to be in a very favorable position to influence the formally organized associations of the community in terms of a relatively large number of memberships in both highly influential and less influential associations, a wide range of different types of memberships, and in memberships in associations with the largest number of interlocking officer roles as well as those with the smallest number of interlocking officer roles. At any one time, the public leaders do not fill the "key" roles in the "key" associations, although over a seven year period the public leaders held sufficient officer roles to suggest that their influence on "key" roles is probably exercised in a cumulative fashion. Finally, the data seemed to indicate that the relationships between the public leaders and the heads of associations are primarily associational and public, and hence that intimate friendship plays a small part in the relationship between them. On the other hand, the public leaders seem to be relatively highly interrelated among themselves, not only in a public fashion, but privately as well, and these public and private relation-

ships form the basis for a high degree of cohesiveness among the public leaders. Hence, the findings as a whole tend to support the idea that power in Satellite City is rather highly centralized in the public leaders. They tend also to support the position that power in the community is based on other kinds of relationships than economic power.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY POLICY FORMATION

Chapter VI brought out that the public leaders seem to be in favorable positions to consolidate and exercise power through formally organized voluntary associations and through private relationships among themselves and with the heads of associations. This chapter will seek to give additional information on the structure of power in Satellite City.

Hunter[1] found that the structure of power in Regional City involves the following components: A single person is identifiable as the most powerful leader in the community. He is the arbiter and coordinator of a relatively small number of other persons, who are themselves top leaders of their own "pyramids of power." Privately, these "men of power" decide upon community-wide policy and projects; agree on a broad outline of policy and the general plans or procedures; agree on who, from among themselves, will lend his name and prestige to the project; and tentatively select the person of lesser power to be designated subsequently to take the active leadership of the project and "see it through."

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[1]Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, passim.

The project is then referred to the most important of the formally organized voluntary associations to fill in details, provide "booster personnel" to "do the leg work," and gain a wider base of community support through discussion and minor alterations. After the "line is set" in these highly influential associations, the project is then "submitted to the community," which is expected to "cooperate" as evidenced by uncritical conformity. This description may be regarded as the hypothesis of the present chapter.

Table 30 summarizes the responses of both the public leaders and the heads of associations with reference to the question: "Who is the top leader in town?" (Q. 19). Twenty-eight per cent of the public leaders and 18 per cent of the heads of associations stated that there is no single top leader in Satellite City. The public leaders who gave this response usually went on to name several persons. There is a lack of concentration upon a single person in the responses of the other public leaders and heads of associations. We may conclude that, contrary to Regional City, there is probably no one person who may be considered <u>the</u> top leader of the community. There seems, instead, to be a small number of persons who are closely interrelated in their activities and who are regarded as equivalent with reference to power in Satellite City.

These persons differ in their personal character-

istics and in their roles in the community. William Houston, for example, is a salaried employee of the Chamber of Commerce, is a member of one of the upper-middle class churches, and is highly regarded by the

TABLE 30

PERCEPTIONS AS TO THE IDENTITY OF THE TOP LEADER

	Public Leaders		Heads of Associations	
	N	%	N	%
Not any One Person	5	28	28	18
William Houston	4	22	23	14
Grant Moseley, III	4	22	14	9
Robert Drew	0	0	16	10
John Milan	0	0	12	8
Arthur Schlaff	0	0	6	4
Other Persons	4*	22	21	13
D. K., No Answer	1	6	39	24
Total	18	100	159	100

*None of these "other persons" was an official of either the Acme Machinery Company or the Barnes Company.

business community as a person. Grant Moseley, III, on the other hand, is the third generation of his family to occupy the public leader role, is a member of an upper class church, is the active head of the Satellite City Box Manufacturing Company and is therefore an economic dominant, and has held high office in the local civil

government.

The public leaders were asked two sets of questions,[1] each dealing with a different type of community issue. One set of questions (Q. 27) dealt with a major project such as getting a new branch library or a new hospital, which will be designated "good works." It was assumed that this kind of project had normative implications which were easily recognized as being "for the good of the community as a whole," being essentially "non-political," and being "simply a matter of getting the community organized behind the idea." A second set of questions (Q. 28) referred to changing the city charter or changing the tax assessment procedures. These are "political" issues in which some segment of the community presumably has "an axe to grind."

Four subquestions were asked of each public leader for both "good works" projects and "political"

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[1]These questions were asked only of the public leaders, because it was assumed that the heads of associations would not be enough aware of the process of policy formation in the community to give useful information. In light of the findings in Chapters V and VI, it seems probable that, minimally the upper class is aware of the existence of community policy formation procedures and has observed how they seem to be put into effect. To a lesser degree this is probably true also of the middle class. The lower class may have some perception of who the persons of highest power in the community are, but from impressions based on leadership nomination materials, it is probable that they regard community policy in a legalistic sense and tend to perceive the city council as the locus of decision and implementation, without too clear a perception of the processes operating to bring the matter before the community and "see it through successfully."

projects. These subquestions asked how public leaders would initiate each kind of project, what would be the role of the voluntary associations in the introduction and implementation of each kind of project, which associations the public leaders considered the most important for the success of each kind of project, and who in the community would be likely to be picked to take the "active leadership" and "see the project through."

Throughout the discussion that follows, one of the most important limitations is that the conclusions are based upon the perceptions of the public leaders only. How much they practice ego-gratifying distortion is hard to say, and can only be conclusively answered after extended observation in the community.

Table 31 summarizes the responses of the 18 public leaders on how projects would be initiated in Satellite City. When considering "good works," 55 per cent of the public leaders said that projects would be initiated among the public leaders themselves, 50 per cent said that they would be initiated within the Chamber of Commerce. Slightly less than half of those who said that "good works" projects would be initiated among the public leaders specifically named William Houston, who occupies a key role within the Chamber of Commerce. The importance of the Chamber of Commerce for the initiation of projects is, therefore, even greater than Table 31 suggests. Only a few said that a "good works" project

would be initiated by a governmental or quasi-governmental agency.[1]

TABLE 31

SUGGESTED PROCEDURE TO INITIATE COMMUNITY-WIDE PROJECTS

	"Good Works" N[a]	%	"Political" N[a]	%
Privately among the Public Leaders	10	55	5	28
Within One of the highly Influential Associations	9[b]	50	9[c]	50
Through Referral to a Governmental or Quasi-Governmental Agency	3	17	7	39
Other	8	44	7	39
Number Interviewed	18		18	

[a]Multiple responses were given by some respondents.
[b]In or through the Chamber of Commerce.
[c]Principally the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

In contrast, only 28 per cent of the public leaders indicated that a political project would be initiated among the public leaders, 50 per cent said that such projects would be initiated in a highly influential association (principally the Junior Chamber of Commerce), and about 40 per cent said that the matter would first arise in a governmental or quasi-governmental agency.

[1]This is in face of the fact that both the library and the hospital in Satellite City are operated by governmental or quasi-governmental bodies.

In considering initiation of "political" issues, the relatively greater stress on governmental agencies when dealing with matters such as a city charter or tax assessment procedures is not startling in a community organized on democratic political principles. The relative decline of the public leaders as loci of initiation and the relative rise of the Junior Chamber of Commerce should be noted, however. This shift is probably related to events that took place in 1945, when the Junior Chamber of Commerce successfully led the agitation which resulted in significant city charter revisions. Since it is unlikely that the Junior Chamber of Commerce was in fact that powerful, an explanation of its leadership must lie elsewhere. The Chamber of Commerce was deeply divided on the issue, with some of the public leaders taking strong stands against the change and others taking strong stands for the change. It is probable that the Chamber of Commerce was unable to act very effectively if it was to maintain its public unity. Under these circumstances, the normal symbiotic relationship between the Chamber of Commerce and the Junior Chamber apparently broke down, and the factions within the Chamber of Commerce in favor of the charter revision worked with the Junior Chamber to achieve their goals instead of through the Chamber itself.

Table 32 summarizes the responses of the public leaders as to when the formally organized voluntary as-

sociations would be drawn into community-wide projects.

TABLE 32

STAGE AT WHICH VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS WOULD BE DRAWN INTO COMMUNITY-WIDE PROJECTS

	"Good Works" N	%	"Political" N	%
After Several Public Leaders Make Initial Plans	10	56	6	33
At the Very Beginning	4	22	5	28
Other Responses	4	22	6	33
Not Ascertained	0	0	1	6
Total	18	100	18	100

When referring to "good works," the proportion of public leaders saying that the associations would be drawn in after the initial planning had been done by several leaders was more than twice that of public leaders who felt that the associations would be drawn in at the very beginning of such projects. On the other hand, for "political" projects, the public leaders were about evenly divided on the question of whether voluntary associations would be drawn into such projects at the very beginning or after initial planning by several leaders.

It may be suggested, therefore, that there is probably no single way to initiate a project in Satellite

City. There seems to be a slight tendency for the initial discussion and planning of major projects to take place privately among the public leaders. Often, however, a public leader will introduce projects directly within a committee of the Chamber of Commerce--though he will probably have a talk with William Houston very early in the process.

Table 33 gives the responses of the public leaders as to which associations are most essential to the introduction of a project to the community. Half of the public leaders, both when referring to "good works" and "political" projects said that they would refer a project to all the voluntary associations which have been designated as highly influential associations.[1]

TABLE 33

FIRST VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS TO BE DRAWN INTO A PROJECT

	"Good Works" N	%	"Political" N	%
All the Highly Influential Associations together	9	50	9	50
Chamber of Commerce, only	8	44	6	33
Other Responses	1	6	3	17
Total	18	100	18	100

[1]The Chamber of Commerce, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Lions, Kiwanis, American Legion, and Rotary.

From a third to almost half of them said that they would refer the matter first to the Chamber of Commerce, rather than to all the highly influential associations taken together.

While these data seem to support the nomination procedure used to designate the highly influential associations, they also stress the greater importance of the Chamber of Commerce. They also raise again the question of whether the Chamber of Commerce is "really" involved in initiating projects or whether projects are actually referred to the Chamber of Commerce after initial decisions are made among the public leaders. Since 16 of the 18 public leaders are members of the Chamber of Commerce, it is probable that at least some of them are confused about the locus of initiation of projects. Apparently, decisions achieved privately among a small group of public leaders are in the nature of tentative agreements of mutual support for highly tentative proposals. On the advice and possibly tacit approval of William Houston, these tentative proposals are raised through the Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce procedure involves referral to committees for discussion and recommendation; a favorable committee report is probably highly predictive of general Chamber support. Probably the power of the public leader is exerted most directly within the Chamber of Commerce at the committee stage.

The inner dynamics of the Satellite City Chamber of Commerce need much more intensive examination than can be given here. But the data suggest the hypothesis that the "real" locus of policy formation in Satellite City for community-wide projects is the Chamber of Commerce, rather than a single public leader or the legally constituted city council. Functionally speaking, for community based projects, the Chamber of Commerce is the basic policy center or "community council" of Satellite City.[1] To be the functional community council is apparently a well formulated policy of the Chamber, for it has stressed a wide membership base over the years. It draws upon the commercial businesses of Satellite City, as might be expected. It also has representatives (often more than one) from almost all factories from the 7-man shop to the largest industries in the community, and it has a number of members who are on the administrative staff or faculty of the Satellite City Liberal Arts College.

It seems tenable to conclude that, once a project is agreed upon by the Chamber of Commerce, it is referred to the other highly influential associations.

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[1]By the same token, from a functional point of view, just as the Chamber of Commerce is the community council for community-wide projects, so William Houston, its major employee, may be considered a new type of public servant who is dedicated to the well-being of the community--albeit this is defined from the perspective of the business, industrial, and professional segments of the community.

However, because of the interlocking officerships and memberships among these associations, the process of drawing the highly influential associations into the project is probably a little more complex than it seems. To some extent they all may have been "unofficially" drawn in while the matter was in a formative stage within the Chamber of Commerce. When it is referred "officially" to these other highly influential associations, probably the central sector of the associations (from the standpoint of power) has already been apprised and has concurred. This complex process potentially makes possible a rapidly widening circle within which there is a high degree of agreement on policy and its execution. This conclusion is not in disagreement with Hunter's, though it is meant to suggest that his analysis is probably too simplified.

Usually one person must take the active leadership in securing wide community support so that plans may be put into effect. Table 34 gives the responses of the public leaders of Satellite City to the question: "Who would be selected to take the active leadership?" That it was difficult for the public leaders to answer this question is indicated by the relatively large number of conditional responses. The latter evidenced an unwillingness or inability on the part of the public leaders to single out one individual who they felt could and would see the project through. Note, also, that 50

per cent or more of the public leaders seemed to feel that someone from among themselves would assume the active leadership of a community project, whether "good works," or "political." This finding seems to be at variance with Hunter, who found that, although a public leader would usually be "out front" on an important issue, "underlevel" personnel, ordinarily from one of the highly influential associations, were selected to "see the project through."

TABLE 34

SELECTION OF ACTIVE LEADERS FOR COMMUNITY-WIDE PROJECTS

	"Good Works" N[a]	%	"Political" N[a]	%
The President of One of the Highly Influential Associations	3	17	6	33
One of the Public Leaders	12	66	9	50
A Non-Public Leader	7	39	3	17
Conditional Responses[b]	16	89	12	66
Don't Know	0	0	2	11
Number Interviewed	18		18	

[a]Multiple responses given by respondents.
[b]Such as: "Depends on specific issue," "choice would be based on individual qualities," or respondent named more than one person as a possibility.

Summarizing, there is no single person who is considered to be at the peak of the power structure.

Furthermore, the public leaders are not quite so removed from the life of the community as are the top leaders in Regional City.

The complexity of community policy formation and execution is brought out by the public leaders' perceptions of the process. The public leaders say that in some cases they get together and agree on policies which they then refer to the formally organized associations in the community. However, the Chamber of Commerce is so intimately associated with the formative stages of a project and its execution that it seems necessary to conclude that major policy decisions which are made privately among the public leaders may be more in the nature of agreements of mutual support. These policies must be agreed upon by the Chamber of Commerce--and it probably is a misrepresentation of the actual process to assume that a request or recommendation from a public leader gets approval without considerable autonomous discussion and criticism by the members of the Chamber of Commerce committee.

Once a major project gains Chamber of Commerce approval, its referral to other highly influential associations seems to be the normal way in which the project is put into effect. The close relationship between the Chamber of Commerce and the other highly influential associations probably means a prior semi-commitment from them before Chamber of Commerce approval is gained. From

them comes the impetus and much of the active leadership that puts a major project "over the top." The interlocking relationship between these highly influential associations and others in the community suggests how the voluntary associations may operate as potential channels for the diffusion of power through the community.

In Satellite City, at least, the top leadership is likely to be provided by the public leaders themselves. In this regard, William Houston is probably a key figure, either directly or indirectly, because of his role in the Chamber of Commerce.

While it seems likely that Hunter's analysis of the means by which community policy is laid down and put into effect may be oversimplified, the present findings are not necessarily completely in disagreement with Hunter's. It may be that the differences between Satellite City and Regional City are attributable to differences in the sizes of the respective communities. Thus, the larger the community, the greater the extremes of power. Overall community leadership, under these circumstances, may be channeled through intermediary levels of power to the heads of associations, who have still lower power, and through these latter persons to the general community. It may be, also, that the greater concentrations of power (particularly economic dominance) which exist in metropolitan communities, such

as Regional City, make a difference in the ways in which community-wide projects are initiated and carried out. Finally, it may be that the greater size of the Regional City power structure is reflected in a higher degree of specialization in the performance of policy formation and policy implementation; it may be that it was easier to perceive the complexity of the structure of power in Satellite City than in Regional City.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

The attributes and activities accompanying the social roles of the public leaders differ from those accompanying the social roles of heads of associations and, according to the analysis of Chapter I, are the basis of their differing degrees of power in the community. The differences in attributes and activities rarely were sharp, but the tendencies were more than casual and were consistently in the predicted direction.

The objective of this chapter is to present exploratory material on the relationship of differences in social role to personality differences. In a general way this may provide additional support for the general social-psychological proposition that position in the social structure is related to the mode of perception of the community. It must be stressed, however, that this effort should be considered highly exploratory.

An orientation has been defined as a frame of reference in which attitudes and behavior are formed. The theory was advanced that differences in social roles will be accompanied by differences in orientation toward the community. In general terms, the hypothesis to be tested in this chapter is that: Public leaders tend to

be similar with respect to their orientation to the community and to differ from the heads of associations in their orientation toward the community.

It has been suggested that persons probably apply a limited number of orientations to events and to their relationships with other persons in the community. When considering their relationship to the community, it was proposed that persons will be oriented along at least two different dimensions: First, they will be oriented toward the community with varying degrees of inclusiveness along a continuum from familial to cosmopolitan orientation. Second, they will be oriented to others in terms of personality differences and the importance of considering personal likes and dislikes as well as personal idiosyncrasies (personalistically), or they will be oriented toward the community in terms of impersonal objects or their socially defined roles (formalistically). This chapter will first consider the degree of inclusiveness of orientation and then the personalistic-formalistic orientation of public leaders as compared to the heads of associations.

In the discussion of inclusiveness of orientation in Chapter I, it was suggested that as a person becomes more and more "active" in the community, and presumably moves in the direction of becoming a public leader, his orientation presumably includes a wider and wider purview. Developmentally, he comes to see himself not only

in a familial context but he may expand his orientation to include sections of the community, the entire community, and possibly even beyond the community (in terms of the impact of what he does locally on the world beyond the local community). This may be expressed in the hypothesis that: The public leaders tend to be oriented toward the community in a manner which is more inclusive than that of the heads of associations.

The yes-no responses to the following questions are the basis of the discussion which follows pertaining to the testing of this hypothesis:

Q. 3. Do you feel that you have any special contributions that you make to particular groups in the community, like particular organizations, a church, a neighborhood, or some other groups within the community? yes_____ no_____

Q. 4. Do you feel that you have a special (or important) contribution that you make to the Satellite City community as a whole? yes___ no_____

Q. 5. Except for voting, have you thought much about the importance of your activities for the Northeastern part of the State generally? yes_____ no_____

Q. 6. Except for voting, do you feel that what you do has a real importance for what happens in the State or Nation as a whole? yes_____ no_____

It was assumed that all these questions were in the single psychological dimension of inclusiveness of orientation toward the community. However, yes-no responses to question 6 are omitted from subsequent consideration because preliminary analysis showed that they

did not seem to be scalable with the responses to the other questions.[1] A number of respondents who indicated that at most they felt they made a contribution only to groups within the community and that they made no contribution to the "community as a whole" or to the "Northeastern part of the State generally," also indicated that they felt they did make a contribution to "the State or Nation as a whole."

It seems probable that these respondents had a different frame of reference when responding to question 6, than when responding to the previous questions in the set. This is best described as the democratic ideology. As applied to Satellite City, the democratic ideology seems to involve the idea that, "If I help other persons in my home town to achieve greater happiness, and to be law abiding citizens, and if I work in groups to smooth out interpersonal frictions, I am doing something that is important for the State and the Nation because these individuals in their small groups <u>are</u> the State and Nation."[2]

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[1]The omission of question 6 means that the most inclusive degree of orientation to be considered in the present research is the <u>community-regional</u> orientation.

[2]That the effect of individuals upon such vast collectivities as the Nation can be demonstrated only in a tenuous fashion, as far as most people are concerned, indicates the need for further research into the differences between the "subjective" definition of the situation and the "objective" facts of the situation.

The relationship between the conceptual categories of inclusiveness of orientation to the community and the yes-no responses to questions 3, 4, and 5 is summarized below. The first element in the combinations of 3 responses is the response to whether community leaders felt that they made any special contributions to particular groups within the community. The second element is the response to whether the community leaders felt that they made a contribution to the community as a whole. The last element in the combination is the response to whether the community leaders perceived their activity in the context of the Northeastern part of the State. A "no" response to all questions was regarded as evidence of a familial orientation toward the community.

COMBINATIONS OF RESPONSES INDICATIVE OF INCLUSIVENESS OF ORIENTATION TO THE COMMUNITY

no-no-no	familial
yes-no-no	segmental
yes-yes-no	community inclusive
yes-yes-yes	community-regional

Table 35 is a comparison of the public leaders and the heads of associations with respect to the inclusiveness of their orientation toward the community. There was about 10 per cent of the public leaders who were oriented toward the community either to a familial or segmental degree as compared to about 30 per cent of

the heads of associations. About 60 per cent of the public leaders was community-regional in the degree of its orientation in comparison to about 27 per cent of the heads of associations. We may conclude that there is some evidence to suggest that the acquisition and maintenance of community leader roles tend to be related to differences in the orientation toward the community--though considerable refinement in research techniques may be in order before firm conclusions can be reached.

TABLE 35

INCLUSIVENESS OF ORIENTATION TOWARD THE COMMUNITY

	Public Leaders		Heads of Associations	
	N	%	N	%
Familial	0	0	17	11
Segmental	2	11	34	21
Community Inclusive	2	11	41	26
Community-Regional	11	61	44	27
Unclassifiable	3	17	23	15
Total	18	100	159	100

A number of factors may contribute to the expansion of the orientation of the person in the direction of greater inclusiveness toward the community. In Chapter I, it was suggested that upper class position seems to be accompanied by normal tendencies in this direction.

If this is so, it may be that the greater tendency for the public leaders to be oriented toward the community to a community-regional degree may reflect the tendency for the public leaders to be higher in prestige class than the heads of associations. This would tend to negate the theory. If it can be demonstrated that within social classes the public leaders are more inclusively oriented than the heads of associations, then the credibility of the theory is supported. We may, therefore, present the following hypothesis: Within social classes, the public leaders tend to be oriented toward the community more inclusively than the heads of associations.

Table 36 shows that in the lower-upper class, 58 per cent of the public leaders were oriented toward the community to a community-regional degree as compared to 31 per cent of the heads of associations. Similarly, in the upper-middle class, while the cases are few, they are in the same direction. The fact that some heads of associations are oriented toward the community more inclusively than s ome public leaders suggests the need for further research.

Education is another factor which may have some bearing on the degree of inclusiveness toward the community; therefore, it would seem desirable to screen out education as a factor. If differences in inclusiveness of orientation between the public leaders and the heads of associations persist within educational levels, the

TABLE 36

INCLUSIVENESS OF ORIENTATION TOWARD THE COMMUNITY,
BY OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE RANK

Prestige Class	Familial N	%	Segmental N	%	Community Inclusive N	%	Community-Regional N	%	Unclassifiable N	%	Total N	%
Heads of Associations												
1 - 2	2	5	9	21	11	26	13	31	7	17	42	100
3	7	15	7	15	16	34	14	30	3	6	47	100
4	5	11	9	20	9	20	13	28	10	21	46	100
5	2	10	7	37	4	21	3	16	3	16	19	100
Retired, Not Ascertained	1		2		1		1		0		5	
Public Leaders												
2	0	0	1	18	2	17	7	58	2	17	12	100
3	0	0	1	17	0	0	4	67	1	17	6	100

theory will gain added support. The hypothesis is therefore advanced that: At equal educational levels, the public leaders tend to be oriented toward the community in a manner which is more inclusive than that of the heads of associations.

Table 37 shows that at the college and professional educational level, about two-thirds of the public leaders were oriented to a community-regional degree, while about one-third of the heads of associations were similarly oriented toward the community. This seems to support the hypothesis.

Briefly, then, the evidence presented lends weight to the theory that the acquisition and maintenance of public leader roles is accompanied by, and possibly facilitated by, a more inclusive orientation to the community. The small number of cases and the limited number of scalable items indicate that stress should be laid on the tentative nature of this conclusion and the need for further research.

It was suggested that a person probably uses several, though a limited number of, orientations in his adjustments to his life situation. The discussion of orientation in Chapter I argued that persons with roles to which are attached a large degree of power may normally be expected to develop personalistic techniques of working with other persons of power in the formation of community policy and the execution of community policy.

TABLE 37

INCLUSIVENESS OF ORIENTATION TOWARD THE COMMUNITY, BY EXTENT OF EDUCATION

		Familial N	%	Segmental N	%	Community Inclusive N	%	Community-Regional N	%	Unclassifiable N	%	Total N	%
High School or Less	P. L.	0	0	1	25	0	0	2	50	1	25	4	100
	H. A.	8	16	17	31	12	22	11	20	6	11	54	100
College and Professional School	P. L.	0	0	1	7	2	14	9	65	2	14	14	100
	H. A.	9	8	17	16	29	28	33	32	17	16	105	100

These techniques involve thinking of these other persons in personal terms (in comparison with role or "formal" terms), so that anticipated objections to policies or projects may be met, solutions worked out, or conflict pursued at all potential levels of effectiveness.

On the other hand, it was argued that persons with a lesser degree of power (the heads of associations) are more likely to have non-familial experiences which are based on perceiving and adjusting to others in a formalistic or impersonal manner. That is, they tend to adjust to others on the basis of formally defined roles rather than on the basis of personal likes or dislikes. Few people can live all their "public" lives on an impersonal basis, and to the degree that the problems of leadership and power are similar for public leaders and heads of associations, we would expect them to develop similar techniques for handling them. But the problems of decision-making and policy-formation of the heads of associations are not usually so widespread in their ramifications. It seems probable that in working in the community and with reference to community policies, the relationships of the heads of associations are more likely to be encompassed by impersonal procedures which stress formalized roles. In some cases actions and perceptions are likely to be directed primarily toward the treatment of the community as a collection of objects such as streets, stores, and sewage disposal systems.

With this in mind, we may reasonably expect that the heads of associations will predominantly tend to be oriented formalistically. Taking the extreme position, the hypothesis is advanced that: Public leaders tend to be oriented personalistically while heads of associations tend to be oriented formalistically.

The following discussion of personalistic-formalistic orientation of community leaders is based on an exploratory question (i.e., the probe: Why?) which was asked after questions 3, 4, 5, and 6, cited earlier in this Chapter. The opening question of the interview was also coded in terms of personalistic-formalistic orientation of response. This question read:

> Q. 1. In a general way, what are you, as a grass-roots leader, trying to get done in Satellite City?

Considering them all together, the responses to these questions were classified as predominantly personalistic or predominantly formalistic.[1] The following are the kinds of responses which were considered evidence of personalistic or formalistic orientation:

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[1]Many of the community leaders gave answers in which there were both formalistic and personalistic components. Considering all the responses together, it was possible to code a predominant mode of orientation, however. The coding was done by someone other than the author. There were insufficient funds to permit the repetition of the coding by several persons in order to insure greater reliability. Caution is therefore suggested in the interpretation of these data.

Personalistic--responses in terms of changing people by working with them as persons: working as a boy scout or girl scout leader; working in the formation of a Senior Citizen's Club; helping poor people in the community; bringing souls to Christ; making the community a better place for children to grow up in; trying to influence other people; improving associations of which the respondent is a member by reducing interpersonal friction; "I know a lot of people and I try to work with them to get something done"; "What I do is a part of my religion"; respondent indicates that he has a lot of personal political influence.

Formalistic--respondent sees impact on community through memberships in various associations and their programs: has held various roles or offices in associations in the community; wants to improve work of associations of which he is a member or officer by improving or changing the kinds of activities of the associations; does a lot of public speaking to various associations in the community; is working to improve (having held or sought public office) posts in the township, school board, or quasi-public agencies like the city planning commission; is working to improve city government; is working for specific material changes in the community, such as getting a department store in the city, better bus service, better schools, better water facilities; is working to "clean out" the less desirable residential areas (i.e., the slums).

Undifferentiated Responses--responses not susceptible to categorization because they were oriented to generalized values, such as "I am working to make the community a better place to live in."

Table 38 gives the distribution of personalistic and formalistic orientation of responses of the community leaders when considering their relationship to the community. Over 75 per cent of the predominant responses of the public leaders was personalistic in comparison to about 30 per cent of the heads of associations. The hypothesis seems to be tenable, therefore, keeping in mind that the present technique is crude and the small number

of cases limits the ability to generalize freely.

TABLE 38

PREDOMINANT PERSONALISTIC-FORMALISTIC ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

		Number	Per Cent
Personalistic	P. L.	14	78
	H. A.	46	29
Formalistic	P. L.	4	22
	H. A.	108	68
Undifferentiated	P. L.	0	0
	H. A.	5	3
Total	P. L.	18	100
	H. A.	159	100

Table 39 gives the distribution by occupational prestige class of the personalistic and formalistic orientation of the responses of the community leaders. In the lower-upper class 75 per cent of the public leaders, in comparison with 45 per cent of the heads of associations, was personalistically oriented. In the upper-middle class, similar tendencies seem to exist, though the number of cases is small. The data seem to support the hypothesis.

It may be that whether a community leader tends to be oriented personalistically or formalistically is related to his class mobility. For those who aspire to

TABLE 39

PERSONALISTIC-FORMALISTIC ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE CLASS

Prestige Rank	Personalistic N	%	Formalistic N	%	Undifferentiated N	%	Total N	%
Heads of Associations								
1 - 2	19	45	23	55	0	0	42	100
3	14	29	31	67	2	4	47	100
4	8	17	36	79	2	4	46	100
5	4	21	14	74	1	5	19	100
Retired, Not Ascertained	1	20	4	80	0	0	5	100
Public Leaders								
2	9	75	3	25	0	0	12	100
3	5	83	1	17	0	0	6	100

move into higher social class levels, the problems of anticipation and adjustment would seem to be especially acute. Since the public leaders may be somewhat more class mobile than the heads of associations, it may be class mobility which accounts for the differences between the public leaders and the heads of associations. This would tend to negate the theory which has been advanced that personalistic orientation, when considering one's relationship to the community, is related to public leader roles rather than class mobility. The hypothesis is therefore offered that: Among persons of a similar degree of class mobility, the public leaders are more personalistically oriented than the heads of associations.

Table 40 presents the personalistic and formalistic orientation of the responses of the community leaders classified by degrees of class mobility of the respondent. The number of cases in the cells is small. It seems evident that class mobility is related to a tendency to personalistic orientation. Within each degree of class mobility, however, the public leaders were more personalistically oriented than the heads of associations, and the argument may be advanced that there is reason to believe on the basis of consistent tendencies in the same direction that the hypothesis is tenable.

Whether extent of education is related to personalistic and formalistic orientation when considering

TABLE 40

PERSONALISTIC-FORMALISTIC ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY CLASS MOBILITY OF FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

Degree of Mobility		Personalistic N	%	Formalistic N	%	Undifferentiated N	%	Total N	%
1 or More lower than Father	P. L.	2	100	0	0	0	0	2	100
	H. A.	5	19	20	77	1	4	26	100
Same	P. L.	3	100	0	0	0	0	3	100
	H. A.	13	22	44	75	2	3	59	100
1 higher than Father	P. L.	3	50	3	50	0	0	6	100
	H. A.	13	34	24	63	1	3	38	100
2 or More higher than Father	P. L.	6	86	1	14	0	0	7	100
	H. A.	12	46	14	54	0	0	26	100
D. K., Not Ascertained	P. L.	0		0		0		0	
	H. A.	3		6		1		10	

community problems is problematical. Table 41 shows that among those community leaders who had one year or more of college education, about 80 per cent of the public leaders was oriented personalistically in comparison to about 30 per cent of the heads of associations. This finding suggests that education is not a major factor in whether community leaders are oriented personalistically or formalistically when considering their relationship to the community.

Summarizing, two types of differences between the orientation of the public leaders and the heads of associations were discussed: those evidenced in the degree of inclusiveness of orientation toward the community, and those evidenced in either predominantly personalistic or predominantly formalistic orientation. The procedures used in the analysis of the orientation of community leaders were crude, the number of cases in the cells of some of the tables was small, and there may be problems of coding reliability; therefore, conclusions on the basis of the data must be considered highly tentative.

Within this framework, public leaders seemed to be more inclusively oriented than heads of associations, both within social classes and among those of equivalent educational level. The public leaders also tended to be oriented predominantly personalistically and the heads of associations tended to be oriented predominantly

TABLE 41

PERSONALISTIC-FORMALISTIC ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY EXTENT OF EDUCATION

Extent of Education		Personalistic N	%	Formalistic N	%	Undifferentiated N	%	Total N	%
High School or Less	P. L.	3	75	1	25	0	0	4	100
	H. A.	13	24	38	70	3	6	54	100
1 Year or More of College	P. L.	11	79	3	21	0	0	14	100
	H. A.	33	31	70	67	2	2	105	100

formalistically within social classes, among those with similar degrees of class mobility, and at the higher educational levels.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present research has sought to extend the existing body of knowledge about the social structural basis and the social psychological concomitants of community leadership and power through a descriptive analysis of the leader personnel of Satellite City.[1]

The history and present social organization of Satellite City reflects its relationship to Metro City, the center of the metropolitan area which now includes it. Since 1940, the population of Satellite City and its neighboring townships has more than doubled as a result of the expansion of Metro City industry during World War II. As the commercial and administrative center for its expanding local population, Satellite City's occupational distribution has evidenced an increasing proportion of professional and clerical-sales workers. Generally speaking, a trend toward an industrial supplier relationship to Metro City industry has been intensified; the largest factories in Satellite

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[1] It is again stressed that the present conclusions are largely based upon the perceptions of the heads of associations and public leaders. To what degree these perceptions accord with the "real structure of community power" can be ascertained only with further research.

City are now owned by Metro City companies. The Satellite City Liberal Arts College seems to be relatively less important than formerly. Social problems, such as crime, juvenile delinquency, and racial tensions seem to be greater than before World War II. An indication of the greater complexity of community life is the number of formally organized voluntary associations, which had increased so that in the summer of 1953 there were at least 187 White adult voluntary associations in the community.

Generally speaking, it seems probable that there has been a shift in the structure of power from personal relationships based on friendship, familial ties, and locally owned industry to relatively impersonal relationships based on filling key roles in key voluntary associations or on being conceived as the "representative" of one of the major absentee-owned industrial enterprises. Additional research into the relationship between ecological changes in the community and the structure of power of the community is indicated.

Within Satellite City, two kinds of community leaders were distinguished in this research: The public leaders were "top" leaders in the community; the heads of associations were "lesser" leaders in the community. The public leaders were persons with wide public acceptance for advice, approval, and active direction of projects that a large number of people felt were of general

community interest and significance; the heads of associations were "grass roots" leaders at a lower level of organization, the formally organized voluntary associations, with a more specific and restricted "public" than the public leaders.

The heads of associations were persons filling the chief executive office in formally organized associations, offices such as president, commander, executive secretary, minister-pastor, and noble grand. Negro heads of associations and Negro voluntary associations were omitted. One hundred fifty-nine heads of associations were interviewed.

As a part of their interview, the heads of associations were asked who were the most respected leaders in the community affairs of Satellite City, who were the "behind the scenes" leaders in community policy formation, and who were the non-legislative representatives of Satellite City to more powerful governmental agencies. Eighteen public leaders were identified and interviewed. Six of these 18 public leaders were also heads of associations.

The public leaders were also asked to nominate those whom they perceived as the public leaders of Satellite City. A public leader nomination agreement score was calculated for both the heads of associations and the public leaders. A comparison of the frequency distribution of their scores suggests that the public leaders

probably have a clearer perception of the structure of power in the community than the heads of associations.

Considering first the general characteristics of the community leaders, we may conclude that in its public manifestations the social structure of Satellite City is male dominated, for all of the 18 public leaders of Satellite City were males. Additional research is needed on the manner in which women acquire and exercise power in the community.

Public leaders were most heavily concentrated in the 46 to 55 age category, in comparison to the heads of associations, who tended to be between the ages of 36 and 55. These data support the conclusions that persons become available for public leader roles during only a restricted period of the life cycle and that power is vested largely in the "middle years."

It seems likely that long residence in Satellite City has facilitated the acquisition and maintenance of public leader roles. Almost 80 per cent of the public leaders and about 40 per cent of the heads of associations had lived in Satellite City twenty years or more. The exceptions to this finding indicate the need for further research into the manner in which the attributes which are associated with public leader roles may be acquired relatively quickly if a person enters "at the top" of the power structure through public employment as a Superintendent of Schools, City Manager, or college

president.

An important educational barrier may exist between the community leaders and the general population of Satellite City. Thus, all the public leaders and about 90 per cent of the heads of associations had completed high school, in comparison to about 50 per cent of the general population of Satellite City. Education seems to have some relevance for becoming a public leader, as well, since a third of the public leaders had had some professional or graduate school training as compared to about a fifth of the heads of associations.

There is some support to the idea that most of the public leaders and, to a lesser degree, the heads of associations "represent the business interests" of Satellite City as well as the community as a whole or their specific groups within it. All but one of the public leaders were in either a professional or business-managerial occupation, in comparison to about 55 per cent of the heads of associations, and only 12 per cent of the general male population.

Considering all the community leaders in comparison with the general population of Satellite City, we may conclude that the older, long-time, middle class and upper class residents have been able to consolidate themselves in key positions in the power structure, and that there may be important and deeply-rooted divisions in the community life of Satellite City which have accompanied

the changes that have taken place since 1940. The implications of these divisions, if they exist, in other areas of the social structure--particularly political behavior--need further research.

The differences in characteristics between the public leaders and the heads of associations are background factors in their differences in power. This research stressed the point of view that the differences in power between the public leaders and the heads of associations are rooted in the way the community is organized as a social system as well as reflected in different social psychological perspectives toward the community. Attention was therefore given to two questions: 1. What is the social and organizational basis of the power of the public leaders? 2. Is there a relationship between the public leader role and a person's "style of thinking" or mode of orientation toward the community?

Power was defined as the ability to make decisions that are determinative for events in the community. Power is hierarchical, tending to "flow" more in one direction than another; the greater the ability of one person to influence the behavior and attitudes of other persons within a framework of societally permissible means and ends, the more power he has. Persons with relatively more power were characterized as "leaders," and those with relatively less power as "followers."

From a functional point of view, leaders fill

the coordinative function in a social system. Generally speaking, the larger the social system, the greater the problem involved in wielding the coordinative function, and the more power it may be necessary to accord the leader if he is to fulfill successfully his coordinative function. Working at the level of the community as a whole, the public leaders may be expected to wield a relatively high degree of power within the community; heads of associations may be expected to exert a more limited and more circumscribed power within the limits of their formally organized voluntary associations.

On the basis of general considerations related to ecological theory and economic determinism, the hypothesis was proposed that part of the power of public leaders is based on the fact that they also occupy roles which have a high degree of economic dominance. Only 4 out of 24 economic dominants were also public leaders, while two of the heads of associations who were not public leaders were also economic dominants.[1] Public leader roles probably do not rest as directly upon economic power as had been supposed, therefore, and two distinguishable types of top leader personnel seem to exist in Satellite City, each with a different basis of power. The

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[1]The relationship between the public leaders and the economic dominants will be discussed in more detail by Schulze. Cf., R. O. Schulze, "Power and Control in the Urban Community," dissertation now in progress, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1954.

social structural factors leading to this bifurcation and the processes through which the relationships between the public leaders and the economic dominants are established and maintained need further research.

A second basis for the power of public leaders was derived from a conclusion in social stratification theory that differential class position reflects relative power in the community. The general hypothesis was therefore offered that public leaders tend to rank higher than the heads of associations in the system of prestige stratification. The index of class position was based upon the work of the NORC study of occupational prestige. The data tended to confirm the hypothesis. Two-thirds of the public leaders as compared to one-fourth of the heads of associations were in the lower-upper class of Satellite City; all the public leaders were in either the lower-upper or the upper-middle classes, as compared to about 55 per cent of the heads of associations.

The general differences between the public leaders and the heads of associations with respect to sex, type of occupation, age, and length of residence tended to persist within prestige class levels. Among the heads of associations, about 35 per cent of the female heads of associations was in the lower-upper and upper-middle classes as compared to about 70 per cent of the male heads of associations. Within the lower-upper class,

public leaders were drawn equally from professional and business-managerial occupations, while about 70 per cent of the heads of associations in the lower-upper class came from professional occupations. In contrast, in the upper-middle class, all the public leaders and 45 per cent of the heads of associations were in the business-managerial occupations. Both in the lower-upper class and the upper-middle class, public leaders tended to be concentrated in the 46 to 55 age category, while the heads of associations in the same prestige classes tended to be concentrated in the 36 to 45 age category. Similarly, the direct relationship between 20 or more years of residence and public leader roles persisted within both the lower-upper and the upper-middle classes. Further research is needed into the processes that lead to the selection of some persons who are high in the prestige system as top leaders of the community while others are not selected as top leaders.

Considering class mobility, 70 per cent of the public leaders was upwardly mobile with respect to their family of orientation; about 70 per cent was upwardly mobile with respect to their spouses. In comparison, about 45 per cent of the heads of associations was upwardly mobile with respect to their family of orientation; about 55 per cent was upwardly mobile with respect to their spouses. The acquisition of public leader roles may have different implications for the mobile and non-

mobile public leaders. For the upper class non-mobile persons, who were already "at the top," public leadership may be regarded as a means to demonstrate their general fitness to retain their ascribed class membership; for those who are upwardly class mobile, taking public leader roles may be both a means of acquiring the necessary power and prestige with which to facilitate mobility and also to demonstrate their "fitness to belong." Further research into the process of class mobility through the analysis of occupational and social career lines over an extended time span may throw additional light on the relationship of public leader roles and class mobility.

A third basis for the power of public leaders was suggested from an analysis of the importance of formally organized voluntary associations in modern society as a means of integrating potentially disparate individuals into the community, as channels of communication between otherwise partially isolated segments of the community, and as a means for exercising power through the community. On the assumption that the activities of public leaders in voluntary associations facilitate their power and influence in the community, the general hypothesis was offered that the activity of public leaders in voluntary associations differs from the activity of heads of associations in voluntary associations. This general hypothesis was considered with respect to the number of memberships, variety of memberships, member-

ships in key associations, and occupying of key roles within the voluntary associations.

The public leaders tended to belong to a larger number of voluntary associations and to belong to a greater diversity of types of voluntary associations than the heads of associations. All but one of the public leaders had six or more memberships in voluntary associations in comparison with only half of the heads of associations. These differences persisted within social classes, age categories, length of residence, and degrees of class mobility, though not to quite as great a degree. Furthermore, the percentage with memberships in each type of voluntary association was greater for the public leaders than the heads of associations, except with respect to women's and church-related associations. The greatest differences were with respect to patriotic and charitable associations; 80 per cent of the public leaders had at least one membership in a patriotic association in comparison to only 40 per cent of the heads of associations, and all of the public leaders had memberships in charitable associations in comparison to about half of the heads of associations. These facts are an indication of the importance of voluntary associations in the establishment of a broad base of power in the community.

The power of the public leaders rests upon membership in the highly influential associations of Satel-

lite City, as well as upon the number and diversity of types of memberships. On the basis of respondent nominations it was concluded that the following were the most highly influential voluntary associations in the community: the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Lions Club, the Kiwanis Club, the (White dominated) American Legion Post, and the Rotary Club. Almost 40 per cent of the public leaders had memberships in three out of these six highly influential voluntary associations; about 90 per cent had memberships in two or more highly influential associations. In contrast, only about 10 per cent of the heads of associations had memberships in three highly influential associations and only 25 per cent had memberships in two or more highly influential associations.

Interlocking relationships of one voluntary association to another were also considered an indication of some degree of influence of the association. Analysis of interlocking officer data revealed that 1256 persons filled officer roles in 169 associations on which there were data in 1953. About 80 per cent of these people had only one officer role; 14 per cent (179 persons) had only one set of interlocking officer roles. About 40 per cent of the public leaders had three or more memberships in those associations having more than 13 interlocking officer roles, in comparison to only 10 per cent of the heads of associations.

It was argued that public leaders would tend to concentrate their power in policy forming roles rather than policy executing roles within the most highly influential associations. However, about 75 per cent of the community leaders had no officer role in the six highly influential associations; among those who did have some officer role, there was some tendency for the public leaders to have more major officerships and board memberships than the heads of associations. In associations which were not highly influential, 30 per cent of the heads of associations filled one or more board memberships in comparison to about 56 per cent of the public leaders. From 1945-1951, the public leaders had more officer roles than the heads of associations. Thus, past officer roles rather than present officer roles seem to be important as a means through which public leaders may exert influence in highly influential associations, while in non-highly influential associations, the public leaders may themselves be channels for integrating these less influential associations into the system of power. In general, these data suggest that the public leaders are in a position to utilize the voluntary associations of the community to secure and exert power which is possible for few other persons. Power in Satellite City, then, seems to be concentrated in the hands of the public leaders.

The power of the public leaders is further con-

solidated in their interrelationships with the heads of associations and those among themselves. All the public leaders had 3 or more memberships in associations in which 6 or more heads of associations were also members, while only about 50 per cent of the heads of associations belonged to associations in which there were 6 or more heads of associations; the larger number of memberships of the public leaders has the consequence of interrelating the heads of associations more highly to the public leaders than to the other heads of associations. All but one of the public leaders had over 3 memberships in associations in which there are 6 or more public leaders in comparison to only 12 per cent of the heads of associations.

An analysis of "public" and "private" relationships of the respondents to the public leaders showed that 50 per cent of the heads of associations said that they had some type of public relationship with the public leaders, while only one public leader said that he had none. Twenty-five per cent of the heads of associations stated that they had 3 or more public relationships with public leaders in comparison with 33 per cent of the public leaders who had public relationships with other public leaders. Only 25 per cent of the heads of associations had any private relationships with the public leaders and only 5 per cent had 3 or more private relationships with the public leaders. In contrast,

over 50 per cent of the public leaders had 3 or more private relationships with other public leaders. The two kinds of community leaders were to some degree related publicly to each other; both publicly and privately, the public leaders were more highly related among themselves than they were to the heads of associations.

A major finding of the present research, then, is that formally organized voluntary associations are important in the structure of power in the community. The pattern of relationships among the public leaders through voluntary associations, "public" relationships, and "private" relationships suggests that power in Satellite City is focussed in public leaders who jointly wield power in the community. Their close communication in a number of different contexts permits the suggestion that the public leaders form a cohesive grouping in the community capable of uniting through discussion for the formulation and execution of community policy. A more detailed analysis of the implications of this potential cohesiveness is desirable. It may be that it operates effectively to prevent disagreements among public leaders from becoming so deeply rooted that they are transmuted into struggles for power. A more detailed analysis of this close relationship of the public leaders might also give considerable insight into how new public leaders are "selected" when a "vacancy" occurs in the top of the power structure.

It is within this framework of the voluntary associations that policy formation and execution take place in Satellite City. Community policy formation is a complex process involving the public leaders and the highly influential associations. There is probably not any one person who may be considered the top leader in Satellite City. Instead, there seem to be several persons, with differing roles in the community, who are closely interrelated in their activities and who are regarded as equivalent with reference to power in Satellite City.

Furthermore, there is probably no single way of initiating a project in Satellite City. There is some tendency for the initial discussion and planning of major projects to take place privately among the public leaders, but often a public leader will initiate projects directly within a committee of the Chamber of Commerce--though he will usually talk with the salaried officials of the Chamber before he goes very far.

A complex pattern of private interaction among the public leaders and of "public" discussion within the Chamber of Commerce seems to be involved in policy formation and implementation in Satellite City. Once policies are agreed upon in the Chamber of Commerce, which may be functionally described as the "community council" insofar as community based projects are concerned, they are referred to other highly influential associations for concurrence and implementation. The close inter-

locking relationships among these highly influential associations suggest that a good deal of prior commitment is already secured before a project is given general Chamber of Commerce support. When a major project gets under way it will probably be with the active attention and the direct leadership of at least one of the public leaders rather than be turned over to understructure personnel, though considerations of personality and issues apparently are important.

The interlocking relationships between the highly influential associations and the other associations in the community indicate the potential channels for the diffusion of power into less powerful segments of the community. These channels may operate through interlocking officerships, interlocking memberships, and intervisitation of members. A more detailed study is necessary in order to "map out" how power is transmitted from one segment of the community to another along these channels. This will also entail a more thorough knowledge of how power is brought to bear on individual members within the associations.

Competing centers of power, such as the labor unions, also exist in Satellite City. None of the labor union leaders received more than several nominations, probably because of the general middle class characteristics of the heads of associations. Additional research is needed into the relationships between the Chamber of

Commerce and these competing centers of power. Thus, the labor unions seem to be actively challenging the power of the Chamber of Commerce in the political life of the community as reflected in their participation in the local units of the national political parties. At the same time, some accommodation has taken place as evidenced by the participation of labor leaders as sub-leaders in "community oriented" activities such as the Community Fund Campaign.

The relationship between filling the public leader role and a person's orientation toward the community received less attention in this study than the social and organizational bases of the power of public leaders. A person's orientation was defined as the typical frame of reference within which he responds to life situations. Differences in social role should be accompanied by differences in orientation toward the community. Two modes of orientation were discussed: One involves the degree to which parts or all of the community are perceived as relevant for one's activities, and was termed inclusiveness of orientation; the other mode of orientation involves the degree to which the person is oriented toward the community impersonally or in terms of individual personal differences.

Considering first the degree of inclusiveness of orientation of community leaders, 10 per cent of the public leaders was oriented toward the community either to

a familial or segmental degree as compared to about 30 per cent of the heads of associations; about 60 per cent of the public leaders was community-regional oriented in comparison to about 27 per cent of the heads of associations. To a lesser degree, the public leaders were more inclusively oriented than the heads of associations within social classes and within equivalent educational levels.

Considering next the personalistic or formalistic orientation of the community leaders, the predominant responses of over 75 per cent of the public leaders were personalistic in comparison to about 30 per cent of the heads of associations. Within social classes, the public leaders tended to be more personalistically oriented than the heads of associations. While class mobility seems to be generally related to a personalistic orientation, within each degree of mobility, the public leaders tended to be more personalistically oriented than the heads of associations. A similar conclusion seems possible within equivalent educational levels.

Though promising, these findings with respect to the orientation of community leaders should be regarded as highly tentative. Considerable improvement in research procedures is needed before fruitful research into the social-psychological implications of position in the social structure can proceed.

That there were some heads of associations who

were more inclusively oriented than some public leaders, and that some heads of associations were more personalistically oriented than some public leaders suggest a problem for further research. It may be that these heads of associations are "second level" leaders in Satellite City; they may be intermediate in power between the other heads of associations and the public leaders. On the other hand, the more segmentally oriented and the more formalistically oriented public leaders may be persons who are withdrawn from the community through retirement, or they may be persons who have only recently emerged as public leaders and have not yet reoriented themselves in terms of their new social roles.

The tendency toward personalistic orientation by the public leaders may be interpreted as a manifestation of the greater social complexity that confronts them in comparison to the heads of associations. This greater social complexity is evidenced in the community-wide implications of the activities of the public leaders, and in the importance of the public leaders' considering the implications of events in the surrounding metropolitan area for life within the community--factors which seem to be conducive to the development of a more inclusive orientation. This greater social complexity is also manifested in the manner in which public leaders exercise power throughout most of the community, involving "vertical" relationships with persons of lesser power

and "horizontal" relationships with persons of equivalent power, so that interaction on the basis of roles alone is not efficient enough for the public leaders and must be supplemented with a more personalistic approach.

The implications of the present findings for a theory of power must be approached cautiously. Comparable analyses are not available to help differentiate those findings which are unique to Satellite City and those with more general application. Keeping within the confines of American assumptions on how power should be wielded in community life, two ecological considerations are important and suggest additional problems for research.

The first of these factors is the size of the community. Satellite City is a relatively small community of 20,000. The larger the community, the greater the differentiation of its population with respect to degree of economic dominance, prestige class, and associational activities. Hence, the wider the extremes of relative power, the further the policy and decision makers may be from the general population. Power may consequently be manifested differently in a community of 300,000 (such as Hunter's Regional City) than in a community of 20,000.

Thus, in a more elaborated community, public leaders probably cannot maintain a relationship as directly with such a large portion of the population as in

Satellite City. Under these conditions, however, they can exercise power over subordinate individuals who, taken together, maintain the apparently important, wide, associational relationships which the public leaders themselves cannot maintain alone. It may be, then, that the phenomenon of indirect control ("behind the scenes manipulation") begins to be more important that it seems to be in Satellite City.

The second of these factors is the socio-economic history of the community. A one-industry town may have a different type of power structure from a multi-industry town. A shift from relative independence to relative dependence upon a nearby metropolitan community also may have consequences for the structure of power. Thus, the incorporation of Satellite City within the orbit of Metro City indicates the possible need for viewing the community in a new perspective, even if we do not grant that some power that was formerly in the community has now shifted to the metropolitan core. In the new perspective, it does not seem to be unreasonable to suggest that there has been a relative decline in the importance of all public leaders in Satellite City. It becomes increasingly important to investigate how the system of power in smaller subordinated communities within the metropolitan area are related to the overall structure of power in the total metropolitan community.

Another application of the problems related to

the shifting relationship of a community in the metropolitan community is suggested by the question of how public leader roles are shifted from father to son. There are several cases in Satellite City in which a father has successfully shifted his public leader role to his son (the Moseley family and the Rush family) or in which such a shift is currently being attempted (Norbert Johns and Deming Rogers). It may be that the shifting of roles from father to son is more readily accomplished in a smaller community which is not subject to rapid change. If this is so, then these more recently attempted transfers from father to son may not be successful. That is, it may be that the changes which Satellite City has experienced tend to alter the criteria for the selection of new public leaders rather than to eliminate those persons who are already public leaders. It may be that the new criteria place greater stress upon economic dominance, that the public leaders of the future will increasingly be drawn from the economic dominants, and that the present hiatus between the public leaders and economic dominants will tend to disappear.

Expressing these ecological considerations more positively, we may say that the conclusions of the present research probably have their greatest reliability in industrial communities with a 15,000 to 35,000 population which are on the fringes of a larger metropolitan community, and are only beginning to be integrated into the

metropolitan complex.

At a more general level of theory of power, it is probable that previous research and analysis of power in the American community has been too simple to encompass the highly complex web of relationships through which power actually seems to operate. The present findings indicate that a high degree of power seems to be concentrated in a small and gradually changing segment of the population rather than in a single top leader. This segment seems to be tied to a relatively large part of the community through a series of interlocking relationships, both public and private. The argument of the present work has been that formally organized voluntary associations are the channels by which power is carried outward from a locus of power, but it may be equally argued that these same associations are also devices for collecting or aggregating power. As such, they put limits of some sort even upon the public leaders. As channels for the collection as well as distribution of power they operate "up" as well as "down" and through them many "little people" may have a voice in community affairs. Subsequent research should give more attention to power in a democratic society, seeking answers to the problem of how the "bottom" is related to the "top" through a study of the complex system of existing relationships rather than through conceptualizing an elite which makes decisions and sees to their implementation

through "pulling out the proper stops."

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The Michigan Community Leaders Study

A general study of community leaders is being made under the direction of the Department of Sociology of the University of Michigan. This questionnaire is a part of that study.

The Michigan Community Leaders Study is interested in the various kinds of leaders found in typical American communities, the organizations to which they belong, and some of their feelings about their home communities. The Study has been undertaken because of an interest in how American democracy works at the grass-roots level.

All answers are confidential. They will be available only in compiled form (like tables and charts). All final information will be anonymous.

A brief summary of the findings will be supplied to you at the end of the Study.

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The Michigan Community Leaders Study took your name from a list of Heads of Organizations compiled for Satellite City. Most of the information came from newspaper clippings and other published information. Below is a list of the officers of the organization of which you are the Head. Please make any additions or corrections that are necessary.

Name of Organization: _____

Major Officers

Title	Name

Members of Board of Directors or Executive Committee

Name	Name	Name

☐ If major officers are also the Board of Directors or Executive Committee, check here.

Regular or "Standing" Committees

Name of Committee	Chairman (only)

First, several questions are about how you think and feel in general and about the part you play in community life. We are interested in your point of view about leadership and about how you are trying to work out your point of view.

1. In a general way, what are you as a grass-roots leader trying to get done in Satellite City?

2. Do you usually think of yourself as a leader in the Satellite City community? Yes_____ No_____ (check one)

3. Do you feel that you have any special contributions that you make to particular groups in the community, like particular organizations, a church, a neighborhood, or some other groups within the community? Yes_____ No_____ (check one) Please explain briefly:

4. Do you feel that you have a special (or important) contribution that you make to the Satellite City community as a whole? Yes_____ No_____ (check one) Please explain briefly:

5. Except for voting, have you thought much about the importance of your activities for the Northeastern part of the state generally? Yes_____ No_____ (check one) Please explain briefly:

6. Except for voting, do you feel that what you do has real importance for what happens in the state or nation as a whole? Yes_____ No_____ (check one)

Next, the Community Leaders Study is trying to know more about the kinds of organizations to which various kinds of leaders belong. The next several pages discuss this matter in more detail. Attached to this sheet is a page with a list of kinds of organizations that are found in most communities. It is not a complete list of all the organizations, but we hope that it will jog your memory.

7. What clubs and organizations do you belong to and what kind of job do you have in them? Please put down the name of every organization to which you belong at the present time and check the column describing the kind of job you have in it:

Name of Organization	Officer: Pres., V.P. Sec., Treas. Noble Grand Commander	Member Board of Directors or Executive Committee	Chairman Standing, or Permanent Committee	Member only

8. What other officerships in organizations have you held since World War II and up to this year? Please list the name of the organization, the name of the kind of officership, and the year:

Name of Organization	Officer: Pres., V.P. Sec., Treas. Noble Grand Commander	Member Board of Directors or Executive Committee	Chairman Standing, or Permanent Committee	Year

9. Of all the organizations to which you belong, which are most important to you personally? (You may not necessarily be an officer in any of them.)

10. Of all the organizations in the community, which are the ten that are "most successful in getting things done" either "for themselves" or for the community as a whole? (You may or may not be a

member of them yourself.)

11. Which organizations would be most important in successfully "putting across" a major community project like expanding the hospital or the library?

12. Which would be most important in getting support for a large school building program, or for defeating such a program?

The following questions are asked to help The Community Leaders Study find out who are some of the other Leaders in Satellite City besides Leaders in various organizations.

13. Suppose a major project were before the community that required decision by a group of leaders that nearly everyone would accept. Which ten people would you choose--regardless of whether you know them personally or not?

14. In most cities certain persons are said to be influential "behind the scenes" and to have a lot to say about programs that are planned, projects, and issues that come up around town. What persons in Satellite City are influential in this way?

15. In your opinion, which of these community leaders who have been mentioned so far seem to generally work together or usually stand together in the public eye?

16. If a decision was to be made in the state capital that affected Satellite City, who would be the best contact man to get in touch with state officials (besides local members of the legislature)?

17. Who (besides local members of Congress) would be the best people to get in touch with Federal officials in Metro City, Chicago, or Washington?

18. Are there any other people who these leaders work with that have not been named so far and who should be included in a list of leaders?

19. Who is the top leader in the community? Why?

20. Who were the most important people in Satellite City about 8 years ago--right after the war?

21. Of all the people named so far, who would you

consider to be close friends of yours (for instance, people you have over to dinner often, or that your families visit back and forth)?

22. Who are close relatives of yours by family or marriage?

23. Do you work for any of them, or does anybody in your family work for any of them?

24. Are any of them business associates? That is, do you or does anyone in your family work pretty closely as a client or in a buyer-seller relationship with any of the persons mentioned so far?

25. With whom have you worked personally on some project or plan since 1950?

26. With what organizations has the organization of which you are the head worked the most since 1950?

(Questions 27 and 28 asked only of public leaders.)

We would also like your help in learning more about community leadership procedures. The following questions are about these procedures:

27. If a major project, such as getting a new hospital or a branch library, were up for consideration, how would the influential leaders we have been talking about act in relation to each other?

    a. Who would contact which other?

    b. When would the community associations be drawn in on the subject?

    c. Which would be drawn in first?

    d. Who in the community would be likely to be picked to take the "active" leadership and "see the project through"?

28. Suppose a political issue, like a new city charter, or changing the tax assessment procedures, were to be settled, what would be the line of action?

    a. Who among the influential leaders would contact which others?

b. When would the community associations be drawn in on the subject?

c. Which would be drawn in first?

d. Who in the community would be likely to be picked to take the "active" leadership and "see the project through"?

The following questions are asked for statistical purposes only. They help us know more about the personal characteristics of the leaders in Satellite City.

1. How long have you lived in Satellite City? (check)
   1. moved here within the last 2 years
   2. more than 2 years but less than 5 years
   3. more than 5 years but less than 10 years
   4. more than 10 years but less than 20 years
   5. more than 20 years but less than 50 years
   6. have lived in Satellite City more than 50 years
   7. live outside of the Satellite City area

2. In what year were you born?

3. In what community and state did you spend most of your life before you were 16 years old?

   How do you feel about living in Satellite City?

4. What are the things that you like <u>most</u> about Satellite City?

5. What are the things that you like <u>least</u> about Satellite City?

6. How much formal schooling did you have? (check one)
   1. did not complete high school
   2. completed high school
   3. some college (including Junior College)
   4. finished college
   5. finished professional or graduate school (like: medical, dental, architect, social work, ministry)

7. <u>If you did not go to college</u>: Did you have some <u>special training</u> such as trade school, apprenticeship, business or secretarial school, or in-service training in social work? Yes_____ No_____ (check one)

8. If you did go to college: What was your curriculum? (check one)

   1. liberal arts, teaching, or music
   2. business, commerce, or pre-law
   3. engineering, architecture, or science
   4. other pre-professional or professional (which?) (like: pre-medical, nursing, pre-ministerial, special preparation for religious orders)

9. What kind of work do you do as your regular occupation? How does the company you work for describe your work--your occupational title? (like: foreman, personnel manager, plant superintendent, president of the company, executive secretary, minister, housewife, farmer, plumber)

   If a housewife: What is your husband's (or the "breadwinner's") usual occupation?

10. How many people would you say that you (or your husband) have working "under" you?

11. What kind of business is it? What does the company or business do? (like: manufactures storm sash, retail department store, commercial printing, automobile agency, public school)

12. What is the name of the business or company? If self-employed (put check)

13. What was your father's usual occupation?

14. What was your husband's (or wife's) father's usual occupation?

15. Where would you say that the family breadwinner gets most of your family income from? (check one)

   1. inherited savings and investments
   2. savings, investments, "social security," or insurance based on your own earnings
   3. profits and fees for services
   4. salary and commissions
   5. wages, based on hourly rates or piece-work
   6. others (specify)

Thank you. We want to assure you again that every effort will be made to keep the information you have given us strictly confidential.

APPENDIX II. A TYPOLOGY OF FORMALLY ORGANIZED VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

A "formally organized voluntary association" seems to have the following generic characteristics: 1. Membership is not usually automatic. One must "join" and be accepted. This usually involves age, sex, and race segregation. 2. The behavior of "members" is different by formal rules or custom from "non-members." Members are perceived to have characteristics that set them apart. 3. There is role differentiation at least to the point where some members occupy policy executing roles while others occupy policy forming roles. 4. They are categoric groupings rather than corporate groupings in the sense that Hawley uses the terms.[1]

The formally organized voluntary associations discussed in the present study were classified into eight major categories. Within each category there were placed several types of associations which seem to be differentiated in terms of the basis of membership. In the following discussion of these categories and types of formally organized voluntary associations numerous examples are given. But this is not to be considered a complete list of all the associations in Satellite

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[1]For a fuller definition, see Chapter I, above.

City. Most of the associations of Satellite City are segregated in terms of sex, age, and race.

Church: Associations engaged in the development, elaboration, and transmission of a certain type of ideology and the guidance of conduct rather directly through proscriptive and prescriptive maxims which are justified in terms of and inferred from beliefs about the nature of man and the nature of what Malinowski calls "the realm of the unknown." They are highly proliferated into denominations, sects. These associations and the religions that they seek to transmit claim to guide the individual throughout his life and often after life is over, and differences apparently develop easily. These differences are reflected in church organization. Hence the churches of Satellite City seem to be divided along theological and organizational lines.

Church Related: These tend to be derivative associations and to operate within the framework of the denominational church associations categorized above. It is not unusual for a person to be a member of a denominational church association and not be a member of that association's derivative church related associations. This is commoner among men than among women. Furthermore, these church related associations often have a body of officers and a treasury of their own. It is not uncommon for these quasi-independent church related associations to become the main financial support of the churches

themselves.

a. Sex-based associations: The League of Catholic Women, Methodist Men, Salvation Army Home League.

b. Functional associations: Altar Society, The Bible Study Club, Board of Christian Education of Satellite City Church of God.

c. Interchurch or Interdenominational: Kings Daughters, United Church Women of Satellite City, Gideons.

Recreational and Youth Working: They justify their existence largely upon activity for the sake of activity, with ideologies played down or absent. These associations are not usually secret nor are their procedures usually based upon solidarity-producing rituals.

a. Clique associations: largely engaged in card playing. Usually quite small numerically and quite informal in structure. The New York Poker Club, The Jolly Eight Euchre Club.

b. Sport: Specific size tends to be limited by the type of sport, but presumptive inclusion is on the basis of skill and interest. Women's Bowling League, Satellite City Agricultural Implement Company Baseball Club.

c. Adult Recreational and Hobby: Tends to be inclusive of all with interest, time, or willingness to pay dues and participate. Tends to encompass a wide variety of interests such as gardening, music, drama, and

photography. Satellite City Civic Band, The Square Dance Club of Satellite City, Little Theatre, The Old Supper Club, the Chess and Checker Club.

d. Youth Working and Derivative Associations: Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Girl Scout Leader Club.

Patriotic, Civic, and Political: Those associations which seek to relate members on the basis of past, present, or even future roles in the "polis" or "the State" as entities toward which members have had, have at the present time, or may have duties and obligations. Often they legitimize their activities through appeal to nationalistic sentiments. Includes numerous derived and auxiliary associations.

a. Veterans: American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars Auxiliary, Past Presidents Club of American Legion Auxiliary, Gold Star Mothers, Navy Mothers Club, Daughters of Union Veterans, Daughters of the American Revolution, National Guard Auxiliary.

b. Political and Civil: Republican Women's Club, Satellite City Town Hall, Townsend Club, Satellite City Subdivision Association, Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Charitable, Health, and Welfare: Appeal to universalized "humanitarian" values and carry on activities generally in consonance with these values. Functionally may be conceived of as carrying on activities which are sometimes partially within the sphere of local or "higher"

government, but which are often outside of its scope. Thus, these associations tend to be supplementary to government and to work closely with it--though often in conflict with centralized authority because it threatens the existence of the association.

a. Social Service: Community Chest, Council of Social Agencies, Family Agency, Star Ladies Aid Society, Thrift Shop, Visiting Nurse Association, Goodfellows.

b. Health: Mental Health Clinic, Red Cross, Hospital Auxiliary, Polio Society.

c. Special Interest Group: Golden Years Club, American Federation of the Physically Handicapped.

Fraternal and Benevolent: Secret rituals and beliefs as a partial device for maintaining solidarity. Strong stress on familial values in a secondary relationship. Often there are derived associations based on present or past occupancy of roles in a given association. These derived associations seem to make it possible for former officers to retain a measure of the prestige of office and to maintain more than "mere member" power in the affairs of the association.

a. Lodges: Free and Accepted Masons (Blue Lodge), Knights of Columbus, Order of Eastern Star, Past Chiefs of Pythian Sisters.

b. Sororities: Sigma Sigma Sigma.

c. Insurance and Benevolent Societies: Satellite City Tent-Hive of the Maccabees, Past Presidents

of the Degree of Honor Protective and Benevolent Society.

Women's and Educational Associations: Associations dedicated to "self-improvement" of the members from a "cultural" point of view. They also work to maintain, protect, provide facilities or equipment for, or to criticize existing or previously existing facilities for self-improvement or for the improvement of members of the family. Functionally, they may be construed as associations engaged in status improving "culture."

a. "Women's Clubs": The Ladies Cultural Association, The Gladioli Society, The Satellite City Child Study Club, The Federation of Women's Clubs, The American Association of University Women.

b. Parent-Teacher Associations: Satellite City High School Band Parents Association, the Grade School P.T.A.

c. Mother's Clubs: Satellite City Nursery Association.

d. Alumni and Alumnae: Satellite City Liberal Arts College Alumni Association.

Occupational: Membership is based on occupational characteristics. They may be exclusively male, or exclusively female either by definition or through the vagaries of the division of labor as it has developed. Sometimes they include persons of both sexes.

Usually they are racially segregated.

a. Specifically occupational: Functionally, the associations are most clearly categoric in Hawley's sense, in that they exist to defend or extend occupational interests of members: Real Estate Board, Ministerial Association, Teachers' Club, Satellite City Federation of Teachers, Faculty Dames (i.e., the wives of the male faculty of the Satellite City Liberal Arts College), International Association of Fire Fighters, Local Union of International Union of Toy-Makers.

b. General business and management: The so-called "service clubs." Functionally, they seem to legitimize business by making business a "calling" in Weber's sense, and by seeking to demonstrate that fellowship and universalized "humanitarian" values are possible in the "hard-boiled" business world. They also serve as a means of securing business and as channels of communication along specific occupational lines: Satellite City Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis, Junior Chamber of Commerce Auxiliary, Business and Professional Women's Association, Zonta.

This classification is primarily useful as the basis of a general description of community life. A more careful scrutiny suggests that the major defect is that it tends to assume that associations have a single function in the community. Insofar as the same system of categories is used in all communities, it assumes that

associations with the same name have the same function in all communities.

In reality, associations may have several functions and may change their functions over time. Thus, the Townsend Club is formally a political pressure association. It also has an age-segregated social-recreational function. Indeed, over time, this latter function has probably all but displaced the former. In comparison, there is the Golden Years Club, which was organized primarily as a social-recreational association. I have classified it under "Charitable, Health, and Welfare." It seems to have been organized as an effort to "do something about the older people in the community" under the direct stimulus of younger people who were primarily oriented to welfare types of activities. It has a large overlapping membership with the Townsend Club, which suggests a second function of the Golden Years Club. For it apparently represents an effort to provide a "more respectable" or a "non-political" association to "meet the needs of our senior citizens." It has the support of the public leaders and has a "respectability" that the Townsend Club does not seem to have. Over time it will probably drive the Townsend Club out of existence. It also may function as a means for enhancing the prestige of some leaders in the community who do not seem able or willing to operate within the normal prestige acquiring procedures.

Another example of the difficulties of setting up single function categories of associations is the race and ethnic associations. They are listed separately in a footnote in Table 2, above, solely because the research operations excluded them from the present work. Race and ethnic background seem to be a secondary set of criteria that may be applied on all the other types of associations.[1] Thus, there are Negro churches, a Negro American Legion Post, a Negro masonic lodge, a Negro Federation of (Negro) Women's Clubs, and a (Negro) Businessmen's Association. There are also some interracial associations in the community, just as there are associations having both men and women as members. For example: The Roman Catholic Church, the United Church Women, and several Parent Teacher Associations.

Segregated Negro associations may have multiple functions in the sense that they may have one function within the Negro community and another within the "community as a whole." Thus, the (Negro) Businessmen's Association seems to have an analogous, but weaker, function, to that of the Chamber of Commerce within the community as a whole. It seems to be weaker because its members have considerably less power within the community as a whole and consequently its Negro community sup-

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[1]Mhyra S. Minnis, "Cleavage in Women's Organizations, American Sociological Review, 18 (February, 1953), 47-53.

port may be challenged more successfully by labor union politicians and fundamentalist preachers. From the point of view of the community as a whole, the (Negro) Businessmen's Association seems to be regarded as the respectable "voice of the Negro community."

A final example of the problems of analysis of the functions of formally organized associations in the community is the Hospital Auxiliary. It was started (or rejuvenated) after 1948. Its initial basis of membership was representation from the various women's associations in Satellite City. Recently it was reorganized so that membership is now apparently on an individual membership rather than an associational representative basis. From the standpoint of action, this had the obvious advantage of transcending the difficulties associated with confederations. At the same time, the changing basis of membership seems to have meant that the Hospital Auxiliary has become an "upper class" service association such as the Hospital Auxiliary in Maple City has been for some time. That is, it is probable that a person now gets a certain amount of prestige from membership alone. It is not to be construed that the Hospital Auxiliary is giving less service to the hospital as a result of the shift in the basis of membership. To the contrary, the change may mean that more service is being given, since more motivation may accompany membership than previously.

In summary, these observations suggest that categories of associations should be considered highly tentative. Analysis of specific communities and the dynamics of the relationships of associations within them may ultimately make possible a set of multi-dimensional functional categories.

APPENDIX III. THE PUBLIC LEADER NOMINATION AGREEMENT SCORE

Public leader nomination scores were calculated on the basis of a formula arbitrarily combining three factors: 1. accuracy of perception of who were the public leaders as finally selected; 2. completeness, or the degree to which the respondents were able to name leaders correctly out of eighteen possible chances; and 3. knowledge of the community.

"Accuracy" is the relationship of the number of public leaders named to the total number of different persons named. It may be expressed in the following form: $\frac{\text{Number of public leaders named}}{\text{Number of different persons named}}$. "Completeness" is the relationship of the number of public leaders named to the total possible number of public leaders (18 for the present study), and may be expressed as follows: $\frac{\text{Number of public leaders named}}{18}$. "Knowledge of the community" deals with the relationship between the number of persons named to the number of public leaders. This may be expressed in the following form:

$$\frac{\text{Number of different persons named}}{18}$$

The objective of the final score was to insure that the respondents who might name eighteen out of eighteen public leaders would get the highest score.

This "ideal" person would name neither too many nor too few public leaders and he would name correctly all of the eighteen public leaders and no others. At the same time, the score should insure that persons who named correctly only three persons, let us say, but named only public leaders (in other words, hit three out of three), would not get as high a final score as the respondents who named ten different persons only five of whom were public leaders (hit five out of ten). The respondent who named five people showed a somewhat higher knowledge of the community than the respondent who named only three. To accomplish this aim, the maximum value of the "knowledge of community" factor was limited to 1, so that persons who over-named, or named more than eighteen persons in the community, would not gain disproportionate benefit in their final score. The chances of naming a greater number of public leaders conceivably increase with the number of names given, if the respondent has a moderate awareness of community life and leadership.

The three factors of accuracy, completeness, and knowledge of the community were arbitrarily weighted so that the value given to completeness was slightly higher than the combination of the two other factors. Thus, the final formula for the calculation of the "public leader nomination agreement" score may be expressed as follows: 2 ("accuracy") + "knowledge of the community" to a maximum value of 1 + 4 ("completeness") + pub-

lic leader nomination agreement score. The maximum possible score ("perfect") would be 7; minimum score possible would be 0.

The final score gives only relative ranking of respondents with respect to public leader nomination agreement score. It is not suggested that the respondent who scores, let us say, 4.0, is twice as accurate as the respondent who scores 2.0. But it is suggested that the respondent who made the higher score ranks higher than the respondent with the lower score with respect to relative ability to perceive and nominate the public leaders of Satellite City. A sample listing of scores is given in Table 42. Table 6 gives the public leader nomination agreement scores of the public leaders and the heads of associations.

TABLE 42

SAMPLE LIST OF COMMUNITY LEADERS AND THE PUBLIC LEADER NOMINATION AGREEMENT SCORES

Respondent Interview Number	Number of Different Persons Named	Number of Public Leaders Named	Public Leader Nomination Score
85	3	0	.2
342	13	0	.7
357	4	1	1.0
362	2	1	1.3
9	9	3	1.8
13	8	3	1.9
43	16	3	1.9
302	6	3	2.0
330	8	4	2.3
336	7	4	2.4
307	41	5	2.4
33	7	5	2.9
36	19	6	3.0
45	10	6	3.1
52	5	5	3.4
206	13	7	3.4
324	21	8	3.5
82	22	9	3.8
86	26	10	4.0
12	16	9	4.0
200	14	9	4.1
16	21	11	4.5
3	26	12	4.6
39	15	11	4.6
28	20	13	5.2

APPENDIX IV. OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE RANK CATEGORIES

The sociological discussion of class is now very extensive and no attempt will be made here to present a review or summary of the literature. The present research assumes that classes are not distinct segments of the Satellite City social system. It assumes that the class terminology is merely a convenient way to recognize that prestige differences exist and that some people have roughly equivalent prestige in the community. From this point of view, the number of classes is an artifact combining the perceptions of the observer and the perceptions of the persons actually residing in the community. Dividing the population into classes facilitates the analysis of behavioral and attitudinal differences among those of differing prestige and between those of approximately equivalent prestige.[1]

In this study of Satellite City, the further assumption is made that occupational prestige ranks are a rough, but satisfactory index of general position in the system of social stratification. This seems justified in view of the Warner group's findings in Social Class

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[1]Gerhard E. Lenski, "American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups?" American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (September, 1952), 139-144.

in America[1] that there was a high correlation between occupation taken as a single factor and "evaluated participation." Evaluated participation rests upon local informants and their placement of other persons in the community at varying status levels. Satellite City is roughly similar to Jonesville in size and geographical location. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that a somewhat similar kind of relationship exists between occupational prestige rank and evaluated comparison in Satellite City.

The occupations of the respondents, of their fathers and of their spouses' fathers were categorized according to the occupational prestige ranks given below. These categories are based on a preliminary formulation developed by Lenski and Landecker for their studies of class crystallization[2] which is based on the National Opinion Research Center's study of occupational prestige:[3]

1. Physician, psychiatrist.
2. College professor, minister with college and seminary training, architect, chemist, lawyer, judge, psychologist, graduate engineer, school principal, banker, member of the

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[1]W. Lloyd Warner, et al., Social Class in America. (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949).

[2]Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension," American Sociological Review, 19 (August, 1954), 405-413.

[3]Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: a Popular Evaluation." Opinion News, 9 (Sept., 1947), 3-13.

board of a large corporation, owner or manager of factory employing 100 or more persons, musician in a symphony orchestra.

3. Public school teacher, minister with high school and Bible College training, social worker, building contractor, official in international union, employer of 3-99 persons, real-estate agent, newspaper editor or reporter, private secretary, detective, railroad engineer, licensed engineer, electrician, machinist, department foreman, country agent, farm owner.

4. Piano teacher, minister with no high school but Bible School or short course training, manager or owner of small store or factory with 1 or 2 employees, local union official, bookkeeper, wagon merchant, truck salesman, insurance agent, policeman, bus driver, carpenter, automobile mechanic, farmer (unspecified), farm tenant.

5. Minister with no high school and no Bible School training, sales clerk, typist, file clerk, barber, cook, taxi driver, baker or bakery truck driver, machine operator in a factory, factory assembly line operative, gas station attendant.

6. Waiter, bar-tender, soda clerk, clothes presser, railroad section hand, dock worker, night watchman, janitor, farm hand, coal miner, share-crop farmer.

7. Shoe-shine boy, garbage collector, street-sweeper.

APPENDIX V. THE DETERMINATION OF HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL ASSOCIATIONS

The following questions were asked of all respondents:

Q. 10. Of all the organizations in the community, which are the ten that are "most successful in getting things done" either "for themselves" or for the community as a whole? (You may or may not be a member of them yourself.)

Q. 11. Which organizations would be most important in successfully "putting across" a major community project like expanding the hospital or the library?

Q. 12. Which would be most important in getting support for a large school building program, or for defeating such a program?

Question 10 is the most general, question 11 is somewhat more specific, and question 12 is the most specific from the standpoint of action. They are similar to the questions asked only of the public leaders and given on pages 191 and 192 above.

Table 43 gives the number of times various associations were mentioned by respondents in answer to each of these questions, by sex. Since the greatest number of responses was made in answering question 10, this question was the most influential in the final rank ordering of the highly influential associations. In the responses to question 10, the male and female heads of

TABLE 43

FREQUENCY AND RANK ORDER OF NOMINATIONS OF HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL ASSOCIATIONS, BY SEPARATE QUESTIONS AND BY SEX

Association*	Question 10				Question 11				Question 12				Total	
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female			
	N	R	N	R	N	R	N	R	N	R	N	R	N	R
Chamber of Commerce	52	1	18	6	47	1	20	1	44	1	14	2	195	1
Junior Chamber...	51	2	53	1	30	2	18	3	24	2	11	3	187	2
Lions	42	3	25	3.5	16	4	12	5	10	6	3	8	108	4
Kiwanis	40	4	20	2	20	3	19	2	12	4	4	6	124	3
American Legion	34	5	21	5	8	6	3	10	7	8	3	8	76	6
Rotary	22	6	25	3.5	9	5	13	4	11	5	3	8	83	5
Community Chest Board	17	7	5	18	3	9.5	2	12.5	1	14	0	0	28	9
Optimist	11	8	5	18	2	13.5	3	10	2	11	0	0	23	11
Red Cross	9	9	7	14	1	16	1	15.5	1	14	0	0	19	14
Girl Scout Board	2	17.5	14	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	17
Federation of Women	3	16	12	8	3	9.5	6	7	0	0	5	5	29	8
Thrift Shop	5	13	9	10	2	13.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	17
Boy Scouts	4	14.5	9	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	18.5
Churches in General	8	10.5	9	10	2	13.5	1	15.5	2	11	0	0	22	12
Salvation Army	8	10.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	18
Service Clubs in General	0	0	0	0	7	7	3	10	6	9	0	0	16	17
Hospital Auxiliary	4	14.5	8	12.5	3	9.5	10	6	0	0	0	0	25	10
P.T.A.'s in General	7	12	5	18	0	0	1	15.5	15	3	26	1	53	7
School Board	1	19.5	2	20	0	0	2	12.5	9	7	7	4	21	13
Ladies Cultural Ass'n.	2	17.5	6	15.5	3	9.5	4	8	2	11	0	0	17	15
Business and Professional Women	1	19.5	8	12.5	2	13.5	1	15.5	1	14	0	0	13	18.5
No Answer	5		6		8		11		9		13		52	

*Names are pseudonymous or generalized.

associations agreed on which were the most highly influential associations, even though they differed with respect to rank ordering them. There is relatively high agreement among the men on all three questions, the major deviation in the nomination pattern being in terms of specific school expansion projects, where the P.T.A.'s and the School Board might be expected to play an important part.

The responses of the female heads of associations suggest the differences in their perception of the community and how it operates. Their relatively low nomination of the Chamber of Commerce in question 10 probably reflects their stress on the "for the community as a whole" part of the question, in view of their responses to questions 11 and 12. The general orientation of the women's world becomes more apparent in the relative position of "second level" associations. Thus, the Community Chest Board, the Optimists, the Red Cross, the Churches in General, and the Salvation Army rank 7 through 11 for the men in question 10. The Girl Scout Board, the (White) Federation of Women's Clubs, the Thrift Shop, the Boy Scouts, and the Churches in General have similar ranks for the women in question 10. Once again this reflects in part a greater stress on "for the community as a whole." The women's orientation is also reflected in the relative importance of the (White) Federation of Women's Clubs and the Hospital Auxiliary

in their responses to question 11.

Neither set of responses should be called "more realistic" than the other. The support of women must be obtained if any project is to be a success. Not only are women voters and taxpayers, but their labor is valued in many efforts where voluntary contributions of time and money are required. The men may be the "generals" in the "war against polio," but it is the "mother's march" that puts the drive "over the top." Sometimes through their not inconsiderable personal or associational financial resources the women have an important part in "putting over" a project. The women in the highly influential women's associations are often the wives of the men in the highly influential men's associations. Thus, for a number of reasons women's associations are important for the implementation of community policies--even though Chapter VII makes it clear that the policy forming centers are probably elsewhere.

Table 44 gives a comparison of the number of persons mentioning various associations in response to questions 10, 11, and 12. The table re-affirms the decision that the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Lions, Kiwanis, the white-dominated American Legion post, and the Rotary may be considered the most highly influential associations in Satellite City.

TABLE 44

PERCEPTION OF HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL ASSOCIATIONS, BY SEX

Association	Public Leaders Male N	%	Heads of Associations Male N	%	Female N	%
Chamber of Commerce	17	94	65	74	32	45
Junior Chamber...	15	83	57	65	41	58
Lions Club	11	61	46	52	28	40
Kiwanis Club	14	78	51	58	33	46
American Legion	6	33	40	45	24	34
Rotary Club	9	50	31	35	28	40
P.T.A.'s in General	3	17	23	26	32	45
Federation of Women	5	28	11	13	25	35
Community Chest Board	1	6	14	16	3	4
Hospital Auxiliary	5	28	8	9	10	14
Optimist Club	2	11	8	9	6	8
Number Interviewed	18	*	88	*	71	*

*Per cent is over 100 because respondents gave multiple responses.

APPENDIX VI. TABLES

TABLE 45

FREQUENCY AND RANK ORDER OF NOMINATION OF PUBLIC LEADERS, BY SEPARATE QUESTIONS

Person Named*	Q. 13 N	Q. 13 Rank	Q. 14 N	Q. 14 Rank	Q. 16 N	Q. 16 Rank	Q. 17 N	Q. 17 Rank	Q. 18 N	Q. 18 Rank
William Houston	76	1	32	1	31	2	16	3	3	14.5
Robert Drew	58	2	18	4.5	13	5	15	4	6	6.5
John Milan	43	4	20	3	25	3	11	5	9	1
Grant Moseley, III	52	3	28	2	11	6	6	7	8	2
Bernard Rush	16	13.5	8	12.5	48	1	27	1	3	14.5
James Forme	17	12	13	7.5	22	4	20	2	1	20.5
Oliver Ford	22	8.5	18	4.5	3	11	1	13.5	7	4
Norbert Johns	31	5	14	6	3	11	2	9.5	0	0
Cleveland Chapman	22	8.5	9	10	10	7	4	8	3	14.5
Arthur Schlaff	13	16	8	12.5	9	8	7	6	3	14.5
Charles Bernard	23	7	7	15	1	15.5	0	0	6	6.5
Bard Stevenson	28	6	3	22.5	1	15.5	1	13.5	2	19
Paul Warne	18	11	7	15	0	0	0	0	5	8
James Taylor	19	10	9	10	1	15.5	0	0	0	0
Grant Moseley, II	10	19	13	7.5	3	11	1	13.5	0	0
Clarence Peters	16	13.5	6	18	0	0	2	9.5	2	19
Naylor Guyer	12	18	7	15	1	15.5	1	13.5	3	14.5
Philip Haas	13	16	6	18	0	0	1	13.5	2	19
Deming Rogers	8	20.5	9	10	0	0	0	0	3	14.5
Frank Smith	13	16	1	25	0	0	0	0	4	10
Archer Anderson	7	23	3	22.5	1	15.5	0	0	7	4
Theresa Rush	7	23	3	22.5	4	9	1	13.5	1	20.5
Carl Fischer	7	23	6	18	1	15.5	0	0	4	10
Joseph Jenkins	8	20.5	3	22.5	0	0	0	0	4	10
Walter Williams	5	25	4	20	0	0	0	0	7	4

*All names are pseudonyms.

TABLE 46

PRESTIGE RANK OF HEADS OF ASSOCIATIONS, OMITTING MINISTERS, BY SEX

Prestige Rank	Male N	Male %	Female N	Female %
1 - 2	22	28	9	12
3	29	39	18	25
4	18	23	28	40
5	7	9	12	17
Retired, Not Ascertained	1	1	4	6
Total	77	100	71	100

TABLE 47

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Length of Residence	1 N	1 %	2 N	2 %	3-5 N	3-5 %	6 and over N	6 and over %	Total N	Total %
Heads of Associations										
Live outside of Satellite City	2	15	0	0	4	31	7	54	13	100
Less than 5 Years	2	11	2	11	7	37	8	41	19	100
5-9 Years	3	12	3	12	10	38	10	38	26	100
10-19 Years	2	5	3	7	14	34	22	54	41	100
20 Years and over	2	3	3	5	22	37	33	55	60	100
Public Leaders										
5-9 Years	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100	2	100
10-19 Years	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100	2	100
20 Years and over	0	0	0	0	1	7	13	93	14	100

TABLE 48

AGE OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Age	1 N	%	2 N	%	3-5 N	%	6 and over N	%	Total N	%
Heads of Associations										
25 - 35	3	9	3	9	13	38	15	44	34	100
36 - 45	3	6	3	6	21	42	23	48	50	100
46 - 55	3	7	3	7	15	36	21	50	42	100
56 - 65	1	4	1	4	5	21	17	71	24	100
Over 65	1	11	1	11	5	56	2	22	9	100
Public Leaders										
36 - 45	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100	3	100
46 - 55	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	100	11	100
56 - 65	0	0	0	0	1	50	1	50	2	100
Over 65	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100	2	100

TABLE 49

CLASS MOBILITY OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Degree of Mobility		1 N	1 %	2 N	2 %	3-5 N	3-5 %	6 and over N	6 and over %	Total N	Total %
1 or More lower than Father	P. L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100	2	100
	H. A.	3	12	3	12	6	22	14	54	26	100
Same as Father	P. L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100	3	100
	H. A.	6	10	2	3	31	53	20	34	59	100
1 higher than Father	P. L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	100	6	100
	H. A.	0	0	3	8	10	26	25	66	38	100
2 or More higher than Father	P. L.	0	0	0	0	1	14	6	86	7	100
	H. A.	0	0	1	4	7	27	18	69	26	100
D. K., Not Ascertained	P. L.	0		0		0		0		0	
	H. A.	2		2		3		3		10	

TABLE 50

CLASS MOBILITY OF SPOUSE OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Degree of Mobility		1		2		3-5		6 and over		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 or More lower than Father	P. L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	H. A.	4	12	3	9	11	37	14	43	32	100
Same as Father	P. L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	100	5	100
	H. A.	12	5	4	10	22	52	14	33	42	100
1 higher than Father	P. L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	100	3	100
	H. A.	0	0	1	2	14	36	27	62	44	100
2 or More higher than Father	P. L.	0	0	0	0	1	12	7	88	8	100
	H. A.	0	0	1	5	5	19	20	76	26	100
D. K., Not Ascertained	P. L.	0		0		0		2		2	
	H. A.	5		2		3		5		15	

TABLE 51

PRESTIGE RANK OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Prestige Rank	Church N	Church %	Church Related N	Church Related %	Recreational N	Recreational %	Patriotic N	Patriotic %	Charitable N	Charitable %	Fraternal N	Fraternal %	Women's N	Women's %	Occupational N	Occupational %	Other N	Other %	N
Heads of Associations																			
1-2	34	81	11	26	24	57	13	31	22	52	12	28	23	55	29	69	0	0	42
3	43	91	19	40	17	36	21	45	26	55	14	30	27	57	24	51	0	0	47
4	36	78	15	33	13	28	21	46	20	43	19	41	20	43	16	35	2	4	46
5	12	63	5	26	2	10	7	37	12	63	10	53	5	26	5	26	0	0	19
N.A.	4		1		0		1		2		2		1		0		0		5
Public Leaders																			
1-2	12	100	5	42	5	42	10	83	12	100	9	75	4	33	6	50	2	17	12
3	6	100	1	17	4	67	5	83	6	100	4	67	2	33	6	100	0	0	6

TABLE 52

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Length of Residence	Church N	Church %	Church Related N	Church Related %	Recreational N	Recreational %	Patriotic N	Patriotic %	Charitable N	Charitable %	Fraternal N	Fraternal %	Women's N	Women's %	Occupational N	Occupational %	Other N	Other %	N
Heads of Associations																			
Live outside	9	69	5	38	2	15	1	8	3	23	5	38	4	31	11	85	0	0	13
Less than 5 Years	17	89	4	21	9	47	4	21	9	47	4	9	8	42	10	53	0	0	19
5-9 Years	18	70	8	31	11	42	9	35	10	38	7	27	12	46	10	38	0	0	26
10-19 Years	34	83	14	34	14	34	14	34	26	63	16	39	25	61	15	36	2	5	41
20 Years and over	14	100	5	36	7	50	11	78	14	100	10	71	5	36	9	64	2	14	14
Public Leaders																			
5-9 Years	2	100	1	50	1	50	2	100	2	100	2	100	1	50	1	50	0	0	2
10-19 Years	2	100	0	0	1	50	2	100	2	100	1	50	0	0	2	100	0	0	2
20 Years and over	14	100	5	36	7	50	11	78	14	100	10	71	5	36	9	64	2	14	14

TABLE 53

AGE OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Age	Church N	Church %	Church Related N	Church Related %	Recreational N	Recreational %	Patriotic N	Patriotic %	Charitable N	Charitable %	Fraternal N	Fraternal %	Women's N	Women's %	Occupational N	Occupational %	Other N	Other %	N
Heads of Associations																			
25-35	32	94	10	29	14	41	9	29	18	53	9	26	15	44	17	50	1	3	34
36-45	41	82	17	34	23	46	23	46	22	44	12	24	32	64	25	50	0	0	50
46-55	28	67	13	31	16	38	18	43	26	62	18	43	13	31	21	50	0	0	42
56-65	22	92	10	42	3	12	8	33	13	54	13	54	13	54	9	38	1	4	24
Over 65	6	67	1	11	0	0	5	56	3	33	5	56	3	33	2	22	0	0	0
Public Leaders																			
36-45	3	100	1	33	0	0	3	100	3	100	2	67	1	33	2	67	0	0	3
46-55	11	100	4	36	8	73	10	91	11	100	8	73	4	36	9	82	1	9	11
56-65	2	100	1	50	0	0	1	50	2	100	1	50	0	0	1	50	0	0	2
Over 65	2	100	0	0	1	50	1	50	2	100	2	100	1	50	0	0	1	50	2

TABLE 54

CLASS MOBILITY OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Degree of Mobility		Church N	Church %	Church Related N	Church Related %	Recreational N	Recreational %	Patriotic N	Patriotic %	Charitable N	Charitable %	Fraternal N	Fraternal %	Women's N	Women's %	Occupational N	Occupational %	Other N	Other %	N
1 or More lower	P. L.	2	100	1	50	1	50	2	100	2	100	1	50	1	50	1	50	1	50	2
	H. A.	20	77	8	31	7	27	10	38	15	58	13	50	11	42	8	31	0	0	26
Same as Father	P. L.	3	100	0	0	0	0	3	100	3	100	2	67	1	33	2	67	1	33	3
	H. A.	45	76	22	37	15	25	28	47	28	47	20	34	26	44	22	37	1	2	59
1 higher	P. L.	6	100	2	33	6	100	4	67	6	100	4	67	2	33	5	83	0	0	6
	H. A.	34	89	12	32	21	55	18	47	26	68	13	34	20	53	21	55	0	0	38
2 or More higher	P. L.	7	100	3	43	2	28	6	86	7	100	6	86	2	28	4	57	0	0	7
	H. A.	23	88	7	27	11	42	5	19	11	42	8	31	16	62	18	69	1	4	26
D. K., Not Ascertained	P. L.	0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0		0
	H. A.	7		2		2		2		1		3		3		5		0		10

TABLE 55

CLASS MOBILITY OF SPOUSE OF COMMUNITY LEADERS, BY KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Degree of Mobility		Church N	Church %	Church Related N	Church Related %	Recreational N	Recreational %	Patriotic N	Patriotic %	Charitable N	Charitable %	Fraternal N	Fraternal %	Women's N	Women's %	Occupational N	Occupational %	Other N	Other %	N
1 or More lower	P. L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	H. A.	24	75	6	19	9	28	15	47	17	53	13	41	15	47	11	34	0	0	32
Same as Father	P. L.	5	100	2	40	2	40	4	80	5	100	5	100	1	20	1	20	0	0	5
	H. A.	32	76	14	33	12	38	16	38	19	45	18	43	17	40	21	50	2	5	42
1 higher	P. L.	3	100	0	0	3	100	2	67	3	100	2	67	1	33	3	67	0	0	3
	H. A.	38	86	18	41	22	50	21	48	27	61	14	32	23	52	20	45	0	0	44
2 or More higher	P. L.	8	100	3	38	3	38	7	88	8	100	5	62	3	38	7	88	0	0	8
	H. A.	24	92	10	38	12	46	7	27	15	58	8	31	15	58	19	73	0	0	26
D. K., Not Ascertained	P. L.	2		1		1		2		2		1		1		1		1		2
	H. A.	11		3		1		4		4		4		6		3		0		15

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