

SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND URBAN RENEWAL  
POLITICS: A CASE STUDY

by 1264

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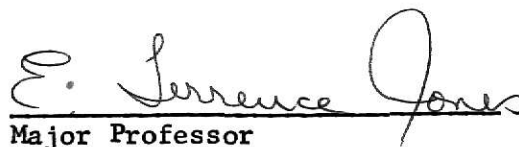
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## INTRODUCTION

The vast and complex problems facing our large urban centers are familiar in at least their more general terms to most informed persons. Civil disorders, most notably the riots of the past four summers, have focused national attention on our metropolitan areas. Scholarly observers, in an attempt to explain the riots and the critical disaffections of many ghetto residents, have impressed upon the audience of the mass media the danger and enormity of the problems. From all sides one is told that the disturbing conditions that exist are the end result of social processes that have been going on virtually unheeded since before the turn of the century.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, despite the suggestions of some political candidates that there are clear and relatively simple solutions to these problems, more knowledgeable and objective students of urban America warn us that problems of such scope and complexity will take at least ten to twenty years to alleviate.

In the anxiety over the "crisis of the cities" the less pressing, but no less real, problems of the smaller city are afforded little attention. Yet, the cities in the 25,000 to 50,000 population range are experiencing the early stages of the processes that

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<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Raymond Vernon, The Myth and the Reality of Our Urban Problems (Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard University: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962), pp. 2-4; and James R. Lowe, Cities in a Race with Time (Random House: New York, 1967), pp. 7-44.

have led to the great domestic crises in larger population centers.<sup>1</sup> In fact, it is to a large extent the small cities' failure to grow and adjust to the demands of increasing population that has contributed to the troubles of the large metropolis. If, for example, the children of the small farmer cannot find satisfying employment in the small city, then they will try to find some measure of economic success in larger urban areas, thus depleting the small city's population of its potentially most active and productive citizens. A problem as important to the infant metropolis as attracting the immigrants from the small farm is that of offering opportunities that will hold its own youth and attract its college graduates to return to their home town to establish a career and raise a family.

If the small city is to escape the fate of becoming a stagnant and deteriorating population center, it must adjust to the changing demands and solve the problematic conditions which render it a less attractive place to live than the large city to many prospective residents. The question is can these cities do so?

A problem of high priority which the small city's leaders must solve is the decay of the community's downtown business district, an almost classic phenomenon in larger cities. As buildings grow old and become more expensive to maintain, marginal busi-

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<sup>1</sup>These comments should not be taken to imply, however, that small cities are awaiting the full development of these "early stages" free of their own present-day problems. As was the case with the city in which this study was conducted, many small cities must meet the increasing demands for public services and the threat of general economic decay as the demographic characteristics of their regional setting change.

nesses find it more desirable to move to locations at the outskirts of the city, i.e., to the residential areas nearer the larger concentrations of their potential customers. Similarly, new entrepreneurs looking for new locations are likely to place their business in non-downtown areas instead of establishing themselves in the downtown area, which is less accessible to the bulk of the city's population, lacking in parking facilities, and generally inferior in appearance.

As downtown real estate is abandoned, the city is faced with at least two kinds of problems. In the short run it must deal with the immediate fiscal problem of a diminished tax base in the downtown area while demands for the city's services are increasing. Furthermore, as long as downtown real estate stands idle, the consequent slack in tax revenue must be made up in real estate taxes in other parts of the community, including the outlying portions of the community where low tax rates on real estate could help attract new business and industry. In addition, the generally more shoddy appearance of the downtown sector renders the city as a whole less attractive to prospective new business interests.

In order to solve the problem of a declining downtown business district, the small city must be able to draw on ample economic and human resources. Substantial economic resources are available though not necessarily easily employed. There are many ways in which a solution to this sort of problem may be approached. Property tax incentives may be offered to attract new business downtown and to persuade the present downtown merchants to stay

where they are. Efforts can be made to make the downtown district more accessible by constructing new roads, improving old roads and streets, or providing inexpensive public transportation. A greater number of parking facilities, also, serve to make the center of the city a more attractive place for the consumer to do his retail business. Finally, old and unsightly buildings can be razed, releasing old property for new construction.

Yet, even these few rather obvious measures designed to rejuvenate the downtown area are not easily accomplished. New roads, parking facilities, and public transportation systems require large outlays of money, amounts that can be provided only through public revenue. This revenue may come from several sources: the regular tax-supported budget, supplementary funds raised in the sale of public revenue bonds, or direct federal grants and loans provided under the urban renewal provisions of the Federal Housing Act of 1949. Given the financial strain under which many municipal governments are operating, non-local, outside aid such urban renewal funding may offer the only hope of effecting the necessary rehabilitation.

No matter what means are used to effect the municipal face-lifting, a second necessary ingredient is large-scale public support from non-governmental groups within the community. Projects requiring land acquisition or an increase in taxes must have such broad-based support in order to lend an air of legitimacy and to avoid the onus of arbitrary government actions. Possibly more basic than the need for such initial support is the very pragmatic consideration that someone formulate and propose programs specifi-

cally designed to improve conditions and that once the programs are designed someone carry them out. In other words, somebody has to do the work.

## CHAPTER I

### DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

If one can, then, assume that material resources are potentially available, the crucial question remains as to the capacity of a small city's human resources to meet the challenge of changing conditions with adequate responses. But, when one speaks of a city's human resources, he does not refer to every citizen. He does not expect all members of a community to be active in problem-solving and decision-making, but rather looks to key groups whose participation is essential and who might be expected to participate.

For several reasons one would expect local businessmen to be among the active participants composing the broad base of support in the design and execution of municipal improvement programs in the small city. The qualifications and general circumstances that make these men likely choices argue equally well for the proposition that even in those cases where small businessmen do not participate, their participation would be valuable and possibly necessary for the success of city improvement.

First, it might be expected that those people who participate in the resolution of one particular issue will be drawn from among those groups who normally participate in local issues. It is reasonable to assume, secondly, that those who have the greater feeling of political confidence, i.e., those who believe they

can successfully exercise some influence on the final outcome of the policy decision, will be more likely to be involved in promoting city improvement programs. If this is the case, individuals who have experienced success in previous attempts to shape policy would be more likely to take part than those who have been less successful in influencing decision-making. Such feelings of political efficacy need not be developed initially in city-wide political activities. Investigations of local politics would indicate that a person's confidence that he can affect decisions on one level (e.g., in city-wide matters) is often achieved in the course of his successful participation in voluntary associations.<sup>1</sup>

The amount of resources and opportunity to use those resources constitute a third criterion upon which one could base a prediction as to who would be active in any particular local issue. The greater the resources a man has to use, the less is the relative cost of his achieving the same goal as another man with less resources. The opportunity to expend these resources is another basis upon which to predict who will be active in local politics. Given identical amounts of resources the individual who has more opportunity

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<sup>1</sup>Support of this proposition may be found in the vast body of literature concerning the relationship between participation. A summary and listing of this literature can be found in an article by Robert Hegedorn and Sanford Labovitz entitled "Participation in Community Associations by Occupation: A Test of Three Theories," American Sociological Review, XXIII (April, 1968), pp. 272-283. For a related discussion see also Paul E. Breer and Edwin A. Locke, Task Experience as a Source of Attitudes (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1965), especially pp. 15-18; and Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961) pp. 236-293.

to use them would be expected to use them more, all things being equal.<sup>1</sup>

Possibly the most obvious reason for which one might expect a man to be active in a local political issue would be the degree to which his own self-interest depends upon the outcome of this issue in terms of the policy or measures taken. In other words, the more a man has at stake the more likely he will be to try to influence the decision to be made in his favor. It should be noted that the impact of a particular decision on the interests of any one individual is difficult to determine in any objective sense. This is true not only for the observer, but also for the individual himself. More important to the explanation of why a man acts or does not act, will act or will not act, is his perception of his stake in the consequences of any particular decision. What the alternatives will actually mean to him is not decisive in his determination of what he should do.

Given these criteria upon which to predict who will become involved in effecting change in a city, it is reasonable to assume that small businessmen will be major participants. Since most businessmen are participants in a comparatively large number of organizations, they will have ample opportunity to gain experience and confidence in making and influencing decisions which will affect a relatively large number of people. Small businessmen also possess a reasonably significant store of resources. Although not

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<sup>1</sup>Dahl, Who Governs?, pp. 273-275 and pp. 232-236.



all businessmen are wealthy, many will fall into the upper-middle income bracket, and even those who do not have large financial resources benefit from the generally high degree of respect afforded businessmen in an urban community.<sup>1</sup> In addition, they may be expected to have a greater opportunity than the majority of citizens to use these resources since they serve primarily in managerial capacities and can set their own schedules.

While all of the above propositions are subject to qualification, the last criterion, one's personal stake in the decisional outcome, would seem to most strongly support the argument that local businessmen are most likely to be involved in local community improvement projects and especially those aimed at the downtown business district. It is there, after all, that many of their businesses are located, and when customers begin to do their business elsewhere, the small businessmen feel the effect in hard dollars they no longer receive.

Several authors suggest, however, that local businessmen, as distinguished from the corporate executive in absentee-owned business concerns,<sup>2</sup> seldom become involved in programs of community

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<sup>1</sup>National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, ed. by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 412-413. See also Dahl, Who Governs?, pp. 229-238.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of the distinctions between the corporate executive and the local businessman see Robert O. Schulze, "Economic Determinants and Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, XLIII (April, 1958), pp. 3-19, and Robert O. Schulze, "The Bifurcation of Power in a Satellite City," in Community Political Systems, ed. by Morris Janowitz (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 25-26.

improvement, and that often their involvement is indirect and largely symbolic. Furthermore, when they do become directly involved they are frequently ineffective in achieving their goals.

Many explanations are offered for the apparently poor showing of local small businessmen in local politics. In his Newark study, Harold Kaplan finds that local businessmen's activity in the urban renewal politics of their city is confined to a minor level; when they did make an attempt to establish control, local entrepreneurs lacked the enthusiasm and know-how to launch a sustained bid for power.<sup>1</sup> They were content to accept vague promises as payment on their demands or were willing to compromise their position drastically. Kaplan attributes this sort of behavior in part to the fact that these men operated with a set of values which discourages involvement in sharp conflict and which is pitched on a broad conceptual level not easily applicable to the local level. These propositions compare favorably with the thesis of Francis Sutton et al. that men cast in an executive role, which itself involves much conflict and uncertainty, develop values as a basis of rationalization enabling them to discount any duty to participate directly in politics.<sup>2</sup> Similar conclusions are drawn by Andrew

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<sup>1</sup>Harold Kaplan, Urban Renewal Politics: Slum Clearance in Newark, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>2</sup>Francis K. Sutton, et al., The American Business Creed, (New York: Schocken Books, 1956), pp. 305-309.

Hacker in a study of executives' attitudes toward politics. Hacker observes that "...most corporation executives and small entrepreneurs seem willing to buy any nostrum that accords with their ideologic sympathies."<sup>1</sup>

Yet, the description of small businessmen that depicts them as ideologically oriented in political action and as men wielding little or no influence does not enjoy unanimous support in the literature. First, to say that small businessmen are not effective as direct participants is not tantamount to saying they exert no significant influence. Through the phenomenon of "anticipated reaction," businessmen's attitudes, beliefs, and values, as perceived by the direct decision-makers, may set definite limits for policy decisions.<sup>2</sup> As described by Robert Dahl, the events taking place in the issue area of urban renewal in New Haven constitute a clear example of the influence of anticipated reaction. Speaking of a blue ribbon advisory committee composed of local business and civic leaders, Dahl asserts that

...the very existence of the CAC (Community Action Committee) and the seemingly ritualistic process of justifying all proposals to its members meant that members of the administration shaped their proposals according to what they expected would receive the fullest support of the CAC and therefore the political stratum.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Andrew Hacker, "Businessmen and Politics," Law and Contemporary Problems, XXVII (Spring, 1962), p. 277.

<sup>2</sup>Carl Friedrich, Man and His Government, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

<sup>3</sup>Dahl, Who Governs?, p. 137.

While their direct influence may be small, the businessmen in a community may very effectively prescribe the limits past which policies may not go in any attempt to change the city's environment. Thus they may exert a very strong influence.

The existence of a second explanatory characteristic attributed to businessmen, i.e., that they are motivated in public matters primarily by ideological considerations, has also been questioned by some writers. William D'Antonio, for example, found that businessmen in Fort Wayne, Indiana, when faced with a city-wide economic crisis, were more inclined to put away their political ideology than some professional politicians.<sup>1</sup> He proposes that businessmen's pragmatic determination to produce some positive action mitigates the intensity and rigidity with which conservative Republican business leaders hold to anti-federal aid attitudes.

Several questions are suggested with reference to the problems of the smaller city and the small businessmen's part in dealing with its problems. First, one would inquire about such businessmen's participation in local issues of this type. Do they participate? And, if they do, to what extent are they effective and why? If they do not participate, why not?

From a brief survey of the literature it would be expected that the participation of the small businessmen would be either non-existent or ineffective. But, even if this proves to be the

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<sup>1</sup>William V. D'Antonio, "Community Leadership in an Economic Crisis: Testing Ground for Ideological Cleavage," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (May, 1966), pp. 633-700.

case, the more important question remains as to why this is the case. What is the explanation of their ineffectiveness or lack of participation? Several possible explanations are hypothesized, but the bulk of them may be grouped into a category in which the basic variables are psychological. In other words, the explanation of businessmen's participation or non-participation it is hypothesized, hinges on psychological phenomena such as their beliefs, attitudes, role perceptions, and values.

If one is to test the possible usefulness and accuracy of this type of explanation, he would seek to answer several more questions. What values do small local businessmen hold toward local personal political participation in general? What attitudes do they hold toward such participation on a particular issue? How do their attitudes toward the specific issue relate to their broader personal values? Furthermore, do such values influence the nature of their political participation as Sutton claims the ideology of the American businessman affects his political behavior, i.e., does it support and reinforce non-participation?

In addition to their attitudes and values, businessmen's behavior may be influenced by their role perceptions. One should ask, then, how they view their roles as businessmen? In other words, what do they expect of themselves because they are businessmen, and what do they think others expect of them as businessmen? Finally, what are the implications for municipal improvement policy either in terms of the manner in which a businessman participates in the decision-making process or in terms of the manner in

which those who do participate alter their behavior to accomodate what they perceive to be his values?

## CHAPTER II

### THE SETTING FOR THE STUDY

The research for this study was done in a small midwestern city whose population is approximately 40,000. The city shall be called Naclede. Placed as it is in the midst of an almost exclusively agricultural area, Naclede serves as the retail trade center for a large portion of the middle of the state. Although the city is supported by a significant small industry and manufacturing base, retail trade remains the mainstay of the local economy.

Naclede serves well as a model city for an investigation of the questions which have been presented in that it faces now or will soon be confronted with many of the problems common to cities of this size, including a declining downtown business district. There has been significant agreement among city leaders as to the importance of this problem. In 1968 the executive director of the local Chamber of Commerce noted that there were already more than fifty vacant business locations in the general downtown area in addition to five more large sites which would soon be vacated.<sup>1</sup> The incoming president of the Chamber in 1968 listed the "downtown development program" as a project of top priority, second only to the development of an abandoned military facility.<sup>2</sup> He went on to

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<sup>1</sup>Excerpts from a speech delivered by the executive director of the Naclede Chamber of Commerce and quoted in the Naclede Herald, January 17, 1968, p. 1A.

<sup>2</sup>From a speech delivered to the Naclede Chamber of Commerce by the incoming president and quoted in the Naclede Herald, January 17, 1968, p. 1A.

observe that most critical in this development "is finding solutions to the parking problem, but with it must go the modernization of stores as well as the development of malls."<sup>1</sup>

Other observers have corroborated these views of the city's future needs. A survey of Nacledé conducted by its City Planning Commission in 1967 confirmed that the above were valid and immediate concerns, and identified additional conditions that must be alleviated for the sake of the city's long term economic well-being.<sup>2</sup> As is true for the nation's small cities as a whole, Nacledé and its surrounding area is experiencing a drain of the young and educated as they look for opportunity in larger communities. The Planning Commission observed that the conditions which have made Nacledé a wholesale and retail trade center for the surrounding rural population are slowly changing as rural residents move to larger urban communities. Along with a loss of people in the younger segment of the population, the city is experiencing an increase in the number of families with incomes below the \$3,000 level.

In order to adjust to regional trends beyond local control the planners suggest that Nacledé begin to fashion itself as a "pleasant college and retirement city with many leisure activities and desirable residential areas."<sup>3</sup> To accomplish this goal the

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<sup>1</sup>Nacledé Herald, January 17, 1963, p. 3A.

<sup>2</sup>From a study prepared by the Nacledé City Planning Commission excerpts from which were printed in the Nacledé Herald, January 17, 1963, p. 11A.

<sup>3</sup>Nacledé Herald, January 17, 1963, p. 11A.



city's efforts should be concentrated, in the opinion of the planners, "on the development of the former military base...development of a highspeed highway between Nacledé and other cities in the area and development of the downtown area."<sup>1</sup>

The forecast made by the planners that Nacledé has no future as an autonomous industrially based community has been denied by several local business leaders. But, despite their disagreement as to the economic potential of the city, there seems to be a consensus among both the businessmen of Nacledé and the city planners on the nature of the principal courses of action that must be undertaken and the priorities of the various goals. Among the city's top three needs from both perspectives is the development of the downtown business district.

Given the propositions which are to be investigated and the nature of public issues in Nacledé, the city's urban renewal dispute was chosen as the issue context for this case study. For several reasons this issue was well-suited to the theoretical questions under discussion. First, businessmen were clearly involved in the decision-making process concerning urban renewal. The "Stand Up for Nacledé Committee," closely connected with the Chamber of Commerce and composed almost entirely of businessmen, was organized with the express purpose of defeating a petition which,

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<sup>1</sup>Nacledé Herald, January 17, 1963, p. 11A.

if passed, was to prohibit the consideration of urban renewal for ten years. In addition to the members of the committee itself, many businessmen lent their support in varying degrees; and virtually all businessmen were given the opportunity to become involved in some fashion, if only to allow their name to be used in an open letter to the local newspaper. As a result, then, individual businessmen had to decide whether to participate or not. Moreover, such a choice was likely to be the product of conscious thought, which would conceivably call into play the specific type of attitudes and values which are of concern here.

In addition to the question of participation or non-participation, then, the urban renewal dispute in Nacledé, couched as it was by the opponents of urban renewal in ideological terms, challenged the businessmen to come to terms with their own social values and the relationship of these values to their expressed position on the urban renewal issue. The group that circulated the prohibiting petition made it quite clear that they opposed urban renewal because it involved the use of federal funds. Though the final formulation of an individual's position may have been motivated by something other than his social values, the choice was there for him to make as to whether he would consciously attempt to make his behavior consistent with his values.

Urban renewal, as it was discussed in Nacledé, also involved the larger issue of the city's ability to change and to adjust to the new demands presented by shifts in the region's population and by the relative development of the municipalities in that area.

As will be demonstrated below, many businessmen recognized the need for certain improvements to be made in Nacledé, and many of them also believed that federal assistance would be necessary if such projects were to be accomplished. Those who opposed urban renewal assigned the avoidance of using federal funds a higher priority than the realization of such municipal improvement projects as the redevelopment of the downtown business district. The propriety of enlisting federal financial assistance as a means of changing certain conditions like the decline of the downtown area may be questioned, but the existence of the problems and their eventual consequences are a matter of consensual agreement. The choice was between regarding current conditions as necessary and acceptable, given the alternative of employing government aid, or of asserting that these were problems that had to be solved, and either that the end justified the means or that there were no strongly negative consequences which would result.

Finally, this issue seems to have reflected a basic long term political division in the city's politics between a small conservative group of citizens and the local businessmen, especially those active in the Chamber of Commerce. On these and other municipal improvement projects the conservatives had opposed the businessmen, objecting to any program that necessitated raising taxes or enlisting federal funding. The urban renewal fight, however, marked the first time that the two forces had been so clearly and publicly opposed to each other. Thus, the outcome of this conflict and the explanations underlying such a result will have

possible consequences for the way in which the city will be able to adjust as new conditions present themselves.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND OPERATIONALIZATION

In some previous case studies in urban politics the primary purpose has been to identify the most influential persons in decision-making in the community as a whole, or on distinguishable issues within the community. For this discussion, a potential and perhaps necessary role for a group of people is assumed. The questions asked are what relationship their values and role perceptions have to their behavior, and what implications this relationship has for their ability to fill the assumed role successfully. Finally, the implications the answer to this last question has for local policy response to new social and economic change are investigated.

Part of the analytical framework employed will be the concept of "role" adapted from Wahlke and Eulau's application of role in The Legislative System.<sup>1</sup> Briefly stated, role for them is defined as "a coherent set of 'norms' of behavior which are thought by those involved in the interactions being viewed, to apply to all persons who occupy the position" in question.<sup>2</sup> The authors hypothesize that a man holding a certain position will adjust his behavior to meet the expectations attached to the position. For

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<sup>1</sup>John C. Wahlke, et al., The Legislative System (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962).

<sup>2</sup>Wahlke, et al., The Legislative System, p. 25.

Wahlke et al. the position in question is that of state legislator.

The authors of The Legislative System designate several role sectors within their conceptual scheme, two of which will be used here. The core role sector includes the expectations the members have of each other with reference to their behavior as members of the group.<sup>1</sup> In other words, what is referred to here are the shared expectations among colleagues as to the proper way to conduct themselves in their profession. The core role sector is subdivided into the consensual sector, i.e., shared ideas as to how members should behave toward other members of the group as they go about the group's business, and the purposive sector, i.e., shared conceptions of what each member's goals should be as a member of the aggregate.<sup>2</sup>

For this study it is hypothesized that businessmen will modify their actual behavior within the issue area of urban renewal to conform to their cognition of how a businessman qua businessman ought to act in the sphere of local politics. If one can determine what "role sectors" are operative with this group of potential participants and how within each sector businessmen perceive their roles, then one should be able to specify the nature and limits of the subjects' political action. For example, with reference to urban renewal, a businessman's perception of his role may deter-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

mine whether he will act merely in an advisory capacity, representing an organization, or whether he will participate as an active proponent of a specific program; whether he will commit himself to a "fight-to-the-end" position or whether he will "drop out" at the point when he is asked to expend personal resources.

In addition to the role concept, this study employs the concept of social values. It would be ideal to thoroughly integrate this use of role theory with the conceptualization of value; however, the place of values in Wahlke's use of 'role' is difficult to pinpoint. Within this scheme it is probably most accurate to equate the term "value" with the concept of "group norm." But, values so conceived are inadequate to account for a psychological phenomenon that has consequences for behavior which not only is beyond the scope of a group's activity, but which also may be intended and designed to destroy the group. The concept of value as used in this study denotes predisposing sets, which both influence one's perception of his role and are influenced to comport with prescribed role behavior.<sup>1</sup> 'Value,' therefore, will be treated as a concept analytically distinct from the behavioral norms involved with any role. Thus, the second research task will be to identify these more general predisposing sets for each subject, and from there to determine how they are related to his role as businessman.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Phillip E. Jacob and James J. Flink, "Values and Their Function in Decision-Making," The American Behavioral Scientist, V, Supplement (May, 1962), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

As most all writers on the subject of "values" are obliged to observe, the term 'value' is a slippery concept, and the final decision as to how one defines it must be somewhat arbitrary. Having acknowledged this limitation, the definition that has proved to be a good base from which to construct the operation definition is that offered by Jacob and Flink.<sup>1</sup> They identify as values "only those normative standards by which human beings are influenced in their choice among the alternative courses of action which they perceive."<sup>2</sup> The definition used in this paper further stipulates that values may, indeed, influence the perception of these alternatives.<sup>3</sup> In addition, values are to be regarded as not arising "solely out of immediate tensions or immediate situation," thus separating them from the concept of "group norm."<sup>4</sup>

The final theoretical definition of values is borrowed from Allport as abstracted by Tisdale: "an individual's generalized disposition which is easily aroused and acts not only to direct behavior, but to drive it as well."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This is an unnecessary footnote, but I am leaving it in at this point to keep the numbers straight.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Robert F. Bales and Arthur S. Couch, "The Value Profile: A Factor Analytic Study of Value Statements," unpublished article, pp. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup>Clyde Klukohn, et al., "Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action," in Toward a General Theory of Action, ed. by Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 425.

<sup>5</sup>John R. Tisdale, Psychological Value Theory and Research: 1930-1960, unpublished dissertation, Boston University, 1960.



Three other potentially useful definitions have been discarded in the process of choosing this one: 1) values as needs or goal events; 2) values as situational relationships; and; 3) values as preferences. The first of these fails to account for the normative aspect of values. As Phillip Jacob has noted,

If values are merely goals or preferences, then there are some other phenomena of human action which need another name. The phenomena are the standards, yardsticks, or norms which form an integral part of the operational mechanism of the human being...<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, as Scott observes, goals or behaviors of choosing may be determined by variables, psychological and otherwise, besides values. If the distinction is not made, then the term becomes so ambiguous so as to be of questionable utility in research.<sup>2</sup> Scott's own definition, however, would seem to be too restrictive, for values do seem to be operative when conceived as something less than an "ultimate end," "absolute good," or "universal ought." The third definition, situational relationships, is both unduly restrictive and difficult to test. This definition does not include within its scope motivational aspects which transcend in duration a person's membership in any one group. Also, it implies a necessary group referent which may be next to impossible to identify. The choice to exclude the third alternative of values as preferences is, admittedly, somewhat arbitrary. The distinction made between

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<sup>1</sup>Jacob and Flink, "Values and Their Function in Decision-Making," pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup>William A. Scott, Values and Organizations (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), p. 9.

this definition and predisposing sets is that the latter are determinants of the former. Preferences, therefore, should be regarded as indicators of values and not as values themselves.

In summary, the theoretical definition of values used will be "an individual's generalized dispositions which are easily aroused and act not only to direct behavior but to drive it as well." To be sure, the techniques used to test the subjects' values (to be discussed below) ask for a description of ideal situations and for preferences. Still, it seems useful to choose the "predisposing sets" definition to account for the subconscious and unarticulated aspects of values that seem to influence perceptions and less "thought out" behavior. Nevertheless, the operational definition must of necessity be "the preferences indicated by the subject for particular ideal situations."

In addition to identifying the values held by Nacledé small businessmen, an attempt will be made to test the extent to which their actual participation (or non-participation) is in accord with the behavior prescription implicit in their values. In interviews with local influentials and through study of newspaper accounts, the researcher attempted to determine the nature and extent of these men's political action in urban renewal.

Data for this study, with the exception of general background material on Nacledé itself, was gathered in interviews with small businessmen, both those active and those inactive in the issue area of urban renewal. The interview sample of eighteen small businessmen was selected in the following manner. From a list of

those who publicly supported urban renewal<sup>1</sup> ten names of businessmen were chosen, dividing them with reference to location of business roughly in a two to one ratio between downtown and non-downtown. To this list were added the names of businessmen not publicly and actively involved in this issue, matching the active group where possible according to type of business and business location.

The interview questionnaire administered to the businessmen was designed to elicit data in five categories: 1) standard socio-economic data; 2) the subject's conception of his role; 3) the subject's value system; 4) rough indicators of his orientation along the continuums "change-non-change" and "pragmatist-ideologue;" and 5) his recollections of his position and degree of participation on the urban renewal issue.

All but one of the interviews were taped through the use of a portable tape recorder. Given the fact that they were taped, thus providing a post-interview check against accepting data coming as a result of leading probes, the unstructured nature of the value test and the orientation tests was a considerable advantage. The recorder was carried, out of sight, in a briefcase until permission to use it was granted. During the interviews themselves the machine was placed on the floor or on a chair so as to be inconspicuous, and only the microphone was placed on the subject's desk or table. These precautions seemed to be effective in elim-

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<sup>1</sup>This "list" was the group of names that appeared in the Nacledé Herald advertisement placed there by the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee.

inating any uneasiness resulting from the use of the recorder. Only two subjects (both older men) expressed verbally or otherwise a reluctance to allow the interview to be taped. One of these men allowed the recorder to be used after two questions had been covered; the other refused completely. That which was not recorded was taken down in notes.

## CHAPTER IV

### REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE URBAN RENEWAL ISSUE

Before discussing the results of the interviews themselves, it will be useful to describe the basic aspects of the dispute over urban renewal as it developed in Nacledé.<sup>1</sup> The most outstanding feature of the issue was that there never was a concrete project proposed for anyone's consideration. In fact, as far as can be determined from the information available, while some possible uses for urban renewal were proposed in the course of the issue's resolution, when the idea to open the question for investigation was first presented, no one had any definite construction in mind. Thus, the battle was joined and the outcome decided before anyone's material self-interest could become involved in any real and specific sense. What enhancement or deprivation of personal resources took place and what resulting desires or fears arose were, in a sense, fabricated in the minds of the desirous and the afraid.

The idea of using urban renewal in Nacledé was first introduced in November of 1965 by a city commissioner who suggested that the city commission appoint a five member advisory committee

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<sup>1</sup>The bulk of this description is reconstructed from articles and commentary appearing in the Nacledé Herald. Further information was gathered from working papers of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee and from interviews conducted with various persons involved by both the author and other researchers. In order to preserve anonymity footnotes to newspapers in the Herald will use that fictitious name and quotations from the interviews, themselves, will not be footnoted since the men's names could not be given.

merely to study the feasibility of establishing a local urban renewal program. The committee was appointed by the mayor after each member of the five-man city commission submitted a man's name to be selected for the investigating committee. More than four months later the committee submitted a favorable report to the city commission from which only one member dissented. More specifically, they urged that consultants be called in to survey the city for possible projects; that the city commission should hire an urban renewal director if it voted in favor of the program; and that a five-man urban renewal board should be appointed by the city commission separate from the city commission. Beyond this the advisory committee suggested two possible projects that could be undertaken with the use of federal urban renewal funds: the expansion of a local hospital and the relocation of the elementary school that stood on the ground proposed for the expansion; and the construction of a city-county building complex including a new jail, fire department and city hall. Among the members of the advisory committee supporting the very favorable report were two very prominent and reputedly powerful members of the community, the manager of the local power company, and the president of a retail outlet firm in the city.

It is interesting to note that neither of these two projects--the only concrete possibilities mentioned publicly--involved the use of private property which would necessitate the relocation of residents from their homes. Yet, the likelihood of such wholesale relocation was one of the major threats raised by the opponents

of urban renewal.

In response to the report of the advisory committee the city commission was for the most part non-committal. Soon after the final meeting of the advisory group with the city commission, however, the conflict began to take shape with the formation of the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Property Rights (CCPPR). The organization, chaired by the president of one of the community's largest industries, immediately announced plans to block any consideration of urban renewal by circulating petitions calling for its use to be prohibited in Nacledé. The mention of "property rights" in the title of the organization foretold the primary emphasis of its attack, inspired and led not by its chairman but by a local physician and his wife, both of whom had been active in previous public anti-federal government program efforts. For nearly three months the CCPPR had the field to themselves, unchallenged by any other organized group.

From the beginning the physician and his wife led the public fight, pitching the debate on a highly ideological plain in a barrage of familiar politically conservative rhetoric. The chairman of the Property Rights committee, generally acknowledged to be a representative of the physician and his wife, opened the war of words with a relatively mild statement of a common method of attack. He was quoted as saying that he opposed urban renewal because of the "federal control that comes with federal money."<sup>1</sup> In the non-public

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<sup>1</sup>Nacledé Herald, April 15, 1966, p. 5.

canvassing that was done by the group, their approach was a standard one for opponents of urban renewal. A feature article in the local newspaper reflected this tactic. In this article it was reported that the city manager had been receiving phone calls only a week after the formation of the property rights group from citizens who were worried that "...their homes will be smashed and there is nothing they can do about it."<sup>1</sup> The very wording of the petition tended to support this sort of belief about the consequences of urban renewal's use in the community. For example, one clause of the petition read, "WHEREAS, such (urban renewal) projects cause loss of property rights of individual citizens, loss of security for those of less fortunate circumstances, undue hardship to home owners and destruction of small business..."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, in the terms coined by Edelman in the Symbolic Uses of Politics, the anti-urban renewal forces succeeded in creating a threat in the minds of many of Nacledé's residents, especially those in the lower income brackets, who formed the bulk of support for the property rights group's ordinance in the final vote.<sup>3</sup>

It should be remembered that the leaders in the petitioning,

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<sup>1</sup>Nacledé Herald, April 27, 1966, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Taken from a copy of the petition circulated by the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Property Rights.

<sup>3</sup>Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964). For an indication of the correlation between men's vote on urban renewal and their incomes see Appendix II. It was a matter of consensual agreement among the businessmen interviewed in this study that the CCPPR won in part because they succeeded in frightening people with the prospect of their property's destruction.



the physician and his wife, were not issuing a plea to fellow members of their economic group. It is quite reasonable to assume that they themselves did not feel directly threatened with loss of property or property rights since no urban renewal project was feasible in the area where they lived or where the doctor had his offices. This was not, in other words, a defense of their own immediate material self-interest. Instead their actions seem to have been motivated by a genuine distaste for any form of federal program to be employed on the local level. The physician's wife, a member of the city commission, had led an earlier fight against the use of public money to expand the local water facilities, and the doctor, himself, had resigned from the local library board as a protest to the board's approving the use of a federal grant for the construction of an addition to the library. Some of the statements he made at the time of his resignation indicate the nature and extent of his anti-federal aid commitments:

It would be far easier to remain silent and serve out my short remaining time, but as a matter of principle I cannot do this...Where construction funds are granted through federal channels, agreements are necessary which transfer a significant degree of control of the entire library function to the state librarian's office, and through him, to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare... I continue to be astonished at the general willingness to give up control of our local affairs to Big Brother in exchange for free money. The belief in Uncle Santa seems to be universal. Freedom must eventually be the victim as this process reaches its end point.<sup>1</sup>

Similar language was used in the fight over urban renewal.

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<sup>1</sup>Nacledé Herald, November 25, 1965, p. 10.

Immediately after the city commission had heard the report of the advisory committee, they instructed the city manager to outline in a report the steps necessary to set up an urban renewal program. The city manager recommended to the city commission that they "get rolling" on urban renewal. The newly elected mayor, soon after his election, lent indirect support to the urban renewal forces as he criticized the petitioners for taking action against urban renewal before the commission had proposed definite projects.

In the middle of May, a month after the formation of the property rights group, the physician, in a letter to the local newspaper continued the line of argument followed in the petition being circulated. "The vast majority of urban renewal projects," he declared, "are based on private development for private projects and as such represent a prostitution of the original intent of the framers of the Constitution as regards the use of the power of eminent domain...The bland expression of 'Block Declared Blighted...Property Condemned...Structures Cleared' ignore the hardships and heartache of wrecked homes, destroyed businesses and the family uprootings and dislocations that are part and parcel of urban renewal."<sup>1</sup>

For nearly three months the opponents of urban renewal circulated their petitions unhindered by any organized opposition. The defense of urban renewal was carried on primarily by the local

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<sup>1</sup>Nacledé Herald, May 15, 1966, p. 5.

paper with the scattered support of some prominent citizens of Nacledé who had been participants in the debate from the beginning. Finally, however, in early July nearly fifty "representatives of Nacledé business and civic organizations" met at the organizational meeting of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee (SUFN Committee), a group of "concerned citizens" whose purpose for organizing was to prevent the passage of the ordinance. The Stand Up Committee was largely the product of concerned members of the Chamber of Commerce, and according to some prominent members of the Chamber, its chairman was selected by them more for his value as a front man than for his organizational and leadership capacities.

From the start the proponents of urban renewal in Nacledé exhibited a lack of political savvy. The very fact that they were so long in organizing to oppose the petition is in itself hard to understand. At first glance this might seem to have been a reasonable mistake; the petitioners were a small group and the tone of their public statements were so lacking in moderation and sophistication that one might have been led to regard them as another harmless extreme group. However, if one had looked more carefully, he should have been aware that the leaders of this group had actively and successfully challenged programs supported by these same business and civic organizations before.<sup>1</sup> In these earlier efforts their approach had been virtually the same, i.e., largely

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<sup>1</sup> The physician's wife, for instance, had been elected to the City Commission over the issue of a bond issue for additional city water facilities. Behind her the bond issue was defeated.

emotive, highly ideological arguments disseminated by hard working and very vocal people.

The naiveté of the Stand Uppers was evidenced not only by their late start, but also by early strategy errors once they began. At the first public organizational meeting the SUFN Committee announced that they were enlisting the services of a public relations firm from another city. Even though Nacledé is a city with a population of something over 40,000, there remains a certain measure of "Mainstreet America" about its attitudes and beliefs, one of which is a certain jealousy about letting outsiders interfere in local affairs. That this attitude prevailed in Nacledé, and, indeed, that the use of the outside public relations firm triggered resentment in the minds of a significant number of voters, cannot be documented in this study. It can be noted, however, that the property rights group was quick to charge that their opponents' campaign was being run by outsiders while theirs was a grassroots effort.

To be sure, the arguments used in the public campaign launched by the Chamber of Commerce's SUFN Committee were moderate and were based on a more accurate presentation of the facts than those of the pro-ordinance forces. Voting against the ordinance (and with the proponents of urban renewal) in no way obligated the city to actually adopt an urban renewal project. It merely allowed the question to remain open. Furthermore, there was an evident need for federal assistance in several projects under serious considera-

tion at the time of the urban renewal dispute.<sup>1</sup> The city had used federal funds to its benefit before and had plans for using them in the future. With the petition being circulated there was some doubt as to whether the ordinance urged in the petition would not preclude the use of such financial assistance across the board for some time to come.

The Stand Uppers seemed to have several factors working in their favor. First, they could boast the participation of some very prominent personalities and organization in the community, including the mayor, the city manager, the Chamber of Commerce officers, the local newspaper, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the head of the local utilities corporation, the president of a large supermarket chain, a member of one of the leading families in the city, and the majority of the city commissioners. Nor was it lack of effort that led to the defeat of urban renewal's advocates. While it was a professionally produced campaign, the publicity put out by the SUFN Committee was attractive and to the point. Propaganda was widely distributed, and speakers reached many of the town's important civic organizations. And, yet, with all the factors working for them, the Stand Uppers lost the fight to leave the question of urban renewal open.

The reasons for their defeat are generally agreed upon. First of all, the pro-urban renewal campaign was never able to recover from the effects of a late start. By the time they were able

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<sup>1</sup>Nacleda Herald, May 1, 1966, p. 7.

to mount an effective publicity campaign they were faced not with the task of an even contest between contrasting points of view, but instead with the task of changing strongly and emotionally rooted attitudes formed around rather simple and threatening images. To counter these attitudes and the emotive, stereotyped arguments which supported them, the businessmen could only offer a comparatively bland package of facts and figures. In short while they could make a decent case for urban renewal, they were never successful in erasing the images locked in the minds of many low income voters. In the end, the ordinance was passed by a three to two majority. A precinct by precinct breakdown indicated that the vote itself was clearly split according to income level.<sup>1</sup>

The positions of the two sides in the dispute may be characterized, then, as a largely ideological and emotive set of propositions versus a more factual and pragmatic argument. The elements of the former group's argument (i.e., the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Property Rights) were two. Probably the more important was the charge that urban renewal violated the basic American principle of individual property rights; every man should have the final say as to how his property will be used and the government should not be able to bulldoze his home as the anti-urban renewal forces asserted was done under urban renewal projects. Moreover, besides taking away a man's property rights, it was another form of the more general problem associated with

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix III.

any government grant of money: along with government money goes government controls; to get federal money one must give up local control over local situations.

The businessmen countered with a three-pronged comeback. First, urban renewal did not necessarily violate the principle of property rights nor did the city necessarily have to give up local controls. These were things that may have happened in some instances in some degree but did not have to happen in Nacledé. Secondly, it was unreasonable to close any possibility of considering the program for ten years. Defeating the petition did not in any way tie the city to a commitment to urban renewal. Finally, the city could very well benefit from the use of the urban renewal program: other cities were rebuilding their downtown areas, providing for more parking facilities, and building low income housing with urban renewal money and all of these sorts of problems or needs were present in Nacledé.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>These arguments were outlined in a paper prepared for the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee.

## CHAPTER V

### THE PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

The first question to be answered in the analysis of the interview results is whether or not the small businessmen of Nacledé did, in fact, participate in the resolution of the issue of urban renewal, i.e., whether, given their position on the issue--for or against the ordinance--they did work actively to see that this preference prevailed in the election. The answer in this case is a qualified 'no.' The majority of the small businessmen interviewed were not active public participants in the fight over the passage of the prohibiting ordinance. In other words, all but a few of the businessmen interviewed were members of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee of a comparable opposing organization. Only three of the businessmen interviewed worked publicly for their position on the urban renewal issue, which for all three was to oppose the prohibiting ordinance. Yet, while one cannot regard the group of small businessmen interviewed as a whole to be active participants, several of them contributed considerable resources other than their own time and energy. Nearly all of the men interviewed had formulated a definite opinion on the matter and lent their verbal support within their circle of acquaintances. It would be profitable to take a closer look at the exact nature of the sample's participation in the ordinance battle.

#### The Extent of Participation for Nacledé Small Businessmen

With reference to the questions asked about their participa-



tion in the issue area of urban renewal the results were grouped into four main "levels" of activity. The highest level was comprised of those who took active part in the work of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee. This category accounted for only three men. The second level of participation was composed of nine more of the interviewees who consented to their names being used in an advertisement appearing in the Nacledé Herald, although only two mentioned this in their interview. It should be noted that this action included a twenty-five dollar contribution to the campaign funds of the Stand Up Committee. The remainder of the sample (six businessmen) fell into the last two categories which included men whose reported activity was limited to conversations with regular associates (level three) and those who admitted no action at all (level four).

Two thirds of the men interviewed, then, regarded urban renewal as an issue at least important enough to consent to their names being used publicly in its support, but very few (one sixth) chose to take direct action in favor of their position for or against it.

#### The Issue Position of Nacledé Small Businessmen

In addition to the extent to which Nacledé's small businessmen became involved in the conflict over the ordinance, it is important to note the verbal positions they took on the issue of the restricting ordinance and the rationale upon which they based their stand. The overwhelming majority of the men interviewed opposed the ordinance prohibiting the use of urban renewal. In fact, out

of the eighteen men questioned, only three reported having cast their vote for the ordinance.

Cutting across the category of those who opposed or favored the stand of the property rights group, however, there were several distinguishable rationales given for having registered a "yes" or a "no" vote. The rationales upon which the subjects' positions were established have been distinguished according to the degree to which their decision was based directly upon what they considered to be urban renewal's probable net benefit for Nacledé. If urban renewal's net value to Nacledé was the major consideration in their support or opposition to the ordinance, they rated highest in this category labeled with reference to their rationale for their position as "conceptual clarity." If their commitment to their position was mitigated by other concerns, and if their support or opposition to urban renewal was based upon something other than the net good it would do for the community or themselves, then they rated lower. It is not important here to determine whether urban renewal was or was not of benefit to Nacledé or to a particular individual. What matters is whether or not the subject, himself, regarded this as the principle factor in his decision to oppose or support urban renewal.

The first category included the men who, quite straight forwardly, thought urban renewal would have definitely helped the community. Eight subjects were in this category. A second category was comprised of two men who reported casting a vote in favor of the ordinance and did not support the Stand Uppers' campaign.

They based their opposition on principle, feeling strongly that programs such as this, which call for the expenditure of federal money on the local level, should be avoided if at all possible. Both voiced specific disapproval of the argument that Nacledé should get its share if other cities were, regarding it as representative of a sort of greed that, in their opinion, had weakened the country. The third grouping included the respondents who either thought the question should have been left open until some specific project had been proposed for Nacledé or those who felt that as long as other cities were using urban renewal funds, Nacledé citizens should also cash in on their federal taxes. The two individuals who fell clearly into this grouping were either against federal funding in general or felt that they might not approve some specific projects in the future. The fourth category was made up of remaining six small businessmen who expressed a conflict between two of the first three categories in the rationale supporting their final position on urban renewal and the prohibiting ordinance.

These behaviors (levels of participation) and attitudes (verbal commitment to the concept of a local urban renewal project, pro or con) constitute the two primary variables to be explained on the basis of information gained in the remainder of the study. Of special concern are the relationships between the nature and extent of their participation, on the one hand, and the subjects' value profile, role perceptions and other possible explanatory variables, on the other. Before investigating these further variables,

however, it will be noted what relationship, if any, exists between these initial factors. The question is whether the conceptual clarity and directness of a person's commitment to urban renewal is positively related to the level of his participation.

From an inspection of Table 1 one can conclude that within the sample a clear commitment to the use of urban renewal in Nacledé is a sufficient but not a necessary condition for participation at levels one or two. In other words, all those respondents who were committed directly to urban renewal in principal at least allowed their names to be used in the Nacledé Herald advertisement, but men whose commitment was not so direct also participated at level two.

It is interesting to note three cases in which men experienced a mental conflict of sorts over the question of the prohibiting ordinance. These men expressed uncertainty in their interview as to the propriety and necessity of urban renewal but, as a matter of fact, they allowed their names to be used in a full page advertisement for the Stand Up Committee, an action which, as mentioned above, entailed the contribution of twenty-five dollars. Oddly enough in the interview these men made no reference to their cooperation in the newspaper advertisement. One of them, a member of a local bank's board of directors, said that even in his conversations with friends he took no sides on the issue.

With reference to their view of the businessmen's role in the community, a variable which will be investigated more thor-

TABLE 1

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION AND  
THE DIRECTNESS WITH WHICH A SUBJECT CONSIDERED THE  
VALUE OF URBAN RENEWAL IN ESTABLISHING HIS  
POSITION ON THE ISSUE OF THE ORDINANCE  
(Conceptual Clarity)

CONCEPTUAL CLARITY	ACTIVE IN SUFRN COM- MITTEE	ALLOWED NAME TO BE USED	TALKED WITH FRIENDS ONLY	NO PARTI- CIPATION	TOTAL
Direct con- cern with urban re- newal	3	5	-	-	8
Concern with ideological aspects of urban re- newal	-	-	-	2	2
Mitigated concern with urban renewal	-	1	1	-	2
Conflict be- tween sec- ond and third above	-	3	2	1	6
Total	3	9	3	3	13

oughly below, all three of these men would have to be classified as "community boosters." All made specific mention of the problem of a deteriorating downtown business district, and asserted that businessmen should bend every effort to do what they can to

help alleviate this condition. As the youngest of the three men, a downtown retailer, declared, "Every businessman should take the utmost responsibility in doing the best he can to save the core area downtown if he is downtown."

A plausible explanation for their somewhat inconsistent behavior may be made in terms of a conflict between their local associations, on the one hand, and their social values, on the other. These men were, or in the case of the elderly banker, had been, very active in the community civic organizations, most notably the Chamber of Commerce, from which the support for urban renewal against the property rights group primarily emanated. It may be argued that in deference to this association with the Chamber, which as a whole was strongly committed to the improvement of the downtown area, they had allowed their names to be used in the advertisement and had in the process contributed to the cause of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee. They were able to do this even though personal verbal support of urban renewal seemed to create a very definite conflict in their minds.

It appears that, for many of the small businessmen in this study, their association with the Chamber of Commerce, and with fellow businessmen in general, was a significant influencing factor in determining their behavior on this particular issue. Many interviewees who belonged to the Chamber, while exhibiting generalized misgivings about the propriety of urban renewal considered in the abstract, in the end came down on the side of the Stand Uppers in Nacledé. Although some of these persons lent only token

verbal support for the group opposing the petitioners, others, who expressed substantial disfavor with federal programs of this sort, made significant contributions to the efforts of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee. Thus, in terms of Nacledé businessmen's stand on this issue, their organizational associations seem to have had significant explanatory value.

Yet, an attempt to explain the extent of businessmen's participation or the content of his position merely by the fact that he associated with or did not associate with a certain group of men does not, taken alone, explain this behavior. Men equally involved with the Chamber were to be found across almost the entire spectrum of positions and levels of participation. Instead the relationship seems to be tied together with other factors common to both these variables. But, at this point in the analysis, with only a few variables investigated, it is too early to formulate concrete conclusions as to the somewhat complex relationship among all these components. Among the additional variables that might be expected to have a telling influence on this aspect of their behavior, are for some businessmen, their social values.

#### Value Positions of Nacledé Small Businessmen

In the analysis of the self-anchoring scaling value test it was decided to categorize the interviewees' value statements according to the object, condition, or behavior to which they referred. For example, statements addressed to the national government's proper scope of activity would be grouped separately from those that dealt with economic regulation, and standards of inter-



personal behavior on the small scale would be grouped separately from those that dealt with the proper limits of individual political rights and behavior. Categories were chosen during the analysis of the data as the value statements were recorded, and this choice was the decision of the researcher as he encountered the different types of values.

A conscious decision was made not to impose upon the value statements collected in the interviews one of the many categorization schemes which have been offered in the literature. As is the case with the defining of the term 'value' itself, the groupings in which one might organize expressed values seem to be as numerous as the authors who write on the subject of value categories. Though attempts are made to select such groupings systematically, too often the categorization schemes are confined by the data with which the particular author is working and by his own unique definition of the concept 'value.'

The value statements of the respondents were divided into thirteen separate categories according to their referents. The thirteen categories were:

1. National political regime types
2. Extent of government involvement in economic regulation
3. Government involvement in social welfare programs
4. Minority rights
5. Political morality
6. Individualism, worth ethic, agrarian way of life, etc.
7. Individual equality
8. Individual freedom of speech and action (Included in this category were "law and order" statements since they were considered to constitute another component of a syndrome.)
9. Property rights



10. Social and civic responsibility
11. Altruism-materialism
12. Religious behavior
13. International involvement of one's nation

This categorization scheme does not constitute an exhaustive accounting of all the possible types of value statements that could have been made; there is, for example, a large range of statements that could have been made with reference to values of individual morality. That the value statements were limited within this range was to some extent the consequence, first, of having asked the individual respondents to gear their replies so as to have application to the nation as a whole and, secondly, of asking them to channel their comments into the subject areas of politics, economics, and societal interaction. While the small businessmen's statements do not, then, represent an entirely spontaneous and complete exposition of their value positions, they do represent for each man interviewed a considerably unrestrained set of comments which can, nonetheless, be compared with the comments of the other men within the sample and which can also be evaluated against generalizations made in the literature about the value biases of small businessmen.

Various claims have been made concerning the values that small businessmen hold. Mills, Bunzel, and others have proposed that small businessmen constitute one of the few groups in America who still uphold what are labeled "agrarian" values.<sup>1</sup> A deeply

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<sup>1</sup>John H. Bunzel, "The General Ideology of Small Business," Political Science Quarterly, LXX (March, 1955), pp. 87-101. It should be noted that the use of "agrarian" here is not to be confused with the values that were held by rural Americans who were adherents of the Populist Movement.

held pride of individual achievement and a conviction that a man should be free to accomplish his goals unhindered by outside forces are put forth as major tenents in the agrarian value package. Moreover, according to these authors, small businessmen have developed values expressing an hostility to big labor, big government, and big business as they have been confronted with the complexities and frustrations of an increasingly industrialized and urbanized society. In short, small businessmen's value structures, taken together, are depicted as a carry-over from the hard line free enterprise, rugged individualist ideology of the late nineteenth century.

This view has been challenged, however. In a recent article Thomas DiBocco notes that lately the political ideas of American businessmen, including those of small businessmen, have been re-evaluated, giving rise to new and different interpretations.<sup>1</sup> V. O. Key, Jr., for example, argued that the rigid philosophy of non-interference is often more "an orthodoxy of ritual than of practice."<sup>2</sup> Another group of authors asserts that the numbers of businessmen (small and otherwise) who do adhere to rugged individualism are fast diminishing, composed as they are principally of older men.<sup>3</sup>

The findings in this study do not lend any consistent substantiation for the proposition that small businessmen today adhere

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas V. DiBocco, "The Political Ideas of American Business: Recent Interpretations," Review of Politics, XXX (January, 1963), pp. 51-53.

<sup>2</sup>V.O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, 4th ed. (New York: Crowell, 1953), pp. 37-33.

<sup>3</sup>Bunzel, "The Ideology of Small Business," p. 92.

to a set of individualistic social values. Even in those instances where one or more elements of this sort of value profile were stated, the subjects seldom exhibited a consistent set of values which could be said to constitute an "agrarian" value syndrome. Contained within any one man's set of value statements were prescriptive propositions inconsistent with the non-interventionist, individualistic, agrarian value profile-type. Moreover, it was often the case that men who most strongly emphasized outstanding tenets of such a value system, also mentioned what would be commonly thought of as "liberal" or "New Deal" values. The following statements were made by the same man, the president of one of the community's banks:

I think our own capitalistic system is (the best) as long as the individual is given the opportunity to exploit his abilities and potential. (Researcher's probe: How far should this lack of constraints go if the situation were to be ideal?) I don't think there would be any constraints.

Later in the interview he said,

Clearly there is going to have to be something done both by the government and by the business community to afford children in low income families the rudimentary education opportunities.

Nine (or half) of the men interviewed either thought that the federal government should be involved in social welfare programs or thought that it would be best if the federal government held close rein on the national economy. The owner and manager of a large retail outlet, who sat on the boards of directors of more than one bank, said in answer to a probe about the national economy, "...you've got to have quite a bit of control. You don't call it socialism; but somewhere in there."

Contrary to the third view mentioned above, age was no useful indicator between those who advocated such more "liberal" positions and those who did not. The average age of subjects who advocated relatively greater government activity in social and/or economic programs was fifty-five while the average age of those who strictly opposed such "intervention" was fifty-four. In terms of the distribution of age within the two groups, those who held anti-Federal intervention had five men forty years old or younger and four in the fifty years old or older category. Those favoring more government intervention in domestic affairs had only two in the forty and less category and seven in the fifty years or older grouping.

In summary, then, it was found that among the businessmen interviewed in Nacledé one and possibly two of the previously mentioned descriptions of American small businessmen's values were not accurate. First, the businessmen of Nacledé did not express the agrarian social philosophy of "excessive individualism." To be sure, several of the persons in this sample voiced an hostility to big business, and big government and an affinity for the personal value of individualism and hard work; but it was often these same persons who would prescribe government intervention and regulation, and would charge the federal government with the responsibility to aid the less fortunate and guarantee equality of opportunity for all citizens. Secondly, it does not appear to be the case in Nacledé that declaration of these agrarian values is a function of age. Insofar as such values were adhered to, they were upheld by younger

men as frequently as by older men.

Relationships of Maclede Businessmen's Values to Other Variables

The examination of the relationships among 1) the values a man holds, 2) the basis of his position on the issue of the prohibiting ordinance, and 3) the extent of his participation in support of this position will be conducted by comparing the specific types of value statements which have a more direct empirical reference to urban renewal with the actual behavior of those who adhere to such values. Concerning a man's social values and his level of participation, if the explicit or implicit behavior prescription in these value statements is to oppose urban renewal--or, more generally, programs of that type--then one's values can be taken to be influential in determining his behavior if and only if he acts consistently with that prescription.

Secondly, with reference to one and three above, the relationship to be investigated is simply between certain types of value statements or sets of value statements made by a businessman and his participation level. The question asked is not whether there is a logical consistency between his values and his expressed stance toward the issue, but whether there is a covariance between a man's expressing a type of value which has particular behavior or goal prescriptions and his level of activity in support of the position he holds. Suggestions about the nature of the relationship have been offered within the body of literature suggesting that small businessmen are the latter-day champions of agrarian social values. It is posited that their hostility to forces outside the local com-

munity gives them the tendency to allocate all of their public energies to the affairs of their own town or city. It is further postulated that they are inclined to pursue this sort of activity because it gives them a chance to deal directly with their environment and to see the results of their efforts. The second hypothesis below is an incorporation of these proposed generalizations.

A third significant question to be asked is whether there is a noticeable covariance between the consistency of one's values and his position on the issue, on the one hand, and the level of his participation on the other. These questions may be stated as three hypotheses:

1. A man who expresses values propositions against federal social welfare programs or government involvement in fiscal regulation will formulate a position in favor of the ordinance to prevent the use of urban renewal, a federal program, in the city of Nacledé.
2. A man who holds values hostile to federal government involvement in local affairs will participate more actively than a man whose values do not express as much hostility to non-local groups, organizations, or governments.
3. A small businessman whose values are consistent with his position vis-à-vis the prohibiting ordinance (according to the values referred to in the first hypothesis above) will participate on a higher level than a man whose values and position on the ordinance are inconsistent.

#### Hypothesis #1

This hypothesis was not supported significantly by the interview data. Of the six interviewees who took unqualified value positions against government involvement in economic regulation or in social welfare programs, two said they voted for the ordinance barring consideration of urban renewal, while the rest were distrib-

uted evenly among those who were no more active than to discuss the issue with associates and those who allowed their name to be used in the Stand Uppers' newspaper advertisement.

If the hypothesis is stated conversely, i.e., "Men who take a value position in favor of such government involvement would stand against the ordinance in Nacledé," the result is almost identical. Six men held such value positions. Of these, three said they favored urban renewal because they thought it would have specific benefit in the community; two more urban renewal supporters declared general notions that the program could benefit Nacledé but did not think it to be extremely crucial; and one man vehemently opposed urban renewal's local use.

In summary, then, value propositions that had somewhat direct connection with the issue of urban renewal did not seem to be good indicators of the position that the men within the Nacledé sample took on the issue in its local context.

#### Hypothesis #2

The second hypothesis could not be strongly supported on the basis of the value statements gathered in the interviews. Of the first level participants (i.e., those who were actively on the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee) two expressed values which could be considered pro-government involvement in social welfare programs. The third member of this group did not refer directly to any of the specific types of values necessary to test this hypothesis in the course of his self-anchoring scaling comments. However, while he did record some rather conservative statements on the self-anchoring scaling



portion of the interview, his replies to the statements on change and pragmatism indicated a strong orientation toward social change and an inclination to favor social welfare programs within limits.

As far as the three most active of the small businessmen in the sample are concerned, then, there is no support for the second hypothesis. The hypothesis does not receive support in the case of the second level participants, those who were not active on the Stand Up Committee but who were contributors to the committee's campaign funds, allowing their names to be used in newspaper publicity. Three of the nine men in this category clearly stated that the federal government should not be involved in social welfare programs, three said specifically they thought the government should be involved in this sort of program, and three men were somewhat on the fence, disapproving of government social welfare programs generally but sanctioning some self-help programs. The relationships were as inconclusive in the last two participation categories.

### Hypothesis #3

Just as the values expressed by the Nacledé small businessmen demonstrated no apparent and significant relationship with either the extent of their participation in the issue or their final position, the consistency between a businessman's relevant values and his stated position on the restricting ordinance was of no demonstrable importance as a factor influencing the extent of their participation. One of the three most active businessmen, in fact the chairman of the Stand Up Committee, at one point in his inter-



view took an anti-social welfare value position, although this value position was somewhat modified by later remarks as to how he would have authorities deal with domestic problems.

Half of the Nacledé small businessmen who exhibited some inconsistency between the social values they expressed and their final position on urban renewal fell into the participation category of those who were not actively involved with the Stand Up Committee, but who did cooperate with them to the point of contributing money and allowing their names to be used in the Nacledé Herald advertisement. It is impossible to say whether these men would have been more active had they not experienced the cognitive discrepancy between their position vis-à-vis the ordinance and their pertinent values. A financial donation and permission to use one's name, however, constitute a notable level of personal commitment, which only three men whose stand and values were consistent could claim.

An interesting point that can be demonstrated is the gap between the verbal evaluation these men made of the intensity of their concern for urban renewal and the extent of their resources expended in support of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee. When asked whether they considered the issue of urban renewal in Nacledé of "great concern, of some concern, of little concern, or of no concern," five of the small businessmen interviewed indicated that the issue was of no more than "some concern" to them.<sup>1</sup> (Table 2)

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix II, question #5.

Yet, they had gone on public record as supporting urban renewal strongly and had contributed money to the activities of an organization created with the sole purpose of defeating the restricting ordinance put forth by the property rights group. One of these five actually said in the interview that he remembered having voted for the ordinance.

TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION AND DEGREE  
OF CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER THE ISSUE

DEGREE OF CONCERN	ACTIVE IN SUFN COM- MITTEE	ALLOWED NAME TO BE USED	TALKED WITH FRIENDS ONLY	NO PARTI- CIPATION	TOTAL
Of Great Concern	3	3	-	2	8
Of Some Concern	-	3	2	-	5
Of Little Concern	-	1	1	-	2
Of No Con- cern	-	1	-	1	2
Total	3	8	3	3	17*

\*One "no response"

From the investigation of these three hypotheses, then, it seems reasonable to conclude that among the businessmen that were interviewed for this study, social values were not a good indicator

for predicting or explaining either their position or the measure of their participation during the conflict over the issue. Other considerations, psychological or otherwise, must be investigated for a clue to the explanation of their behavior in this issue area.<sup>1</sup>

#### Role as a Factor in Individual Participation

The responses given to the role questions are more useful in explaining the behavior of Nacledé small businessmen considered as a group than they are in accounting for the variations among the participation levels of the individual interviewees or among the rationales for their positions on urban renewal. The inadequacy of the role responses as bases on which to differentiate among individuals is attributable to the fact that the small businessmen chosen for the study did not express role perceptions which were clearly distinguishable into different role-types. There was, in other words, a large amount of consensus within the sample as to the role of the businessman and the informal principles which

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<sup>1</sup>It may be puzzling that in the discussion of the effect of values on the behavior of the Nacledé small businessmen reference was not made to values of "civic responsibility" (cf. pages 43-49), a category which would certainly seem to be relevant to the extent of a man's participation in any local political issue. Such a discussion was not undertaken at this point, in the first place, because only two respondents made value statements referring to this type of behavior. The man who emphasized the point the more energetically was one of the subjects who favored the ordinance and did not participate to any significant degree. A second reason for postponing the discussion of feelings of duty to serve the community as a variable determining the extent of one's local activity in support of his view on the issue of urban renewal is that this sort of predisposition is expressed more directly by the subjects when they talk about their perceptions of the role of the businessman in the community.

which were to guide his behavior with other businessmen. In addition, the different aspects of the businessmen's role named were, in many cases, conceptually related.

Consensual Role Sector. The consensual role sector, more than the purposive role sector, is of greater significance if considered as a characteristic of the sample as a whole than as an explanatory variable useful in distinguishing between individual businessmen interviewed. When asked what they perceived to be the informal principles relevant to dealing with other businessmen, the men interviewed mentioned rules of behavior whose main intention seemed to be promoting harmony among the city's small businessmen. Honesty, a sense of fair play with reference to local competition among businessmen, and cooperation were virtually the only "rules of the game" mentioned.

Many of the subjects interpreted the question, even after probes and clarifying statements by the interviewer, not in terms of activity in public affairs, but with reference to their business dealings. Evidently, as they had participated in various organizations and other public activities, they had not acquired the sense of a separate behavior pattern unique to these dealings. Moreover, the small businessmen questioned did not appear to be conscious of two distinguishable spheres of activity. When asked if the principles which they usually cited with reference to business dealings, applied also to their dealings in civic affairs, they usually replied simply, "yes." Never were additional rules named other than those which would fit into the categories already

named.

The consensual role sector and role types within it exhibited no relationship beyond what would be expected in a random distribution with reference to the variables of participation. Tested against the "level of participation" (Table 3) and against "the degree of concern over the issue of urban renewal" (Table 4), the cases of covariance occurred in almost direct proportion to the distribution of the subjects within the independent variable categories.

TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION AND  
THE CONSENSUAL ROLE CATEGORIES

CONSENSUAL ROLE PERCEPTIONS	ACTIVE IN SUFN COM- MITTEE	ALLOWED NAME TO BE USED	TALKED WITH FRIENDS ONLY	NO PARTI- CIPATION	TOTAL
Honesty, True to Word	1	6	2	1	10
Fair Play; Do Not Attack An- other Man's Business	1	6	2	1	10
Fair Treatment of Employees	1	-	-	-	1
Cooperation With Other Businessmen	2	3	-	1	6
Total	5	15	4	3	27*

\*Each respondent usually named more than one aspect  
of the consensual role.

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTENSITY OF CONCERN OVER THE ISSUE  
AND THE CONSENSUAL ROLE CATEGORIES

CONSENSUAL ROLE PERCEPTIONS	OF GREAT CONCERN	OF SOME CONCERN	OF LITTLE CONCERN	OF NO CONCERN	TOTAL
Honesty, True to Word	5	3	1	1	10
Fair Play; Do Not Attack An- other Man's Business	5	3	1	1	10
Fair Treatment of Employees	1	-	-	-	1
Cooperation With Other Businessmen	4	-	1	1	6
Total	15	6	3	3	27*

Purposive Role Sector. When the interviewees were asked the question, "What do you see as the role of the businessman?," the reply most often given was that a businessman, as businessman, should promote "progress and growth in his community." Half of the men in the sample expressed this as at least one of the aspects of the businessman's purposive role sector. "Rendering service to the community" comprised the second most often named aspect of the businessman's role (seven men listed this point), and "stimulating

progressive attitudes in the community" was the third most mentioned component of a businessman's role given as it was by four respondents. A common thread running through the first and third of these response-types can be labeled as the "community booster" orientation toward one's expected behavior in this city. There is, for instance, a slightly different emphasis in the response, given by two subjects, that businessmen should set a moral example for the rest of the community and in the "rendering service" response. At least one element of the "community booster" response was given by twelve (or two thirds) of the eighteen small businessmen questioned.

The "community booster" purposive role concept showed significant relationships with several of the variables directly related to a man's participation.<sup>1</sup> With reference to the level of the businessmen's participation itself, there is a distinct trend. If the original role categories and the original participation categories are considered against each other individually and separately, the relationships do not appear to be particularly noteworthy. But, if they are collapsed somewhat, and the first two levels of participation are viewed as comprising one category of all those businessmen who at least contributed money and allowed their names to be used publicly in support of the Stand Up Committee the relationship appears to be of some importance. Of the ten interviewees

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<sup>1</sup>Significance is loosely employed to mean that the distribution of subjects with reference to the pair of variables tested varies from what would be expected if they were distributed randomly.

expressing "community booster" role concepts, nine were in the first two participation categories; of the eight who gave other than "community booster" responses only three participated at level one or two. (Table 5)

TABLE 5  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY BOOSTER PERCEPTION  
AND THE LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION	COMMUNITY BOOSTER	NON-COMMUNITY BOOSTER	TOTAL
At Least Allowed Name to Be Used Publicly and Contributed	9	3	12
Only Talked with Friends Informally and Privately	-	3	3
Took No Action	1	2	3
Total	10	8	18

Only one interviewee outside this highest participation category falling into the "community booster" role profile as it has been defined here. That this man did not participate can be explained, first, by the fact that he was vehemently opposed to urban renewal's use as a matter of principle. In addition, given this opposition and his aversion to the tactics used by the prop-



erty rights group, he had no organized channel of participation. Finally, as the owner and operator of a struggling business, his time for participation in such affairs was very limited.

It can be said, then, that there was a very strong positive relationship between the "community booster" conception of the businessman's role and participation in the resolution of the urban renewal issue among the subjects in this study.

The Relationship of the Purposive Role Sector to Other Variables. With reference to the variable, "directness of consideration of urban renewal's benefit to the community" and its relationship to the subjects' role perceptions, the situation is similar; while technically not significant statistically, the relationship indicates certain trends when considered informally. Of the eight small businessmen who considered urban renewal of specific and immediate utility in Naclede, six cited "community booster" aspects of the businessman's role in his community. (Table 6) This proposition is not clearly demonstrated in the table since more than one type of response was often given to this role question.

As has been the case with other variables an examination of exceptional cases offers additional clues as to the nature of the relationship between the purposive role perception and the behavior of individual businessmen on this issue. Only two among the six men who expressed an internal conflict or some uncertainty as to their commitment to urban renewal per se allowed their names to be used in the Naclede Herald advertisement; these men, and these men only, expressed a booster purposive role perception. The "commun-

ity booster" role concept, then, was strongly related to the directness of the commitment to urban renewal for the subjects of this study.

TABLE 6

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PURPOSIVE ROLE CONCEPTS AND THE DIRECTNESS OF SUBJECTS' CONSIDERATION OF URBAN RENEWAL'S BENEFIT TO NACLEDE AS A BASIS FOR THE STAND ON THE ISSUE OF THE ORDINANCE

ROLE PERCEPTION	DIRECT CONCERN WITH URBAN RENEWAL	CONCERN WITH IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF URBAN RENEWAL	MITIGATED CONCERN WITH URBAN RENEWAL	CONFLICT AMONG ONE AND TWO TO THE LEFT	TOTAL
Community Booster	6	1	1	2	10
Non-Community Booster	2	1	1	4	8
Total	8	2	2	6	13

Finally, the variable "degree of concern over the issue of urban renewal" exhibited a significant amount of relationship with the community booster purposive role perception. Seven men listed the issue as of "great concern" to them, and, of these, six responded with statements of concern with the community's progress and growth. (Table 7) In addition, those who expressed "great concern" also presented a fuller concept of their roles as businessmen, naming more components than the respondents in the lower three "con-

cern over the issue" categories.

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN "COMMUNITY BOOSTER" PURPOSIVE ROLE  
PERCEPTIONS AND LEVEL OF CONCERN OVER THE ISSUE  
OF THE PROHIBITING ORDINANCE

ROLE PERCEPTION	OF GREAT CONCERN	OF SOME CONCERN	OF LITTLE CONCERN	OF NO CONCERN	TOTAL
Community Booster	6	3	1	-	10
Non-Community Booster	1	4	1	2	8
Total	7	7	2	2	18

The purposive role sector, then, is of worth as a discriminator among the various components of Nacledé small businessmen's participation in the issue of urban renewal, i.e., their participation level, their concern over the issue, and the extent to which urban renewal's benefit to Nacledé was the primary basis for their decision on how to participate. An investigation of its possible correlates from among the other variables tapped in the interview will add some depth and precision to this concept. As might be expected, the level of Nacledé businessmen's education bears a significant relationship to businessmen's concern for the progress of their community and the promotion of progressive ideas in the community. (Table 8) In the sample for this study, businessmen with

college degrees comprised thirty-nine percent of those interviewed; those without a degree accounted for sixty-one percent. Yet, the percentages of those men with college degrees to be found in the community booster purposive role sector were directly reversed--sixty-one and thirty-nine respectively.

TABLE 8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY  
BOOSTER PURPOSIVE ROLE PERCEPTIONS

ROLE PERCEPTION	HIGH SCHOOL ONLY	SOME COLLEGE	B.A. DEGREE ONLY	M.A. DEGREE	TOTAL
Community Booster	2	2	5	1	10
Non-Community Booster	4	2	1	1	8
Total	6	4	6	2	18

An important relationship appears to exist also between these businessmen's purposive role perceptions and their level of organizational involvement. Among the ten subjects who are categorized into the "community booster" grouping, eight were men involved in four or more organizations. (Table 9) Men who have a "community booster" role concept are likely to have memberships in four or more organizations. The relationship is not significant the other way about, since men with four or more organi-

zations occur at an exactly proportional frequency along the different role components.

TABLE 9  
LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND "COMMUNITY BOOSTER"  
PURPOSIVE ROLE PERCEPTIONS

ROLE PERCEPTION	FOUR OR MORE ORGAN- IZATIONS	THREE OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TWO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	NO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TOTAL
Community Booster	8	1	1	-	10
Non-Community Booster	4	2	1	1	8
Total	12	3	2	1	18

Not only the quantity of organizations to which a man belongs, but also the nature of this participation--the characteristics of the organization and the level of his status within the organization--appear to be related to his purposive role perceptions. As was mentioned above, the Chamber of Commerce was the center of much of the pro-urban renewal activity in Nacledé. The image of Chambers of Commerce generally are closely connected with the "community booster" image as a group. Thus, it might be expected that those men in this study who had been actively involved in the work of the Nacledé Chamber would also adhere to the "community booster" element of the role of the businessman. This is, in fact,

the case. Of the seven men who had served or were serving in some leadership capacity in the Nacledé Chamber of Commerce, six listed the promotion of progress, growth and progressive ideas as principle elements in their perception of the proper role of the businessman in the community. (Table 10) It may be said, then, that men who had held such positions of leadership are likely to have a "community booster" conception of their purposive role.

TABLE 10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HAVING HELD LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN THE  
NACLEDE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND "COMMUNITY BOOSTER"  
PURPOSIVE ROLE PERCEPTIONS

ROLE PERCEPTION	HAD HELD LEADER- SHIP POSITIONS IN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	HAD NOT HELD LEADER- SHIP POSITIONS IN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	TOTAL
Community Booster	6	4	10
Non-Community Booster	1	7	8
Total	7	11	18

Finally, as will be discussed more thoroughly below, both a more pragmatic outlook and a more positive orientation toward change were positively related to the "community booster" role concept.

In summary, then, the following variables were significantly related to the "community booster" conception of one's purposive

role:

1. The level of participation.
2. The extent to which the benefit of urban renewal to Naclede was a major consideration in formulating a man's position concerning the issue of the ordinance.
3. The level of concern over the issue.

Other variables related to the "community booster" role concept were a positive orientation to both pragmatism and change and a high degree of participation in civic organizations. Both the number of civic organizations to which a man belonged and participation in a leadership position in the Chamber of Commerce related positively to a man's holding a "community booster" purposive role concept. The question of which is the more directly relevant variable, the "community booster" role concept or one's participation in the Chamber, is one which cannot be answered decisively on the basis of the data obtained in this study. This "chicken or the egg" type query is significant, however, since the importance of a man's role concept as opposed to his group associations with reference to his behavior hinges upon its answer.

#### Organizational Activity

Earlier, in the discussion of the relationship of values to the participation of Naclede small businessmen, the proposition that organizational ties and associational commitments may be the strongest influence on the extent and nature of a businessman's participation was offered for tentative consideration. A more detailed investigation of the relationship between organizational mem-

berships and participation in the issue of urban renewal supports this proposition.

The organizational involvement of the respondents was considered both quantitatively (the number of organizations to which they belonged) and qualitatively (the types of organizations to which they belonged and their status within them) as it related to their activity with reference to the issue of urban renewal. When their organizational activity was weighed quantitatively, the subjects were divided into four categories: 1) those who were members of four or more organizations; 2) those who were members of three; 3) those who belonged to only two; and 4) those men who admitted no organizational affiliations.

The level of the interviewees' organizational activity is related in some degree with several aspects of participation in the issue of urban renewal. With the level of organizational activity taken as the "independent" variable and level of participation as the "dependent," nine of the twelve men who are members of four or more organizations contributed at least the use of their name and twenty-five of their dollars to the fight against the prohibiting ordinance. (Table 11) Two of the three men belonging to four or more organizations but participating below the second level on the issue of the restricting ordinance were staunchly opposed to the use of urban renewal in principle. Favoring the ordinance and belonging to the Chamber of Commerce, which led the fight against it, they may have decided to avoid action altogether. A more likely



explanation is that their businesses and organizational commitments, taken together, left them no time to become involved, especially when the easier path of participation, through a contribution to the Chamber of Commerce, involved support of a position that was diametrically opposed to their convictions. Both men were owners and operators of businesses that were by their own admission struggling concerns. One of them held office in the county government.

TABLE 11

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY  
AND LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION	FOUR OR MORE ORGANIZATIONS	THREE ORGANIZATIONS	TWO ORGANIZATIONS	NO ORGANIZATIONS	TOTAL
Active Members of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee	3	-	-	-	3
Allowed Name to Be Used Publicly and Contributed	6	1	2	-	9
Only Talked with Friends Privately and Informally	1	1	-	1	3
Took No Action	2	1	-	-	3
Total	12	3	2	1	18

Another aspect of a person's involvement in the issue related to his organizational commitments is his level of concern over the issue itself, and here the relationship is striking. Of the nine men who said this issue was of "great concern" to them, all nine were at the highest level of organizational activity. (Table 12) And of the small businessmen in the sample at this level, all twelve recorded that the issue was of at least "some concern" to them. Thus, a high level of participation in organizational activity beyond their businesses was an extremely strong indicator of level of concern expressed over the issue.

TABLE 12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEVEL OF ACTIVITY IN VOLUNTARY  
ORGANIZATIONS AND LEVEL OF CONCERN OVER THE  
ISSUE OF THE PROHIBITING ORDINANCE

LEVEL OF CONCERN	FOUR OR MORE ORGAN- IZATIONS	THREE OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TWO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	NO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TOTAL
Of Great Concern	9	-	-	-	9
Of Some Concern	3	-	1	1	5
Of Little Concern	-	2	-	-	2
Of No Concern	-	1	1	-	2
Total	12	3	2	1	18

The extent to which the subjects based their issue stance on a conviction as to whether or not urban renewal would benefit the community is related to this variable, also. Out of the twelve small businessmen interviewed who were members of four or more organizations, eight founded their position squarely on the merits (or lack of merit) of urban renewal. Thus, two thirds of the highly active were clearly in favor of urban renewal itself, and of the four who were not committed to urban renewal, two were situated at the other pole, opposed to urban renewal. (Table 13) Ten of the twelve, then, established or had previously established, for themselves a definite position toward urban renewal.

As far as the qualitative aspects of organizational participation are concerned, there are two interesting relationships to the issue of participation. First, all six of the men who had held elected public office or who were in such a position at the time of the interviewing were among the category of businessmen who at least allowed their name to be used in the Herald's Stand Up for Nacledé advertisement, with the one exception of a car dealer who objected to the use of urban renewal on principle. Secondly, it is very important to note that all the businessmen interviewed who had held, or were at the time of their interview holding, leadership positions in the Chamber of Commerce allowed their names to be used as a bare minimum of activity.

In summary, it can be said that a high level of organizational activity has a very large amount of explanatory power vis-à-vis

TABLE 13

LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AND DIRECTNESS OF CONCERN  
WITH URBAN RENEWAL'S USEFULNESS TO NACLEDE IN  
ESTABLISHING POSITION ON THE ISSUE

DIRECTNESS OF CONCERN WITH URBAN RENEWAL	FOUR OR MORE ORGAN- IZATIONS	THREE OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TWO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	NO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TOTAL
Direct Con- cern with Ur- ban Renewal	8	-	-	-	8
Concern with Ideological Aspects of Ur- ban Renewal	2	-	-	-	2
Mitigated Con- cern with Ur- ban Renewal	-	1	-	1	2
Conflict Be- tween the First and Sec- ond Categories	2	2	2	-	6
Total	12	3	2	1	18

some aspects of participation of Naclede small businessmen interviewed in this study. Exhibiting a stronger relationship to the conceptual clarity of their commitment to urban renewal and the level of concern over the issue of the prohibiting ordinance, these small businessmen's level of organizational participation was strongly related to both.

Downtown versus Non-Downtown Location of a Man's Business

At several points earlier the location of the subjects' businesses has been investigated as a possible correlate of some of the major concepts used in this study. With reference to subjects' role perceptions (both consensual and purposive) the relationship to business location was found to be small or non-existent.

When considered as a correlate of participation, however, location does have some explanatory value. To be sure, for two of the three businessmen who did not participate at all in the ordinance fight (Table 14) the explanation seems to lie primarily in the fact that they objected to the use of urban renewal on principle but could not find an acceptable vehicle for participation. To them the property rights group, which would have provided a platform from which to act, employed tactics unacceptable to them. Yet, while these arguments are satisfactory for these two men, business location appears to be relevant in explaining the participation behavior of other businessmen interviewed.

In the first place, the third man who did not participate presented the location of his business as the main reason for his non-participation--he did not think urban renewal would affect him at his place of business. A stronger argument for the contention that location was a significant influence on participation is the fact that there were other men who voiced strong objection to urban renewal as a matter of principle and yet allowed their names to appear

in the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee's newspaper advertisement as endorsers of the committee's efforts. All of these men were located downtown or had close business connections with downtown firms.

TABLE 14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LOCATIONS OF MEN'S BUSINESSES AND  
THE LEVEL OF THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE ISSUE OF  
THE PROHIBITING ORDINANCE

LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION	DOWNTOWN BUSINESSMEN	NON-DOWNTOWN BUSINESSMEN	TOTAL
Active Members of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee	3	-	3
Allowed Name to Be Used Publicly and Contributed	6	3	9
Only Talked with Friends Private- ly and Informally	2	1	3
Took No Action	-	3	3
Total	11	7	18

A look at Table 15 is revealing. Of the eleven downtown businessmen questioned seven stated that they thought urban renewal had clear and immediate use in Nacledé; the rest were uncertain about committing themselves to urban renewal, objecting

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUSINESS LOCATION AND DIRECTNESS OF  
CONCERN WITH URBAN RENEWAL'S USEFULNESS TO NACLEDE  
IN ESTABLISHING POSITION ON THE ISSUE

DIRECTNESS OF CONCERN WITH URBAN RENEWAL	DOWNTOWN BUSINESSMEN	NON-DOWNTOWN BUSINESSMEN	TOTAL
Direct Con- cern with Ur- ban Renewal	7	1	8
Concern with Ideological Aspects of Ur- ban Renewal	-	2	2
Mitigated Con- cern with Ur- ban Renewal	-	2	2
Conflict Be- tween the First and Sec- ond Categories	4	2	6
Total	11	7	18

to it as a government program. None expressed outright opposition based on a principled stance. For the non-downtowners their commitment to urban renewal fell along the entire range of listed possibilities. For some reason, then, downtown businessmen were either convinced that urban renewal would be of specific benefit to Naclede, or if their social values strongly conflicted, were left

confused supporters of the Stand Up Committee's campaign, but supporters, nonetheless.

Two factors may explain this situation. First, the downtown businessmen were very much aware of the decline of Nacledé's downtown sector, and many of them saw urban renewal as a possible solution. It is reasonable to assume that those who were of this opinion talked with other businessmen downtown, with whom they were more likely to associate daily than non-downtown colleagues. Secondly, the Chamber of Commerce, which was the locus of the fight to defeat the restricting ordinance put forth by the property rights group, seems to have been led predominantly by small businessmen from the downtown area. Surveying the list of men who stated that they were holding or had held leadership positions in the Chamber, one sees that six of the eight falling in the leadership category were downtown businessmen.

The businessmen, themselves, are aware of a slight divergence of outlook between those who are downtown and those who are not downtown. From comments made during the interviews, especially in response to the question about the conflicts of opinions between downtown and non-downtown businessmen, there seems to be at least a latent difference in thinking between the small businessmen in the two different locations. Although very few of the downtown businessmen acknowledged a sense of conflict at first, they later alluded to the fact that the downtown businessmen are beginning to feel the pinch of competition from the business concerns in the out-



lying areas. The non-downtowners, also, were slow to refer to any great conflict of opinions between the two sectors, but did express a greater sense of separation. The comments of the two non-downtown Chamber of Commerce leaders are interesting insofar as they support the claim made above that the Chamber in Nacledé seems to have a downtown orientation.

The first, a building materials dealer, expressed some irritation at the idea that businessmen are obligated to preserve the downtown area. When asked if he thought there was a conflict of opinion between the businessmen in the two areas, he replied,

Yes, I think there is. Most of the businessmen feel like we have an obligation to the downtown because of the tremendous tax base, but I don't feel that you can force a person to go downtown to do his business.

The other, a dry goods retailer, replied,

I'm a suburban-type operation, and I wouldn't give a nickle for any uptown location...If there is any bad feeling it is from the downtown people.

Many of the seven small businessmen in the outlying locations expressed the sentiment mentioned by him, i.e., that they were glad to be located away from downtown. As one of them said, "I wouldn't go down there if the rent was free."

The issue of urban renewal, or more precisely, the issue of the prohibiting ordinance, was related to some extent to the locational division, at least if the sample of men selected for this study are representative of all small businessmen in Nacledé. This division was exhibited primarily in the way in which the various subjects conceived the issue cognitively. The men in the downtown

group seemed to relate urban renewal to their business needs, which they saw as being tied to the future of the downtown business district. The relationship did not show itself in the degree of concern which businessmen expressed over the issue of urban renewal (Table 16); those who felt concerned over the issue because of their social values, in other words as a question of principle, were as anxious about the conflict as those (the downtown businessmen) who were presumably concerned for more pragmatic or material reasons. In fact, in the cases of those businessmen in the sample who were both ideologically concerned over the issue and located downtown, the latter factor appeared to override the influence of the former.

TABLE 16

LOCATION OF THESE MEN'S BUSINESS DID NOT SHOW A RELATIONSHIP  
TO THE LEVEL OF CONCERN EXPRESSED ON THE  
ISSUE OF THE PROHIBITING ORDINANCE

LEVEL OF CONCERN	DOWNTOWN BUSINESSMEN	NON-DOWNTOWN BUSINESSMEN	TOTAL
Of Great Concern	6	3	9
Of Some Concern	4	1	5
Of Little Concern	1	1	2
Of No Concern	-	2	2
Total	11	7	18

In this sample, then, the influence of a man's business location is evidenced by the fact that of the several businessmen who had strong objections to urban renewal in principle and several others who were simply undecided, the ones from downtown did in the end participate at a significant level while the non-downtowners did not participate.

#### Pragmatism and Orientation toward Change

Both a tendency to register at the pragmatic end of the pragmatism scale and the tendency to register a high change orientation on the change-non-change scale seem to belong to the general syndrome which includes a high level of participation in the dispute over the ordinance; a "community booster" purposive role orientation; a more direct commitment to the use of urban renewal in Nacledé; and a high level of participation in voluntary organizations, especially leadership participation in the Nacledé Chamber of Commerce.

A positive orientation toward change demonstrates a positive relationship both with participation itself and with variables related to participation. With regards to participation, of the three respondents who participated most actively all were found in the strongest "change" category. (Table 17) While only three of the twelve men interviewed who at least allowed their names to be used in the Nacledé Herald advertisement fell into the most positive "change" category, nine men out of this group were to be found

on the "change" half of the scale.

TABLE 17

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A POSITIVE ORIENTATION TOWARD CHANGE  
AND LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

ORIENTATION TOWARD CHANGE	ACTIVE IN SUFN COM- MITTEE	ALLOWED NAME TO BE USED	TALKED WITH FRIENDS ONLY	NO PARTI- CIPATION	TOTAL
Definitely Change Or- iented	3	1	-	1	5
Moderate, Ten- dency to Change Oriented	-	5	2	-	7
Moderate, Ten- dency to Non- Change Orien- tation	-	1	-	2	3
Definitely Non- Change Orien- tation	-	2	1	-	3
Total	3	9	3	3	18

The same tendency toward a positive relationship is demonstrated between this variable and others mentioned above. With reference to businessmen's purposive role concepts only those men who were in the "community booster" category registered at the highest level of change orientation. (Table 18) Only those who

TABLE 18

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHANGE ORIENTATION AND "COMMUNITY BOOSTER"  
PURPOSIVE ROLE PERCEPTION

PURPOSIVE ROLE PERCEPTION	STRONG CHANGE	MODERATE CHANGE	MODERATE NON-CHANGE	STRONG NON-CHANGE	TOTAL
Community Booster	5	3	1	1	10
Non-Community Booster	-	4	2	-*	6*
Total	5	7	3	1*	16*

\*Two did not respond in one of the relevant  
categories

had a tendency to be positively oriented toward change (i.e., those who registered on the "change" half of the scale) indicated that the basis of their stand on the issue of the ordinance was a consideration of urban renewal's worth to the city of Nacledé. (Table 19) The quantity of the interviewees' participation in voluntary organizations was also related to the ease with which they accepted change according to their responses on the questionnaire scale. No one with a strong change orientation belonged to less than four organizations. Of the twelve respondents who belonged to four or more organizations only two did not register on the "pro-change" half of the change-non-change continuum. And, finally, of those on the change half of the continuum, all belonged to at least three organizations; ten of the twelve belonged to four or more organi-

zations. (Table 20)

TABLE 19

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORIENTATION TOWARD CHANGE AND  
DIRECTNESS OF CONCERN WITH URBAN RENEWAL'S  
USEFULNESS TO NACLEDE IN ESTABLISHING  
POSITION ON THE ISSUE

DIRECTNESS OF CONCERN WITH URBAN RENEWAL	STRONG CHANGE	MODERATE CHANGE	MODERATE NON-CHANGE	STRONG NON-CHANGE	TOTAL
Direct Con- cern with Ur- ban Renewal	4	4	-	-	8
Concern with Ideological Aspects of Ur- ban Renewal	-	1	-	1	2
Mitigated Con- cern with Ur- ban Renewal	1	-	1	-	2
Conflict Be- tween the First and Sec- ond Categories	-	2	2	2	6
Total	5	7	3	3	18

It would be difficult to say how the "change orientation" variable relates to participation and the other related factors mentioned. That is, it is unclear whether a high positive change score is related directly to these men's participation levels or

TABLE 20

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY  
AND ORIENTATION TOWARD CHANGE

ORIENTATION TOWARD CHANGE	FOUR OR MORE ORGAN- IZATIONS	THREE OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TWO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	NO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TOTAL
Definitely Change Or- iented	5	-	-	-	5
Moderate Change Or- ientation	5	2	-	-	7
Moderate Non-Change Orientation	2	1	-	-	3
Definite Non-Change Orientation	-	-	2	1	3
Total	12	3	2	1	18

whether the influence of a man's orientation toward social change is mediated through the other variables to which it is also related and which are themselves related to participation. For this discussion it is sufficient to note that a positive orientation toward social change tends to be related to a higher level of participation in voluntary organizations, a more direct concern with urban renewal's merits for Nacledé and a "community booster" purposive role concept.

The results observed for the subjects' pragmatism parallel those vis-a-vis their attitudes toward social change. The five men who registered the highest pragmatic score all participated at least to the extent that they allowed their name to be used in the Nacledé Herald advertisement. Also, all three of the men who participated most actively, i.e., those who were active members of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee, registered on the "pragmatic" half of the scale. (Table 21) The same sort of rela-

TABLE 21

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION  
AND DEGREE OF PRAGMATISM

LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION	STRONGLY PRAGMATIC	MODERATELY PRAGMATIC	MODERATELY NON- PRAGMATIC	STRONGLY NON- PRAGMATIC	TOTAL
Active Members of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee	1	2	-	-	3
Allowed Name to Be Used Public- ly and Contrib- uted	4	2	2	1	9
Only Talked with Friends Private- ly and Informal- ly	-	1	2	-	3
Took No Action	-	1	-	2	3
Total	5	6	4	3	18



tionship exists with reference to the "community booster" purposive role perception. All but one of the ten men who recorded a "community booster" role concept indicated a tendency to be more pragmatic than ideological. (Table 22) In terms of the quantity of voluntary organizations to which these businessmen belonged only men who belonged to four or more organizations were to be found in the "most pragmatic" category. (Table 23)

TABLE 22  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEGREE OF PRAGMATISM  
AND PURPOSIVE ROLE PERCEPTION

PURPOSIVE ROLE PERCEPTION	STRONGLY PRAGMATIC	MODERATELY PRAGMATIC	MODERATELY IDEOLOGICAL	STRONGLY IDEOLOGICAL	TOTAL
Community Booster	4	5	1	-	10
Non-Community Booster	1	1	3	2*	7*
Total	5	6	4	2*	17*

\*One no response

In summary, concerning the variables of pragmatism and a favorable orientation toward social change, it can be said that among the men in this sample men who tend to be more pragmatic and who have a more favorable attitude toward social change participated at a higher level in the ordinance conflict.

TABLE 23

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEGREE OF PRAGMATISM  
AND LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY

DEGREE OF PRAGMATISM	FOUR OR MORE ORGAN- IZATIONS	THREE OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TWO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	NO OR- GANIZA- TIONS	TOTAL
Strongly Pragmatic	5	-	-	-	5
Moderately Pragmatic	4	1	1	1	7
Moderately Ideological	3	1	1	-	5
Strongly Ideological	-	1	-	-	1
Total	12	3	2	1	18

"Why did urban renewal fail in Nacledé?"

The answers given to this question reveal some interesting characteristics about the advocates of urban renewal, the supporters of the Stand Up for Nacledé Committee. Among the twelve most active (i.e., those who were active in the Stand Up campaign or those who consented to their name's being used in public support of the Committee's work) nine explained the property rights group's success in the election to the fact that the people were ill-in-

formed and scared by the ordinance's proponents or to the situation that the backers of urban renewal did not have time to organize properly. None of the nine hinted that the pro-urban renewal forces had been amateurishly naïve in not foreseeing the nature and magnitude of the Citizens' Committee's campaign.

This seems to be further evidence of Nacledé's small businessmen's reluctance to recognize the realities of their political situation and adjust their tactics accordingly. It would seem that even after engaging in or observing the intense and very public debate over the prohibiting ordinance these men insisted upon viewing politics in the same way that they viewed their businesses. Honesty, fair play, and calm rational consideration of issues remained the chief values concerning the procedures that might be employed to achieve a desired goal. It may be that to admit all of the mistakes made by the Stand Uppers would have required that alternative types of behavior at variance with this more genteel set of values, something which these men were not prepared to do.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND HYPOTHESES

Two kinds of questions can be answered on the basis of the data surveyed. First, there are those questions intended to determine what variables influence the behavior of small businessmen in issue areas which involve the question of a city's responding to major problems that confront its citizens. Specifically, in terms of the city being studied, the question is what factors weighed most heavily for Naclede's small businessmen in their decisions as to the nature and extent of their individual participation vis-a-vis the issue of the ordinance prohibiting the use of urban renewal in Naclede. A large emphasis is laid on the psychological variables influencing the behavior of small businessmen.

The second type of question to be answered in this study has to do with this group of Naclede small businessmen taken as an aggregate. After assessing the effect of the various factors influencing the behavior of individual small businessmen in this type of situation, the implications for the trends in the outcome of future conflicts on issues of this type will be considered. Hypotheses concerning the capacity of Naclede and similar cities to deal with the changing conditions confronting them will be offered.

#### Why did Naclede businessmen participate as they did?

Contrary to the results that might have been expected, the social values held by these Naclede small businessmen did not ap-

pear to be the strongest influence either on the level of their participation or on the nature of the position they took on the issue. The criterion for evaluating the relationship between the subjects' social values and their participation was merely the degree of logical consistency exhibited between the prescription contained within the value statements relevant to the issue of urban renewal and to their behavior in the issue area of urban renewal locally.

The lack of influence demonstrated when this method of comparison was used is explained by two factors. First, there were significant internal inconsistencies within the value profiles of most interviewees. Such a confused set of value propositions would not provide a clear cognitive standard upon which to base one's actions on any particular issue, and was apparently not supportive to these men in the Nacledé urban renewal conflict.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, it is argued that the real world referents in the value statements made were far too vague to be the foundation for action in the local context. Unless an issue is construed as an integrally connected specific instance of a national phenomenon (which seems to have been the case for the leaders of the Citizens' Committee), personal action is likely to be based on prescriptive statements with more familiar and immediate empirical referents. Unlike the physician and his group, the small businessmen of Na-

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<sup>1</sup>Jacob and Flink, "Values and Their Function in Decision-Making," p. 25.

clede were not able to think of the issue in broad ideological terms. On the contrary, the downtown businessmen especially, thought of urban renewal as being closely connected with the problem of a declining downtown district as a possible solution to the problem.

While these businessmen's social values did not exhibit a strong influence on their actions, there were three variables that were directly and significantly related to their level of participation in urban renewal: 1) the "community booster" purposive role concept; 2) having served in a leadership capacity in the Nacledé Chamber of Commerce; and 3) a direct commitment in favor of or against the specific and immediate use of urban renewal in Nacledé. That is, small businessmen in these categories were more likely to have at least allowed their name to be used in a public endorsement of the work against the prohibiting ordinance. The "community booster" concept appears to be central in this somewhat complex relationship since it is in turn significantly related to the other two variables related to the level of participation. Participation as a leader in the Nacledé Chamber of Commerce was also shown to be very important. Those who had been most deeply involved with the Chamber were more likely to participate actively than those who had not been. From these observations it is inferred that the contention of some group theorists, that men's group associations are important influences on the goals of his

behavior, is accurate in this instance.<sup>1</sup> The effective group in this particular case was Nacledé's Chamber of commerce.

In addition to the interviewees' group associations, a certain amount of perceived self-interest seems to have been operative with reference to the issue participation of Nacledé small businessmen. As was mentioned before, urban renewal was depicted by many downtown businessmen as a possible solution to the decay of the downtown business district, a problem of which nearly all of the men questioned were quite aware. Consistent with this proposition, the downtown location was related to two of those factors directly related to participation, i.e., leadership positions in the Chamber of Commerce and direct consideration of urban renewal per se in the formulation of businessmen's stands on the ordinance. Downtown businessmen who based their position on an attitude toward urban renewal itself were in every case opposed to the ordinance.

Finally, it should be recalled that in the exceptional cases in which a businessman expressed a conflict between an anti-urban renewal value and a position in favor of urban renewal, a decision to contribute to the Stand Uppers' efforts was explainable as a result of group pressure from his associations with downtown interests, his organizational affiliations (principally with the Chamber of Commerce), or both.

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<sup>1</sup>See Merton's discussion of the "reference group" in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (New York: The Free Press, 1957), especially chapters 8 and 9; see also the body of literature referred to in footnote on page 7.

In answer, then, to the first type of question posed at the beginning of this chapter, a hierarchy of influencing factors can be hypothesized. Least effective in determining behavior are the social values held by small businessmen. This is explained on the grounds that a) the social value profiles for the small businessmen are internally inconsistent and, therefore, offer an unstable basis for action; and b) that the behavior and goal referents expressed in their value statements were difficult to apply to the immediate situation since they were of so vague and general a nature.

Next in the order of influence come several situational variables for which the purposive role perception is a mediating concept. It is posited that the extent of businessmen's participation in voluntary organizations influences his sensitivity to problems in his community and his conceptual clarity in interpreting and structuring them in his own mind. As a result of this process, the individual may be said to be a potential participant. In other words, he is predisposed to take part.

The final and most direct influence in the hierarchy is the organizational channel or vehicle with reference to which the potential participant can organize the problem, relate it to his specific interests, and define a form of contributing. In Nacledé this vehicle was the Chamber of Commerce and its offspring the Stand Up Committee.

The "community booster" type of purposive role formulation



is a good indicator that the individual will be concerned over the issue, will more clearly base his position on the central issue, and is a member of a large number of organizations. Two final variables which have a tendency to be positively related to this general syndrome are a positive orientation to change and a tendency to regard problems pragmatically rather than ideologically.

What are the implications of the above propositions for the success of Nacledé small businessmen in local politics?

Having set forth criteria upon which to predict who will participate from among the businessmen, the remaining task is to offer hypotheses as to what factors determine the effectiveness of this participation and to investigate the implications for the capacity of small businessmen as a group to help the small city adjust to changing conditions.

The major variable influencing the style of the small businessmen's participation seems to be the behavioral norms connected with their consensual role sector, which for the small businessmen in this study were the norms transferred from their activity in the running of their businesses. Honesty, straight-forwardness, fair play, cooperation, and a general lack of conflict are the norms operative. It would seem that behavior patterns acquired in situations analogous to other situations in which a man is called

on to participate will be transferred to the related context.<sup>1</sup>

The small businessmen in Nacledé who were accustomed to dealing with the day to day problems of running their businesses in a more pragmatic, less ideological manner, viewed the issue of urban renewal as being related to these very problems. Thus, with an analogue to their daily business activity, the Nacledé small businessmen who opposed the restricting ordinance also carried over the behavior patterns which they used in dealing with their daily business problems to their activity in urban renewal politics.

This interpretation is supported by the responses to the consensual role question, "What are the informal principles which a businessman must follow in order to gain and maintain the respect of his colleagues?"<sup>2</sup> As was noted in the previous chapter, in answering this question the interviewees did not distinguish between behavioral norms used in their business dealings and those employed as they participated in public affairs. Cooperation and fair play were the chief norms cited as applicable to business dealings. The clearest exposition of the kind of behavior expected in local public affairs was given by the president of the Nacledé Chamber of Commerce and parallels closely the "fair play" and "cooperation" theme:

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<sup>1</sup>Breer and Locke, Task Experience as a Source of Attitudes; and Dahl, Who Governs?, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup>For the exact wording see Appendix II, question #3.

I know this is not true nationally or in larger communities, but I think basically here when you get into the realm of politics you are talking of principles and policies you believe in, and if you don't agree with those of the other party or other candidate, it is simply a method of argument and reason and trying to get your idea over. It's not a matter of trying to pull a fast one on the other guy to promote your campaign. I think that forthrightness and education are the best way to convince anyone of doing what you want them to do.

It should be kept in mind that this statement was made during this man's discussion of the ordinance fight. In light of the emotive quality of the arguments used by the physician's group and the failure of this man's organization, the last sentence especially is surprising.

While the small businessmen who supported the Stand Up Committee had analogous norms which they could employ, the leaders of the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Property Rights did not have in their daily occupational dealings related patterns of behavior which they could transfer to the public political arena. For them politics was an entirely separate sphere of activity, and it was obvious that they did not see it as a matter of friendly discussion. Ideologically oriented as they were, they viewed such issues as a direct confrontation with the "federal cancer." In this instance they were able to bring the public debate out into the more open context of a city-wide election where the tactics they were accustomed to using were far more effective than the non-conflict, cooperation methods adhered to by the proponents of urban renewal.

Given the components of the situation in which political decisions like urban renewal are likely to be made in Nacledé, the prospects are not good for the small businessmen's success. Crain and Rosenthal, for example, suggest some characteristics of fluoridation decisions, several of which are applicable to local decisions on urban renewal:

1. The program has almost unanimous support among the elite.
2. The opposition comes from an organized minority... usually including elements of the radical right.
3. The public at large is uninformed but is cautious because of possible side-effects.<sup>1</sup>

They go on to relate the manner in which the issue of fluoridation is dealt with to the local political structure. Within their structure-value pattern matrix (strong and weak structure compared against participative and non-participative value patterns), Nacledé, with its city manager-commission form of local governmental structure, would be classified as a weak structure-participative government. In this kind of government-value pairing, small organized groups can more easily take consideration of controversial issues out of the hands of formal decision-making structures and foist them before the public for debate. As the authors note,

Fluoridation (or in this case, urban renewal) can be adopted only in cities in which the political and civic elites' mild support is sufficient to offset the virulent opposition of a minority of ordinary citizens, and only when it is possible to keep bounds on the level of public discussion so that the

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<sup>1</sup>Robert L. Crain and Donald B. Rosenthal, "Structure and Values in Local Political Systems: The Case of Fluoridation Decisions," Journal of Politics, XXVIII (February, 1966) p. 173.

argument does not escalate into a confused debate involving large numbers of the general public.<sup>1</sup>

Since the form of government that Nacledé has lends itself to just this sort of development, urban renewal has very little chance of being resolved and passed, unless groups such as the small businessmen become aggressive and effective participants in this local issue. Moreover, if the matter is resolved, this kind of system enables minorities to force reconsideration of the solution relatively easily.

In Nacledé the prospects are dim that the local small businessmen will successfully lead the adoption of measures like urban renewal which might be necessary so that the city can make the type of adjustments needed. Not only do their behavioral norms leave them subject to the tactics of minorities like the Citizens' Committee for the Protection of Property Rights, but also they seem to suffer from being isolated from large segments of the population, which in the case of the Citizens' Committee's ordinance were the deciding electoral group.

The hypotheses of authors like Sutton do not hold true with reference to Nacledé's small businessmen. Contrary to Sutton's thesis that the businessman's ideology is constructed to justify his non-involvement, many of Nacledé's small entrepreneurs felt an obligation to take part in the conflict over urban renewal. The process seems to be the more subtle influence of behavioral norms

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 174

as suggested by Harold Kaplan. It is not their goal values that lead them to be ineffective. Instead, once their values, sensitivity to relevant issues, and purposive role sector norms have led them into the battle, their consensual role norms prove to be a debilitating handicap.

## APPENDIX I

### COMMENTS ON THE PROBLEMS OF OPERATIONALIZATION

Data collected under the categories "subjects' conception of his role," under "subjects' values systems," and under "indicators of the subjects' orientations concerning change and pragmatism" require some additional discussion, including a description of the criteria upon which data was accepted into one or the other categories since none of these items on the interview schedule was of a fixed alternative variety. Along with the types of responses intended to be triggered, many excess and unusable comments are likely to be given. Furthermore, as occurred in the interviews conducted in this study, if the subject interpreted the question incorrectly or if the question was necessarily vague, his response to one type of question might have legitimately fallen under another category. For example, because a man is asked a question designed to elicit a value statement does not preclude the possibility that his response will be other than a value statement, e.g., a belief or attitude.

#### Role Questions

As indicated earlier, only the core role sector was tapped. The questions incorporated were taken from the same questionnaire used by Wahlke and modified to fit the circumstances of this study.

Problems with the role questions stem from the theoretical cloudiness between the concept of "group norm" and the concept of

"value." One's role in a group is made up of the behavior prescribed for the holder of his position by the group norms or by the members' collective expectations of the way in which a member in that particular position should conduct himself. These prescriptions do not attempt to say how all men should act; they are intended to have meaning only within the group. The prescription of what shall be called a value, however, is not group-specific, but is meant to apply to "all men."

The first role item presented no problem, asking as it did about the purposive role sector.<sup>1</sup> It was specifically stated that the researcher was interested in the behavior of businessmen, and more importantly, the answers were given as "things a businessman should do." When asked about the "principles" or "rules of the game" that a businessman must follow, however, in many cases the interviewees made no clear distinction between these principles and the principles that any man should follow. The application of these rules of the game was not made by the interviewees, nor could they be made by anyone analyzing their remarks, to any particular group or any particular situation. The responses referred to, then, must be classified as value statements, a finding that is independently valuable, but which presents some problem in that, at the line of demarcation between group norm statements and value statements, the choice as to how one will classify them is a sub-

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<sup>1</sup>See question #2 in Appendix II



jective decision of the analyst.

### Value Questions

For the value tests Kilpatrick and Cantril's "self-anchoring scaling" was the instrument used.<sup>1</sup> Briefly stated, the subjects were asked to describe the best possible and worst possible of all worlds. Beyond this the only structuring of their responses was in the form of occasional probes. It should be noted that the subjects were guided in their remarks to channel their comments into the broad areas of economics, politics, and social rules inasmuch as they were asked to describe the best (and worst) possible system of government, the best (and worst) possible social system, and the best (and worst) economic systems they could imagine. They were asked generally to pitch their remarks on at least a national level.

The responses to the value questions presented problems which were also based in conceptual difficulties. The theoretical and empirical uncertainties in this case arise primarily among the concepts 'value,' 'belief,' and 'attitude.' Once again, given the open ended quality of the value questions, especially the freedom to ramble allowed in the self-anchoring scaling section of the interviews, it is to be expected that the interviewee will give freely of beliefs, attitudes, suspicions, fears, fantasies, and all manner of psychological verbalization over and above the requested value statements. Since one of the most basic questions of the

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<sup>1</sup>F.P. Kilpatrick and Hadley Cantril, "Self-Anchoring Scaling: A Measure of Individuals' Reality Worlds," Journal of Individual Psychology, XVI (November, 1960), pp. 158-173.

study is whether the businessmen's behavior is consistent with his values and since a man's attitudes are by definition more likely to parallel his behavior than his values, it is crucial that these several variables are readily distinguishable.<sup>1</sup>

To be more specific and to make the point clearer it will be helpful to list the definitions of the terms which are to be distinguished. The definition of value has already been given: an individual's generalized disposition which is easily aroused and which acts not only to direct behavior but to drive it as well. In addition to this theoretical definition, it was noted that values are expressed verbally as propositions which state how conditions ought to be; they are expressed as prescriptive statements with very general empirical referents. An individual's beliefs, on the other hand, state how he thinks things are, not how he thinks they ought to be.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, depending on certain personality characteristics, a person's values may influence the formation of

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<sup>1</sup>A man's attitudes are "by definition" more likely to parallel his behavior than are his values because they are tied more directly and in closer temporal proximity to the situation in which the man will act.

<sup>2</sup>For discussions of the relationships among these various concepts see Theodore M. Newcomb, Ralph H. Turner, and Phillip E. Converse, Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 44-45; and Edward E. Jones and Harold B. Gerard, Foundations of Social Psychology (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), pp. 157-162. See also Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 25-26. Lasswell and Kaplan's definition of value is at variance with the one used in this study, but in the discussion cited the term 'perspective' corresponds closely with the term 'value' used here.

his belief system so that the two concepts are to be found in an interdependent relationship in the real world. Nonetheless, they are conceptually distinct. Attitudes are defined as specific prescriptions about the way things should be.<sup>1</sup> They are distinguished from value statements in that their empirical referents are quite limited; they might be described as issue-specific. Many scholars in psychology, in their discussion of these concepts, place attitudes in order after values as the application of values to specific issues or situations.<sup>2</sup>

From this very brief review of these terms' definitions it would be obvious that one must be careful to distinguish sharply among them. If one confuses the categories under which the statements are to be classified and thereby confuses the different types of statements themselves, then he will have perforce confused the variables whose relationships he set out to determine in the first place.

In light of the above discussion the criterion according to which value statements will be distinguished from statements of attitudes and beliefs is the following: 1) a value statement is a proposition stating what conditions ought to be or the way in which persons ought to behave; 2) value statements do not refer in the subject of the proposition to specific, identifiable issues, events, or situations.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Statements Concerning Orientations to Change and to Pragmatism

The subjects' orientations to change and to pragmatism were tested through the use of items adapted from Bales and Couch<sup>1</sup> and from Neal.<sup>2</sup> These items were short generalizations to which the interviewees reacted, expressing their agreement or disagreement along a five point continuum. Administered in their original context, they were only a few among many statements all designed to tap virtually the same type of orientations, and the subject was to be classified with reference to the orientation according to his total score on the entire set of responses. Insofar as these score were valid indicators of the direction of an individual's orientation, they are valid only when the full package is given. One cannot extract a few items from among fifty, record a subject's responses given according to limited set of possible responses, add up the score, and have before him an accurate, objective indication of the person's orientation toward change or pragmatism.

As unacceptable as this approach would have been, it still was not feasible to administer thirty to fifty item questionnaires in field interviews. As a compromise it was decided that only a few of the statements would be used (i.e., those that loaded most heavily on factor analyses of the original tests). However, each respondent would be allowed to comment at length as to why he re-

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<sup>1</sup>Bales and Couch, "The Value Profile: A Factor Analytic Study of Value Statements."

<sup>2</sup>Sister Mary Augusta Neal, Values and Interests in Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965).

acted to each statement as he did. Thus, the results were regarded as no more than rough indicators of a tendency toward one end of the continuum, if in fact an identifiable trend developed. While in the case of many of the interviewees their comments offered no basis for definite evaluation of their orientations, in a significant number of the cases a rather strong inclination was exhibited.

## APPENDIX II

### THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Time Begun: \_\_\_\_\_ Completed: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Introduction: Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, I am doing a study of the activities of local businessmen in community affairs. I'll be interviewing several local businessmen in the course of this study. The information and opinions you give me will be tabulated along with material from approximately twenty other of your colleagues. No names will be used, and what you say will be off the record. Do you have any questions?

1. Let me begin then by asking you a few general questions about your background.

- a. Where were you born Mr. \_\_\_\_\_?  
In what year?
- b. What was your father's occupation?
- c. Now would you tell me a little bit about your education.  
-What degrees or diplomas do you hold?  
-From what schools?
- d. How many years have you lived in Nacledé, Mr. \_\_\_\_\_?
- e. Are you a member of a church here in Nacledé?  
(If yes) Which one?
- f. What organizations do you belong to?  
What offices, if any, have you held in these organizations?

Now a couple of questions about the role of a businessman in the community.

2. a. First of all, how would you describe the role of a businessman in the community? What are the most important things you should do in this area? What do you see as your main responsibilities here?
- b. (Alternative wording) There's been a lot of talk lately about business' "social responsibility." What do you consider business' social responsibility to be?

- c. Are there any important differences between what part you think you should play and what part others think you should play?
- 3. I've been told that all businessmen have their unofficial principles--certain things they must do and things they must not do if they want the respect and cooperation of fellow businessmen.
  - a. What are some of these things--these "principles" that a businessman must observe to hold the respect and cooperation of his fellow businessmen?
  - b. Do businessmen do anything to enforce these "rules of the game?" That is to say, if a businessman does not follow these rules, is any action taken to encourage him to follow them?

Now for some more specific questions on public issues in Nacledé itself.

- 4. There are always conflicting opinions over public issues in the local community. How would you rank these particular conflicts of opinion in the order of their importance here in Nacledé?
  - a. Whites versus Negroes
  - b. Liberals versus conservatives
  - c. Political office-holders versus business leaders
  - d. Downtown versus non-downtown businessmen
  - e. John Birch Society versus local political figures

Are there any other important divisions not on this list?

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about a specific issue--Nacledé urban renewal.

- 5. Would you say that this particular matter was of great concern to you personally, of some concern, of little concern, or of no concern?

Can you explain why you feel this way about the issue of urban renewal in Nacledé?

- 6. Can you tell me what solutions you would personally have favored for this issue?
- 7. Just what have you done, or what do you still expect to do to promote the position you favored in this matter?  
Did you:



1. do nothing?
2. sign a petition?
3. write letters to the local newspaper?
4. work on an investigation committee or advisory council?
5. try to persuade other businessmen to support your position?
6. speak for your position at a public meeting?
7. try to persuade local political figures to adopt or support your position?
8. act through any non-political organization (e.g., the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, church, etc.) to which you belong?
9. other?

8. Why do you think the idea of urban renewal failed and the ordinance passed?

I now have several questions to ask you which are much broader, and more abstract. These questions are also more personal in nature. I am interested in your individual reactions. In other words, you need not respond as a representative for anyone but yourself. In answering please think in the broadest most general terms you can.

9. a. Everybody wants certain things out of life. When you think about what really matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the best possible light, what would your life look like then if you are to be happy? Take your time in answering; such things aren't easy to put into words. (Interviewees were asked to channel their remarks into commenting specifically on what they considered to be the best possible social system, political system, and economic system.)

b. Now, taking the other side of the picture, what are your fears and worries about the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the worst possible light, what would your life look like then? Again take your time in answering.

10. Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that at the top of the ladder is the very best state of affairs you have just described; at the bottom is the very worst state of affairs.

- a. Where would you say you were right now?
- b. Where would you say you were along the ladder ten years ago?
- c. Where do you expect to be ten years from now?



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Now I have a series of questions, which are simply taken from statements that I have often heard made about government, politics, and the world in general. I am interested in the extent to which you endorse these statements. I would ask you to first respond as to whether you agree or disagree with the statement generally--that is, in the majority of cases. Then you may want to add a qualification or explanation of your answer. Obviously, these are questions of opinion, there are no right or wrong answers.

The statements:

1. If I could, I would devote much of my time to social reform.
2. It is best to "play it by ear" in attacking social problems. The old truths frequently do not apply.
3. In the final analysis the strongest basis for planning for the future is to trust to the experience of the past.
4. The present condition of our society calls for change. We must respond at once.
5. The worth of an old idea is determined more by how it works in practice than by how it conforms to certain principles of right or wrong.
6. I like conservatism because it represents a stand to preserve our fine heritage.
7. What a man does is more important than what he believes in.
8. Liberalism is a good thing because it represents a spirit of reform.
9. Instead of getting upset about them, we have to learn to live with most of the social conditions as they are.

10. The future is in God's hands. I will await what he sends and accept what comes as His will for me.
11. A man's motives are not as important as his accomplishments.
12. Although the American system of democratic free enterprise is a good means to a good life, still it contains many social institutions which ought to be changed.

APPENDIX III

THE PRECINCT RESULTS OF THE ORDINANCE ELECTION  
BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL OF THE PRECINCTS

The socio-economic level of Nacledé's voting precincts was evaluated on the basis of a visual assessment of housing value. Each precinct was ranked along a five point continuum. The percentage figures represent the portion of voters in precincts at that socio-economic level who voted for the prohibiting ordinance.

<u>Very High</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Very Low</u>
41%	55%	63%	69%	72%

Source of election figures: Election results reported in the Nacledé Herald.

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SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND URBAN RENEWAL  
POLITICS: A CASE STUDY

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

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Small cities today are faced with new and pressing demands on their resources. In order to deal adequately with these new demands the residents of these municipalities must employ their resources in positive and innovative ways. Some group or groups within the community must have the capacity to effect political decision-making so that adequate policy responses are produced to meet the needs of their community.

In this study it was assumed that the participation of one such group, local small businessmen, is necessary and likely because: 1) they control or influence significant resources; 2) they can be expected to have greater feelings of political efficacy having been involved in policy decision-making on the city level; 3) for many, their own self-interest is probably effected by the outcome of such policy decisions; and 4) they have a better opportunity to employ their resources than many other groups in the community.

Within the literature on small businessmen's local political participation, however, it is suggested that they are not influential political actors. Authors like Harold Kaplan and John Bunzel assert that an explanation for businessmen's lack of participation or their failure to succeed when they do participate is best made in terms of social psychological phenomena such as values, attitudes, and role perceptions.

The usefulness of this line of explanation was investigated in a case study of urban renewal politics in a small mid-western city, which shall be called Naclede. Urban renewal was chosen as

the issue area because it represents an attempt by Nacledé small businessmen to cope with changing conditions and new demands, manifesting themselves in the form of a declining business district. Their opposition came from a group of ideologically oriented anti-Federal aid citizens.

This study sought to answer two questions. First, what were the best indicators among these variables concerning small businessmen's participation in the politics of urban renewal. Second, what are the implications of these findings for businessmen's effectiveness as political participants in such issue areas and, in turn, for the city's capacity to respond to change.

Data for analysis was obtained in tape recorded interviews with eighteen of Nacledé's small businessmen. Descriptive data concerning their backgrounds and their participation was elicited in addition to data on their value profiles, role perceptions, and attitudes toward change and pragmatism. The various data were compared in pairs to determine possible relationships between them.

Strong positive relationships were exhibited between these businessmen's participation, on the one hand, and individual men's group associations and role perceptions as to the goals they as businessmen should pursue (purposive role perceptions) on the other. The consensual role perceptions, which had to do with behavioral norms or "rules of the game," did not distinguish among individual businessmen, but were useful in businessmen's behavior as a group. Men's values were not strongly related to their participation.

In answer to the first question it was concluded that there

was a hierarchy of influencing factors. The most immediate and direct influencing factors were businessmen's group associations, especially within the Chamber of Commerce. A "community booster" purposive role perception was related to both participation and group associations, suggesting that it is a point of view developing within groups and supporting these men's tendency to become involved. Nacledé small businessmen's social values, because their empirical referents were very general and therefore difficult to apply to specific local situations, served no more than a mitigating function.

In answer to the second question it was concluded that local small businessmen participate supported externally by their group associations and internally by their "community booster" purposive role concepts. The cooperation, non-conflict behavioral norms according to which they participate, however, render their involvement ineffective against the more aggressive, more ideologically oriented groups who are likely to oppose some necessary policy solutions. This is especially likely within a governmental structure such as Nacledé's which has diffuse loci of decision-making and allows small well-organized groups to set the tone of the debate and rules of the decision-making process.