

THE ECONOMIC AND VOLUNTARY SECTORS
OF A MIDWESTERN COMMUNITY

by

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or

Those Who Have Actually Made It Happen

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For some two hundred years this country, America, has been portrayed as a land of golden opportunity. This notion is epitomized by the greeting to newcomers on the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbour:

"Give me your tired, your poor
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore
Send these, the homeless tempest tost to me
I raise my lamp beside the Golden Door."

Numerous speeches have been made throughout the two centuries, and even still today, by great leaders espousing the rights of all Americans to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. There are numerous equal rights laws, there is a Bill of Rights, and what government administration has not had great plans for some sort of Great Society?

A stranger, unknowledgable about these United States, might conclude upon hearing of all these great things that indeed this country is a land of equal opportunity for all, as was the case of this author upon arriving here at age seventeen. However, by examining in some detail, the society at large, or a microcosm thereof, this same stranger would undoubtedly find that absolute equality does not exist; that indeed there are such elements as rich and poor, social classes, elites, interest groups, exclusive cliques of varying kinds and with varying degrees of power --- in sum, a societal structure that is antithetical to the notion of equality for all.

The overall aim of this paper is to examine a microcosm of this large and varied society, under the rubric of community organization, in an effort to identify some of the different kinds of groups within

a community, and to examine the relationship of one to the other. In this study we shall seek, specifically, to look at the economic and voluntary aspects of a midwestern community and to see to what degree they overlap.

The field of community research has long been of interest to social scientists. In this section of the paper we shall examine the major literature in the area, and use it as a guide to defining the position we shall take, the purposes for which this study is being undertaken in the first place and the objectives we hope to accomplish as a result of our efforts.

THE LITERATURE

Emanating from the numerous books and articles dealing with power and community organization, one may identify three major methodologies for study and research in the area: the reputational, the decision-making, and the positional. Let us now turn to a brief examination of each of these areas.

The reputational approach takes as its basic assumption that those individuals having a reputation for power are indeed the powerful in a community. Walton (1966) noted that there are numerous variations on the technique for selecting reputational leaders, but generally speaking they can all be grouped into one and two step procedures. In the one step procedure, informants are asked to provide lists of community leaders. The exact question posed to these informants differs from study to study. For example, Schulze and Blumberg (1957) had a series of five questions about who one would choose to make up a committee

deciding a major issue, persons behind the scenes as well as state and national influentials. Fanelli (1956), on the other hand, asked: "Now who would you say are the five people in this town whose opinions on community affairs you respect most?" The powerful then are those upon whom consensus exists i.e. the people who receive the greatest number of nominations.

The two step reputational procedure differs in that lists of leaders in various community categories are made up by the researcher and then a panel of knowledgables or experts chooses the top leaders from these lists. In a widely cited example of community power structure using the two step reputational technique Hunter (1953) derived from interviews, newspaper clippings, etc. lists of "leaders" in the areas of economic, political, associational, and social activity in Regional City. Fourteen "knowledgables" then selected the top forty reputational leaders from these lists. This method has also been used in slightly modified forms by Form and D'Antonio (1959), Belknap and Smuckeer (1956), and Miller (1958). Hunter (1953) found that "community power" lay in the hands of those in control of the major economic corporate structures in Regional City: "Businessmen are the community leaders in Regional City, as they are in other cities. Wealth, social prestige, and political machinery are functional to the wielding of power by the business leaders in the community." (p. 81.) Hunter argues that while considerable power is wielded by these forty leaders, the exercise of this power is frequently indirect. That is, while the leaders make the major policy decisions, these decisions are usually expedited by a second echelon leadership group composed of members of the professions, business,

governmental agencies, and voluntary association leaders, who, while not members of the elite, are responsible to the "top forty." Furthermore, Hunter suggests that the top leadership is linked in a variety of ways. They tend to cluster in the most desirable areas of town. There is an extensive interlocking pattern of memberships in social, civic, charitable, and fraternal organizations and there are considerable business contacts within the group. Thus, those who subscribe to this position view community power as being concentrated in the hands of a few and essentially very centralized.

There have been several major criticisms of Hunter in particular and the reputational school in general. Aiken and Mott (1970) have succinctly summarized the major areas of dispute, following Rose (1967), Danzger (1964), and others as follows:

- A) The reputational technique measures opinion about power and not power itself.
- B) The technique may produce erroneous assessments by informants as a result of erroneous perceptions of the power structure, or the misunderstandings of questions intended to reveal those with power.
- C) The method is diffuse and fails to acknowledge issue specialization. That is, the approach is far too general in its implications of power. It assumes that power in all areas is wielded by the same small group of elites, and it implies that there is a stable distribution of power over time, not considering the possibility for redistribution power -- such as happens with a change in a political administration.
- D) The reputational approach assumes that there is a power structure, but does not demonstrate it. Thus the questions predispose the

answers, by asking who runs things, rather than does anybody run things?

- E) The method is insensitive to the role of both formal political power and political parties in the study of community decision-making. That is, it does not even consider for a moment the possibility that political leaders, for example, may themselves be significant independent wielders of power.
- F) This approach confuses status with power, e.g. labor leaders who have power, but low status, are less likely to be nominated, but if they call their union members out on strike they are unquestionably in a position to affect or to wield power, even though a union leader may not be ranked, for example, amongst Hunter's "top forty" in economic or social status.
- G) The method is insensitive to feedback mechanisms in community influence systems, with the result that power is portrayed as a one way process. Thus, say the critics, with this monolithic pyramidal-type power structure there is no allowance for input by any other group(s) within the community.

Each of these criticisms has varying degrees of validity and taken together suggest the risks of using the approach. However, as Aiken and Mott (1970) counter: "but do these criticisms mean that this approach is totally invalid?" Before attempting to answer this question, let us first consider the other two approaches, after which we shall be much better able to deal with this query.

A more general criticism of the reputational approach to community power structure has been raised by those students who have taken a

pluralist approach to communities and power structures. (See for example, Dahl, 1958; Polsby, 1959, 1960; Wolfinger, 1960, and others.) These students attack the basic premise of a highly concentrated centralized power structure arguing instead for a more diffuse distribution of power and decision-making. The debate between the pluralists and elitists in the field of community organization has involved about as much communication as occurs between two partially deaf men engaged in a shouting match -- or indeed as seems to occur between a die hard Catholic and a radical Organeman in the North of Ireland; the point being that the proponents of the two schools have vastly differing yet rigidly held views on the distribution of power and think that their "method" for determining this is best.

Robert Dahl is to the pluralist school what Hunter is to the reputationalists. His work, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City, is a seminal example of the pluralist approach to community organization and power. Dahl attempts to point out that the city of New Haven, Connecticut, has moved -- with respect to community power -- from an historical oligarchial structure to a contemporary pluralist situation. To demonstrate his thesis, he examined three major community issues: urban redevelopment between 1950 and 1959, the public school system in New Haven, and the nine nominations for mayor during the 1941-1957 time period. Based on a detailed examination of these issues and the personnel involved he concluded that decision-making in New Haven was highly specialized and that economic and social notables have relatively little active participation in the process. "What is important to note here is that Dahl used participation in decisions as his criterion for leadership. This approach

makes the implicit assumption that active participation in decision-making is leadership and that all such active involvements are equal." (Aiken and Mott, 1970.)

The pluralist or decision-making approach then, requires that the researcher select fairly specific issues of importance to the community and trace the decision-making process involved. In this manner, argue the proponents of this school, the investigator can examine and document the actual decision-making process reporting on leader behavior rather than merely reputation for leadership, and the possession of resources for making decisions rather than the reputation for having them.

The method has also been criticized. A critical problem for this approach concerns the selection of issues i.e. what is an important community issue, and for whom is it important? For example, the three issues to which Dahl addressed himself were pertinent to the New Haven city area and not the surrounding suburbs (Price, 1962.) To the extent that many of the social and economic notables lived in suburbia or outside the actual metropolitan region, they would be expected to be relatively unaffected by issues such as urban redevelopment, or indeed the public school system as their children would be most likely to attend private institutions. Thus while the approach may correctly focus on issue specific decision-making and thereby come somewhat closer to the actual arena of decision-making itself, the selection of issues may exclude persons who are powerful, but who are not involved in the particular issue in question. From the section of Dahl's book dealing with the issue of urban redevelopment, one can readily see that the politicians involved and the notables tended towards congruence in their

attitudes on progressive economic and social development, and there is also the suggestion that politicians were wary of stepping on the toes of notables for fear of possible reprisals. This does not point to a totally pluralistic and democratic decision-making process in New Haven. This point is penetratingly demonstrated by Poweledge (1970) who tells us that on the Citizens Advisory Committee, the blue ribbon group established to promote urban redevelopment, there were no representatives of those who would be directly effected by the program, i.e. the residents of the slum areas designated for redevelopment. Neither did Dahl give any evidence of the occupations of the various decision-makers. If, for example, they were employed by either the social or economic notables, then one may argue that their decisions would not be in conflict with the wishes of their employers.

A second criticism has been leveled at the pluralists by Bachrach and Baratz (1963). They suggest that the sampling of only generally known community issues precludes any attention to what might be called non-issues. "The fact that a given issue is suppressed, e.g. the problem of Negro equality in the south prior to 1954 indicates that power is being exercised." (Aiken and Mott, 1970.) Bachrach and Baratz ponder the question as to whether the issues raised by the pluralists exhaust the phenomenon of community power. Their own answer to this is that to pass over the problem of non-issues is to neglect one "whole face of power."

Anton (1963) provides a useful argument which tends, at least, to clarify the basis of the dispute between the reputational and pluralist schools. The reputationalists, whom he suggests lean towards

a sociological perspective, argue that for an individual's power to be effective it must be structured into associational or institutional patterns. In other words, the reputationalist looks at community power in terms of roles in social systems. The pluralists (usually political scientists) vigorously attack the ruling elitist notion arguing as Dahl (1958) did: "I cannot see how anyone can suppose that he has established the dominance of a specific group in a community without basing his analysis on the careful examination of a series of concrete issues." Anton tells us: "it is clear that in thinking of power, Dahl was thinking primarily of the individual. His basic unit of study is the actor and, while the possibility of applying this term to larger social aggregates (such as corporations or nations) is envisioned, his suggestions for research work are specifically aimed at precise measurements of the power of individuals."

The third major methodology in the study of community power is the positional approach. This method assumes that those who occupy key economic and political roles are the power leaders in the community. Bonjean and Olsen (1964) point out that this was the most widely used technique prior to Hunter's work in 1953. Amongst its better known proponents are the Lynds (1929, 1937), Mills (1946, 1951), Hollingshead (1949), and Smith (1937). The individuals holding the greatest number and most important offices in the community are considered to be key decision-makers. Mills (1946) in a positional study on middle-sized cities suggested that the large and growing numbers of non-executive white collar workers were not in positions of power but that these positions were dominated by the business leaders. The most convincing

and thoroughly researched (although more anthropological rather than quantitative) positional study suggesting the dominance of the business ideology in an American city was the Lynds classic work Middletown in Transition (1937). They found, through a long process of observation and interaction in Middletown, that the leadership in the community was highly concentrated amongst the upper business/economic echelons. Smith (1937) found similar results in his positional study of a Connecticut industrial city.

There are two significant shortcomings in this approach. 1) Some positional leaders may choose not to use their potential. 2) The problem of deciding what roles in the community control important community resources is significant because no theory of power exists from which sorting criteria can be derived (Aiken and Mott, 1970). These authors go on to point out that this second problem is compounded when comparative studies of communities of different sizes and economic bases are attempted. Therefore, "the success or failure of this approach to the identification of community decision-makers depends upon the degree to which the basic assumption is valid: those holding positions of authority actually make key decisions, while those who do not hold such positions, do not make key decisions." (Bonjean and Olsen, 1964.)

Let us now return to the question posed earlier about the reputational method. We may rephrase this interrogatory remark and ask: "in view of the major criticisms of all three methods are any by themselves valid?" In answering we should briefly point again to the major strengths and weaknesses involved. The major advantage of the positional approach is the parsimony of effort essential for finding leaders and

the reliability of the results. This is countered as we have said by the possibility that these leaders may not exercise the resources at their command by virtue of their position and the difficulty in deciding what positions actually control community resources. However, the identification of positional elites does provide unquestionable empirical data on a potential source of community power. The reputational approach, on the other hand, while providing usually solid evidence of a pyramidal power structure -- only looks at this and not at the actual matter itself -- and indeed by taking the beginning assumption that power is centrally concentrated the use of this approach, by virtue of the method involved, is destined from the beginning to produce a monolithic power structure. Similarly, while the pluralist approach may be credited for its implicit support of the notion of a democratic decision-making process -- with a chance for all in community affairs, it too has its weaknesses, first of all in assessing what is an important issue, and secondly its general lack of attention to non-issues. Thus, the answer to the question posed above is that each of these methods employed in and of itself is of very little validity. What then is their usefulness?

As we have seen the state of community organization -- to borrow from the Irish playwright Sean O'Casey "is in a state of chassis." The literature is replete with arguments and counterarguments concerning the relative merit of the several approaches, one scholar going so far as to plead for a decent burial of the reputational method (Wolfinger, 1962). One possibly useful alternative for resolving this dilemma is to conduct community studies using all three methodologies. Walton (1966) systematically surveyed 33 studies using the varying approaches and concluded:

"that the current status of research does not allow us to draw any firm conclusions or generalizations regarding the distribution of power in local communities therefore further research should simultaneously employ several techniques and continue to compare the characteristics of each with the others." Aiken and Mott (1970) similarly suggest:

"clearly no one approach is sufficient in any study of community power. Any such study must utilize all three techniques. Only a comparative study of a number of communities can provide a true understanding of the value, validity and meaning of these techniques." Of course these proposals necessitate overcoming enormous mechanical problems centering around manpower, availability of research funds, and time, to adequately meet these pressing needs.

THE PROBLEM AND THE OBJECTIVES

While this study will not attempt a comparative analysis of all three approaches, it represents one part of a larger program of research which has this as its end goal. Here we report findings of a study employing the positional approach (with some innovations which are clearly delineated in the following section on methodology) in the examination of elites in a midwestern community. Our specific scope of analysis shall be the economic and voluntary sectors of the community. The information gathered will later be compared with data drawn from the same community using the other methodologies in an ongoing larger study.

By using the modified positional approach, we shall be able to identify more accurately and concretely -- for purposes of later comparative analysis -- those elites who are in positions of potential

leadership. The basic assumption of this approach is that those people in leading positions within a community are the wielders of power. This work, then, will seek to answer the following questions:

- a) What are the economically dominant organizations and their personnel in the community?
- b) What are the voluntarily dominant organizations and their personnel in the community?
- c) To what extent does holding power positions in the economic sector affect influence in the voluntary sector of the community?

By answering these questions in detail this study will meet these objectives:

- a) It will provide at least a partial picture of how power is wielded within the community. This factor could be of particular importance to organizations (either economic or voluntary) who find themselves outside the power structure, but who, at the same time, cannot function without the support of this structure. The importance here is that the picture of power will enable those outside to focus on potential areas of support from within the structure.
- b) It will provide a useful insight as to the value of the modified positional approach to community studies which we are employing.
- c) It will allow us to propose a hypothesis about the power structure testable by the other methods to see if indeed there is such a thing as a monolithic or pluralistic power structure.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

In this section, we discuss the modified positional approach which the study shall use. We will then describe the setting for our work, and proceed from there to outline the specific methods involved in the gathering and analysis of our data.

THE APPROACH

Most community power studies concentrate on individuals and then attempt to measure their power. Dahl (1961), partially at least, utilized a positional approach to identify the Economic and Social Notables of New Haven, but his results did not reveal much about the interaction patterns of these people with one another. Schulze and Bloomberg (1957) likewise identified positional leaders but looked at them strictly on an individualistic basis. Hunter (1953) used the reputational approach but by concentrating primarily on individuals provided little information about the overall structure of economic power; one cannot really determine if an individual is powerful by virtue of his economic, social, or political position.

Perrucci and Pilusik (1970) argue that the emphasis on individuals coupled with the Weberian notion of power (i.e. power is the probability that a person or group can realize their will against the opposition) (Gerth and Mills, 1946) has been responsible for the failure of the elitists to conclusively demonstrate the actual influence and power of

a particular elite group. Perrucci and Pilusik offer an alternative method -- that of viewing power within the framework of resource networks, i.e. interlocking organizations which together have the resource to bring about certain desired or needed actions. They argue: "that if power is concerned with the distribution of scarce values in situations that affect large heterogeneous segments of the community, then it would seem that no one person, through his personal qualities, or the resources of his position can be sufficiently instrumental in initiating or shaping the final outcome on any one or several issues We may then formulate a theoretical statement about a locus of power to which both elitists (i.e. those using the positional and reputational approaches) and pluralists may subscribe; i.e. the resources relevant to the existence of power are dispersed and reside in the interorganizational connections that may be mobilized in specific situations particularly dealing with allocations of scarce values." (Perrucci and Pilusik, 1970.) Following this, our unit of analysis will be structural and collective rather than an aggregate of individual resources.

Perrucci and Pilusik included in their study of a midwestern community a universe of organizations of all types. However, they fail to adequately distinguish between economic, voluntary, or political elites. In the present study, we shall look at separate groups of organizations which in terms of power and influence are more important than others. There is evidence to suggest that some groups are indeed more influential than others. For example, Freeman et al. (1963) found that activity in civic organizations was unrelated to the other methods

of determining power (reputational, decision-making, and positional) while these other three were very much related if one took into account the organizational affiliations of the decision-makers. Hunter (1953) deduced that the so-called "power wielders" in Regional City left civic club activities to those in the middle echelons of power. Therefore, it would behoove us to separate the civic and profit-making organizations -- then test for overlap -- in attempting to delineate significant resource networks.

Further, the work of Perrucci and Pilusik does not allow one to test the degree of influence of economic elites over public policy as espoused by civic (non-profit making) groups. To examine this issue it is necessary to separate these groups and test for interaction amongst them. The community, therefore, will be viewed in terms of organized activity and structure. Organized groups are to be the major unit of analysis rather than individual actors. Two levels of organizational structure will be used in the study: a) economic corporations and voluntary associations, and b) resource networks -- a series of organizations linked to one another by objectively identifiable means such as interlocking directorates. This approach represents an attempt at a method for stimulating further research into the pluralist-elitist controversy, with the ultimate goal, in the larger work under way, of offering a solution to the dilemma which currently exists between these methods. An equally important goal is to make the results known within the community so that those who are faced with dealing with the "power structure" -- or even those within the structure -- may be offered a clearer view of the configuration of power.

THE SETTING

The study was conducted in Manhattan, Kansas -- a midwestern community nestled at the edge of the Flint Hills and having a population of 27,000. In addition it is the home of Kansas State University, a land grant institution, whose student-faculty body numbers some 17,000. Fort Riley, a large permanent military base, is located fifteen miles west of the city. Thus, the impact of federal and state monies on the community is extensive as the university and the base are essentially the city's two largest industries in terms of manpower and economic impact. The largest private employer is a nationally known pattern company which permanently employs around six hundred people. The steady growth of Kansas State University and the sporadic but continuing growth of Fort Riley has resulted in an increase of some 45% in Manhattan's population over the past two decades. (Kansas State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Report No. 177, 1971.) The major economic activity within the community over these past two decades has centered around land development and construction.

THE SOURCES OF DATA AND DERIVATION OF MEASURES¹

The data on economic organizations used in this study were part of the public record. They came from the yellow pages of the telephone

¹The data on economic organizations were collected prior to the beginning of the present study, which as noted earlier is part of a larger power study being conducted under the direction of Professor Flora. I am very indebted to him and Steve Randle for making these data available, and for the assistance of Coye Griffitt in computer program writing.

book, the office of the County Register of Deeds, and from the Secretary of State's office in Topeka, the state capitol.

The Manhattan telephone book was used to prepare a list of economic corporations in the city. The listing of Articles of Incorporation, on file at the County Register of Deeds office, provided those incorporated businesses not found in the telephone directory. This list was examined for all firms incorporated between 1953 and 1971 and combined with the telephone listings provided a universe of incorporated businesses.

This universal list was then taken to the Secretary of State's office, which had files providing information on stock ownership, officers and directors for firms incorporated in the state of Kansas. Data were collected which pertained to the years 1969 and 1970. All incorporated firms are required to file an annual report with the Secretary of State. Those who do not are in violation of the law.

Only those firms with declared assets of \$100,000 or more were included in the study, as it was felt that those with less assets would not be significant in terms of the overall economically dominant structure. Non-incorporated firms were not included as they normally tend to be family run enterprises and therefore somewhat autonomous vis-a-vis the community economic structure. Subsequently, the corporations which had no direct links² with another Manhattan-based firm were eliminated. Similarly eliminated were those directors who served

²This and subsequent terms and concepts are defined in the glossary which appears at the end of the paper.

on only one corporation with assets of more than \$100,000. We were left then with sixty-five corporations and seventy individuals.

A list of almost all community voluntary associations in Manhattan was obtained from the Chamber of Commerce. By checking the social columns of the local newspaper from 1970-72 some additional groups not on the Chamber lists were found. The Secretary or Chairperson of each organization was contacted by telephone, in person or by mail, and asked to provide a list of the board of officers and/or directors of the association. Of all groups contacted, only one, the A.F. & A. Masons, refused to divulge the requested information. Associations composed of grade, junior, and high school students were not included in the study. Neither were voluntary groups at Kansas State University used. Subsequently associations which had no interlocking directorate with another local association were eliminated as were officers who served on only one association. This left one hundred and sixty-three voluntary associations and one hundred and eighty-one individuals.

The next step in the process dealt with the separation of organizations and associations into densely interlocking cliques. A computer program, derived from a pattern developed by Young and Larson (1965) was developed for this. Young and Larson's approach was to describe a community in terms of natural groupings, i.e. those groupings which summarize the multiple relationships amongst members. They arbitrarily decided that two organizations had a direct link between them (or overlapped significantly) if 25% of the membership of one were members of the other. In the present study, a more direct route was taken: a common director between boards produced a common link. A clique is defined as the largest number of corporations or associations for

which each corporation or association has a direct link with at least 50% of the members of the clique. The maximum number of interlocks for a clique of n corporations or associations is $(n-1)!$. Therefore, the absolute minimum number of ties which there could be among members of a clique, as defined above is $\frac{(n-1)!}{2}$.

Cliques of varying sizes are compared with one another in terms of the density of interlocks using the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Number of direct links amongst elements}}{\text{Potential number of direct links amongst elements}}$$

Two measures of density are employed, namely simple density scores and multiple density scores. In both cases, corporations or associations are the elements while board members thereof are the links. To compute the simple density score, if two or more organizations have one or more common directors a score of one is entered in the numerator for that pair. If they have no common directors, a score of zero is entered. The scores for all pairs are summed giving the numerator. The denominator is simply $(n-1)!$.

When computing the multiple density score, the factorial of the actual number of common directors for each pair of organizations is entered. The sum of the scores for each pair is the numerator. The denominator is the same as that in the simple density calculation.

The organizations make up the resource networks while the individuals who serve as board members of two or more groups are the links in these networks. While we were not interested in resource networks

of individuals,³ we were interested in who were "the top influentials amongst the leaders?" Thus, a sociometric scheme was implemented in attempting to ascertain which individuals were most central in the networks of interlocking directorates. The sociometric method proposed by Bavelas (1950) was used in the analysis. We simply counted the number of links from individual "A" to all other individuals in the network using the shortest route to each other individual. Each direct link received a score of 1, a secondary link a score of 2, and so on. The sum of the distance from "A" to all other people was "A's" centrality score. A similar procedure was followed for person "B" and his distance from all others in the network and "C" and "D" and so forth. The smaller the total score the more central the location of the individual in the clique, because the distance between him and all others is less than for those with higher scores. These scores of centrality deal with the individual vis-a-vis all other individuals in the whole population of directors in the economic and voluntary sectors respectively. It would have been possible to arrive at centrality scores for members of each economic and voluntary clique. However, we were interested in the degree of centrality of individuals relative to the entire economic or voluntary universes, rather than segments thereof.

³It is possible to make the individuals the elements and the organizations the links and thereby derive resource networks of individuals. This was actually done in this study, but the results were inconclusive and quite meaningless and therefore discarded.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into three sections. In Section 1, we shall present the findings with respect to the economic sector. It was found that there were seven economic cliques. We shall examine each of these cliques and then deal with the connections between them. The section will conclude with a presentation of data dealing with the sociometric economic influentials. In Section 2, we will examine the voluntary association cliques, of which there are three, followed by an analysis of the sociometric voluntary stars. The final section of this chapter will concern itself with the relationship between the economic and voluntary sectors of the community. The names of the organizations and personnel to whom references shall be made are not fictitious. The author feels that since all of the information, with respect to voluntary and economic associations, is public there is no need to employ the pseudonym technique in this paper. For this position, I assume full responsibility.

Section 1 - THE ECONOMIC SECTOR

It was assumed that each of the economic cliques would contain at least one financial institution, ideally a bank since this would be the most flexible in terms of financial resources at its command. All cliques of four or more corporations¹, of which there were seven, did

¹There were some cliques of less than four corporations. They were deemed insignificant as they yielded inadequate resource networks (cliques) that did not provide any significant information on the overall economic structure.

show at least one bank as an element. In only one clique did more than one bank appear. The cliques are named after the banks which appear in them.

Figure 1 shows the Citizens State Bank (CSB) Group 1, with eight corporations in the core group. In addition to these eight, there were four more peripheral ones (i.e. that had some direct links with elements in the core group, but not quite enough for inclusion therein). This resource group of twelve corporations included four financial institutions (one of which was the bank), one construction company, one land development group, three real estate firms, and three retail merchandising corporations (Brewer Motors, Skaggs Motor Company, and Woodward's Department Store). While real estate and construction were the major emphasis of this clique, the appearance of the merchandising firms on the periphery reduced the overall complementariness of the clique.

In Figure 1 (as in all other figures) the lines indicate links between organizations -- which show the presence of at least one common director between them. In this case, all corporations were linked directly to one another through the presence of Cecil Hunter on the boards of all eight elements, thereby producing a simple density score of 1.00. However, he was not the only link between elements within the core group; the multiple density score was 1.29 meaning that there were 29% more direct links amongst the eight organizations than those represented by Hunter.

The CSB 2 Group (Figure 2) contained five companies -- the bank, a law firm, a lake cabin site group, a major cement and sand company, and a large moving and storage outfit. This clique could be viewed

FIGURE 1
CITIZENS STATE BANK—GROUP 1

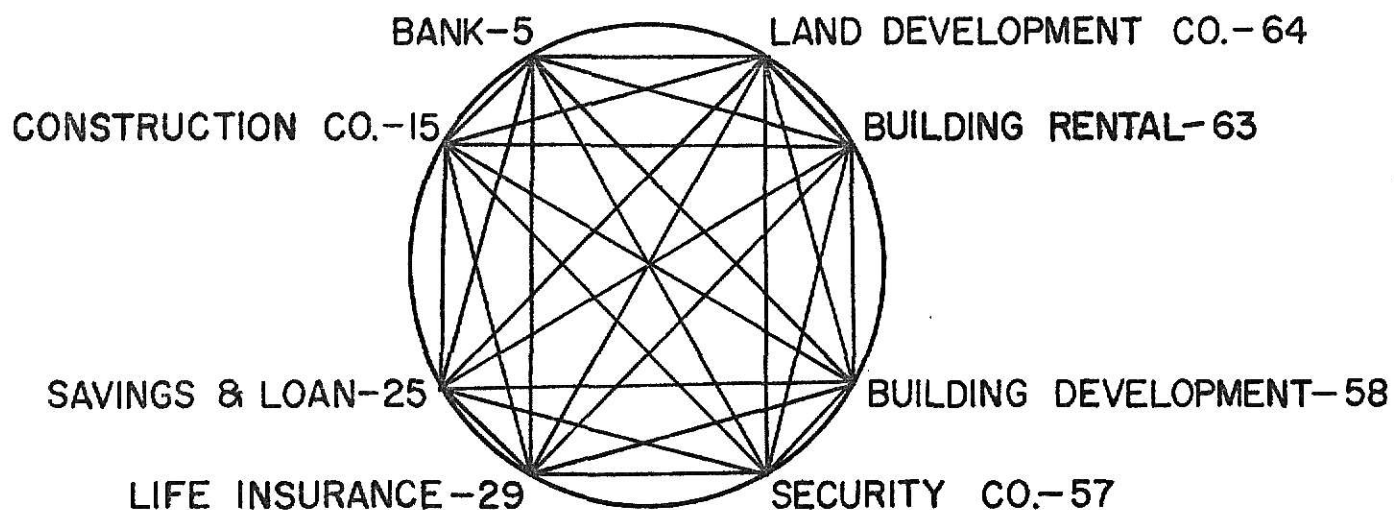


FIGURE 2
CITIZENS STATE BANK—GROUP 2

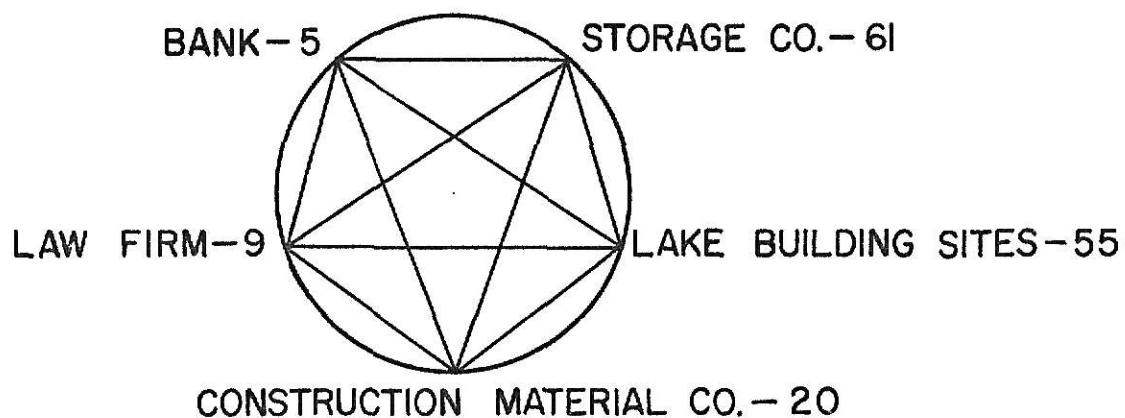


Figure 1 - Citizens State Bank - Group 1

5 - Citizens State Bank
 15 - Hunter-Lundberg Construction Company
 25 - Manhattan Federal Savings and Loan
 29 - Manhattan Mutual Life Insurance
 57 - Universal Securities Corporation
 58 - University Facilities Inc.
 63 - Wildcat Valley Inc.
 64 - Wood, Muir, Hunter, and Lundberg, Inc.

PERIPHERAL COMPANIES	ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH DIRECTLY LINKED
Brewer Motors, Inc.	25
Muir Enterprises	58,64
Skaggs Motor Company	5,63
Woodward's, Inc.	57

Figure 2 - Citizens State Bank - Group 2

5 - Citizens State Bank
 9 - Everett and Seaton Law Firm
 20 - Kershaw Ready Mix
 55 - Tuttle Creek Cabin Sites
 61 - Watson Transfer and Storage

as a nice self-contained and potentially lucrative one; for example, there was the bank with its attendant financial resources, the law firm to look after legal issues, and the cement company to supply material for building and development of lake cabin sites. This becomes pertinent when one recognizes that Tuttle Creek, the largest lake in Kansas, is situated eight miles from Manhattan and has in recent years been the scene of very considerable land development and construction along its 112 mile shoreline. The cement and sand company, through the person of its chairperson, O. W. Kershaw, had several important links with the major land development companies in the major Union National Bank clique, but not quite enough to have made it an element in that group. The only director common to all five companies in this CSB 2 clique was Donn Everett -- a partner in the Everett and Seaton law firm, and the local State Representative. Everett's familiarity with the larger political arena cannot be disregarded, and thus while this was a small clique its importance in terms of futuristic land development was no small matter.

The second major resource network was comprised of the organizations centered around the First National Bank, and were divided into three cliques. The largest of these, FNB 1 (Figure 3) was somewhat diversified, but with a good deal of leaning towards wholesale merchandising as evidenced by the presence of a large wholesale grocery firm (Sam Saroff and Company), Manhattan Ice and Cold Storage (a large locker and ice company), Steel and Pipe Supply (a wholesale supplier of construction and plumbing materials), and a peripheral organization -- Manhattan Wholesale Meat Company. The only financial institution was the First National Bank (the city's second largest) and the remaining four firms

FIGURE 3
FIRST NATIONAL BANK—GROUP 1

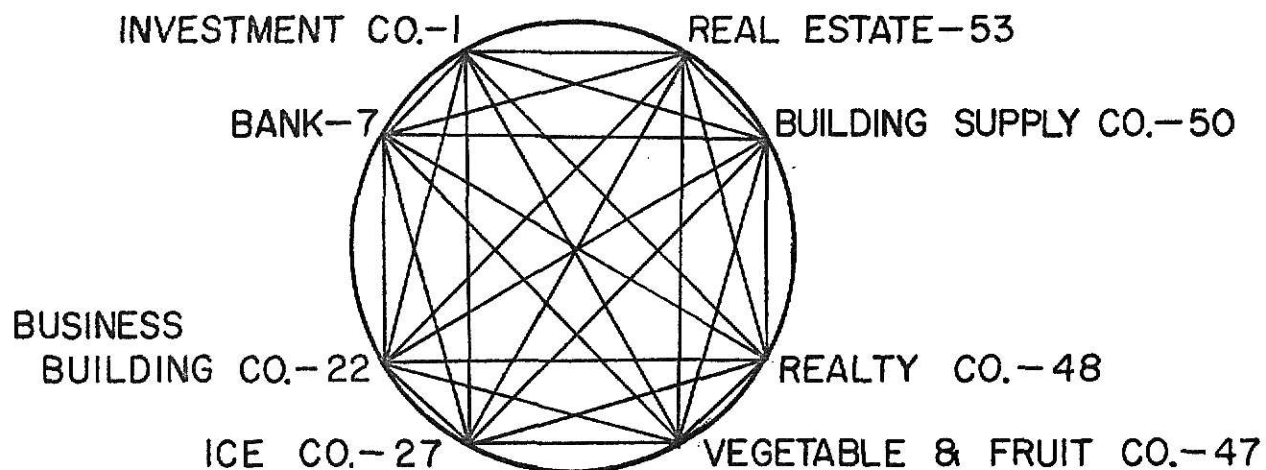


FIGURE 4
FIRST NATIONAL BANK—GROUP 2

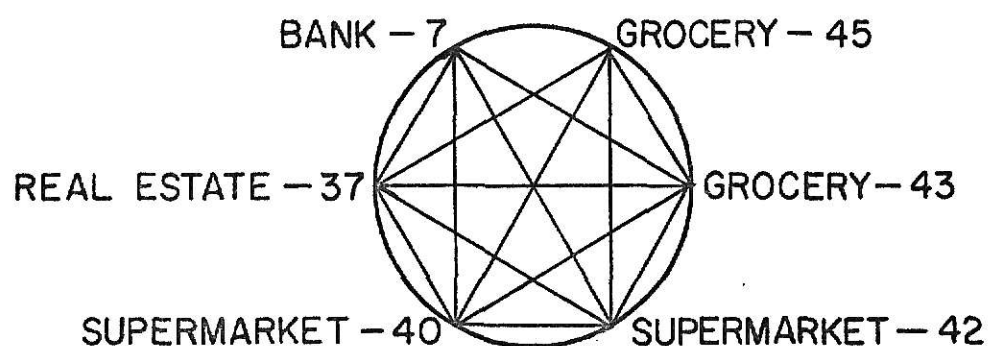


FIGURE 5
FIRST NATIONAL BANK—GROUP 3

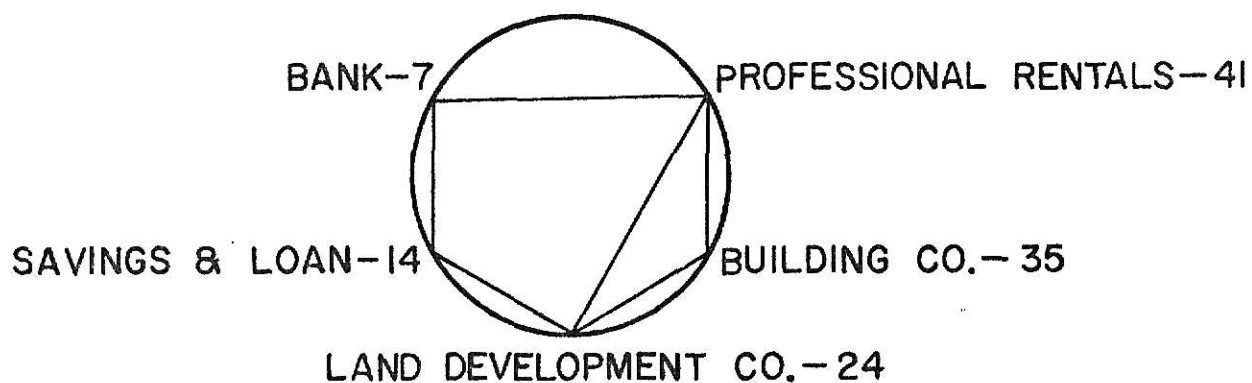


Figure 3 - First National Bank - Group 1

1 - Building Investment Company
 7 - First National Bank
 22 - Manhattan Business Building Company
 27 - Manhattan Ice and Cold Storage
 47 - Sam Saroff Fruit and Vegetable Company
 48 - Saroff Realty
 50 - Steel and Pipe Supply
 53 - Town Developers

PERIPHERAL COMPANIES

ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH DIRECTLY LINKED

Manhattan Wholesale Meat Company

27,47

Figure 4 - First National Bank - Group 2

7 - First National Bank
 37 - PAP Inc.
 40 - Poyntz Avenue Pantry
 42 - R & G Market
 43 - R & H Enterprises
 45 - Rickard Enterprises

Figure 5 - First National Bank - Group 3

7 - First National Bank
 14 - Home Savings and Loan
 24 - Manhattan Developers
 35 - Metro Builders
 41 - Professional Place Inc.

were in real estate (though none of them were what one could call major land developers). The clique did not have any construction firms. All of the elements had a direct link with one another as Jack Goldstein sat on the boards of all eight corporations giving the clique a simple density score of 1.00. The multiple density score was 1.39, which told us that almost 40% of the interlocking directorates involved people other than Goldstein. It is, tangentially, interesting to note that Saroff (recently deceased) and Goldstein were the most prominent members of this clique -- in that they were the foremost Jewish businessmen in the community. In a national power study, it was found that in merchandising one tended to find a smaller percentage of the upper class than other sectors of the business community, and Jews were heavily concentrated in the largest merchandising firms (Domhoff, 1967). It is quite conceivable (though speculatively so at this stage) that there may have been some subtle discrimination against these people with respect to their partaking in the large scale construction-land business which was the dominant characteristic of the largest (Union National Bank) clique.

The second FNB Group (Figure 4) consisted of six companies and was almost entirely concentrated in retail merchandising especially supermarkets and groceries. It was almost completely interlocking with a simple density score of .93; it had a rather high multiple density score (1.73), as four of the six firms had the same three people on their boards -- Stan Hayes, Billie Hayes, and Larry McGrath. At the time these data were collected, McGrath was the County Attorney, thus facilitating this clique with the benefit of his legal expertise.

The final FNB Group (Figure 5) was a smaller, five corporation,

rather loosely knit unit with somewhat of a real estate orientation. In addition to the bank there was one other financial institution -- Home Savings and Loan, dealing primarily in savings and home owner mortgages. Richard Rogers, an attorney and the regional State Senator, sat on two of the five boards. He was also on the board of directors of the Kansas Power and Light Company, a state-wide utility corporation, not included in this study.

The largest clique in Manhattan's economic sector was that which centered around the biggest local financial institution in the city, the Union National Bank (Figure 6). There were fifteen companies in the core group (i.e. having ties with at least fifty percent of the other elements), producing a simple density score of .79, but a significantly high multiple density score of 2.01. This clique easily provided the largest resource base. Within its core were found four financial institutions (two banks and two saving and loan companies), six land development groups, one large construction company, the largest lumber supply company, the city's only abstract company, the only radio station in town, and an ice and cold storage firm (which was also found in FNB Group 1). The Kershaw Ready Mix Company (in CSB Group 2), Walters Construction Company and Walters-Morgan Inc. (a general contracting firm) almost qualified for the core group. Thus, in looking at this clique and these peripheral companies, it was evident that real estate, land development, and construction have been of major importance in the community in recent times. Of the eighteen corporations mentioned, eleven were directly related to construction, construction supplies, land investment, and real estate. Further there were four major

FIGURE 6
UNION NATIONAL BANK GROUP

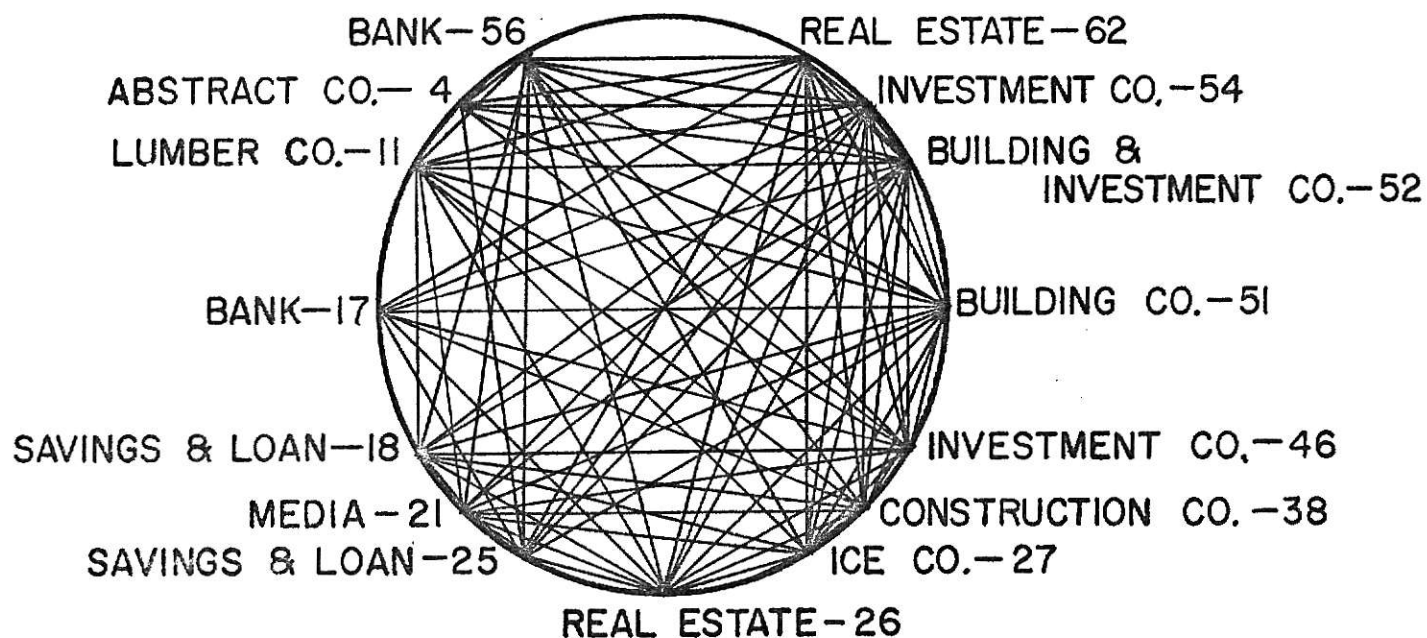


FIGURE 7
KANSAS STATE BANK GROUP

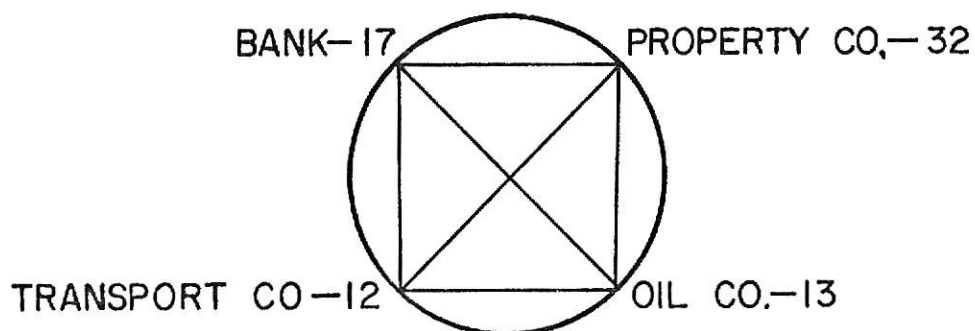


Figure 6 - Union National Bank Group

56 - Union National Bank
 4 - Charleson Wilson Abstractors
 11 - Griffith Lumber
 17 - Kansas State Bank
 18 - Security Benefit Life
 21 - Manhattan Broadcasting Corporation
 25 - Manhattan Savings and Loan
 26 - Manhattan Heights Inc.
 27 - Manhattan Ice and Cold Storage
 38 - Phelps Construction
 46 - Riley Investment Company
 51 - Tempo Building Inc.
 52 - Town Building and Investment Company
 54 - Town Investment Company
 62 - W. F. Farrell Company

PERIPHERAL COMPANIES	ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH DIRECTLY LINKED
Kershaw Ready Mix	26,46,52,56,54,62
<u>The Manhattan Mercury</u>	21
Walters Construction	17,26,46,54,62
Walters-Morgan	17,26,46,54,62

Figure 7 - Kansas State Bank Group

17 - Kansas State Bank

12 - Griffith Transport

13 - Griffith Oil Company

32 - Manhattan Real Properties

financial institutions, providers of capital for such activity. It is clearly evident from Figure 6 that the densest ties were between the Union National Bank and those corporations dealing with land and construction. The abstract company -- the only one in the city -- was a very important element within this clique, as all property transactions within the city and county must be registered with it. This knowledge, therefore, gives the company owners exact information on which to base sale and purchase of land by various land companies. The principal partner in the company, J. R. Wilson, was on the board of five of the land development companies in addition to his own and that of Union National Bank. The clique contained also the only radio station in town, KMAN, and this in turn was directly linked to the only newspaper, The Manhattan Mercury, which was a peripheral member of the clique. This, one may reasonably speculate, lends to the lack of potential adverse publicity regarding annexation or zoning changes which might be effected for the benefit of the group as a whole. The Mercury is one of seven papers in Kansas and Nebraska owned by the Seaton family. Fred Seaton of Hastings, Nebraska, was on the board of both KMAN and The Mercury. He was Secretary of the Interior in the Eisenhower Administration. His nephew Edward is the publisher of The Mercury and another nephew Richard (Edward's brother), formerly the Assistant State Attorney General, was recently appointed legal counsel to Kansas State University.

The Kansas State Bank (KSB) Group (Figure 7) was a small clique containing four corporations. It was essentially a subsection of the UNB clique, in which the Kansas State Bank was itself a core member. Phil Howe, KSB's Chairman, was a member of all four boards in this

clique. He is married to the niece of Thomas Griffith (deceased, November 1972) who was one of the most dominant figures in the UNB clique and indeed in the entire economic sector of the city. Griffith succeeded to this status following the death, in 1961, of his brother Evan (Howe's father-in-law). Two of the corporations in this clique were family enterprises -- the Griffith Oil Company and the Griffith Transport Company.

It would appear that the Union National Bank clique possessed the resources and necessary links to have a most significant influence on the direction and substance of important community issues. For example, Table 1 shows that the Bank itself had the greatest volume of assets at the time the data were collected:

TABLE 1

ASSET HOLDINGS FOR THE FOUR CITY BANKS

Union National Bank	\$35,643,966.42
First National Bank	\$28,827,928.56
Citizens State Bank	\$16,828,716.27
Kansas State Bank	\$ 4,410,755.86

Of course money alone is not a complete indicator of degree of influence. However, these data support our argument as do the data which appear in Table 2. They show the simple and multiple density scores for all seven cliques. The use of simple density scores alone could be misleading as four groups (CSB 1, CSB 2, FNB 1, and KSB) who have scores of 1.00 have them by virtue of the presence of one person on all boards within the particular clique. But by examining the multiple density scores, it

TABLE 2
DENSITY SCORES FOR THE ECONOMIC CLIQUES

<u>Clique</u>	<u>No. of Corporations</u>	<u>Density Score</u>	
		<u>Simple</u>	<u>Multiple</u>
Citizens State Group 1	8	1.00	1.29
Citizens State Group 2	5	1.00	1.00
First National Group 1	8	1.00	1.39
First National Group 2	6	.93	1.73
First National Group 3	5	.60	.70
Union National Group	15	.79	2.01
Kansas State Bank Group	4	1.00	1.33

becomes apparent that only two cliques, the Union National and the First National Group 2, were relatively independent on one person alone. As we saw, the FNB 2 clique was almost entirely centered around grocery retail merchandising, and while this was a closely knit group, the presence in the city of large nationally and regionally known food chains (e.g., Safeway, A & P, Dillons, et al.) suggests that this clique does not, by any means, have a major portion of the retail grocery business at its command. However, in the case of the Union National Bank clique with its large financial base and availability of resources one can argue that it had a great deal of influence. Until the last two or three years, there have been very few absentee-owned corporations (outside the grocery and clothing business) in Manhattan, and this fact combined with the enormous growth in population here in the last two decades with its

concomitant need for new housing and land development, placed the UNB Group -- with its emphasis on land and construction -- in a potentially powerful position in terms of guiding the community in its growth and development.

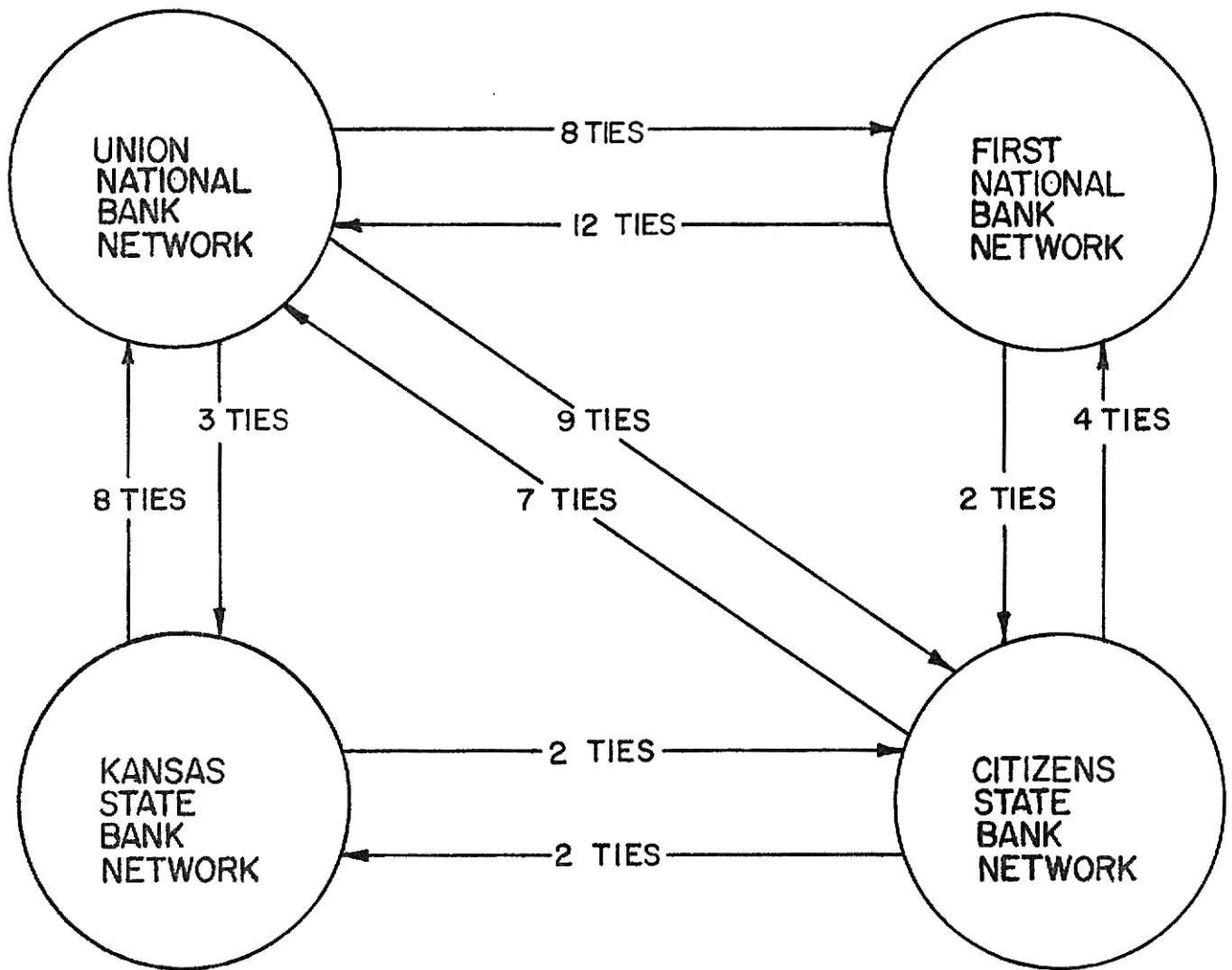
While our analysis pointed to seven different cliques, none of them were mutually exclusive. Figure 8 shows the ties that occurred among organizations in the various resource networks. The numbers represent at least one common link (i.e. director) between corporations which are in the various cliques. For example, the First National Bank network had direct ties with twelve corporations in the Union National Bank Group, while the Union group had direct links with eight corporations in the FNB Network. This relatively high number of ties both ways, was due in large measure to the Manhattan Ice and Cold Storage Company which appeared as a core element in both the Union and FNB Group 1 cliques. Of greater significance in terms of availability of resources was the high number of ties between the UNB Group and the Citizens State Network. This was due to the appearance in both core groups of the Manhattan Federal Savings and Loan Company, the largest local home mortgaging financial institution. In view of the emphasis on land development of both the UNB Group and to a lesser degree the CSB Network, this Saving and Loan company could act as a significant resource base for both groups, and in this sense was what we termed a "gatekeeper" organization, i.e. one which appeared in more than one clique. We shall have more to say about gatekeeping roles when we examine the sociometric economic stars to whom we now turn. Also in Figure 8, we see that the UNB Group had more ties with the three other groups, than either KSB,

**THIS BOOK
CONTAINS
NUMEROUS PAGES
WITH DIAGRAMS
THAT ARE CROOKED
COMPARED TO THE
REST OF THE
INFORMATION ON
THE PAGE.**

**THIS IS AS
RECEIVED FROM
CUSTOMER.**

FIGURE 8

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL LINKS BETWEEN
ECONOMIC NETWORKS



FNB, or CSB, thereby providing additional evidence of the potential strength of the UNB Group.

The top nineteen sociometric stars are shown in Table 3; in addition to their centrality scores, the table indicates the number of primary ties they had with other directors, and the number of board memberships they held in the various resource networks.² In this table, we have further evidence of the potential power of the UNB clique as seven of the nineteen stars were highly central because of their pre-eminent positions in that clique. Only two other stars were central because of dominant clique positions -- Jack Goldstein in the FNB Group and Cecil Hunter in the Citizens State Group. This also supports the argument that the Union Group was less dependent than the others on any one individual.

How does one account for the presence of the remainder of these sociometric stars? They owed their ranking to the fact that they were in more than one resource network. For example, Phil Woodward was -- after Cecil Hunter -- the second most dominant person in the Citizens State Group, but he also figured in the First National Bank Group. These people were designated as "gatekeepers" sitting, as it were, at the intersections of various cliques. This was particularly evident and of noteworthy significance in the cases of Charles Arthur, Charles Green, and C. Clyde Jones.

²For purposes of analysis, the top nineteen sociometric stars in both the voluntary and economic sectors were designated as top stars. Further comparisons were based on the top 50 economic and top 54 voluntary stars which are discussed in Section 3 of this chapter. These cutoffs were deemed appropriate based on the distribution of sociometric scores.

TABLE 3

SOCIOMETRIC SCORES, PRIMARY TIES, AND BOARD MEMBERSHIPS OF TOP 19 ECONOMIC ELITES

Name	Sociometric Scores	Primary Ties	No. of Board Memberships				Total
			UNB Core	UNB or KSB Periphery	FNB	CSB	
T. J. Griffith	126	22	11		1		12
C. Hunter	126	22	1			8	9
W. Farrell	126	17	7			1	8
C. Green	126	16	2		1	1	4
P. Woodward	127	13	1		1	3	5
C. C. Jones	129	13	2	1		1	4
J. Goldstein	135	16	1		8		9
J. Walters	139	15	5	3			8
F. Bramlage	140	14	6	1			7
K. Phelps	141	13	7	1			8
O. Kershaw	143	14	6	1		1	8
C. Arthur	145	11	1			1	2
C. C. Brewer	145	5	1			1	2
D. Combs	145	11	1			1	2
L. Stolzer	145	11	1			1	2
R. Frisbie	146	10	1	1		1	2
E. Nedwed	146	8		1			1
R. Rogers	147	9		1	2		2
J. R. Wilson	149	14	7				7

These three "gatekeepers" appeared to be in particularly fruitful spots not only to keep tabs on the activities of the various cliques because they straddled them, but also to look out for the business interests of the community at the local and regional political arenas and with respect to activity at Kansas State University. Mr. Arthur has served as County Attorney, Mayor (1956-57), City Commissioner (1955-59), in the Kansas House of Representatives (1959-64) including two years as Speaker of the House, and four years in the Kansas Senate. In 1968, Arthur was succeeded in the Senate by Richard Rogers -- another attorney and a top economic star. Charles Green, Arthur's law firm partner, was city attorney for ten years. C. Clyde Jones was Vice-President for University Development at KSU as well as Professor of Business Administration when these data were gathered. The office of the Vice-President for University Development informed us that the main duties of that position were the planning, construction, and development of buildings on the KSU campus. Jones' location in all three resource networks was therefore of no small significance. He was also on the board of the United Fund and of the KSU Endowment Association.

There is something of a problem in using this kind of sociometric analysis to determine power elites. The method assigns a value of "1" to all direct ties; but clearly not all ties are of equal significance. For example, J. R. Wilson, as shown in Table 3, was last in the top nineteen and yet was a member of a greater number of boards than say, Frisbie or Nedwed. In view of our previous discussion it would be erroneous to simply assume on the basis of these scores that Frisbie or Nedwed was more "powerful" than Wilson in economic terms. Similarly

it is difficult to compare the "power" of the two stars who were central because they dominated their own cliques (i.e. Hunter and Goldstein) with that of the principal members of the UNB clique. In spite of the fact that Hunter ranked lowest on the basis of actual scores, there would seem to be little doubt that the major UNB members indeed had more power, because they controlled a larger network of resources which was both more diversified and focused in character. The advantage of this sociometric method was that it provided a general picture of who the economic influentials were, and was therefore a useful heuristic device to be used on the road to developing testable hypotheses -- a topic to which we shall be speaking in Chapter 4 of this paper.

In examining the economic sector of a midwestern community, we have identified four resource networks, containing seven cliques of economic organizations. The major, and potentially most powerful of these, was dominant in land development and related activity -- which has been the major economic influence in the community over the past two decades. In this clique and its periphery corporations (numbering 19), eleven were directly related to land use in one form or another. Three types of economic elites were extrapolated; those who dominated a resource network, those who were part of a collective network and those key individuals who were gatekeepers between networks. None of the resource networks, as we have shown, were mutually exclusive. Thus in a very simplified overall view of the economic structure, one could suggest that the Union National Bank Group was at the top with major investing power and control of real estate. The major First National Bank clique could, in view of its wholesale merchandising emphasis, be viewed as a

supplier of materials while the Citizens State network could be regarded as a lesser controller of real estate resources. We shall now turn to the voluntary sector of the community before proceeding with the relationship between the two sectors.

Section 2 - THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

INTRODUCTION

As might be anticipated, the resource networks of voluntary associations were not as clearly delineable as their economic counterparts. This may have been due in part to our operational definition of a voluntary association. In this regard, we followed Scott (1957) in the broadest manner. Scott suggested:

"A voluntary association is a group of persons relatively freely organized to pursue mutual and personnel interests or to achieve common goals, usually non-profit in nature. Volunteer associations have qualifying criteria for membership, offices held by selection or election so empowered by bye-laws and periodic meetings in a regular meeting place. Voluntary associations are in contrast to associations created and perpetuated through no choice of the members such as those created by fiat, or those effected by ascription, e.g. armies and clans. They differ too from those informal, ephemeral less structured groups such as cliques or gangs."

Thus concurs with Laskin (1962) who stated that a voluntary association is any private group, voluntarily and more or less formally organized and joined and maintained by members pursuing a common interest, usually by means of part-time unpaid activities.

Therefore in operationalizing these definitions in our study, we looked at the boards of officers of all available non-profit

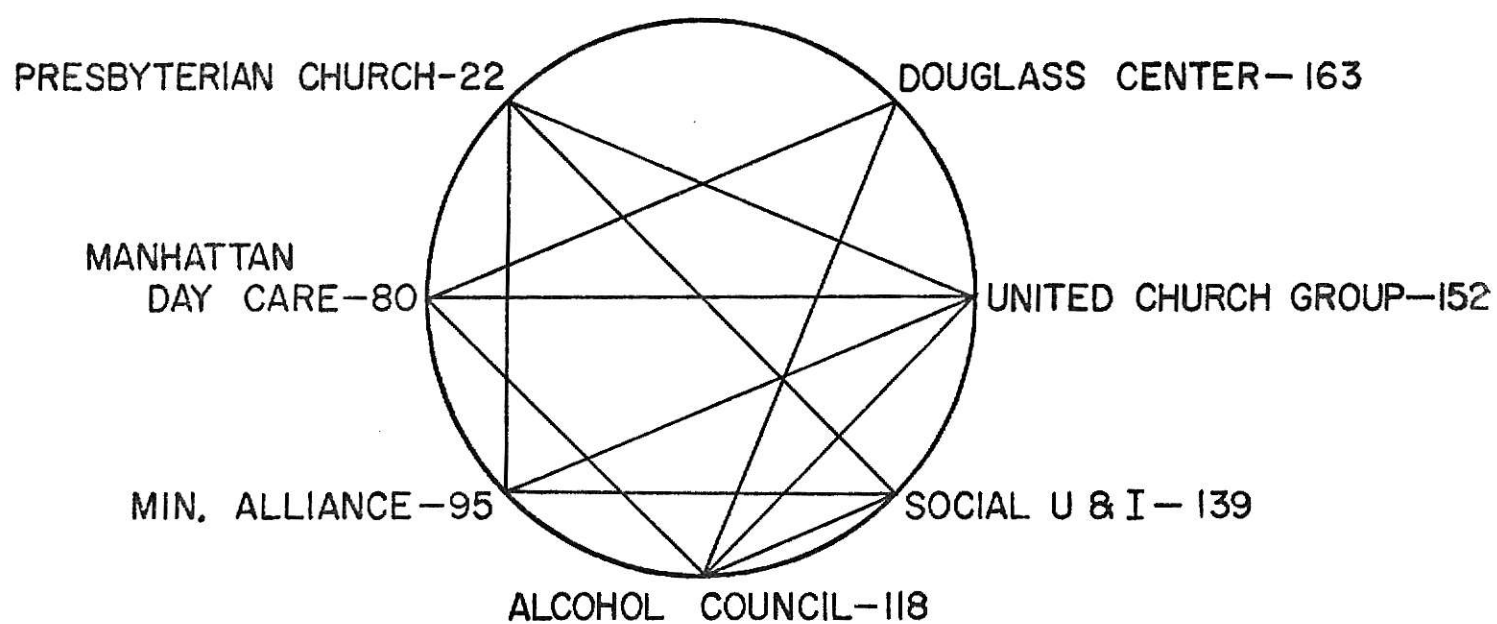
associations to include service groups, business and professional voluntary groups, church, political and social groups. As noted in the section on methodology, voluntary campus groups at KSU, and city school associations were not included. All associations which had no interlocking directorates with other groups were eliminated, as were officers who served on only one board. This was done as such associations and people were isolates in terms of resource networks. By taking those cliques with four or more elements (associations), we were able to divide them into three resource networks. We shall deal with each of these networks in the following pages.

Group 1 - THE CHRISTIAN AND SOCIAL CONCERNS GROUP

This clique (Figure 9) was drawn from seven other cliques containing twenty-two voluntary associations. The seven associations which make up this clique were the ones which appeared most frequently amongst the seven cliques. (A complete list of the associations and the number of times which they appeared in the various cliques is provided in Appendix A.) This clique was predominantly a Christian and Social Concerns group, three of the associations related to Christian churches while the other four were concerned with human service type activities. The Douglass Center, a city-sponsored youth center, was used primarily by black children in the city and was located in the heart of the black residential area of town. The Social U & I (Uplifting and Interesting) was a group which met twice monthly for the study and discussion of current topical issues. The Alcohol Council and the Day Care Center, administer human services to alcoholics and children respectively. None of the members of these

FIGURE 9

GROUP I



boards appeared amongst either the top 19 or the top 54 sociometric voluntary stars. This was a strong indicator of the relative lack of influence of these kinds of activities in the community at large. This point was, for example, emphasized by the Director of the Douglass Center in an interview in the larger ongoing study. He remarked quite freely and without hesitation that he and his board were powerless in terms of seeking community support or change. A major reason why they were supported at all is that by having the youth center in the "ghetto," there will be little or no possibility of black kids coming across "the tracks" to other areas and possibly take over facilities used predominantly by white middle and upper class children. As a whole, this clique was rather loosely knit with relatively low simple and multiple density scores of .60 and .66 respectively (Table 4).

Group 2 - PROFESSIONAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL GROUP

This clique was derived from a group of four cliques which contained nine associations all together (see Appendix A). As Figure 10 shows, there were five elements in this clique, but only one -- the First Christian Church group -- had ties with all others. The American Business Women's Group and the Credit Women's Club (both breakfast groups) were included because of the presence on both of their boards of Willa Courser who was also on the First Christian board. These three associations appeared in all four cliques from which this clique was derived, followed closely by the Chamber of Commerce which appeared three times in the four cliques. The clique however was not terribly cohesive, showing a simple density score of .60 and a multiple density index of .80 (Table 4).

FIGURE 10
GROUP 2

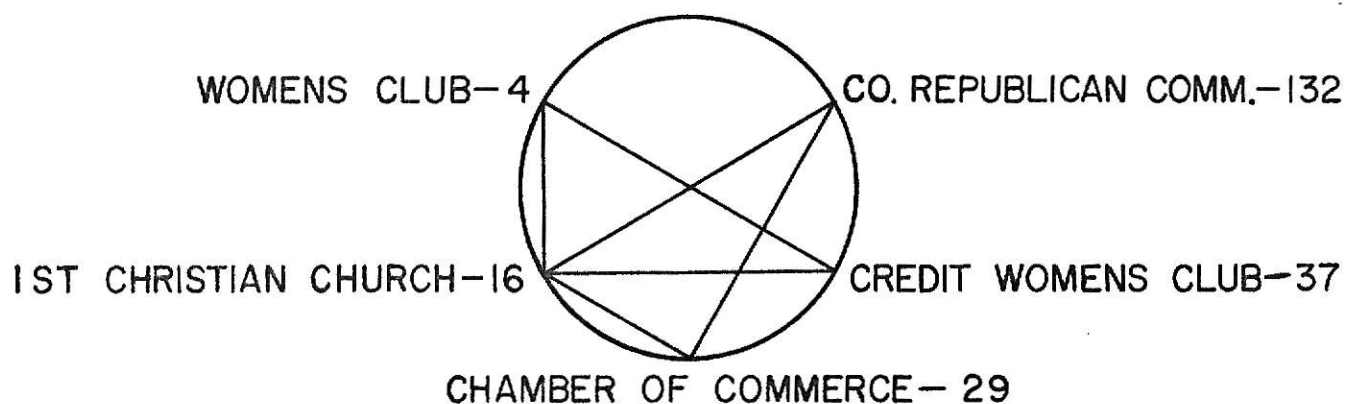
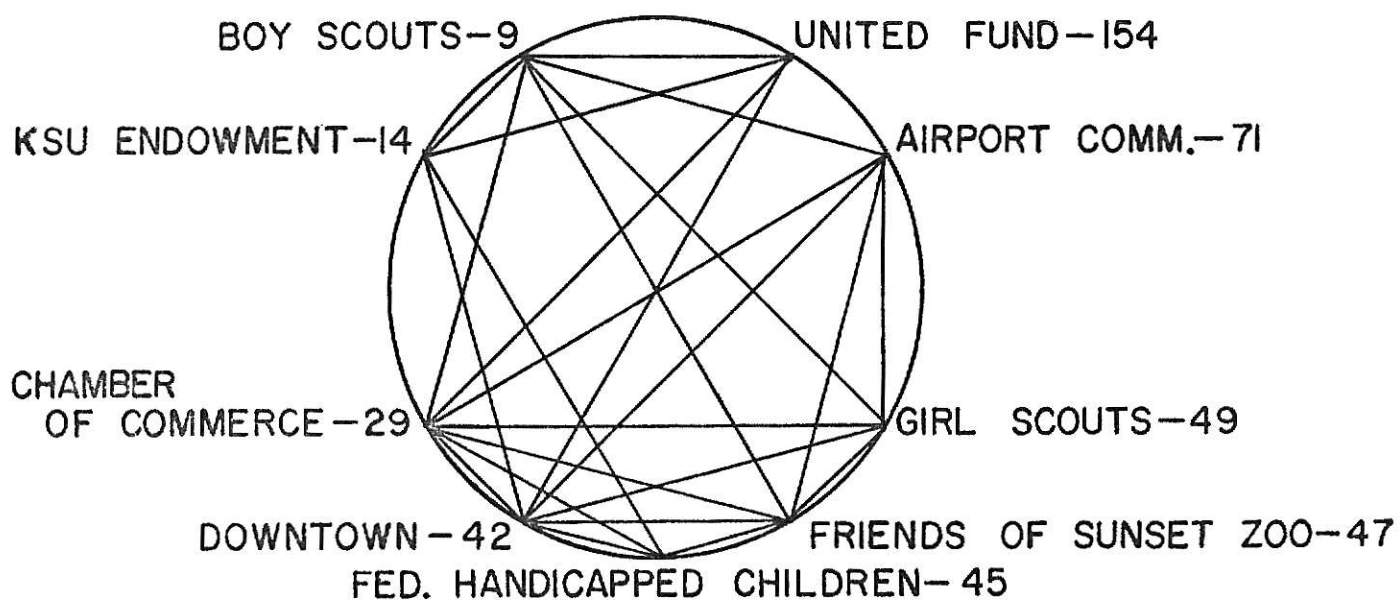


FIGURE 11
GROUP 3



Of the nine associations which made up this Professional, Social and Political Group, five appeared also in the third major group -- that of Business and Philanthropic Associations. This leads us to argue that this clique was essentially a subset of the Business and Philanthropic one, particularly as one could look upon the two professional women's groups here as female counterparts to the Chamber of Commerce and the Downtown Businessmen's Association, i.e. a forum for business women to voluntarily assemble and discuss topics of professional interest. We also suggest this argument as we shall attempt to show that the Business and Philanthropic Group was totally dominant in terms of potential voluntary associational power. Where both husband and wife appeared within the universe of voluntary leaders, this was taken as a single unit. This explained the appearance of the Chamber of Commerce in this clique as Willa Courser's husband was on the board of the First Christian Church, which in turn had several direct links with the Chamber.

TABLE 4

DENSITY SCORES FOR THE VOLUNTARY CLIQUES

<u>Clique</u>	<u>No. of Associations</u>	<u>Density Score</u>	
		<u>Simple</u>	<u>Multiple</u>
Christian and Social Concerns Group	7	.60	.66
Professional, Social and Political Group	5	.60	.80
Business and Philanthropic Group	9	.70	1.10

Group 3 - THE BUSINESS AND PHILANTHROPIC GROUP

This clique (Figure 11) was drawn from ten cliques in which 25 separate associations were elements (see Appendix A for a complete list). The nine associations in Figure 11 represent those elements which appeared most frequently in the ten cliques. The two most dominant groups were the Chamber of Commerce, which had direct links with all other elements, and the Downtown Businessmen's Associations which had links with all but one element. The latter group was made up of the major downtown businessmen who meet regularly to discuss the promotion of that area of the community. The Chamber of Commerce, quoting from their most recent brochure is: "people and ideas. It is an organization of business and professional men and women voluntarily working to build a better community; rendering many services that benefit all citizens." All of the board members in this clique who had multiple memberships were amongst the top nineteen sociometric stars, in fact they were the top stars. James Rhine, who sat on six of the nine boards, was the top star, and was also amongst the top fifty economic stars. He was President of Universal Securities, a major member of the Citizens State Bank resource network. The KSU Endowment Association, which handles financial gifts to the university, was another interesting element of this clique. Of its ten member board, five were voluntary elite stars, and six were amongst the top nineteen economic elites. The United Fund is a major voluntary association in any community -- and its inclusion here came as no surprise, as it was and it a prime source of funding for other organizations in the community among them in this clique -- the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. The Airport Committee, linked to this

clique because of Rhine's membership was established in 1970 to evaluate the changing of the local air facility to accommodate jet aeroplane traffic.

As can be seen by examination of the figures, this clique had the densest ties, and showed a simple density score of .70 and a multiple score of 1.10 (Table 4). Table 5 shows that all top nineteen voluntary elites held positions in this clique and the Professional, Religious, and Political one. This dual membership was due in all but three cases, to the presence of the Chamber of Commerce in both cliques. That none of the board members of Group 1 (Christian and Social Concerns) appeared either in the top nineteen or the top fifty-four voluntary elites, leads us to argue strongly that the major associations within the voluntary sector of the community have major leanings towards community economic interests and one can suggest therefore that any voluntary activity in which these associations and individuals partake will be with the best interests of the economic sector at heart. For some further supporting evidence of this contention, let us turn now to the top voluntary elites and the relationship between the voluntary and economic sectors.

TABLE 5

SOCIOMETRIC SCORES, PRIMARY TIES, AND BOARD MEMBERSHIPS OF THE TOP 19 VOLUNTARY ELITES

Name	Sociometric Scores	Primary Ties	No. of Board Memberships			
			Group 1*	Group 2*	Group 3*	Total**
J. Rhine	377	46		1	6	6
L. Jack	382	43		2	3	3
R. LaGree	397	38		1	3 (2p)	3
L. Fiser	399	39		1	2 (2p)	2
J. Means	401	37		1	2	2
G. Rumsey	404	36		1	2	2
M. Healy	406	34		1	2	2
C. Kaup	406	34		1	2	2
K. Smith	406	34		1	2	2
R. Pearson	406	34		1	2	2
J. Goldstein	422	34		1	2	2
V. Roper	423	37		1 (1p)	1	1
H. Williams	432	31			1	1
R. Rogers	433	25		1	2	3
K. Sandborn	438	23			1 (1p)	1
J. Stites	439	22		2	1	2
D. Hess	439	22		2	1	2
R. Smith	439	26			1 (1p)	1

*Group 1 - Christian and Social Concerns Group

Group 2 - Professional Social and Political Group

Group 3 - Business and Philanthropic Group

**The totals in almost all cases do not agree with the sum of the figures in the previous columns.

This is due to the fact that in all cases where this occurs, the associations in Group 2 also appear in Group 3. Figures with a p in parenthesis represent those associations which were in the universe from which the particular group was drawn, and were also not included in the total.

Section 3 - THE VOLUNTARY ELITES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE ECONOMIC ELITES AND THE ECONOMIC SECTOR

Of the top nineteen voluntary elites, 10.5% (n=2) were amongst the top nineteen economic elites, and of the top fifty-four voluntary stars, 26.3% (n=12) were members of the group of fifty top economic elites. These were relatively low percentages; to have almost full control one should expect to have greater than 50% direct overlap. However, the reader should not be misled by these low percentages; let us take a closer look at the overlap between the two sectors.

Table 6 shows that of the top 19 voluntary elites, 36.8% (n=7) were working for corporations within the resource networks of economic cliques. All of these seven persons were in significant positions of authority in their respective firms (four were either presidents or managers, while the other three were vice-presidents). The remaining 12 top voluntary elites were also in executive positions, although their companies were not within any of the economic resource networks. (See Appendix B for a complete list of the top 19 voluntary elites and their employment status.) The same pattern was true of the employment status of the top 54 voluntary elites. Although the numbers working for economic corporations within the various networks were relatively less than in the top nineteen, of the total 54 people, 74.1% (n=40)³ were in positions of economic importance within the community (i.e., executives or owners of economic corporations). The remaining fourteen, composed of one physician, the superintendent of the Board of Education,

³The information on employment of voluntary elites was taken from the Manhattan City Directory.

TABLE 6
VOLUNTARY ELITES WORKING FOR OR ON THE BOARDS OF ECONOMIC CORPORATIONS¹

	<u>Working</u>		<u>On Boards</u>		<u>Working or on Boards</u>	
	<u>Top 19</u>	<u>Top 54</u>	<u>Top 19</u>	<u>Top 54</u>	<u>Top 19</u>	<u>Top 54</u>
Union National Bank Network	3(15.8%)	4(7.4%)	3(15.8%)	9(16.7%)	5(26.3%)	9(16.7%)
First National Bank Network	2(10.5%)	4(7.4%)	2(10.5%)	5(9.3%)	3(15.8%)	7(13.0%)
Citizen's State Bank Network	2(10.5%)	5(9.3%)	3(15.8%)	12(22.2%)	3(15.8%)	12(22.2%)
Kansas State Bank Network	0	0	2(10.5%)	3(5.6%)	2(10.5%)	3(5.6%)
TOTAL	7(36.8%)	13(24.1%)	7(36.8%) ²	22(40.7%) ²	10(52.6%) ²	22(40.7%) ²

¹Economic corporations refer to those found in the cores of the seven cliques which were identified in Section 1 of this chapter.

²These totals do not represent the sum of the figures in the columns above. They were adjusted to count only once those people who sat on boards in more than one resource network.

the director of the City Recreation Commission, nine faculty members at Kansas State University, one housewife, and one retired person who was formerly on the KSU faculty. It is also worth noting that, in terms of the top 19 voluntary elites, four executives of major absentee-owned corporations were included while only one KSU employee was in this category, thus providing some further evidence that the economic sector had, potentially, the most influence in voluntary affairs.

Table 6 also shows the number of voluntary elites who sat on the boards of economic corporations. When combined with those working for economic companies, over 50% of the top 19 voluntary elites either worked for or sat on the board(s) of organizations within the four economic resource networks. While it was possible for someone to both work for and sit on the board of a particular corporation, in the instances where this actually occurred, we counted only the board membership, thereby preventing inflation of figures.

Table 5 (page 51) shows that all nineteen sociometric voluntary stars were in the Business and Philanthropic clique. None of the members of the Christian and Social Concerns clique appeared anywhere in the top fifty-four. This, along with the information in Table 6 discussed above, strongly indicate that the voluntary sector of this community was dominated by organizations and individuals with a combined economic and philanthropic orientation. Philanthropic, in this case, is somewhat different from Social Concerns as we have used it. The former refers to associations primarily concerned with financial dealings -- e.g., the United Fund and the KSU Endowment Association, while Social Concerns deal with organizations devoted to the delivery of human services such

as the Douglass Center or the Day Care Association. These findings have some interesting implications in terms of the overall structure of the community, which shall provide the focus for part of our discussion in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we will address ourselves to a discussion of the findings and previous research, the implications of the work, some suggestions for further research based on our results, and a brief summary.

DISCUSSION

We speculated in Chapter I of this paper that the analysis undertaken would provide a partial picture of how power exists in this community. The traditional positional approach takes as its basic assumption that power is in the hands of those individuals in key positions within the community. Our modified positional approach uses the assumption that the locus of power is in networks of major organizations which are operated by key individuals. Given this assumption, we can now propose that the major locus of power in the Manhattan community is in the hands of those organizations identified within the seven economic cliques, the most prestigious and dominant of which is the Union National Bank clique. The major portion of resources in this clique center around purchase and development of land. Given the growth of the city, in terms of population over the last two decades, this activity has been the major source of economic development and the resources for this work being largely in the hands of the UNB clique, are a strong indicator of the potential influence of this group with

respect to the direction of community development and growth. This finding corroborates the results of other positional studies (Lynds, 1937; Smith, 1937; Mills, 1946; et al.) suggesting that community control was in the hands of the major business and economic interests. The UNB clique, unlike the others, is not under the dominion of one person, thus supporting the Perrucci and Pilusik (1970) argument that one person through personal qualities or resources cannot significantly shape the outcome of pertinent community issues. Hunter (1953) in his reputational study reported similar results, i.e. a monolithic and highly centralized power structure. Our data lends support for this result; however, unlike the reputational method which -- as we saw earlier -- can be criticized for looking only at reputation for power, our approach identifies the top economic organizations and leaders within the community and shows significant ties between them. There are two possible criticisms: (1) that those in influential positions may not use their potential, and (2) are these organizations and people actually the major economic factors in the community? From personal knowledge of the community, at the time the data were gathered, all of the major locally operated organizations and people were included; as to the use of their potential, we can only speculate at the moment that indeed it is being used. It remains to be seen based on comparison with data using the other methodologies to find out if this is truly the case.

The data on the voluntary sector lends support to an argument of control of voluntary activity in the community by the economic structure, especially as all of the top 54 voluntary elites were from the Business and Philanthropic resource network, and none of the people in the

Christian and Social Concerns network figured amongst the elites. In addition, all of the top nineteen voluntary elites were on the board of the Chamber of Commerce or the Downtown Businessmen's Association or both, and all fifty-four were white and in jobs indicating middle class status or above. Similar findings have been reported elsewhere. Scott (1957) showed a significant and positive relationship between membership participation in voluntary associations and socio-economic status. (See also Warner and Lunt, 1941; Lynds, 1937.) Scott also noted: "that it is equally clear that the control of memberships, committee memberships, and official positions and thus much of the functioning of voluntary associations is concentrated amongst relatively few people." Similar results with respect to high organizational activity and high socio-economic correlations were reported by Smith (1937) and Babchuk et al. (1960). The latter also noted that there was a high correlation between membership in civic organizations and economic dominance. Key leaders in a community influence policy by acting in concert through cliques which develop largely through overlapping memberships in voluntary associations (Miller, 1958; Schermerhorn, 1961). Rose (1956) suggests that individual members of voluntary associations as well as the associations themselves have significant influence over the community at large. If this is the case in Manhattan, it is reasonable to argue, based on our findings, that any influence which the voluntary sector may exert over the community will be in accord with the wishes and ideals of those organizations and influentials who are dominant in the economic sector. If a voluntary association or leader is going to support a particular cause or issue, then one can logically assume that

this support will not conflict with the ideals of his employer -- the main source of his livelihood. This in turn has some interesting implications for organizations which do not figure within this structure. Let us examine, for a moment, this point and then proceed to some of the other implications from the study.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

In the last five to ten years, there has been an enormous rise in the number of volunteer organizations which attempt to deal with the growing number of social ills which are afflicting this country. This is especially true in the area of paraprofessional counseling, drug education, free schools and crisis intervention (see for example, Iscoe, 1971; McCarthy, 1970; Barger and Hall, 1967; Sinnett, 1970; Killacky, 1971). The majority of these kinds of activities, which are drastically needed in view of the dramatic increase in the numbers of the problems which they are designed to cope with, are usually -- in Manhattan and elsewhere -- operated and run by young people and/or students who do not have a high socio-economic status and certainly do not figure in either the economic or voluntary elite structures, and consequently have nearly always been subject to a great deal of resistance in attempting to establish their programs. (For a pertinent local example, see Killacky, 1971, and on the national front, see Slater, 1970; Gerzon, 1969; Kozol, 1967). If the findings of this report are true, then the young leaders of these paraprofessional and help oriented activities must begin to give serious consideration to methods of soliciting community support if their programs are to

survive within the framework of the local community. In the 1960s, it was possible in the face of local resistance and lack of support to go elsewhere and gain financial assistance through a multiplicity of funding agencies (e.g., see Graziano, 1969). Today with drastic cutbacks in federal support this route is not very feasible. People seeking support must look to such local sources as revenue sharing and the United Fund. This calls for serious and concentrated efforts on the parts of these paraprofessional groups and leaders, first of all to be aware of the structural configuration of the community especially in terms of power, and secondly to then gain the ear of their elitist brethren in actually seeking support. Studies such as this one therefore, are of importance and do have significant implications for those in such activities as noted above, for if they do not make themselves aware of information such as this they are likely to expend many fruitless hours in seeking help and not get anywhere. These same notions apply to those who find themselves outside the economic sector too -- for example, the large numbers of young people who are setting up free stores, health food shops, and the like. Are these implications true for communities other than Manhattan? What is the generalizability of these findings?

We have suggested that the major source of influence in this community centers around those organizations and people dealing primarily with land development, construction, and related activities -- which in turn are mostly dominant because of the large population increase over the past two decades as a result of growth of KSU and Fort Riley. We would speculate that in cities where similar growth is occurring, especially in the Midwest, similar results would tend to be found for

the following reasons. In cities where universities are located, similar results could be expected because of the boom in enrollments in the past two decades. While there are now indications that university enrollment is dropping, and thereby causing a leveling out of population, the organizations and people dominant in cities like this have spent many years climbing to this elite status and there is little reason to believe they will be relieved of this position in the immediate future. In other medium-sized cities which do not have universities there is evidence of industrial expansion brought on in large measure by out-migration from the overpopulated areas in the East and West Coasts, in addition to rural-urban migration which is especially the case in Kansas, and with this the continued need for land development and construction. This does, however, in terms of community power, raise the question of the potential influence of absentee-owned corporations, which were not included in our study -- but about which we shall have a brief comment in our suggestions for further research.

A final note on the implications of this study deals with the methodology of looking at a community in terms of primarily its organizational structure and only secondarily at individuals' influence. With the enormous growth of economic conglomerates such as I.T.T., I.B.M., Proctor and Gamble et al. and the apparent demise of individual political bossism, the family grocery store, family farms, the influence of individual volunteers, etc., it seems essential that community studies must look primarily at organizational rather than individual structures if they are to have any meaning at all. For instance, in this study, if we had extrapolated either ten decision-makers, or ten reputational

leaders without examining variables such as their employment, political and/or voluntary affiliations then the information would have told us very little. In the past, individual people may have played a much greater and more domineering role in community affairs; this does not seem to be the case today, and if community studies are to keep pace with this change, they too must alter their approaches accordingly.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The final objective noted in the first chapter of this paper was to propose a hypothesis amenable to testing by the other methods of community power studies to seek to find if indeed there is a monolithic or a pluralistic power structure in Manhattan. The findings lead to the following suggested hypothesis: those individuals in economically dominant positions will have the greatest amount of influence either directly or indirectly in the resolution of major community issues. This, of course, raises the problem of what is a community issue? However, once this is ascertained, then a detailed investigation can determine who the decision-makers are and then check for correlation between them and the organizations and elites whom we have identified. If the correlation proves significant, then there will be undisputable evidence of a monolithic power structure in this community.

In the course of the paper, it was noted that there may have been some subtle discrimination against the leading Jewish businessmen in the community, and also that the location of the news media sources within the major economic clique may have meant a paucity of dissemination of information which might be adverse for the interests

of the major economic organizations. Both of these points merit further intensive investigation and if these speculations are substantiated then this knowledge should be made publicly known. How one might ask? This prompts a more general question, needing comment, which is how are the results of research such as has been carried out to be used here?

One course is to share with colleagues the information and seek their advice and reactions particularly in terms of method. However, it seems to this author that in many cases this is as far as results go -- i.e. to the closed colleagueial circle of other applied social researchers. Some effort is needed to get this information to people beyond this circle for the following reasons. In terms of community power studies such as this one, the information is deemed useful for people and organizations outside of the power structure; studies like this raise the need for research concerning the development of role models for non-powerful organizations and leaders to follow if they are to survive. There is also a need to let members of the power structure themselves know what results point to so that we may perhaps benefit from their reactions and responses in terms of future work, and maybe provide them with a better overall view of the community.

Further studies of this kind should also consider the role of absentee-owned corporations. Since the economic data were gathered, several major outside corporations have either located or expressed a definite interest in moving to the community. This influx is relatively new in Manhattan and cities like it elsewhere, but as it seems to be a developing trend the inclusion of such corporations will be essential for complete analysis in the future.

SUMMARY

In this study, the major non-absentee economic and voluntary organizations in a Midwestern community were examined. The economic corporations were delineated into seven cliques and it was shown that while they were not mutually exclusive, one clique appeared dominant over the others in terms of cohesiveness and resources. These resources were primarily concentrated in land use, development and construction which have been the major focus of economic activity in the community in the last two decades. This clique also showed no one individual dominant which was not the case with the others, except in one smaller one connected with the retail grocery business. Of the top nineteen economic individual stars, seven were in the major clique, two dominated two other cliques, and the remainder were classified as gatekeepers. Three of these were identified as being particularly significant in view of their ties in the local and regional political arenas and with developments at Kansas State University.

In the voluntary sector, three cliques were extrapolated, one centering around Christian and Social Concerns, and the other two -- which were very closely tied -- centering around Business Philanthropic Professional and Political activity. It was suggested that the voluntary sector of the community was very economically oriented -- all of the top nineteen voluntary elites were members of the Chamber of Commerce or the Downtown Businessmen's Association or both, and none of the members of the Christian and Social Concerns clique featured in the top fifty-four voluntary elites.

The last portion of the paper suggested a hypothesis for testing

in the ongoing study of which this paper is a part, by use of the other methods of community power analysis. Some implications of our research were addressed, and the importance of making this information as widely available as possible was noted. We concluded with some suggestions for further research.

EPILOGUE

One of the major drawbacks of a study such as this is that it looks at its subject at one moment in time, and this does not facilitate dealing with change. Several changes have occurred in Manhattan since our study was undertaken. The major economic elite within the Union National Bank network, Thomas Griffith, died in November of 1972. Since the data were collected, some of the land development corporations have been dissolved, and their interests and holdings taken over in most cases by absentee-owned corporations, most notably Security Benefit Life. Thus today, as a unit, the Union National Bank clique is not as cohesive and potentially influential group as before; there is, however, no reason to suspect that the remaining organizations and individuals are not still quite influential in community affairs. We have also been informed that the Kansas State Bank is now completely separated from the Union National Bank and continued reference to KSB as a subset of the larger bank is inappropriate.

Within the voluntary sector, most associations change officers each year. Thus, those sitting on the various boards today are unlikely to be the same as people those we found. But again, there is no evidence to suggest that the close relationship between the two sectors would not be found now. There is evidence to suggest that University for Man -- a free university concept concerned with human services, which started at KSU, and has now branched into the community, might show up either in the core or on the periphery of the major voluntary clique -- as their recently formed board of directors does contain two of the voluntary elites. Other than this, there is nothing to point to a change of the

relatively lowly status of organizations dealing with the delivery of human services within the voluntary sector.

In attempting to deal with these drawbacks, it would be ideal if studies like this could be longitudinal rather than cross-sectional. This, however, is difficult due to lack of financial resources and trained manpower necessary for such tasks. It behooves us therefore -- if this route is not accessible, to at least be cognizant of changes that do occur -- so that studies done at a single point in time may be updated.

APPENDIX A

1. The Christian and Social Concerns Group of Associations

<u>ID</u> <u>Nos.</u>	<u>Names of Associations</u>	<u>No. of Times in Various Cliques</u>
118	Alcohol Council	4
152	United Church Group	3
80	Manhattan Day Care Association	2
163	Douglass Center	2
22	Presbyterian Church	2
95	Ministerial Alliance	2
139	Social U & I (Uplifting and Interesting)	2
141	Soroptimist Club	1
54	High Twelve Club	1
58	Lions	1
112	PTA Marlatt	1
20	Jewish Synagogue	1
62	Library Board	1
128	Mental Health Association	1
162	Lutheran Hospital Association	1
27	Cancer Society	1
55	Kiwanis	1
61	Citizen's Advisory Board	1
119	Advisory Board for County Welfare	1
87	School Board	1
45	North Central Guidance Center	1
126	Medical Association	1

APPENDIX A

2. The Professional, Social and Political Group of Associations

<u>ID</u> <u>Nos.</u>	<u>Names of Associations</u>	<u>No. of Times in Various Cliques</u>
4	American Business and Professional Women	4
16	First Christian Church	4
37	Credit Women's Club	4
29	Chamber of Commerce	3
132	County Republican Committee	1
63	Park Board	1
12	College Avenue Methodist Church	1
153	United Commercial Travellers	1
47	Friends of Sunset Zoo	1

APPENDIX A

3. The Business and Philanthropic Group of Associations

<u>ID</u> <u>Nos.</u>	<u>Names of Associations</u>	<u>No. of Times in Various Cliques</u>
29	Chamber of Commerce	10
42	Downtown Businessmen's Association	10
47	Friends of Sunset Zoo	8
45	Federation of Handicapped Children	7
9	Boy Scouts	7
71	Airport Committee	6
49	Girl Scouts	6
154	United Fund	4
14	Kansas State University Endowment Association	2
25	St. Pauls Episcopal Church	2
18	First Methodist Church	2
16	First Christian Church	1
61	Citizen's Advisory Board	1
63	Park Board	1
67	Recreation Commission	1
68	Urban Renewal Agency	1
106	PEO FK	1
144	St. Mary's Hospital	1
156	University Social Club	1
21	Lutheran Peace Church	1
95	Ministerial Alliance	1
105	PEO DK	1
114	Review Club	1
134	Rotary Club	1
78	Manhattan Country Club	1

APPENDIX B

Employment Status of the Top Nineteen Voluntary Elites

<u>NAME</u>	<u>EMPLOYMENT</u>
J. Rhine	Pres. - Universal Securities
L. Jack	Pres. - KMAN
R. LaGree	Div. Mgr. - Kansas Power and Light Company
E. Seaton	Publisher - The Manhattan Mercury
L. Fiser	Exec. Sec. - Chamber of Commerce
J. Means	Exec. Vice-Pres. - Citizens State Bank
G. Rumsey	Asst. Vice-Pres. - Union National Bank
M. Healy	Pres. - Manhattan Laundry & Cleaners
C. Kaup	Owner - Kaup Furniture
K. Smith	Manager - Sears Roebuck
R. Pearson	Manager - J. C. Penney
J. Goldstein	Chairman - Steel and Pipe Supply
V. Roper	Vice-Pres. - First National Bank
H. Williams	Pres. - Manhattan Typewriter Company
R. Rogers	Lawyer - Rogers, Stites and Hill
K. Sandborn	Exec. Vice-Pres. - McCall Pattern Company
J. Stites	Lawyer - Rogers, Stites and Hill
D. Hess	Exec. Sec. - KSU Alumni Association
R. Smith	Pres. - Town and Country Hardware

APPENDIX C

LIST OF \$100,000 OR MORE CORPORATIONS WITH 1 OR MORE TIES
AND THEIR DIRECTORS*
Manhattan, Kansas

001	<u>Building Investment Company</u> 19 Jack Goldstein 51 Marvin Robinson	010	<u>Gecon Inc.</u> 16 E. J. Frick
002	<u>Brewer Motor Company</u> 07 Chester C. Brewer	011	<u>Griffith Lumber Co.</u> 25 Joan Griffith 26 T. J. Griffith 60 Eleanor Stolzer
003	<u>Chappell Creamery</u> 46 Joe Menzie	012	<u>Griffith Transport Co.</u> 12 C. R. Crabtree 24 Janet I. Griffith 29 Mary E. Hollingsworth 31 Phillip Howe
004	<u>Charlson-Wilson Abst. & Realtors</u> 30 Charles Hostettler 67 J. Robert Wilson	013	<u>Griffith Oil Co.</u> 12 C. R. Crabtree 24 Janet Griffith 25 Joan S. Griffith 29 Mary E. Hollingsworth 31 Phillip Howe 32 Margaret Howe
005	<u>Citizens State Bank & Trust</u> 14 Donn J. Everett 34 Cecil D. Hunter 53 M. James Rhine 57 R. T. Sheldon, Pres. 58 C. M. Skaggs 62 A. W. Torluemke 69 Ward Wright	014	<u>Home Savings & Loan Assn.</u> 09 Sam C. Charlson 10 Emmett F. Chartier 52 Richard D. Rogers
006	<u>C. K. Processing</u> 53 James M. Rhine	015	<u>Hunter-Lundberg Const.</u> 34 C. D. Hunter 38 T. E. Lundberg
007	<u>First National Bank</u> 03 Daniel D. Beatty 13 Frank Eaton 19 Jack Goldstein 28 Stnaley Hayes 48 Eugene R. Redwed 52 Richard D. Rogers 68 Phillip D. Woodward	016	<u>Kansas Farm Bureau Ins. Co.</u> 17 Ray Frisbie 48 Eugene Nedwed 69 Ward Wright
008	<u>Flint Hills Construction Co., Inc.</u> 39 T. E. Maupin	017	<u>Kansas State Bank</u> 05 Fred Bramlage 17 Ray Frisbie 21 Cletus Grace
009	<u>Everett and Seaton, Attys.</u> 14 Donn J. Everett		

*Only those directors who sat on one or more other board are included.

- 017 Kansas State Bank (continued)
 31 Phillip Howe, Pres.
 35 C. Clyde Jones
 49 Ralph Nevins
 50 Kenneth Phelps
 59 John Stites
 63 John Walters
- 018 Security Benefit Life
 26 Thomas J. Griffith
 40 James A. McCain
- 019 Kentucky Fried Chicken
 59 John F. Stites
- 020 Kershaw Ready Mix Conc. & Sand
 14 Donn J. Everett
 37 O. W. Kershaw, Pres.
- 021 Manhattan Broadcasting Co., Inc.
 26 T. J. Griffith
 56 Fred A. Seaton
- 022 Manhattan Business Bldg.
 04 Phillip Becker
 19 Jack Goldstein
- 023 Arthur & Green, Attys.
 01 Charles S. Arthur
 22 Charles D. Green
- 024 Manhattan Developers, Inc.
 10 Emmett Chartier, Pres.
 44 John Meisner
- 025 Manhattan Federal Savings & Loan Association
 07 Chester C. Brewer
 15 W. F. Farrell
 22 Charles D. Green
 34 Cecil Hunter, Chairman of Board
 35 C. Clyde Jones
 68 Phillip D. Woodward
- 026 Manhattan Heights Inc.
 05 Fred C. Bramlage
 15 W. F. Farrell
 26 T. J. Griffith, Pres.
 37 O. W. Kershaw
 50 Kenneth J. Phelps
 63 John A. Walters
 67 J. Robert Wilson
 70 Security Benefit Life Ins.
- 027 Manhattan Ice & Cold Storage
 06 H. E. Bramwell
 18 R. W. Friederich
 19 Jack Goldstein
 23 Richard Green
 26 T. J. Griffith
 55 Florence Saroff
 54 Steven Saroff
- 028 Manhattan Laundry
 01 Charles Arthur
- 029 Manhattan Mutual Life Ins.
 01 C. S. Arthur
 09 Sam C. Charlson
 11 Don E. Combs
 34 Cecil D. Hunter
 40 James A. McCain
 61 L. W. Stolzer
- 030 Manhattan Mercury
 56 Fred A. Seaton
- 031 Manhattan Ready Mix
 39 T. E. Maupin
- 032 Manhattan Real Properties
 31 Phillip Howe
 36 Charles K. Kaup
- 033 Manhattan Wholesale Meat Co.
 54 Stephen Saroff
- 034 Maupin Construction
 39 T. E. Maupin
 57 R. T. Sheldon
- 035 Metro Builders Inc.
 44 John F. Meisner
 45 Phyllis Meisner
- 036 Muir Enterprises Inc.
 47 John T. Muir
- 037 PAP Inc.
 27 Billie Hayes
 28 R. S. Hayes
 43 Larry B. McGrath
- 038 Phelps Building Co., Inc.
 26 T. J. Griffith
 50 Kenneth J. Phelps

- 039 Varney, Mills, & Hixson, CPA's
42 Joseph H. Mills
- 040 Poyntz Avenue Pantry
27 Billie Hayes
28 R. S. Hayes
43 Larry B. McGrath
- 041 Professional Place Inc.
13 Frank Eaton
44 John Meisner
45 Phyllis Meisner
- 042 R & G Market
27 Billie Hayes
28 R. S. Hayes
43 Larry B. McGrath
- 043 R & H Enterprises
27 Billie Hayes
28 R. S. Hayes
43 Larry B. McGrath
- 044 Rogers, Stites, & Hill, Attys.
52 Richard D. Rogers
59 John F. Stites
- 045 Rickard Enterprises
21 Cletus Grace
27 Billie Hayes
- 046 Riley Investment Company
05 Fred C. Bramlage
26 T. J. Griffith, Pres.
37 O. W. Kershaw
50 Kenneth J. Phelps
63 John A. Walters
67 J. Robert Wilson
70 Security Benefit Life Ins.
- 047 Sam Saroff and Company
18 R. W. Friederich
19 Jack Goldstein
22 Charles Green
55 Flora Saroff
54 Stephen D. Saroff
- 048 Saroff Realty Company
06 H. E. Bramwell
18 R. W. Friederich
19 Jack Goldstein
23 Richard Green
55 Florence Saroff
- 049 Skaggs Motors Inc.
58 C. M. Skaggs, Pres.
65 H. M. Skaggs
- 050 Steel & Pipe Supply Company
04 Phillip W. Becker
19 Jack Goldstein
51 Marvin S. Robinson
- 051 Tempo Building Inc.
05 Fred C. Bramlage
15 W. F. Farrell
26 T. J. Griffith
50 Kenneth Phelps
- 052 Town Building & Invs. Inc.*
05 Fred C. Bramlage
15 W. F. Farrell
26 T. J. Griffith
37 O. W. Kershaw
60 Eleanor G. Stolzer
67 J. Robert Wilson
70 Security Benefit Life Ins.
*Owns West Loop Shopping Center
- 053 Town Developers
19 Jack Goldstein
42 Joseph H. Mills, Pres.
- 054 Town Investment Comp.
15 W. F. Farrell
26 T. J. Griffith
37 O. W. Kershaw
50 Kenneth J. Phelps
63 John A. Walters
67 J. Robert Wilson
- 055 Tuttle Creek Cabin Sites
14 Donn J. Everett
- 056 Union National Bank & Trust
01 Charles S. Arthur
08 John Chalmers
11 Don E. Combs
15 W. F. Farrell
22 Charles D. Green
26 T. J. Griffith
37 O. W. Kershaw
61 L. W. Stolzer
67 J. Robert Wilson

- 057 Universal Securities Company
16 E. J. Frick
34 Cecil D. Hunter
36 Charles K. Kaup
41 W. Jay McGehe
- 058 University Facilities Inc.
34 Cecil D. Hunter
38 T. E. Lundberg
47 John T. Muir
68 Phillip D. Woodward, Pres.
- 059 Walters-Morgan Inc.
46 Joseph Menzie
63 John Walters
64 Mary Walters
- 060 Walters Construction
63 John Walters
64 Mary M. Walters
- 061 Watson Transfer & Storage
14 Donn Everett
- 062 W. F. Farrell Inc.
05 Fred C. Bramlage
15 W. F. Farrell
37 O. W. Kershaw
50 Kenneth J. Phelps
63 John A. Walters
67 J. Robert Wilson
70 Security Benefit Life Inc.
- 063 Wildcat Valley Inc.
34 Cecil Hunter
58 C. M. Skaggs
65 H. M. Skaggs
- 064 Woodward, Muir, Hunter, & Lundberg
34 Cecil D. Hunter
38 Ted E. Lundberg
47 John T. Muir
68 Phillip D. Woodward, Pres.
- 065 Woodwards, Inc.
41 W. Jay McGehe

APPENDIX D

LIST OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS WITH 1 OR MORE TIES
AND THEIR OFFICERS*
Manhattan, Kansas

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>001 <u>Aggieville Business Association</u>
166 Ted Varney</p> <p>002 <u>Altar Society</u>
070 Mrs. Don Hoyt</p> <p>004 <u>American Business Women's Association (Manhattan Charter Chapter)</u>
020 Willa Mae Courser</p> <p>005 <u>American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)</u>
099 Dr. Robert Lynn
179 Dr. Arne Richards</p> <p>007 <u>Antique Auto Club</u>
051 Paul Goheen</p> <p>008 <u>Big Brother</u>
158 Preston Swain</p> <p>009 <u>Boy Scouts of America</u>
079 Dr. C. Clyde Jones
128 James Rhine
165 Bill Varney
077 Norman Jackson
149 Bob Snell
091 Bruce Laughlin</p> <p>010 <u>Business and Professional Women</u>
175 Ina Woodruff
124 Henrietta Perry
004 Norma Jane Ball
172 Georgia Wertzberger</p> <p>011 <u>Blue Valley Methodist</u>
030 Mr. & Mrs. Dennis Droge
142 Rev. Norman Simmons
138 Horace Sharp</p> <p>012 <u>College Avenue Methodist</u>
068 Mr. Jim Hoover
010 Gerald Bergen</p> | <p>013 <u>Congregational</u>
005 Doyle Barnes
099 Robert Lynn
090 William Lockhart</p> <p>014 <u>KSU Endowment Assn.</u>
071 A. Hostetler
130 Richard Rogers
079 C. C. Jones
040 Clarence Skaggs
062 J. R. Wilson</p> <p>015 <u>First Baptist</u>
007 Earle Baugher
121 Stewart Pady
102 Kenneth McCormic
155 Norman Street</p> <p>016 <u>First Christian</u>
115 Gerald Mowry
002 Frank Anneberg
152 John Stites
100 Bill McArthur
131 Vic Roper
061 Dean Hess
020 R. B. Courser</p> <p>017 <u>First Lutheran</u>
014 Mrs. Gerald Brooks
060 Stanley Hoerman
096 Lawrence List</p> <p>018 <u>First Methodist</u>
038 Lud Fiser
022 Dave Dallas
137 Rix Shanline
167 David Von Riesan
035 Richard Faw
066 Ray Hoffman
086 Ray Kurtz</p> <p>019 <u>First Presbyterian</u>
119 Charles Norton
009 Alan Bell
032 J. Chalmers</p> |
|---|---|

- 020 Jewish Synagogue
008 Phil Becker
043 Eugene Friedmann
- 021 Lutheran Peace
116 Rev. Kenneth Nelson
- 022 Presbyterian Trinity
177 Rev. Al Zimmerman
171 Cliff Watson
- 023 Seven Dolors
111 Rev. John Moeder
118 Don Noll
001 Dale Anderson
- 024 St. Lukes Lutheran
012 Vernon Bode
132 Rev. R. Rosenkoetter
- 025 St. Pauls Episcopal
033 Don Everett
028 Paul Dittemore
092 Robert Learned
148 Mrs. Robert Smith
048 Miss K. Geyer
134 Kent Sandborn
- 027 Cancer Control Society
(Riley County Chapter of American
Cancer Society)
006 Dr. K. F. Bascom
104 Mr. Elbert Macy
- 029 Chamber of Commerce
088 Richard Lagree
152 John Stites
122 Robert Pearson
128 Jim Rhine
038 Lud Fiser
135 Ed Seaton
131 Victor Roper
059 Matt Healy
067 Bill Hoover
176 Phil Woodward
133 Gary Rumsey
081 Chuck Kaup
016 Forest Campbell
031 Orville Ekberg
134 Kent Sandborn
146 Ken Smith
144 Bob Sloan
- 029 Chamber of Commerce (continued)
107 John Means
061 Dean Hess
- 030 Christian Women's Club
121 Mrs. Stewart Pady
- 031 Civic Music Club
073 Mrs. Chas. Hostetler
063 Mrs. Elmer Heyne
055 Mrs. Tom Hagan
- 032 Civic Air Patrol
039 Bill Fogerson
056 Charles Hall
- 033 Cloverleaf Swingers
140 Alan & Marilyn Shinenan
007 Earl & Catherine Baugher
090 William & Edrez Laughart
- 034 College Hill Garden Club
127 Ford Ray
175 Mrs. Ina Woodruff
047 Mr. Andy Geffat
- 035 Community Improvement Club
175 Ina Woodruff
- 036 Council of Social Agencies
023 Les Dalrymple
- 037 Credit Women's Breakfast Club
020 Mrs. R. B. Courser
068 Mrs. Jim Hoover
113 Mrs. Glen Mosier
- 038 CREST (Radio Emergency)
039 Bill Fogerson
- 041 Delta Omega
036 Mrs. Ralph Feldkamp
- 042 Downtown Merchants
009 Alan Bell
071 Alvin Hostetler
092 Robert Learned
122 Robert Pearson
050 Jack Goldstein
128 James Rhine
146 Ken Smith
135 Ed Seaton

- 042 Downtown Merchants (continued)
 174 Harold Williams
 025 Fred Danenberg
 059 Matt Healy
 081 Charles Kaup
 133 Gary Rumsey
 147 Ransom Smith
 013 Bob Brewer
 049 Lee Goetsch
 040 C. Skaggs
 052 Aldon Green
 076 Lowell Jack
 107 John Means
 148 Robert C. Smith
 088 Dick LaGree
 118 Don Noll
 150 Mac Stevenson
 062 J. Robert Wilson
- 043 Eagles
 172 Henry Wertzberger
- 044 Epsilon Gamma
 072 Mrs. Philip Hostetter
- 045 Federation of Handicapped Children
 153 Marjorie Stith
 023 L. R. Dalrymple
 156 Joan Strickler
 083 Bette Kidd
 084 Ken Kimbell
 046 Betty Garzio
 041 Peggy Flouer
 017 Bob Chalender
 021 C. Herbert Crane
 033 Donn Everett
 038 Lud Fiser
 076 Lowell Jack
 101 James A. McCain
 116 Kenneth A. Nelson
 130 Richard Rogers
- 046 Flint Hills Stamp Club
 055 Mrs. Tom Hagan
- 047 Friends of Sunset Zoo
 042 E. J. Frick
 002 Frank Annaberg
 022 Dave Dallas
 076 Lowell Jack
 125 L. R. Quinlan
 054 Robert Haines
 128 James Rhine
- 048 Friendship Tutoring
 087 Dr. Sam Lacy
 026 Mrs. L. Douglas
 005 Mrs. Doyle Barnes
- 049 Girl Scouts of America
 015 Mrs. Louise Brown
 128 Mr. Jim Rhine
 088 Mrs. Bev LaGree
- 050 Golden Age Group
 127 Ford Ray
- 051 Harmony Past Noble Grand Club
 058 Paula Hardin
- 052 Harmony Rebeka Lodge
 058 Paula Hardin
 074 Mae Hughes
 018 Lillian Chalmers
- 053 Headstart
 087 Mrs. Sam Lacy
- 054 High Twelve Club
 108 Jerry Merschon
 097 Chester Long
 029 D. C. Donnell
- 055 Kiwanis
 110 Ralph Miller
 006 K. F. Bascom
 103 Bob McCulley
- 056 Knights of Columbus
 109 Lawrence Miller
 025 Fred Danenberg
 111 John Moeder
- 057 League of Women Voters
 070 Mrs. Don Hoyt
 169 Mrs. Edon Wancura
 012 Mrs. Vernon Boede
- 058 Lions
 108 Jerry Merschon
 129 Tom C. Roberts
 151 Norbert Stigge
- 059 Manhattan City Commission
 037 Louis Fink
 181 T. Russell Reitz

- 060 Public Housing Authority
045 Marion Fussell
- 061 Citizens Advisory Committee
057 Mrs. Geneva Hammaker
135 Mr. Edward Seaton
116 Mr. Kenneth A. Nelson
016 Forest Campbell
110 Ralph Miller
- 062 Library Board (City)
008 Phil Becker
150 Mac Stevenson
168 Mrs. R. K. Wallace
- 063 City Park Board (City)
042 Dr. E. J. Frick
165 Mrs. Bill Varney
077 Norman Jackson
129 Tom Roberts, Sr.
010 Gerald Bergen
114 Jacob E. Mosier
002 Frank Annaberg
- 064 Cemetery Committee (City)
125 L. R. Quinlan
034 W. F. Farrell
051 Paul Goheen
170 Harry Wareham
- 065 City Planning Board
151 Norbert Stigge
166 Ted Varney
138 H. J. Sharp
145 Robert L. Smith
103 Robert McCulley
- 066 Human Relations Board
132 Robert Rosenkoetter
087 Mrs. Sam Lacy
053 Mr. Mott Green
153 Dr. M. Stith
- 067 Recreation Commission
002 Frank Annaberg
147 Mrs. Ransom Smith
142 Norman Simmons
- 068 Urban Renewal Agency
088 Richard LaGree
- 069 Regional Planning Board
045 Marion Fussell
181 T. Russell Reitz
- 070 Bus and Taxi Committee
049 Lee Goetsch
- 071 Airport Committee
128 Jim Rhine
037 Lorrin Fink
- 072 City Code Review Committee
107 John Means
- 073 Manhattan African Violet Association
047 Mrs. Andrew Geffat
066 Mrs. Ray Hoffman
- 074 M. Arthritis Foundation
037 Mrs. Lorrin Fink
- 076 Manhattan Civic Theatre
035 Mrs. Richard Fair
137 Mrs. Rix Shanline
106 Larry Marcellus
- 077 Manhattan Coin Club
060 Stanley Hoerman
052 Alton Green
- 078 Manhattan Country Club
073 Charles Hostetler
143 Roger Sink
004 Louis Ball
028 Paul Dittmore
050 Jack Goldstein
074 Charles Hughes
075 Ron Innes
145 Robert L. Smith
- 079 Manhattan Cultural Arts Board
136 Richard Seaton
154 Bill Stolzer
013 Mrs. Bob Brewer
050 Jack Goldstein
130 Mrs. Richard Rogers

- 080 Manhattan Day Care Association
044 Mrs. William Fulgham
096 Lawrence List
105 Mr. & Mrs. Milton Manuel
149 Mrs. Robert Snell
160 Mrs. Veryl Switzer
178 Mrs. Irl Yeo
141 Marshall Shirer
- 081 Manhattan Fire Insurance Board
073 Charles Hostetler
095 P. B. Linsey
- 083 Manhattan Jaycees
030 Dennis Droge
- 084 Manhattan Life Underwriters
027 Glen Davis
157 Bob Suddeth
- 085 Manhattan Men's Garden Club
029 Delbert Donnell
- 086 Manhattan Real Estate Board
162 Esther Toothacker
095 P. B. Lindsay
- 087 Manhattan School Board Members
117 Robert Newsome
063 Elmer Heyne
021 C. H. Crane
162 Mrs. D. Esther Toothacker
160 Veryl Switzer
- 088 Manhattan Shrine Club
133 Gary Rumsey
174 Harold Williams
075 Ron Innes
180 Frank Fishburn
107 John Means
- 089 Manhattan Unified Teachers Assn.
102 Ken McCormick
- 090 Man Kan Family Camping Assn.
002 Mr. & Mrs. Frank Annaberg
- 091 March of Dimes
143 Roger Sink
174 Mrs. Harold Williams
120 Edna O'Connor
069 Phillip Howe
- 091 March of Dimes (continued)
154 Bill Stolzer
080 Dr. H. Jubelt
- 092 Memorial Hospital Auxiliary
098 Mrs. Kenneth Lyle
119 Mrs. Charles Norton
- 093 Memorial Hospital Board of Trustees
049 Lee Goetsch
- 094 Merry Matrons
104 Mrs. Elbert Macy
- 095 Ministerial Alliance
116 Ken Nelson
177 Al Zimmerman
- 097 National Secretaries Assn.
124 Henrietta Perry
172 Georgia Wortzburger
- 098 North Central Branch Multiple Sclerosis Society
174 Harold Williams
- 099 North Central Guidance Center (Manhattan Members)
139 Richard Sheldon
032 Mrs. John Chalmers
021 C. Herbert Crane
- 101 Optimist Club
157 Bob Suddeth
064 Floyd B. Hill
089 Oscar Larmer
031 Orvil Eckberg
- 102 Order of the Eastern Star
097 Chester Long
- 104 Past Matrons and Past Patrons
089 Mrs. Oscar Larmer
036 Eileen Feldcamp
- 105 PEO DE
038 Mrs. Lud Fiser
168 Mrs. R. K. Wallace

- 106 PEO FK
088 Mrs. Richard LaGree
114 Mrs. J. E. Mosier
- 107 PEO GU
117 Mrs. Bob Newsome
- 108 Piolet Club
057 Geneva Hammaker
- 109 PTA Eugene Field
090 Mr. William Lockhart
054 Mr. Robert Haines
- 111 PTA Lee
075 Mrs. Ron Innes
- 112 PTA Marlatt
094 Mr. David Linebeck
108 Mrs. Jerry Mershon
- 113 PTA Seven Dolores-Luckey
112 Mrs. Bob Morrin
001 Mrs. Dale Anderson
- 114 Review Club
017 Mrs. B. L. Chalender
028 Mrs. D. L. Dittmore
- 115 Riley County Ag. Extension Council (Manhattan Members)
164 Bob Ulrich
- 116 Riley County Association of Retarded Children
156 Mrs. John Strickler
153 Margory Stith
084 Vicky Kimbell
083 Betty Kidd
046 Betty Garzio
- 117 Riley County Bar Association
136 Richard Seaton
- 118 Riley County Chapter of National Council on Alcoholism
078 Alfred Jolly
108 Jerry Mershon
080 Dr. Jubelt
178 Mrs. Irl Yeo
141 Marshall Shirer
- 119 Riley County Citizens Advisory Commission for Board of Social Welfare
169 Mrs. Eldon Wanceura
006 Mrs. K. F. Bascom
041 Peggy Flouer
044 Mrs. William Fulghem
- 120 Riley County Democratic Campaign Chairmen
082 McGovern - Mrs. Keys
064 Roy - Mrs. Lena Hill
034 Docking - Bill Farrell
161 McGrath - Fred Tipton
163 Perkins - Mrs. Page Twiss
026 Louis Douglas
- 121 Riley County Democratic Central Committee
019 Mrs. Leila Colwell
- 122 Riley County Democratic Club
043 Eugene Friedmann
161 Mr. Fred Tipton
- 123 Riley County Women's Democratic Club
082 Mrs. Sam Keys
072 Mrs. Phillip Hostetter
163 Mrs. Page Twiss
019 Miss Lela Colwell
- 124 Riley County Dental Assn.
098 Kenneth Lyle
- 125 Riley County Heart Assn.
173 Mrs. L. L. White
120 Edna O'Connor
139 Richard Sheldon
- 126 Riley County Medical Assn.
021 C. Herbert Crane
- 127 Riley County Medical Auxiliary
072 Mrs. Phillip Hostetter
- 128 Riley County Mental Health Assn.
137 Mrs. Rix Shanline
008 Mrs. Phillip Becker

- 129 Riley County Planning Board
(Manhattan Members)
071 Alvin Hostettler
164 Robert S. Ulrich
- 130 Riley County Red Cross
091 Bruce Laughlin
048 Kathryn Geyer
- 131 Riley County Republican Campaign
Chairmen (Fall 1972)
115 Kay - Kathy Mowry & Charles
Bennet
027 McAtee - Glen Davis
130 Brooks - Richard Rogers
158 Morrison - Preston Swain
136 Pearson - Dick Seaton
- 132 Riley County Republican Central
Committee
115 Kathy Mowry
176 Phillip Woodward
- 133 Riley County Republican Women's
Commission
015 Mrs. Lee Brown
056 Mrs. Charles Hall
- 134 Rotary
017 Robert Chalender
073 Charles Hostettler
170 Harry Wareham
- 135 Royal Neighbors of America
155 Elaine Street
- 136 Sertoma Club
024 Martin Dannett
167 David Von Riesen
014 Gerald Brooks
- 137 Seven Dolores School Board
053 Mrs. Mott Green, Jr.
- 139 Social U & I
078 Lillie Jolley
177 Pearl Zimmerman
- 140 Solar Kiwanis
037 Lorrene Fink
- 141 Soroptimist Club
178 Mrs. Irl Yeo
- 142 SS Club
173 Mrs. Lloyd White
144 Mrs. Robert Sloan
- 143 St. Marys Auxiliary
093 Mrs. Lloyd Lind
109 Mrs. Lawrence Miller
112 Mrs. Robert Morin
- 144 St. Marys Hospital
069 Phillip Howe
088 Mrs. Richard LaGree
093 Mr. Lloyd Lind
- 145 Stagg Hill Golf Club
094 Dave Linebeck
003 Ed Bagley
- 146 Stagg Hill Women's Golf
080 Mrs. H. P. Jubelt
085 Mrs. Rudy Kuhn
- 147 Sunflower Lions Club
171 Clifford Watson
107 John Means
180 Frank Fishburn
- 148 Tip Tops Club
018 Lillian Chalmers
- 149 Toastmasters
106 Larry Marcellus
179 Arne Richards
- 150 Town & Country Garden Club
054 Mrs. Robert Haines
- 151 20th Century Art & Literary
Club
160 Mrs. Veryl Switzer
- 152 United Church Women
141 Mrs. Marshall Shirer
003 Mrs. Ed Bagley
177 Mrs. Alvin Zimmerman

- 153 United Commercial Travelers
 085 Rudy Kuhn
 126 George Rader
 024 Martin Dannett
 140 Alan Shineman
 131 Mrs. Vic Roper
 181 T. R. Reitz
- 154 United Fund
 079 C. C. Jones
 135 Edward Seaton
- 155 United Presbyterian Women
 126 Mrs. George Rader
 067 Mrs. Bill Hoover
- 156 University Social Club
 079 Mrs. C. C. Jones
 101 Mrs. James A. McCain
 119 Mrs. Charles Norton
 086 Mrs. Ray Kurtz
- 157 VFW
 113 Glen Mosier
- 158 Willing to Learn Club
 105 Mrs. Milton Manuel
- 159 Women's Mission Society
 155 Mrs. Norman Street
- 160 Women's Relief Corps
 100 Mrs. Goldie MacArthur
- 162 Riley County Lutheran Hospital
 Association
 008 Phil Becker
- 163 Douglass Center
 141 Marshall Shirer

GLOSSARY

Clique: The largest number of corporations or associations for which each corporation or association has a direct link with at least 50% of the members of the clique.

Core Group: Those organizations that meet the criteria for inclusion within a clique (i.e., direct links with at least 50% of the other elements).

Elements: Organizations within the various cliques.

Links: Individuals who sit on the boards of more than one organization and represent the ties between them.

Periphery Organizations: Those organizations which have links with some of those in the core group but with less than 50% of them.

Resource Network: The total number of cliques which center around a given bank; e.g., the three cliques which center around First National Bank, make up the First National Bank resource network.

The numbers appearing beside organizations in the various figures are code numbers used in our analysis.

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THE ECONOMIC AND VOLUNTARY SECTORS
OF A MIDWESTERN COMMUNITY

by

CECIL JAMES KILLACKY

B. A., Kansas State University, 1971

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1973

This study examined the economic and voluntary sectors of a mid-western community. The setting for the study was Manhattan, Kansas, population 27,000. The major economic activity in the quickly growing community over the past two decades has been land development and construction, due in large measure to the 45% increase in population brought on by increased enrollment at Kansas State University and growth of a nearby military installation -- Fort Riley.

A modified positional methodology was employed for purposes of generating hypotheses amenable to testing by the other major approaches to community power, the reputational and decision-making methods. The primary unit of analysis was organizations within the economic and voluntary sectors, rather than just individuals in key positions. It was felt that any influence an individual might have would be by virtue of his position rather than his personality. Key individuals who were board members of the major organizations were identified based on a sociometric analysis of their centrality within the entire economic or voluntary universe.

The major economic corporations fell into seven cliques centering around the four banks in the city. The largest clique was that of the Union National Bank, which had the greatest resource base. Its primary emphasis was in land development and construction. It also contained the news media outlets in the community. The other cliques centered around wholesale and retail merchandising and, to a lesser degree than Union National, land development and construction. Seven of the top nineteen economic influentials were so designated because of their pre-eminent roles in the Union National Bank clique. Two dominated

two other cliques and the remainder were gatekeepers -- i.e., straddling more than one clique. The data suggested that the Union National Bank clique and board members were the most influential in the economic sector.

The voluntary sector was divided into three cliques. The Christian and Social Concerns group centered around churches and the delivery of human services. None of the board members of this clique figured anywhere amongst the voluntary elites. The Professional, Social, and Political Group contained five associations and were essentially a subset of the major voluntary clique -- The Business and Philanthropic Group, the dominant elements of which were the Chamber of Commerce and the Downtown Businessmen's Association.

The relationship between the two sectors was examined and it was concluded that the voluntary sector was heavily influenced by the economic sector. A majority of the voluntary elites sat on the boards or were employed by corporations within the economic cliques. The argument was proposed that issues or positions supported by the major voluntary associations and elites would not be in conflict with the wishes and ideals of the economic sector, due to its influence and available resources in terms of human well being.

The analysis led us to hypothesize that the economically dominant individuals would have the greatest degree of influence over community issues. It was proposed that this be tested by use of the decision-making process, and if the correlation of positional elites and decision-makers was significant, evidence of a monolithic power structure would be at hand.