

COMMUNITY POWER AND SOCIAL CHANGE

by 45

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B. A., Kansas State University, 1965

A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1969

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to the help and guidance of my Department Chairman, Dr. Eugene Friedmann, and the members of my Thesis committee, Dr. Wayne Rohrer and Dr. Louis Douglas, without whom I would have not completed this research project. I wish to also acknowledge and give special tribute to my wife, Mary, who perservered the trials of thesis writing and interviewing and never failed to give me encouragement when my spirits were sinking. I wish also to thank those many others in the study community who took time out from their busy schedules to answer the questions of a novice researcher and who also gave me encouragement as I traveled through their community. Last, but not least, I wish to thank my friends at Kansas State University who gave me advice and encouragement in the methods of research work and who came to my aid when I needed them.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: CONFRONTATION AND DECISION- MAKING AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

An essential part of Sartre's existential philosophy is the theory of ultimate choice -- the dynamic internal confrontation of alternate interpretations of external situations in which the individual finds himself. Man, according to Sartre, is free to define any situation in which he finds himself as good, bad, indifferent, frustrating, exhilarating, and so forth. Freedom may be lacking in the choice of situations but it exists in definition; we are free to determine what meaning we can extrapolate from the situation and to determine how we will react in regard to its expectations. For example, the person facing a prison sentence may not be free to choose between remaining with his family and going to prison, but he is free to determine the type of experience he will receive from the situation -- that is, he can define the situation as being unjust or evil and rebel against the prison, the society, the symbols of his incarceration, or he may choose to define the incarceration as being just and seek to gain from the experience in whatever manner possible. In all situations, there is a confrontation of alternate modes of interpretation consummated by a decision, conscious or unconscious.

Likewise, all human action has, in some sense, been characterized by a calculation of rewards and punishments attached to alternate modes of behavior by a society or social group and a decision to follow one mode of behavior and not another based on this calculation. In fact, a sizable body of theory has developed around this proposition.¹ According to these theories, human behavior is characterized by a profit-loss calculation in response to contingent stimuli; that is, rewards and sanctions. At this microscopic level of analysis each activity is seen as the result of a confrontation between two or more alternate modes of activity which are weighed in terms of the rewards and sanctions attached to each mode.² From this point of view the connection between the individual and the social structure lies in the fact that the contingent stimuli are established by the values and norms of the group, society, or culture to which

¹For example, see George C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Form (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1961); Abraham Zaleznik, "Interpersonal Relations in Organization," in J. G. March (ed.), Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965) pp. 574-613; and John H. Kunkel, "Individuals, Behavior, and Social Change," Pacific Sociological Review, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring, 1966), pp. 48-56.

²This is not to say that these processes are rational or even conscious. For example, Homans, in explaining "elementary social behavior," omits the use of any term connotative of conscious reasoning. Homans holds that perception and discrimination processes result from everyday experience, formal education, reading, and communication with others and that they may or may not be conscious reasoning. For Homans, as for many of these theorists, the question whether behavior is rational or even conscious is irrelevant. What is relevant is the fact that these processes do occur and have a definite affect upon behavior. See Homans, Ibid., p. 35.

the individual belongs.³ Thus, these two individual or microscopic points of view introduce us to the phenomenon of confrontation and decision-making at the most elementary level. The processes of confrontation and decision-making occur at all levels of individual activity and play an integral role in the way man's behavior is shaped, maintained or altered.

In the macrocosm, or the community, the processes of confrontation and decision-making are implicated but at a different level of analysis. Here our attention is drawn toward the problems of power and the political process. Here we ask ourselves, in much the same manner as Dahl did,⁴ the question: "In social systems where nearly every adult is implicated in the outcomes of the decision-making process but where knowledge, wealth, social position, access to officials, and other resources are unequally distributed, who is responsible for making decisions which affect the attainment of communal ends?" Implicated in this question is the concern

³Kunkel points out that the social context of the individual, "including his immediate family, the various groups to which he belongs, his community, and the society of which he is a part" plays an important role in shaping the actual rewards that an individual attaches to various behavior patterns. Therefore, the sociologist's role lies in the analysis of the social context and interlocking behavior patterns in order to explain and predict human behavior. See Kunkel, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

⁴Dahl phrased his question somewhat differently but with essentially the same meaning: "In a political system where nearly every adult may vote but where knowledge, wealth, social position, access to officials, and other resources are unequally distributed, who actually governs?" Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in An American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 1.

for the political process -- the processes of initiation, debate, compromise, and decision: the processes of confrontation and decision-making.⁵

While the political process has been the stated focus of nearly all studies of community decision-making, we find that the concern of these studies has, in reality, been with the broader question of power to the exclusion of an inciteful study of their stated aim. An indication of this inversion of aims has been given by Rossi when he observes that "most studies are concerned with establishing a pattern (of power) within one particular community, setting it off at best against one other community."⁶ Another indication of this inversion is to be found in the polemic debates carried in the introduction and body of almost every recent research study.⁷

⁵Here we use the same definition of the political process as does Presthus: "The 'political process' is defined throughout to include all community decisions that involve the allocation of important resources. . . . We are concerned more with the process of negotiation, bargaining, compromise, and conflict whereby decisions are made, than with their substantive content." Robert Presthus, Men at the Top: A Study in Community Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 9.

⁶Peter H. Rossi, "Power and Community Structure," in Lewis A. Coser, (ed.), Political Sociology (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row Publishers, 1966), p. 135.

⁷See Dahl, op. cit., esp. Chapter I; Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); W. V. D'Antonio and H. J. Ehrlich, (eds.), Power and Democracy in America (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961); Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961); William Spinard, "Power in Local Communities," Social Problems, Vol. 12 (Winter, 1965), pp. 335-56; and W. V. D'Antonio and E. Erikson, "The Reputational Technique As a Measure of Community Power," The American Sociological Review Vol. 27 (March, 1962), pp. 362-76, as examples of the debate being carried on between sociologists and political scientists.

To this end, Presthus has observed:

While many community power structure studies have been made, mainly by sociologists, very few have been much concerned with the political institutions and processes that characterize American communities. As a group, sociologists have often been concerned with social and economic power, and those who have studied community power have tended, conceptually and ideologically, to operate in an elitist or Marxist context. . . . Political scientists, on the other hand, . . . have been reluctant to accept the notion of concentrated power which underlies the elitist point of view. They have often had a romantically pluralistic conception of American society, which has stressed equality, the fragmentation of power, and the role of public opinion and elections influencing community leaders. Although inequality of power may be subsumed under the pluralistic rubric, there has been little concern with empirical tests of the extent to which the local political process approximates the traditional values of pluralism and "grass roots" participation.⁸

In summary, the major concerns of these studies have been with deliniating the patterns of power and distinguishing these patterns from those found in other communities along ideological and theoretical lines rather than rigorously studying the political processes which characterize community activity. Stated in another way, these studies continually make reference to the immanent nature of conflict in the decision-making and confrontation processes but seldom go beyond an initial designation of the issues, parties, and final decisions to study the lines of conflict. More often than not, the existence of conflict is taken either as a sign of pluralism or class conflict associated with elitism and pursued little further as a topic for scientific analysis.

This thesis proposes that conflict not only represents the dynamic nature of the confrontation and decision-making

⁸Presthus, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

processes in the social system, but, more specifically, it represents the confrontation between vested interests and forces which would bring about community change. In every social system there are always pockets of vested interests as well as incipient or established "anti-systems" which seek to maintain or establish rewarding interaction patterns for themselves or the groups to which they belong. To phrase this another way, social systems may be characterized by the "coexistence of fundamentally different principles of social organization and normative order."⁹

To this end, Sanders states that "a community may be characterized by the way its leaders, who are responsible for deciding about matters of joint concern, react to social change as they try to establish what to them seems an equilibrium."¹⁰ Sanders goes on to introduce us to three types of leaders to be found within any community. First, there are leaders who resist change in all its forms. These are leaders who have a vested interest in preserving the normative order and react negatively to proposal for alteration in the local community. This response has been observed by Pellegrin and Coates in their study of "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure."¹¹ They found that the confronta-

⁹John C. McKinney, Constructive Typology and Social Theory (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 150.

¹⁰Irwin T. Sanders, The Community: An Introduction to a Social System (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1958), p. 157.

¹¹Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles C. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61 (March, 1956), pp. 413-19.

tion process could be characterized by a conflict between competing interest groups along value specific lines. The nature of conflict, however, is not specified beyond an intriguing discussion of the tactics and ideology of businessmen in community life. Their interviews turned up numerous examples of this first type of leader whose involvement is characterized by attempts to "protect and foster its own interests and to promote a conservative business class ideology."

Executives are constantly on guard lest fellow committee members divert funds to new projects suggestive of the "welfare state." Advocates of such measures are speedily labeled "controversial" and, if they persist, are referred to as "cranks" or "subversives" -- a term once used only for political traitors. Deviants of this nature are, in the long run, however, weeded out; they are unable to obtain appointments to other committees. . . .¹²

Second, and much more commonly, there are leaders who selectively support or resist change in the local community. "They recognize that change is inevitable; they have a philosophy of progress and lean toward the idea that a certain degree of social planning will help the people of the community arrive at goals considered desirable."¹³ This type of leader, according to Sanders, is to be distinguished from the innovator -- though Sanders does not include the innovator in this leadership typology. The innovator, according to McCormack, seems to think that any change is good for its own

¹²Ibid., p. 417.

¹³Sanders, op. cit., p. 160.

sake.¹⁴ He thrives on the excitement of a crisis situation. He is almost totally dissatisfied with existing social arrangements and seeks to change any and all arrangements which exist.

A third and final reaction to change is that of apathy or indifference. These leaders are characterized by an immersion in their own personal affairs and become active only when urged by one of the two groups mentioned above. Hunter, for example, observes that there are many potentially powerful individuals in the community who remain inactive because of lack of interest.¹⁵ They remain relatively inactive until their interests are aroused by others more powerful or, in some cases less powerful actors in the community. In every community, there is always a group of actors whose value orientations are neither pro- nor anti-change; they have no real understanding of change and seldom try to see beyond immediate social arrangements.

In sum, social change or community change, in this respect, may be said to be characterized at the extremes as the overcoming of institutionalized alternatives by forces which seek to establish the alternatives which were previously rejected, or unconsidered, in favor of the present social order. To this end Talcott Parsons has observed the following relationship of conflict to social change:

¹⁴Thelma H. McCormack, "The Motivation of Radicals," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (July, 1950), pp. 17-24.

¹⁵Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers (New York: Doubleday-Anchor, Doubleday & Co., 1963), Chapter 4.

With the exception of processes of institutionalized change, change in the social system is possible only by the operation of mechanisms which overcome the resistance of vested interests. It is, therefore, always essential explicitly to analyse the structure of the relevant vested interest complex before coming to any judgment of the probable outcomes of the incidence of forces making for change. These considerations will often yield the answer to the questions of why processes of change either fail to occur altogether or fail to have the outcomes which would be predicted on a common-sense basis.¹⁶

The discussion of these opposing forces will be carried on further in the next chapter, but it is important to recognize that the confrontation and decision-making processes carried on in the social system of the community can be analyzed in terms of attitudes toward change.

Change, or non-change, responses to community alternatives, stated in the terms of our introductory remarks, is a result of calculating the profits and losses of alternative modes of organization in terms of the vested interests of the decision-makers. Vested interests may take the form of economic position in terms of the tax structure and associated roles, power positions in terms of control of existing situations, value orientations in terms of the pro- or anti-change dichotomy, or a combination of these.¹⁷

Vested interests of the economic nature are probably

¹⁶Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1964 -- first published in 1951), pp. 492-93.

¹⁷These are not the only types or forms of vested interests, but they do represent some of the more significant forms. Others are age, length of residence, occupational position, education, sex, and so forth.

the best delineated in the literature. Gamie¹⁸ and others have pointed out that those who have been able to derive the greatest reward from any existing social arrangement are more likely to support the status quo than are those who have a sense of deprivation. Economic reward is only one of many rewards which may give the individual a sense of efficacy and satisfaction in the existing scheme of things. Economic success is closely associated with personal and moral worth in the community context.¹⁹ The resultant is the increased desire to limit the number of threats to the economic position. Bottomore points out elites in developing countries, no matter whether they are modernistic or traditionalistic, tend to develop anti-change orientations as their economic and social positions increase in importance. Thus the nationalistic, revolutionary elite tend to become traditionalistic and reluctant to introduce new changes into the social system fearing such changes will eventually devalue their own economic position.

Upper economic positions are also closely associated with a low-tax ideology; that is, in that economic positions

¹⁸Mohamed N. Gamie, A Study of Some Factors Related to Community Satisfaction and Knowledge (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Kansas State University, 1966).

¹⁹Aristotle, for example, felt that wealth was the primary index of an individual's decision-making abilities. It further insured the holder of a good education and an understanding of all things that are beautiful and just. To be sure of the proper leadership for the state, wealth became a primary criterion for entry into the elite class. See Aristotle, Politics in The Basic Works of Aristotle, Ed. Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1941).

are related to control of property as well as income, the higher one's economic position, the more likely it is that taxation will become a threat to his economic position. This is especially true when taxes are used to benefit out-groups with little visible return to the economically superior. Vidich and Bensman observe that "in concrete personal terms, low expenditures mean low taxes and low taxes mean low fixed costs in business operations and the greater chance to accumulate as savings what might otherwise be 'eaten up' in taxes."²⁰

Vested interests of the economic dimension are also related to those found in power positions in a society. Power, like economic well-being, is considered a social reward. Stratification theory assumes that class, status, and power tend to hang together, leading into and supporting one another. These dimensions are also assumed to represent the values and interests found in any system of stratification.²¹ Consequently, the powerful have a vested interest in maintaining its relative autonomy and position of control, and subsequently must safeguard itself against decisions taken by other autonomous social units.²² Palmier asserts that those in control will attempt to maintain the "status quo" and their

²⁰Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power, and Religion in a Rural Community (Garden City, New York: Doubleday-Anchor, Doubleday & Co., 1960), p. 119.

²¹Ely Chinoy, Society: An Introduction to Sociology (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 138.

²²Leslie Palmiers, "The Impermanence of Power," Human Relations, Vol. 16 (1963), pp. 199-205.

degree of relative autonomy.

Power, as we will see in the next chapter, is a socially allocated capacity to secure in a predictable manner the performance of other actors in a social system with reference to collective goals and expectations. In that it is socially allocated, power actors are themselves obligated to retain a collective orientation rather than one of self-interest in order to maintain their positions of power. In reality, however, self-interest often becomes the primary orientation of individuals in power -- when issues arise which threaten the power holder's position in other spheres it behoves the individual to act in accord with his own interests. This position, however, also represents a situation of threat -- if he acts according to his self-interest, his power position is threatened, and if he acts according to his power responsibilities, his self-interest is threatened. It is this situation which is discussed by Edelman²³ in passim. A proposition which can be derived from Edelman's discussion of symbolic politics is that whenever public demands for action conflict with the decision-makers' self-interests, quiescence of public demands will be accomplished through the passage of symbolic laws meaningless in their effects upon the regulated. Edelman's proposition from which the above proposition was derived is as follows:

The most intensive dissemination of symbols commonly attends the enactment of legislation which is most mean-

²³Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), esp. Chapters 1 & 2.

ingless in its effects upon resource allocation. In the legislative history of particularly regulatory statutes the provisions least significant for resource allocation are most widely publicized and the most significant provisions are least widely publicized.²⁴

This is not to say, however, that there is always a conflict between self-interests and collective interests. Generally the two are closely related and exist without conflict. Furthermore, manipulation of political and social symbols by the power holder can insulate the decision-maker from criticism based on claims of conflict of interest.²⁵ Sanders points out that, in general, leaders act within a collective value orientation which allows them privileges of self-interest and are not immediately and "directly dependent upon prompt approval by the rest of the community for everything they do, they may feel that occasionally they can run counter to the value orientation or, to put it more correctly, rise above it and set it aside."²⁶

A related but less developed concept of power interests is associated with change itself. By implication, power means control over the rate of change and the types of change to be implemented. In this respect Sanders' observation on the "selectivity" of leaders' orientations to change is brought back into focus. "Such leaders," according to Sanders, "may also fight the coming in of what they think undesirable; they may also try to retain for the community

²⁴Ibid., p. 26.

²⁵Ibid., Chapters 7, 8, & 9.

²⁶Sanders, op. cit., p. 161.

some plant or government establishment which is about to be transferred elsewhere. . . ."27 What Sanders is implicating is that no matter what the leaders' overall orientation to change may be his reactions to change are based upon the degree of efficacy or control felt in the situation in question. A similar situation is documented by Hunter:

Stability of relationships is highly desirable in maintaining social control, and keeping men "in their places" is a vital part of the structuring of community power. . . Each of these professions also has a role to play in the community activities consistent with its economic or professional role (speaking of the medical, ministerial, and educational professions). Such roles do not ordinarily include policy-making. If one of these under-structure men should be presumptuous enough to question policy decisions, he would be immediately considered insubordinate and "punished," first by a threat to his job security, followed possibly by expulsion from his job if his insubordination continued.²⁸

Vested power interests, therefore, may not mean resistance to change per se. At the same time, the same vested interests may be directly implicated in actions favorable to change. What is implied is that the power-holder reacts to change in terms of the control he is able to exercise over the prospective change. This, in the long run, may be a much more fruitful concept than strictly interpreting vested interests as resistance to change. The decision-maker may hold attitudes and interests which would normally lead him to resist attempts at changing the status-quo, but in order to maintain control over the situation he may support such changes and attempt to influence the final direction of the change

²⁷Ibid., p. 160.

²⁸Hunter, op. cit., p. 109.

which is to take place.

Vested interests in the terms of value orientation provide the third and final type of vested interest which will be discussed as a source of conflict in the political process. Values refer to shared situational concepts of what is good, desirable, proper, or worthwhile based upon expectations and anticipations conditioned by direct or vicarious experiences.²⁹ The individual's perceptions of the social world and how it is structured are derived from the centrality of his definition of the situation and serve as determinants for action. Amitai Etzioni, for example, points out that beliefs about the social world and how it is structured play an important role in decision about the means to be used to reach the goals of the social system, and it is necessary to determine the degree of consensus about what means are to be used in predicting outcomes.³⁰

Until now we have been speaking of vested interests in terms of anti-change orientations primarily; however, here we are speaking in terms of value orientations which may be either change or non-change in orientation. By vested interests we mean that an individual or group has an investment in a pattern of need gratifications which are either established or that he wishes to establish.³¹ Thus, in many cases of

²⁹Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), p. 105.

³⁰Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations: On Power, Involvement, and Their Correlates (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 130.

³¹Parsons, op. cit., p. 491.

mental illness we may speak of types of vested interests in distorted pictures of the real world as mechanisms for avoiding what is undesirable or unthinkable. In that we may define values as "that aspect of motivation which is referable to standards, personal or cultural, that do not arise solely out of immediate tensions or immediate situations,"³² and that they organize a system of action,³³ we may conceive of values as investments in an expected or anticipated pattern of need gratifications around which behavior patterns are organized.

In this aspect of the political process we are assuming that decision-makers tend to make choices in value terms; that is, "The intention of the value-oriented actor," according to Sister Neal, "is more to bring about in time those programs, behaviors, and artifacts he believes reflect the values to which he is committed."³⁴ Sister Neal goes on to point out, much the same as did Sanders in our earlier comments, that a dichotomous model made up of change oriented and non-change oriented actors is much too simple to explain the directions of history. What we are suggesting is that there is a continuum of value-orientations toward change

³²Clyde Kluckhohn and others, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 425.

³³Ibid., p. 411.

³⁴Sister Marie Augusta Neal, S.N.D., Values and Interests in Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), pp. 9-10.

ranging from an attitude of imperative necessity for change to an attitude of imperative necessity for non-change. However, documentation of this range of attitudes is not explicitly found in the literature since there is an overwhelming tendency to dichotomize -- Gamie, for example, associates "radicalism" with "liberalism" and makes no distinctions between the two responses to change.³⁵

The literature on the modern conservative upheaval is probably the best source for illustrations of the suggested model even though there is still the tendency to dichotomize. Newman has pointed out that conservatism, normatively defined as an attempt to fix society, law, and man in time and space in the sense that it seeks to bring change and innovation to an end, has a second face. "In some cases," observes Newman, the conservative will seem to want important change because he wants to transcend that society which already exists by going back to another form of society which once existed in the past."³⁶

Gusfield has pointed out that modern pluralistic theory views the individual as being integrated into the political values of pluralistic democracy and the political organizations which carry out the "rules of the game" by which

³⁵Gamie, op. cit., pp. 30 and 37; and Ritchie P. Lowry, Who's Running This Town: Community Leadership and Social Change (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), esp. Chapters 2 & 3.

³⁶William J. Newman, The Futillitarian Society (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1961), pp. 14-15.

conflict is carried on in the political process.³⁷ In this case, normative political values tend to be organized around change and non-change orientations. However, associated within each orientation there is a tendency toward extremism. Shils, in this respect, holds that "extremism consists of going to an extreme in zealous attachment to a particular value. . . . The extremist must be deeply alienated from the complex of rules which keep the strivings for various values in restraint and balance. . . . The focus of the extremist's attention on one or a few completely fulfilled values and his impatience with compromise when a plurality of values, never internally consistent, have to be reconciled with each other makes the extremist feel that he is worlds apart from the compromising moderates."³⁸

Thus we are witnessing a ballooning of a dichotomized "pro" versus "con" argument into an "ultra-pro" plus "pro" versus "con" plus "ultra-con" model of change orientations. Recalling our earlier discussion of change orientations among community leaders, we can add a fifth category to this model -- the apathetic or moderate. What has developed is that while it is adequate to think of change orientations in terms of pro- and anti-change, it is more theoretically sophisticated to think in terms of neutrality and extremism also. In order to conceptualize the various value orientations that have been

³⁷Joseph R. Gusfield, "Mass Society and Extremist Politics," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (February, 1962), pp. 19-30.

³⁸Edward Shils, quoted by Gusfield, Ibid., p. 22.

implicated let's characterize the vital elements that distinguish the orientations from each other.

Three main elements may be said to distinguish change orientations from anti-change orientations and extremism from both orientations in modern society. First, actors in any social system may be differentiated on the basis of the perceived adequacy of institutionalized means for reaching prescribed goals and meeting existing and future needs in that social system. Smelser, discussing a model of structural change, observes "That certain social phenomena proceed in definite sequence to produce specific types of structural change. In terms of action theory the sequence begins with a dissatisfaction with the goal-achievements . . . of the system."³⁹ Smelser goes on to describe two sources of dissatisfaction:

Dissatisfaction may be phrased in terms either of roles or resources: (1) Many dissatisfactions boil down to the feeling that role-performance is inadequate. . . . (2) Dissatisfaction may rest on a feeling that resources are being misused or misallocated.⁴⁰

Smelser limited such dissatisfaction to past and present action in the social system; here, we are expanding dissatisfaction to include future goals and problems which might be perceived by the actor to obtain a more general orientation to change in the social system. It is assumed that satisfaction with existing means is indicative of an unwillingness to

³⁹Neil J. Smelser, Social Change in the Industrial Revolution: An Application of Theory to the British Cotton Industry (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 15.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 16.

experiment with new and revolutionary for the non-change oriented actor -- the opposite being true for the change oriented actor.

Second, actors in the social system differ in the perception of means available for meeting the collective goals and problems of the social system. Their value orientations prescribe the good, desirable, or proper means of social organization including the type of ideas and institutions to be implemented in meeting the needs of the social system. Here we dichotomize the value orientations to emphasize the fact that individuals differ in the degree to which they are willing to experiment; that is, they differ in the degree to which they feel that decision-making actions should conform to the established ideas and institutions of the past. It is this difference, according to Daniel Bell, which distinguishes the "right wing" from the rest of the society.

What the right wing is fighting, in the shadow of Communism, is essentially "modernity" -- that complex of attitudes that might be defined most simply as the belief in rational assessment, rather than established custom, for the evaluation of social change -- and what it seeks to defend is its fading dominance, exercised once through the institutions of small-town America, over the control of social change. But it is precisely these established ways that modernist America has been forced to call into question.⁴¹

It is this element which can be said to be the most discriminative in distinguishing between change and non-change oriented actors. Faith in the established modes of organiza-

⁴¹Daniel Bell, "The Dispossessed (1962)," in Daniel Bell (ed.), The Radical Right: The New American Right (Garden City, New York: Doubleday-Anchor, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964), p. 16.

tion is connotative of resistance to change.⁴² The less faith that the actor has in the established procedures, the more likely it is that he will be willing to experiment with new forms of social organization and, therefore, the more willing he will be to work for social change in the social system.

Third, and lastly, actors differ in the felt urgency of change in their immediate social situation. Though actors may feel that the existing means for reaching goals are inadequate, they may not feel with equal strength that corrective measures are urgently needed. This is especially true in the local community. In this context, it is assumed that the actors have a feeling of control over the type and rate of social change which relates to our power vested interests discussed above, and therefore, will be more satisfied with the social arrangements. The innovator -- extreme change oriented actor -- is impervious to vested interest considerations as was pointed out above. Therefore, this last element is designed to differentiate change orientations from extreme change orientations but may also be used to differentiate in the non-change direction when the local context is not taken into consideration.

Schematically, the value orientation model can be pictured as follows:⁴³

⁴²Gamie, op. cit., Chapter I.

⁴³Symbols in the body of the diagram are to be interpreted as follows: plus (+) signifies agreement with the column heading; minus (-) signifies rejection of the concept given in the column heading; and zero (0) signifies neither

FIGURE I-1.--VALUE-ORIENTATION MODEL

Value Orientation	Adequacy of Existing Means	Reliance on Established Means	Local Satisfaction
I. Extreme Non- Change	+	+	+
II. Non-Change	-	+	+
III. Neutral or Moderate	0	0	0
IV. Change	-	-	+
V. Extreme Change	-	-	-

Further discussion of this model will be taken up when the model is tested in the empirical research to follow. The model serves as a guide for the discussions to follow.

In summary, this introductory chapter has sought to do two principal things. First, it has sought to introduce the reader to two important processes which are encompassed by the political process -- confrontation and decision-making. In this sense, confrontation has been the primary concern and has been conceptualized as the coming together of opposing or alternative modes of behavior and organization. This confrontation has been taken as the primary source of conflict and debate for both the individual and the social

total acceptance or rejection of the column heading. In reality, it is possible that an actor may be assigned a zero for only one column; in such cases, it may be acceptable to assign him to the neutral category especially if it occurs in one of the first two columns. For a more detailed analysis see the discussion of the concept "Attitude Toward Change" in Chapter 3, pp. 145-57.

system in the human action and political processes. Decision-making, on the other hand, has been conceptualized as the process of acting in accord with the outcome of profit-loss calculations for both the individual and the social system. In the social system, decision-making is carried on by a select group of actors who weigh modes of organization on the basis of vested interests -- economic interests, power interests, and value interests.

Second, it has sought to outline for the reader in a more specific and elaborate manner the elements of conflict or confrontation in social systems in terms of social or community change. It is proposed that community decision-makers determine the rate and types of social change in the local community and, therefore, any meaningful study of the political process must be carried on in terms of directions of change. With this in mind three forms of vested interests were limned with propositions concerning their effect on attitudes toward change. Vested interests in terms of economics and power were taken to imply behaviors associated with resistance to change, whereas those in terms of value orientations may be either positively or negatively associated with resistance to change.

It is the purpose of this study to test these assumptions and propositions about decision-making and social change in the community context. However, before such tests can be made it is necessary that the reader become familiar with two important concepts around which this study is organized -- power and social change. The following chapter will introduce

these two theoretical concepts and draw certain hypotheses from these considerations and the assumptions made in this chapter. However, no attempt will be made to elaborately interrelate these two concepts for it is believed that they should be dealt with as two analytically distinct theoretical concepts and, therefore, are important in their own right.

Power is a central concept of this study because power lies at the base of the political process. It is the socially allocated capacity of actors to make and enforce decisions in the local community. As already described, social change is central because of its relationship to the confrontation process.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION: POWER, SOCIAL CHANGE AND RELATED HYPOTHESES

The study of the political process in the community context is, in reality, the study of power and the forces of social change. Hunter has already observed that power is "a necessary function in the community, for it involves decision-making and it also involves the function of executing determined policies -- or seeing to it that things get done which have been deemed necessary to be done. The social rights and prerogatives implied in power functions must be delegated to specific men to achieve social goals in any society."¹ The ability to determine policies and the means for achieving social goals also implies an ability to determine the direction and rate of social change in the social system. Neal, concurrently, points out the importance of studying the decision-making structure in relation to social change:

. . . liberal or conservative orientation to change, as well as a particularistic or universalistic orientation to decision-making of the actual role players in a given historical moment, are demonstratable determinants of the decision-making process of a magnitude deserving examination in their own right. . . . This analysis suggests that when given decision makers are pressured with stimuli to change, their responses constitute typical patterns of rejection or acceptance. . . . Depending on

¹Hunter, op. cit., p. 2.

the centrality of his position, this can hold up or limit the implications of new ideas and plans.²

In spite of the observed relationship between power and social change, there is a conspicuous lack of empirical research relating the two concepts.³ Therefore, the theoretical orientations offered in this chapter will continue to keep these two orientations distinct in the following discussion. This chapter, consequently, is divided into three parts -- power, social change, and related hypotheses -- which are relatively autonomous units of discussion with little interrelationship. As stated in the first chapter, this division is deemed necessary in order to provide the reader with a better understanding of the concepts and terminology used in this study.

Power

The study of social organization may be defined as the investigation of the organization of a society into subgroups including those based on differences in age, sex, kinship, occupation, residence, property, privilege, power,

²Sister Neal, op. cit., p. 163.

³Of the many empirical studies dealing with community decision-making, the following are the only studies attempting to deal formidably with the two topics that are known to this author: M. Bressler and C. F. Westoff, "Leadership and Social Change: The Reaction of a Special Group to Industrialization and Population Influx," Social Forces, Vol. 32 (March, 1954), pp. 235-43; Gamie, op. cit.; Lowry, op. cit.; Neal, op. cit. (relatedly); Snell Putney and Gladys Putney, "Radical Innovation and Prestige," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (August, 1962), pp. 548-51.

authority, and status.⁴ Relevant to the study of social organization is the study of social stratification and the concomitant areas of power and decision-makers; that is, the arrangement of societal elements into groups on different horizontal levels, and the resulting enfranchisement of certain levels with the resources and mechanisms of control and the responsibility for the attainment and maintenance of the collective goals of the society.

The concepts of power and decision-making groups have, until recently, lacked resolute attempts to formulate the concepts rigorously enough for systematic study.⁵ According to Reissman, the study of power has been foreshadowed by the emphasis social scientists have placed on the concept of "prestige."⁶ This emphasis may be a result of the democratic ideology which has stressed equality of opportunity -- including equality in resources of power and political influence -- to the rejection of any notion of power as a descriptive social category.

It is evident that this lack of a systematic study of power will be observable in a review of the existing theoretical usages of the concept. The compilation of the present research is not, therefore, expected to yield anything like

⁴George Murdock, in H. P. Fairchild (ed.), Dictionary of Sociology (Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1957), p. 287.

⁵Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power," in N. W. Polsby, R. A. Dentler, and P. A. Smith (eds.), Politics and Social Life (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1963), p. 106.

⁶Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 30-32.

a single, consistent, coherent theory; rather, it is much more likely to produce a variety of "middle-range" theories, each employing some definition of power useful in the context of the particular piece of research or theory but different in important respects from the definitions used in other studies.

On the other hand, an implicit assumption of this discussion is that, using the multitude of studies available, theoretical relationships are significant enough to yield a broad, coherent orientation to the study of decision-makers in the community context. The study of decision-making necessarily demands prefacing frameworks delineating the dimensions of the study most often dealt with in passim by most theorists; that is, before one can adequately portray the nature of the decision-making group, a firm foundation must be laid through the study of social stratification and power.

However, this study does not assume so rigorous an attempt; rather it professes only the rudiments of such a prodigious task. It seeks to make manifest the valid areas of contention and to avoid a latent dysfunction of adding to the already confused state of concepts to be discussed herein.

Within the framework of these guiding comments, it has become evident that there is not one analytically distinct problem area as originally conceived in an elementary discussion of decision makers, rather there are two interrelated areas which, for the purposes of this study, should not be dismissed summarily. Dismissal of one area as irrelevant to

the study of decision makers is commensurate with refusal to consider the function of fear in the study of religion as a valid force emitting cohesion, integration, and maintenance. The discussion which follows will overlap each problem area, yet will attempt to maintain certain analytical distinctions through procedural distinctions; that is, the concepts of power and social stratification will be discussed as separate entities, yet the interrelation of the concepts will transcend the discussion.

Social Stratification

Stratification, according to most sociologists, is considered to be a fundamental element of social organization; in fact, although its form varies, social stratification is considered to be as universal as society itself.⁷ Society, or social organization, is characterized by a structure of regularized inequality in which men are ranked higher or lower on a continuum in accord with the values placed on certain roles and activities by the society as a collective unit. Concurrently, differential ranking occurs to the extent that there is a consensus on the values placed on certain roles and activities which allow action toward common goals. Collective value-orientations provide the basis whereby individual activity is guided, motivated, and directed toward the goals deemed appropriate by the collectivity through means that are socially sanctioned. Parsons has

⁷Ibid., pp. 70-71.

observed the following functions of the value system:

That a system of value-orientations held in common by the members of a social system can serve as the main point of reference for analyzing structure and process in the social system itself may be regarded as the major tenant of modern sociological theory. Values in this sense are the commitments of individual persons to pursue and support certain directions or types of action for the collectivity as a system and hence derivatively for their own roles in the collectivity. . . . [V]alues . . . are directions of action rather than specific objectives, the [goals] depending on the particular character of the situation in which the system is placed as well as on its values and its structure.⁸

Davis and Moore view stratification as a functional necessity of any social system through the requirement of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure. Division of labor and structural functioning place a priority upon the distribution of individuals in social positions and the inducement of them to perform the commensurate duties incumbent upon that position.⁹ The priority placed upon the distribution of individuals should not be viewed as symmetrical for all social positions. Evaluation and differentiation lie at the base of any stratification system -- even within the Marxian move toward equal evaluation of individuals there exists the functional necessity to evaluate and differentiate between certain roles and activities in order that the priorities of the movement itself might be accomplished. Parsons has suggested that one way of viewing stratification is to

⁸Talcott Parsons, "Authority, Legitimatization, and Political Action," in Carl J. Friedrich (ed.), Authority (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 198-99.

⁹Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," in Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (eds.), Sociological Theory (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1957), p. 409.

conceive of it as "the ranking of units in a social system in accordance with the standards of the common value system."¹⁰

That roles and activities are differentiated on the basis of value orientations and specific functional content seems to be a valid contention. Parsons, Shils, and Olds have observed:

The social system of which roles are the elementary units will of necessity involve the differentiation and allocation of roles. The different individual actors participating in the social system will each have different roles, and they will accordingly differ in their specific goals and cognitive orientations. Role expectations bring into specific focus patterns of generalized orientation. They sharpen the edges of commitments and they impose further disciplines upon the individual. They can do so only as long as the conditions are present in the personality and the social system which enable human beings to live up to these kinds of expectations, which diminish or absorb the strains to which people are subjected, including both the "internal strains" connected with difficulty in fulfilling internalized norms and the strains which are associated with divergence from expectations.¹¹

The consequences of this theoretical stance provide the basis for the differential allocation of rewards and the subsequent establishment of a foundation from which the concept of power and decision-making takes on a more specific meaning. As implied in the forwarding comments to this theoretical orientation, social organization is to be considered as a system of sub-units based on differences in ascribed and achieved attributes. Inherent in this organization is

¹⁰Reissman, op. cit., p. 71.

¹¹Talcott Parsons, Edward A. Shils, with the assistance of James Olds, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 196.

the phenomenon of evaluation: "Men evaluate the objects, acts, and human attributes with which they come into contact."¹² Evaluation, in turn, implies value orientations which guide evaluations. Evaluation also implies a system of differentiated activities, organized into a system of differentiated roles.

Shils and Goldhamer have stated that "These evaluations may become systematized into a hierarchy of values. The individual makes judgments of others and ranks them on the basis of this hierarchy of values and his knowledge concerning what characteristics these other persons possess. Such judgments of rank made about either the total person or relatively stable segments of the person constitutes the social status of that person [for the individual making the judgment.]"¹³ A major shortcoming of this view lies in the failure to take into account the congruencies between the rankings of several individuals. While it may be agreed that "deference gestures" accorded individuals and positions suffer degrees of individuation, that is, deviation from the conventional forms, it is also apparent that there is considerably more conventionalization of values than is indicated by their article.

¹²Edward A. Shils and Herbert Goldhamer, "Power and Status," in Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (eds.), Sociological Theory (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1957), p. 139.

¹³Ibid.

Lipset and Zetterberg¹⁴ have suggested that the ranking of units in a social system in accordance with the standards of the common value system affords "a multitude of cross-cutting stratifications." From this multitude they have singled out four as the basis of their discussion: Occupational rankings, consumption rankings, social class, and power rankings.

Observers of the social system have found that "occupational class is one of the major factors which differentiate people's beliefs, values, norms, customs and occasionally some of their emotional expressions."¹⁵ On the whole, observers have concurrently found that there is considerable agreement among various individuals from different areas of the country, different metropolitan-rural patterns, different social backgrounds, varying educational levels, different age groups, different economic backgrounds, and between many other differentiated categories in the society. Disagreement on rankings appears to be more of a function of the individual's ignorance of particular occupations and other extraneous variables than it is of the values upon which the judgments are made.¹⁶ These general observations appear to

¹⁴Seymour Martin Lipset and Hans L. Zetterberg, "A Theory of Social Mobility," in Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (eds.), Sociological Theory (2nd ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), pp. 437-61.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 438.

¹⁶A. F. Davies, "Prestige in Occupations," in Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form (eds.), Man, Work, and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Occupations (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1962), pp. 255-68.

be applicable cross-culturally;¹⁷ therefore, to the extent that occupational rankings exhibit agreement of value-orientations cross-culturally, there will be general agreement on the value, norms, customs, beliefs, and, to some extent, emotional expressions which separate various levels in the stratification system of the various social systems.

Consumption rankings are theoretically and empirically useful to separate occupational and economic classes. Accordingly, Lipset and Zetterberg observe that "at the same occupational income level, men will vary in the extent to which they are oriented toward acting out the behavior pattern common to different social classes."¹⁸ The decision to adopt certain consumption patterns reflects and determines the extent to which they will adapt associated behavior patterns in other areas of their social life.

The third ranking system is that of social class. Social class refers to "roles of intimate association with each other." The essential characteristic of social class is that it "denotes strata of society composed of individuals who accept each other as equals and qualified for intimate association."¹⁹ The essential dimension of this form of stratification is a degree of self- and reciprocal-identification. Similarly, Hunter has observed this process in his study of Regional City: "A group of men have been isolated

¹⁷Lipset and Zetterberg, loc. cit.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 439.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 441.

who are among the most powerful in Regional City. It has been shown that they interact among themselves on community projects and select one another as leaders."²⁰ A difficulty in the terminology offered by Lipset and Zetterberg should be noted in the case of "social class": that is, these authors fail to make a distinction between the evaluative dimension which they describe and the historical usage of the term "class." Marx and Weber, for example, used the term "class" to refer to the economic dimensions of the stratification system -- all people with similar economic interests and with similar economic power belonged to the same class.²¹ A much more meaningful term describing the degree of self- and reciprocal-identification was offered by Weber when he distinguished between economic and social power: "All persons who are accorded the same estimations of social honor or prestige and who live according to similar standards generally belong within the same status group."²² Status, therefore, refers to the reciprocal nature of the identification process and is dependent upon a collective consensus as to the standards that are to be used in judging the self and the roles of others in the social context. The use of this latter term, then, removes any question of what is being described by the term and frees the user from criticism on

²⁰Hunter, op. cit., p. 74.

²¹Leonard Reissman, "Social Stratification," in Neil J. Smelser (ed.), Sociology: An Introduction (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 212-14, 219-20.

²²Ibid., p. 220, (emphasis mine).

the basis of historical antecedents.

The last ranking system described by Lipset and Zetterberg is the power rankings which refer to the authority and power relationships; that is, "they involve subordination on one part and superordination on the other." Lipset and Zetterberg hypothesize that "the extent to which a person's role-relationship affords the means to impose his version of order upon the social system might be ranked as his power, and persons having approximately the same power might be said to be in a power class."²³ Power rankings, as suggested by the topic of this study, are central in our consideration of the stratification system. A broader and more elaborate discussion of this phenomenon will be taken up below. What is important now is that the reader recognize some of the important dimensions of the stratification system.

The phenomenon of differentiation requires that some system has been adopted whereby the coordination of roles might be facilitated. This functional requirement is observed by Parsons, Shils, and Olds as follows:

It is a condition of the existence of the system that the differentiated roles must be coordinated either negatively, in the sense of the avoidance of disruptive interference with each other, or positively, in the sense of contributing to the realization of certain shared collective goals through collaborated activity.²⁴

It is observable that when individuals are each oriented to the maximization of his own position in the society certain

²³Lipset and Zetterberg, op. cit., p. 441.

²⁴Parsons, Shils, and Olds, op. cit., p. 197.

resultant phenomena are inevitable.²⁵ Due to the scarcity of means whereby the individual can gratify his wish to maximize his consumption level, his rank, and thereby maximize his self-evaluation, there arises a problem of allocation: The problem of who is to get what, where, when, and how.

The evaluations made by the collective will of the members of the society through which differential rankings gain their high degree of consensus necessitate a minimum degree of integration; that is, according to Parsons, Shils, and Olds: "A sufficient complementarity of roles and clusters of roles for collective and private goals to be effectively pursued."²⁶ The integrative tasks of society, therefore, are to allocate the units of the society in accord with the value orientations of the collectivity. Parsons, Shils, and Olds identify two allocative functions of the social system: The allocation of human capacities and human resources among tasks, and the allocation of facilities and resources for the performance of roles.²⁷

The first allocative function serves as the basis for the allocation of individuals among the roles deemed necessary for the fulfillment of the tasks or ends of the value-orientations. Members are allocated, or selected, for certain roles on the basis of either ascribed attributes, such as intelligence or noble birth, or upon the evaluations of what

²⁵Lipset and Zetterberg, op. cit., p. 441.

²⁶Parsons, Shils, and Olds, op. cit., p. 198.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 73-74.

individuals have accomplished or achieved attributes, such as education and skill.²⁸ The particular standard used, of course, depends upon the values placed upon the attributes and upon the roles and activities in question.

Parsons, Shils, and Olds defined "facilities" as "those features of the situation, outside the actual actions entailed in the performance of the role itself, which are instrumentally important to the actor in the fulfillment of the expectations concerning his role."²⁹ They are objects which are actually or potentially instrumental in the fulfillment of role-expectations. The facilities allocated to roles or positions may be either material possessions, "natural" or man-made, or cultural objects, or both. Facilities may be further classified as existing in two other areas; that is, facilities may be social objects -- the actions of other persons -- or the role itself. Thus the stratification system is said to allocate individuals in accord with their capacities and resources differentially into roles or positions endowed with the facilities necessary for the attainment of the collective goals of the social system.

Continuing to follow the elaborations of Parsons, Shils, and Olds, it is possible to equate the allocation of facilities with the allocation of power. The equation follows from two observations. First, the possession of one facility may enable the attainment of other facilities or the attainment

²⁸Reissman, Class in American Society, pp. 73-74.

²⁹Parsons, Shils, and Olds, op. cit., p. 199.

of other goals. Second, the degree to which, and the ways in which individuals or collectives are enabled to attain goals and to control the actions of others in the same social system is directly related to the facilities allocated to them. These authors have thusly observed:

Power, by its very nature, is a relatively scarce object; its possession by one actor in a relationship is a restriction of the other actor's power. Its intrinsic scarcity and its generalized instrumental status make it into one of the most avidly and vigorously competed for of all objects. . . . It is therefore of the greatest urgency for the determinate allocation of power and the derivative allocations of other facilities to be established and generally accepted in a society. Unless this allocation is well-integrated internally and with the value system so that its legitimacy is widely acknowledged, the amount of conflict within the system may very well rise to the point of disintegration.³⁰

These considerations of the stratification system have, admittedly been brief and oversimplified. However, they serve the purpose of orienting the reader to the theoretical foundations of this study. The consideration of social stratification is intended to provide the social context in which power and decision-making are to be located. The extent to which society allocates power, or the facilities applicable in the use of power, depends upon the differential evaluation of roles or positions and the associated enfranchisement of those positions with the resources deemed appropriate for the fulfillment of the role-expectations.

³⁰Ibid., p. 200.

The Allocation of Power

A complex society, by definition, maintains a variety of value orientations within its boundaries. Each system creates positions or roles which are endowed with the ability to mobilize the available societal resources and the commitments of its members for the attainment and implementation of its values in the terms of goals. Parsons has defined power as "the generalized capacity of a social system to get things done in the interest of collective goals."³¹ In summary of the discussion above, the various value systems of a society -- that is, institutions -- maintain a set of goals or functions which are associated with a system of roles or positions. The roles or positions are differentiated and evaluated in accord with the value-orientations of the members as a collectivity. These positions are then allocated the appropriate resources available to the collectivity on the basis of the role-expectations to be filled. Power, in turn, integrates the various roles in such a manner that the overall goals of the collectivity are achieved.

The power function, as viewed in this context, is not symmetrical; that is, the responsibility -- the associated rights and obligations of leadership -- for the attainment of the collective goals of the various institutions is unequally distributed among the institutional positions. Parsons refers to this phenomenon as that of "differential

³¹Parsons, "Authority, Legitimatization, and Political Action," p. 206.

responsibility:"

By this I mean that it is a general feature of the institutionalized structure of a social system that responsibility for the effective performance of all functions in the system is not spread among all statuses in it. In one sense the division of labor results in differential responsibility in that de facto different groups assume different specialized functions. . . . [T]here comes to be differential responsibility for effective performance of functions which are held to be, for the system in question, "affected with public interest," that is, for collective goals.³²

The conditions of power or control are focused on two functional problems of the system. First, the organization is faced with the problem of how to get the acceptance of, and compliance with, the behavior prescribed by those in power positions. In order that prescriptions are complied with, the organization must create a visible, stable, and elaborate objective.³³ The respondents must be made conscious of this object and they must orient this objective to their particular situations in a way that will magnify and

³²Ibid., pp. 209-10.

³³The need for symbolization can best be exemplified by the developments associated with the rise of extreme conservative groups. Extremism, in any direction, is characterized by an increased attachment to a single overriding value. In the extremist movements of the right there is an overwhelming attachment to the values and sentiments of the past. In order to enhance their thesis there is associated tendency to speak in polemics -- to categorize societal elements in terms of symbolic groups, to assume that there are always solutions to social problems and anything less is failure or acquiescence to evil. Enhancement is also established through a "conspiracy theory" of social functioning -- they attribute their frustrations to betrayal by traitors or secret agents. In essence the "radical right" has developed an elaborate theory of social arrangements and symbols which reinforce their position in an attempt to generate support for their social goals and theory of organization. See Daniel Bell, ed., The Radical Right (Garden City, New York: Doubleday-Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964).

enhance the authority of the organization and the delegated power positions. Deutsch has likewise observed that "it is coordinated habits, rather than threats, that keep things moving. . . ." ³⁴ However, the sanctions awarded non-compliance should serve to deter those who are potential offenders. Deutsch has also observed that "the coordination of human efforts toward the attainment of goals . . . set by the society or by any of its subsystems, can be greatly accelerated or facilitated by the use of power, and at particular times and places to some extent by the use of force." ³⁵ To enhance the prospects of gaining compliance, a variety of symbols must be created to augment the collectivity's awareness of the goal and the means for its attainment. Lasswell, Leites, et. al. have classified this process as the political myth:

The miranda [of things to be admired] are the symbols of sentiment and identification in the political myth. They are those whose function it is to arouse admiration and enthusiasm, setting forth and strengthening faiths and loyalties. They not only arouse emotions indulgent to the social structure, but also heighten awareness of the sharing of these emotions by others, thereby promoting mutual identification and providing a basis for solidarity. . . . Flags, anthems, ceremonials, and demonstrations, group heroes and the legends surrounding them -- these exemplify the importance of the miranda in the political process. ³⁶

The first problem, then, is the problem of legitimatization. Since power is role-reciprocal -- power must be

³⁴Karl W. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 123.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶H. D. Lasswell, Nathan Leites, et. al., Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics (New York: G. W. Stewart, 1949), p. 11.

recognized by other actors playing societal roles -- it must be socially recognized in order for it to be effectively used in a society. Bierstedt has pointed out that power is the potential (or recognized) capacity of social system actors to apply force, not its actual employment.³⁷ Stated another way, the legitimacy of power lies in the collectivity's recognition of an actor's resources and his ability to apply force -- once force is applied, power no longer exists because the legitimacy of action can be called into question and refuted on many grounds without questioning or considering power. Parsons has made use of this concept and subsequently speaks of the "symbolic" nature of power:

. . . I have spoken of power as involving legitimation. This is, in the present context, the necessary consequence of conceiving power as "symbolic," which therefore, if it is exchanged for something intrinsically valuable for collective effectiveness, namely compliance with an obligation, leaves the recipient, the performer of the obligation, with "nothing of value." This is to say, that he has "nothing" but a set of expectations, namely that in other contexts and on other occasions, he can invoke certain obligations of the part of other units. Legitimation is therefore, in power systems the factor which is parallel to confidence in mutual acceptability and stability of the monetary unit in monetary systems.³⁸

Second, the social system faces the problem of making the right prescription -- the course of behavior expected to result in the attainment of the particular collective goals.

³⁷Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," in Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (eds.), Sociological Theory (2nd ed.; New York: The MacMillan Co., 1964), pp. 148-52.

³⁸Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), Class Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 244-45, (emphasis mine).

Many kinds of decisions -- the division of labor, specialization, the extent of fact-gathering, types of experimentation, and the recall of past occurrences -- and functions are carried out within the system. The responsibility for making the correct prescriptions is differentially distributed among the various levels. Scott, basing his scheme of organizational classification on Parsons' tripartite division of the hierarchical structure of an organization, has viewed this problem in the following manner:

The top or "institutional" level mediates between the organization and its larger environment, providing the necessary moral, and often financial, support required for the establishment and continued operation of the organization. The middle or "managerial" level is responsible externally for the procural of specific inputs such as personnel and raw materials; internally it is answerable for the allocation of resources among organizational subunits and for the coordination of their activities. The lower or "technical" level assumes responsibility for turning out the organizational product and making the required technical or professional decisions. Elites within each of these levels make decisions concerning the operative goals to be pursued in the area of their concern.³⁹

As suggested by the above comments, the means whereby the functional problems are solved are differentially distributed among the societal positions. Etzioni has exhaustively classified these means in three analytical categories: physical, material, and symbolic.⁴⁰ The application of physical means for goal attainment is referred to as coercive

³⁹W. Richard Scott, "Theory of Organizations," in Robert E. L. Faris (ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964), pp. 506-07.

⁴⁰Amitai Etzioni, "Organizational Control Structure," in James G. March (ed.), Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964), p. 651.

power.⁴¹ These means consist of the manipulation of the physical environment of the individual or object to be controlled in such a manner that the desired result is achieved.

The use of material means for the purpose of control is referred to as utilitarian power. These summarily consist of the manipulation of material rewards in the form of goods and services. Symbols which may be useful in the attainment of goods and services, for example, a money order, is considered to be the same as material because the effect on the recipient is the same.

The use of symbols for the purposes of goal attainment is referred to as identitive power. Pure symbols, symbols which do not constitute a physical threat or grant material rewards, include those of prestige and esteem and those of love and acceptance. Etzioni concluded that "identitive power is exercised by those in higher ranks to control the lower ranks directly or indirectly, as when the higher in rank use an individual's identification with his peer group to control him. . . ."⁴²

In essence, as I have outlined above, power -- the capacity to achieve collective goals -- is a social phenomenon differentially allocated to actors on the basis of their

⁴¹I disagree with Etzioni's use of the word power even though this is the most common usage. More preferable is Parsons' "strategy" variables which entail the concept of sanctions rather than power. Power is symbolic, means are concrete and some distinctions must be maintained between the two. See Parsons, "On the Concept of Political Power," pp. 245-50.

⁴²Etzioni, loc. cit.

perceived roles and abilities. An individual's allocated power within the social system depends upon his position in the stratification system based on the factors of class, status, and occupation; in other words, his socially esteemed positions. Power also involves the binding together of aggregates for some common purpose through which an actor is empowered by the members of the collectivity to use the means or resources available to him -- wealth, numbers, persuasion, identification, force, organization, threat, or any object, symbolic or material -- upon the objects and other actors in the environment that they might achieve or realize compliance or acceptance of the collective goals. It might be noted that the maintenance of a power position is determined, in part, by the actor's ability to realize the collective goals, and, in part, by his ability to manipulate the collective goals, or the actors' values, around his own abilities and goals -- an effective power-holder will not continue to be empowered by the other actors if he cannot successfully manipulate the goals and values of these actors so that they conform to those which involve little risk or to which he has a vested interest in following.

Social Power and the Individual

The discussion of the concept of power has been directed toward a functional view of the phenomenon to the exclusion of other aspects which are closely associated with the concept. A major portion of the literature on community decision-making has addressed itself to the associated aspects of power

exclusively. Perhaps the most extensively written about and the most widely varying formulations deal with the topic of power and individual manipulation. Russell, for example, has written:

Of the infinite desires of man, the chief are the desires for power and glory. . . . As a rule, however, the easiest way to obtain glory is to obtain power; this is especially the case as regards the men who are active in relation to public events. The desire for glory, therefore, prompts, in the main, the same actions as are prompted by the desire for power, and the two motives may, for most practical purposes be regarded as one.⁴³

In a more formal statement, Deutsch related the phenomenon of power to social-psychological manipulations of environments:

. . . by power we mean the ability of an individual or an organization to impose extrapolations or projections of their inner structure upon their environment. In simple language, to have power means not to have to give in, and to force the environment or the other person to do so. Power in this narrow sense is the priority of output over intake, the ability to talk instead of listen. In a sense, it is the ability to afford not to learn.⁴⁴

Similarly, Mills defined power as the ability "to realize one's will, even against the resistance of others."⁴⁵

However, many of the theories attributing power to individuals, though optimistic, lead to invidious assumptions about the nature of man. Power in psychological terms is more than manipulation through a desire to exert one's will. Franz Neuman speaks of the contributions and limitations of psychological description as follows:

⁴³Bertrand Russell, Power: A New Social Analysis (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1963), pp. 8-9.

⁴⁴Deutsch, op. cit., p. 110.

⁴⁵C. Wright Mills, Power, Politics, and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills, Ed. Louis Horowitz (New York: Ballantine Books, 1963), p. 315.

Its significance is great, but not decisive. Its contribution is twofold. First, it leads to the realization that the optimistic theories of human nature are one-sided and thus false. Man, although endowed with reason, frequently knows not -- or is not permitted to know -- what his true interests are. . . . Secondly, psychological techniques permit us to describe in concrete and convincing terms the personality structures most capable of exerting or of suffering power. But psychology cannot go beyond concretization and description. It cannot supply a theory of . . . power. the action of each man is as much a result of the environment as it is the manifestation of a personality structure. Indeed, personality itself is historically conditioned. To the psychologist, the environment is a mere "stimulus" of the individual act. To the political scientist, it is one element in the total setting of political power.⁴⁶

Society, as a whole, is a system of power relationships -- political, social, economic, religious, moral, cultural, and so forth. Power is a social-psychological relationship operating reciprocally between those who have been allocated and exercise its resources and means, and those toward whom it is directed.⁴⁷ Power, as defined earlier, denotes the exercise of effective social control over the objects in the environment by designated actors occupying certain roles and positions in the social hierarchy. Individuals become important in the discussion of power only insofar as power roles affect self-concepts and group identifications of the incumbent. Secondary to this is the effect that expectations of power have upon certain social groups in a society; that is, power is allocated to certain roles in a society and to cer-

⁴⁶Franz Neuman, "Political Power," in Michael Curtis (ed.), The Nature of Politics (New York: Avon Books, 1962), pp. 6-7, (emphasis mine).

⁴⁷For an interesting interpretation using this concept see Karl Lowenstein, Political Power and the Governmental Process (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

tain social positions and this, in turn, affects the outlooks of incumbents to these roles and positions. The degree to which their expectations are fulfilled is assumed to affect their attitude toward the society either positively or negatively -- negatively, when expectations are unfulfilled; positively, when expectations are fulfilled.

Who Has Power?

Within the social system, tasks and roles are distributed unequally among social system members. In analyzing the loci of power, Bierstedt proposes that power is located in three types of social systems: formal organizations, informal organizations, and the unorganized community.⁴⁸ According to Bierstedt, it is within the formal organization that social power -- "Any of a number of types of energy, forces, or strength derived from social relationships and from the functional characteristics of social structure"⁴⁹ -- is transformed into authority. Authority is power that has been legitimized or institutionalized and is associated with social action and interaction proceeding wholly in conformity the norms of the formal organization.⁵⁰ The right or obligation to use power is therefore attached to statuses or positions in the formal organization.

⁴⁸Bierstedt, op. cit., pp. 143-56.

⁴⁹A. M. Lee, in Dictionary of Sociology, Ed. H. P. Fairchild (Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1957), p. 289.

⁵⁰Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 148.

The informal structure gives esteem to persons not only in terms of the explicit norms of the association but also in terms of the implicit extra-associational norms whose source is in the community. Within all social organizations, the phenomenon of informal structure appears which gives rise to sub-groups which begin to exert "subtle" pressures on the organization itself and "upon the norms which may be reached in the observance thereof, and upon the authority which, however firmly institutionalized, is yet subject to change."⁵¹ The power that exists within the informal structure is imputed to be of the opposing nature -- "If power sustains the structure, opposing power threatens it, and every association is always at the mercy of a majority of its own members."⁵² It is uninstitutionalized power.

For both the formal and informal organization power is a fundamental element in their organization. Bierstedt limns the functions of power in these organizations as follows:

It must be evident that power is required to inaugurate an association in the first place, to guarantee its continuance, and to enforce its norms. Power supports the fundamental order of society and the social organization within it, wherever there is order. Power stands behind every association and sustains its structure. Without power there is no organization and without power there is no order. . . . If power provides the initial impetus behind the organization of every association, it also supplies the stability which it maintains throughout its history. Authority itself cannot exist without the immediate support of power.⁵³

⁵¹Ibid., p. 150.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 150-51.

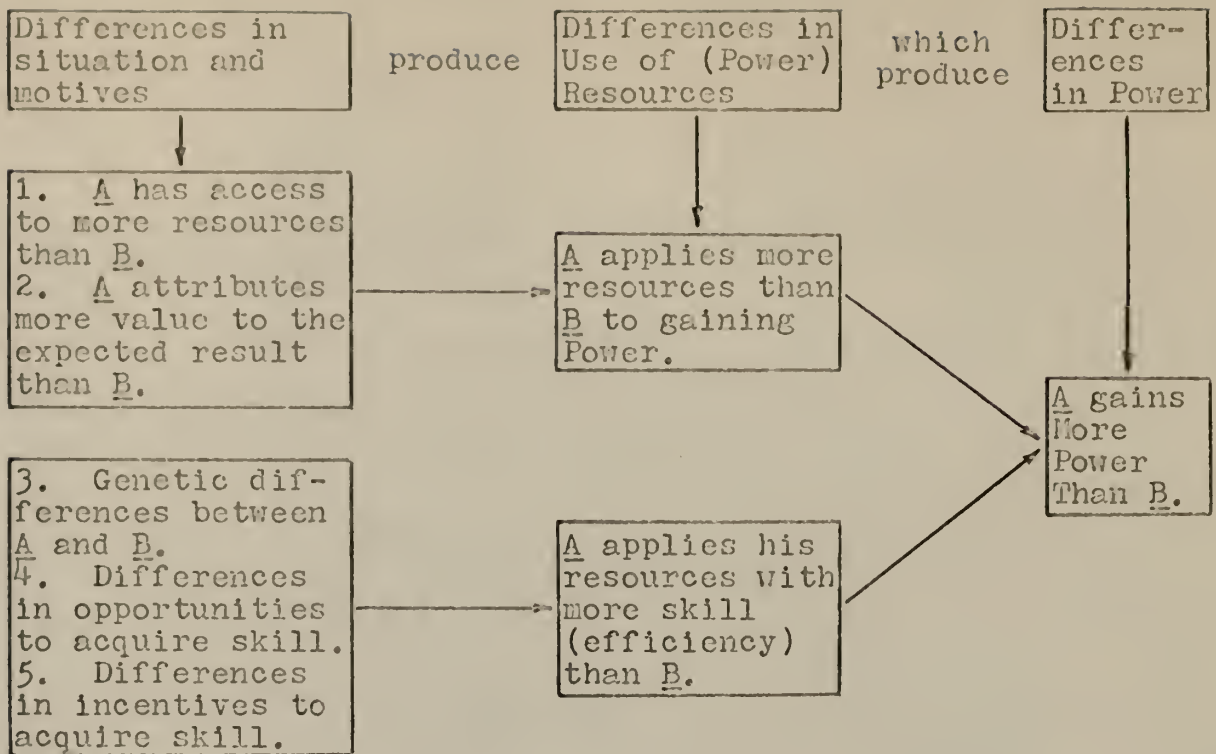
It is within the unorganized community, that is, the general community, where power reigns, uninstitutionalized, in the interactions between individuals and associations. Power relations in this context appear between like and unlike groups in the form of either competition or conflict. Power, according to Bierstedt, arises as social opposition of some kind. Bierstedt draws this view from the observation that social issues are rarely, if ever, a contention between groups which do not share a similar social matrix and have few social relations.⁵⁴

Thus, if I have understood Bierstedt correctly, power-holders are to be located not only positionally in formal roles of the organization, the community, but also in informal positions extensively in opposition to formal authority. The primary condition of power becomes conflict and competition between organizations and individuals in the social system. This, however, is a limiting conceptualization of power and should not be taken too seriously beyond the directions of analysis which it provides. By limiting, I mean that power is socially defined and allocated and exists prior to conflict and may be effective without conflict or competition. The limiting of it to cases of conflict and opposition excludes cases where action is taken by understructure actors simply because the powerful wishes it or where decisions are made on the basis of expected reactions to powerful individuals in the community without actually consulting these actors.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 151.

Turning to a somewhat different analysis of the loci of power let us consider some of the fundamental reasons why some actors are allocated more power than others. First, in discussing the allocative functions of the stratification system, it became apparent that one of the functions was the allocation of certain actors to certain roles and positions on the basis of ascribed and achieved attributes. Some members of the social system are endowed through chance with greater abilities, physical and mental, than are other members; others are endowed, again by chance, with certain ascribed characteristics -- sex, the fortunes of birth -- which function to enhance their experiences, motivations, and social definitions. These differences in ascribed attributes create further differences in power resources, the extent to which these resources are utilized, and other achieved attributes which consequently lead to differences in the amount of power that an individual has. Dahl has illustrated this process as follows:⁵⁵

⁵⁵Robert A. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 70.



While extremely useful, the difficulty with Dahl's model is that it fails to recognize that power is an allocated attribute much the same as is income. The individual with the greatest monopoly of all resources leading to power cannot exercise his power effectively unless there is some reciprocal recognition of his power by actors in the social context. The President of the United States, for example, is said to be one of the most powerful people in the United States but if the Congress does not recognize his power, or if the citizens of the United States do not recognize it, his power is limited if not expended. Power, therefore, is dependent upon societal recognition which is based upon differences in ascribed and achieved attributes. It is possible to hypothesize that to the extent that individuals are allocated to the various positions in the social system on the

basis of ascribed and achieved attributes, and to the extent that these attributes are valued by the social system, power will be allocated or inferred upon those positions viewed as central to the social systems functioning.

This brings us to the second allocative function of the stratification system described above -- the allocation of facilities through which incumbents of various roles and/or positions can achieve their role-expectations. It was observed that this process may be considered to be the allocation of power; therefore, those positions which are evaluated or highly esteemed tend to be enfranchised with the greatest amount of power. When considering the question of who has the greatest amount of power and therefore wields the greatest control over the decision-making process in a community, it is profitable to look at the distribution of people in the stratification system of the community.

It is this latter assumption which has dominated the studies of community power structures. Hunter, for example, makes the following assumptions in studying the power structure of Regional City (Atlanta, Georgia):

Men are ranked and classified by other men, in some degree, by the physical elements around them. . . . Such physical characteristics may not give a completely accurate picture of power and influence, but they are indicative of power, position, and status in our culture. They are a part of the power structure in any community, in its physical aspects. . . .

Within the physical setting of the community, power itself is resident in the men who inhabit it. To locate power in Regional City, it is therefore necessary to identify some of the men who wield power, as well as to describe the physical setting in which they operate. In Regional City the men of power were located by finding persons in prominent positions in four groups that may be assumed to have power connections. These groups were

identified with business, government, civic associations, and "society" activities.⁵⁶

The interrelationship status variables and power attribution is also recognized by Presthus:

Obviously, power is attributed to individuals in any community on other bases than economic or occupational role, but it is interesting to note how often the basis for such attributions are honorific legitimations of economic status. A nice continuity often exists between an individual's official role in service, welfare, school board, and his economic role in the community. Such continuities emphasize the centrality and durability of power based upon this sector of community social systems.⁵⁷

Findings of these research studies have tended to support the claims of this assumption. Dakin, for example, found that leaders in "high efficiency areas" tend to come predominantly from managerial and professional occupational classes and possess a significant amount of the wealth of these areas.⁵⁸ Thometz,⁵⁹ Hunter,⁶⁰ Miller,⁶¹ Wildavasky,⁶²

⁵⁶Hunter, op. cit., p. 11.

⁵⁷Presthus, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵⁸Ralph E. Dakin, "Variations in Power Structures and Organizing Efficiency: A Comparative Study of Four Areas," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 3 (July, 1962), pp. 243-46.

⁵⁹Carol E. Thometz, The Decision Makers: The Power Structure of Dallas (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), pp. 31-35.

⁶⁰Hunter, op. cit., pp. 9-25.

⁶¹Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure: A Comparative Study of an American and an English City," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23 (February, 1958), pp. 9-15; and Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in Community Power Structures: A Comparative Study of an American City and an English City," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 64 (November, 1958), pp. 299-310.

⁶²Aaron Wildavasky, Leadership in a Small Town (Totawa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1964).

and many others⁶³ have also found that community decision makers are drawn disproportionately from the upper occupational and economic groups and, more specifically, from the business and financial classes of American communities.

Political leaders, or positionals as they are most often viewed, are most often pictured as "second rate" leaders in local communities.⁶⁴ Pellegrin and Coates, for example, found that the local governmental officials in Bigtown were relatively powerless figures who did not have the backing of powerful groups in the community but who had achieved their

⁶³See the following studies for further confirmation of these trends: James B. McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community: A Comment on Drucker's Thesis," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 63 (Jan., 1953), pp. 364-70; Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, op. cit., pp. 413-19; George Belknap and Ralph Smucker, "Political Power Relations in a Mid-West City," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 20 (Spring, 1956), pp. 73-81; Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, op. cit.; William H. Form and William V. D'Antonio, "Integration and Cleavage among Community Influentials in Two Boarder Cities," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (Dec., 1959), pp. 804-14; Ernest A. T. Barth, "Community Influence Systems: Structure and Change," Social Forces, Vol. 40 (Oct., 1961), pp. 58-63; Linton C. Freeman, et al., Local Community Leadership (Syracuse, New York: University College Press, 1960); David A. Booth and Charles R. Adrian, "Power Structure and Community Change: A Replication Study of Community A," Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 6 (Aug., 1962), pp. 277-96; Ivan Belknap and John Steinle, The Community and Its Hospitals (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1963); Charles M. Bonjean, "Community Leadership: Case Study and Conceptual Refinement," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 68 (May, 1963), pp. 672-81; Donald A. Clelland and William H. Form, "Economic Dominants and Community Power: A Comparative Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 49 (March, 1964), pp. 511-21; and M. Kent Jennings, Community Influentials: Elites of Atlanta (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

⁶⁴See Hunter, op. cit., pp. 107-08; and Miller, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 64, pp. 307-08.

position by appealing to the working-class for their support.⁶⁵ Political scientists, on the other hand, have deplored this flaunting of democratic theory and, consequently have concentrated their attention upon the political class. In fact, Dahl equates power with political office and overt activity in decision-making in order to support a pluralistic theory of power.⁶⁶

Research by political scientists and sociologists, however, has pointed to the fact that political offices are unstable and subject to manipulation by economic and military dominants of society. It has also been pointed out, perhaps most vividly by Vidich and Bensman,⁶⁷ that political office-holders are often co-opted from the business and professional class of the community by the most powerful individuals in the community because of their economic vulnerability. The instability and domination of political leaders is due to the nature of the political structure. Political leaders must depend upon other more powerful actors in the community for their support and legitimatization since these individuals are the esteemed of the community and generally control most of the economic resources of the community. Furthermore, political leaders must depend upon the achieved office for their power, while non-political leaders have attributed

⁶⁵Pellegrin and Coates, op. cit., p. 414.

⁶⁶See Dahl, Who Governs, . . . , Chapter 1; and Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

⁶⁷Vidich and Bensman, op. cit., Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8.

power which is not, per se, dependent upon any particular office but an output of time and status. Presthus observes this phenomenon in the following way:

. . . it seems that over an extended period of time economic leaders will probably dispose the most powerful role in community affairs. This is because their characteristic bases of power are relatively more stable than those of political leaders who must often depend upon office as the major basis of their power.⁶⁸

This is not to say that political leaders do not have their own sphere of influence. Most often, non-political leaders expect public officials to handle the political problems and, unless seriously dissatisfied with what is done, will rarely intervene in these decisions with any vigor.

Presthus has observed:

Economic leaders, in sum, tend to dominate essentially "private" types of decisions that entail the use of non-governmental resources. Political leaders generally control what we have called "public" issues, that is, those requiring the expenditure of public funds, legitimation in the form of public referenda, negotiations with politicians at higher levels of government, and meeting conditions prescribed by these centers of power and largesse. There is some evidence that such issues are not very salient for economic leaders. Still, there is some sharing of participation in "public" decisions, resulting from competition and co-operation between the two elites, as well as from the efforts of political to co-opt the superior prestige and status resources of economic leaders, in this way legitimating public decisions by the resulting patina of political nonpartisanship and disinterest.⁶⁹

Summary

Power, for the purposes of this study, is taken to be an attributed phenomenon closely associated with the individ-

⁶⁸Presthus, op. cit., p. 411.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 406.

ual's position in the social system as a whole. In other words, the higher one's social position in terms of occupation, income, education, status, and so forth, the greater the amount of power that will be attributed to the individual. This is to say, that if occupation, income, education, and status are indicative of societal values, those who meet the criteria of these values are relegated other social system functions as a result. Or, as I have often heard from respondents, these individuals are successful in their private lives and they (who have exhibited personal capabilities) should have the responsibility for making the important decisions that affect the whole community -- if you aren't successful in your private life, you won't be successful publically.

Social position, or success, is not the sole determinant of power attribution -- there must be a desire, a motivation, to become active before the actor will be willing to take part in determining the direction of goals, the means to be used for achieving goals, in other words, the structure of the social system. The desire to become active is often a function of social position; that is, power can become, and often is, an expected outcome of status achievements. The upper status levels of the social system, therefore, expect these attributes to lead into and reinforce their claim upon power resources and, therefore, seek to make manifest their expectations by becoming active.

Power, more formally defined, is a socially allocated capacity to secure in a predictable manner the performance of

actors and objects in a social system in accord with collective values and goals. It is the ability conferred upon the actor to make decisions and allocate social system resources. Its legitimacy is derived from the judgments of others of the actor's ability and right to perform this societal function. Its base, though derived from achieved roles and positions, is exterior to those positions and is transferrable to other parts of the community. The fact that other actors recognize its existence and act accordingly or take it into account in performing their own activities reinforces this view of power. Political office, in other words, may serve as a base of power but unless that power is recognized by the broader social structure it cannot be attributed power by the researcher. Furthermore, power associated with political office is often limited to the realms designated by the office and even then it is often subject to manipulation and control by actors whose power base is more stable and extensive.

Social Change

A fundamental principal in sociology is that "the way men behave is largely determined by their relations to each other and by their membership in groups."⁷⁰ Rousseau's "noble savage" is a philosopher's phantasy: men do not live apart, each seeking a private solution to the problems of survival. They live together, sharing a common way of life

⁷⁰Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 15.

become meaningful, it must occur in an environment in which objects, goals, beliefs, sentiments, and the like are mutually agreed upon. The social system exists as a function of the common culture, which, according to Parsons,

. . . not only forms the basis of the intercommunication of its members, but which defines, and so in one sense determines, the relative statuses of its members. There is, within surprisingly broad limits, no intrinsic significance to persons to each other independent of their actual interaction. In so far as these relative statuses are defined and regulated in terms of a common culture, the following apparently paradoxical statement holds true: what persons are can only be understood in terms of a set of beliefs and sentiments which define what they ought to be.⁷⁵

In this context, the social system may be taken to be a socially relevant interaction network composed of a set of "interrelated roles, collectivities, etc., organized into subsystems and subject to institutionalized controls at several levels"⁷⁶ which serve to continually define situations for individuals. Within this definition, the most significant unit of analysis in the social system is a "role." Role, as defined by McKinney, is "that organized sector of an actor's orientation which constitutes and defines his participation in an interactive process."⁷⁷ Roles are relatively stable expectations which, according to Smelser, contribute to the continuous functioning of social systems and are sanctioned by other units within the system.⁷⁸

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 22.

⁷⁶Smelser, op. cit.

⁷⁷McKinney, op. cit., p. 138.

⁷⁸Smelser, loc. cit.

that regulates their collective existence and provides methods for adapting to the world around them and for controlling and manipulating their environment.

The fundamental determinant of behavior lies in the process of interaction of two or more units in a given environment of situation.⁷¹ Inherent in the process of interaction, following Smelser,⁷² is the notion of the interdependence of units; that is, the notion that actors influence and adjust to each other and to the situation. Parsons has pointed out that this interdependence of units involves three mutually shared modes of orientation on the part of the actors: the recognition of others in the actor's social situation -- the "cognitive perception and conceptualization;" the identification of others with a relevant orientation -- the "cathectic;" and, the placement, or "evaluation," of others in the actor's orientation.⁷³

The extent to which interaction may become a stable, mutually oriented, meaningful relation for the actors depends upon the extent to which the relationship is mediated and stabilized by a "common shared set of symbols, the meanings of which are understood on both sides with an approximation to agreement."⁷⁴ In other words, before interaction can

⁷¹C. F. Loomis and Z. K. Loomis, Modern Sociological Theories (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand Co., 1961), p. 612.

⁷²Smelser, Social Change. . . ., p. 10.

⁷³Talcott Parsons, Social Structure and Personality (New York: The Free Press, 1964), Chapter 1.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 21.

While the social system may be characterized by a relatively stable structure of roles subject to the sanctions of other units, other elements or units of analysis also serve as descriptive tools for analyzing the social system. These elements include (1) belief (knowledge); (2) sentiment; (3) ends, goals, or objectives; (4) norms; (5) positions; (6) rank; (7) sanction; (8) facility; and (9) power.⁷⁹

Belief (knowledge).--Bohlen, Beal, Klongan, and Tait, following the model outlined by Loomis, have defined beliefs as commonly held formulations of "truth" statements of the relationship between phenomenon within the universe.⁸⁰ For our purposes beliefs may be taken to be synonymous with "value orientations" which, defined by Kluckhohn, are "generalized and organized conceptions, influencing behavior, of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and nondesirable as they may relate to man, environment, and interhuman relations."⁸¹ The collective value-orientations provide reference points from which actors find motivation, are able to evaluate the roles and activities which precipitate movement toward common goals, and find guidelines for their own behavior and the behavior of others.

⁷⁹Joe M. Bohlen, George M. Beal, Gerald E. Klongan, and John L. Tait, Community Power Structure and Civil Defense (Ames, Iowa: Rural Sociology, Report No. 35, Iowa State University, 1964), pp. 21-27. These elements are the same as those introduced by C. P. Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand Co., 1960).

⁸⁰Bohlen, et al., op. cit., p. 21.

⁸¹Kluckhohn, et al., op. cit., p. 411.

Sentiment.---Sentiments represent the cathectic orientation of the actors in the social system. They are closely related to value-orientations but remain apart from the latter in that they represent feelings about something rather than organized statements of knowledge.⁸²

Ends, goals, or objectives.---Ends, goals or objectives represent the desired state of affairs, the just reward, toward which all activity is structured. These may be either implicitly or explicitly defined. As such, they are closely related to value-orientations and sentiments and cannot be separated from them with ease.

Norms.---Norms may be defined as behavioral codes consensually held to lead to the basic goals of the members of the system. They are the standards which govern the means through which goals are attained. They are both formal and informal rules of interaction between man and man, and man and environment. They derived their meaning and support from each of the concepts spoken of above.

Position.---The concept position refers to both status and role in the social system. Status refers to an actor's position in relation to other actors in that system. Status position also infers behavior expectations of actors occupying the position in question in relation to the functions of the system.

Rank.---Rank refers to an actor's position in the social system which may or may not be a function of an actor's sta-

⁸²Bohlen, et al., op. cit., p. 22.

tus-role position. Most often, rank position is intertwined with the evaluation of others as to the role performance of the actor in that rank is a socially ascribed status of the actor. Evaluation is based both upon rational role performance and upon characteristics such as personality, wealth, age, and so forth. At times, ranking may involve a consideration of more than one status-roles which the actor occupies and the other characteristics.

Role.--Roles, previously defined, are a function of status. Roles in this sense refer to a set of stable expectations regardless of the actor or actors occupying the position.

Sanction.--Sanctions refer to rewards and penalties which are associated with different modes of action. Sanctions are means through which the social system is able to induce conformity.

Facility.--Facilities are the legitimate means through which goals are obtained. In a stable social system there are few alternative means for the attainment of goals. In a dynamic social system, however, there may be many alternatives and are the source of much conflict in the social system.

Power.--Power is the capacity of actors to control the behavior of others. Two major components of power in the social system are influence and authority. Influence refers to the ability of actors to control the behavior of others which is not built into the status-role position of the actor. Authority refers to the legitimated control of behavior by the actor. Within the social system both authority and

influence determine the course of the system's activity.

According to Bohlen, Beal, Klongan, and Tait, the elements as defined represent the social system in a static form.⁸³ This view, however, is awkward to understand. In my mind, these elements are merely diverse analytical units which may be static or dynamic as they have been defined above. Taken out of context, that is, viewed separately from the social system as a whole, an element may be viewed as being in a static or dynamic state, but this says little about the nature of the social system. One cannot understand the nature of the social system until one fully understands the processes at work which function to integrate and stabilize these elements.

Within each social system there are certain processes at work which mesh, stabilize, and alter the relationships between the elements through time. Loomis has observed that the integrative processes at work in the social system -- communication, boundary maintenance, systemic linkage, socialization, social control, and institutionalization -- are characterized by (1) a consistent quality of regular and uniform sequences, and (2) each process is distinguishable from the other by virtue of its orderliness.⁸⁴

Communication.--Communication is the process by which the common culture is transmitted among the members of the social system. Meaningful relations between actors can only

⁸³Ibid., p. 27.

⁸⁴C. P. Loomis, op. cit.

develop when there is an exchange of meaningful symbols. Stability, therefore, depends upon the extent to which symbols have similar meanings for actors in the social system.

Boundary maintenance.---Boundary maintenance is the process, according to Sorokin,⁸⁵ by which the system in question maintains its integrity from other systems with which it may come into contact. Boundary, as used in this concept, may refer to explicit -- political -- or implicit -- ideational -- demarkations of one system from another. The more stable a system, the fewer exchanges of ideas, material, personnel, and so forth, it will have with other systems.

Systemic linkage.---Systemic linkage refers to the process by which one sub-system relates itself to the social system as a whole. It may also refer to the interaction between social systems. Within the social system, systemic linkage provides the integration of the various elements for the purpose of goal-attainment. The extent to which the sub-systems are commonly focused, or integrated, toward a common goal, varies directly with the system's stability.

Socialization.---Socialization is the comprehensive process by which actors learn to understand and to participate in the activities and aims of the social system. It develops an actor's capacity to act together with others toward the attainment of commonly desired goals. Socialization is the process by which actors learn the roles which are expected of them at different levels in the social structure. The degree

⁸⁵See the discussion of Sorokin's theories in Loomis and Loomis, op. cit., p. 593.

to which the socialization process is successful in its tasks has important consequences upon social system dynamics. Where roles and expectations are properly learned, there is little deviation from the normative standards of the social system. On the other hand, improper or incomplete socialization increases the likelihood of dynamic situations to be present in the social system.

Social control.--Social control is the process by which the social system regulates the behavior of its members. It consists of any stimuli arising in human interaction that affects any member's behavior. The elements norms, power, and sanctions are interrelated in the process of social control in the social system. The greater the emphasis placed upon the mechanisms of social control, the more likely it will be that the system will be characterized by stability.

Institutionalization.--The process of institutionalization may be defined as the patterning of legitimately expected behavior of persons acting in relevant roles insofar as conformity with these expectations is of structural significance to the social system.⁸⁶ Smelser observed that the structure of roles is further stabilized through the institutionalization of the value-orientations "into regulatory patterns which govern the interaction of the more concrete units of the system."⁸⁷

For the individual actor these institutionalized expect-

⁸⁶Smelser, Social Change. . . ., p. 11.

⁸⁷Ibid.

tations are always an aspect of his definition of the situation. They are internalized as an aspect of his personality. Theoretically, through the process of socialization the actor internalizes the values and role-expectations of the social system so that they become motivating forces in his conduct independent of external sanctions. The actor, through the manipulation of his own resources, seeks to facilitate the direct or indirect approximations of objects or states which he values.

The social system, if it is to remain a stable environment for interaction, must meet four functional exigencies. Its ability to maintain a satisfactory adjustment and a stable structure of role-expectations depends upon its ability to meet the following:

(1) Goal-attainment.--If the social system is to remain stable it must direct its activities toward the achievement of a goal or set of goals. These goals serve as a basis for evaluation in the process of interaction; their relative stability increases the stability and meaningfulness of social relations for the system's members.⁸⁸

(2) Adaptation.--Stability in a social system depends, in part, upon the means available through which the physical and social environment can be converted into objects and mechanisms suitable for the satisfaction of the system's

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 11-12; and Alvin Boskoff, "Functional Analysis as a Source of a Theoretical Repertory and Research Tasks in the Study of Social Change," in G. K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (eds.), Explorations in Social Change (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), p. 220.

goals. Smelser speaks of the generality of adaptive facilities: "It is important that these adaptive facilities be more general than any one goal, that is, they must constitute an available store for attaining a plurality of goals."⁸⁹ Stability, therefore, is increased when the adaptive facilities not only satisfy the system's goals but also when they can be used successfully for the attainment of sub-system goals.

(3) Integration.--The problem of integration is one of maintaining the identity of the social system and the integrity of its plurality of goals, which might be threatened by the specialized pursuit of specific goals. The integrative process serves to reinforce the collective interests and values of the actors in the social system.⁹⁰

(4) Tension-management and pattern-maintenance.---Stability is further insured to the extent that actors are continually motivated to perform roles predictably. More basically, the concern here is with "deferred gratification." Boskoff has observed: "This is not merely a matter of learning role specifications; in addition (a) members must often perform without immediate prospect of reward (that is, gratification must be deferred), and (b) members must retain in latent form appropriate attitudes and skills in the intervals between performance."⁹¹ The social system must also provide

⁸⁹Smelser, op. cit., p. 12.

⁹⁰Boskoff, op. cit., p. 221.

⁹¹Ibid.

tension-control mechanisms for dealing with and resolving individual disturbances relating to values and role-expectations.⁹² It may also be observed that to the extent that these disturbances can be directly attributed to inadequate social system functioning, the system will be able to maintain stability. This phenomenon will be dealt with more fully when we deal with the sources of innovative and advocative behavior.

It should be apparent at this time that social systems can only remain in a state of equilibrium, or static, insofar as they are able to control the various elements of the social system and insofar as they are able to satisfy the actors' need-dispositions. The social system processes -- communications, boundary maintenance, systemic linkage, socialization, social control, and institutionalization -- integrate the need-dispositions of the actors with a set of value-orientations which serve to adjust individual personalities to the patterns of action deemed essential for the proper functioning of the system. To phrase this another way, through socialization and internalization actors learn sets of role-expectations which correspond to various levels of rewards for conforming behavior. Theoretically, the social system is positively enforced by the actor's own motives for conforming behavior and by the sanctions of others. The well-established patterns of expectations function primarily as stable definitions of situations for actors upon which they can build

⁹²Smelser, loc. cit.

meaningful relationships.

Functionally, institutionalized roles constitute the mechanisms by which varied human tendencies become integrated into a system capable of meeting the functional exigencies of the social system. Concurrently, actors maintain a vested interest in maintaining the stable, gratifying patterns of relations which have been defined for them by the social system. In the stable social system, actors have internalized certain role-expectations and, theoretically, the means for attaining or gratifying these expectations have been made available to them. The resultant attitude toward the existing patterns of behavior is one which may be characterized as "resistance to change." (In reality, one may picture situations in which actors may be merely satisfied or neutral to the existing system due to partial need-gratification or the energy required to change the existing patterns. In these cases actors may feel that the rewards gained from the existing patterns would outweigh those received from changing the established procedures. Satisfaction, therefore, would include elements which would be resistant to change.)

Parsons, speaking of this inherent nature of social systems, has observed:

The term vested interests seems appropriate to designate this general resistance to change which is inherent in the institutionalization of roles in the social system. The term interest in this usage . . . is not confined to "economic" or "material" interests though it may include them. It is fundamentally the interest in maintaining the gratifications involved in an established system of role-expectations, which are, be it noted, gratifications of need-dispositions, not of "drives" in the simple hedonistic sense. It clearly includes the interest in conformity with institutionalized expectations, of the

affectively neutral and often the moral type. Of course, it also includes the interest in the relational rewards of love, approval, and esteem. The phenomenon of vested interests, then, may be treated as always lying in the background of the problem of social change. With the exception of institutionalized change, change in the social system is possible only by the operation of mechanisms which overcome the resistance of vested interests. It is, therefore, always essential explicitly to analyze the structure of the relevant vested interest complex before coming to any judgment of the probable outcome of the incidence of forces making for change. These considerations will often yield the answer to the question of why processes of change either fail to occur altogether or fail to have the outcomes which would be predicted on a common sense basis.⁹³

The phenomenon of resistance to change, or vested interests, occurs in the social system whenever actors or groups of actors are able to realize their gratifications within the existing system. That is, actors in the social system who have internalized the role expectations of the social system at one point in time and have concurrently been able to realize their need-dispositions tend to resist changes which would threaten their position, achieved or ascribed, in that system. The reality of this phenomenon has been documented by Eisenstadt in his study of political centralization in developing countries:

However great the turmoil, unrest, and internal strife may have been, some groups have always existed who either benefited from such states of unrest, or hoped to do so, or aimed to re-establish the "old" order in which they themselves had held positions of power and influence. These groups . . . usually felt themselves menaced by the new aims and activities of the rulers. They believed that their position was threatened by the trend toward political centralization and they were not willing to help the implementation of this trend. Therefore they frequently withdrew their political and economic support from the rulers, plotting and working against them either

⁹³Parsons, The Social System, pp. 492-93, (emphasis mine).

in open political warfare or by sleight of hand, infiltration, and intrigues.⁹⁴

A century ago Karl Marx asserted that those groups able to maximize their positions in the social system -- usually the power elite -- had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.⁹⁵ Lystadt⁹⁶ and Foster⁹⁷ have also pointed to this phenomenon. Interest in maintaining the status quo will, therefore, be disproportionately located among leaders, higher social status groups, individuals of power and prestige, and other individuals and groups who have been able to maximize their expectations and their positions in the social structure no matter at what level.

Lenski, dealing with the phenomenon of resistance to change, observed that the first and foremost function of the dominant ideology of a social system is the maintenance of the political status quo.⁹⁸ Levinson has also suggested

⁹⁴S. N. Eisenstadt, "Processes of Change and Institutionalization of Political Systems of Centralized Empires," in G. K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (eds.), Explorations in Social Change (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), pp. 434-35.

⁹⁵Sister Neal, op. cit., p. 1.

⁹⁶Mary H. Lystadt, "Institutionalized Planning for Social Change," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 44 (Jan.-Feb., 1960), p. 170.

⁹⁷George M. Foster, Traditional Cultures: And the Impact of Technological Change (New York: Harper and Bros. Co., 1962), pp. 104, 109-13.

⁹⁸Gerhard E. Lenski, Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), pp. 41-42.

that ideology may serve to obtain, as well as resist, change.⁹⁹ It is therefore pertinent to the study of social change that an assessment of the ideology of various groups in the social system be made before predictions about the probability and direction of change are made.

In summary, to the extent that change is understood to modify present patterns of social interaction without a concomitant change in aspirations, resistance to change is likely to be the modal response to modification. As we have pointed out, the actor's personality synthesizes the following contents: it is determined by the actual situation, the existing pattern of interactions, and the value-orientation to which the actor is committed; it is concurrently a part of his aspirations toward situations and patterns of interaction, and these aspirations act as reference points which guide his selective perception and interpretations of reality. Those patterns which are defined as rewarding are repeated and become part of his aspirations. In general, those behaviors which the actor has reinforced serve as the focal point of his vested interests. Therefore, the propensity of any stable, well-established social system is the multiplication of vested interests among its members.

Social System Dynamics

The social system, as outlined above, is a conceptually

⁹⁹Daniel J. Levinson, "Idea Systems in the Individual and Society," in G. K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (eds.), Explorations in Social Change (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), p. 301.

closed system of crucial analytical units that are relevant to the functioning of the total system. The system is assumed to operate in time and space through the operation of its component elements and processes. These elements and processes over time, according to Boskoff, "are conceptualized in terms of patterned clusters of differentiated substructures, whose interdependent operation is fundamental to the continued viability of the system."¹⁰⁰ These substructures are conceived as specialized solutions to the problems of "relating the performance of individuals to the interactive social networks [groups] in which they must act."¹⁰¹ More specifically, these substructures are conceived as clustering around the four functional dimensions (outlined above) which the social system must perform if it is to operate with any degree of efficiency or effectiveness.

No social system, however, over time, can remain in a static state; it must continually adapt and adjust to internal and external conditions in its environment. In general, we can refer to two types of system dynamics: (1) "adjustments of the system which do not involve any reorganization of the roles; (2) structural changes which involve the disappearance, re-creation, and reorganization of the social system's roles."¹⁰² Cancian¹⁰³ has distinguished between

¹⁰⁰Boskoff, op. cit., pp. 218-19.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 219.

¹⁰²Smelser, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁰³Francesca Cancian, "Functional Analysis of Change," American Sociological Review, Vol. 68 (Nov., 1962), pp. 325-34.

these types of change through reference to objects and activities carried on in the system. The first type of change is referred to as change within the system; that is, change which involves a restructuring of the objects without causing a compensating restructuring of activities related to these objects. The second type of change is change of the system; that is, change which both causes the disappearance of the objects (tools, materials, machines, and so forth) and the disappearance of related activities, the appearance of new objects and related activities, and a change in the system of interaction and reward.

These two types of change are closely related to the two processes of change outlined by Parsons. First, certain processes of change are themselves institutionalized. One type of institutionalized change can be exemplified by the institutionalization of scientific investigation or professionalization: "Here the institutionalized value patterns will allow for and directly promote change in the cognitive content of the relevant culture."¹⁰⁴ This process of change has been further exemplified in a study of resistance to change in a mental hospital by Richard Pearlin.¹⁰⁵ Pearlin found that resistance to change was primarily located among the lower-level nursing staff where professionalization was lowest. He also found that the resistance to change found

¹⁰⁴Parsons, The Social System, pp. 491-92.

¹⁰⁵Leonard I. Pearlin, "Sources of Resistance to Change in a Mental Hospital," American Sociological Review, Vol. 68 (Nov., 1962), pp. 325-34.

among nurses at this level could be overcome by co-opting these nurses into the professional framework thereby motivating them to adapt to changes. The second type of institutionalized change is exemplified by socialization: here the child is led through stages, or phases -- the permissive phase, the phase of support, the phase of denial of support, and the phase of manipulation of rewards¹⁰⁶ -- in the development of his personality.

The second process of change, and the most important, is associated with the process of re-equilibrium brought on by disturbances of the expectations system. Parsons has observed that a "very important possibility lies in the progressive increase of strains in one strategic area of the social structure which are finally resolved by a structural reorganization of the system . . . a structured strain may well be the point at which the balance between forces tending toward re-equilibrium of the previous structure and toward transition to a new structure may be most evident."¹⁰⁷

"The key concept bridging the gap between statics and dynamics in functional theory," according to Merton, "is that of strain, tension, contradiction, or discrepancy between the component elements of social and cultural structure."¹⁰⁸ Such strains, following Merton's thoughts, are dysfunctional for the social system as a stable entity; they act as instru-

¹⁰⁶Parsons, quoted by Loomis and Loomis, op. cit., p. 602.

¹⁰⁷Parsons, The Social System, p. 493.

¹⁰⁸Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), p. 122.

mental forces in bringing about changes in that system. It is when the social system subsystems for controlling these strains are operating effectively that the system is able to maintain its stability. Concurrently, Boskoff observes that the process of change reaches a "significant point" when the integrative and pattern-maintenance and tension-management subsystems become ineffective for controlling the accumulation of individual disturbances brought on by "strains of inconsistencies."¹⁰⁹

It is this second process of change -- the process of re-equilibrium -- that is the focus of this study. The process of re-equilibrium is the theoretical equivalent of the process of structural differentiation as used by Smelser.¹¹⁰ Smelser defined the process as follows: "When one social role or organization becomes archaic under changing historical circumstances, it differentiates by a definite and specific sequence of events into two or more roles or organizations which function more effectively in the new historical circumstances."¹¹¹ The definite sequence of structural differentiation is initiated by "specific disequilibrating conditions," which, initially, give rise to the symptoms of social disturbance "which must be brought into line later by mechanisms of social control." The failure of the mechanisms of social control to bring social disturbances into line creates the

¹⁰⁹Boskoff, op. cit., p. 225.

¹¹⁰Smelser, op. cit., pp. 2, 14-16.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 2.

dynamic arena in which change becomes imminent. The sequence of events leading to social change is outlined by Smelser as follows:

(1) Dissatisfaction with the goal-attainments of the social system or sub-system in question and a sense of opportunity for change in terms of the potential availability of facilities.

(2) Symptoms of disturbance in the form of "unjustified" negative emotional reactions and "unrealistic" aspirations on the part of various elements in the social system.

(3) A covert handling of these tensions and a mobilization of motivational resources for new attempts to realize the implications of the existing value-system.

(4) Encouragement of the resulting proliferation of "new ideas" without imposing specific responsibility for their implementation or for "taking the consequences."

(5) Positive attempt to reach specification of the new ideas and institutional patterns which will become the objects of commitments.

(6) "Responsible" implementation of innovations carried out by persons or collectivities which are either rewarded or punished, depending on their acceptability or reprehensibility in terms of the existing value-system.

(7) If the implementations of Step 6 are received favourably, they are gradually routinized into the usual patterns of performance and sanction; their extraordinary character thereby diminishes.¹¹²

Here dissatisfaction is taken to be the opposite of vested interests in the sense that need-gratifications in terms of role-expectations are not fulfilled. The initial disequilibrium, posited by Smelser, is operationally phrased in terms of roles or resources: (1) "Many dissatisfactions boil down to the feeling that role-performance is inadequate . . . these dissatisfactions may be classified according to the functional dimensions of the social system. (2) Dissatisfactions may rest on a feeling that resources are being

¹¹²Ibid., pp. 15-16.

misused or misallocated."¹¹³ Smelser also notes that every dissatisfaction has three components: (1) a specific value-criteria; (2) a dissatisfaction with reference to specific objects or roles in the structure being analyzed; and (3) dissatisfaction occurs in a situational context.¹¹⁴ In this view dissatisfactions may be either generalized or specific: depending upon the level of generality, or dissatisfaction, a dissatisfaction with one factor may imply dissatisfaction with the others; that is, if the dissatisfaction is with a large segment of a social system, such as the chain of command in an industry, that dissatisfaction may easily be transferred to factors which may or may not have a direct relationship to that unit, such as working conditions.

In theory the sources of dissatisfaction are multiple. In practice, however, dissatisfaction implies a discrepancy between the situation the actor expects to experience and the situation as he actually encounters it. For example, Zollschan and Hirsch have described changes in patterns of interaction as responses to "exigencies." An "exigency," according to these authors, is "defined as a discrepancy (for an actor) between a consciously or unconsciously desired or expected state of affairs and an actual situation."¹¹⁵ Olsen similarly views change as a response to cross-pressures: "Social cross-pressures can arise whenever there is a con-

¹¹³Ibid., p. 16.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 37.

¹¹⁵G. K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch, Eds., Explorations in Social Change (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), p. 89.

flict between two or more social factors in a person's life."¹¹⁶ Lockwood observes a source of tension and possible change arising from a "lack of fit" between the social system's core institutional order (its values and goals) and its material structure.¹¹⁷

The process of structural differentiation which is activated by these sources of change is never entirely integrated throughout the social system; that is, structural differentiation is conceived of as a process occurring over time and at differential rates. This proposition is derived, in part, from the fact that social systems are characterized by the presence of some deviance or dissatisfaction at all times. Another source of this proposition lies in the inherent nature of the social system to meet the need-dispositions of some or a majority of its members; it might be said that all actors realize at least a part of their need-dispositions though not all of them.

Eisenstadt has pointed out that the institutionalization of social, political, or economic changes in the social system creates the "possibility of the development, within it, of several 'anti-systems,' of institutional foci and groups which tend to develop relatively negative, ambivalent, or contradictory orientations towards the premises of the

¹¹⁶Marvin E. Olsen, "Liberal-Conservative Attitude Crystallization," The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 3 (Jan., 1962), p. 22.

¹¹⁷David Lockwood, "Social Integration and System Integration," in G. K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (eds.), Explorations in Social Change (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), p. 252.

system."¹¹⁸ Thus, we must place among the sources of dissatisfaction the process of structural differentiation itself. Parsons, in this context, has pointed out the meaning of this process in the development of divergent personalities among the members of any social system.¹¹⁹ At various levels in the process of structural differentiation actors are asked to internalize the role-expectations associated with that level. As a consequence some actors find motivation for adapting to these expectations, while others, aware of alternatives created by the continuing changes in role specifications, have been motivated to seek other solutions to their needs-dispositions. The consequence of this process is that there are many modes of adaptation open to the actor.

Robert K. Merton¹²⁰ offers a suggestive method for understanding the "modes of adaptation" available to actors in response to the various strains existing within the social system. His constructed typology is shown in Figure II-1.¹²¹

Conformity, as a significant mode of adaptation, is the most common and most widely diffused. Merton writes that "The mesh of expectancies constituting every social order is sustained by the modal behavior of its members representing conformity to the established, though perhaps secularly

¹¹⁸Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 449.

¹¹⁹Talcott Parsons with Winston White, "The Link Between Character and Society," in Talcott Parsons, Social Structure and Personality, Chapter 8.

¹²⁰Merton, op. cit., Chapters 4 and 5.

¹²¹Ibid., p. 140.

changing, cultural patterns."¹²² Conformity in the context of social change, is the acceptance of the social structure largely as it is with reference to the dominant goals and the acceptance of some change, if institutionalized, as normative.

FIGURE II-1.--A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF
INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

<u>Modes of Adaptation</u>	<u>Cultural Goals</u>	<u>Institutionalized Means</u>
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	-
III. Ritualism	-	+
IV. Retreatism	-	-
V. Rebellion	±	±

Where: (+) signifies "acceptance," (-) signifies "rejection," and (±) signifies "rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new values."

Innovation represents the mode of adaptation of individuals who have internalized the goals of the social system without equally internalizing the institutionalized means for attaining them. Innovation is also the response of individuals who have been frustrated in the process of attaining internalized goals. Merton writes that the innovative adaptation occurs "when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common . . . goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals. . . ."¹²³

¹²²Ibid., p. 141.

¹²³Ibid., p. 146.

Ritualism, according to Merton, "involves the abandoning or scaling down of the lofty cultural goals of great pecuniary success and rapid social mobility to the point where one's aspirations can be satisfied."¹²⁴ The ritualist, in this context, would be expected to exhibit a high degree of satisfaction with the existing social order and, consequently, would tend to reject attempts at changing its contents in any form.

Retreatism is the rejection of both cultural goals and the means for their attainment. It is an asocial response to social system strains which involves the dissociation of the self from the social system.¹²⁵

Rebellion, according to Merton, "leads men outside the environing social structure to envisage and seek to bring into being a new, that is to say, greatly modified social structure."¹²⁶ Merton further observes that when the social system is regarded as a barrier to the attainment of legitimized goals the stage is set for rebellion. It is this mode of adaptation which Parsons speaks of when he develops his notion of "revolution."¹²⁷ Revolution requires a progressive alienative motivation that becomes intense and is reinforced by already latent alienative motivations in other sectors of the social system. Thus rebellion as a mode of adaptation

¹²⁴Ibid., pp. 149-50.

¹²⁵F. B. Wisanen, "Stability, Alienation, and Change," The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 4 (Winter, 1963), p. 23.

¹²⁶Merton, op. cit., p. 156.

¹²⁷Parsons discussed in Loomis and Loomis, op. cit., p. 604.

becomes a force implicating drastic social change of the patterns of interaction and the normative social order.

In outline, the bridge between statics and dynamics consists of the following orientations. In the case of any particular actor, the perceived need for change implies a discrepancy between the situation he expected to experience and the situation as he encounters it. Discrepancies are generalized or specific strains felt by the individual in the social structure and may be expressed behaviorally in the form of motivation for change of the social situation. In general, however, discrepancies and dissatisfactions lie latent or repressed due to the operation of mechanisms of social control and tension-management and pattern-maintenance. At some point these latent discrepancies and repressed dissatisfactions may become manifest and serve as a reference point for action. The dissatisfied actors typically seek means for coping with the disturbances. Theoretically, there are five modes of adaptation open to the actor to resolve the conflict between expectations and experiences. Each mode represents an adaptation made by the actor to his existential situation and thus serves as definitions of his situations. This is to say that the five modes of adaptation exist simultaneously for the actor and the choice of one mode rather than another may depend upon the type of discrepancy and the situation of company. Certain situations and situational contexts may be more conducive to conforming behavior even though the discrepancy is physically or mentally painful for the actor and other situations may be conducive to other

adaptations dependent upon these variables. Further, once a mode of behavior has been selected it serves to define similar situations in terms of the primary though the same situational elements may not be present.

Innovation and Advocacy in the Social System

Recently a body of theory and research has been developed which suggests that pronounced status inconsistencies of certain kinds are sources of stress or discrepancy for actors in the social system. In the terms of LaPiere,¹²⁸ the individual is in a state of "dynamic incongruence" in which he has a weakened attachment to the established patterns of behavior and institutionalized norms due to perceived conflicts and contradictions between his expectations and his situation. Lenski has observed that this theory is based upon the postulate that "individuals strive to maximize their satisfactions, even, if necessary, at the expense of others."¹²⁹ This means that an actor with inconsistent statuses or ranks has a natural tendency to think of himself in terms of that status or rank which is highest, and to expect others to do the same. Meanwhile others, who come in contact with him have a vested interest in doing just the opposite, that is, in treating him in terms of his lowest status or rank. Malewski, dealing with the degree of status incongruence and

¹²⁸Richard T. LaPiere, Social Change (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), esp. Chapters 4, 5, & 6.

¹²⁹Lenski, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

its effects, addresses his first two propositions to this observation:

1) The greater the incongruence of simultaneously perceived status factors of the given individual, the more insecure is his status. This means that others are likely to react to that individual as if he had a lower status, than the one he really enjoys.

2) The incongruence of status factors simultaneously perceived by other people brings punishments and the elimination of that incongruence is a source of reward.¹³⁰

The source of status inconsistency itself may be located in the process of structural differentiation as it operates at varying rates among the system's substructures. Regardless of the diffuseness of structural differentiation, some members of the social system maintain an attachment for the traditional modes of action. The result of partial social system differentiation is a conflict over the rewards, privileges, opportunities, and levels of prestige allocated to the various roles and statuses in the social system which is carried on between new status groups and the traditional status groups. Both groups, however, find themselves the possessors of inconsistent statuses. The new group, for example, finds that while it has attained status or prestige by virtue of their roles, they are still treated in terms of their previous roles or statuses. On the other hand, the traditional group finds itself losing its once attained status position in the eyes of others while they tend to think of themselves in the terms of their once possessed status positions.

¹³⁰Andrzej Malewski, "The Degree of Status Incongruence and Its Effects," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 305.

To document the meaning of status inconsistency for individuals in the social system let us observe what Daniel Bell¹³¹ has to say about the older members of the military establishment. The older members of the military often feel dispossessed because they lack the necessary technical skills or knowledge to answer the new problems confronting them. "The main point is," writes Bell, "that the military community is no longer the only, or even the dominant, source from which the strategists are drawn, and the older military leaders particularly, with vested interests in the military doctrines and weapons systems . . . , find themselves in danger of being ignored and shelved." They are prime movers, the source of great longings, of the wish to return to an era that they understand and foresee conspiratorial actions in the existing arrangements of social interaction.

Lenski has also suggested that persons whose statuses are poorly crystallized, or incongruent, occupy marginal positions in the social system -- positions in which the actors are likely to be subjected to numerous dissatisfying experiences in the normal course of social interaction.¹³² In his earlier study, Lenski found that:

. . . individuals characterized by a low degree of status crystallization differ significantly in their political attitudes and behavior from individuals characterized by

¹³¹Bell, op. cit., p. 29.

¹³²Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Status," American Sociological Review, Vol. 19 (Aug., 1954), pp. 405-413; and Gerhard E. Lenski, "Social Participation and Status Crystallization," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (Aug., 1956), pp. 435-441.

a high degree of status crystallization, when status differences in the vertical dimensions are controlled.¹³³

This tendency was reflected in a liberal bias among the poorly crystallized which was interpreted as a response to social experiences. This result hints at the more basic relationship between the social structure and social change. Lenski draws the conclusion that:

Apparently the individual with a poorly crystallized status is a particular type of marginal man, and is subject to certain pressures by the social order which are not felt (at least to some degree) by individuals with a more highly crystallized status. Conceivably a society with a relatively large proportion of persons whose status is poorly crystallized is a society which is in an unstable condition. In brief, under such conditions the social system itself generates its own pressures for change.¹³⁴

The apparent difficulty arising between Bell's analysis and Lenski's in the use of the same concept to explain two completely opposite responses can be overcome if we recognize that status incongruency is a neutralizing factor which casts the person into a situation of drift. The direction that he will take depends upon the group which he rejects. In other words, as Malewski has explained:

If an individual of incongruent status cannot raise the lower factors of his status, he will tend to reject the system of evaluation which justifies his humiliations and to join those who are opposed to that system. If these others represent a tendency towards changing the existing order, the above individual mentioned will be particularly inclined to accept their total program.¹³⁵

¹³³Lenski, American Sociological Review, Vol. 19, pp. 405-06.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 412.

¹³⁵Malewski, op. cit., p. 306.

Similarly:

If the only group rejecting the system of values justifying the humiliations felt by people with incongruent status is the radical social Left, those people will be particularly ready to accept the program of reforms launched by the Left. If, however, there are other groups, e.g. extremely Rightist ones, whose program rouses hopes for changes bringing about the increase of lower status factors, incongruent individuals can also show great readiness to accept extremely Rightist programs.¹³⁶

Therefore, depending upon the social context of the incongruency, the situation of drift which the individual experiences can be culminated by attaching himself to groups in which he hopes to find alleviation of the humiliations by opposing the original system. Leftism and Rightism are responses to stress giving situations brought on by the social structure.

In this sense, it is possible to observe that not all inconsistencies have the same meaning for social system actors. In other words, not all conditions of status incongruency are stressful for the individual. Some groups accept certain incongruencies without question; while others, reject the individual who possesses these. Furthermore, Jackson points out that "persons whose inconsistency is due to high racial-ethnic status and low occupational or educational status tend to respond to their stress physiologically (and, as Lenski's study pointed out, psychologically¹³⁷), while persons of the opposite patterns of inconsistency respond

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 307.

¹³⁷Lenski, American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, pp. 435-441.

politically."¹³⁸ To phrase this another way, an actor whose achieved status ranks are inferior to his ascribed status ranks is likely to view his situation as one of personal failure, whereas the actor whose ascribed ranks are inferior to his achieved ranks is likely to view his frustrations as stemming from the social system. It is this latter type of status inconsistency which is associated with innovation and advocacy of social system changes. Jackson observes that "An inconsistent person with high achieved and low ascribed rank thus tends to see the social bases for his difficulties; his tendency to cope actively with such problems makes him more likely to favor changes in the social system than would a consistent person of equally high achieved status."¹³⁹

Innovative and advocative behavior, following LaPiere, arises out of "asocial perceptions" of the social system;¹⁴⁰ that is, perceptions of dysfunctionality in the present arrangement of the social system. The social system, as observed above, is in a continual state of differentiation which, in turn, creates stresses and pulls upon the actors in the various roles undergoing differentiation. Consequently, actors who find themselves faced with incongruent demands placed upon them by the social system seek to establish a state of equilibrium in which such strains will eventually be reduced.

¹³⁸Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (Aug., 1962), p. 476.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 477.

¹⁴⁰LaPiere, op. cit., pp. 115, 142-43.

Hypotheses and Rationale

Hypothesis Number 1:

There is an inverse relationship between the degree of status-power crystallization and value-orientations favoring change.

Value-orientations may be taken as directives of action. Values, as discussed in Chapter I, refer to shared concepts of what is good, desirable, and proper, based upon expectations and anticipations conditioned by direct or vicarious experiences. In that value-orientations are derived from the experiences, status congruency or incongruency represents an important source of these experiences. It is assumed that actors perceiving some achievement of their goals or desires will resist attempts to change the social structure in which these are gratified. Stratification theory also assumes that class, status, and power tend to hang together, leading into and supporting one another. These dimensions are also assumed to represent the values and interests found in any system of stratification. It would follow that incongruent experiences or experiences which do not fulfill the expectations of the ascribed dimension of power equivalent to the status dimensions, create a dynamic situation in which the actor attempts to equilibrate the discrepancy between expectations and reality.

Hypothesis Number 2:

There is a direct relationship between satisfaction with community services and facilities and status-power crystallization.

Gamie assumed that satisfaction with community services and facilities demarcated individuals along a liberal-conservative continuum. He defines liberals as "those persons who are relatively dissatisfied with facilities and services as they exist and who have attitudes in favor of change." Conservatives, on the other hand, were "those persons who are relatively satisfied with the existing facilities and services provided by their communities and who do not generally favor change."¹⁴¹ Our previous statements about the relationship between crystallization and attitudes toward social change lead us to assume that individuals frustrated in the stratification system would tend to emit the former response whereas individuals finding their expectations satisfied would emit the latter.

Hypothesis Number 3:

There is a direct relationship between the degree of status-power crystallization and behavior resistant to social change.

We have assumed that a high degree of correlation between status rank and power rank is the expected relationship in any system of stratification. Kirk has observed that actors favoring change experience a discrepancy between the situation which is expected to be experienced and the situation as it is actually encountered.¹⁴² The actor experiencing

¹⁴¹Gamie, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁴²H. David Kirk, "The Impact of Drastic Change on Social Relations -- A Model for the Identification and Specification of Stress," in G. K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (eds.), Explorations in Social Change (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), p. 259.

this discrepancy attempts to correct the situations which he believes to be the source of this frustration. Often the direct source is unknown or even unknowable and his actions are directed toward other situations which may or may not be rationally related to his anxiety. The community may represent such a source of frustration and the actor may continually seek to change the community in accordance with his expectations.

Intervening Hypotheses

The preceding hypotheses have sought to outline the relationship between status-power crystallization and selected social change variables in an attempt to discover the correlates of decision-making behavior. The concern of the following hypotheses is also focused upon the correlates of decision-making behavior but seeks to explain such behavior in terms of specific attitudes, dissatisfactions, and power relations. The rationale for this treatment lies in the assumption that behavior is the resultant of complex forces acting upon the actor in the social system and that a single explanatory theme oversimplifies such behavior to the extent that it distorts the real world.

Hypothesis Number 4:

Behavior opposing changes in the community is directly associated with non-change value-orientations.

As directives for action, value-orientations are assumed to be major determinants of the way actors respond to stimuli in their social world. In this respect, actors

holding non-change values or attitudes would be expected to reject the attempts of other actors to change that environment.

Hypothesis Number 5:

Behavior opposing changes in the community varies directly with community satisfaction.

Attitudes towards one's community are assumed to be a major determinant of the willingness to work for change in that community. In other words, those actors who are satisfied with the local community are more likely to reject community projects which seek to alter the existing arrangements in which they have found a degree of satisfaction. On the other hand, those actors who perceive dissatisfaction with community services and facilities are expected to be more willing to reorganize that community and will be more likely to support such attempts than those actors who are satisfied with community arrangements.

Hypothesis Number 6:

The outcomes of community issues are directly related to the amount of power wielded by community leaders active in these issues.

Community research has continually found that the outcomes of issues and the behavior of other leaders are the direct product of the power relations existent in the community. In this respect it is assumed that (a) decisions will be decided in response to the wishes of those granted power by the community and (b) the behavior of the less powerful actors will be directly influenced by the participation of

those attributed the greater amount of power. This is to say that decisions will be decided in terms of the stand that the most powerful leaders take upon that issue and that the behavior of other actors who have been attributed a lesser degree of power will be influenced by the stand taken by the former group on the issue. It is assumed that power relations play a significant role in mediating the behavior of actors in the social system.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN: A STATEMENT OF METHOD

The literature on research methods in the social sciences has placed considerable emphasis upon relating theoretical frameworks to objective, empirical tools -- indicators. This chapter will be devoted to presenting the research design of this study and operational definitions and indicators of the concepts used in this study. With this in mind, description of the methods used in this study will be divided into two main sections: (1) the research design, and (2) concepts, nominal definitions, and indicators.

Research Design

The data used in this study were obtained from an independent study conducted in a west-central Kansas community during the Spring of 1967 by this author. These data include a total sample of the leaders living in this community of 19,000 population. The methods used for obtaining a list of leaders in this community and the interviewing procedures are briefly outlined in the following paragraphs.

Designation of Community Leaders

One of the bitterest and most significant theoretical debates that has occurred in the young history of sociology

has been the debate concerning the designation of community leaders. It is a misnomer, however, to maintain that the debate is confined to the discipline of sociology; rather, it is better identified as a debate between elite theorists and pluralist theorists which has drawn a good number of political scientists into the arena. Elitists, on the one hand, maintain that a reputational approach to the study of community power provides the most significant and most valid approach to community power and thus to community leaders. Pluralists, on the other hand, maintain that democracy implicates a broad base of power which eventually focuses upon the political office and decision; therefore, pluralists have stressed that the researcher must focus his attention upon specific decisions asking three questions:

. . . (1) who participates in decision-making, (2) who gains and who loses from alternative possible outcomes, and (3) who prevails in decision-making.¹

Single approaches to the study of power, however, are wrought with methodological difficulties and shortcomings. Single approaches, such as using either reputation or decision-making alone, often lose the power of discrimination thereby providing an inaccurate description of the power structure being studied. For example, the reputational approach has a tendency not to discriminate between prestige and power; the decision method, on the other hand, cannot discriminate adequately between actual power and "leg" men who are puppets of more powerful actors. Furthermore, the

¹Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory, p. 4.

reputational approach has a tendency to emphasize economic position to the exclusion of other factors, while the decision approach tends to emphasize political position to the exclusion of economic and other factors. Presthus has suggested that a combination of these two approaches overcomes the loss of power to discriminate by a series of checks and balances:

We decided that the two methods were better conceived as mutually supportive means of ascertaining power. In Vidich's and Bensman's terms, an initial perspective was "exhausted" and modified once it no longer seemed able by itself to interpret the empirical data. Each method, in effect, became a foil against which the evidence provided by the other could be tested and modified. It soon became clear that the reputational method had a great deal to contribute in refining the somewhat gross power ascriptions provided by the decisional technique. A particular disturbing tendency of the latter . . . was to assign high power ranks to individuals largely on the basis of merely formal or ministerial participation in several decisions. In the case of one political-legal official, for example, overtly active in four decisions, we were for some time unable to account for his failure to appear on the reputational list or to receive any other empirical power ascriptions. It finally became clear that his role had been limited to the formal legitimation of these decisions as a part of his official responsibilities.²

On the other hand, the reputational method also revealed certain shortcomings, including the tendency of respondents to mix personal preferences with objective judgments in attributing power to community leaders. A related and well-known tendency was to equate potential with overt power. The reputational method, as the term nicely suggests, tends to identify individuals who by typical, marketplace criteria "should" be powerful in any community. For many reasons, however, some of them do not choose to use their power, or they use it in ways that are not picked up by the researcher who is bound to this method. The decisional method provided a useful check against such inadequacies of the reputational method. In effect, by playing one method against the other and by abandoning our initial assumption concerning the superiority of one over the

²Presthus, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

other, we are able to obtain a somewhat more penetrating analysis of power. . . .³

These two excerpts go far in explaining the reasoning of this researcher in choosing a two phased analysis of the leadership structure of this community. The paragraphs to follow will deal primarily with the selection of both reputational leaders and decisional leaders for this study.

The Reputational Approach.---This phase of the study involved identification of reputational leaders by knowledgeable individuals in key positions in the community. This technique was first devised by Samuel Stouffer and was later modified by Dakin.⁴ Stouffer presented a list of fourteen top political and civic statuses representing nearly all of the major sectors of organized communities. This list was modified by Dakin and he comments that persons "occupying positions on the modified list have been assumed to constitute informed panels who could identify the influentials of other areas."⁵ The following list, with minor modifications, was used as a guide in selecting "key positionals" in this study along with the alternate positions suggested by Dakin and by Gamie:

³Ibid., p. 60.

⁴Dakin, op. cit., p. 235fn.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Gamie, op. cit., p. 60.

FIGURE III-1.--COMMUNITY POSITIONALS

Principal Key PositionalsAlternates

1. Mayor	1. City Commissioner
2. President, Chamber of Commerce	2. President, largest bank
3. President, largest union ⁷	3. Local labor union official ⁷
4. President, local bar association	4. President, local medical association
5. Chairman, library board	5. President of art, dramatic, historical, or musical society
6. Chairman, local school board	6. Superintendent of local school district
7. Commander, largest American Legion Post	7. Head, local VFW, AVC, or other veterans organization
8. Minister, largest Protestant church	8. Minister, second largest Protestant church
9. Priest, largest Catholic church	9. Assistant to Priest
10. Chairman, local Community Chest	10. Head, local Red Cross unit
11. President, Kiwanis	11. President, Rotary, Lions, or other service club
12. Editor, largest newspaper	12. Assistant editor, largest newspaper
13. Society editor, largest newspaper	13. Assistant to society editor, largest newspaper
14. President, largest women's club	14. President, second largest women's club

Each of the Key Positionals, or alternates whenever the principal positional was absent or non-existent, were contacted by telephone in order to explain the nature of the research project and to enlist their cooperation. Interview

⁷Neither the Key Positional nor the Alternate were to be found in the study area. Unique to the community and communities its size, was the conspicuous absence of an affective, organized labor union. The nearest operating labor union was 60 miles east of the community. In light of this, the General Manager of the company employing the largest number of people was selected as an alternate to this position.

dates were then arranged during a time convenient to the respondents. The interviews with the Key Positionals sought to obtain information on the following questions:

1. Suppose a major project were before the community (_____), one that required a decision by a group of leaders who nearly everyone would accept and support. Which people would you choose to make up this group -- regardless of whether or not you know them personally?
2. In most communities, certain people are said to be "influential behind the scenes" and have lots to say about programs that are planned, projects to be undertaken, and issues that come up. What persons in your community (_____) are influential in this way?
3. In your opinion, what have been the three or four most important decisions facing the community during the past five years?

The explicit purpose of these inquiries was to (a) identify all persons who were attributed leadership in the community by community knowledgeable, and to (b) identify the most important community decisions that had been made during the past five years about which the community leaders would be questioned both to gain insight into the decision-making process and to serve as a check on the reputational method of determining leadership.

Answers to the first two questions yielded a list of seventy-four names who were designated as reputational leaders. All mentions of names in answer to these questions were recorded and compiled. These seventy-four persons were mentioned a total of 191 times for an average of 2.6 mentions per person. However, only 22.4 per cent of these leaders received three or more mentions. Stated another way, seventeen of these leaders received 109 mentions or an average of 6.4 mentions for each of these leaders. The frequency dis-

tribution of the number of mentions received by these leaders is as follows:⁸

<u>Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
19	1	1.3
12	1	1.3
11	1	1.3
9	1	1.3
8	1	1.3
6	2	2.7
5	2	2.7
4	4	5.4
3	4	5.4
2	25	33.8
1	32	43.3
Total	<u>74</u>	<u>99.8</u>

Due to the length of the interview schedule and the limitations placed on the researcher in terms of time, it seemed necessary and desirable to divide the leadership group into two parts. The division was made according to the number of mentions received; that is, those persons receiving three or more mentions, 22.4 per cent of the reputational leaders, were designated "key" reputational leaders. It was assumed that these seventeen leaders, by virtue of their perceived leadership positions, were the most active and knowledgeable leaders in the community. The entire interview

⁸For a more comprehensive breakdown of the mentions for leadership see Table 1, Appendix A. In this table the number of mentions received are broken down according to the two questions on leadership for each leader. It may be further noticed that if one should rely upon the choices of the key positionals alone for the selection of a top leadership group as many researchers have done in the past, a bias, or inaccuracy, is introduced into the study of power. Only ten of the key reputational leaders are found in the first twenty-five power positions as determined by the leader's power rank (discussed later in this chapter).

schedule, one and one-half hours in length, was then administered to the "key" reputational leaders. The rest of the leadership group including the political leaders were then administered a shortened form of the interview schedule. The nature of these interviews will be discussed in the context of the specific variables tested later in this chapter.

The Decision-Making Approach.--This phase of the study involved the identification of roles played by community actors in selected community decisions for the purpose of defining power. To measure power in terms of overt leadership roles, three important decisions were selected and active participation in one or more of these issues became the basic criteria of individual power.⁹ Due to the nature of the study and the limitations placed upon the researcher in terms of costs and time, it was decided that "direct study" of behavior in various decision-making situations was impractical. It was further assumed that "important" decisions -- important in the sense of objective criteria outlined later in this chapter -- were infrequent occurrences in a community of this size and that in order to insure a selective sample of such decisions a time period of at least five years must be allowed.

A second assumption that was made in respect to this phase of the research project was that a primary criterion of importance is to be found in the judgments of community

⁹The measurement of overt leadership roles used in this project follows that outlined by Presthus, op. cit., pp. 53-56.

"knowledgeables." In other words, to paraphrase W. I. Thomas, "things perceived as real or important are real and important in their consequences." Therefore, the initial criterion used in obtaining a roughly "representative" panel of decision-makers was the third question asked to the Key Positionals in the reputational phase of the project.

Answers to the third question yielded a list of twenty issues which were mentioned a total of sixty-one times. Three issues, however, received over half of the mentions: one issue was mentioned by all of the Key Positionals; a second issue was mentioned by ten of the positionals; and the third was mentioned by half of these judges. It was assumed that these three issues were the most important decisions that had been made in the community during the past five years. Polsby, in this respect, has admonished researchers that would study the community without taking into account the actual behavior of actors in decision-making situations. He notes that "it is possible to learn more about how community outcomes are achieved per unit of research resources by studying how 'big' decisions are arrived at, and what the necessary and sufficient conditions are for the maintenance and change of these patterns."¹⁰

The three issues -- the establishment of a community junior college, the rejection of a flood control plan, and the use of industrial revenue bonds for aiding retail redevelopment -- represent the most important issues appearing on

¹⁰Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory, p. 96.

the community scene not only in terms of communal consensus but also in terms of more objective criteria such as the number of people affected by the outcomes, the number of different kinds of resources that were redistributed by the outcome, the amount of resources used in meeting the outcome, and the other changes brought about by their implementation.¹¹ Let us briefly review the events surrounding each of these community issues in order to more specifically point out the importance of these issues and the effects of the decisions.

The community has had long experience with the problems of flood control. Geographically, the community is located in a delta formed by the juncture of two creeks with the Arkansas River to the east of the community. With the constant threat of flooding, growth has spread toward the west rather than concentrically around the central business district. This in turn has caused many other problems as will be seen in the discussion of the third issue as studied in this report. The flood control issue, however, is not a new issue but a perennial issue about which no real decision can be reached. The present study has documented this fact.

The serious investigation of flood control proposals which culminated in 1965 with the rejection of a proposed positive plan for flood control began in 1958. The city council organized a Flood Control Committee drawing leaders

¹¹ Ibid., p. 96. Polsby has suggested that in the process of examining the "important" decisions it is possible to rank decisions according to their importance using these four criteria. It is possible to rank them on any one or a combination of these criteria thus determining their relative importance.

from the local community only in limited participation. After much discussion and collaboration with the Corps of Engineers, four plans for flood control were recommended by the Corps of Engineers and presented to the general city council in 1965. Two of the four plans were summarily rejected, according to one active council member, because of the "prohibitive costs." The debate then flourished over the two remaining plans. One plan supported by the city council called for channel widening and levee work on the Arkansas River plus a diversion canal running west of the community connecting the creeks with the river. The cost of this plan was estimated at \$1.3 million essentially for the right-of-ways needed for the construction of the diversion canal. The second plan which won the support of the opposition proposed to dike the creeks north of the city and do the same work on the river as proposed above. While this plan was considerably more expensive, the opposition maintained that it would save money in terms of maintenance and damage suits.

The source of opposition is to be found in the established "power groups" according to many of the respondents. The nature of the opposition, coming mainly from the established hierarchy, illustrates a proposition outlined by Hunter:

Stability of relationships is highly desirable in maintaining social control, and keeping men "in their places" is a vital part of the structuring of community power. . . . Each of these professions also has a role to play in the community activities consistent with its economic or professional role. Such roles do not ordinarily include policy-making. If one of these under-structure

men should be presumptuous enough to question policy decisions, he would be considered insubordinate and "punished," . . .¹²

In the case at hand, the support for the main flood control plan came from the city council, and at that, only a small group of professional engineers on the city council. Opposition, on the other hand, came from a small group of established leaders who made their wishes known through a radio panel and an anonymously published ad in the local paper the day before the bond election which would have endorsed the first plan. Punishment followed the next year in the form of defeat at the polls for two of the council members who led the support for the plan. One of these men observed that "Those people want to control you and if they can't, they will oppose you. (Another councilman) and I were defeated because of this." The other councilman concurring in this observation in an independent interview added that "It is surprising to discover how manipulated the council members are when it comes to voting. . . . When things get done in the community, it's because one of the top people want it done for their own personal benefits. I am just glad that I am free to voice my opinion as I feel free to do."

A majority of the respondents agreed that it was the ability of the opposition to manipulate public opinion and confuse the issue through secretive tactics that the proposed plan of the city council was defeated. Had the opposition not arisen from this power group it is doubtful whether the

¹²Hunter, op. cit., p. 109.

proposal would have been defeated though it was defeated by a large margin. Fifty-three per cent of the active participants interviewed in connection with this issue agreed that passage would have been imminent had this group not participated.

The second issue selected for intensive study was that of the establishment of a community junior college in this community. This issue is also a long standing issue which began in the late 1940's being resolved in 1964-1965. It differs from the other issues studied in that it involves the county as well as the city. The initial movement supporting the establishment of a junior college was begun by the editor of the local paper about twenty years earlier. Several times during the two decades before its final establishment, attempts had been made to bring this issue before the people but opposition had been strong in both the county and the city.

In terms of our present inquiry, the establishment of the community junior college was the direct result of well-timed and planned organization on the part of the Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce in response to urging by several community leaders. Planning and organization began in the late 1950's and early 1960's with the establishment of a Junior College Steering Committee within the Junior Chamber of Commerce but also drawing from other areas within the community. The early efforts of this organization were directed at the State Legislature in an attempt to get legislation passed which would be favorable to the establishment

of the junior college. In this respect a Speaker's Bureau was established to disseminate information about the issue and to create a favorable atmosphere in the community and surrounding area. The culmination of this stage was the passage of a bill by the State Legislature providing for the establishment of community junior colleges.

The next stage of organization was the establishment of a committee called Friends of the Barton County Junior College which solicited contributions for the promotion of the issue and pledges on bonds to be issued for the building of the junior college. Subsidiary to this committee was a second Speaker's Bureau consisting of ten prominent leaders drawn from the community. As before, the primary function of the Speaker's Bureau was to educate the larger population on the need for the junior college and, therefore, to establish a broad basis of support for this issue.

In contrast to the Flood Control issue, the Junior College issue was extremely well organized and drew support from the well entrenched leadership groups prior to any direct action. Several informants observed that within the community it would have been political suicide to oppose this issue because of the nature of the support and the general public opinion that had been stimulated. The cumulative effects of this leadership and organization are to be noted in the public vote on this issue: within the community in question, the number of people voting for the bond issue was four times as great as those opposing the bond on the junior college.

Opposition, limited as it was, was mainly located in

the surrounding communities. Informants could not name any local influentials who were actively opposed to this issue. The opposition that did exist was lacking in organization and effective communication channels. It should be noted, however, that the opposition found its largest support from neighboring communities within the county. In fact, if one excludes the community in question from the vote on the junior college, the results would have meant defeat for the issue. The primary focal points for this county opposition, according to my informants, lie in the taxation issue and the fact that under the present plan the junior college would be located in or near this community.¹³

The third issue which was used to verify observations on the structure of leadership within this community was that evolving around the issuance of industrial revenue bonds for retail redevelopment. While this issue was primarily centralized in the city council, it brings into focus the interaction of community influentials and political leaders. In 1961 the Kansas Legislature adopted a bill authorizing municipalities to "issue Revenue Bonds to stimulate and develop

¹³This latter focal point is interesting in that it sets the tone for much community discussion. Many informants mentioned county and state antagonism (and rejection) of the community during the course of the interviews. Illustrative of this attitude is the statement of one of the local ministers: "Kansas is not interested (in this community). We do great things here and this is not the temperament of the state. The state and the county cannot understand the community because it spends so much and is so progressive. . . . The state will not give publicity to (community) because it does not meet the conservative ideology of the state."

the general economic welfare and prosperity of the State."¹⁴ This bill provided cities with the authority to issue revenue bonds for the purposes of purchasing, constructing, equipping, or repairing facilities for agricultural, commercial, industrial, natural resources and recreational development, and to lease such improvements and facilities to persons, firms or corporations.

While the 1961 Statute authorized the usage of such revenue bonds for almost any developmental purpose, the primary usage of the bonds had been for industrial development. Therefore, in terms of the prevailing view, revenue bonds had acquired the descriptive adjective "industrial" and were believed to be primarily applicable to industrial and not to commercial development. It is to this prevailing view that one must become acquainted in order to understand the intricacies of this issue which make it a community issue rather than a specialized group issue.

Initial presentation of the plan to use "industrial" revenue bonds for retail development came from the Retail Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and the Downtown Development Committee of the City Council in response to the planned movement of several retail businesses out of the central business district toward the suburban area of the community. The specific issue discussed here arose during the latter part of 1965 and early part of 1966 when a regional

¹⁴Kansas Municipal Revenue Bonds for Economic Development, a pamphlet prepared and published by The Kansas Department of Economic Development, December, 1964, p. 1.

chain-store, which had recently built a new building in the downtown area, went out of business leaving the building empty. During this same time period, a national chain-store which had been in the city for a long period of time began plans to relocate its store outside the community. The plan conceived by the above mentioned committees was in response to the movements of retail businesses from the central business district: it was held that one of the causes of downtown deterioration was the exorbitant cost of land and rental space in the urban core and that one method of combating this deterioration and out-migration was through municipal revenue bonds. Closely allied with this argument was that used by several leaders who opposed the plan: it was held that the lack of a workable flood control plan had generated a westward movement which was undermining the continued development of an urban center. While the proponents of the revenue bond system argued for inducements to retail businesses to keep them in the central business district, the opponents argued that priority should be given to a system of flood control which would allow the city to grow toward the North, East, and South therefore shifting the demographical center nearer to the present business district.

The plan was first brought before the City Council in May of 1966 by the Downtown Development Committee which was headed by two local businessmen. Opposition then arose from several citizens in letters to the editor of the local newspaper and from the newspaper itself. In spite of the vocal opposition, the council voted to accept the plan as presented

by the mayor and the Downtown Development Committee and the machinery was set in motion by the end of June.

While this was primarily a legislative activity on the part of the City Council, leadership for the issue can be located within the entrenched power groups in the community. Table 2, Appendix A, shows that three of the top five leaders were considered to be the "most influential" leaders in this issue. Furthermore, it should be noted that the primary actors in the Downtown Development Committee and the Retail Committee were, for the most part, reputational leaders rather than political leaders, one exception outstanding. It is evident that these reputational leaders were the key to the issue's success. Comments were recorded as follows:

"These were key people in key positions. People had faith in their judgment." (Real Estate Broker who brought the issue to the Council)

"Whenever you bring a group like this together you have pressure available to bring to bear. The Downtown Development Committee and the mayor have the power to bring favorable decisions on this and any other issue." (Member of Downtown Development Committee and manager of a large concern in the community)

"I don't really think it would have been different (the outcome), but it would have taken longer." (Manager of the Chamber of Commerce)

"Pressure's a thing that very few can stand. Had the same issue been voted on three or four years ago it would not have received a vote." (Former councilman)

It should be apparent from the brief description of the three issues in the above paragraphs that, indeed, these issues are important in terms of the objective criteria outlined by Polsby. The first two issues, for example, affect a majority of the community residents in the implementation,

or non-implementation, of the issue. All three issues call for the expenditure of large amounts of resources by the community. Each of the issues have, at one time or another, been the focal points of much community discussion and controversy. The last issue, more than the other two, sets a precedent for the redistribution of resources within the community; for example, the local newspaper carried an article which warned: "(T)he use of municipal bonds for industrial and commercial purposes has grown and carried to its logical conclusion will result in all commercial and industrial property being financed through tax-exempt municipal bonds with an immense loss to the federal treasury."¹⁵

As indicated earlier, our criteria of power includes an individual's activity in one or more of the above decisions. Presthus has outlined a number of criteria used to define "participants" in issues and, therefore, designating power in terms of overt use.¹⁶ The following criteria have been abstracted from Presthus for use in this study:

- 1) Nominations as active participants in community issues.
 - a) Those who were named as being "active participants" or "opponents" in a decision by others who were themselves active participants in response to the question, "Could you give me the names of several other people in the community who participated in this issue and were (generally in favor or actively opposed) to the _____ decision?"
 - b) Those who nominated themselves as being active participants or opponents to the issue in question.
- 2) Those who were nominated as having been "active participants" by at least two other individuals selected in terms of 1) above, whether or not they also nominated themselves.

¹⁵Great Bend Daily Tribune, June 28, 1966, p. 1.

¹⁶Presthus, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

In the words of Presthus: "A 'decision-maker,' in effect, was an individual nominated by another active participant as having been active in a given decision and who, when interviewed, also nominated himself as an active participant. Alternatively, he could have been nominated by two or more other participants, whether or not he nominated himself."¹⁷ Ideally, interviewing should be carried out in a snowballing manner; that is, each individual so nominated should be interviewed and asked for additional nominations and the process continued until no new nominations are received. This ideal was strived for in this study but was not entirely reached.¹⁸ Initially, it was assumed that most of the active participants in these issues would be included on our list of reputational leaders. This list, however, did not include a substantial proportion of the political influentials or officeholders; therefore, ten additional names were added to the list based upon formal membership in the political structure of the community during the past five years. This yielded a list of eighty-four community activists who were then interviewed and asked to name the decisions in which he had played an "active" role. Since no criteria of

¹⁷Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁸Five additional names should have been added to the list of community leaders on the basis of participation in community decisions. The failure to include these individuals lies primarily with the author in that he counted time and expense as the more important variables rather than purity of design. It is doubtful, however, that the inclusion of these individuals would have changed the outcomes of this research since none of these individuals were perceived as having power in the community by the leaders as a whole.

participation were given to the respondent in the way of instruction in answering this probe, more specific questions were later asked to determine the nature and extent of the respondent's participation. Specific questions included the following: At what stage did you become involved in this issue? What part did you personally play in the issue? Do you remember any people that you contacted about this issue? In analyzing these answers, criteria of participation included active membership on a committee selected to handle the problem; contacting others in regard to the issue; taking part in formal discussions at public meetings, writing letters and editorials, speaking on radio programs; and contributing funds to publicize or otherwise support (or defeat) the proposed decision.¹⁹

Each participant in an issue was then asked to name "several" other individuals who had played an active role in the decision. Finally, each respondent was asked to name the two or three persons who, in his own opinion, were the "most influential" in determining the outcome of the decision. In order to insure that the respondent was not forced into a decision about the "most influential" participants, the respondent was then asked to specify why he attributed a central role to these participants and if he felt that the outcome would have been different if these people had not participated. The answers to these questions were then taken

¹⁹These criteria are similar to those used by Presthus, op. cit., p. 56, in his study of community power structure.

to be a rough index of overt power in each of the issues to be used as a check against other measures of power.²⁰

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Leaders

The characteristics of the respondents²¹ (reputational and political leaders) are summarized in the following tables.

TABLE III-1.--AGE

Type of Leadership	Number of Respondents	Less than 40		40 - 59		60 & Above		Total Per Cent
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Reputational	60*	12	20.0	36	60.0	12	20.0	100.0
Political-Reputational	11*	1	9.1	10	90.9	0	0.0	100.0
Political	10	1	10.0	9	90.0	0	0.0	100.0
Totals	81	14	17.3	55	67.9	12	14.8	100.0

*The analysis of respondent characteristics includes only 60 of the 62 reputational leaders originally designated in the section on the reputational approach and only 11 of the 12 reputational-political leaders which were designated as leaders in both studies. Two of these leaders were absent from the community during the time of the interview and one was unable to grant sufficient time because of his business to complete the interview.

²⁰See Table II, Appendix A, for a summary of the findings on participation in these three issues.

²¹The analysis of the characteristics of leaders is broken down into three groups depending on the source of their designation: Those mentioned by Key Positionals as leaders; those political leaders who received mentions as leaders from the Key Positionals; and political leaders interviewed as part of the decision-making approach.

TABLE III-2.---LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Number of Years Lived in Community	Type of Leadership						Totals	
	Reputational		Political- Reputational		Political			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	Less than 10 Years	15	25.0	1	9.1	2	20.0	18	22.2
10-20 Years	15	25.0	3	27.2	3	30.0	21	25.9
More than 20 Years	30	50.0	7	63.7	5	50.0	42	51.9
Totals	60	100.0	11	100.0	10	100.0	81	100.0

TABLE III-3.--SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE
BEFORE COMING TO THE COMMUNITY

Size of Place	Type of Leadership						Totals	
	Reputational		Political- Reputational		Political			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farm or Town Under 5,000	26	43.3	4	36.4	6	60.0	36	44.5
5,000- 19,000	23	38.3	7	63.7	1	10.0	31	38.2
Over 20,000	11	18.3	0	0.0	3	30.0	14	17.3
Totals	60	99.9	11	100.1	10	100.0	81	100.0

TABLE III-4.--EDUCATION

Highest Grade Completed	Type of Leadership						Totals	
	Reputational		Political- Reputational		Political			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	0 - 8	3	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.7
9 - 12	9	15.0	2	18.2	3	30.0	14	17.3
13 - 16	25	41.7	5	45.4	4	40.0	34	42.0
Over 16	23	38.3	4	36.4	3	30.0	30	37.0
Totals	60	100.0	11	100.0	10	100.0	81	100.0

TABLE III-5.--OCCUPATION

Occupational Group	Type of Leadership								% of Male Labor Force in Community (N = 4,351)
	Political-						Totals		
	Reputational		Reputational		Political				
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Profes- sional	28	46.7	5	45.4	6	60.0	39	48.2	9.8
Old ¹	(16)	(26.7)	(2)	(18.2)	(1)	(10.0)	(19)	(23.5)	
New ²	(4)	(6.7)	(3)	(27.2)	(2)	(20.0)	(9)	(11.1)	
Semi- ³	(7)	(11.7)			(3)	(30.0)	(10)	(12.3)	
Would-be ⁴	(1)	(1.6)					(1)	(1.2)	
Managers, Officials & Proprietors	30	50.0	5	45.4	4	40.0	39	48.2	20.4
Banking & Financial	(10)	(16.7)					(10)	(12.3)	
Oil related	(2)	(3.3)	(2)	(18.2)	(1)	(10.0)	(5)	(6.2)	
Large Business	(11)	(18.3)					(11)	(13.6)	
Other	(7)	(11.7)	(3)	(27.2)	(3)	(30.0)	(13)	(16.1)	
Others	2	3.3	1	9.1	0	0.0	3	3.7	69.8
Totals	60	100.0	11	99.9	10	100.0	81	100.1	100.0

*Figures for the community's occupational structure are taken from U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 18, Kansas (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 128, 211, 248.

¹Old professions include lawyers (8), physicians (7), and clergymen (4).

²New professions include school administrators (4), petroleum engineers (2), and geologists (3).

³Semi-professions include accountants (3), editors (2), and radio and television managers and directors (5).

⁴Would-be professions include funeral directors (1).

TABLE III-6.--FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Father's Occupational Group	Type of Leadership						Totals	
	Reputational		Political- Reputational		Political			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	Profes- sional	10	16.7	2	18.2	2	20.0	14	17.3
Managerial	17	28.4	5	45.4	4	40.0	26	32.1
Farming	16	26.7	1	9.1	2	20.0	19	23.5
Clerical- Sales	6	10.0	1	9.1	0	0.0	7	8.6
Skilled Labor	6	10.0	1	9.1	1	10.0	8	9.9
Other	5	8.3	1	9.1	1	10.0	7	8.6
Totals	60	100.0	11	100.0	10	100.0	81	100.0

TABLE III-7.--INCOME

Income	Type of Leadership						Totals		Family Income ¹ (N = 4,416)
	Reputa- tional		Political- Reputational		Political				
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
\$30,000 & over	17	28.4	1	9.1	2	20.0	20	24.7	....
\$25,000 & over	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	0.9
\$20,000 - 29,999	10	16.7	2	18.2	1	10.0	13	16.1	....
\$15,000 - 19,999	10	16.7	7	63.7	4	40.0	21	25.9	....
\$15,000 - 24,999	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	2.8
\$10,000 - 14,999	15	25.0	1	9.1	3	30.0	19	23.5	9.8
\$ 6,000 - 9,999	6	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	7.4	39.9
\$ 4,000 - 5,999	1	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2	25.3
Under \$4,000	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	21.2
Not reporting	1	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2	0.0
Totals	60	100.0	11	100.1	10	100.0	81	100.0	99.9

¹U. S. Bureau of Census, op. cit., p. 217.

TABLE III-8.--MEMBERSHIP IN COMMITTEES,
PROFESSIONAL, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Number of Member- ships	Type of Leadership						Totals	
	Reputational		Political- Reputational		Political			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	0 - 5	3	5.0	2	18.2	0	0.0	5
6 - 10	25	41.7	3	27.2	5	50.0	33	40.7
11 - 15	16	26.7	4	36.4	5	50.0	25	30.9
Over 16	16	26.7	2	18.2	0	0.0	18	22.2
Totals	60	100.1	11	100.0	10	100.0	81	100.0

TABLE III-9.--PARTY AFFILIATION

Political Party	Type of Leadership						Totals	
	Reputational		Political- Reputational		Political			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	Democratic	9	15.0	1	9.1	1	10.0	11	13.6
Republican	44	73.4	10	90.9	9	90.0	63	77.8
Independent	7	11.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	8.7
Totals	60	100.1	11	100.0	10	100.0	81	100.1

Community studies have often concluded that leadership groups differ in their general socioeconomic composition. Some studies comparing economic leaders with political leaders have found that the latter are drawn from lower socioeconomic statuses than are economic leaders.²² It is argued that, in terms of reputational leadership, economic success is a stable source of aggrandizing attributions which contribute to the relatively easy access of economic leaders to the local power structure. Political leaders, on the other hand, gain access to the power structure based on success qualifications in some other field. Presthus has observed: "Political leaders may become temporary members of the local power structure, but it seems unlikely that this role will culminate in either long-term service or an extended alliance with economic leaders."²³

Our criteria of reputational and political leadership do not directly lend to a test of the above findings. Reputational leaders include all those individuals who received leadership mentions by selected Key Positionals in the community. This inclusiveness implies that included in the reputational group are those individuals who lack the actual ability to influence the outcome of issues within the community; using participation as a criterion of actual influence, Table II, Appendix A, reveals that nearly one-sixth of the reputational leaders did not participate in any of the three community

²²Presthus, op. cit., p. 207.

²³Ibid., p. 606.

issues. It should be noted, in this respect, that reputation for leadership includes many attributes other than ability to influence the outcome of decisions. Analysis of answers to the question, "What qualification would a person need to become a leader in this community?", reveals that judgments are based upon willingness to work on community projects, interest shown in the community, organizational memberships, status positions, and contacts with other leaders as well as the perceived ability to influence decisions. The reputational category, then, includes those individuals who are just entering into the leadership group and, therefore, do not possess many of the attributes of upper-echelons of the power structure. This category also includes those who may, at one time, have been active in community affairs, but, who, for one reason or another, have not become a stable part of the local power structure. Professional occupational categories are characteristic of this latter trait. They are drawn into a particular issue because of their particular knowledge, exert some influence, and then withdraw from the policy-making structure but their reputation lives on -- it is recorded in the minds of other leaders to be drawn upon at some later date when a similar issue arises.

Political leaders were drawn from a list of all those who held a political office since 1962. Many of the same comments made about the reputational category apply to this category also. Of the twenty-one leaders in this category, three leaders did not participate actively in the two issues that were dealt with by the city government. Much of the

participation of political leaders was of an advisory, professional nature sometimes verging upon a rubber-stamp activity. This lack of control upon the categories of leaders, the attribution of the descriptive term "leader" to those who may not belong to this category, limit the direct comparison of this study to other studies in this section. However, these initial categories are important in describing differences between those who are ascribed different types of power in communities of this size.

Examination of the preceding tables reveals that all three leadership groups are drawn from essentially the same socioeconomic groups. Slight differences do appear, however, in many of the socioeconomic variables described in these tables. Reputational leaders, for example, have a somewhat higher average age than do either of the political leadership categories: The mean age of reputational leaders is 49.8 years while the mean age for both political categories is 46.8 years. One further observes that the extremes of the age groups are concentrated in the reputational type of leadership; that is, the reputational leadership group includes all of the leaders over sixty years of age and slightly over 85 per cent of all those under forty.

Political leaders tend to be characterized by long-term residence, at least in the fact that a smaller proportion of these leaders have lived in the community less than ten years. Using thirty years as the midpoint for "over 20 years" residence in the community, we find that the mean for length of residence is as follows: political-reputational leaders,

23.6 years; political leaders, 20.6 years; and reputational leaders, 20.6 years. Slight differences also appear in the experiences of the various leaders with other types of living conditions: political-reputational leaders tend to have had experiences in communities of the same size as the one in which they are now living while political and reputational leaders have lived in smaller communities or on farms for at least part of their lives.

Very little difference is found between the three groups in terms of educational attainment. A cursory glance at Table III-4 reveals that both groups of political leaders tend to be concentrated in the upper educational strata while the reputational leaders are more dispersed. This conclusion is born out when we look at the mean number of school years completed: political-reputational, 15.3; political, 14.9; and reputational, 14.9. The greatest educational differences are to be found between the leaders and the general community: all leaders, 15.0; persons 25 years old and over, 12.1.²⁴

Broad occupational categories show very little difference between the leadership groups. It is within the broader occupational categories that differences between leadership types becomes most apparent. The reputational leaders, for example, are made up primarily of doctors, lawyers, communications workers, banking and financial personnel, and the managers of the larger business concerns within the community. The occupations of the political-reputational leaders, on

²⁴U.S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit., Table 32, p. 163.

the other hand, are concentrated in the new professions and small business managers and proprietors. Political leaders are drawn primarily from the semi-professional and small business occupations. In terms of gross categories, it should be noted that fully two-thirds of the leaders (excluding ministers and bank vice-presidents and managers) are self-employed or in partnership. This last category is cited to illustrate that if the leadership groups were viewed in terms of business activity or economic success a considerable majority would be classified as economically independent. This economic independence is especially noted among the professional occupations; that is, nearly three-fourths of the professional occupational category (excluding clergymen) are either self-employed or in partnership with another professional.

Major differences appear between political and reputational leadership groups when father's occupations are taken into consideration. Reputational leaders, more than any of the other groups, come from the lower occupational groups. It would seem from this that the reputational leaders are occupationally more mobile than their counterparts in the political structure.

Figures dealing with income levels are somewhat misleading in that incomes are not always accurately reported; for example, the reputational leader reporting the lowest income is the owner of two hotels, one motel, a restaurant, and several pieces of property in the community and several businesses outside the community. Allowing for this inaccu-

racy of reporting, slight differences between the leadership types are noted. Reputational leaders have slightly higher incomes than either of the political leadership types. Mean incomes for the groups are as follows: reputational leaders, \$26,185; political leaders, \$23,250; and political-reputational leaders, \$20,430. Compared to the median family income of \$6,235 for the community, the entire leadership group represents an economic elite. It is suspected that if "net worth" were taken as the index of economic position, then more marked differences would become apparent, for how does one estimate the value of accumulated property not recorded as income but which can be converted into assets if needed.

Very small differences are found between the three leadership types when community activity is taken into account. Most significant is the concentration of Democrats among the reputational leaders. This concentration might have been expected since reputational leaders have a somewhat more heterogeneous background than do political leaders combined with the fact that Kansas is traditionally a Republican state.

In summary, respondents in this study represent a select section of the community. They represent the socio-economic elite of this Kansas community in all respects. Differences between leadership groups based upon this rough initial trichotomy are slight and virtually insignificant. In other words, both political and reputational leadership types seem to be drawn from the same well.

Concepts, Nominal Definitions, and Indicators

Power Rank

The concept of power rank used in this study focuses upon the perception of the power structure within the local community by those individuals considered to be influential. It is assumed that these individuals, the "key" reputational leaders discussed above, occupy positions which allow them to observe the inner workings of the decision-making process and to discern those individuals which exert influence with a high degree of success.

Power, like other status factors, is a system of regularized inequality referring to the capacity to achieve goals in a society. Being a quality which is both attributed to and exercised by certain individuals in any social system, it can be thought of as being possessed in varying degrees by these individuals. That is, power has limits and rights according to the possessor.

The measurement of the concept, power rank, follows the method used by Carol E. Thometz in her study of the power structure of Dallas, Texas.²⁵ First, the seventeen "key" reputational leaders (which included two political-reputational leaders), were asked to rate the relative power or influence of the eighty-four individuals designated as leaders by "key positionals" and the possession of political offices. Each of these "judges" were asked the following question:

²⁵Thometz, op. cit., pp. 42-44.

In the Rate of Influence column, please give your opinion as to how influential each of these individuals are by rating them from (1) one -- "least influential" -- to ten (10) -- "most influential" -- on the basis of their general ability to get things done in the community or their ability to block the success of local issues. If you feel that an individual has no community wide, top-level influence, place a "N" by his name.

In order to enhance the understanding of these instructions the respondent was handed a card similar to the following:

INFLUENCE RATING SCALE									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Least Influence					Most Influence				
"N" = No Influence									

In spite of assurances of confidentiality, four community "judges" refused to rate individuals on such a scale. Since no attempt was made to replace the "judges" with other influentials, the highest possible raw score was 130 resulting in a mean score of 10.000. Judges were not asked to rate themselves.

From these answers "power scores" were determined. If a person received a "10" rating as "most influential" from all thirteen judges his total raw score would be 130. Raw scores for judges, since they were not asked to rate themselves, were obtained by adding the mean score of his raw score received from the other twelve judges to his total score. This insured comparability of the power scores. The

highest possible mean score for all individuals on the list was 10.000. The raw scores ranged from 123.500 to 12.000; the mean scores, from 9.500 to 0.923.

The power rank of these eighty-one individuals is obtained by ranking the mean scores from highest mean score to lowest mean score. The results of this ranking are listed in Table III-10.

For the purpose of analyzing the power structure it was deemed necessary to determine whether the power scores formed a continuum or were stratified into different levels of power. Duncan's New Multiple Range Test,²⁶ a statistical procedure designed to test the difference between each mean score and every other mean score for mathematical proof of a gap in the distribution of sufficient magnitude to be statistically significant, was run on the data.²⁷ This test failed to produce evidence of significant gaps between adjacent means in the power ranking distribution. From this it was concluded that the power rankings obtained from this procedure represent a continuum of power with little difference in influence between two adjacent actors.

In order to provide some empirical validation of the rank order of the decision-makers obtained by the ten-point Power Ranking Scale, judges were also asked to select from the list of potential leaders those leaders who stood out in any one of three issue-areas: education, industrial

²⁶David B. Duncan, "Multiple Range and Multiple F Tests," *Biometrics*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March, 1955), pp. 1-42.

²⁷See Table 3 and Table 4, Appendix A.

TABLE III-10.--JUDGER SCORES OF EIGHTY-FOUR LEADERS

Code No.	Rank	Raw Score	Mean Score	No. of "N's"	Code No.	Rank	Raw Score	Mean Score	No. of "N's"
027 ^a	1	123.500	9.500	...	057 ^b	44	58.000	4.462	1
163 ^b	2	110.000	8.462	...	214 ^d	44	58.000	4.462	2
244 ^a	3	108.333	8.333	...	262	44	58.000	4.462	...
072 ^a	4	107.250	8.250	...	220 ^a	46	57.417	4.417	1
018 ^a	5	101.833	7.833	...	187 ^c	47.5	57.000	4.385	...
078 ^a	6	96.417	7.417	...	112 ^c	47.5	57.000	4.385	2
100	7	95.000	7.307	...	030	49	56.000	4.308	...
015	8.5	90.000	6.923	...	211	50.5	55.000	4.231	...
066	8.5	90.000	6.923	...	115 ^b	50.5	55.000	4.231	2
036 ^{ac}	10	86.667	6.667	...	054	53	54.000	4.154	1
124 ^a	11	84.500	6.500	...	081	53	54.000	4.154	...
205	12	83.000	6.384	...	118 ^c	53	54.000	4.154	1
133	13.5	82.000	6.308	...	106	56	52.000	4.000	1
006	13.5	82.000	6.308	...	069	56	52.000	4.000	1
208	15	80.000	6.153	...	157	56	52.000	4.000	1
238 ^a	16	79.083	6.033	...	109 ^c	59	51.000	3.923	...
190	17.5	79.000	6.077	...	130	59	51.000	3.923	...
103	17.5	79.000	6.077	...	199	59	51.000	3.923	1
051	19	76.000	5.846	...	091 ^a	61	49.833	3.833	1
223 ^{ac}	20	75.833	5.833	...	087	62	49.000	3.769	...
232	22	75.000	5.769	...	160 ^c	63	48.000	3.692	1
121	22	75.000	5.769	...	012	65.5	47.000	3.615	1
060	22	75.000	5.769	...	063 ^c	65.5	47.000	3.615	1
021	25	72.000	5.538	...	166 ^c	65.5	47.000	3.615	1
151	25	72.000	5.538	...	202 ^c	65.5	47.000	3.615	...
136	25	72.000	5.538	...	250	68.5	46.000	3.538	...
075 ^a	27	70.417	5.417	...	045 ^{cd}	68.5	46.000	3.538	4
154 ^c	28	69.000	5.308	...	226	70	45.000	3.462	2
009 ^c	29	68.000	5.231	...	139	71.5	44.000	3.385	1
084	31	67.000	5.154	...	145	71.5	44.000	3.385	4
184	31	67.000	5.154	...	039 ^c	73.5	41.000	3.154	1
247	31	67.000	5.154	...	241 ^c	73.5	41.000	3.154	1
259 ^b	33.5	66.000	5.077	...	033	76	39.000	3.000	2
024	33.5	66.000	5.077	...	127	76	39.000	3.000	2
181 ^c	35	65.000	5.000	...	253 ^c	76	39.000	3.000	...
229	36	63.000	4.846	...	193 ^d	78	37.000	2.846	2
169 ^c	37.5	62.000	4.769	...	148	79	36.000	2.769	2
175 ^c	37.5	62.000	4.769	...	178	80	35.000	2.692	2
235 ^c	39.5	61.000	4.692	...	003 ^c	81	28.000	2.154	5
172 ^c	39.5	61.000	4.692	...	094	82	26.000	2.000	5
097 ^a	41	60.667	4.667	...	042	83	23.000	1.769	5
217	42	59.000	4.538	...	048	84	12.000	0.923	8

^aCommunity judges.^bCommunity judges who refused to rate other influentials.^cPolitical influentials or officeholders.^dNot interviewed or incomplete interviews.

development, and community welfare. The question read as follows:

"If you were responsible for a major project concerning (insert the name of one of the issue-areas) which was before the community that required a decision by a group of leaders -- leaders that nearly everyone would accept -- which five on this list would you choose, regardless of whether they are known to you personally or not? Please feel free to add names to this list if you wish."

The rationale for this procedure lies, in effect, in the selectivity of issues that it allows. In other words, these leadership choice questions may be better grounded in actual decision-making within issue-areas rather than generalized estimates of influence obtained by the Power Ranking Scale. Table III-11 reveals that there is a fairly high relationship between the judges' choices and the power rankings. Most importantly this table reveals that generality of leadership dissipates as one moves down the power continuum and speciality of leadership becomes an important criterion. It should be noted that as one moves into the middle range of the power continuum considerable flux becomes associated with specialization in terms of the comparability of the various power indices. This variability arises primarily from the nature of decision-making and the role played by the upper-echelons of the existing structure. In the middle ranges of the power continuum are the activists and specialists who carry the greatest load in the total process. The leaders are consulted and drawn into action by other leaders who, as Hunter put it, watch over things and make sure that they go. Among this group of activists and specialists are the assistant managers of the largest industries, the

TABLE III-11.--SOCIOMETRIC CHOICES FOR LEADERSHIP IN
COMMUNITY PROJECTS BY POWER RANK

Code No.	Rank	Type of Project				Code No.	Rank	Type of Project			
		A*	B*	C*	Total			A*	B*	C*	Total
027 ^a	1	7	8	8	23	057 ^b	44	1	-	1	2
163 ^b	2	6	6	4	16	214 ^d	44	-	-	-	0
244 ^a	3	4	8	6	18	262	44	-	-	-	0
072 ^a	4	2	5	9	16	220 ^a	46	-	-	-	0
018 ^a	5	2	7	2	11	187 ^c	47.5	-	-	-	0
078 ^a	6	3	1	7	11	112 ^c	47.5	-	2	1	3
100	7	8	1	2	11	030	49	-	-	-	0
015	8.5	2	6	1	9	211	50.5	-	-	-	0
066	8.5	2	5	2	9	115 ^b	50.5	-	-	-	0
036 ^{ac}	10	-	6	1	7	054	53	-	-	1	1
124 ^a	11	-	2	1	3	081	53	-	-	-	0
205	12	5	-	1	6	118 ^c	53	-	-	-	0
133	13.5	-	-	1	1	106	56	-	-	-	0
006	13.5	1	-	2	3	069	56	-	-	-	0
203	15	1	-	1	2	157	56	-	-	-	0
238 ^a	16	7	-	-	7	109 ^c	59	1	-	1	2
190	17.5	1	-	1	2	130	59	-	1	-	1
103	17.5	1	-	-	1	199	59	-	-	1	1
051	19	-	4	1	5	091 ^a	61	1	-	-	1
223 ^{ac}	20	-	3	-	3	037	62	2	-	-	2
232	22	8	-	-	8	160 ^c	63	-	-	1	1
121	22	-	-	1	1	012	65.5	-	-	-	0
060	22	3	1	-	4	063 ^c	65.5	-	-	-	0
021	25	4	-	1	5	166 ^c	65.5	1	-	-	1
151	25	-	4	-	4	202 ^c	65.5	-	-	-	0
136	25	-	-	1	1	250	68.5	-	-	-	0
075 ^a	27	-	2	1	3	045 ^{cd}	68.5	-	-	1	1
154 ^c	28	-	-	-	0	226	70	1	1	-	2
009 ^c	29	-	-	-	0	139	71.5	-	-	1	1
034	31	2	-	4	6	145	71.5	-	-	1	1
184	31	1	-	-	1	039 ^c	73.5	-	-	-	0
247	31	-	-	-	0	241 ^c	73.5	-	-	-	0
259 ^b	33.5	-	2	-	2	033	76	-	-	-	0
024	33.5	-	-	1	1	127	76	-	-	-	0
181 ^c	35	-	-	2	2	253 ^c	76	-	-	-	0
229	36	-	1	-	1	193 ^d	78	-	-	-	0
169 ^c	37.5	-	-	-	0	148	79	-	-	-	0
175 ^c	37.5	-	-	1	1	178	80	-	-	-	0
235 ^c	39.5	-	1	1	2	003 ^c	81	-	-	-	0
172 ^c	39.5	-	-	-	0	094	82	-	-	-	0
097 ^a	41	-	2	-	2	042	83	-	-	-	0
217	42	-	-	-	0	048	84	-	-	-	0

*Note: Types of Projects on which leaders were chosen: A = Education; B = Industrial Development; C = Community Welfare.

^aCommunity judges asked to rate all other leaders on the list.

^bCommunity judges who refused to rate all other leaders.

^cPolitical influentials or officeholders.

^dNot interviewed or incomplete interviews.

vice-presidents of the financial institutions, engineers, educators, small business proprietors, lawyers, doctors, would-be state politicians, and all others who are willing to work on community projects and who can legitimize community projects by their presence. This is not to say that this group is not influential, rather it is more true that their influence and activity is variable, thus their ratings on the different scales reflect this variability. As one business executive put it: "Some people would kill a project just by their presence among the supporters. At other times, these same people can make a similar project go." A more theoretically sophisticated explanation of this variability can be found in Svalastoga's comment about social anonymity: "To the extent that a person can appropriate the way of life of those above him, he is likely to be ranked higher except by those who know his other characteristics."²⁸

Status Crystallization

Status crystallization -- the degree to which mutually equivalent rank levels of different status rank hierarchies coincide in their incumbents -- is an alteration and continuation of the concept of status rank. Operationally, status rank is defined as the combined relative position of individuals in four vertical hierarchies: the income hierarchy, the occupational hierarchy, the educational hierarchy, and

²⁸Kaare Svalastoga, "Social Differentiation," in Robert L. Faris (ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964), p. 537.

the ethnic hierarchy. These four hierarchies are chosen because of their individual importance, the relative ease in which information about them may be obtained, and their role in the measurement of status-crystallization.

The determination of the structure of each of these status hierarchies follows the method outlined by Lenski²⁹ in his study of status crystallization. In that the income and education hierarchies are quantitative in nature, there was no difficulty in defining their structures.³⁰ The structure of the occupational hierarchy was quantified by using the "Transformed National Opinion Research Center Scale" devised by Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and his associates.³¹ This scale provides transformed N. O. R. C. ratings for all occupations listed in the 1950 Census and therefore eliminated much of the error caused by interpolation from the old North-Hatt scale.³²

The structure of the ethnic hierarchy was not computed for determining crystallization scores. This hierarchy was found to be unimportant in the present study due to the homogeneity of the leaders' ethnic backgrounds: nearly five-sixths of the leaders described their ethnic origins as

²⁹Lenski, American Sociological Review, Vol. 19, pp. 406-407.

³⁰For detailed tables showing the construction of the income and educational hierarchies, see Tables 5 and 6, Appendix A.

³¹Albert J. Reiss, Jr., with Otis Dudley Duncan, Paul K. Hatt, and Cecil C. North, Occupations and Social Status (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

³²For a detailed table showing the construction of the occupation hierarchy, see Table 7, Appendix A.

Northwest European. Of the remaining twelve leaders, eleven described themselves only as "American."

Once quantitative scales for each of the three hierarchies were established, common scales whereby the relative position of respondents in each hierarchy could be combined was accomplished by determining the frequency distribution for each hierarchy and assigning a crystallization score for each rank position in the hierarchy. This crystallization score was assumed to be representative of the individual's place in the cumulative percentage distribution of the status system. Crystallization scores were then added for each individual giving a raw status score for each individual. A status rank system can now be determined by ranking the mean crystallization scores for each individual. The utility of status rank systems determined in this manner is limited to the immediate data with which the person is dealing and is informative only in locating an individual's status position relative to other respondents in that study.

Having obtained comparable scores for each of the three status hierarchies, status crystallization scores were computed by taking the square root of the sum of the squared deviations from the mean of the three hierarchy scores and subtracting the resulting figure from one hundred. This process can be summarized by the following formula:

$$y = 100 - \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^3 (x_i - \bar{x})^2}$$

where x_i for $i = 1 - \dots 3$ refers to a person's percentile

score on each of the three dimensions mentioned, and \bar{x} denotes the mean value of the three scores. The more highly consistent an individual's status, the more nearly his crystallization score will approach one hundred; the less consistent or crystallized his status, the more nearly his crystallization score will approach zero.³³

For analytical purposes, the scores were dichotomized into two groups -- a high crystallization group and a low crystallization group. Those with status crystallization scores of 60.0 or more were put into the former category (N = 63) while those with scores of 59.9 or less were placed in the latter category (N = 18). The line of demarcation between the two groups was somewhat arbitrarily selected in the course of analysis for the following reasons. First, when compared with status-power crystallization scores, discussed below, this point represents a rough natural breaking point: slightly more than two points separates the two nearest scores for either status crystallization or status-power crystallization. Second, this breaking point falls below the mean crystallization scores for both dimension and gives some assurance that the latter group does have significantly lower scores than the average individual. This second reason is important due to the fact that a more significant breaking point occurs between 71.0 and 74.0 which lies above the mean crystallization score of 65.6. Finally, if the status crystallization scores were to be quartiled, this point would approximate the first quartile.

³³Lenski, op. cit., pp. 407-08.

Status-Power Crystallization

Status-power crystallization represents the correlation between one's power rank and his rank in the status hierarchies. The choice of these dimensions is based upon the assumption often made by researchers that leadership roles in the community setting are functions of status positions³⁴ and the assumption that a correlation between status and power is a dominant expectation of the members of a social system. For those whose expectations are fulfilled, or their status-power positions are highly crystallized, it is expected that they will be more likely to be satisfied with their environment and would be more likely to have a vested interest in maintaining the status-quo.

Status-power crystallization is determined by using similar methods as those described for determining status crystallization. Comparable quantitative scales were established for each of the status dimensions and for the power dimension³⁵ in a manner described above. As described above, a quantitative measure of crystallization was established by taking the square root of the sum of the squared deviations from the mean of the four hierarchies and subtracting the resulting figure from one hundred.

The determination of cutting points for the dichoto-

³⁴William A. Faunce and M. Joseph Smucker, "Industrialization and Community Structure," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, No. 3 (June, 1966), pp. 390-99.

³⁵For a detailed table showing the construction of the power hierarchy, see Table VIII, Appendix A.

mization of the status-power crystallization scores was discussed above. Those having status-power crystallization scores of 60.0 and above were placed in the high-crystallization group ($N = 44$) while those with scores of 59.9 or less were placed in the low-crystallization group ($N = 37$).

Before turning our attention from our crystallization categories, we should note a few theoretical points about status and status-power crystallization as applied in this study. First, we are not dealing with a random sample of a total population but with a very select group of leaders who differ significantly from the general population of the community, and, for that matter, any community elsewhere in the world. In this respect, crystallization has meaning only in comparing individuals within this leadership group and other leadership groups determined in a like manner. Second, it is hypothetically possible that many of the individuals placed in the low-crystallization category in this study would not be so placed if comparisons were drawn between their status positions and the status positions of other relevant actors in the community. In other words, many scores have been deflated merely by the absence of statistically normal population groups. The mere fact that this group represents less than one-half of one per cent of the total community gives some indication of the deflation process. A glance at Tables III-5 and III-7 gives another indication of the deflation process.

Finally, in spite of the above theoretical limitations, status and status-power crystallization are theoretically

meaningful concepts in that they measure "status discrepancies" as perceived by actors whose lives intermesh and who measure individual worth in terms of the group's values. By being attributed power by other community actors and by accepting this attribution -- only one respondent in this study refused to recognize himself as a leader or potential leader -- the principles of group dynamics are set in motion within each of the actors. Identification with this select group means, at least theoretically, that an actor is judging himself by the actions and attributes of other members of this group. Discrepancies between the actor's attributes and actions and others' attributes and actions take on an intense sociopsychological meaning for the actor whenever such comparisons are made with his peers. This study, therefore, is an attempt to measure the dynamics of status discrepancy within a more or less homogeneous group whose members interact and make judgments of self based on this interaction.

It is for the above reasons that the concept of status-power crystallization was developed for this study. It is assumed that community actors belonging to this select group would display very similar status attributes and that such status attributes lacked dynamic meaning for these actors since such status positions are normally compared with others outside the leadership group. Power, on the other hand, represents the dynamic dimension of this status relationship since it has an intragroup referent. In other words, the actor will measure his power position in terms of the status attributes that he possesses in comparison with the status

attributes of other possessors of power in his immediate group. Discrepancies in these social computations are assumed to be more meaningful than discrepancies in the status dimensions alone.

Attitude Toward Change

Attitude toward change as conceived of in the Introduction represents an actor's value-orientation toward social change. In this aspect of our research we are assuming that actors tend to make decisions in terms of their attitude toward external objects. These attitudes represent a commitment on the part of the actor toward a specific line of action with the ultimate intention of bringing about in time "those programs, behaviors, and artifacts he believes reflect the values to which he is committed."³⁶ More specifically, it is assumed that one's orientation toward change -- positive or negative -- influences the actor's behavior in decision-making situations. However, as pointed out earlier, a dichotomous model reflecting only positive and negative attitudes toward change is an oversimplification of a complex and dynamic attitude. An attempt to overcome the tendency toward simplification was suggested in Figure III-2 where a minus sign (-) means a negative response to the suggested thought in the column heading, and a plus sign (+) means agreement with the column heading, and a plus-minus sign (\pm) means neither agreement with nor rejection of the column heading.

³⁶Neal, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

FIGURE III-2.--GENERALIZED MODEL OF CHANGE
VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Value-Orientation	Satisfaction With Present Methods of Solving Problems	Need for Experimentation With New Methods	Immediate Need For Change
Radical Non-Change	-	-	-
Non-Change	+	-	-
Moderate Non-Change	+	±	-
Moderate Change	-	±	-
Change	-	+	-
Radical Change	-	+	+

In order to operationalize the concept of attitude toward change two dominant thoughts about this concept were isolated from the literature on social change: the actor's perception of the need for change and the actor's preference for different types of solutions to be applied to social system problems. Included in an actor's attitude is a rationalization of the need for that attitude. In the case presented here, it is assumed that an actor's perception of the need to find new solutions for meeting social system problems is directly tied to his general attitude toward change; that is, if an actor does not perceive a need for change it is unlikely that he will either initiate proposals for change or work toward the adoption of programs which will bring about change. Even when an actor can be said to

perceive a need for change this does not mean that he is seeing the same needs as other actors nor does it mean that he will be willing to adopt programs which seek to bring about social change. Perceptions of a need for change have directionality which differs from actor to actor.

We can conceptualize the directionality of need perceptions as being dichotomized in the following manner. First, there may be negative or regressive directions attached to the need perceptions. Here we recall the comments of Newman, which were quoted earlier, that there may be a desire for change which transcends the existing social arrangements by reinstituting programs and procedures established at some earlier date in history. Second, there may be a positive (depending on your point of view) or experimental directionality associated with these need perceptions. Old, established means for achieving ends or meeting social system exigencies are cast out as impractical in a dynamic social system and there is a desire to innovate or experiment with new programs and social arrangements.

Once these dominant elements had been identified, three questions were constructed which sought to draw forth the respondent's attitudes relating to these two elements. The questions are as follows:

- 1) In your opinion, do you feel that man will be able to meet the needs of the future successfully or unsuccessfully if he continues to apply the same solutions to these problems that he has used in the past? . . . Why is that?
- 2) In your opinion, the needs of the future and of today call for what sort of action on the part of our leaders?

Will the action be one of experimentation -- the implementation of new ideas and institutions -- . . . or . . . will they call for a program of action more firmly founded on the established ideas and institutions of our past? . . . Why is that?

3) Do you feel that the present needs of the community are being adequately or inadequately met? . . . Why is that?

In order to check the responses to each question and to aid in the determination of the utility of the change categories as presented in the model, each respondent was asked to explain his answer for each question. It should be noted that while every respondent was asked the three questions not every respondent was asked to explain his answer in detail due to the length of the interview schedule and the busy schedules of the respondents. The average length of an interview was one hour and fifteen minutes and were usually carried out at the respondent's place of business. In most cases of non-response the explanation question, "Why is that?", was eliminated from the interview because of a time limitation placed on the interview by the respondent. In a few cases the respondent did not feel that an explanation was necessary. With this in mind let us look more closely at this indicator and the explanations given by the respondents for each question.

Table III-12 summarizes the dominant explanatory themes given by respondents to the question dealing with the need to change the instruments and methods of the past in order to meet present and/or future social system problems. Analysis of these themes reveals that four-fifths of the respondents who were classified as having non-change orientations

TABLE 111-12.---DOMINANT EXPLANATORY THEMES FOR
QUESTION NO. 1 BY CHANGE-ORIENTATIONS

Radical Non-Change		Non-Change		Moderate Non-Change		Moderate Change		Change		Radical Change	
(N = 12)		(N = 14)		(N = 13)		(N = 12)		(N = 18)		(N = 12)	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
"Socialistic tendencies of our past won't work. The only hope is strong conservatism." "If the present philosophy continues it will be unsuccessful. . . ." ". . . welfare statism." "Man will eventually destroy himself if he continues the present trend. . . ."											
4	40.0	2	22.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
"There are so many substantial ideas and solutions that we don't need to worry about change." "People don't change -- neither do solutions." "What good is it to experiment?" "The methods of the past must determine the methods of the future." ". . . follow the Bible. . . ."											
2	20.0	4	44.5	3	37.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
"There are basic solutions which don't change but we may have to do a little rebuilding as problems arise." "Techniques may change but the basic philosophy remains the same." "Nothing is really wrong with our present system but maybe in the future we will need something." ". . . with refinements." ". . . not completely unsuccessful."											
0	0.0	2	22.2	5	62.5	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0
"Because things change we are going to have new problems with new solutions." "May not be the same solutions. Problems change and solutions must be new." "Some change is always needed." ". . . changes in values and technology." "Every year brings different methods of dealing with problems."											
2	20.0	1	11.1	0	0.0	10	83.4	10	58.9	3	30.0
"Change demands change." "Efforts of the past haven't worked. Youth is going to demand change. Change is the only thing we are sure about." "Resistance to change only brings chaos." "We must continue to experiment." "Past means are insufficient to maintain people and society." "A lot of our ideas about local government are antiquated. . . ." "Our government was designed for a horse and buggy era. . . ." ". . . we must relegate authority to government to seek new solutions."											
2	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	16.7	6	35.3	7	70.0
Totals of those giving some explanation											
10	100.0	9	100.0	8	100.0	12	100.1	17	100.1	10	100.0

responded negatively to this question while less than three per cent of the change oriented respondents elicited a negative explanation. These differences give considerable validity to the question and its ability to discriminate between change and non-change orientations.

Table III-13 summarizes the dominant explanatory themes given by respondents to the question dealing with the direction of change perceptions. More specifically, respondents are asked to specify the means or methods which they feel can most successfully be applied to solve social system exigencies. Analysis of the dominant themes reveals that the question has a high discriminative power between change and non-change orientations. All of the respondents classified by non-change orientations either felt that experimentation had brought or would only bring about the destruction of man or they felt that the established methods of dealing with problems offered the best formula and that if change was to occur it should be orderly following the guidelines of the past. In contrast, over two-thirds of the change oriented respondents either felt that experimentation with new ideas must be integrated with the established procedures or they felt that experimentation provided the only answer to many of the problems faced by society.

Table III-14 summarizes the explanatory themes given by respondents to the question dealing with the immediacy of perceived need for change as applied to the local community. While this question deals with another dimension of change which is not dealt with specifically by the first two ques-

TABLE III-13.--DOMINANT EXPLANATORY THEMES FOR
QUESTION NO. 2 BY CHANGE-ORIENTATIONS

Radical Non-Change		Non-Change		Moderate Non-Change		Moderate Change		Change		Radical Change	
(N = 12)		(N = 14)		(N = 13)		(N = 12)		(N = 18)		(N = 12)	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<p>"Can't repeal the law of supply and demand. Social Security and Medicare are not solutions. The socialists have tried to bring the United States to her knees and this is how they are doing it. Must reduce government in every category. . . ." "Leadership is going to have to be changed from the crooked people to the constructive people . . . the trouble is at the top." "Need a more careful screening of our leaders in all fields. . . ."</p>											
3	50.0	3	30.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
<p>"We must seek an orderly change. The ideas of the past should be used as guidelines but they do not apply 100 per cent." "We repeat history over and over again." "We should pay more attention to the established ideas. . . . Even though there are a few things that need changed because of time and inadequacy we must always rely upon the past." "There is a lot of change in the future but not many more choices than we have had in the past." ". . . need to refine." "We must lean on the past. . . ." "While we can't go forward on either alone we must still follow the basic rules."</p>											
3	50.0	7	70.0	5	83.3	7	70.0	2	16.7	0	0.0
<p>"Have to experiment, but also should temper it with understanding of the past and the values adhered to in the institutions. We get our bearings from the past but must show a willingness to try new methods and experimentation." "Can't always use the same solutions because of changing problems." "Leadership must provide a favorable environment. Government can do some things best. . . . We live in the present, guided by the past and hope in the future."</p>											
0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	20.0	3	25.0	4	57.2
<p>"We have to experiment because of such rapid change." "There are instant cities springing up as laboratories for city planning -- we must learn from them and adapt these solutions to our own need." "Need drastic innovation. . . ." ". . . require experimentation." "The genius of America has been experimentation. Nothing is planned to last, only for tomorrow." ". . . we must somehow meet the needs of the people all over the world."</p>											
0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	7	58.3	3	42.8
Totals of those giving an explanation:											
6	100.0	10	100.0	6	100.0	10	100.0	12	100.0	7	100.0

TABLE III-14.--DOMINANT EXPLANATORY THEMES FOR
QUESTION NO. 3 BY CHANGE-ORIENTATIONS

Radical Non-Change		Non-Change		Moderate Non-Change		Moderate Change		Change		Radical Change	
(N = 12)		(N = 14)		(N = 13)		(N = 12)		(N = 18)		(N = 12)	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<p>"If someone answers inadequate they don't know what they are talking about. We are adequately handling all of our problems." "We are getting more than we want." "We are already spending too much money." "We are meeting our needs in an above average fashion." "Man's basic needs are provided for by his own sweat. He can get along adequately if he wants to work." "We can't force change."</p>											
2	33.3	4	66.7	2	66.7	3	30.0	1	10.0	0	0.0
<p>"We can survive and live comfortably but we must not become complacent. There is always room to improve." "We are working hard -- it is only a matter of degree as to how adequate." "Government works slow but we are progressing." ". . . adequate within limits." "We are doing what we can." ". . . progressing in almost every area."</p>											
3	50.0	2	33.3	1	33.3	6	60.0	7	70.0	0	0.0
<p>"We are always five years behind the times." "As far as I can see there are needs which are put off until you run into trouble -- needs which are never really met." "We have become too concerned with buildings and money rather than people." "The forces of reaction are too powerful to maintain the community." "We have failed to accept the problem. We are too satisfied with what we have."</p>											
1	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	2	20.0	7	100.0
Totals of those giving an explanation:											
6	100.0	6	100.0	3	100.0	10	100.0	10	100.0	7	100.0
Number and per cent answering "Inadequate":											
1	8.3	2	14.3	2	15.4	1	8.3	0	0.0	12	100.0

tions, it does allow us to measure the willingness of the actors to work for change in their immediate community if not elsewhere. Analysis of these themes is somewhat obscured by the fact that the radical change orientation is distinguished from the change orientation by an "inadequate" response on this question. If we exclude both of the moderate orientations, analysis of the themes reveals that half of the non-change oriented respondents foresaw no need for change in the community while over half the change oriented respondents felt that there was an immediate need for change. More than half of the two moderate orientations gave non-committal responses confirming this classification.

While no empirical tests of scalability were run on the attitude questions, analysis of the questions reveals that they do discriminate between the various orientations toward change with a high degree of predictability. The absence of overlapping explanations between these five orientations gives further confidence to our model of change orientations. It appears to be plausible that these are real categories which have their equivalent in any social system.

This conclusion is not entirely based upon the analysis of the explanations that respondents gave for their answers to these three attitude questions. A second procedure used to validate the model of change was an analysis of answers to the following question:

"In the news . . . one often hears the terms liberal, conservative, and moderate applied to the political opinion of individuals. Using these terms -- conservative, liberal, or moderate -- how would you describe your own political opinions?"

Table III-15 summarizes only the positive answers to the above question and relates the expressed political attitudes only to change and non-change orientations due to the small number of positive responses ($N = 32$).³⁷ The chi-square test leads us to conclude that there is a highly significant difference between change orientations and expressed political opinions. Yule's Q ³⁸ test of association reveals that there is a significant positive association between change orientations and expressed political opinions. This test lends strong support to the conclusion that the attitude scale using the three attitude questions discussed above has empirical utility in distinguishing between change orientations as indicated by expressed political opinions.

A third test of the predictive ability of the attitude toward change scale was developed from the hypothesis that

³⁷It should be noted that while we seem to be measuring essentially the same attitude in the value-orientation scale and the expressed political opinion question, there is a different empirical referent for each of the measures. Political opinions, for example, usually have a specific reference to programs and individuals who are identified with the political opinion. Answers to such questions depend upon the respondent's knowledge of the philosophies and the people identified with programs; lack of knowledge about the meanings of the terms "conservative" and "liberal" lead to ambiguous and/or "don't know" responses (60.5% of the answers in this study). The value-orientation scale, on the other hand, does not require that the respondents have such a thorough knowledge of the meanings of such ambiguous terms and also measures a more general attitude toward change as it is held by the respondent.

³⁸Yule's Q (sometimes called Kendall's Q) is a test of association between two variables in a fourfold table. Q is obtained by computing the ratio between the difference and the sum of the cross products of the diagonal cells. See Herbert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), pp. 231-32.

there is a positive relationship between attitude toward change and the willingness to use federal funds for community projects. It was reasoned that conservatives would be less willing to use federal funds to aid the community in meeting many of its problems than would leaders having favorable attitudes toward change. To test this hypothesis a community services and facilities scale³⁹ was used to obtain information about various community projects. Each time a respondent perceived a definite need to improve one of the 16 community services and facilities he was asked whether federal funds should be drawn upon to improve that service or facility.⁴⁰

TABLE III-15.--EXPRESSED POLITICAL OPINIONS
OF LEADERS BY ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGE

Attitude Toward Change	Expressed Political Opinions			Chi- Square	Level of Signif- icance	Yule's Q
	Conserv.	Liberal	Totals			
Non- Change	16	1	17	15.63	.001	+0.956
Change	4	11	15			
Totals	20	12	32			

³⁹Cr., pp. 158-60.

⁴⁰The comparison is between value-orientations and the incidence of preference for using federal funds to solve community problems. In other words, it was possible for each actor to respond 16 times to the question pertaining to the preferability of using federal funds to solve deficiencies in

Table III-16 summarizes the relationship of preference for the use of federal funds to solve community problems and attitudes toward change. While there is a significant difference between change attitudes on the subject of using federal funds the association between these two variables is not as great as would have been expected from the hypothesis. It may be that the nature of the community service and facility scale reduced the association of these variables because of the mixing of traditionally federal sponsored services -- occupational retraining, urban renewal, retirement and old age facilities, and welfare -- with traditionally locally sponsored services -- retail facilities, zoning regulations, community recreation, police and fire protection, and streets and roads. Another factor which may have entered into the association is the feeling expressed by many leaders that if the money is available then why not use it. Without a thorough analysis of the answers given to this question and without data to provide for such an analysis one can only speculate about the relatively low association between these variables.

In summary, the analysis of the respondents' explanations for their answers on each of the attitude questions, the relationship between attitudes and expressed political

community services and facilities. The incidence of response ranged from 11 responses by one actor to "no" responses by seventeen actors who perceived no need to change any of the 16 community services and facilities. The mean number of responses was 2.5 which is reflected by the fact that each respondent was dissatisfied with two or three of the services and facilities offered by the community.

opinions, and the relationship between attitudes and preference for the use of federal funds support with a considerable degree of confidence use of this empirical tool for predicting behavior in respect to social change. It would seem that the scale as developed does discriminate between change and non-change value-orientations with a fairly high degree of predictability.

TABLE III-16.--RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDE
TOWARD CHANGE AND PREFERENCE FOR THE USE
OF FEDERAL FUNDS

Attitude Toward Change	Use of Federal Funds			Chi- Square	Level of Signif- icance	Yule's Q
	Yes	No	Totals			
Change	78	42	120	4.517	.05	+0.301
Non- Change	41	41	82			
Totals	119	83	202			

Community Satisfaction

Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with existing community facilities and attitudes toward efforts of improvement have also been used by researchers as viable dimensions of attitudes toward social change.⁴¹ It is assumed that individuals having a high degree of vested interest in the status quo will tend to be more satisfied with the existing community

⁴¹Gamie, op. cit.

services and facilities and will be less willing to invest effort in changing these social patterns than those individuals who have lower degrees of vested interests.

An index of community satisfaction was obtained from the responses obtained from questions about the present condition and the efforts toward the improvement of sixteen community services and facilities in the community.⁴² Each respondent was asked to indicate whether he was highly satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or highly dissatisfied with the present condition of the facility or service, or if he felt that the service was not needed by the community. "Dissatisfied" responses were then probed to discover whether the respondent felt that the efforts to improve this facility or service were adequate or inadequate. This procedure led to the development of two indexes of satisfaction which make up the community satisfaction index: the index of satisfaction with the present condition of services and facilities and the index of satisfaction with efforts to improve the present condition of services and facilities.

The index of satisfaction with the present condition of services and facilities was determined by rating each response from +2 to -2 depending upon whether the respondent was highly satisfied ("Don't Need" responses were taken to be the equivalent of high satisfaction), satisfied, don't know (zero score), dissatisfied, or highly dissatisfied. The scores were then summed and the sign (+ or -) signified the respond-

⁴²Each respondent was also given the opportunity to add facilities and services to this list.

ent's direction of satisfaction with the present condition of the community services and facilities. The scores obtained from this index ranged from +20 to -17 having a mean satisfaction score of +5.73.

The index of satisfaction with efforts to improve the present condition of services and facilities which are viewed as unsatisfactory was determined to serve as a check against the inclusion of individuals who may be dissatisfied with the present condition of community services and facilities but are satisfied with the community's effort to improve them and therefore would resist any further efforts toward change. This index was obtained by rating the responses to the question on efforts toward improvement from +2 to -2 depending on whether the respondent views these efforts as adequate, doesn't know (zero score), or inadequate. These scores were then summed and the sign of the summation was taken to be the respondent's direction of satisfaction with efforts toward the improvement of community services and facilities. The scores obtained from this index ranged from +18 to -22 having a mean satisfaction score of -0.32.

The general index of community satisfaction was obtained by summing the respondent's scores from the two sub-indexes. For example, a respondent having a score of -15 on the index of satisfaction with the present condition of services and facilities and a score of +20 on the second index would receive a general index of community satisfaction score of +5 indicating satisfaction with community services and facilities and, hypothetically, a tendency to resist further change in

the community. The scores obtained from this index ranged from +22 to -37 with a mean community satisfaction score of +5.32.

The index of community satisfaction, as outlined above, is assumed to be a dimension of attitude toward change: dissatisfaction being indicative of change value-orientations and satisfaction, non-change value-orientations. Assuming the assumption to be valid, the index of satisfaction affords us an opportunity to again test the discriminatory power of the change model described earlier. In order to test the relationship between these two indexes two statistical manipulations were performed on the data. First, the community satisfaction scores were transformed to positive scores by adding 40 to each of the respondents' satisfaction scores; that is, by linear transformation the satisfaction scores were computed as positive integers. Second, the change value-orientations were divided into three groups instead of the six used previously: non-change orientations ($N = 26$), moderate orientations ($N = 25$), and change orientations ($N = 30$). An analysis of variance with 3 treatments was then undertaken, the F-value was calculated and tested for significance (Table III-17). The mean satisfaction scores were then calculated for each group, ordered in a descending array, and subjected to Fisher's Least Significant Difference (LSD) test⁴³ in order to statistically test the discrimina-

⁴³For a discussion of this test see H. C. Fryer, Concepts and Methods of Experimental Statistics (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966), pp. 259-70.

tory power of the proposed model of change.

TABLE III-17.--ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF
SATISFACTION SCORES FOR CHANGE
VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F
Between Change Orientations	2	1684.681	842.341	8.183*
Within Change Orientations	78	8028.973	102.936	
Total	80	9713.654		

*Significance: $<.01$. Decision: Reject the hypothesis that all means are equal in favor of the alternate hypothesis that some means are not equal.

The results of the F-test and Fisher's LSD test reaffirm our original confidence in the proposed model of change. While it is apparent that the model of change lacks the ability to discriminate between non-change and moderate value-orientation to a significant degree, it appears that the model does discriminate between change value-orientations and both moderate and non-change value-orientations. It would seem, therefore, that, in this study at least, moderate and non-change value-orientations belong to the same population and cannot, without some reservation, be considered analytically distinct groups. However, unless otherwise specified in the discussion, when we speak of a dichotomized change category reference will be to a change category which includes the moderate change value-orientation and a non-

change category including the moderate non-change value-orientation.

TABLE III-18.--ORDERED ARRAY OF MEAN SATISFACTION SCORES FOR CHANGE VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND INDICATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG THE MEANS AT THE .05 LEVEL (*)

Change Value-Orientations:	Non-Change	Moderate	Change
Mean ($\bar{x}_{i.}$):	<u>+9.577</u>	+7.960	-0.567

LSD* = 5.469. The means ($\bar{x}_{i.}$'s) lying above the same horizontal line are not significantly different; the mean lying outside the line is significantly different from the other means at the .05 level of significance.

Behavior in Change Situations

Social theory has little true meaning unless some relationship exists between theoretical concepts and actual behavior. Throughout this study it has constantly been assumed that the behavior of decision-makers is a result of their prior experiences in their social environment. In order to test behavior in change situations three community issues were selected to be studied in some detail. In each of these issues the respondents were asked to indicate in which issues they were active participants and which of these issues they supported ("were in favor of") or opposed regardless of their degree of participation. Each active participant in an issue was also asked to name several other individuals who supported or opposed that issue. In broad terms, behavior is merely self-reported support of or

opposition to community issues and/or those who were reported to be in support of or opposition to a community issue by two or more active participants in that issue.

A more finite definition of this concept is the self-reported and/or other-reported behavior in support of or opposition to community issues by actors actively participating in the issues. In other words, behavior, in its most explicit form, includes not only a public decision of support or opposition but also some form of action upon that decision. An evaluation of one's position on a specific issue is only an attitude toward that position and does not become overt until one translates that attitude into an actual behavior such as voting or taking part in a panel discussion.

For the purposes of this study the first definition of behavior was found to be the most appropriate due to the small number of decision-makers who were actively opposed to each of the three issues studied. Only three, less than five per cent, of the active participants opposed the Junior College issue; nine, twenty per cent, opposed the Flood Control issue; and twelve, or twenty-seven per cent, opposed the Revenue Bond issue. These N's are extremely small when compared to the fact that nearly fifty per cent of the respondents were in stated opposition to one or more of the three issues. A second factor which led to the rejection of the more precise definition of "behavior" was the need for comparability between issues and the fact that not all active participants were active in the same issues.

The operational definition of behavior used in this

study is the self-reported and/or other reported support and opposition of community issues of both participants and non-participants in each issue. Behavior which is resistant to change, or non-change behavior, was defined as self-reported opposition to one or more of the three community issues.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Science, it has been observed, is man's common experiences symbolically formulated. Abstraction and verification of common experiences may pose few problems for the everyday communication of meaning among lay people but for the empirically inclined the abstraction of such experiences into workable hypotheses and typologies lies at the foundation of scientific knowledge. Verification of such abstractions constitutes the continued modification and reconstruction of the theoretical world in light of such facts gathered about the real world. McKinney has observed,

Data are isolated elements in a world of things, and their isolation is overcome by the scientist's hypothesis. He cannot stop with the data. They do not speak for themselves, but are a phase of the investigation involved in his cognitive advance. The problem for the scientist is not simply a matter of "seeing" what is "out there." Seeing in any meaningful sense depends upon our looking, and looking will inevitably reflect a whole system of interests, theories, and purposes that will lead us to seek one character rather than another in the object or matter under consideration.¹

Within the context of our theoretical formulations we are seeking to empirically define the relationship between common experience observations about decision-making and theoretically hypothesized factors regarding the manner in

¹McKinney, op. cit., p. 200.

which these decisions are made. On the one hand, common experience would say that decisions are made in line with the self-interests of a group of leaders who are powerful in the local community. On the other, we have hypothesized that such decisions are made in line with certain evaluative processes in which alternate modes of action are accepted or rejected as feasible means of solving community problems according to the actor's value-orientations. The actor's value-orientations are further hypothesized to be a product of the "dynamic" discrepancies which the actor experiences between reality and his status-power expectations. The evaluative process then is seen as a priority relationship in arriving at community decisions and as a value-establishing and -maintaining activity. It enables actors within a social system to establish goals and the means for the attainment of such goals in accord with the common organizing principles which the actor holds to be valid. It is the object of this chapter to empirically test these theoretical and common sense observations using the instruments defined in the previous chapter.

Status and Status-Power Discrepancies and Attitude Toward Change

Research in the social sciences has generally held that attitudes toward change are products of actors' experience in the social world. One of the dynamic experiences faced by every actor is others' evaluation of his status attributes. In this respect, Lenski had tested and found verification for

the hypothesis that "individuals characterized by a low degree of status crystallization differ significantly in their political attitudes and behavior from individuals characterized by a high degree of status crystallization, when status differences in the vertical dimensions are controlled."² In other words, Lenski found that actors who experienced discrepant status evaluations were more prone toward democratic party affiliation and held more favorable attitudes toward change than actors whose status evaluations were consistent from one dimension to another.

This study is not primarily concerned with Lenski's status crystallization dimension as a primary source of change value-orientations. However, since status crystallization scores were computed for each leader in the community being studied in order to compute their status-power crystallization scores, an analysis of variance with six treatments was undertaken, the F-value was calculated and tested for significance in order to determine whether status crystallization played a determining role in the actor's attitude toward change (Table IV-1). This method of analysis reveals that, contrary to Lenski's research, status crystallization has little, if any, effect upon leaders' attitudes toward change. More specifically, it can be statistically assumed that there is no significant difference between the mean status crystallization score of each of the six change value-orientations determined by our model.

²Lenski, op. cit., pp. 405-06.

TABLE IV-1.---ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF STATUS
CRYSTALLIZATION SCORES FOR CHANGE
VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Tab. F
Between Change Value-Orientations	5	451.89	90.378	0.317	2.34*
Within Change Value-Orientations	75	21357.00	284.760		
Total	80	22809.89			

*Decision: Accept the hypothesis that all means are equal to the grand mean at the .05 level of significance.

TABLE IV-2.--MEAN STATUS CRYSTALLIZATION SCORES
AND PER CENT OF LEADERS WITH SCORES BELOW
59.9 FOR CHANGE VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Change Value- Orientations	Number	Mean Crystallization Scores	Per Cent of Leaders with Scores Below 59.9
Radical Non-Change	12	75.4	16.7
Non-Change	14	69.0	21.4
Moderate Non-Change	13	75.5	15.4
Moderate Change	12	71.1	25.0
Change	18	72.5	27.8
Radical Change	12	70.4	25.0
Totals	81	72.3	22.2

The primary concern of this study is with the extension of Lenski's status crystallization concept to include the power dimension of stratification. Since power is an ascribed quality involving others' evaluations of the actor's relative position in other achieved dimensions of social status, it was hypothesized that status-power discrepancies would be the more dynamic condition faced by leaders or potential leaders in a local community: There is an inverse relationship between the degree of power crystallization and favorable attitudes toward change.

In order to test the first hypothesis of this study several statistical tests were run on the data. First, an analysis of variance with six treatments was undertaken, the F-value was then calculated and tested for significance to determine whether there were any significant gaps between mean status-power crystallization scores for each of the change value-orientations. Table IV-3 reveals that there is no statistical justification for concluding that any one of the mean status-power crystallization scores significantly differs from any other score.

While we must tentatively reject our hypothesis that status-power crystallization is negatively related to favorable attitudes toward change, we should also note that the means do arrange themselves in the predicted direction. We should also like to draw your attention to the proportions of leaders who have low crystallization scores in each change value-orientation as shown in Table IV-4. It is significant that a considerably larger proportion of the leaders having

TABLE IV-3.--ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF STATUS-POWER
CRYSTALLIZATION SCORES FOR CHANGE
VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	Tab. F
Between Change Value-Orientations	5	1311.3	262.2	0.773	2.34*
Within Change Value-Orientations	75	25431.0	339.1		
Total	80	26742.3			

*Decision: Accept the hypothesis that all means are equal to the grand mean at the .05 level of significance.

TABLE IV-4.--MEAN STATUS-POWER CRYSTALLIZATION
SCORES AND PER CENT OF LEADERS WITH SCORES
BELOW 59.9 FOR CHANGE VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Change Value- Orientations	Number	Mean Crystallization Scores	Per Cent of Leaders with Scores Below 59.9
Radical Non-Change	12	67.6	33.3
Non-Change	14	61.4	50.0
Moderate Non-Change	13	68.4	23.1
Moderate Change	12	60.5	50.0
Change	18	58.9	55.6
Radical Change	12	58.1	58.3
Total	81	62.3	45.7

low crystallization scores are found in the value-orientations designated as being favorably oriented toward change than are found in the non-change categories. This generalization holds true for all six classifications but is limited in application to the "Non-Change" response. Here it may be profitable to note a qualification of the theory of status incongruence which is mentioned by Malewski:

If the only group rejecting the system of values justifying the humiliations felt by people with incongruent status is the radical social Left, those people will be particularly ready to accept the program of reformers launched by the Left. If, however, there are other groups, e.g. extremely Rightist ones, whose program rouses hopes for changes bringing about the increase of lower status factors, incongruent individuals can also show great readiness to accept extremely Rightist programs.³

It would seem that such a process of drift can be noted in the responses of the community leaders in this study. Using the rough classificatory scheme found in Lenski's study which equates Republican party affiliation with conservatism and Democratic party affiliation with liberalism, we find that approximately eighty per cent of the respondents classify themselves as Republicans. This would suggest that the predominant value-orientation of the community is conservative (or non-change) in direction. In this light it should be expected that a significant proportion of actors facing the frustrations of status discrepancies should seek to solve their situation of drift by adopting a conservative (non-change) response attributing their own difficulties to the changes which have already occurred in the social system.

³Malewski, op. cit., p. 307.

Conservative responses among the low crystallization group, however, do not seem to be the dominant type of response granting the above reservation. In order to test the significance of this general observation a difference of proportion test,⁴ similar to a difference in means test was applied to the data. In order to calculate this statistic both the change value-orientations and the crystallization scores were dichotomized. It can be concluded from Table IV-5 that a significantly larger proportion of leaders with low crystallization scores have positive attitudes toward change than non-change attitudes. The generalizations that can be drawn in support of this hypothesis, however, are somewhat limited in that the chi-square test and the Yule's Q test of association are slightly less than the value deemed appropriate for significance.

On the basis of the data described above, it would appear that a slight but definite association exists between low status-power crystallization and favorable attitudes toward change in this study of community decision-makers. Before we can make this assertion with confidence one other dimension of status-power crystallization requires examination. Jackson⁵ has asserted that it may not be the fact of low crystallization itself which leads the actor to political or change responses but the arrangement of the particular pattern of status inconsistency presented to the actor. In

⁴See Blalock, op. cit., pp. 176-78.

⁵Jackson, op. cit.

this respect, Jackson has argued that inconsistencies of ascribed status positions lead to political responses while inconsistencies of achieved status positions -- education, income, and occupation -- lead to personal responses.

TABLE 1V-5.--DIFFERENCE OF PROPORTIONS TEST OF
CRYSTALLIZATION SCORES FOR CHANGE
VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Change Value Orienta- tions	Status-Power Crystallization				Total	Differ- ence Between Propor- tions	Value of Z	Level of Sig.
	High		Low					
	No.	%	No.	%				
Change	19	45.2	23	54.8	42			
Non- Change	25	64.1	14	35.9	39	18.9	+1.703	0.0446*
Total	44		37		81			
Chi-Square	2.877							<.10**
Yule's Q	-0.367							

*Significant

**Nearly significant

To test this alternative hypothesis, a detailed analysis of the crystallization scores was undertaken. All of the respondents were classified on the basis of the various relationships between the income, occupation, education, and power hierarchies. Thus, for example, a respondent whose income score was markedly higher than his power score (that is, 35 or more points higher) was placed in one category, while those whose power scores were markedly higher than

their income scores were placed in a second category. Because of the small number of respondents in the study and the smaller number with marked inconsistencies ($N = 51$) the twelve original categories were then collapsed into two groups based on the absense or presence of ascribed inconsistencies.⁶ In other words, all respondents whose power scores significantly differed from one of the other status scores were placed into the "power inconsistency" category, while those whose status scores were markedly different from their other status scores were placed into the "status inconsistency" category. The two categories were then compared in terms of their attitudes toward change. The results of this analysis are shown in Table IV-6.

The tentative conclusion which can be drawn from a careful analysis of the data in Table IV-6 is that certain types of status-power discrepancies are more closely related to positive change value-orientations than are others. For example, power attributions which are inconsistent with an actor's status positions are more highly associated with attitudes which favor changes in the social system than are

⁶The term "ascribed" as used in this study represents a break with the traditional usage of the term. Traditionally "ascribed" status positions referred to those positions that the individual was assigned to at birth such as ethnicity. In this study, however, "ascribed" status refers to the assignment of individuals to power roles in the community context. Power becomes an ascribed dimension in that it is dependent upon the ascription of power by other community actors. In the traditional concept, the ascribed class is not easily overcome by achievements in the other status dimensions; the same is true for power classes. In other words, the individual's power position is not always a function of his position in the other status dimensions though this is the expected relationship.

TABLE IV-6.--TESTS FOR ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
DICHOTOMIZED TYPES OF STATUS-POWER
DISCREPANCIES AND CHANGE
VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Type of Incon- sistency	Change Value- Orientation				Total	Chi- Square	Level of Signif- icance	Yule's Q
	Change		Non-Change					
	No.	%	No.	%				
Power	23	76.7	8	23.3	31			
Status	6	30.0	14	70.0	20	13.161	.01*	+0.741
Total	29		22		51			

*Significant

status positions which are inconsistent with other status positions. While further analysis of the data is impossible because of the extremely small number of cases, it may be interesting to suggest some of the trends discovered in making the pairings of variables. One of the trends discovered in the minute analysis was that status inconsistencies involving high educational rank regardless of the lower variable were closely associated with favorable attitudes toward change. A second tendency to be noted is that inconsistencies involving low power rank were more closely associated with change attitudes than were inconsistencies involving high power rank. However, because of the extremely small number of cases from which these tendencies are drawn considerable caution must be used in drawing conclusions from the present data regarding the patterns and relationships of

status-power crystallization and attitudes toward change.

The general conclusions regarding the first hypothesis are tentative and may be summarized as follows. First, it may be concluded that while there is no difference between the mean status-power crystallization scores for the six change value-orientations, there is a significant difference between the proportion of low crystallized actors having favorable attitudes toward change and the proportion having non-change attitudes. This would suggest that the hypothesis is valid with some reservations. Second, it was discovered that inconsistencies involving ascribed status dimensions are more closely associated with attitudes favoring change than are inconsistencies involving the achieved dimensions. Finally, the second conclusion is generally upheld when we test for the effects of status crystallization alone. It would seem that status-power crystallization is more sensitive to status frustrations which lead to attitudes favoring change among community leaders than is status crystallization which ignores the power dimension of status.

Status-Power Discrepancies and Community Satisfaction

Satisfaction with objects in one's social world are an important dimension of an actor's attitude toward change. It is assumed that an actor who is satisfied with that world will be less willing to work for change. It has already been shown that actors having favorable attitudes toward social change are more likely to be dissatisfied with the community

and their social world than are actors with attitudes favoring the status-quo. In this respect, the second hypothesis to be tested was that there is a direct relationship between status-power crystallization and community satisfaction.

The distributions of status-power crystallization scores and community satisfaction scores are shown in Table IV-7. Since both scales are ordinal, the product-moment correlation coefficient introduced by Karl Pearson was computed to test the degree of association between these two variables. The coefficient of correlation is $+0.0849$ which would indicate that there is no linear relationship between status-power crystallization and community satisfaction. However, a more careful look at the data would suggest that there may be more of a curvilinear factor operating than had originally been expected. While a direct test for curvilinearity was not undertaken, an attempt to control for this factor was made by grouping the ranked crystallization data into ten nearly equal groups and then computing mean crystallization and satisfaction scores for each group. Table IV-8 reveals that the predicted relationship holds for the upper half of the table with the effects of curvilinearity intervening in the lower half. The coefficient of correlation for the grouped data increases and becomes $+0.362$.

On the basis of the data described above, it would appear that there is little reason to suspect a definite association between status-power crystallization and community satisfaction. Before such a conclusion can be asserted with confidence, one further consideration must be

TABLE IV-7.---STATUS-POWER CRYSTALLIZATION SCORES AND
COMMUNITY SATISFACTION SCORES FOR LEADERS BY
POWER RANK

Code No.	Power Rank	Status-Power Crystalli- zation		Community Satisfac- tion		Code No.	Power Rank	Status-Power Crystalli- zation		Community Satisfac- tion	
		Score	Rank	Score	Rank			Score	Rank	Score	Rank
027	1	52.3	58	+13	22	217	42	66.7	35	-21	79
163	2	74.9	25	+11	32	057	43.5	51.8	59	+22	1
244	3	31.3	79	+ 7	40	262	43.5	46.0	64	+13	22
072	4	41.6	71	+ 7	40	220	45	45.6	66	+18	8
018	5	67.7	32	- 8	74	187	46.5	86.4	5	+14	16.5
078	6	35.2	76	- 3	64.5	112	46.5	86.6	3	+20	4
100	7	48.0	62	+19	5.5	030	48	78.9	17	- 2	60.5
015	8.5	78.7	20	+ 9	35.5	211	49.5	43.9	68.5	- 8	74
066	8.5	69.4	31	0	52.5	115	49.5	31.2	80	+18	8
036	10	46.6	63	+12	27.5	054	52	41.4	72.5	+16	13
124	11	58.2	49	- 1	55.5	081	52	85.8	7	+13	22
205	12	65.2	39.5	- 2	60.5	118	52	43.0	70	+13	22
133	13.5	78.7	20	- 3	64.5	106	55	95.0	1.5	+11	32
006	13.5	78.7	20	- 1	55.5	069	55	53.6	56.5	+ 9	49
208	15	78.3	23	-11	77	157	55	45.9	65	- 2	60.5
238	16	74.5	26	+ 5	45.5	109	58	58.1	50	- 5	69
190	17.5	55.9	53	-26	80	130	58	56.6	51	+12	27.5
103	17.5	66.7	35	+ 9	35.5	199	58	53.8	54	+ 6	43.5
051	19	84.6	9.5	+18	8	091	60	62.2	43.5	+17	10.5
223	20	70.1	30	+ 7	40	087	61	85.8	7	+13	22
232	22	78.7	20	+11	32	160	62	70.9	28	+14	16.5
121	22	35.4	75	- 1	55.5	012	64.5	49.1	61	- 5	69
060	22	79.3	15	+11	32	063	64.5	64.7	41	+ 6	43.5
021	25	79.3	15	+ 3	50.5	166	64.5	56.5	52	- 6	71.5
151	25	58.4	47.5	+17	10.5	202	64.5	58.4	47.5	+19	5.5
136	25	81.4	11	+ 8	37	250	67	43.9	68.5	-37	81
075	27	84.6	9.5	-17	78	226	68	45.3	67	- 8	74
154	28	53.6	56.5	+ 4	48	139	69.5	84.7	8	+12	27.5
009	29	65.2	39.5	0	52.5	145	69.5	62.2	43.5	+17	10.5
084	31	63.2	42	+ 7	40	039	71.5	86.4	5	+13	22
184	31	53.7	55	+14	16.5	241	71.5	40.5	74	- 4	66.5
247	31	66.7	35	+13	22	033	74	95.0	1.5	+14	16.5
259	33.5	66.5	38	+21	2.5	127	74	86.4	5	+13	22
024	33.5	41.4	72.5	+ 4	41	253	74	76.9	24	+12	27.5
181	35	80.7	12	+21	2.5	148	76	58.9	45	- 5	69
229	36	32.4	78	+16	13	178	77	70.4	29	+ 3	50.5
169	37.5	78.7	20	+11	32	003	78	80.3	13	+ 7	40
175	37.5	58.6	46	+ 5	45.5	094	79	26.9	81	+16	13
235	39.5	79.3	15	- 2	60.5	042	80	66.7	35	- 6	71.5
172	39.5	66.7	35	- 2	60.5	048	81	73.4	27	- 2	73.4
097	41	35.1	77	- 1	55.6						

investigated. Having already noted the possibility of curvilinearity, the problem is whether the non-association of the variables at the lower crystallization levels is due to differences in the types of inconsistencies found at this level. In other words, it might be argued that the high community satisfaction scores found at the lower levels of status-power crystallization may be more closely associated with status inconsistencies than with power inconsistencies.

TABLE IV-8.--MEAN STATUS-POWER CRYSTALLIZATION
SCORES AND MEAN COMMUNITY SATISFACTION SCORES
FOR RANKED CRYSTALLIZATION GROUPS

Status-Power Crystallization Score	Number of Respondents	Mean Crystallization Score	Mean Community Satisfaction Score
84.5 - 100.0	8	88.29	+13.75
79.1 - 84.4	8	81.19	+ 7.13
75.1 - 79.0	8	78.45	+ 3.25
67.1 - 75.0	8	71.41	+ 3.75
65.1 - 67.0	8	66.30	+ 1.50
58.3 - 65.0	8	60.83	+ 8.75
53.1 - 58.2	9	55.56	+ 0.75
45.8 - 53.0	8	48.90	+ 8.50
41.1 - 45.7	8	43.26	+ 0.63
26.0 - 41.0	8	33.50	+ 6.00
Total	81	62.67	+ 5.25

In order to test this alternate hypothesis, a detailed analysis of the low crystallization group in terms of community satisfaction scores was undertaken. The crystallization group was divided into two categories on the basis of marked differences between status hierarchies as was described above. The mean community satisfaction scores for each group were then compared through the use of a t-test. The results of this test for difference between the two mean scores, summarized in Table IV-9, lead us to tentatively conclude that there is a significant difference between mean community satisfaction scores of different types of status-power inconsistencies. In other words, it would seem that the curvilinear relationship between status-power crystallization and community satisfaction is, in part, the product of variations in the patterns of status-power inconsistencies which were present in significant numbers in the low crystallization category.

TABLE IV-9.--MEAN SATISFACTION SCORES FOR
DICHOTOMIZED TYPES OF STATUS-POWER
INCONSISTENCIES AND INDICATIONS OF
SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG THE
MEANS AT THE .05 LEVEL

Type of Inconsistency:	Power	Status
Mean:	+0.258	+9.700
Value of t :		9.1195
$t_{.05}$:		2.01

Decision: The means are significantly different from each other at the .05 level of significance.

It is concluded that while there is no direct relationship between status-power crystallization and community satisfaction as was originally hypothesized, there is a direct relationship between power inconsistencies and community dissatisfaction. That is, the interaction between power and other status factors seems to be more closely associated with variations in satisfaction scores than is the interaction between status factors. However, in view of the small number of cases, it is again necessary to use considerable caution in drawing conclusions from the present data regarding the patterns of relationships which are most closely associated with community satisfaction.

Status-Power Discrepancies and Behavior in Change Situations

It has been assumed that the status frustrations experienced by actors within a social system play a significant role in determining their responses to change situations. In this respect, it was hypothesized that status-power crystallization is directly related to behaviors resistant to social changes introduced in the local community.

In order to test this hypothesis it was decided that tests should be calculated for each issue independent of the other issues and for all issues in a combined scale. Table IV-10 summarizes the results of these tests for all but one of the three issues and for the combined scale. The Junior College issue posed a problem for statistical testing because the number of cases was too small to give any degree of

TABLE IV-10.--TESTS FOR ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
STATUS-POWER CRYSTALLIZATION AND
OVERT BEHAVIOR

Status-Power Crystallization	Flood Control Issue			Jr. College Issue			Revenue Bond Issue			Total		
	Support	Oppose	Total	Support	Oppose	Total	Support	Oppose	Total	Support	Oppose	Total
60.0 & Above	31	13	44	43	1	44	31	13	44	20	24	44
59.9 & Below	26	11	37	35	2	37	27	10	37	20	17	37
Total	57	24	81	78	3	81	58	23	81	40	41	81
Chi-Square	0.00			N.S.*			0.06			0.58		
Level of Signifi- cance	.99			N.S.*			.90			.50		
Yule's Q	+0.004			N.S.*			-0.062			-0.171		

*Non-Significant. The ends were too small to allow valid statistical testing for association.

certainty in the results.

The conclusion embracing the relationship between overt behavior and status-power crystallization is that there is no statistical relationship between these two variables. It would seem that the hypothetical frustrations emanating from discrepancies in the status hierarchies of the actor bear little relationship to his actual behavior in situations of change. In other words, the decision to support or oppose community issues involving social change does not seem to be a significant product of the actor's degree of status-power inconsistency.

This conclusion is also valid when we discuss the association of the dichotomized types of status-power inconsistency and behavior in change situations. It would seem that the data not only refute a conclusion to the effect that certain types of status-power inconsistencies are more closely associated with behaviors resistant to change than others, but also the slight association that does exist is the opposite of the association which would have been expected recalling our earlier findings. The tests and their results are summarized in Table IV-11.

The rejection of the third hypothesis and the slight reverse association between power inconsistencies and behavior resistant to change pose questions which need to be answered. For example, why is there a negative association between power inconsistency and behavior when other indices would predict the opposite to be true? Or, what are the possible intervening factors which would significantly affect

TABLE IV-11.--TESTS FOR ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
DICHOTOMIZED TYPES OF STATUS-POWER
INCONSISTENCIES AND BEHAVIOR
IN CHANGE SITUATIONS

Status-Power Crystallization	Flood Control Issue			Jr. College Issue			Revenue Bond Issue			Total		
	Support	Oppose	Total	Support	Oppose	Total	Support	Oppose	Total	Support	Oppose	Total
Power Incon- sisten- cies	20	11	31	30	1	31	20	11	31	12	19	31
Status Incon- sisten- cies	14	6	20	19	1	20	16	4	20	12	8	20
Total	34	17	51	49	2	51	36	15	51	24	27	51
Chi- Square	1.335			N.S.*			1.429			2.232		
Level of Signifi- cance	.30			N.S.*			.30			.20**		
Yule's Q	-0.124			N.S.*			-0.378			-0.407		

*Non-Significant. The ends were too small to allow valid statistical testing for association.

**Nearly significant.

an actor's behavior in such situations? Answers to these and other such questions will be the focus of our attention in the next section and in the summary chapter.

Intervening Variables and Behavior in Change Situations

Literature in the social sciences has constantly reminded the researcher that he must relate his concepts to the actual behavior of actors in the social system. Failure to do so leads to false impressions of the real world and theoretical fantasies. Therefore, the concern of this section is to discover some of the correlates of behavior opposing change in the community.

It should be noted that the issues selected for study in this community do not represent a purity of cause in the evaluation process itself. Subtle pressures and interventions on the part of vested interests, nuances of implications, and differential perception of the beneficiaries of the proposed programs interact with the evaluation process to the extent that decisions to support or oppose a single community issue are seldom based purely on the values that the actor accepts as supreme. In other words, through interaction with other actors individual evaluations become modified and distorted to the extent that they often become part of a systemic rather than an individual evaluation. In other cases, the mere involvement of certain actors in an issue may cause other actors to take the reverse stand on the issue and to perceive a conspiracy to defraud the original goals of the

issue thus causing them to oppose the issue which originally they supported. The brute fact is that decisions are not made in a vacuum; on the contrary, they exist in a state of codependency with the goals of the system and other actors who are involved in making the decision. Therefore, our analysis of behavior in change situations must constantly be tempered by this fact and must seek to explain the nature of the issues sufficiently enough to account for deviations from the predominant findings.

The variables to be examined in respect to behavior in change situations are attitude toward change as measured by change value-orientations, community satisfaction, and power relations. It is felt that each of these variables affect behavior and offer explanatory schemes for understanding the decision-making process.

Attitude Toward Change and Behavior in Change Situations

It has been assumed that the way in which an individual interprets the events occurring in the social world in which he lives influences the decisions which he will make about that world and the way in which he will react to attempts to change that world. In this respect, our first alternate hypothesis is that behavior opposing changes in the community is directly associated with non-change value orientations.

To test this alternate hypothesis, each of the community issues, except the Junior College issue, was investigated in

terms of the dichotomized change value-orientation model. Z-tests of differences of proportions were then computed for the per cent of change and non-change oriented actors supporting these issues. A summary of these procedures and the results of the tests are to be found in Table IV-12.

In the Flood Control issue, there is a significant association between favorable attitudes toward change and behavior in support of the flood control program that was offered to the community. Over eighty per cent of those having favorable change value-orientations supported this issue, while less than sixty per cent of the leaders having non-change value-orientations supported it. A closer look at this issue reveals that the debate stirred by the introduction of this issue into the community focused upon the changes which would have been introduced into the community had the plan been accepted. Vested interests opposed the issue on the grounds that the community would be faced with such a complete reorganization that the costs of such reorganization would be unbearable. Those favoring the plan argued that the reorganization was necessary in order to keep the community alive and to stop the urban sprawl that had grown westward away from the business center. The Flood Control issue, therefore, was an issue of change.

In the Revenue Bond issue, there is virtually no association between change value-orientation and behavior supporting or opposing this issue. This issue is illustrative of the cautions spoken of earlier because it seems to have been accomplished by a small group of powerful actors in

TABLE IV-12.--TESTS FOR ASSOCIATION BETWEEN CHANGE
VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND BEHAVIOR
IN CHANGE SITUATIONS

Issue	Change Value-Orientation				Total	Per Cent Difference	Value of Z	Probability Equal to	Chi-Square	Yule's Q
	Change		Non-Change							
	No.	%	No.	%						
FLOOD CONTROL										
Support					57	22.0	+2.16	.015	4.59*	+0.522
No.	34	59.7	23	40.3						
%	81.0		59.0							
Oppose					24					
No.	8	33.3	16	66.7						
%	19.0		41.0							
Total	42		39		81					
REVENUE BONDS										
Support					58	4.6	+0.46	.322	0.20	+0.112
No.	31	53.5	27	46.5						
%	73.8		69.2							
Oppose					23					
No.	11	47.8	12	52.2						
%	26.2		30.8							
Total	42		39		81					
TOTAL BEHAVIOR										
Support					40	21.0	+1.91	.028	3.66**	+0.404
No.	25	62.5	15	37.5						
%	59.5		38.5							
Oppose					41					
No.	17	41.5	24	58.5						
%	40.5		61.5							
Total	42		39		81					

*Significant. Probability less than .05.

**Significant. Probability only slightly greater than .05: $x^2_{.05} = 3.84$.

the community who brought considerable pressure to bear upon other leaders in the community. While the argument used to support the adoption of this issue can be epitomized by its pro-change nature, the opposition's arguments fall into two markedly different themes. First, there was an argument against this issue which held that the issuance of revenue bonds was another form of a government give-away program and that the city could not afford to support the activities of local businessmen in such a manner. Second, a small group of leaders objected to the way in which the issue was handled and the pressures which were brought to bear upon them to support this issue. This latter argument centered on the manipulations of vested interests in getting the issue passed; that is, they saw the issue as an attempt to line the pockets of a few powerful individuals who would have lost money had not the issue been passed at this time. Therefore, the Revenue Bond issue involves the nuances of power and pressure which mitigate against the unfettered evaluation process.

Looking at the overall behavior of community leaders in these three issues we find a close association between non-change value orientations and behavior resistant to the changes which would be introduced by the adoption of these programs. It would seem that, in general terms, community leaders do make decisions on the basis of their attitudes toward change. There is also some evidence that the nuances of power and pressure do mitigate against the evaluation of alternative modes of action in strictly value terms, but the association which is present is significant enough to

conclude that value-orientations of decision-makers play a major role in the directions of their decisions. However, we must again caution the reader that these conclusions are only tentative because of the small number of cases in each cell.

Community Satisfaction and Self-Reported Behavior in Change Situations

In keeping with our earlier discussion about community satisfaction, the second alternate hypothesis to be tested in this section is as follows: Self-reported behavior which is resistant to social change varies directly with community satisfaction.

The test of this hypothesis was accomplished by using the dichotomized self-reported behavior and satisfaction scales. Each of the two significant community issues and the overall behavior scale were analyzed in terms of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with community services and facilities. The per cent of dissatisfied actors in the support and opposition categories were then computed and compared. Z-tests for differences between proportions, chi-square tests, and Yule's Q tests were then computed for the three behavior types. The summary of these procedures and the results of the tests are found in Table IV-13.

When we compare the issues selected for our indicators of behavior in change situations in terms of community satisfaction we find support for the conclusions drawn in our discussion of the relationship between attitudes and behavior. In the Flood Control issue, there is a close association

TABLE IV-13.--TEST. FOR ASSOCIATION BETWEEN COMMUNITY SATISFACTION AND BEHAVIOR IN CHANGE SITUATIONS

Issue	Community Satisfaction				Total	Per Cent Difference	Value of Z	Probability Equal to	Chi-Square	Yule's Q	
	Satis- fied		Dissatis- fied								
	No.	%	No.	%							
FLOOD CONTROL											
Support	No.	33	57.9	24	42.1	57	21.3	+1.83	.034	3.34**	-0.469
	%	63.5		82.8							
Oppose	No.	19	79.2	5	20.8	24					
	%	36.5		17.2							
Total	52		29		81						
REVENUE BONDS											
Support	No.	41	70.7	17	29.3	58	22.9	-1.94	.026	3.82**	+0.449
	%	78.9		58.6							
Oppose	No.	11	47.8	12	52.2	23					
	%	21.1		41.4							
Total	52		29		81						
TOTAL BEHAVIOR											
Support	No.	27	67.5	13	32.5	40	6.5	-0.61	.271	0.36	+0.141
	%	51.9		44.8							
Oppose	No.	25	61.0	16	39.0	41					
	%	48.1		55.2							
Total	52		29		81						

**Significant. Probability only slightly greater than .05: $x^2_{.05} = 3.84$.

between community satisfaction and behavior opposing the changes to be brought about by the adoption of the plan that was discussed for adoption. However, in the Revenue Bond issue, there is an inverse association between community satisfaction and behavior opposing change; that is, there is a close association between community satisfaction and behavior supporting the use of revenue bonds for aiding the development of retail business within the community. We would hesitate to conclude, at this point, that the reversals of association found in the analysis of the two community issues causes us to reject the hypothesis as is done if we look only at the overall behavior of the community decision-makers in this study. We would also hesitate to conclude that the issues selected for study are not illustrative of behavior in change situations or that the directionality of resistant behavior should be reversed in the case of the Revenue Bond issue. Rather, our conclusion is that the issues represent illustrations of the reactions of decision-makers to the pressures which are applied by other influentials and the interaction of self-interest with the value-orientations of the decision-makers. In other words, the negation of the alternate hypothesis to the extent that the reverse hypothesis is accepted in the case of the Revenue Bond issue is taken as illustrative of the nuances of power, pressure, and self-interest which mitigate against the making of decisions in value-oriented directions.

Our decision to interpret the findings about the relationship between community satisfaction and behavior in

change situations in a manner favorable to our hypothesis, however, is not entirely justified. A more cautious conclusion is that there is not sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that behavior resistant to change varies directly with community satisfaction. While we cannot fully accept the hypothesis, there is a rationale for believing that further study will reveal that the predicted relationship will be verified. It would seem that actors dissatisfied with their community are more willing to work for changes in the organization of the community than are those satisfied with the community. This is especially true when the changes they seek are not directly tied to vested interest groups and the pressures of powerful people in the community as in the case of the Revenue Bond issue.

Power Relations and Behavior in Change Situations

The focus of this section of the study will be on the power relations involved in the outcomes of the three community issues. Our discussion will be organized around the hypothesis that the outcomes of these issues are directly related to the amount of power wielded by community decision-makers. Secondary to this hypothesis will be the attempt to verify the implications of power and pressure discussed above.

In order to test this hypothesis the issues were analyzed in terms of the power scores of the decision-makers in the community who supported or opposed each issue. The

respondents were divided into three groups depending upon their activity in an issue: inactive decision-makers, active but not mentioned as being active by other participants in that issue, and highly active to the extent that they were mentioned for their activity by two or more other active participants in that issue. Mean power scores were then computed for each participation group according to their support of or opposition to that issue. T-tests for differences between the mean power scores were then computed for the differences which appeared large enough to be significant. Tests for differences in mean power scores were also calculated for those groups who actively supported and who actively opposed the Flood Control issue and the Revenue Bond issue. Summaries of these procedures and the results of the calculated t-tests can be found in Tables IV-14, -15, -16, -17, and -18.

Analyses of the data dealing with power relations and the outcomes of community issues reveal that the highly active decision-makers who exert the most influence in determining the outcome of these issues are significantly more powerful than any of the other decision-making groups as we have defined them. In other words, community decision-makers who, in the course of the decision-making process, are the most successful in determining the outcomes of the community issues are also drawn from the upper echelons of the community power structure. These decision-makers have significantly greater influence to bring into the decision making situation and tend to use that influence to determine the

outcomes of decisions.

TABLE IV-14.--MEAN POWER SCORES OF LEADERSHIP GROUPS ON THE BASIS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE FLOOD CONTROL ISSUE AND INDICATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEANS WITHIN EACH GROUP

Type of Partici- pation	Highly Active		Active		Inactive	
	Support	Oppose	Support	Oppose	Support	Oppose
Behavior:						
Number of Respondents:	7	5	25	7	25	12
Mean Power Scores:	4.533	6.859	5.115	5.475	4.365	4.131
Difference:	-2.33		-0.36		+0.23	
Level of t:	3.10		N.S. ¹		N.S. ¹	
Probability Less Than:	.01*		....		....

¹Preliminary testing revealed that such a small difference was non-significant. Therefore, t-values were not computed for these means.

*Significant

In the Flood Control issue, a small group of influentials were able to defeat the plan proposed by the city government. It is notable that in this issue these leaders did not initiate the decision-making process but were consulted after the decision-making machinery was under way. Until their entrance into the decision-making process, the proponents of the plan were confident of its passage. This circumvention of the upper echelon of the power structure by the political leaders proved to be fatal to the success of

TABLE IV-15.--INDICATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN SELECTED MEAN POWER SCORES OF LEADERSHIP
GROUPS ON THE BASIS OF THE DEGREE OF PARTICIPA-
TION IN THE FLOOD CONTROL ISSUE

Comparisons	Mean Scores	Difference Between Means	Value of t	Probability Less Than
Highly Active (Oppose) (N = 5)	6.859	+1.383	1.16	.30
Active (Oppose) (N = 7)	5.475			
Highly Active (Support) (N = 5)	6.859	+1.744	2.74	.02
Active (Support) (N = 25)	5.115			
ALL ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS				
Support (N = 32)	4.988	-1.064	2.29	.05*
Oppose (N = 12)	6.052			

*Significant

TABLE IV-16.--MEAN POWER SCORES OF LEADERSHIP GROUPS
ON THE BASIS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE JUNIOR COLLEGE
ISSUE AND INDICATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN THE MEANS OF GROUPS SUPPORTING
THE JUNIOR COLLEGE ISSUE

Type of Partici- pation	Highly Active		Active		Inactive	
Behavior:	Support	Oppose	Support	Oppose ¹	Support	Oppose ¹
Number of Respondents:	11	0	51	1	16	2
Mean Power Scores:	6.685	...	4.750	(4.231)	3.584	(3.500)
Difference:		+1.935		+1.202		
Value of t:		13.36		8.32		
Probability Less Than:		.01*		.01*		

*Significant

¹The number of respondents opposed to this issue was too small to allow adequate statistical testing.

TABLE IV-17.--MEAN POWER SCORES OF LEADERSHIP GROUPS
ON THE BASIS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE REVENUE BOND
ISSUE AND INDICATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN MEANS WITHIN EACH GROUP

Type of Partici- pation	Highly Active		Active		Inactive	
Behavior:	Support	Oppose	Support	Oppose	Support	Oppose
Number of Respondents:	15	3	21	7	22	14
Mean Power Scores:	6.536	4.538	4.531	4.363	4.407	4.013
Difference:	+1.998		+0.168		+0.394	
Value of t:	2.15		N.S. ¹		N.S. ¹	
Probability Less Than:	.05*		....		....

*Significant

¹Preliminary testing revealed that such a small difference was non-significant. Therefore, t-values were not computed for these differences.

TABLE IV-18.--INDICATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN MEAN POWER SCORES OF ALL PARTICIPANTS WHO
WERE EITHER IN SUPPORT OF OR OPPOSED TO
THE REVENUE BOND ISSUE

Behavior of Active Participants	Mean Power Score	Difference Between Means	Value of t	Probability Less Than
Support (N = 36)	5.368			
Oppose (N = 10)	4.415	+0.953	1.96	.10**

**Nearly Significant. The computed t-value is only slightly smaller than the tabular value of t._{.05}: t._{.05} = 2.02, df. = 44.

the proposed plan. Shortly before the final bond election, this small group of powerful leaders came out in opposition to the proposed plans. Several understructure influentials who were basically in support of the plan suddenly switched their positions and publicly withdrew their support from the plan. The result was that the bond election failed by a large percentage.

The Junior College issue, on the other hand, is illustrative of an issue which was initiated by the upper echelon of the power structure. Leadership for this issue was drawn from the upper levels of power with the workers coming from the middle levels. In that the issue was a popular one and that most influential people were actively participating in the decision-making process, opposition to the issue was almost non-existent. Two of the three community leaders who opposed this issue did so on the basis of the way in which it was handled rather than for reasons of value-disagreement.

The last issue, the Revenue Bond issue, is illustrative of an issue which was initiated by the upper echelon but was not popularly supported. The group which participated in support of this issue had a significantly higher mean power score than the mean score of any other participation group in support of or opposition to this issue. A qualitative analysis of this issue revealed that considerable pressure was used by the highly active participants to gain support for this issue among other community leaders.⁷ Opposition arose

⁷Cf., pp. 112-16.

in response to the pressures that had been used by this powerful group. Value-disagreements became moderated by procedural disagreements with the methods employed by the more powerful decision-makers. It is concluded that the outcome of this issue and the behavior of leaders relating to this issue can be attributed to the pressures applied by the most active decision-makers who supported the use of industrial revenue bonds for supporting retail development in the community.

Our discussion of the power relations involved in the outcome of the three community issues has concluded that (a) the outcomes were decided in line with the wishes of the most influential leaders participating in the issue and (b) the behavior of leaders was more greatly influenced by pressures applied by the most influential leaders in the Junior College issue and the Revenue Bond issue than in the Flood Control issue because of the initiation of the decision-making process by the upper-echelon of power in the former issues. In other words, while all three issues were decided primarily by the involvement of the most powerful leaders, the Flood Control issue was initiated by the middle levels of power and did not become influenced by the pressures of the most powerful leaders until the final stages of the decision-making process. The other two issues, on the other hand, were initiated by members of the upper-echelon of power drawing its primary support from this group. Pressures were then applied downward by this group until sufficient support was gained that the issue would pass. Support or

opposition in these issues were in response to the pressure that was applied and did not conform to the value-dispositions of the decision-makers. Thus, we find support for this alternate hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: CONFRONTATION OF THEORY AND RESEARCH

Our conclusions regarding the nature of the political process can be summed up under the two major headings used in our discussion of the theoretical orientation: community power and social change. Under the community power heading we will discuss the nature of the community power structure, the meaning of community power, and the power relations involved in community decision-making. The discussion of the findings regarding social change will draw our attention to the ways in which decision-makers evaluate alternatives for action and the behaviors of these leaders in regard to change stimuli.

Community Power

Regarding the structure of power found in the community, some 84 citizens (0.44 per cent of the total population) are regarded as actively involved in the decision-making process. Analysis of the actual behavior of these community actors revealed that the original designation of community activists included 14 citizens who took an inactive role in the three community decisions studied; that is, analysis revealed that only 70 citizens were active participants in the decision-

making process in respect to the three community issues that were studied in some detail. Analysis also revealed that only 21 of the active participants could be singled out as exercising a high degree of influence in making these community decisions; in other words, only 21 active participants were designated as having been most influential in determining the outcome of the issues by other active participants in the issue. These conclusions about the power structure in this small Kansas community are similar to the findings in several other community studies.

Within the power structure reported here we have designated three leadership groups which make up the power structure: reputational, reputational-political, and political. The reputational group is made up of leaders whose power stems in part from the attributions of others in the community; that is, they have a reputation for power or influence in community affairs. The reputational leadership group is not homogeneous in its make-up for it includes both the established leadership group whose power is stable and ongoing and those leaders whose power is variable and dependent upon the issue and the actions of other leaders in the community. The power base of the established leadership group is essentially economic, comprising leaders whose resources rest on control of the financial, communication, and status systems of the community. For example, included in this group are the presidents of the three banks in the community, the head of the local radio station, a prominent real estate dealer, managers of the two largest businesses,

and several other economically superior residents of the community. These leaders tend to be older, to have lived in the community longer, to have had more of a rural background, to have larger incomes, and to belong to more organizations than other leaders in the community.

The remainder of the reputational leaders draw their reputations for power from their special knowledge and/or activity in local projects. In other words, the bulk of the reputational leadership group is made up of leaders whose influence is specialized in only one or two issue areas and/or whose power attribution stems from their willingness to be actively involved in the community projects. This group also includes those who were at one time actively participating in community issues but who are presently disengaged from such activity as well as those individuals who are attempting to break into the leadership structure of the community. In effect, the bulk of the reputational leadership group can be characterized as being in a state of flux including those whose power is stable but limited to only one or two issue areas at one extreme and those whose power is declining and variable at the other extreme. These leaders tend to be younger, to be more recent immigrants to the community, to have smaller incomes, and to belong to a smaller number of organizations than other leaders in the community. They are primarily educators, lawyers, doctors, small businessmen, accountants, engineers, and other such individuals who exercise limited influence in their special fields of interest. They are drawn into issues by the established leadership

group to add legitimacy to the decisions and to give special technical assistance to the more powerful group. This is not to say that this group is not influential for their opinions often have a direct bearing on the way in which an issue is decided. Their influence, however, is limited to their special fields and, in some ways, is dependent upon the support of the established reputational leaders.

The reputational-political leadership group is made up of leaders whose power stems in part from their reputation for power and in part from the positions they occupy in the local government. Their reputation for power stems partly from their activity in initiating and carrying out public policy and programs within the local government and partly from their connections with other reputational leaders in business and organizational affairs in the local community. These leaders are the most active and vocal leaders of the political system yet their power is somewhat less than that of the established reputational group. For example, it was this group of leaders who initiated the Flood Control Plan which was eventually defeated through the opposition of the established power group and it is doubtful that the Revenue Bond issue would have been successful if it had been carried out by the political system alone. In other words, while they are active in initiating public programs, the reputational-political leaders are very highly dependent upon the established reputational leaders for the success of their programs. In terms of socio-economic characteristics, these leaders tend to be middle-aged, to have lived in the commun-

ity for more than 20 years, to come from communities of the same size as the one in which they now live, to be highly educated, to be small businessmen from the managerial class, to have moderate incomes, and to be moderately active in community organizations.

The political leadership group is made up of leaders whose power stems primarily from the political positions which they hold. As a group, they are the least influential group in the community. In effect, they are seen by other leaders as being leg-men for the other leadership groups and have little bearing upon the way in which community issues are decided. They have been drawn into the decision-making process through the urgings of friends and other powerful individuals to fill unimportant political positions and to serve as a liaison structure between the power structure and the political system. Socio-economically they are very similar to the reputational-political group. They differ from this group in that they are more likely to have lived in the community a shorter length of time, are more likely to have come from larger and smaller cities, to be semi-professionals, and to have somewhat higher incomes.

Such a division of leadership is to be expected given the political system which is found in American communities. Formal political office in local communities, while esteemed, is seldom viewed as the hub of power relations; rather than the hub, it is the testing ground, or tread, of the leadership structure. Successful local politicians seldom remain within the community political structure but move either

outward toward the larger political structure or inward toward the center of power within the community where power is more stable and less open to public censure. Power is attributed to those within the local community who have established that they are successful not only in their public lives but also in their private endeavors. In other words, at the hub of the power structure are those leaders who not only have acquired the resources of power but who have also passed the tests of public activity in community issues.

The community power structure when considered in terms of the division of leadership can be characterized as a hierarchical arrangement of leaders differentiated on the basis of generality of influence. In other words, as one moves up the power hierarchy the sphere of influence of the individual leaders broadens from specialized spheres to generalized spheres. For example, Table II, Appendix A reveals that participation in the three community issues increases as one moves up the power hierarchy; leaders near the top of the power structure are more likely to participate in the decision-making process and are more likely to be singled out for their participation by other participants in the issues. Table III-11 also substantiates this conclusion; leaders near the top of the power structure are more likely to be chosen to head up any type of community project than are leaders near the middle and the bottom of the power hierarchy. This is to say, contrary to the conclusions that were reached by

Dahl in his study of New Haven,¹ generality of influence is directly related to one's power position in the community and is not related to public office.

In effect, this study has supported the conclusion that power is attributed to individuals in the social system in accord with their positions in the status system of the community. Political office, while an inroad into the power structure, is of little importance in discovering the decision-making processes that are carried out in a social system such as the one studied here. It should be noted that only two political leaders were found among the first twenty power positions in the community. Of the two decisions that were primarily public, or political, in nature, only five political leaders were seen as exerting a significant amount of influence in the decision that was reached: four of the thirteen leaders who were seen as being "most influential" in the Revenue Bond issue were political leaders, while only one of the four "most influential" leaders in the Flood Control issue was a political leader. In other words, political leaders may seem to have considerable influence in determining the outcomes of public decisions but analysis reveals that the success of their influence is determined by the

¹Dahl, Who Governs?, pp. 183, 227-28. Dahl drew the conclusion that ". . . A leader in one issue-area is not likely to be influential in another." And, "If he is, he is probably a public official, and most likely the mayor." Our findings partially support the first conclusion for the majority of leaders but reject the second conclusion. Leaders near the top of the power structure, whether political or reputational, tend to be able to transfer their influence from one issue-area to another very easily.

actions taken by other leaders not directly involved in the political system of the community.

In terms of the three community issues that were studied to discover the nature of the decision-making process, it was found that the choice of alternate modes of action in solving community problems is generally initiated near the top of the power structure filtering downward through the rest of the decision-making structure. Where initiation occurs from elsewhere in the power structure, as in the case of the Flood Control issue, and the decision is not passed through the operating decision-making channels, it is unlikely that the decision will be concluded successfully and the initiators of the issue will likely face reprisals from the established decision-making structure. In effect, the political process is a highly structured system of rules and procedures which must be followed in order to insure the possibility of success for an issue. This is not to say that there is a formal procedure followed in the process of decision-making but that there is a systematic but informal set of procedures and channels which are set in motion whenever a decision is to be made and circumvention may alienate other leaders whose support is necessary to the success of issues. Observance of these procedures, as in the case of the Junior College issue and the Revenue Bond issue, can increase the chances of favorable outcomes of the decisions.

The brute fact of the decision-making process is that only a few community members actually determine the allocation of resources for the achievement of community goals.

These few actors have been granted the central decision-making role by other community members on the basis of their perceived roles and abilities in respect to collective goals. The continued maintenance of these central positions depends upon the actors' ability to maintain a control over the decisions that are made within the community. Circumvention of the channels for decision-making serves as a threat to these central positions which, if tolerated, can erode the power base of these established groups. Theoretically, one would expect opposition by the established power structure to any issue which has been initiated outside the established channels. In fact, the present study supports such conclusions about the nature of the power structure and its affect upon the political process.

Social Change

Of major issue in the study of the political process is the relationship of the community power structure to the dynamic processes at work within the social system. Such systems are not static but are in a constant state of change; there is a constant confrontation between forces which wish to establish the alternatives which they envision as being most comfortable to their point of view. In that decisions about the alternatives to be followed in conforming to the collective goals of the social system are made within the context of the community's power structure, this study has sought to delineate the sources of social system dynamics by analyzing the dynamic discrepancies of community actors within

the power structure and several of the vested interests which are prominent in this structure. In this respect, our analysis has delved into the nature of status and status-power discrepancies as a source of change value-orientations and behaviors which support change within the social system. Since the behavior of actors within a social system is the major concern of social scientists, our analysis also reviews the relationship between attitudes and behavior in respect to change situations via the relationship between change value-orientations and behavior and community satisfaction and behavior. Finally, we have sought to quantitatively and qualitatively outline the power relations involved in solving community problems and their relationship to behavior in change situations.

The bridge between statics and dynamics in social systems, as we have outlined it in our theoretical orientation, lies in the discrepancies that the actor perceives between the situation he expects to exist and the situation as he encounters it. Several research studies have suggested that pronounced status inconsistencies of certain kinds are sources of dynamic discrepancies for actors within the social system. It is felt that an actor who experiences status frustrations has a weakened attachment to the established patterns of behavior and social structure and is, in effect, in a state of drift or anomie. The state of drift is itself frustrating to the actor and he reacts by trying to change the perceived sources of his frustration. While the primary directionality of the attempts to change the sources of frustration have

been posited to be "liberal" or pro-change by many of the research studies, it is theoretically possible that the directionality may be "conservative" or non-change depending upon the perceived source of the frustration. For example, an actor who perceives his status frustrations as stemming from the established structure of his social system will be more likely to seek changes in that structure, while the actor who perceives his status frustrations as stemming from the innovations which have recently been adopted by that social system will be more likely to seek changes which would reestablish the role relationships which existed prior to the new changes. Thus, we observe a complex relationship between the concept of status inconsistency and change behaviors which has not been adequately observed in the earlier studies of status crystallization.

A second complexity in the relationship is that not all types of status crystallization lead to political responses. Jackson found that inconsistencies between achieved attributes most often lead to personal or psychological responses, while inconsistencies between an achieved attribute and an ascribed attribute most often lead to political or change responses. For example, a person having a high education but a low income is more likely to respond psychologically by withdrawing from his social relationships, while a person having a high education but low ethnic standing is more likely to respond politically and attitudinally in that he is more likely to belong to the Democratic Party and to support welfare legislation.

The present study attempts to relate these concepts and arguments to a group of eighty-one community leaders. The variables studied in respect to status crystallization were income, occupation, and education. The major criticism of this concept as used in this study is that the three variables belong primarily to the achieved status dimensions of the individual and do not involve ascribed dimensions of status. This failure to include ascribed dimensions is due to the nature of the population in that all eighty-one leaders come primarily from the North-West regions of Europe. There were no Negroes and only one woman who occupied a leadership role in the community studied. In order to compensate for the failure of the status crystallization concept to include an ascribed dimension and due to the nature of the study, the status dimension of power was added to the concept of status crystallization thus adding to our terminology the concept of status-power crystallization: the degree to which the mutually equivalent rank levels of different status rank hierarchies coincide with power attributions in their incumbents.

Contrary to the relationship that would have been predicted from our theoretical orientation, the data indicated that there was no relationship between status crystallization and change value-orientations. When we add the dimension of power to the concept of status crystallization, however, our confidence in the predictive value of such dynamic incongruencies increases substantially. Our increased confidence should be tempered by the fact that while there is a signif-

icant difference in the proportion of low crystallized actors with pro-change value-orientations and non-change value-orientations -- that is, nearly 20 per cent more of the low crystallized leaders have change value-orientations than non-change value-orientations -- there is no significant difference between the mean crystallization scores of the change value-orientation groups.

The limited association that is found between status-power crystallization and change value-orientations seems to be partly a product of the drift that is associated with such discrepancies. For example, there is a concentration of low-crystallized actors in the non-change category indicating that this is a modal response to frustrations in the community. A partial substantiation of this conclusion can be derived from the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the community leaders are Republicans; that is, if we assume that affiliation with the Republican Party is an indication of conservatism, then it would seem that an actor experiencing certain kinds of status-power frustrations would find social support for adopting a non-change response to these frustrations. In effect, when we analyzed the crystallization scores in terms of the two predominant types of status-power discrepancies -- ascribed, or power, and achieved, or status -- we found that discrepancies of the achieved dimensions led more frequently to non-change responses, while discrepancies involving the ascribed attribute led more frequently to pro-change responses.

The tentative conclusions that can be drawn from a

review of the relationship between status-power crystallization and attitudes toward change as measured by change value-orientations are as follows. First, there is a slight relationship between status-power crystallization and change value-orientations. Second, the relationship becomes stronger when we take the fact that status inconsistencies are primarily drift producing experiences for the actor and do not determine the primary directions of drift per se. Finally, there is a definite relationship between types of status-power discrepancies and the directionality of change value-orientations. In other words, status-power discrepancies involving the ascribed attribute, power rank, lead most often to pro-change value-orientations, while status-power discrepancies involving the achieved status dimensions only -- income, occupation, and education -- lead most often to non-change value-orientations.

The second hypothesis that was analyzed to determine the relationship between status-power crystallization and attitudes toward change was that there is a direct relationship between the degree of status-power crystallization and community satisfaction. Here it was assumed that one of the effects of dynamic incongruence would be an increased dissatisfaction with social environments since frustrations of this type are often directed toward elements of one's environment rather than toward the self or the real cause of the frustration. Analysis revealed that there was no linear association between status-power crystallization and community satisfaction. The rejection of the hypothesis involving a linear

relationship between the two variables does not negate the fact that there seems to be a curvilinear relationship. In other words, the lack of a linear relationship between the two variables seems to be the product of the variable responses associated with status-power discrepancies.

In effect, it was discovered that if we control for the achieved types of status-power discrepancies there is a definite relationship between the two variables. It would seem, therefore, that status-power discrepancies involving power, or ascribed, inconsistencies are closely associated with dissatisfaction with community services and facilities. On the other hand, discrepancies which involve status, or achieved, inconsistencies are more closely associated with satisfaction with the social environment.

The tentative conclusions that can be drawn about the relationship between status-power crystallization and attitude toward change as measured by community satisfaction are as follows. First, we must reject the hypothesis that there is a direct linear relationship between the degree of status-power crystallization and community satisfaction. Second, the lack of a linear relationship is due primarily to the fact that the relationship seems to be curvilinear in nature which can be attributed to the situation of drift brought on by status-power frustrations. Once drift is partially taken into account by grouping the data, the relationship increases. Finally, in a partial test of drift, there is a definite association between the types of discrepancies experienced by community actors and community satisfaction. In other words,

ascribed inconsistencies lead most often to community dissatisfaction, while achieved inconsistencies lead to community satisfaction.

When we turn our attention to the relationship between status-power crystallization and self-reported behavior in change situations the predicted relationships do not hold to any significant degree. In fact, there is a conspicuous lack of association between status-power crystallization and behavior in the community issues selected for study. When we analyze behavior in terms of the types of status-power crystallization we find a slight inverse relationship which not only negates the hypothesized relationship but also runs counter to the findings outlined above. These findings pose a dilemma in the analysis of the political process as we have outlined it. Since there is no relationship between status-power crystallization and behavior in change situations and there is an inverse relationship between the types of inconsistencies to the predicted relationship, what are the factors producing these results? In other words, do we accept the conclusion that there is no relationship when other relationships would indicate that there should be at least a slight, if not a significant, relationship? Or, do we reject the issues studied as not being indicative of change situations and accept the fact that other variables are more influential in determining behavior than the hypothesized discrepancies?

In order to partially answer these questions alternate hypotheses were drawn and analyzed to discover the effects of

intervening variables. The first alternate hypothesis sought to discover whether behavior in change situations was related to the actors' change value-orientations. Analysis of behavior in the Flood Control issue and the Revenue Bond issue revealed that the two issues differed in the value-orientations of the actors who supported each of these issues. For example, in the Flood Control issue the support for the proposed plan came primarily from change oriented leaders, while support for the Revenue Bond plan came about equally from change and non-change oriented actors. In terms of the behavior of community leaders in all three issues, it was found that there is close relationship between pro-change attitudes and behavior supporting community change.

The tentative conclusions about the relationship of self-reported behavior in change situations and attitudes toward change measured by value-orientations are as follows. First, the decision to support or oppose community issues seems to be closely associated with the values that one holds to be primary in his orientation to his social world. While there is some relationship between status-power discrepancies and attitudes toward change, the relationship is not significant enough to discriminate between pro-change and non-change behaviors in community issues. Greater discriminatory power is achieved by using the value-orientations as predictors of behavior in change situations. Second, it would seem that the issues themselves are not good indicators of change situations. It may be true that the issues are not comparable in their content since the outcomes have basically

different aims. For example, the Revenue Bond issue set about to halt the movement of businesses out of the core business area thus, in a sense, maintaining the status quo. The Flood Control issue, on the other hand, sought to create a new pattern of growth for the community. In other words, since there is a significant association between attitudes and behavior in two of the three change situations analyzed (excluding the Junior College issue), we are lead to draw the conclusion that other variables have intervened in the Revenue Bond issue which negates the expected relationship.

These conclusions are supported in the analysis of the second alternate hypothesis: Self-reported behavior which is resistant to social change varies directly with community satisfaction. It was found that the predicted relationship held true for the Flood Control Issue but was rejected for the Revenue Bond issue in which the inverse hypothesis was accepted. The reversals of the relationships led to the rejection of the hypothesis in the case of total behavior in the three community issues. However, the findings do support the conclusion that the two primary issues studied in this report -- the Flood Control issue and the Revenue Bond issue -- are not indicators of change issues in the same direction or, if they are indicators of change issues, there are intervening variables which negate predicted relationships and make significant conclusions spurious in their nature.

The third alternate hypothesis -- the outcomes of the community issues are directly related to the amount of power wielded by community decision-makers who took an active role

in the issues -- sought to outline both quantitatively and qualitatively the intervention of the power variable into the relationships discussed above. The hypothesis was quantitatively affirmed in each of the three issues. In other words, the outcomes of the community issues were decided partly by the activities of the most powerful leaders in the community. These leaders are in positions which control the outcomes of the political process; they have considerably more power resources to wield in determining the outcome of the decision-making process and tend to make use of these resources in practice.

Qualitatively, significant differences appeared between the power relations involved in each of the three issues thus affecting the comparability of the three issues. These differences can be summarized in terms of the popularity of the issue, the stage at which the established power structure became actively involved, and the types of pressure used to influence the outcome of the issues. In terms of public popularity, the Junior College issue was the most popular and opposition publicly was perceived by the community leaders as being the equivalent of political suicide. The next most popular issue was the Flood Control issue due to the urgency which was felt by the community. While it was a fairly popular issue, the Flood Control issue was doomed because of the manner in which it was initiated as we will see later. The Revenue Bond issue cannot be said to have been a publicly popular issue because of the general public opposition to the plan. In reality, the issue was rushed through the City

Council before public opinions had time to solidify and before its popularity could be measured.

The Junior College issue and the Revenue Bond issue were initiated within the established power structure drawing a considerable amount of its support from this group. In other words, the plans for the Junior College and the use of Revenue Bonds for retail development had been initiated through the informal channels of the decision-making process and had acquired the support of the most influential leaders in the community before the plans were brought before the decision-making body as a whole. The Flood Control plan, on the other hand, was initiated outside of the informal channels and had not acquired the approval of the established power groups before the introduction of the issue to the decision-making body and then to the people in the form of a referendum. This circumvention of the decision-making structure and the non-intervention of the established power group until after the issue had been introduced to the decision-making body allowed opinions to form in line with the decision-maker's own vested interests whether they were self-interests or value-interests. Therefore, the behaviors of the leaders in the Flood Control issue seem to be more directly the product of the leader's own value-orientation and personal desires and less directly the product of pressures created by power relations.

When we speak of the types of pressures applied by leaders to influence the outcome of issues we are not necessarily speaking of the overt actions of leaders. While there

is considerable evidence of overt pressure in the case of the Revenue Bond issue, more subtle types of pressures seem to have influenced the outcomes of the other two issues. The Junior College issue, for example, was a popular issue which was supported by the power structure and the pressure implied here was one of losing favor with the other leaders in the community if opposition became vocal. In the Flood Control issue, pressures were informal and became vocal only after the primary decision to put the issue before the people. Pressures then came in the form of public pressures as illustrated by panel discussions and ads in the local newspaper. Through this method the leaders opposing the issue were able to create an aura of public distrust for the leaders who had initiated the plan and in the plan itself and thus were able to dissuade several other leaders and the public from their support of the plan. In sum, the Junior College issue and Revenue Bond issue were greatly influenced by the pressures applied by the established power group before evaluation could be made in terms of the actors' value-orientations, while the Flood Control issue is illustrative of the opposite case.

In effect, all three issues may be considered as being illustrative of change situations but not in the same direction. The rejection of the hypotheses in respect to the Junior College issue and especially the Revenue Bond issue seems to overwhelm the result of the power relations involved in these two issues. It would seem that while there is a tendency for leaders to act upon their value-orientations,

subtle pressures and interventions on the part of vested interests, the nuances of power, mediates against such evaluations in favor of succumbing to these pressures. Where power relations are not the primary initiating force in the political process, the evaluation of alternatives is made in terms of the actors' value-orientations thus partially affirming our hypotheses. However, such confidence needs to be further tested to discover the effects of power and the interaction of whatever intervening variables may be present.

Summary and Proposals for Further Research

In general, the political process is carried out by a very small proportion of the community's citizens. These leaders represent the elite of the community in terms of wealth, education, and social position. They have been attributed leadership positions in the community by virtue of their social positions and the interest that they have taken in community affairs.

Conflict among these leaders can be viewed in many cases as a confrontation between decision-makers who wish to establish fundamentally different principles of social organization; that is, a confrontation between forces which would seek to bring about social change and those forces which would seek to maintain the status quo. To simplify the confrontation process, however, to include only change and non-change oriented actors, leads to many false impressions of the political process. In many cases actors do seem to evaluate alternatives in accord with their value-orientation

toward social change. However, such conclusions must be made with a considerable amount of caution because interacting with such value-orientations are power relations which can mitigate against evaluations made in the value frame of reference. In other words, while some issues seem to be decided in favor of change by the overcoming of vested interests which would seek to maintain the status quo, other issues are decided in favor of change by those forces which would be expected to resist such change in the local community. The tentative conclusion of this paper is that in the latter case, power relations play the most important role in the final decision of actors to support or oppose change situations.

Since the study reported here deals with such a small number of cases many of the conclusions must remain tentative until they can be subjected to rigorous retesting under a more suitable situation. It would seem that the proposed model of change value-orientations is a highly discriminative model in most respects. However, caution should be used in drawing conclusions from this model until more statistically rigorous comparisons can be made. It would be interesting to compare the results of this model with a known population made up of extreme liberals and extreme conservatives.

As for the discussion of the confrontation process itself, a more detailed analysis of the behaviors of actors in the change situations should be undertaken to determine the rationale for supporting or opposing such issues. One important direction which should be analyzed in future

research should be the self-interests of the actors involved in the issues. For example, it would have been interesting to know the owners of the properties West of the study community in the case of the Flood Control issue since this was the area that would have been the most severely affected by the adoption of the proposed plan. Another example would be the owners of the buildings involved in the Revenue Bond issue (these were known by this author) and the holders of mortgages on these buildings.

Theoretically, more research needs to be accomplished in the area of the dynamic discrepancies that are experienced by actors in the social system. There is some evidence that status and status-power crystallization is a fruitful direction of research especially where the discrepancies are between ascribed attributes and achieved attributes. These directions must, however, await further testing especially in relating them to actual behavior. It should also be noted that the research reported here is only tentative and in many cases the tests of hypotheses are incomplete. Because of the limitations on the data a complete test of the hypotheses was impossible and the data used can only indicate trends and not substantial conclusions.

The political process is too important a process to be ignored in future research. The manner in which decisions are reached in local communities plays an important role in the kinds of decisions that are made and the procedures which should be followed in gaining support for community programs. It is evident that one cannot ignore the established power

structure if favorable outcomes of community planning is to be reached. At the same time, neither can the initiator of community plans ignore the values of the community actors. Knowledge of all phases of the community decision-making structure is necessary before action can be taken which seeks to bring about change in the community structure.

APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE A-1.--COMMUNITY LEADERS CHOSEN
BY KEY POSITIONALS

Code No.	Power Rank	Type of Leadership			Code No.	Power Rank	Type of Leadership		
		Gen- eral	Behind- the-scene	Total			Gen- eral	Behind- the-scene	Total
027 ^a	1	8	3	11	057 ^b	44	4	1	5
163 ^b	2	9	3	12	214 ^d	44	1	-	1
244 ^a	3	13	6	19	262	44	2	-	2
072 ^a	4	5	1	6	220 ^a	46	1	2	3
018 ^a	5	2	2	4	187 ^c	47.5			e
078 ^a	6	5	1	6	112 ^c	47.5	1	-	1
100	7	2	-	2	030	49	-	1	1
015	8.5	1	1	2	211	50.5	-	1	1
066	8.5	2	-	2	115 ^b	50.5	-	8	8
036 ^{ac}	10	8	1	9	054	53	1	-	1
124 ^a	11	4	-	4	081	53	1	-	1
205	12	1	-	1	118 ^c	53			e
133	13.5	1	-	1	106	56	1	-	1
006	13.5	1	1	2	069	56	2	-	2
208	15	1	-	1	157	56	2	-	2
238 ^a	16	3	1	4	109 ^c	59			e
190	17.5	1	1	2	130	59	1	-	1
103	17.5	1	-	1	199	59	1	-	1
051	19	1	-	1	091 ^a	61	2	1	3
223 ^{ac}	20	3	-	3	087	62	-	1	1
232	22	2	-	2	160 ^c	63	1	-	1
121	22	2	-	2	012	65.5	1	-	1
060	22	2	-	2	063 ^c	65.5			e
021	25	2	-	2	166	65.5			e
151	25	1	-	1	202 ^c	65.5			e
136	25	-	1	1	250	68.5	-	2	2
075 ^a	27	3	-	3	045 ^{cd}	68.5	1	-	1
154 ^c	28	1	1	2	226	70	1	-	1
009 ^c	29	2	-	2	139	71.5	1	-	1
084	31	2	-	2	145	71.5	1	1	2
184	31	1	-	1	039 ^c	73.5	1	-	1
247	31	1	1	2	241 ^c	73.5	1	-	1
259 ^b	33.5	-	4	4	033	76	-	1	1
024	33.5	1	1	2	127	76	1	-	1
181 ^c	35			e	253 ^c	76			e
229	36	-	1	1	193 ^d	78	-	2	2
169 ^c	37.5	1	1	2	148	79	-	1	1
175 ^c	37.5			e	178	80	-	2	2
235 ^c	39.5	2	-	e	003 ^c	81			e
172 ^c	39.5	2	-	2	094	82	-	1	1
097 ^a	41	1	4	5	042	83	1	-	1
217	42	1	1	2	048	84	1	-	1

^aCommunity judges asked to rate all others on the list.

^bCommunity judges who refused to rate all other leaders.

^cPolitical influentials or officeholders.

^dNot interviewed or incomplete interviews.

TABLE A-II.--PARTICIPATION IN THREE COMMUNITY ISSUES

Code No.	Power Rank	Issues			Code No.	Power Rank	Issues		
		Flood Control	Junior College	Retail Dev.			Flood Control	Junior College	Retail Dev.
027	1	a	3 ^b	1	057	44	c	c	c
163	2	c	12	a	214	44			
244	3	12	a	3	262	44		c	c
072	4	c	c	c	220	46			
018	5	c	1	4	187*	47.5	c		c
078	6	a	a		112*	47.5	c	c	1
100	7	c	1	c	030	49	c	c	c
015	8.5	c	c	c	211	50.5			
066	8.5	2	c	5	115	50.5	4	c	a
036*	10	a	c	11	054	53			
124	11	c	c	3	081	53		c	c
205	12		2		118*	53		c	
133	13.5	c	c	c	106	56			
006	13.5		c		069	56	c	c	c
208	15		c		157	56		c	
238	16		c		109*	59	c	c	
190	17.5				130	59		c	
103	17.5	c	1		199	59		c	
051	19		c		091	61		a	
223*	20	a		2	087	62	c	c	
232	22		c		160*	63	a	c	
121	22	c	c		012	65.5		c	
060	22	c			063*	65.5			c
021	25		c		166*	65.5			
151	25		c	3	202*	65.5	c		
136	25	c	c	c	250	68.5			c
075	27	c	5	c	045*	68.5	c		
154*	28	1	c		226	70		c	
009*	29	c	a	1	139	71.5		c	c
084	31	a	3		145	71.5		c	c
184	31	c	c	c	039*	73.5	c	c	c
247	31	c	c	c	241*	73.5	a		c
259	33.5	c	c	1	033	76			
024	33.5		c		127	76			
181*	35		c	c	253*	76	a	c	c
229	36	c		1	193	78			
169*	37.5	c		c	148	79	c	c	
175*	37.5		c	c	178	80	c		c
235*	39.5	a	c	a	003*	81			
172*	39.5	a	c	a	094	82			
097	41			3	042	83	c	c	
217	42		c	c	048	84			

*Political influentials or officeholders.

^aNominated as active participants in these issues by two or more persons who were also active participants and also nominated themselves as active participants in the issue.

^bThis number indicates the number of times that the individual was nominated as the "most influential" participant in each of these issues.

^cNominated themselves as active participants in the issue.

TABLE A-III.--ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF POWER
RANKINGS FOR THE NEW MULTIPLE RANGE TEST

Source of Variation	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F
Between leader scores	83	3616.44	43.572	10.552*
Within leader scores	1008	4162.42	4.129	
Total	1091	7778.86		

*Significance <.005

TABLE A-IV.---SHORTEST SIGNIFICANT RANGE FOR
THE NEW MULTIPLE RANGE TEST

p	.05 Level* Significance $n_2 = \infty$	Standard Error of the Mean	R_p	Shortest Significant Range
2	2.77	0.5636	R_2	1.5611
3	2.92	0.5636	R_3	1.6475
4	3.02	0.5636	R_4	1.7020
5	3.09	0.5636	R_5	1.7415
6	3.15	0.5636	R_6	1.7753
7	3.19	0.5636	R_7	1.7978
8	3.23	0.5636	R_8	1.8204
9	3.26	0.5636	R_9	1.8373
10	3.29	0.5636	R_{10}	1.8542
12	3.34	0.5636	R_{12}	1.8824
16	3.41	0.5636	R_{16}	1.9218
20	3.47	0.5636	R_{20}	1.9556
50	3.61	0.5636	R_{50}	2.0345
100	3.67	0.5636	R_{100}	2.0684

*From the Table of "Significant Studentized Ranges for a 5% Level New Multiple Range Test" using specific protection levels based on degrees of freedom. David B. Duncan, "Multiple Range and Multiple F Tests," Biometrics, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March, 1955), pp. 1-42.

TABLE A-V.--FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF
LEADERS BY EDUCATION

Highest Grade Completed	Number of Respondents	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage Range	Assigned Crystallization Score
More than 16	30	81	63.1 - 100.0	82
15 - 16	23	51	34.7 - 63.0	49
13 - 14	11	28	21.0 - 34.6	28
11 - 12	14	17	3.8 - 20.9	12
9 - 11	0			
0 - 8	3	3	0.0 - 3.8	2
Total	81			

TABLE A-VI.--FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF
LEADERS BY INCOME

Income	Number of Respondents*	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage Range	Assigned Crystallization Score
\$50,000 & over	11	80	86.4 - 100.0	93
\$30,000 - 49,999	9	69	75.1 - 86.3	81
\$20,000 - 29,999	13	60	58.9 - 75.0	68
\$15,000 - 19,999	21	47	32.6 - 58.8	46
\$10,000 - 14,999	19	26	8.9 - 32.5	21
\$ 6,000 - 9,999	6	7	1.4 - 8.7	5
\$ 3,000 - 5,999	1	1	0.0 - 1.4	1
Total	80			

*One leader did not know her family's income for 1966 and was not tabulated with this hierarchy.

TABLE A-VII.--FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF
LEADERS BY OCCUPATION

Transformed NORC Scores*	Number of Respondents	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage Range	Assigned Crystallization Score
85 & above	13	81	84.0 - 100.0	92
80 - 84	30	68	47.0 - 83.9	66
75 - 79	10	38	34.7 - 46.9	40
70 - 74	17	28	13.7 - 34.6	24
60 - 69	9	11	2.6 - 13.6	8
50 - 59	1	2	1.3 - 2.5	2
40 - 49	1	1	0.0 - 1.2	1
Total	81			

*From Table B-1: "Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in the Detailed Classification of the Bureau of the Census: 1950," in A. J. Reiss, Jr., O. D. Duncan, P. K. Hatt, and C. C. North, Occupations and Social Status (New York: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 263-75.

TABLE A-VIII.--FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF
LEADERS BY POWER RANK

Mean Power Scores	Number of Respondents	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage Range	Assigned Crystallization Score
8.00 - 10.00	4	81	95.2 - 100.0	98
6.00 - 7.99	14	77	77.9 - 95.1	87
4.00 - 5.99	38	63	31.0 - 77.8	54
2.00 - 3.99	23	25	2.5 - 30.9	17
0.00 - 1.99	2	2	0.0 - 2.4	1
Total	81			

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COMMUNITY POWER AND SOCIAL CHANGE

by

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B. A., Kansas State University, 1965

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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1969

This study investigates the political processes of confrontation and decision-making in the community context. Through the political process social systems move from static to dynamic entities; the political process is the arena for the confrontation between vested interests and forces which would seek change.

The analysis of the community power structure is an analysis of mechanisms for social change within a community. The members of the power structure represent decision-makers who meet daily in the confrontation process to decide upon means to be employed in meeting communal goals and, therefore, the rate of social change in the community. They enter the process as individual actors bringing vested interests and values to the process as they seek to establish them as part of the communal system.

We expect the values and vested interests which they bring into the process to be products of past experiences in their social world. Among the most dynamic of these social experiences are those related to the status-power expectations of the actor. It is posited that "dynamic incongruencies" arising in the status-power dimensions are related to attitudes and behaviors which support social change in the community.

A total sample of leaders in a Midwestern Kansas community was identified (using a combined reputational-decision-making procedure) and interviewed. The leaders' activity in three community issues and their attitudes toward social change and community facilities and services were analyzed in

relation to the leaders' degree of status-power crystallization.

Status-power crystallization did not adequately explain the attitudes of actors or their behavior in change situations. This conclusion, however, is not entirely supported in a closer analysis of the data pertaining to attitudes. While no direct relationship could be observed in regard to change value-orientations and community satisfaction, indirect relationships did exist which gave some confidence in the original hypothesis. For example, a significantly greater proportion of the leaders with low crystallization scores held pro-change value-orientations than did leaders with high crystallization scores. Also the variations in attitudes and community satisfaction scores among the low crystallized leaders could be partially attributed to the types of frustration which they experienced; that is, leaders experiencing frustrations in the ascribed dimension were more likely to hold pro-change value-orientations and to be dissatisfied with the local community than were leaders experiencing frustrations in the achieved status dimension.

Analysis of the leaders' behavior in change situations revealed that no simple relationship existed enabling the prediction of behavior. While there is considerable evidence that activity supporting social change is directly related to values and attitudes favoring a reorganization of the existing social system, the evaluative modes, through interaction with the decision-making group, may become compromised to the extent that action is the product of systemic rather

than individual evaluations. In that the political process is not an isolated event but takes place within a definite community structure involving actors with varying degrees of power, it is not unexpected that power relations often play the more important role in determining the outcome of the political process.

While in the initial stages of the confrontation process conflict can be characterized as a confrontation between forces who wish to establish fundamentally different principles of social organization, the latter stages give way to the nuances of power relations. The fact of the political process is that a few community members determine the allocation of resources for the achievement of community goals. The involvement of this group in the political process mitigates against confrontation along value lines and often determines the behavior of the other actors taking part in the political process.

