

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE STRUCTURE  
OF "SOCIETY" IN A MIDWESTERN  
INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Carole Ellis Wolff

1961



3 1293 10518 9918



## ABSTRACT

### THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE STRUCTURE OF "SOCIETY" IN A MIDWESTERN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

by Carole Ellis Wolff

Recent studies of stratification have been primarily concerned with the "social class" structure of communities. Relatively few studies have focused on the internal structure and dynamics of an upper status group commonly called "society." This thesis presents an analysis of such a group in a midwestern, industrial community, delineated first by a reputational technique and then by self-definition. Two major aspects of this study include: 1) a structural analysis of the top prestige group and a description of its basic values, style of life, symbolic distinctions, and types of activities; and 2) a description of the type of civic and social participation of the women including the organizations to which they belonged, differences in participation by social rank, and a comparison of the extent and type of participation of social, as opposed to civic, leaders.

Six informants and 42 respondents, all women, were interviewed. The latter were chosen on the basis of cumulative social rank scores obtained from those previously interviewed. In addition, an effort was made to interview women in different age groups and cliques and also those most often mentioned as civic and social leaders in the community. The data were analyzed by three nonparametric statistical tests (the Mann-Whitney U test, the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient, and Chi-Square), and several sociometric techniques.

The basic null hypothesis was:

Wheelsburg, as a midwestern community with control of its major enterprises resting outside the community, will not have

a top prestige group characterized by social distance, defined boundaries, and established old families.

The hypothesis was rejected on the basis of three criteria. 1) The top prestige group was dominated by old Wheelsburg families, many of which were at the apex of the group. 2) A high correlation was observed between the rankings of 50 Wheelsburg families by two sociometric groups in the top prestige group indicating substantial unanimity regarding membership in "society." 3) There appears to be a maintained social distance between the top prestige group and others in the community as suggested by the extent to which the "society" women mentioned only organizations and community projects with which they were personally associated (a ratio of 6:1). Eleven of the thirteen civic leaders nominated by them were within or near the top prestige group in social rank.

Other findings suggest that age grading, as well as social rank, plays an important part in friendship cliques, patterns of associational participation and style of life characteristics. Younger women are considerably more active in civic organizations, but resemble the older women in the extent of their social activities. High social rank is associated with age, and is also related to the husband's occupational position and community participation and the type and extent of entertaining engaged in by the couple. Social rank was found to be positively correlated with social leadership and negatively correlated with the extent of civic and organizational participation. No correlation was found between civic leadership and social rank, but there was a high positive correlation between civic leadership and the extent of civic participation. Therefore, civic leadership appears to be dependent upon having the requisite social rank, participation in a number of civic and other community organizations, and, apparently, high "quality"



of performance of civic duties. Finally, the data suggest that women whose social position is relatively low or insecure and whose husband has not yet established himself in the business or civic community, attempt to enhance both their husband's business position and the status of their family through widespread participation in civic, social, and religious organizations. And women whose social position is secure and whose husbands are financially and civically well-known in the community, do not need to engage in a great many community organizations and can devote their time to a few select associations of their peers and fulfill the social obligations expected of women in their position.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE STRUCTURE  
OF "SOCIETY" IN A MIDWESTERN  
INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

By

Carole Ellis Wolff

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1961

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The most truly enjoyable part of preparing a thesis lies in the writing of this short section--the acknowledgments. This is partly because it comes at a time when most of the work has been completed; but, more important, because it allows the writer to express her gratitude to the many persons who have listened and given their time and thoughts over the past year.

First and foremost, my warmest thanks to the fifty women who participated in this study and whose kind hospitality made interviewing such a delightful experience. Without their excellent and enthusiastic cooperation, this research would have been impossible.

Second, to my major professor, Dr. William H. Form, my most sincere appreciation for his ideas, his spirit, and his criticisms; for the sharing of his "research site"; and for the effective way in which he provoked and yet guided independent work in his student.

Next, to those other members of the staff who unofficially and willingly took time to advise me: Dr. Donald Olmsted, who criticized the methodology of the original proposal; Dr. Jay Artis, who served as a statistical advisor throughout the analysis; and Dr. Archie O. Haller, who contributed tangibly and intangibly to the whole of my graduate study, including this thesis.

Fourth, a great deal of thanks is due to my fellow students--more than I can name here--for their criticisms, arguments, good ideas, witticisms, and just plain ears; especially to Eugene C. Erickson, Harold Goldsmith, Robert G. Holloway, and Rolf Schulze.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge a real debt to my parents for their support and encouragement throughout the educational process, and to my husband for his happy acceptance of me as both wife and student.

\*\*\*\*\*

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
1. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
A. Introduction to the Area . . . . .	1
B. Statement of the Problem . . . . .	2
C. Key Concepts . . . . .	3
D. Organization of the Thesis . . . . .	8
2. METHODOLOGY . . . . .	9
A. Research Site . . . . .	9
B. Sampling . . . . .	10
C. Research Techniques . . . . .	11
D. Analytical Tools . . . . .	14
3. RELEVANT LITERATURE AND STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES . . . . .	18
A. Review of the Literature . . . . .	18
1. Descriptive Studies . . . . .	18
2. Literature on the Role of Women in the Community . . . . .	21
B. Hypotheses . . . . .	25
4. THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF WHEELSBURG "SOCIETY".	29
A. Structural Aspects of the Top Prestige Group . .	29
1. Structure Based on Social Rank. . . . .	29
2. Sociometric Structure . . . . .	36
B. Descriptive Characteristics . . . . .	43
1. General Characteristics . . . . .	43
2. Occupational, Economic, and Community Participation of the Husband . . . . .	47
3. Civic and Social Participation of the Women . . . . .	55
4. Style of Life . . . . .	64
5. Images of "Society" Held by the Top Prestige Group. . . . .	66
C. Tests of Related Hypotheses . . . . .	67
5. CIVIC AND SOCIAL LEADERS COMPARED . . . . .	71

TABLE OF CONTENTS - Continued

CHAPTER	Page
6. CONCLUSION . . . . .	81
A. Summary of the Thesis . . . . .	81
1. The Social Structure of "Society" . . . . .	82
2. Civic and Social Leaders. . . . .	85
B. Limitations of the Study . . . . .	86
C. Suggestions for Further Research. . . . .	88
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	89
APPENDIX--The Relations Among the Social, Influential and Economic Elites . . . . .	93

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1. Length of Residence in Wheelsburg by Social Rank. . . .	35
2. Age Structure of Sociometric Groups . . . . .	36
3. Extent of Overlap between Groups A and B and the Top and Bottom Twenty . . . . .	36
4. Comparison of Group Expansiveness. . . . .	39
5. Religious Affiliation of Groups A and B. . . . .	45
6. Educational Level of Groups A and B . . . . .	45
7. Occupations of Men in the Top Prestige Group. . . . .	48
8. Number of Husbands Serving on Corporation Boards. . .	48
9. Organizational Participation of Husbands . . . . .	53
10. Socially Most Important Organizations as Ranked by Groups A and B . . . . .	56
11. Civically Most Important Women's Organizations . . . .	59
12. Average Number of Memberships in Different Types of Organizations. . . . .	61
13. Average Number of Current Memberships in Different Types of Organizations . . . . .	61
14. Organizational Participation of Women in the Top Prestige Group . . . . .	63
15. Extent of Domestic Help Employed . . . . .	65
16. Entertainment Patterns of Groups A and B. . . . .	66
17. Entertainment Patterns of Civic and Social Leaders. . .	79
18. Extent of Overlap Between Three Wheelsburg Elites. . .	94



## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	Page
1. Votes Received by Individual Women as Social Leaders.	32
2a. Reciprocal and non-reciprocal choices of best friends within and between Groups A and B . . . . .	37
2b. Family relationship within and between Groups A and B	37
3. Choice Status of Persons in Groups A and B . . . . .	42
4. Graphic Representation of the Correlation between Organizational Participation and Social Rank . . . . .	77

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Introduction to the Area

Many recent studies of stratification have been concerned with the "social class" structure of the community.<sup>1</sup> Typically, families are classified as belonging to one of three or more classes which are circumscribed on the basis of easily observed and measured criteria such as: occupation, income, residence and education.<sup>2</sup>

Relatively few studies, however, have focused on the internal structure and dynamics of a "status group," to use Weber's terminology.<sup>3</sup> This is rather strange for there is much popular interest in "society," whether it is declining, "coming back," or has been here all along. "Society" is an ambiguous word and not rigorously defined for sociological use. Most writings dealing with this phenomenon are not

---

<sup>1</sup>For excellent bibliographies in the area of stratification see Ruth Rosner Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 224-254; and Harold W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification, Critique and Bibliography," American Journal of Sociology, 58 (January 1953), 391-418.

<sup>2</sup>William H. Form and Warren L. Sauer, "Community Influentials in a Middle-Sized City: A Case Study," Institute of Community Development and the Labor-Industrial Relations Center, 1960; Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, 23 (February 1958), 9-15.

<sup>3</sup>Max Weber, "Class, Status, Party," in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, (London: Oxford U. Press, Inc., 1946), pp. 180-195.

sociological and they present frequently contradictory information and conclusions.<sup>4</sup> Sociologically, however, American "society" is a stratification phenomenon having economic and power implications for the community.

### B. Statement of the Problem

It is the purpose of this thesis to analyze a top prestige group, delineated not in terms of formal characteristics, but first by a reputational technique and then by self designation. Quantitative measures will be used to validate the group's self-definition. The study has two major aspects. First is a description of the top prestige group with the conjugal family as the basic structural unit. This discussion will include an outline of the group's structural aspects and a description of its basic values, expectations, style of life, symbolic distinctions, and types of activities. The second aspect will describe the extent and style of civic and social participation engaged in by the women of the local "society." This phase of the study will focus on the specific organizations in which these women take part, the differences in the extent of participation associated with differences in social rank, and a comparison of the extent and type of participation characteristic of social, as opposed to civic, leaders.<sup>5</sup> Also included will be an analysis of patterns or sequences of activities common to women of this group and the effects of age-grading on the patterns. And finally, there will be a discussion of the relation of women's social and civic participation to the social position of the family in the community.

---

<sup>4</sup>Two new publications, simultaneously released in Fall, 1960, take obviously opposite approaches to the problem of "society" in contemporary America. See Lucy Kavalier, The Private World of High Society (New York: D. McKay Co., 1960), and Cleveland Amory, Who Killed Society? (New York: Harper and Bros., 1960).

<sup>5</sup>See page 7 for operational definitions of civic and social leaders.

### C. Key Concepts

It is best to clarify some of the central concepts to be used later in the study. Where there are accepted and useful definitions in the literature, these have been adopted. Operational definitions pertinent to the study are also included.

Social class. The purpose of this definition is a negative one; that is, to indicate what is not being discussed in this thesis. Class has been variously defined by many authors and the existing definitions are not synonymous. Marx's basic formulation is still applicable-- that a social class is any aggregate of persons who perform the same function in the organization of production and have different positions in the economy.<sup>6</sup> Toennies agreed with Marx that the relationship between classes is basically that of opponents engaged in a contractual relationship.<sup>7</sup> Weber adds an important point, namely, that classes may not be communities; persons belonging to a given social class are not necessarily aware of common membership in a group nor acquainted with others in the same class.<sup>8</sup> This research is concerned with a communal collectivity,<sup>9</sup> a gemeinschaft-like group whose members are aware that they belong together. Weber called this a status group, a community not based solely on property or economic considerations, but on symbolic distinctions, similar consumption patterns, and a shared style of life. Implied in this definition are shared values, behavioral expectations, and norms. This differs considerably from

---

<sup>6</sup>Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Karl Marx' Theory of Social Classes," in Class, Status and Power, op. cit., pp. 26-34.

<sup>7</sup>Ferdinand Toennies, "Estates and Classes," in Bendix and Lipset, ibid., pp. 49-62.

<sup>8</sup>Weber, op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>9</sup>Toennies, op. cit., p. 49.

the operational definition of social class used in most stratification research where classes are distinguished by occupation, income, residence, and education. As Joseph Kahl said, "if a large group of families are approximately equal to each other (house type, income, values, education) and clearly differentiated from other families, we call them a social class."<sup>10</sup> In Weber's terms, then, the object of investigation is a top status group, a group occupying the socially most prominent position in the city. But the use of status in this context is potentially confusing because of its frequent use in the concept status-role. The confusion is increased by the fact that there is some connection between the meaning of the word in the two contexts. For this reason, top prestige group has been substituted for Weber's status group.

Status-role. Linton defined status as "a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals" and role as "the behavioral enacting of the patterned expectations attributed to that position."<sup>11</sup> Dr. Charles Loomis has more recently further refined and combined the concepts of status and role. In his usage status-role incorporates both an element and a process, both structure and function. "Status-role is that which is expected from an actor in a given situation."<sup>12</sup> It is a composite of rights and duties associated with a given position in a social structure. The process of evaluation is closely related to that of status-role. Evaluation of the actor, his achieved capabilities

---

<sup>10</sup>Joseph Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1957), pp. 12-14.

<sup>11</sup>Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 368.

<sup>12</sup>Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change (New York: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 19-20.

and his ascribed characteristics, aids in the allocation of status-roles, and again plays a part in ranking when the way in which an actor fulfills a particular role is evaluated relative to others in similar roles.

Social position is, therefore, a status-role within a community (in Weber's sense) which is allocated on the basis of ascribed and achieved statuses in other social systems. By evaluating the way in which the duties and expectations of the status-role are fulfilled, the actor is ranked relative to others in the "social" group.

Two other components of the Processually Articulated Structural Model will be used in later analysis.<sup>13</sup> These are the master processes of boundary maintenance and systemic linkage. Loomis describes boundary maintenance as "the process whereby the identity of the social system is preserved and the characteristic interaction pattern maintained."<sup>14</sup> Boundary maintenance devices may be physical or social, unconsciously applied or planned, or expressed in either group contraction or expansion. Closely related to this process is that of systemic linkage which is defined as "the process whereby one or more of the elements of at least two social systems is articulated in such a manner that the two systems in some ways and on some occasions may be viewed as a single unit."<sup>15</sup> Convergence of the two systems may involve ends, norms, sentiments, status-roles, or any of the other elements. Loomis observes that "Gesellschaft-like groups tend to place a higher evaluation on systemic linkage and a relatively lower evaluation on boundary maintenance than do Gemeinschaft-like groups."<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Chapter 1.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 33.



In the present study, boundary maintenance devices will be investigated within the top prestige group. Systemic linkage will be used to analyze the interconnections between two sub-systems of this group and between the total group and other social systems within the community.

Robert Merton has added to the structural analysis of social systems by providing several other key concepts based on the central one of status-role. He notes that a particular social status within any given social system involves an array of associated roles. This "complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status" he calls role set.<sup>17</sup> Related to this is a status-set--a complement of social statuses held by a particular individual (wife, mother, Catholic, Republican). And finally, of particular significance for later analysis, is the concept of status-sequence, a succession of statuses occurring with sufficient frequency as to be socially patterned.<sup>18</sup>

Several operational definitions should be presented also at this point in preparation for use in later chapters.

Top influentials. This term is used by Form and Miller to refer to people reputed to be most influential in community power structures.<sup>19</sup> In Wheelsburg, one hundred and twenty names were presented to informants who then picked the forty most influential men who could allegedly get things done and prevent things from getting done in the community. These 40 men were interviewed and asked to select the ten most influential from among their ranks. These ten were called key influentials.

---

<sup>17</sup>Merton, op. cit., p. 369.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 370.

<sup>19</sup>William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, Industry, Labor, and Community (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), Chap. 11, pp. 433-452; and Form and Sauer, op. cit.

Economic dominants. This term, coined by Robert O. Schulze, refers to those persons "who exercise major control over the community's economic system."<sup>20</sup> In a recent study of Wheelsburg, Donald Clelland located 40 economic dominants for the period 1950-1959, and 40 or less for each 20-year period going back to 1850.<sup>21</sup> These men held the top position in industrial, commercial, or financial units or served on at least two boards of such units which were ranked according to their assessed property value and total assets. Personal fortunes, including property and investments, were not considered since this information was not available.

Civic leaders. These are women who were freely nominated by respondents as being outstanding in civic affairs.<sup>22</sup> Top civic leaders are those mentioned by one-third or more of the women interviewed. For comparisons between civic and social leaders, the list was extended to include those women who were mentioned seven or more times or who received one-fifth of the votes.

Social leaders. These are women who were freely nominated by respondents as being social leaders, noted for their social prominence and ability as hostesses. Top social leaders are those mentioned by one-third or more of the women interviewed. For purposes of comparison, the list was extended to include those who were mentioned seven or more times or who received one-fifth of the votes.

<sup>20</sup>"The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review 23 (Feb. 1958), 3-9.

<sup>21</sup>"The Role of Economic Dominants in the Community Power Structure of a Mid-Western City," unpublished MA thesis, Michigan State University, 1960.

<sup>22</sup>Respondents are the 42 women in the top prestige group interviewed in the present study.

Old family. People 40-70 years old whose parents were "prominent" before them (2nd generation prominence), and those 20-40 years old whose grandparents were prominent before them (3rd generation prominence) have been listed as members of old Wheelsburg families.

#### E. Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 2 contains a description of the methodology, including research site, sampling methods, research techniques, and analytical tools.

Chapter 3 deals with a review and discussion of relevant literature. Hypotheses derived from the literature are presented.

Chapter 4 contains a description of the top prestige group in Wheelsburg, its norms, values, style of life, symbolic distinctions, and types of activities. An outline of the structural aspects of this collectivity and a test of the related hypotheses are included.

Chapter 5 reports the findings and tests the hypotheses concerned with the second major area of interest, namely, the comparison of civic and social leaders among women in the top prestige group. The dynamics of civic and social participation by the women of this group are documented and discussed.

Chapter 6 includes a summary of the main points of the previous chapters and suggests areas of exploration for further research.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY

#### A. Research Site

The site of the present study was a midwestern, industrial metropolitan area made up of a central city (Wheelsburg) and a neighboring residential suburb (Meadowlawn).<sup>1</sup> In the present study the city and its suburb will be treated as a single community. In the 1960 census, the metropolitan area had a population of approximately 300,000 with Wheelsburg proper and Meadowlawn numbering 125,000. The city is predominately made up of native born persons. Foreign born, southern born Negroes, and Mexicans living in the city probably make up less than 15% of the total population. Automobile manufacturing, metal manufacturing, government, and education constitute the major sources of employment. The community, thus, has a relatively diversified economic base which is reflected in the generally adequate housing. A State University in Meadowlawn is the community's major cultural feature. The usual philanthropies exist, such as United Fund and Red Cross, as well as hospital auxiliaries and guilds. There are many civic, social, and political associations open to men, women, or both. A chapter of the National Association of Junior League is very active and provides a training ground for future civic leaders among the women.

---

<sup>1</sup>The names Wheelsburg and Meadowlawn are fictitious. Also, the names and institutional locus of most organizations and clubs have been changed to insure anonymity.

### B. Sampling

Because of the nature of the problem, the usually accepted sampling techniques could not be used. There was no way of knowing the universe a priori. Therefore, names of women prominent in social and civic affairs were gathered from the "society" editor of the local paper, from a list of presidents of women's organizations, and from six knowledgeable informants. The latter were asked to rank an initial file of names and to add others which they felt were important. Those names mentioned most often and accorded the highest rank by the six informants became the first respondents to be interviewed after an appropriate schedule was constructed. A running tabulation of civic and social leaders provided by those interviewed was also kept, and succeeding interviews were with those women most often mentioned. In order to avoid friendship cliques some attempts were made to interview people in different age groups and social cliques. It soon became apparent that there was considerable consensus among "the socially prominent women" as to who the socially prominent were, and that these were sub-divided into two age-groups. Every attempt was made to interview everyone on which there was consensus. Earlier "false leads" were dropped from the study, even though they were interviewed. In all 42 were interviewed.

In this case, then, the universe is the top prestige group or "high society" of Wheelsburg.<sup>2</sup> Through the use of unlimited sociometric

---

<sup>2</sup>Theoretically, the universe would be all possible top prestige groups in all communities of approximately 100,000 population. But because of the variable nature of communities, even though similar in size, and because of the exploratory state of research in this area, it was not considered important to treat the 42 subjects as a sample of an existing, defined universe. As knowledge of this area accumulates, the assumptions of more refined statistical measures can be met. If this study were duplicated in several different communities of equal size and similar composition, comparisons of the results of these studies could yield more accurate information about a possible existing universe.

choices of best friends, a sociogram was devised to show reciprocal and non-reciprocal choices. As shown in Figure 2 (Chapter IV), two sub-systems of the top prestige group are neatly separated, for the reciprocal choices of members of each sub-group are exclusively within the sub-group; there are no reciprocal choices between the sub-groups.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, most of the non-reciprocal choices are also within the sub-group. Only nine such choices connect groups A and B. No person outside either circle received more than three choices while those on the circles were chosen an average of 5.2 times (5.7 for the older group and 4.7 for the younger). All persons chosen by two or more on the circles are shown in Figure 2. All those on the circles were interviewed. On the basis of the data in the sociogram, then, the assumption can be made that the universe under consideration has been completely defined.<sup>4</sup> Many of the respondents also supported this assumption by remarks about the completeness of the list.

### C. Research Techniques

Research techniques included informal pilot interviews with six informants, formal interviews with 42 respondents, and the use of newspaper accounts. Informants were chosen on the basis of their alleged knowledge of Wheelsburg "society." One was the society editor of the local paper, who provided a list of socially and organizationally active women in Wheelsburg and the groups with which they

---

<sup>3</sup>For easy reference these two sub-groups of the top prestige group will be called A and B, A being the older and B the younger group.

<sup>4</sup>It should be noted, however, that because of the methods used, there is no way of disconfirming this assumption. It would be necessary to ask a completely different group in the community to nominate a list of socially most prominent persons and then compare the respective lists. The fallacy in this procedure is that the further you move away from a specific social group, the vaguer is the conception of it.



were identified. Her knowledge of the upper status group was limited largely to their associational participation. Four other informants represented different age groups and cliques within the top prestige group; and one woman was outside the group altogether, but had kept well-informed on its attitudes and behavior. In the preliminary interviews the informants were asked (1) to list some of the more important activities for women in the community and to name those who were prominent in them; (2) to describe some of the clubs and to place families into cliques or identify them in some way; and (3) to classify families on the lists as "social" or "not social."

Formal interview appointments were obtained by telephone calls in which the interviewer introduced herself and the Wheelsburg Women's Leadership Study. The project was identified with the Michigan State University Department of Sociology and Anthropology and with a continuing study of Wheelsburg. The person was then told that she had been mentioned as one of Wheelsburg's most active or most prominent women. An interview was requested to learn more about her activities and contributions to the community, and an appointment was then made. If the woman requested the names of those who mentioned her, the interviewer replied that many women had given her name, and then a few names were mentioned. The interview itself took from one to two hours, depending upon the interviewee's interest and cooperation. Several lasted three or four hours.

The interview schedule was divided into three main sections. The first concerned the activities (professional, civic, social, and political) and offices which the woman had participated in and her opinions about which women's organizations were most important to the Wheelsburg community. She was asked to name several women whom she felt had been outstanding as civic leaders. The second part of the interview emphasized social clubs and activities, and opinions about "society" in Wheelsburg. The interviewee was asked to name the six

socially most important clubs and to name several women who were important social leaders in the community. The other questions in this section sought to establish the structure and characteristics of the top prestige group. The final section of the interview dealt with personal information such as schooling, family connections, husband's occupation and civic activities, closest friends, and entertainment and shopping patterns. At the conclusion of the interview schedule a deck of 80 three-by-five cards, each containing the name of a Wheelsburg family, was given to the interviewee to sort first into two piles, those who were active in Wheelsburg "society" and those who were not. Upon completing this she was asked to select the 20 most prominent families out of the socially active pile.

The local newspaper added little since the activities of the group were generally kept out of print except where associational projects required publicity. Wedding announcements and articles giving lists of guests for some of the major community-wide events were helpful in defining or confirming social clique memberships.

The interview schedule was chosen as the most appropriate means of data collection for several reasons. First, it is doubtful whether a mailed questionnaire on so sensitive a subject would have received an adequate response. Second, the activities and opinions of a particular group were desired. The only method of getting this information was to ask the subjects directly. Third, the rankings of families could not have been obtained in any other way than by personal interview. Fourth, both the structural aspects of a stratification system and the meaning of the structure for the individuals within it are important. In order to get at complex feelings and definitions, the interview proves more effective than the self-administered questionnaire because the interviewer can observe the subject as she responds to the questions and the total situation and can clarify responses. The validity of the subject's report can, therefore, be appraised. Finally, the

schedule is more flexible and permits the collection of supporting and additional data. If questions are misunderstood, they can be explained. If the interviewer is perceptive, some insight into the person can be gained and a rough estimate of her style of life can be made.

#### D. Analytical Tools

The variables used in this investigation<sup>5</sup> may be appropriately analyzed by means of nonparametric measures, but not by their parametric counterparts. Nonparametric tests assume randomness of sampling and independence of observations but are "distribution free" in that they make no assumptions about the shape of the distribution of characteristics in the population. In addition, they can be applied to data in an ordinal or nominal scale. Without getting into a detailed discussion of statistical tests and their required assumptions, the author would like to acknowledge that even a basic assumption of nonparametric tests, randomness of sampling, is not met by this research. The frequency of this error of applying statistical measures to non-experimental research in the social sciences has been deplored by Leslie Kish.<sup>6</sup> However, Dr. Kish admits that there are practical problems involved in collecting random samples in social science data and that, despite this handicap, much interesting data is collected for which adequate analytical tools are as yet undeveloped. Rather than

---

<sup>5</sup>See Leslie Kish, "Some Statistical Problems in Research Design," American Sociological Review, 24 (June 1959), 328-338. Kish distinguishes investigations as the collection of data without either the randomization of experiments or the probability samples of surveys. Experiments, on the other hand, randomize all extraneous variables which are not controlled and surveys "involve probability samples in which all members of a defined population have a known positive probability of selection into the sample."

<sup>6</sup>"Confidence Intervals for Clustered Samples," American Sociological Review, 22 (April 1957), 154-165.

wait for that happy millenium when analytical tools will be developed to match the exigencies of research, many sociologists and other behavioral scientists have proceeded to use the available techniques. Care should nevertheless be exercised to state when assumptions have been violated and to interpret cautiously statistical support of an hypothesis.

A discussion of the statistical tests and sociometric techniques applied to the data follows. But first, it is necessary to explain the method of deriving the measure of social rank used in later computations. The 80 conjugal families listed in the card file and evaluated by all respondents were assigned a rank score based on 1) the number of times they were placed in the top twenty families, 2) the number of times they were listed as "social" but not among the "top twenty," and 3) the number of times they were listed as "not social." Their score on 1) was multiplied by 3, that on 2) multiplied by 2, and that on 3) by 1. The sum of the products is the social rank. Thus:

The CAB family received 14 votes in the "top twenty" column, 20 in the "social" column, and 6 in the "not social" column.

Their social rank is:  $3 \times 14 + 2 \times 20 + 1 \times 6 = 88$ .<sup>7</sup>

Possible social rank scores range from a low of 41 to a high of 123.

1. The Mann-Whitney U Test.<sup>8</sup> One of the most powerful of the nonparametric tests, the Mann-Whitney U Test is used to test whether two independent groups have been drawn from the same population and is a useful alternative to the parametric  $t$  test. The null hypothesis is that group A and group B have the same distribution. The alternative hypothesis is a directional one; i. e., that  $A > B$  or that  $B > A$ . If  $n_1$

---

<sup>7</sup>The CAB family is fictitious.

<sup>8</sup>Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 116-126.

is the number of cases in the smaller group and  $n_2$  the number of cases in the larger group and the observations or scores from both groups are combined and ranked in order of increasing size, then the value of  $U = n_1 n_2 + \frac{n_1(n_1 + 1)}{2} - R_1$  where  $R_1$  is the sum of the ranks assigned to the group whose sample size is  $n_1$ .  $U$  is also computed for  $n_1 n_2 + \frac{n_2(n_2 + 1)}{2} - R_2$  where  $R_2$  is the sum of the ranks assigned to the group whose sample size is  $n_2$ . The smaller value of  $U$  is used to enter the table of probabilities associated with values as small as an observed value of  $U$ .<sup>9</sup> The power-efficiency of the Mann-Whitney test, when compared with the parametric  $t$  test, approaches 95.5 per cent as  $N$  increases and is close to 95 per cent for even moderate-sized samples.

2. The Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient:  $r_s$ .<sup>10</sup> This is a measure of association requiring that both variables be measured in an ordinal scale so that individuals may be ranked in two ordered series.  $N$  subjects are listed and their rank on variable  $X$  and  $Y$  entered in two columns opposite their name.  $r_s = 1 - \frac{6(\sum d_i^2)}{N(N^2 - 1)}$  where  $d_i$  is the difference between each  $X_i$  rank and its paired  $Y_i$  rank. The values of  $r_s$  range from  $-1$  to  $+1$ , a value of  $+1$  indicating perfect agreement while a value of  $-1$  indicates exactly opposite ranking. If the observed  $r_s$  equals or exceeds the tabled value,<sup>11</sup> it is significant for a one-tailed test at the level indicated. The efficiency of the Spearman rank correlation when compared with the parametric Pearson  $r$  is about 91 per cent.

3. Chi Square:  $X^2$ . One of the most popular tests in the social sciences, this statistic tests the hypothesis that two characteristics

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 271-277.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 202-213.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 284, Table P.

are independent, or whether two groups differ significantly with respect to some characteristic. Since frequencies of observations rather than ordinal values are used, the  $X^2$  technique is applicable to measurements involving even nominal scaling. Thus,  $X^2 = \sum \frac{(f_i - F_i)^2}{F_i}$  where  $f_i$  is the observed, and  $F_i$  the theoretical, frequency in a given category. The hypothesis of independence is rejected if  $X^2$  is equal to or greater than the tabled value for a given significance level and  $(r-1)(c-1)$  degrees of freedom where  $r$  is the number of rows and  $c$  the number of columns in the contingency table.<sup>12</sup>

4. Sociometric techniques: E, Co, CS. These three techniques derived by Charles Proctor and Charles Loomis<sup>13</sup> will be treated together here because of their simplicity and similarity of assumptions. These are "common sense" measures with no statistical meaning behind them. E is a measure of group expansiveness, the number of choices made by the group divided by the number of persons in the group--i.e., a simple average. Co measures group cohesion, the number of mutual pairs divided by the total number of possible pairs ( $\frac{N(N-1)}{2}$ ). Both of these measures allow each individual an unlimited number of choices. The third measure, choice status, is the number of persons choosing  $i$  divided by the total number of persons choosing minus 1 ( $N-1$ ). Loomis and Proctor equate choice status with social status unless the question used specifically gets at another variable. Some support for this viewpoint was found in the present study (see Chapter 4, page 38).

---

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 249, Table C.

<sup>13</sup>Charles H. Proctor and Charles P. Loomis, "Analysis of Sociometric Data," in Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, Part Two: Selected Techniques (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 561-585.



## CHAPTER 3

### RELEVANT LITERATURE AND STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

#### A. Review of the Literature

##### 1. Descriptive Studies

Descriptive studies in stratification have been chiefly concerned with social classes--collectivities based on occupation, income, and property. Most notable among these has been the works of W. Lloyd Warner. Using the indices of occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area, he divided the populations of Yankee City and Jonesville into six and five "social classes" respectively.<sup>1</sup> Of particular interest here are his descriptions of the "upper-upper class" which emphasize the differences in extent and type of associational participation and life style between this and the other social classes.

More pertinent to the present study, however, is literature describing status groups--communal collectivities based on social honor, similar consumption patterns, and symbolic distinctions. One of the earliest contributions to this literature is the candid work of Mrs. Van Rensselaer, a New York society matron in the 19th century, who described a closed aristocracy of lineage and breeding, and the

---

<sup>1</sup>W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), Chap. VII, pp. 127-201; see also, The Status System of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942); and W. L. Warner et al., Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949).

impact on this class of the nouveau riche created by the economic boom of the late 1800's.<sup>2</sup> She noted that prior to the onslaught of "new money," society had grown from within rather than from without. There were rigid class lines with boundaries "as solid and as difficult to ignore as the Chinese Wall."<sup>3</sup> A short time later Zorbaugh compared the new aristocracy of wealth and achievement with the old, caste-like society of family and breeding in Chicago.<sup>4</sup> History is repeating itself, for today, in communities of the midwest,<sup>5</sup> descendants of the 19th century nouveau riche are complaining of the audacious display of more recently acquired wealth.<sup>6</sup> The most recent description of an elite status group

---

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer, The Social Ladder (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1924). An earlier and less factual work is the satirical commentary of Francis J. Grund, Aristocracy in America (New York: Harper & Bros., 1959). This book was first published in London in 1839.

<sup>3</sup>Van Rensselaer, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>4</sup>Harvey Warren Zorbaugh, Gold Coast and Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

<sup>5</sup>See Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, 18 (April 1953), 149-162, for a description of the competition between an old and a new upper status group for the civic and social leadership of a midwestern community. C. Wright Mills, in The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), also discusses local societies and industrial hierarchies in middle-sized communities throughout the United States.

<sup>6</sup>One of the more unsociological contributions to this area suggests that, in fact, "society," in the classical sense, never existed in this country because "people have complained about society not being what it used to be for some 350 years." To illustrate this attitude, Cleveland Amory quotes the Massachusetts Bay Court of 1651:

The Courte expresses its utter detestation that men and women of meane condition, education, and calling, should take upon them the garb of gentleman by wearinge of gold or silver lace, or buttons or poynts at their knees, or walke in great boots, or women of the same ranke to weare silke or tiffany hoods or scarfs. See Who Killed Society? (New York: Harper & Bros., 1960), pp. 31-32.

is found in Baltzell's Philadelphia Gentleman.<sup>7</sup> He describes in detail the style of life, the shared values, and the traditions of one of America's oldest and most aristocratic elites. He observes that the same family names have appeared on the rostrum of Philadelphia society since the early 1800's, but that the occupational focus of each succeeding generation has changed.

Davis and Gardner,<sup>8</sup> and Warner, in Democracy In Jonesville, note that old family groups are stronger in certain regions of the United States, notably in New England, the South, and in some of the older cities such as Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, and San Francisco. Davis and Gardner particularly stressed the importance of lineage in an aristocracy and the consequent unanimity of opinion regarding membership. Warner has suggested that "social class" systems lacking this old family-based, hereditary aristocracy are more characteristic of cities west of the Alleghenies. Wheelsburg residents, however, perceive an old family group or "old guard" and defer to descendants because of their family connections. The extent to which this is an hereditary top prestige group will be discussed and documented in a later chapter.

\* \* \* \* \*

Out of the preceding literature, certain questions arose which directed further inquiry. Is the top prestige group in Wheelsburg a true collectivity? To what extent do social boundaries exist between this group and others in the community? Does the social life of the upper status group in a midwestern, middle-sized city revolve around the larger, adjacent metropolis, or is the "society" a provincial,

---

<sup>7</sup>Edward Digby Baltzell (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

<sup>8</sup>Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

locally-oriented unit? To what extent do the old families dominate the social and civic aspects of the community? Do the old families with inherited wealth and the new industrialists form separate and competing social cliques? These are a few of the questions to be answered in succeeding chapters.

## 2. Literature on the Role of Women in the Community

There exists a relatively small body of sociological literature concerned with the role of upper status women in the community. Hunter,<sup>9</sup> Form,<sup>10</sup> Miller,<sup>11</sup> and many others have been interested in the structure of power among business and professional men as it manifests itself in civic and welfare activities. They and others have ignored the women engaged in these activities.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps, as Babchuk, Marsey, and Gordon suggest, this is because the role of women in the community power structure is a subordinate one.<sup>13</sup> They hypothesized that the more vital the function of an agency to the welfare of the community, the higher will be the rank of the board and the status of its members. They found

---

<sup>9</sup>Hunter, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup>Form, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup>Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, 23 (February 1958), 9-15.

<sup>12</sup>Floyd Hunter does mention (in Community Organization: Action and Inaction, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956) that the upper status women in his study perceived certain civic duties as a responsibility stemming from their social position in the community. In addition to their associational participation, however, the status position of these women is further delineated by their membership in one of three exclusive "sewing circles"--social prestige groups with a highly restricted membership.

<sup>13</sup>"Men and Women in Community Agencies: A Note on Power and Prestige," American Sociological Review, 25 (June 1960), 399-403.

that the boards of instrumental (as opposed to expressive)<sup>14</sup> agencies ranked highest and were dominated, numerically, by the most powerful men in the community. The highest percentage of women on agency boards appeared on the lowest ranking, expressive-type boards. The authors concluded from this that women wield little power in community organization. This conclusion is not wholly warranted since there are other possible ways in which women may exert influence over community decisions. These are problems which have not been adequately tested.

Mhyra Minnis elaborated on the expressive functions of women's organizations as well as the meaning of participation for women of all social classes.<sup>15</sup> One hundred and seventy-seven women's organizations were ranked according to their relative social prestige and were classified into 17 different types (service, social, literary, religious, etc.). The author noted a relationship between the type of organization, different class levels, and the average age of members. While many studies have suggested that lower and lower-middle-class women have a very low rate of associational participation,<sup>16</sup> Minnis points out that women in the lower class levels do join organizations but that these tend to be neighborhood rather than community-wide groups.

Race, religion, ethnic background, and social prestige are treated as four variables affecting differentiation in voluntary organizations. It was hypothesized that membership in a given type of

---

<sup>14</sup>See C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, 24 (February 1959), 22-29, for a description of instrumental and expressive organizations.

<sup>15</sup>Mhyra S. Minnis, "The Patterns of Women's Organizations: Significance, Types, Social Prestige Rank, and Activities," in Marvin B. Sussman, editor, Community Structure and Analysis (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959), pp. 269-287.

<sup>16</sup>See footnote 18 for an example.

organization is an index of social prestige in the community. The present study substantiates this hypothesis as will be shown in Chapter 5.

Aileen Ross also feels that women's activities are a profitable area for study. She notes that whereas philanthropic work is merely an adjunct to a man's career, it can constitute a career in itself for many upper and upper-middle-class women.<sup>17</sup> Just as a man's responsibility in the Community Chest drive parallels his business position and increases with his status and experience, so there are clear steps of advancement for women who are successful in the lesser jobs. Their success and experience enhances their status in the community and they find themselves in demand for other, more prestigious positions.<sup>18</sup>

While the woman's civic activities affect her personal status in the community, these activities also form part of a complex of duties which contribute to the status of her family as a whole. It is true that the occupational role of the husband is an important, if not the basic, status-determining role in the family system. Parsons calls this the

---

<sup>17</sup>Aileen Ross, "Control and Leadership in Women's Groups: An Analysis of Philanthropic Money-Raising Activity," Social Forces, 37 (December 1958), 124-131.

<sup>18</sup>Class and sex differences in associational participation was the subject of a study of Mira Komarovsky. (See "Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, 11 (December 1946), 686-698.) She found that participation in organized groups is decidedly more characteristic of the professional and business classes. An interesting pattern was observed among the women in her sample: the participation of women in the white collar and working classes was consistently lower than the men while that of women in the upper income brackets was consistently higher than the men. She notes, furthermore, that "in the white collar and professional classes marital status and age combine into an intricate pattern of influences giving sometimes to men, and at other times, to women a higher rate of participation." (p. 695) Here she hints at the differential community participation of husband and wife--seemingly related to the career pattern of the husband--which has been observed in the present study.

"instrumental leadership" role.<sup>19</sup> But family systems, and other groups of this size, tend to develop a differentiation between instrumental and expressive leadership. The feminine role, therefore, is made up of the chief parental responsibilities, the primary internal instrumental responsibility within the family, and the assumption of expressive leadership for the family in the community.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the participation of women in civic affairs can be interpreted as an expression of the family's status in the community and its concordance with the predominant values of the larger social system.<sup>21</sup> The assumption of expressive leadership for the family demands more than leadership and participation in voluntary associations. The function of expressive leadership is to increase

<sup>19</sup>Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in Class, Status and Power, Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset, editors (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 92-128.

<sup>20</sup>Carol Slater argues that class differences in associational participation are partially due to differences in the way the marital role is conceived. Subcultural norms and expectations in the upper socio-economic levels facilitate greater participation while the values and norms of the lower socio-economic levels emphasize the priority of household and family duties over outside activities. Women are confronted with a pattern of expectations about their behavior which significantly influences the likelihood of their participation in voluntary associations. Slater fails to consider, however, the physical aspects which facilitate or hinder participation, such as household help and smaller families in the upper class levels, and the lack of labor-saving conveniences, suitable wardrobes, and time free of large family responsibilities characteristic of the lower classes. See "Class Differences in Definition of Role and Membership in Voluntary Associations among Urban Married Women," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May 1960), 616-619.

<sup>21</sup>Thorstein Veblen concurs. Such participation is expressive of the style of life and leisure characteristic of particular socio-economic groups. Through civic activities, entertaining, manner of dress, and the observance of social rituals and norms, the woman maintains the status position determined by her husband's occupation and income. See his The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: The New American Library, 1953), pp. 42-45, 75 ff.

the family status, essentially determined by occupation and income, ". . . by canons of taste in the fields of expressive symbolism, by connections with other families of certain orders of prestige, through kinship or . . . through memberships in voluntary associations or purely informal mutual entertainment relations."<sup>22</sup>

According to Margaret Helfrich, various role orientations are available to the married woman.<sup>23</sup> She delineates six: 1) family-centered, 2) community-centered, 3) career-centered, 4) consultant, 5) creative, and 6) wife as student. It was hypothesized that role choice is dependent in part upon the role partner and the expectations of significant others--a hypothesis which is very much akin to one in the present study. She found that most wives of top executives are community-centered while those in a lower status category were family-centered. There are basic duties associated with the role of executive's wife. These are: 1) to care for the home, husband, and children, 2) to manage so that the husband gets a portion of the wife's time, 3) to entertain his business associates and their mutual friends, and 4) to participate in social and civic affairs. Similar expectations were observed in the present study. However, further analysis of social and civic participation in the **Wheelsburg** study suggests that there may be an inverse relationship between the extent of social and civic involvement which is affected by age and the career development of the husband.

#### B. Hypotheses

Two areas of research have been described and contributing ideas from pertinent literature reviewed. Out of this literature, several

---

<sup>22</sup>Parsons, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>23</sup>"The Social Role of the Executive's Wife," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1959.



broad hypotheses have been formulated which will serve to focus further discussion of the findings and to tie the present study in with previous work.

I. The first research area is concerned with a description of the top prestige group in a midwestern community. Parsons suggests that the main focus of the top elite today is on occupational status and earnings. The control of enterprise has shifted from the property interests of founding families to managerial and technical personnel. Because of this, he feels that the "family elite" elements of the class structure hold a secondary rather than a primary position in the overall stratification system.<sup>24</sup> If Parsons is correct, we would expect to find managerial and technical personnel at the apex of the top prestige group in Wheelsburg.

Davis and Gardner, and W. Lloyd Warner lead us to a similar expectation by a different route. They note that old family groups are stronger in certain regions of the United States--namely, New England, the South, and some of the older cities--and suggest that top prestige groups characterized by social distance, defined boundaries, and established "old families" are not found in newer cities in the Midwest.

On the basis of the above arguments found in the literature, the following null hypothesis is proposed:

1. That Wheelsburg, as a midwestern community with control of its major enterprises resting outside the community, will not have a top prestige group characterized by social distance, defined boundaries, and established old families.

Nowhere in the literature are there measurable criteria of the existence and closure of a communal group. In stratification studies, there are no objective comparisons between social elites in different types of

---

<sup>24</sup>Parsons, op. cit., p. 123.

communities. Warner's verbal criteria--(a) old families with inherited wealth at the apex of the group, (b) unanimity of opinion regarding membership, and (c) a maintained social distance between that group and others--are the only guide lines. For this reason, the author has set up the following criteria to demonstrate proof or disproof of the hypothesis:

(a) If greater than  $1/2$  of the forty members of the top prestige group are also members of old Wheelsburg families, reject the null hypothesis.

(b) If, when the rankings of these forty members by the two subsystems (A and B) are compared, there is observed a significant value of  $r_s$  at the .05 level, reject the null hypothesis.<sup>25</sup>

(c) If the women mention organizations and projects with which they are personally associated significantly more often than they mention other organizations and projects, reject the null hypothesis.

On the basis of the same literature, a second hypothesis can be formulated:

2. There will be no correlation between old family membership and being a social leader.

II. The second area of research is concerned with the differential participation of women in social and civic affairs as affected by the economic and influential position of their husbands in the community. If, as Parsons asserts, the woman assumes the role of expressive leadership, and if civic and social participation<sup>26</sup> are two chief modes of

---

<sup>25</sup>A rank correlation involving all 80 names would be prohibitive; therefore, the top 40 names were compared. It should be mentioned, however, that there is considerable consensus on the bottom portion of the list (those ranked "not social") and, therefore, a higher  $r_s$  would be expected.

<sup>26</sup>Civic participation includes membership in voluntary associations, civic and service clubs, and educational or political organizations; social participation includes membership in purely social clubs where

expressing social position, the following hypotheses could be proposed:

3. Women whose husbands are either economic dominants or top influentials or whose family is in the top 20 socially choose social means (entertaining, belonging to purely social organizations) to express their social position; whereas women whose husbands have not achieved community prominence as an economic dominant or a top influential and whose family is not among the top 20, choose civic means (belonging to service and civic clubs, or educational or political organizations) of expression.
4. Civic leaders will have a significantly lower social rank than social leaders.
5. Significantly more social leaders than civic leaders will have husbands who are either top influentials or economic dominants.
6. Social leaders will have a significantly higher rate of entertaining, both formal and informal.

---

membership is by invitation only and the number of members is restricted, and the frequent entertaining of business associates and prestigious friends.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF WHEELSBURG "SOCIETY"

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the top prestige group of Wheelsburg as a social system and then to describe the activities, norms, and life style of the group as a whole. To further understand the internal differentiation within the group, two sub-systems based on social rank scores and two based on the sociometric choices of best friends will be compared on the above characteristics. The first mentioned sub-groups based on social rank score will be referred to as the "top" and "bottom twenty." Families were ordered according to their social rank. Those with the twenty highest social rank scores were assigned to the "top twenty" and those with the next twenty scores were assigned to the "bottom twenty." Due to some ties, there are actually 21 in the top and 21 in the bottom group. The second major division, based on the sociometric choice of best friends, will be referred to as sub-group A and sub-group B, A being the older, and B the younger group.

#### A. Structural Aspects of the Top Prestige Group

##### 1. Structure Based on Social Rank

The two techniques mentioned above, the social rank score and the sociometric choice of best friends, are two ways of getting at the informal structure of a social system. By contrast with a bureaucratic organization, a social system of the type being considered here has no formal structure; there are no institutionalized roles making up an on-going and relatively unchanging structure. But there is an informal

organization to this group which appears to be relatively stable, undergoing perhaps minor changes with a change in personnel.

One of the structural characteristics of a social system is size. In the present case apparently the size of the group has not changed appreciably over the years. There is no fixed limit to the number of members, new faces appear rarely, and many of the "newcomers" have been in Wheelsburg for 30 or 40 years. In fact, among those in the top forty, a rank correlation of  $+.4138$  was found between length of residence and social rank, a correlation significant at the .05 level.<sup>1</sup> During the course of this research one new family moved to Wheelsburg and was quickly accepted by members of the top prestige group. Many respondents commented that this was most unusual. The next newest families in the top 40 have been here twelve years and both are in the bottom twenty, one fairly close to the bottom of the ranked list.

A second structural aspect is suggested by the ranking system and further borne out by the sociometric analysis. While the division of rankings into two groups of twenty and even the imposed limit of 40 are arbitrary, several things about the group structure can be deduced from the resulting ordering, and comparisons between the two groups show substantive differences between them. A very obvious difference is that of age. It will be demonstrated later that there is an extensive overlap between the top twenty and sociometric group A and the bottom twenty and group B. In addition it will be shown that there is a significant difference in age of those in group A as opposed to group B. It can therefore be assumed that the same age difference is characteristic of the top and bottom twenty.

Second, with regard to group structure, it can be demonstrated that friendship cliques are made up of families of very similar social

---

<sup>1</sup>The Spearman rank correlation was used with a one-tailed test.

rank. Two small cliques of seven families each were isolated on the basis of three or more reciprocal choices within the group of seven. The social ranks of the respective clique members were noted and averaged. The older clique had a range ( $w = 24$ ) of social rank scores from 98-122 with a mean ( $\bar{X}$ ) of 115.21. The younger clique had a range ( $w = 38.5$ ) of social rank scores from 74-112.5 with a mean of 85.79. In the latter clique the size of the range is distorted by a single high score of 112.5; the other six scores fall within a range of 18.

Third, one of the informal positions which seems to form a definite part of the group structure is that of the social leader. The characteristics of social leaders and the behavioral expectations and norms associated with their position will be discussed in a later section.<sup>2</sup> Of interest here is the extent of agreement on who fills these positions at the present time. Figure 1 shows that five women were mentioned by more than two-thirds of the 42 respondents, and that there is a fairly rapid drop-off in the number of votes received with several clear breaks. This suggests that there is a clear conception of the role of social leader and who fills it.

Furthermore, social rank is also useful in helping to structurally define these positions. The five top social leaders have the five highest social rank scores in the top twenty ( $w = 6$ ). The more inclusive group of twelve social leaders occupy twelve of the first thirteen places in the ranking of the top 20 ( $w = 14$ ).

A final structural aspect suggested by the social rank technique is the actual documentation of the existence of a definite group structure. Stone and Form observe that status rankings are unstable in the middle

---

<sup>2</sup>This information was obtained by the following questions: Could you give me the names of several women who in your opinion are the most important social leaders in Wheelsburg? and: Why do you feel they are most important?

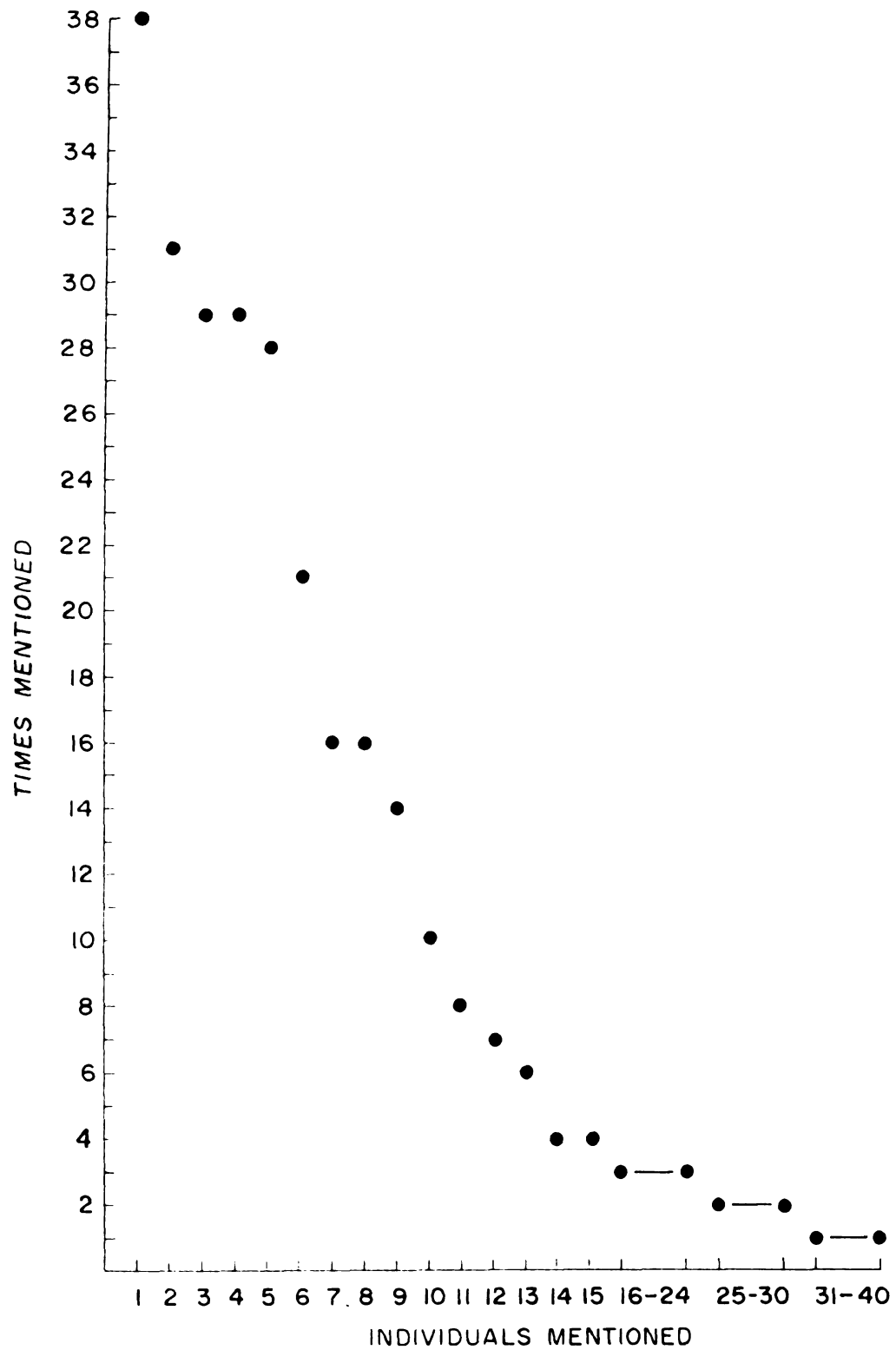


Fig. 1. Votes Received by Individual Women as Social Leaders.

class and that only at the two extremes is there any convergence of opinion.<sup>3</sup> It is the author's contention in the present case that the extent of agreement on the placement of persons in the top 40 attests to the fact that there is a definite rather than an amorphous structure in the top prestige group. A rank correlation of  $+ .67$  was observed when the rankings of the top 50 (out of the 80 initial cards) by the top and bottom twenty were compared. With a one-tailed test a correlation of this size could only be expected 2.5% of the time.<sup>4</sup> As mentioned earlier, a comparison of this agreement on all 80 names would be prohibitive. Furthermore, examination of the rankings of the bottom 30 suggests that an even higher  $r_s$  would be observed because there is equal agreement as to whom does not belong to the top prestige group.

To analyze further the extent of agreement, a different approach was taken. Examining the rankings of all 86 families by the 42 respondents, it was found that on only eleven families was there lack of agreement among the 42 women as to whether these eleven families were "social" or "not social." Fifty-three families were definitely "social" and 22 were definitely "not social."

When the rankings of the older group A are compared with those of the younger group B, there are only 16 cases of disagreement between the two groups.<sup>5</sup> In all 16 cases, one of the two groups takes a definite

---

<sup>3</sup>Gregory P. Stone and William H. Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, 18 (April 1953), 149-162; and Form and Stone, "Urbanism, Anonymity, and Status Symbolism," American Journal of Sociology (March 1957), 504-514.

<sup>4</sup>Wilfrid J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr., Introduction to Statistical Analysis (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1957), Table A-27, p. 464.

<sup>5</sup>The criteria of agreement is that two-thirds or more of the respondents rank a family as "social" or "not social."



stand on the ranking of the family (two-thirds or more agreeing on the social placement), while there is disagreement within the other group. Where group B agrees within itself on the ranking of the family, eight out of eight times that this happens they ranked the family "social." When group A agrees within itself, five out of eight times they ranked the family "not social." This suggests a slight tendency for the younger group to be more accepting and more willing to extend the boundaries of the top prestige group, while the older group is more likely to restrict membership and emphasize boundary maintenance against outsiders.

That social rank is not an infallible measure of friendship cliques is evidenced by the number of reciprocal choices occurring between the top and bottom twenty. This is partially due to the arbitrary placement of the dividing lines; one pair of choices is between a top twenty family and a bottom twenty family which is one point below the dividing line. Ten of the remaining twelve cross choices involve the younger sociometric group B which suggests that age is more important in determining smaller friendship cliques within the top prestige group than is similarity of social rank. Six of the seven top 20 members of the sociometric younger group involved in reciprocal choice relationships with lower ranking friends are members of old Wheelsburg families, which seems to enhance their social position despite their relative youth. Nevertheless, they seek their close friends among those similar in age and interests and yet not too distant in social rank.

Another small testimony to the importance of family in social position is that there are only three family connections between the top and bottom twenty, two parent-child relationship and one brother-sister relationship. But, two-thirds of the top twenty, while only one-third of the bottom twenty, are members of old Wheelsburg families. Other second and third generation descendants are thus either in the top twenty, no longer live in Wheelsburg, or are too young (in the teens and twenties) to have acquired a distinct social position of their own. Consequently,

when the top and bottom twenty are compared for length of residence, fifteen top twenty members of old Wheelsburg families are all above the median number of years lived in Wheelsburg (35) while six members of the top twenty who are not old Wheelsburg residents fall on or below the median. A seventh which falls below the median is a member of an old Wheelsburg family who moved away in her childhood, but returned following her marriage. Nine of the twelve interviewed in the bottom twenty fall on or below the median.

Table 1. Length of Residence in Wheelsburg by Social Rank.

Scores	Top twenty	Bottom twenty
Scores exceeding median	14	3
Scores on or below median	7	9
Totals	21	12

$$X^2 = 3.77, Df = 1, p \geq .10$$

The  $X^2$  performed on the median test is significant at the .10 level but very close to significance at the .05 level. This suggests that there is a significant association between length of residence and social rank, the longer the residence, the higher the rank.

Before moving to a detailed analysis of the sociometric structure of the top prestige group, it seems appropriate to compare the degree of overlap between the top twenty and Group A, and the bottom twenty and Group B and thereby establish the association between social rank and age. From Table 2 it is apparent that Group A is significantly older than Group B; age is an important factor in friendship group structure. That higher social rank is definitely associated with age<sup>6</sup> is shown in

<sup>6</sup>Twenty-one and twelve are the number interviewed in the top and bottom twenty respectively.

Table 2. Age Structure of Sociometric Groups

	Age Classes			Total
	30-40	50	60-70	
Group A	0	5	12	17
Group B	13	6	0	19
Total	13	11	12	36

$$X^2 = 23.84, \quad Df = 2, \quad p \geq .01$$

Table 3. Fourteen out of seventeen members of Group A are in the top twenty of the social rank scale whereas only seven of Group B rank this high.

Table 3. Extent of Overlap Between Groups A and B and the Top and Bottom Twenty.

	Top twenty	Bottom twenty	"just social"	Total
Group A	14	2	1	17
Group B	7	9	3	19
Total	21	11	4	36

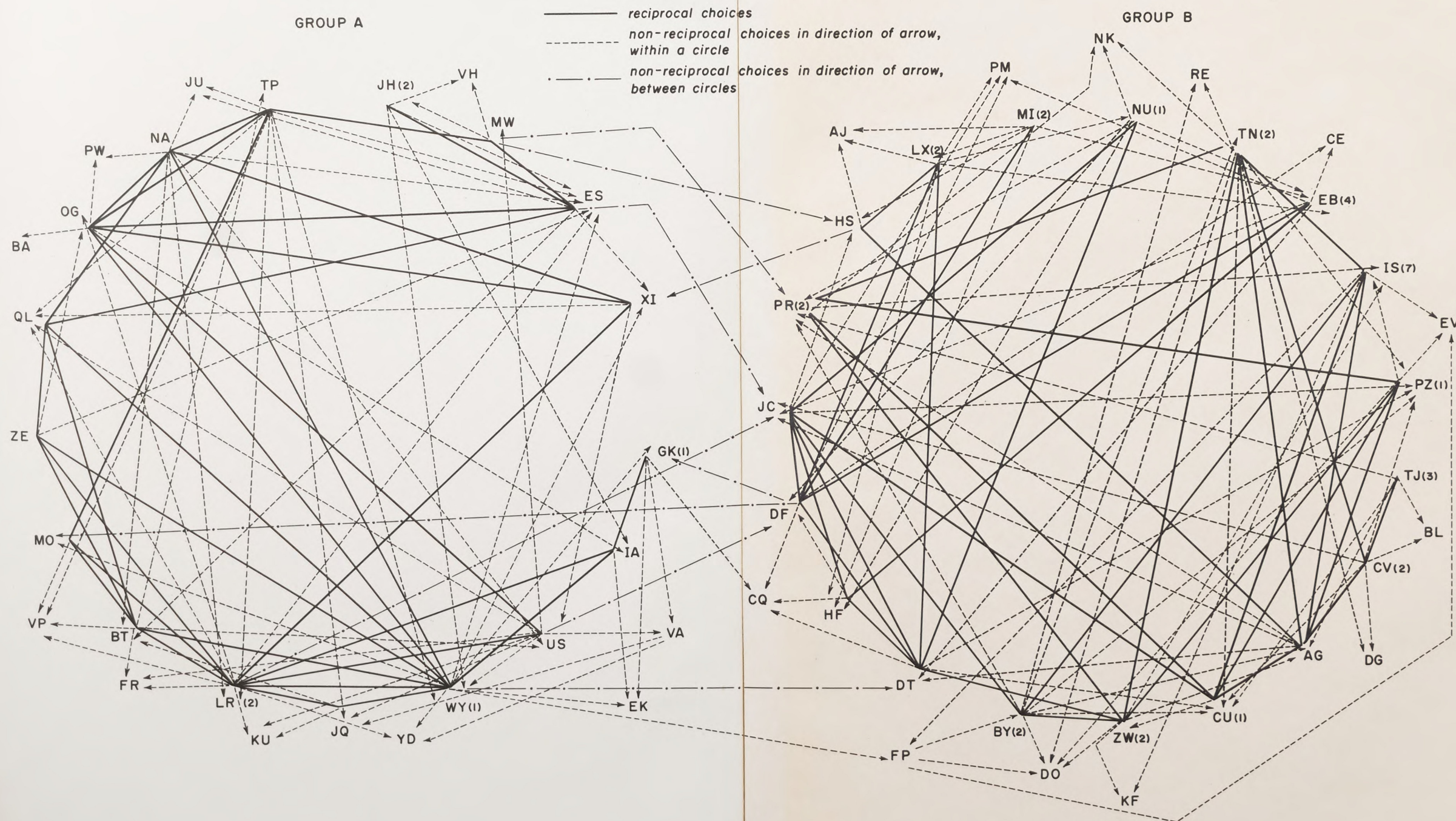
$$X^2 = 8.58, \quad Df = 2, \quad p \geq .025$$

## 2. Sociometric Structure

Sociometrically, by asking each respondent to list an unlimited number of best friends, a network of intimate social relationships was worked out. The basic data from this question are graphically represented in the sociogram in Figure 2. Respondents were included on the two circles if they were involved in a reciprocal relationship with at least one person and had chosen or were chosen by at least two others.



FIGURE 2a  
 Reciprocal and non-reciprocal choices of best friends  
 within and between Groups A and B





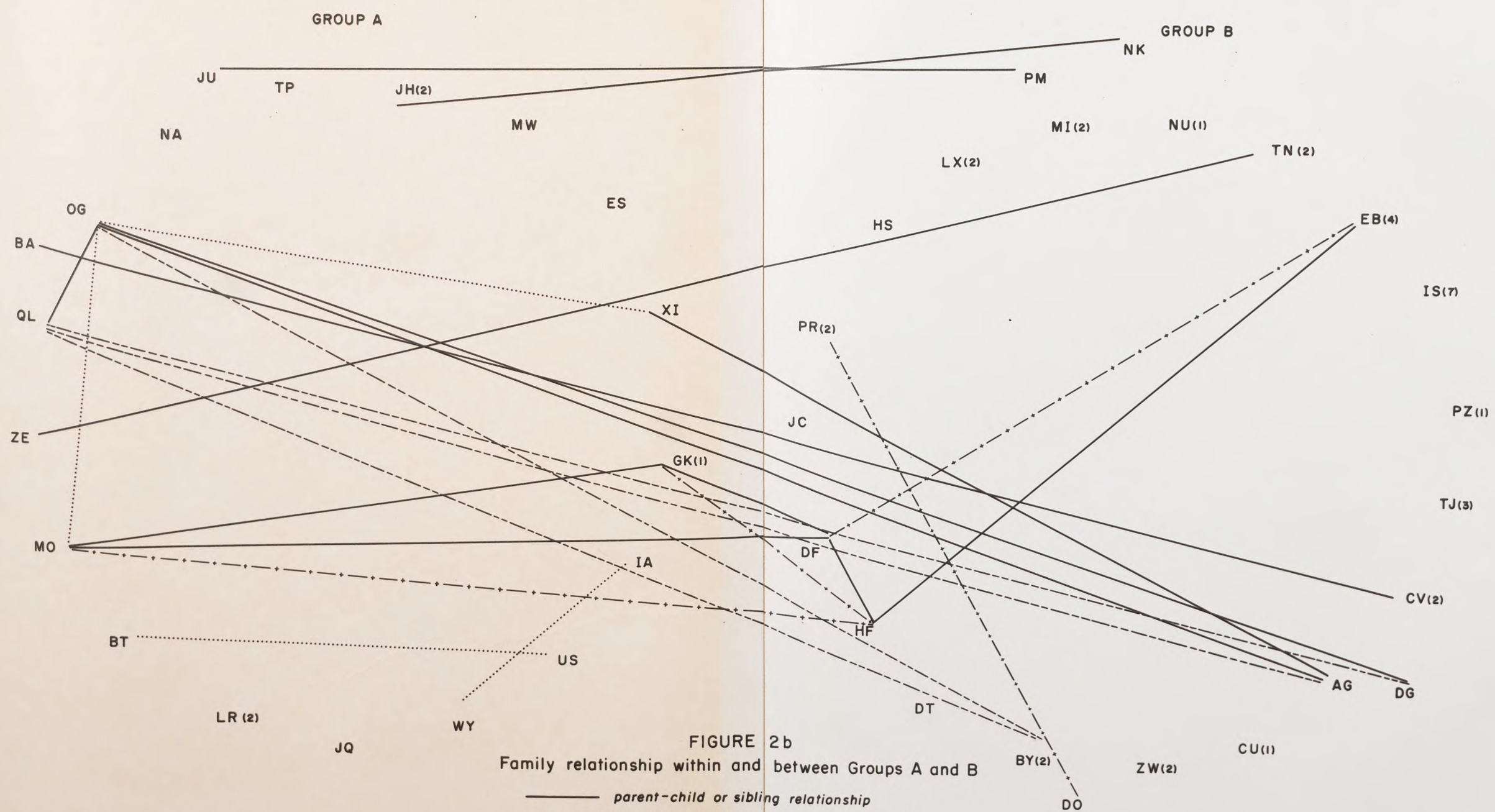


FIGURE 2b  
Family relationship within and between Groups A and B



Families mentioned as best friends of two or more respondents but who were not interviewed are shown on the periphery of the circles. In addition some who were interviewed, but who have only tangential connections with Group A or B are shown (note FP, for example). The numbers in parentheses below some of the names indicate the number of persons mentioned as best friends who are not directly connected with the top prestige group and are personal friends of only one couple in the group.

Solid black lines indicate reciprocal choices, broken black lines with arrows indicate one-way choices within sub-groups, and dotted black lines indicate one-way choices between the sub-groups. There were no mutual choices between group A and group B.

The average number of mutual choices for group A is 3.53, that for group B, 3.68. The difference in means is not great enough to reject the hypothesis that these are scores from two different populations. In accepting the null hypothesis, we can state that group A and B are two sub-groups of a single population and that the extent of mutuality in both groups is the same.

No accurate measure of cohesiveness or mutuality exists which fits the present case. In this study respondents were given an unlimited number of choices and were not asked to restrict their choices to any particular group. Consequently, with 17 respondents there is an unknown number of persons who could be chosen as best friends. The available statistical measures, based on binomial probabilities, depend on a given number of possible choices with or without a restriction on the number of choices that can be made.<sup>7</sup> In this case, group A is made up

---

<sup>7</sup>For a statistical measure of mutuality where the number of possible choices is given and the number of choices restricted, see Charles H. Proctor and Charles P. Loomis, "Analysis of Sociometric Data" in Research Methods in Social Relations, Part 2; Marie Jahoda,

of 17 families but the women interviewed could not be restricted to choosing friends within the 17 because sociometrically the group had not been defined at the time of the interviews. It was the free choice of friends which defined the group in the first place.

One measure suggested by Loomis and Proctor substantiates an observation made in the preceding section, namely, that those in group B appear to be less restrictive in their ranking of other families than group A, which sought to restrict the boundaries of the top prestige group.

Table 4. Comparison of Group Expansiveness.

Choice types	Group A	Group B
Choices outside their own sociometric circle	46	82
Choices within their own sociometric circle	38	41
Reciprocal choices	60	70
Total	144	193
	E = 8.47	E = 10.16

The measure of group expansiveness,  $E = \frac{\text{number of choices made by the group}}{N}$ , discussed by Proctor and Loomis shows group B to be generally more expansive,<sup>8</sup> they list almost twice as many friends outside the

Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, editors, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 561-585. In "A Note on Estimating the Statistical Significance of Mutuality," unpublished MS, Dept. of Statistics, Michigan State University, 1960, Leo Katz, A. Tagiuri, and T. R. Wilson discuss a technique which requires a given number of possible choices but does not restrict the number of choices per respondent. The article also includes a good bibliography on related sociometric techniques.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 572.



sociometric circle as does group A. A second measure, that of group cohesion,  $Co = \frac{\text{number of mutual pairs}}{C_2N}$ , shows a small difference between the two groups (Group A,  $Co = .221$ , group B,  $Co = .205$ ) and suggests that neither group is very cohesive if a score of 1 is assumed to be perfect cohesion. No criteria are offered by the authors for decisions about the degree of cohesion. As they point out, "these are common sense indices" which are more useful "for measuring change within a given test population" than for cross group comparisons.<sup>9</sup> However, Katz, Tagiuri, and Wilson warn against interpreting mutuality levels as indices of such group characteristics as "integration" and "cohesiveness."

In most cases these variables do not correspond conceptually to the operations by which mutuality is measured, nor are they conceived to be contingent upon the type of factors on which mutuality depends.<sup>10</sup>

A third measure suggested by Proctor and Loomis is a little more useful. A person's choice status is the  $\frac{\text{number of persons choosing } i}{N - 1}$ . When each of the two sub-groups, A and B, are compared individually, choice status correlates + .92 with social rank in group A (significant at the .01 level) and + .37 in group B (not quite significant, since for the .05 level,  $r_s \geq .400$ ). When the two groups are combined there is a significant correlation of  $r_s = +.66$  between choice status and social rank (at the .01 level,  $r_s \geq .423$ ). Interpretation of this finding is somewhat complex. The two variables are not measures of the same thing. Choice status is derived from the total number of people freely listing any  $i$  as a best friend; whereas social rank is derived from a forced and nonpersonal evaluation of a given number of specific individuals. Generally speaking, and especially where group A is

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 573.

<sup>10</sup>Katz, op. cit., p. 9.

concerned, the association between choice status and social rank suggests that those persons with high choice status and high social rank are those who entertain most and consequently have a wider range of friends than those at the other end of the continuum who do less entertaining and attempt to keep up with a smaller group of friends. This interpretation is substantiated by the observation that 4 out of the 5 top social leaders occupy 4 of the 5 highest choice statuses; and of the large group of 12 social leaders, 11 are in the first 16 choice statuses. The frequency distribution of choice statuses appears in Figure 3.

Examination of the sociogram provokes several more observations. One that seems quite important is that there are no reciprocal ties between group A and group B. This could be interpreted as evidence of definite structural lines between friendship groups based on age and social rank. An awareness of this aspect of group structure was verbalized by many respondents who mentioned entertaining mostly friends in one's own age group but that mixing of generations at larger parties and particularly during the holidays was frequently done. At such times it was considered courteous and in good taste to invite your parents' friends and contemporaries as well as your own. Furthermore, in response to the questions, "Is Wheelsburg "society" divided into different crowds? And, [if so] Are these to some extent based on age?" 32 women replied unqualifiedly that there were crowds, and that they were based on age; 16 qualified this by saying that the different crowds did intermingle quite a bit.

Inspecting groups A and B as two somewhat separate social systems, the family connections between them take on the function of systemic links, bringing the two groups together for a common purpose (be it a party or a fund-raising project) and making of them a single unit for short periods of time. Six direct family ties (parent-child, brother-sister, and aunt or uncle-niece or nephew) and two indirect ones

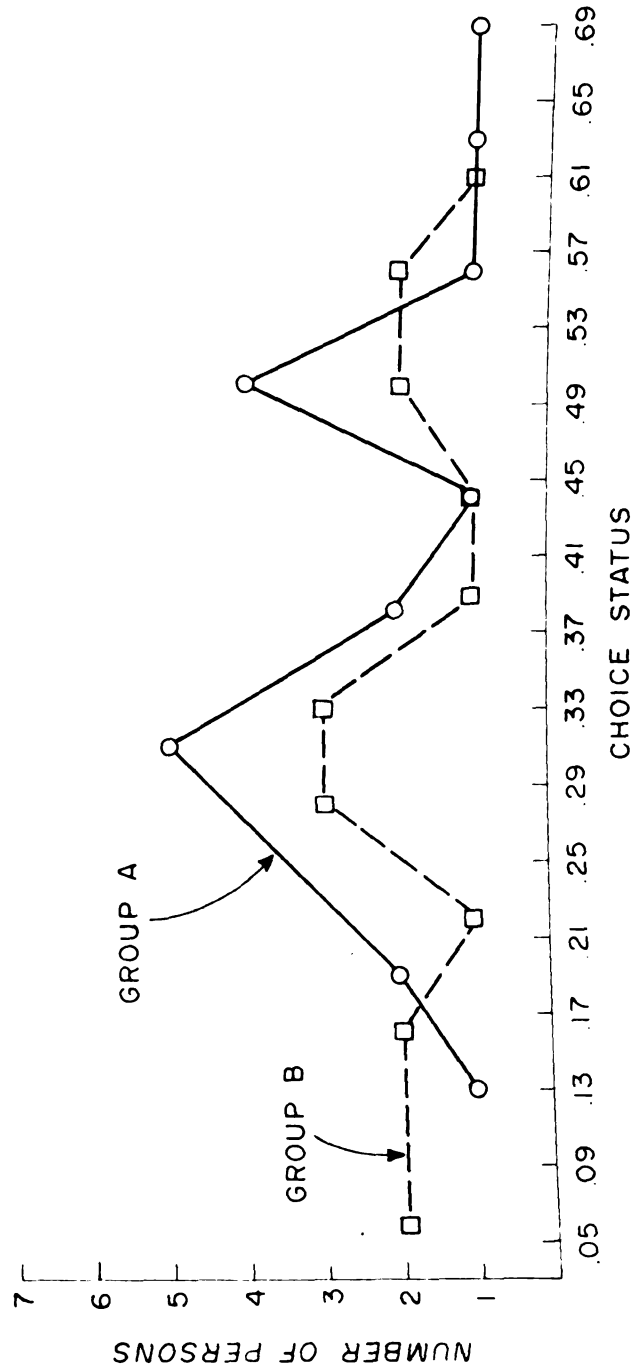


Fig. 3. Choice Status of Persons in Groups A and B.

(cousins or in-laws) link the two groups. Intermarriages of children have linked five families within group A, in one case smoothing over a breach that could have had real consequences for the sociometric structure and internal cohesion of the group.

Familial ties, however, are not the only links between the two social sub-systems. There are nine one-way choices of best friends connecting the two groups, six of the choices going from A to B and three from B to A. Four of the five families in group B involved in one-way choices with A are members of old Wheelsburg families and three of these are in their early fifties; i. e., the older members of their own group and closest in age to those in group A. Already they have begun to move into the older friendship group and are being chosen as close friends. The fifth family, though still quite young (c. 40's), represents a very prominent and wealthy family in a nearby community well-known to those in Wheelsburg. In addition, the wife is highly esteemed for her ability as a hostess and is quite popular within her own age group (see DT on the sociogram).

## B. Descriptive Characteristics

### 1. General Characteristics

The most meaningful way to describe the top prestige group in Wheelsburg seems to be to compare the similarities and differences between structural sub-groups of this social system. Two major types of divisions have been described in the preceding pages--that between a top and bottom 20 based on social rank, and that between an older and younger group based on sociometric choice of best friends. Since it has been demonstrated that there is a significant degree of overlap between group A and the top 20 and group B and the bottom twenty, and since more respondents are included in the sociometric division, a

comparison of similarities and differences between group A and B will be described in the following pages. Group A is made up of seventeen families, group B of nineteen. The figures presented in the following tables are based on interviews with the wives of those 36 families.

Religion, education, and occupation are traditional variables frequently used to compare different populations. In the present case, the data confirm what the literature leads us to expect, namely, that upper status groups in this country are white, Protestant, Republican, above average in education, and in executive or ownership positions.

Table 5 shows that only two out of the total 42 interviewed are not Protestant. Three profess no religion and three were not ascertained. None identified themselves as Jewish although two families had forebears who were of the Jewish faith. While the remaining 34 Protestants belonged to six different denominations, there is a high concentration in the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopalean denominations. Only minor differences exist between groups A and B in their religious participation. More of those in the younger group attend the Congregational Church downtown whereas the older group is evenly split between that church and the main Presbyterian church, also in the downtown area. A possible reason for this difference was suggested by the many references to the excellent youth choirs at the Congregational church. As one mother expressed it: "The kids get more from choir than Sunday School, I'm sure."

Politically, those interviewed are almost 100% Republican. Thirty-four claim a Republican affiliation, one is an independent, and seven were not ascertained. While no one listed herself as a Democrat, one woman, although following the pressures of her husband and friends to work for the Republican party at election time, admitted that she had privately supported John Kennedy and was overjoyed at his victory. However, so great did she feel those pressures, that even in the privacy

Table 5. Religious Affiliation of Groups A and B.

Religion	Group A	Group B
Catholic	1	1
Jewish	-	-
Episcopalean	2	3
Presbyterian	5	4
Congregational	5	8
Baptist	1	-
Mormon	1	-
Lutheran	-	1
No religion	1	1
Not ascertained	1	1
Totals	17	19

Table 6. Educational Level of Groups A and B.

Amount of schooling	Wives		Husbands	
	Group A	Group B	Group A	Group B
High school only	2	0	3	1
Business school	2	1	1	0
Finishing school	2	2	-	-
Some college	2	4	3	1
College degree	7	10	8	12
Advanced degree	1	1	2	5
Finishing school and some college	1	1	-	-
Totals	17	19	17	19
	$\bar{X}=14.82$	$\bar{X}=15.53$	$\bar{X}=15.18$	$\bar{X}=16.53$

of the election booth, she wasn't able to vote for the man she preferred.

The average education of all those interviewed was 15.05 years or three years of college. This was figured on the following basis: high school only, 12 years; business school, 13; finishing school, 14; some college, 15; college degree, 16; advanced degree, 17;<sup>11</sup> and finishing school and some college, 15. Table 6 compares the education of both husband and wives in groups A and B. In general, the husbands have roughly a year more of schooling than the wives. However, while the educational distribution of group A is quite similar for men and women, in group B one quarter of the men, as opposed to five percent of the women, have advanced degrees and almost all of the men, as opposed to three-fifths of the women, who started college, finished. Both the men and women in group B have a higher average education than those in group A. The difference in education between the women of the two age groups is not great. A good proportion of those in both groups who started college never finished. The answer to another question raises the possibility of a decline in the importance of education as a criterion for membership in upper status groups. When asked whether education was important or not for membership in Wheelsburg's top prestige group, two-thirds of the older women felt that it was important, whereas only half of the younger women expressed that opinion. When some of the older women were in school, higher education for women was still relatively uncommon and was mostly for women from more well-to-do homes. In addition, many of these women were raised in or near a college community (Meadowlawn) where education was naturally more emphasized and more accessible. In the 1940's and '50's education for women became less of a status symbol as it became more available to the lower economic levels.

---

<sup>11</sup>"Advanced degrees" covers one-year masters programs, three-year law degrees, and three-year medical degrees. For comparative purposes for the whole sample, 17 years credit was given to everyone with an advanced degree. For the comparison between groups A and B, the actual number of years required is used.

## 2. Occupational, Economic, and Community Participation of the Husband

Occupationally, there are minor differences between groups A and B which become much sharper when the top twenty-bottom twenty comparison is used. Table 7 shows both comparisons. Because the number of cases is small, percentages are somewhat misleading, but they are, nevertheless, useful for comparison. In group A slightly more than half of the men are Presidents and/or owners of a corporation as compared to slightly less than four-tenths of the men in group B. When social rank rather than age is controlled, almost three-fifths of the top twenty are presidents and/or owners while not quite one-fifth of the bottom twenty fill these positions. This would suggest that despite youth, an advanced occupational position adds considerably to social prestige. Approximately the same per cent in each group are minor executives (vice president or lower) in either banking or other businesses. Almost one-fifth of the top twenty are professional men while one-third of the bottom twenty are in this category. Roughly the same proportion of groups A and B, however, are professionals. None in either group A or the top twenty are white collar officials and only an approximate one-tenth of group B come under this classification. Generally, then, the men in the top prestige group represent high ranking and highly paid occupations.

In addition to their prestigious positions in the business world, half of the husbands in the sample have economic ties with corporations other than their own. As seen in Table 8, roughly two-thirds of both the top and bottom twenty serve on corporation boards in addition to their regular jobs. Several men in both groups, however, are prevented from serving on corporation boards because of the nature of their jobs. A considerably higher proportion of those in the older group A have these additional economic ties, presumably because they have more



Table 7. Occupations of Men in the Top Prestige Group.

Occupation	Top Twenty	Bottom Twenty	Group A	Group B
President	4	1	3	3
President and Owner	8	1	6	4
Bank executive (other than President)	1	0	0	1
Business executive (other than President)	4	3	4	4
Professional	4	4	3	4
White collar official	0	1	0	2
Other	0	2	1	1
(Retired)	(2)	(2)		
Totals	21	12	17	19

Table 8. Number of Husbands Serving on Corporation Boards.

Number of Boards	Top Twenty	Bottom Twenty	Group A	Group B
1	2	4	2	4
2	3	2	2	3
3	2	1	3	2
4	4	0	3	1
5	1	0	1	0
6	0	1	1	0
Didn't know	1	0	0	0
Total	13	8	12	10
	$\bar{X}=2.9$	$\bar{X}=2.1$	$\bar{X}=3.2$	$\bar{X}=2.0$

capital to invest and are better known by, and better integrated into, the business community. This is further supported by information on the extent of economic participation which illuminates more differences between the several groups. The men in group A serve on an average of 3.2 corporation boards while those in group B serve on an average of 2. The differences between the top and bottom twenty are not as great, but follow roughly the same pattern observed between groups A and B in Table 8. Half of those in the bottom twenty serve on only one board while more than half in the top twenty serve on three boards or more.

A second type of community participation for men in the top prestige group occurs in civic and business associations of a voluntary nature. A substantial difference exists in the participation of men in the top and bottom twenty. Those in the former belong to an average of 6.19 organizations while those in the latter average 4.75. When the sociometric age groupings are compared this difference disappears. A possible explanation of this change stems from the fact that five of the eleven most active men in the top twenty (six activities or more) are members of group B. Some of the same younger men hold high occupational positions, two are president and/or owners of corporations, two are minor executives and one is a retired professional man. The difference between the average number of organizations for the top and bottom twenty suggests that community participation plays a small part in enhancing social status and that those with higher rank belong to a greater number of organizations. In general, it appears that two other variables have been delineated which affect social position in a community. A relatively high, or at least minimal economic status is assumed. Age has been shown to be highly correlated with social rank; but the husbands' occupational position and community participation also appear to be relevant variables. This observation is also recognized by members of the group. About four-fifths of the women in groups A

and B felt that the husbands' position was important in establishing social position. One prominent woman said:

Today, prominent women are those whose husbands are prominent in business . . . the husband's position is very important among the new group. Where the older families are concerned, they got their prestige from their parents. Among the younger and newer ones, it's the husband's position and civic activities. Young couples can get known in the community civically.

However, there was less agreement on the importance of the husband's community activities. Fifty-three per cent felt they were important and necessary, 59% of the women in group A and 47% of those in group B. Some of the younger women took the position that it wasn't always what the husband did; what was important was that one member of the couple--either husband or wife--fulfilled the expectations for community service. It didn't seem to matter which one. A few admitted that for most people it seemed to be necessary, but that there were always examples of prominent people who "didn't do a thing" and so they concluded that community participation was not a criteria for membership in the top prestige group. What clearly emerges from this question is a predominant value of persons in this social system. Many of the older women and daughters of old Wheelsburg families voiced this idea as "putting back into the community what you've gained from it." One young woman commented:

Many activities in community affairs stem from the way you're brought up. You're taught to put back into the community what you've gained from it.

This value of repaying a debt to the community in which one has benefited economically seems juxtaposed with one of a more practical nature. Many of the younger women felt that community participation was a good way to get known in the community and to make desirable friends--a feeling mentioned in the first quotation by one of the "old family" leaders in Wheelsburg. In fact, the younger women seemed to

feel that the wife's community activities were more important. Whereas almost half of group A felt a woman's activities enhanced the social position of a family, seven-tenths of group B felt this way. Although the data only hint at such a generalization, one may speculate that a real change in the pattern and nature of community participation has taken place within this top prestige group. During the period when the women in group A were most active in the community, their participation largely centered around hospital work, and National Association of Young Women (fictitious name, abbreviated in the future, NAYW), and a literary club. Large scale participation was engaged in by the men of these older families with many buildings, plaques, and hospital wings attesting to the public contributions of these active men. In contrast, today, with young women more highly educated and seeking more challenging and diverse ways of using their abilities, and with fewer of this younger group buttressed by an established family position in a rapidly growing and transient community, civic participation has become an avocation, requiring training, experience, and a minimum of community contacts--since many of these organizations are invitational in nature. This is the NAYW's stated objective--to train young women for intelligent service in the community. Such participation is supported less by the value of repaying a debt to the community (since many of the younger women are not natives of Wheelsburg) and more by that of helping the husbands' position in the business world. This is accomplished in two ways: first, by fulfilling the expectations which the company has that junior executives and their wives will contribute to the community--or in the case of independent, professional men, by getting them known as a couple in the community (doctor's wives are among the most conspicuously active women in Wheelsburg); and second, through participation in different groups, the wife makes social contacts, both with other young couples on their way up and with other women whose husbands may become important business contacts.

Before proceeding to a description of the women's organizational participation, it seems appropriate to finish a discussion of the husbands' occupational, economic, and community participation by showing in some detail the pattern of particular organizational membership which men in the top prestige group share.

One of the most exclusive and prestigious clubs for men is made up of 40 or 50 members, most of them representing industrial and banking enterprises. Four-fifths of the men in the top twenty, whereas only one-quarter of those in the bottom twenty belong to the Wheeler's Club. Since the same proportion of men in groups A and B belong, it is assumed that social rank (and occupational position) are more important in determining membership than age. A much less exclusive luncheon club, where membership is not invitational, has a similar distribution between the top and bottom twenty and groups A and B. Rotary and the Chamber of Commerce share similar patterns of membership with slightly over half of the top twenty belonging to both and one-quarter and one-third of the bottom twenty belonging to each respectively. All of both the top twenty and group A belong to the oldest country club in Wheelsburg while roughly three-quarters of the other two groups belong. There was a marked tendency among the respondents to depreciate the importance of the Wheelsburg Country Club and many complained that it was getting too big and that anyone could get in. As one young woman stated:

In the old times, all our families knew each other and when you went to the country club, you knew everyone. That isn't true anymore.

And yet, despite the verbal deprecations, participation in the club is very high. At one time all of group B and all of the bottom twenty belonged, but four families have dropped their membership. Possibly, a country club membership is a sort of minimum requirement, since it is the center of many activities, especially during the milder months

Table 9. Organizational Participation of Husbands.

Organizations	Top Twenty	Bottom Twenty	Group A	Group B
	- - - - - Per cent - - - - -			
Wheeler's Club	81	25	59	58
Luncheon Club	81	33	71	68
Chamber of Commerce	52	33	53	37
MAC	10	0	12	0
MC	10	0	6	5
Both MAC and MC	10	0	12	0
Wheelerburg Country Club	100	75	100	79
Rotary	52	25	35	37
Dancing Club (couples)	38	67	24	74

of the year when golf, tennis, and swimming can be enjoyed. It is also advantageous in entertaining as it is the site of many large private parties. At least every two or three years most families seem to give a cocktail party or buffet dinner-dance for 150 to 200 persons and the country club is the only place large enough to accommodate a party of this size.

Two dancing clubs are perpetuated by the top prestige group. One, for the very young couples in their 20's and 30's and a second for those in their 40's and 50's. Both are invitational with restricted membership and many couples seem to "graduate" from one to the other. The second club has a great deal of prestige; and yet the membership is predominantly made up of families in the bottom twenty and group B. This suggests that older families resign after an active period in the 40's and 50's, inviting younger couples of their choice to succeed them who will perpetuate the traditions and standards of membership of the club. Consequently the middle aged couples comprising the current membership list are those chosen by the present

social leaders to be the social leaders of the next generation.

A new trend, only just beginning, is suggested by the small membership in the MAC and the MC, two exclusive dining clubs in a nearby metropolitan community. Wheelsburg society is provincial in the sense that the social life is locally oriented. Members of the local top prestige group are not active in social groups in other communities and have little or no connection with a national elite. A few families whose business connections make social contacts for them in metropolitan areas are less well-integrated into the local society. The six Wheelsburg families who belong to the metropolitan clubs are all members of the top twenty, with only one being in the younger age group. Four of the six are the four top social leaders. Thus, the social leaders are, in effect, becoming systemic links between local and metropolitan society.

Membership in these clubs can also be interpreted as new symbolic distinctions. Summer homes in the northern part of the state and winter vacations in Florida, Nassau and some of the other islands were replaced by trips to Europe, which, as they became commonplace, were in turn replaced by round-the-world trips. This is still a distinctive symbol of affluence and status; but every year several more families join the ranks of those who have been "round-the-world." Therefore, those at the apex of the social hierarchy are seeking for new ways to distinguish the "social" from the merely wealthy. And already, several of the younger women mentioned wanting MAC or MC memberships for Christmas or a birthday because it was so convenient and so nice to have a good and exclusive place to dine and dance when business or cultural pleasures brought them to the metropolis.

### 3. Civic and Social Participation of the Women

Since the emphasis in this study is on the women and their activities, no more detailed information was correlated on the specific civic activities of the men. Instead the women's pattern of activities will be discussed in considerably more detail. Respondents were asked to name and then rank the six socially most important clubs and organizations in Wheelsburg. Table 10 shows the pattern of response obtained from group A, group B, and the two combined. It is apparent that there is great unanimity on the organization which belongs in first place. This is a national women's organization with considerable prestige among the upper economic groups throughout the country. Membership in this association is one of the most acceptable entrees into Wheelsburg "society." All nineteen women in group B belong as well as half of those in group A. Several of the women in the older group were past the admission age when the local chapter was initiated, and several others were not yet established members of the community.

Clearly in second place is the exclusive men's club, the Wheelers Club, discussed in the preceding section. Started by some of the early industrial pioneers in the auto industry and related businesses, the membership is apparently made up today of men in executive positions in these same industries plus prominent bankers and financiers. The club has no ostensible purpose and is little known outside the circle of members and their immediate friends. They have permanent private rooms in a local hotel where the men meet for lunch and occasional bridge games, and where wives and guests may be brought for a cocktail in the evening. Respondents commented that many business arrangements are made in the club rooms. Thus the club serves as a coordinating center, both for decisions of a business nature and for decisions regarding civic and community activities.

The third and fourth ranks for the clubs are very close. Arbitrarily, the dancing club would be third and the hospital guild fourth.



Table 10. Socially Most Important Organizations as Ranked by Groups A and B. †

Rank	NAYW		Dancing Club		Wheelers Club		Luncheon Club		Hospital Guild		Country Club		Literary Club		Others	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1st	12	15	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Sub-total	27				8						1					
2nd	0	1	3	2	3	7	1	0	6	5	2	2	1	0	1	2
CST*	28		5		18		1		11		5		1		3	
3rd	0	2	6	7	2	1	2	0	2	4	1	1	2	4	2	0
CST	30		18		21		3		17		7		7		5	
4th	3	0	1	4	2	1	1	2	0	4	3	1	3	2	6	5
	33		23		24		6		21		11		12		16	
5th	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	4	2	3	4	2	5	5	3
	33		26		24		8		27		18		19		24	
6th	0	1	2	0	0	1	4	3	2	0	2	5	1	1	3	7
	34		28		25		15		29		25		21		31	

Summary Table:

1st	27	18	
2nd		18	21
3rd			19
4th			
5th			25
6th			

\* Cumulative sub-total.

† A X<sup>2</sup> test shows that there is a significant association between the various organizations and the way in which they are ranked. This attests to a rather high rate of agreement among the members of a well-defined social group.

The hospital group is the second oldest of a group of eight or nine other guilds, administratively equal in the hospital hierarchy. Yet it is the only one which is invitational and restricted in the number of members. There is a very pronounced pattern of mobility between organizations here--an example of role sequence for upper status women. Most of the very active and more prominent members of the NAYW "graduate" to membership in the guild when they pass the age of active membership (or "go sustaining"). Twenty-three out of twenty-eight currently active in the guild are also members of NAYW. The latter, strangely enough, has the higher social prestige of the two so that this is not upward vertical mobility but is rather horizontal instead. Membership in the guild is sequential to active membership in the NAYW, and hence, is part of a system of age-grading in which different positions in the age structure are accompanied by different associational memberships.

Membership in the dancing club appears to parallel active membership in the guild. Fifteen of the 27 active guild members in the sample are currently active in the dancing club and five others are past members. This testifies to the fact that the guild has a relatively wide age span, wider actually than the dancing club. Perhaps the similarity of ranking of these two organizations is in part due to the great overlap of members and their similar position in the role sequence of upper status women.

In fifth place is the country club, a non-selective organization looked upon more as a convenience than a symbol of status by this sample of women. They seem to make minimal use of the club, refraining from office-holding and committee or planning activities. A few of the older men play golf in season with selected groups of business associates and friends, and some of the children of the younger families participate in sports activities during the summer and dancing classes during the winter. But these 42 families are conspicuously absent from

the golf and bridge tournaments and other all-inclusive activities. At a big dinner-dance last summer members of the top prestige group came with their circle of friends and did not interact greatly with other members of the club.

In sixth place is a literary club made up primarily of older women. Formerly a very prestigious club for women in this economic group, it no longer fulfills the needs for which it was established, and younger women are declining membership in it. As one of the oldest women's clubs in the state (founded during the late 1800's), it was established as a literary outlet and intellectual stimulant for women of leisure. Elaborate "research papers" are still presented by the members at weekly meetings. In the latter 19th century and first 30 years of the 20th, the club undoubtedly served a very important function for these women; but with college education becoming increasingly prevalent and with many new and more stimulating outlets for creativity and expression, the young women of the 1940's and 50's have rejected the sedentary, ritualized, and self-centered organization.

In another question the women were asked to name (but not rank) the women's organizations most important to the welfare of the community. Again there is considerable agreement, at least on three organizations. The NAYW was almost unanimously mentioned as contributing a great deal to the community. Since its inception in 1932, the NAYW founded many of the welfare services available in the community. Twenty-eight out of the 36 women in groups A and B are members of NAYW, many of them, however, no longer active because they are past the maximum age and are now "sustaining" members.

Second in the number of times mentioned are the hospital groups in general. All three hospitals in the community have many auxiliaries or guilds which serve a variety of volunteer functions within the hospital. This is perhaps the most popular form of community participation in Wheelsburg. One hospital alone has some 800 volunteers. The three

Table 11. Civically Most Important Women's Organizations.

Subgroup	NAYW	Guild and Hospital groups in general	Volunteer women	Business groups	Symphony groups	Heart fund	Church groups	Others
A	17	12	0	0	6	1	4	10
B	17	13	6	4	4	3	1	10
Totals	34	25	6	4	10	4	5	20

hospitals vary in the prestige associated with volunteer work, and within the one hospital at least, differential prestige is associated with the different auxiliaries.

Moving from preferences and opinions to actual participation, there are some consistent differences in the extent of participation in different type organizations. Group B consistently has a higher average number of organizations. This stems from the fact that there are more pressures on the younger woman to join activities and keep up socially. Some of these pressures come from: 1) other wives in her economic and social group; 2) her husband and a consideration of the augmentation of his business position through membership in certain social organizations; 3) the expectations of significant older women who may "pave the way" for membership in important groups; and 4) the NAYW where young women are explicitly trained to assume leadership positions in the community. In the latter case, it is mandatory that active members not only serve on committees within the NAYW itself and work a minimum number of hours each week in a fund-raising shop, but most active members are placed as NAYW representatives on all important community boards so that they become known by other men and women in the community and they become acquainted with the methods of operation and administrative procedures of community chest agencies, civic commissions, etc.

Comparing the averages for the top and bottom twenty with those for groups A and B, it again appears that age is an important dimension of differentiation. Whereas the averages for the top and bottom twenty fall within those for groups A and B and differ very little between themselves, the division based on age finds group A and B considerably further apart. Members of group A have belonged and currently belong to fewer civic, social and religious, or governmental organizations. The difference in the total number of organizations between the two

Table 12. Average Number of Memberships in Different Types of Organizations.

Subgroup	Civic	Social and religious	Governmental	All organizations
A	5.88	4.76	.35	11.24
B	6.95	5.53	1.16	14.32
Top 20	6.28	5.00	.666	12.11
Bottom 20	6.45	4.91	1.55	13.91

groups (A and B) is significant at the .025 level of confidence. When only current memberships are compared an important change in the pattern observed in Table 12 is seen. Although the younger group maintains a higher average number of memberships in both organizational types, there is a greater difference between group A and B in civic participation and a smaller difference in the extent of social participation.

Table 13. Average Number of Current Memberships in Different Types of Organizations.

Subgroup	Civic	Social and Religious
A	2.76	4.00
B	4.00	4.47

Furthermore, whereas in Table 12 there has been a greater average participation in civic rather than social affairs, in Table 13 it is apparent that when only current memberships are considered, there is greater social participation, particularly among the older group.

Several things are suggested by these observations. First, there is further illumination of a general role-sequence, whereby younger women pass through one initial organization (the NAYW) and later branch out into diverse community activities as their own interests and inclinations dictate. The initial organization is followed in a high percentage of cases by another prestigious and expressive (of status) association. At first, membership in the guild is accompanied by other activities in the community, but gradually others are dropped as a woman's children grow up and weddings and grandchildren demand more time and attention. Simultaneously the husband's business position achieves stability and the position of the family in the community is generally a secure one. There is now the time, the money, and a circle of friends to encourage more entertaining and enjoyment of purely social activities. Long winter vacations or trips abroad become feasible, both economically and occupationally since the husband is either retired or in an important position where extended vacations are permitted. The woman now takes on an almost entirely new role, devoid of extensive family and community responsibilities and involving a more companionable relationship to her husband, and a more socially accented relationship to her contemporaries. Activities include the planning of elaborate menus and decors for parties, and the social responsibilities of Monday bridge, informal luncheons, and dinner parties. During this period the husband retires and extensive traveling may follow, so it is necessary to have no responsibilities or commitments tying one to the community.

Second, the higher average participation in civic activities is undoubtedly due to the wide variety of acceptable and available activities open to these women as opposed to the very restricted number of exclusive and prestigious social organizations.

Some of the specific organizational memberships common to the women of the top prestige group have been mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. But for clarity a summary of this participation is shown in Table 14. The most obvious observation that can be made about the table is the exceedingly small number of organizations in which a majority of the women participate.

Table 14. Organizational Participation of Women in the Top Prestige Group.

Subgroup	NAYW	Literary Club	Political Club	Hospital Guild	Hospital Aux.	Couples Club	Heart Fund
	- - - - - Per cent - - - - -						
A	53	35	12	76	35	18	0
B	100	26	26	79	5	21	26
Top 20	71	33	14	86	29	24	10
Bottom 20	92	17	25	58	0	25	33

In addition to those listed, there are six other groups in which only a few women are active. This does not include, however, the civic boards which the younger women attend as part of their duties within the NAYW. This has been counted as a strictly NAYW activity.

Thus there are only three organizations in which greater than half of the combined groups (A and B or the top and bottom twenty) participate and only two in which more than half of each sub-group participates. These two groups have been discussed in detail previously. But two additional observations may be made. First, the percentages for the literary club show that participation is higher among the older women who perhaps remember the club when its prestige was unquestioned and still regard it in this light. And yet, this indicates a declining rate of participation by comparison with NAYW and the guild.



Second, the difference in the percentages under the guild strongly suggest that social rank is an important factor in guild membership. While there is negligible difference in participation between the sub-groups based on age, there is considerable difference between the two groups based on social rank.

#### 4. Style of Life

Certain conveniences or lack of them and ways of doing things distinguish social groups from one another. It has been shown that there is a distinctive pattern of participation in specific organizations and community affairs. There are, in addition, certain characteristics which are typical of the style of life of the particular social group under consideration. For example, the use of summer homes apparently has been declining with the increase in popularity of southern winter vacations. Many of the older respondents mentioned selling these homes because they got tired of going back to the same place every year; they were beginning to travel more and see new places. Also, with families grown and children married, there was less need for this facility. While half of the group A families still have summer homes only one-fifth of the younger set have invested in them. This may be partly due to the expense of maintaining homes on the "right" northern lakes and partly due to the fact that there has been increased social activity in Wheelsburg itself during the summer months, including programs for the children at the country club.

There is a definite difference in the use of domestic help between groups A and B. About two-thirds of group A have daily maids or servants who live on the premises. A few families have relatively large domestic staffs. About the same proportion of group B have cleaning ladies once or twice a week. And most of those without permanent help have a couple on special occasions such as dinner parties to "serve and butle."

Table 15. Extent of Domestic Help Employed.

Subgroup	None	Daily	Once of Twice Weekly	Special Occasions Only
A	0	11	5	0
B	1	4	12	1

In general the measure of rate of entertaining was not very differentiating. A more refined measure is needed because it could provide some interesting and useful data. The measure used was handicapped by crude intervals and a lack of precise definition of what constituted formal and informal entertaining. Nevertheless, some general comments can be made. Group A does considerably more informal entertaining than group B. Twice as many in the older group entertain weekly. About four-fifths of both groups are entertained informally at least once a week. This testifies to a high rate of interaction between cliques within the social system. Informal entertaining includes luncheons, buffet dinners, and casual evenings with other congenial couples. Formal entertaining includes sit down dinners, with either business suits or "black ties" for the men and the appropriate dress for the women, formal dinner-dances, and large cocktail parties. Only a very few families entertain formally as often as weekly or every other week. Most entertain in this fashion from two to eight times a year with a high concentration of such parties falling during the Christmas season. However, roughly half of group A attends formal functions weekly or every other week and seven-tenths go at least once a month or more. In the younger group, less than a third go weekly or bi-weekly but seven-tenths go monthly or more. Again this

Table 16. Entertainment Patterns of Groups A and B.

Type of Entertaining	Frequency of Entertaining				
	Weekly	Every other week	Monthly	Other	Not as-certained
Informal entertaining	A 9	2	2	1	3
	B 5	9	3	0	2
Formal entertaining	A 2	1	0	12	1
	B 0	2	2	13	2
Being entertained informally	A 14	1	0	1	1
	B 16	1	0	0	2
Being entertained formally	A 3	5	4	3	2
	B 1	5	7	4	2

suggests that the older group spends more time entertaining and being entertained than the younger families with more business, community, and family responsibilities.

##### 5. Images of "Society" Held by the Top Prestige Group

Several questions tapped the respondents' opinions about the nature of the top prestige group as a whole--how definite its membership, the criteria for membership, and the ease with which new members are accepted. The answers were fairly clear-cut with most women sharing the same opinions. Seventy per cent felt that it was difficult for newcomers to be accepted by the group; several of the remaining contended that it was easy to be accepted, if you had an entrée, someone to sponsor or recommend you. In the follow-up question, respondents were asked on what basis new couples are accepted. Two-thirds said it

was necessary to be sponsored or introduced by an important member of the group. Approximately half felt that the husband's position and the personal attributes of the couple (congenial, interesting, etc.) were also important factors. Roughly one-third felt that effort and desire on the part of the newcomer, as well as the clubs which they joined, influenced their chance of becoming known and accepted by the top prestige group.

When asked what criteria seemed to be important and to characterize those already in Wheelsburg "society," three-fourths felt that the husband's position was very important. Nine-tenths felt that entertaining was necessary. Wealth and family background were next with roughly two-thirds citing them as important criteria. The women themselves, thus, place wealth and background second to the husband's business position and the fulfillment of entertaining obligations on the part of the wife. That this is a fairly accurate appraisal is supported by the fact that those with the highest social rank are named as social leaders, known for their abilities as hostesses, and the men in these top families are top influentials and/or economic dominants in the community, all occupying important executive or ownership positions.

### C. Tests of Related Hypotheses

On the basis of theory inferred from observations of upper status groups in eastern communities, several null hypotheses were derived concerning "society" groups in midwestern cities. Warner and others have hypothesized that cities "west of the Alleghenies" will not have "old family" based aristocracies. And Parsons suggests that the main focus of the top elite today is on occupational status and earnings and not inherited wealth and locally owned enterprises. It was, thus, hypothesized that:

(1.) Wheelsburg, as a midwestern community with control of its major enterprises resting outside the community, will not have a top prestige group characterized by social distance, defined boundaries, and established old families.

Certain criteria were set up to demonstrate proof or disproof of the null hypothesis. First, "If greater than half of the forty members of the top prestige group are also members of old Wheelsburg families reject the null hypothesis." It was observed that 26 families in the top 42 (due to two ties) represent second and third generations of old Wheelsburg families. Fifteen of these are in the top twenty and eleven in the bottom twenty. Therefore, on the basis of the first criterion, we would reject the null hypothesis.

The second criterion states that: "If, when the rankings of these forty members by the two sub-systems (groups A and B) are compared, there is observed a significant value of  $r_s$  at the .05 level, reject the null hypothesis." The comparison was actually done on fifty families with a  $r_s$  of +.67 observed. Less than .025 per cent of the time would a value above .33 be expected, so the confidence level has been met. And, on the basis of the second criterion, we would reject the null hypothesis.

The third criterion states: "If the women mention organizations and projects with which they are personally associated significantly more often than they mention other organizations and projects, reject the null hypothesis." Several different observations are applicable here. First, when asked which women's organizations were most important to the community, the 36 respondents in groups A and B named their own organizations over others in a ratio of 4:1.<sup>12</sup> The frequency distribution can be observed in Table 11. With the exception of the miscellaneous category, only three groups received a substantial vote:

---

<sup>12</sup>That is, when organizations named by six or more respondents are considered.

the NAYW, the Guild and other hospital groups in general, and the Symphony groups. With membership in the first two extremely high and that in the third negligible, the ratio here is 6:1.

A second observation is with respect to the projects of women's organizations considered most important. Seven of the ten projects named were projects of one organization, the NAYW; and the three non-NAYW projects were mentioned five times or less.

Finally, the rankings of the socially most important organizations produces a  $X^2$  of 90.28, significant at the .001 level, illustrating the high degree of consensus on the ranking of six organizations. In addition, half or more of the 36 women in groups A and B belong to the first five organizations. Participation in number one is 78%, in number two, 58%, in number three, 78%, in number four, 50%, in number five, 89%, and in number six, 31%. No organizations were mentioned except those to which at least a majority of this group either currently belong or have belonged in the past.

These three observations, then, support the third criterion and, on the basis of this, we would reject the null hypothesis.

Therefore, since the data supporting the three criteria call for rejecting the null hypothesis in the case of all three, it is rejected. Contrary to Warner's supposition that relatively closed societal groups do not occur in younger midwestern and western communities, Wheelburg appears to have a top prestige group characterized by social distance--with members well-acquainted with only those activities of their immediate group--, defined boundaries--as indicated by the unanimity on the ranking of families both within the group and outside of it--, and established old families.

That these old families are well established is tested again in hypothesis (2.) which states that:

(2.) There will be no correlation between old family membership and being a social leader.

Since old family membership is not a ranked variable, this hypothesis was tested by means of a binomial probability. Since the hypothesis posits no relationship between social leadership and old family membership, the probability of a social leader being either an old family member or not an old family member is .5. Given  $p = .5$  and  $1-p = .5$ , the probability of observing 9 old family members in a sample of 12 is .05. This meets the acceptance criterion of an .05 level of significance. Therefore, we would reject the hypothesis of no association between social leadership and old family membership. There is a significant relationship between these two variables.

## CHAPTER 5

### CIVIC AND SOCIAL LEADERS COMPARED

This chapter is concerned with the differential participation of women in social and civic affairs as it relates to age, social rank, and the economic and influential position of the husband in the community. Data from twelve social leaders and 13 civic leaders are used in the following comparisons. The first hypothesis (Hypothesis 3 in Chapter 3) in this area states that:

(3.) Women whose husbands are either economic dominants or top influentials or whose family is in the top twenty socially choose social means (entertaining, belonging to purely social organizations) to express their social position; whereas women whose husbands have not achieved community prominence as an economic dominant or a top influential and whose family is not among the top twenty, choose civic means (belonging to service and civic clubs, or educational and political organizations) of expression.

There are several ways of applying the data to this hypothesis. Since all the economic dominants and the top influentials except three are in the top twenty socially, a comparison of the top and bottom twenty on the type of organizational participation and the extent of entertaining should provide proof or disproof for the hypothesis. While the differences in participation in social organizations is negligible, those in the top twenty belong to an average of six civic organizations while those in the bottom twenty belong to an average of 6.9, a significant difference at the .05 level ( $z = 1.609$  for the Mann Whitney U Test). When the two groups are compared for total number of all organizations participated in, those in the top twenty belong to an average of 11.9 organizations while those in the bottom twenty belong to an average of 14.4 organizations.



Possibly because of the poor measure of entertaining and rate of being entertained, there are no substantial differences in the entertaining pattern of the two groups; only a slight tendency for those in the top twenty to do more informal entertaining. Thus, there is only partial support for the hypothesis using the comparison based on social rank.

When civic and social leaders are compared, however, some meaningful differences are observed. It should be kept in mind that these 25 women represent extreme types, one group being known for their abilities as hostesses and their social participation and the other being outstanding in their civic contributions to the community. Nevertheless, other characteristics seem to be differentially related to these two types. With regard to the hypothesis under consideration, civic leaders participate in an average of 11.2 civic organizations, 5.2 social and religious organizations, and 2.6 governmental organizations with an average total organizational membership of 19.7. In contrast, the social leader belongs to an average of 7.1 civic organizations, 5.1 social organizations, and .75 governmental organizations with an average total organizational membership of 13. In other words, the social leader is much less active in community affairs and only approaches the extent of participation of the civic leader where social and religious organizations are concerned.

Again no substantial differences exist between the two groups in the rate of formal entertaining or being entertained formally. Informally, however, two-thirds of the social leaders, as opposed to two-fifths of the civic leaders, entertain weekly or more and nine-tenths of the social leaders, as opposed to three-fourths of the civic leaders are entertained informally at least once a week.

The social leaders are all in the top twenty socially, the husbands of five of them are either top influentials, economic dominants, or both, and they (the husbands) belong to an average of 5.7 community

activities and 2.42 corporation boards. In contrast, of the civic leaders, five are in the top twenty, 4 in the bottom twenty, two are "just social," and two "not social." The five members of the top twenty are the five women who are both civic leaders and social leaders. Besides three of the husbands of these same five women who are economic dominants and/or top influentials, none of the spouses of civic leaders are so prominent in the community. The husbands of these women participate in an average of 4.5 community activities and serve on 1.62 corporation boards.

Therefore, although social leaders do not belong to a greater number of social organizations, they do more informal entertaining and they participate in significantly fewer civic organizations than do civic leaders. There is, then, some support for the hypothesis that women whose husbands are not as active in community and financial affairs and whose family social position is relatively low will choose civic means of expressing and enhancing the family's status and the husband's position. On the other hand, women, whose husbands are economically dominant or more active in community affairs tend to participate less in community and civic organizations and to concentrate more on social organizations and activities.

Hypothesis number (4.) is a corollary of the preceding one, namely that:

(4.) Civic leaders will have a significantly lower social rank than social leaders.

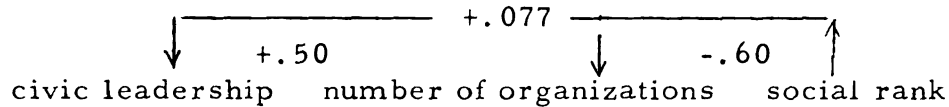
Two different tests support this hypothesis. A Mann Whitney U test comparing the social rank of civic and social leaders yields a significant difference in social rank between the two groups ( $p = .01$  of observing a  $U \leq 20.5$ ). The mean social rank for social leaders is 115.92 while that for civic leaders is 90.88. Of interest also is the range: for social leaders,  $w = 14$ , for civic leaders,  $w = 76$ . There is considerable variation in social rank among the civic leaders.

A second test was performed to test the correlation between social and civic leadership and social rank. It was found that social leadership is highly correlated with social rank ( $r_s = +.86$ ,  $p = .01$ ), while civic leadership is not correlated at all ( $r_s = .077$ ). In other words, the more prestigious the social leader, the higher her social rank. Hypothesis number (4.) is, therefore, accepted. But interpretation of these findings remains.

It is well established that, generally speaking, women who are active civically are at the same time socially less prominent. And yet, although not quite a third of the civic leaders are outside the top 40 socially, the great majority of these women are within it. It is quite possible that the respondents have listed women in their own social group as civic leaders in the community because they are most familiar with the activities of these particular women and with the organizations to which these women belong. That this is so is suggested further by some of the shared memberships between the two groups. Over nine-tenths of the civic leaders and three-fourths of the social leaders belong to the NAYW; 85% of the civic leaders and 100% of the social leaders belong to the country club; 62% of the civic leaders and 83% of the social leaders belong to the Guild; and 38% of the former and 33% of the latter belong to the dancing club. Approximately the same percentage of both groups are active in the Community Chest. This would suggest that the top prestige group is a relatively closed group with a great deal of social distance between the "in-group" and others in the community. By and large, these women are not well acquainted with the activities of, and participants in, organizations with broader community participation.

However, while a minimal social rank appears necessary to nomination here as a civic leader, the major factor affecting the respondents' choice seems to be the extent of a woman's civic

participation. Both the number of civic organizations and the total number of organizations belonged to are positively correlated with civic leadership (+.5049 and +.4877 respectively). And yet, while these are also negatively correlated with social rank, there is no correlation between civic leadership and social rank.



Interpreting this, one must conclude that civic leadership is dependent on still another variable, one for which we have no measure, and that is, the quality of the contributions which these women have made to the community. Therefore, civic leadership, for the group of women interviewed, is dependent upon a minimal social rank, is correlated with the number of civic and other community organizations belonged to, and is apparently associated with the quality of performance of their civic duties; but this last variable should be subjected to further tests.

The fact that civic leaders (with the exception of two who are "not social") do seem to have at least a minimal social rank--the lowest of these being only a few points away from the last rank in the bottom twenty--suggests that, for this group, civic leadership requires a certain amount of social acceptance (or rank), but beyond this minimal requirement civic leadership has little to do with social rank. One could hypothesize that the extent of civic participation would not affect the social position of a woman and her family. In fact, a rank correlation test, comparing social rank and the number of civic organizations participated in, shows in both the case of the civic and social leader, a significant negative correlation between the number of civic organizations belonged to and the women's social rank.<sup>1</sup> When the same test

---

<sup>1</sup>Civic leaders,  $-.60$ , significant at .05 level; social leader,  $-.832$ , significant at .01 level.

is run comparing social rank and the total number of organizations belonged to, the same thing appears--highly significant negative correlations for both social and civic leaders.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the greater the number of organizations belonged to, the lower the social rank. Of course, this is a general trend, there being some outstanding exceptions as can be noted in the accompanying graphs (Fig. 4).

This finding, in conjunction with previous ones, invites the interpretation that women, whose social position is relatively (relative to the "society" group) low or insecure and whose husband has not yet established himself in the business or civic community, attempt to enhance both their husband's business position and the status of their family through widespread participation in civic, social, and religious organizations. And, furthermore, that women, whose social position is secure and whose husbands are financially and civically well-known in the community, do not need to engage in a great many community organizations and can devote their time instead to participation in the few select associations of their social group and to fulfilling the social obligations expected of someone in their position.

Hypothesis (5.)--that significantly more social leaders than civic leaders will have husbands who are either top influentials or economic dominants--cannot be tested statistically because of the five overlapping persons between the two groups. Only partial support for the hypothesis may be inferred from the data. Five of the twelve social leaders have husbands who are either economic dominants, top influentials or both, three of them being both. Among the thirteen civic leaders only three have husbands who are economic dominants, top influentials, or both, and all three are women who are also social leaders. None of the civic leaders of lower social rank have husbands who are either influential or economically dominant in the community.

---

<sup>2</sup>Civic leaders,  $-.533$ , significant at  $.05$  level; social leaders,  $-.70$ , significant at  $.05$  level.

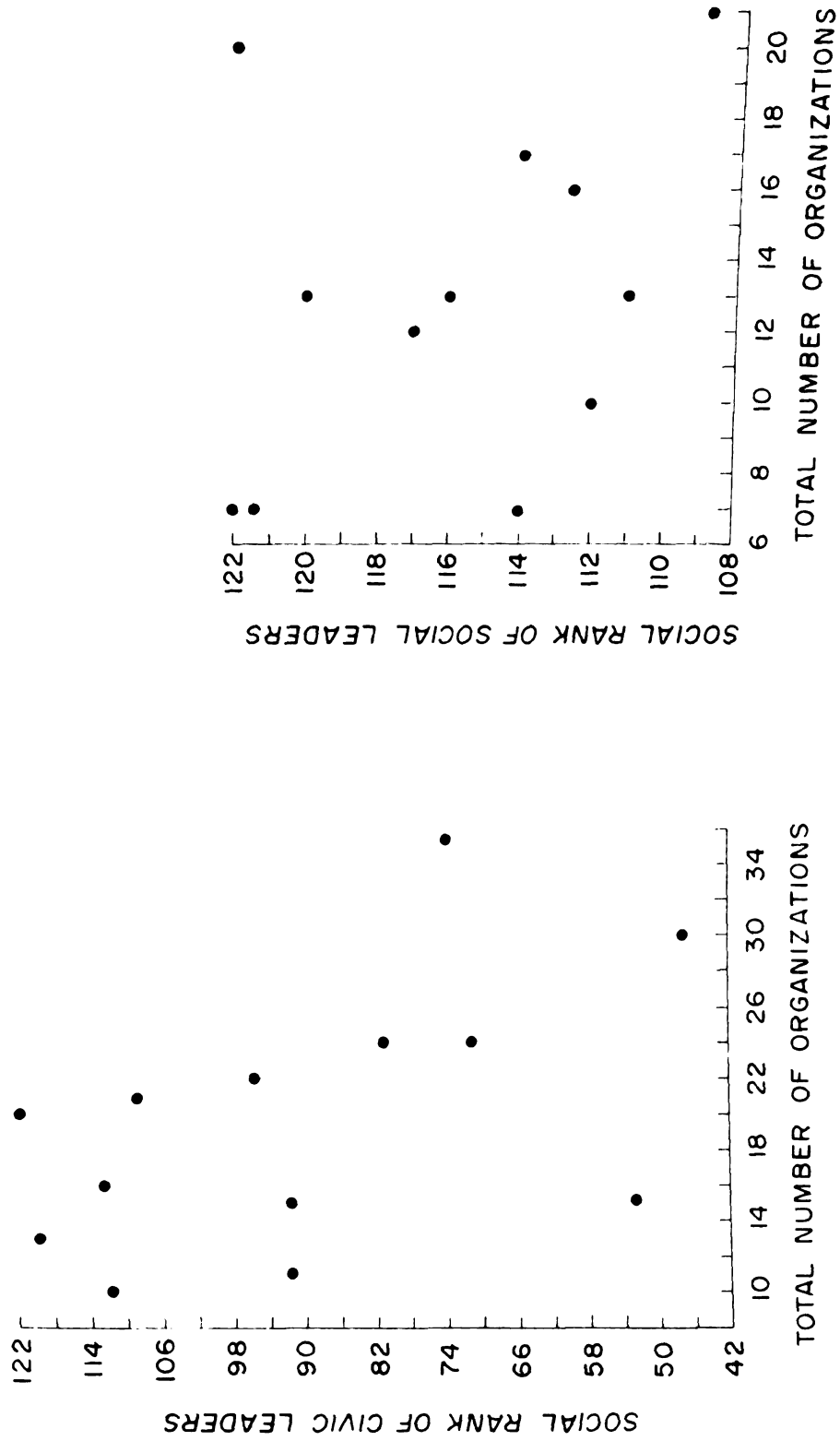


Fig. 4. Graphic Representation of the Correlation between Organizational Participation and Social Rank.

Hypothesis (6.)--that social leaders will have a significantly higher rate of entertaining, both formal and informal--cannot be rigorously supported either. However, Table 17 shows some substantial differences in entertaining between the two groups. Admittedly, the N's are very small, but the trend is fairly consistent. Considerably more of the social leaders entertain weekly; the difference is even greater when the overlapping social leaders are removed from the civic leader tabulations. The results are far from conclusive; and, as has been mentioned earlier, a more refined measure for both frequency and kind of entertaining is needed. In addition, the estimations of the respondents were very approximate and in some cases, probably inaccurate. The most valid method of obtaining rates of entertaining would be to pick several weeks at random through the year and then ask to examine the social calendars of the respondents. This, however, presents practical difficulties.

There are a few other characteristics on which these two groups differ. One of these is age. Seven-tenths of the civic leaders are in their 30's and 40's while three-fourths of the social leaders are in their 50's and 60's. This lends support to the theory of status and role sequences based on a system of age grading. Furthermore, half of the civic leaders and two-thirds of the social leaders are members of old Wheelsburg families. When the five social leaders are omitted from the civic leaders, only one-quarter of the remaining belong to these families.

In an earlier paragraph, similarities in club memberships between civic and social leaders were mentioned. In addition, there are several differences. Slightly more than four-fifths of the husbands of social leaders belong to the Wheelers Club; only two-fifths of those of civic leaders do. Again, slightly more than four-fifths of the families of social leaders belong to the luncheon club; only a little more than one-half of the civic leaders do. Forty-two

Table 17. Entertainment Patterns of Civic and Social Leaders.

	Civic leaders	Social leaders	Civic leaders minus 4 overlap- ping social leaders	Social leaders minus 4 overlap- ping civic leaders	Per cent
<u>Informal</u>					
Weekly	42	67	25	60	
Every other week	42	22	50	20	
Monthly	16	--	25	--	
Other	--	11	--	20	
	N = 12	N = 9	N = 8	N = 5	
<u>Formal</u>					
Weekly	--	11	--	20	
Every other week	27	22	14	--	
Monthly	9	11	--	--	
Other	64	56	86	80	
	N = 11	N = 9	N = 7	N = 5	



per cent of the social leaders and only 8% of the civic leaders belong to the MAC and/or the MC in the neighboring metropolitan area. And finally, two-thirds of the husbands of social leaders and only one-third of those of civic leaders belong to Rotary. Summing up; the younger women, while they share many important memberships with the older social leaders, have husbands who have not yet moved into some of the prestigious associations common to the older and financially more successful businessmen. All of the above mentioned clubs are joined--either by invitation or application--through the husband.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

#### A. Summary of the Thesis

The purpose of this thesis was to analyze the top prestige group in a midwestern, industrial community, delineated first by a reputational technique, and then by self-designation. Two major aspects have been dealt with: (1) a description of the group, its structural aspects, basic values, expectations, style of life, symbolic distinctions, and types of activities; and (2a) a description of the extent and style of civic and social participation engaged in by the women of this local "society" and (2b) a comparison of the differences in associational participation between two groups of women classified as civic and social leaders.

The research was done in a midwestern, industrial metropolitan area with a population of approximately 300,000. The major sources of employment, automobile manufacturing, metal manufacturing, government, and education, provide a relatively diversified economic base. Forty-two socially prominent women were interviewed concerning 1) their participation in civic and social activities, 2) their opinions about socially and civically important organizations for women and the structure and characteristics of the top prestige group; and 3) personal information such as schooling, family connections, husband's occupation and civic activities, and closest friends. At the conclusion of the interview a deck of 80 cards, each containing the name of a Wheelsburg family, was given to the interviewee to sort first into two piles, those who were "social" and those who were not. Upon completing

this she was asked to select the twenty most prominent families from the "social" pile. From this three-way division a measure of social rank was derived.

### 1. The Social Structure of Society

The major hypothesis connected with the first aspect of the study states:

That Wheelsburg, as a midwestern community with control of its major enterprises resting outside the community, will not have a top prestige group characterized by social distance, defined boundaries, and established old families.

On the basis of three criteria--the presence of old families with inherited wealth at the apex of the group, unanimity of opinion regarding membership, and a maintained social distance between the "society" group and others in the community--the null hypothesis was rejected. It can be stated that Wheelsburg, as a midwestern and relatively young community, has developed a closed, societal group at the apex of its stratification hierarchy similar to such groups in older eastern communities.

That old family membership is important to closed societal groups even in young communities is tested in the second hypothesis which states that:

There will be no correlation between old family membership and being a social leader.

It was found that there is a significant association between social leadership and membership in an old Wheelsburg family and that, furthermore, 25 of the 36 members of groups A and B are second and third generation descendants of these early families.

The description of the top prestige group, as a gemeinschaft-like, communal collectivity, covered several aspects. First, it was pointed out that there is an informal organization or structure to this social group. One way of delineating this structure was through the use of

social rank scores. A structural division into a top and bottom twenty based on social rank was found to be associated with age differences between the two groups, length of residence, type and extent of organizational participation, and with the formation of smaller friendship cliques within the total group. Thus generally, the older a person, the longer his residency in Wheelsburg, and the more restricted his associational participation, the higher his social rank.

The tendency to associate with persons closest to one in social rank is modified by the age structure; age appears to be more important than similarity of social rank in picking one's closest associates. In addition, social rank was important in delineating the position of social leader within the group structure. That this position is clearly conceptualized by group members is attested to by the extent of agreement on who fills these positions and the qualities which these women possess. The definite place of this status-role in the group structure is demonstrated by the high correlation between social leadership and social rank ( $r = .86$ ) and the fact that the five key social leaders have the five highest social rank scores in the top twenty. Finally, the high correlation of agreement ( $r = .67$ ) on the ranking of families suggests that this is a group with well-defined boundaries.

Another way of delineating the structure of the top prestige group was through the use of sociometric techniques. When the 42 respondents were given an unlimited number of free choices of best friends, the sociogram in Figure 2 resulted. Through the use of this technique, two sociometric sub-groups were isolated which were found to differ significantly in age (and consequently in social rank), group expansiveness, and extent and kind of group membership. No reciprocal choices were observed between the two sub-groups and the number of one-way choices is very small. And yet, these two groups are linked by family connections and the few overlapping and tangential friendships between

the older members of group B and the younger ones in group A. Thus, while these sub-groups differ on certain variables--presumably because of the age difference involved--they are linked by family connections and tangential friendships and are similar in the extent of mutuality within each group. This seems to justify classifying group A and B as sub-groups of a single social system.

A second aspect covered in the discussion of the top prestige group is a description of general characteristics. The data in the present study confirm what the literature leads us to expect, namely, that upper status groups in this country are white, Protestant, Republican, above average in education, and in executive or entrepreneurial positions. More particularly, religious participation is concentrated in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches; the average education of the women interviewed is 15 years with husbands having roughly a year more of schooling than their wives. An advanced occupational position appears to be more important in determining social rank than age since three-fifths of the top twenty as opposed to not quite one-fifth of the bottom twenty are in presidential or entrepreneurial positions.

Still another important descriptive aspect concerns the extent and type of associational participation characteristic of the women in the top prestige group. Considerable unanimity of opinion was found on which organizations were civically and socially most important in the community (from the viewpoint of this social group). Important differences in the extent of participation in different type organizations were observed. The women in group B had a consistently higher average participation in civic, social and religious, and governmental organizations. Here age appears to be a more differentiating factor than social rank suggesting that there is a definite age-grading, both of specific activities and in breadth of participation. When current,

rather than cumulative, participation is considered, the younger women belong to as many social organizations as the older women while their civic participation is still considerably greater. Sequential patterns of membership in different organizations is common in this group with a distinct narrowing of participation with increasing age. Activities also become less community and civically oriented and become more social in nature.

## 2. Civic and Social Leaders

In this section of the study, the concern was primarily with a comparison of civic and social leaders as representing two methods of expressing and enhancing social position in the community. Some support was found for the hypothesis that:

Women whose husbands are not as active in community and financial affairs and whose family social position is relatively low will choose civic means of expressing and enhancing the family's status and the husband's position; while women whose husbands are economically dominant or more active in community affairs tend to participate less in community and civic organizations and to concentrate more on social organizations and activities.

Civic leaders were found to have a significantly lower social rank than the social leaders (Hypothesis 4) with little variation in social rank among the latter and great variation in social rank among the former. Social rank was highly correlated with social leadership, whereas there was virtually no correlation between social rank and civic leadership. Carrying this a step further, social rank was also found to be highly and negatively correlated with the number of organizations, civic or otherwise, to which a woman belongs. Civic leadership, on the other hand, was positively correlated with the number of organizations.

These findings suggest several things. First, since civic leadership is not correlated with social rank, it can be assumed that

the respondents were not nominating women as civic leaders because of their social position. However, a minimum social rank seems to be a necessary condition since all but two of the women are close to or within the top forty. The respondents, therefore, nominated women in their own social group who are leaders in organizations with which they are familiar. It is quite possible, and even probable, that the list of civic leaders would be different if other sources in the community were tapped. It is equally probable that some of the same women would appear on these different lists because they are visibly active in the community-at-large, serving on state-wide and national boards as well. Nevertheless, it is fairly certain that other factors entered into their choice of civic leaders other than a minimal social rank and an extensive participation in community organizations. A possible intervening variable could be the quality of work done in civic organizations. The strength of this possibility is supported by the comments of many of the respondents who frequently associated different civic leaders with particularly outstanding contributions in special areas. However, this is purely speculative and should be tested in further research in this area.

#### B. Limitations of the Study

Several, but by no means all of the shortcomings of the present study can be mentioned in this short section. Those which follow are generally the more obvious errors and, in some cases, the more amenable to treatment. Let's begin, however, with one which isn't. Because of the nature of the problem, no acceptable sampling technique could be used. And given a problem of this type, where a particular group is being studied as a structural unit, there seems to be no way to introduce random sampling into the methodological procedure.

A second limitation is concerned with the question on the unlimited and free sociometric choice of best friends. During the analytical stages of the research, the author became fairly well acquainted with the available techniques for analyzing sociometric data, and their shortcomings and assumptions. To date, no analytical technique has been devised which measures the probability of observing a given number of reciprocal choices where neither the number of choices made nor the possible number of choices that can be made is controlled. It is the last criterion which is the stumbling block. Katz et al.<sup>1</sup> have developed a technique for figuring the probability of an observed number of reciprocal choices where unlimited choice is permitted; but the technique requires that there be a known number of possible choices. The author would suggest that, since the sociometric technique used in this study provided a great deal of valuable data, further research might use a similar technique with modifications. First, restricting the number of choices would provide a tighter conceptualization of a restricted group; it would not give as complete information about peripheral members of the group. Secondly, however, if the sociometric technique is used to define the group, there is no way of limiting in advance the population from which they can choose.

A third shortcoming which arose during the analysis of the data appeared in the index of entertaining rates. It has been suggested earlier that a more refined index is needed, and a more accurate method of obtaining the information. The following is in the nature of a suggestion for the improvement of this index in further studies. Select three separate weeks throughout the year; then ask respondents if they would refer to their "social calendars" and count the number of times in each week that they attended different types of functions,

---

<sup>1</sup>Leo Katz, R. Tagiuri, and T. R. Wilson, "A Note on Estimating the Statistical Significance of Mutuality," unpublished MS, Dept. of Statistics, Michigan State University, 1960.



i. e., luncheons and afternoon programs, bridge games and other informal get-togethers during the day, formal dinners or parties, informal dinners or parties, and committee or organizational meetings. Sub-totals for each week could then be averaged.

### C. Suggestions for Further Research

In order to ascertain under what conditions closed societal groups appear at the apex of community stratification systems, it would be necessary to perform research of this nature in communities similar in size but different in its industrial make-up, and in communities similar in industrial make-up, but differing in size.

A second suggestion concerns the method of determining civic leaders in a community. In order to get a better community-wide representation, a more diverse panel of judges should be used. The more inclusive list which would result could then be profitably compared with the list obtained from a relatively restricted social group.

A final suggestion also concerns the second major aspect of this study. More detailed research in the comparison of civic and social leaders as they represent polar ways of expressing and enhancing social position would add to our knowledge of community processes (power, institutional linkage, etc.), status symbolization, and social mobility.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Amory, Cleveland. Who Killed Society? New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960.
- Baltzell, Edward Digby. Philadelphia Gentleman. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958.
- Dixon, Wilfred J., and Massey, Frank J., Jr. Introduction to Statistical Analysis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1957.
- Davis, Allison, Gardner, Burleigh B., and Gardner, Mary R. Deep South. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.
- Form, William H., and Miller, Delbert C. Industry, Labor, and Community. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960.
- Grund, Francis J. Aristocracy in America. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.
- Hunter, Floyd. Community Organization: Action and Inaction. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.
- Kahl, Joseph. The American Class Structure. New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1957.
- Kavaler, Lucy. The Private World of High Society. New York: D. McKay Co., 1960.
- Loomis, Charles P. Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change. New York: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1960.
- Lynd, Robert S., and Lynd, Helen M. Middletown. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Middletown in Transition. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937.

- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957.
- Mills, C. Wright. The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Siegel, Sidney. Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956.
- Van Rensselaer, Mrs. John King. The Social Ladder. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1924.
- Veblen, Thorstein. The Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: The New American Library, 1953.
- Warner, W. Lloyd et al. Democracy in Jonesville: A Study in Quality and Inequality. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Lunt, Paul S. The Status System of a Modern Community. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_. The Social Life of a Modern Community. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Meeker, Marchia, and Eells, Kenneth. Social Class in America. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949.
- Zorbaugh, Harvey Warren. Gold Coast and Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

#### Articles

- Babchuk, Nicholas, Marsey, Ruth, and Gordon, C. Wayne. "Men and Women in Community Agencies: A Note on Power and Prestige," American Sociological Review, XXV (June 1960), 399-403.
- Bendix, Reinhard, and Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Karl Marx' Theory of Social Classes," Class, Status and Power. Edited by Bendix and Lipset. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, 26-34.
- Form, William H., and Stone, Gregory P. "Urbanism, Anonymity, and Status Symbolism," American Journal of Sociology. LXII (March 1957), 504-514.

- Gordon, C. Wayne, and Babchuk, Nicholas. "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review. XXIV (February 1959), 22-29.
- Kish, Leslie. "Confidence Intervals for Clustered Samples," American Sociological Review. XXII (April 1957), 154-165.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Statistical Problems in Research Design," American Sociological Review. XXIV (June 1959), 328-338.
- Komarovsky, Mira. "Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review. XI (December 1946), 686-698.
- Kornhauser, Ruth Rosner. "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," Class, Status and Power. Edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, 224-254.
- Miller, Delbert C. "Industry and Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review. XXIII (February 1958), 9-15.
- Minnis, Mhyra S. "The Patterns of Women's Organizations: Significance, Types, Social Prestige Rank, and Activities," Community Structure and Analysis. Edited by Marvin B. Sussman. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959, 269-287.
- Parsons, Talcott. "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," Class, Status and Power. Edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, 92-128.
- Pfautz, Harold W. "The Current Literature on Social Stratification, Critique and Bibliography," American Journal of Sociology. LVIII (January 1953), 391-418.
- Proctor, Charles H., and Loomis, Charles P. "Analysis of Sociometric Data," Research Methods in Social Relations, Part Two: Selected Techniques. Edited by Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951, 561-585.
- Ross, Aileen. "Control and Leadership in Women's Groups: An Analysis of Philanthropic Money-Raising Activity," Social Forces. XXXVII (December 1958), 124-131.

- Schulze, Robert O. "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review. XXIII (February 1958), 3-9
- Slater, Carol. "Class Differences in Definition of Role and Membership in Voluntary Associations among Urban Married Women," American Journal of Sociology. LXV (May 1960), 616-619.
- Stone, Gregory P., and Form, William H. "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review. XVIII (April 1953), 149-162.
- Toennies, Ferdinand. "Estates and Classes," Class, Status and Power. Edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, 49-62.
- Weber, Max. "Class, Status, Party," From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. London: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1946, 180-195.

#### Unpublished Material

- Clelland, Donald. "The Role of Economic Dominants in the Community Power Structure of a Mid-Western City." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1960.
- Form, William H., and Sauer, Warren L. "Community Influentials in a Middle-Sized City: A Case Study." Institute of Community Development and the Labor-Industrial Relations Center, 1960.
- Helfrich, Margaret. "The Social Role of the Executive's Wife." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1959.
- Katz, Leo, Tagiuri, R., and Wilson, T. R. "A Note on Estimating the Statistical Significance of Mutuality." Unpublished MS, Department of Statistics, Michigan State University, 1960.

## APPENDIX

# THE RELATIONS AMONG THE SOCIAL, INFLUENTIAL AND ECONOMIC ELITES

When the top prestige group as a whole is compared with the two other elites delineated in Wheelsburg, some interesting things appear.<sup>1</sup> From Table 18 it is apparent that 6 of the men in the top twenty families are economic dominants and five are top influentials. Four in each of these two categories are the same men as can be seen in the breakdown of Table 18. Only one man in the bottom twenty is both an economic dominant and a top influential.

Table 18. Extent of Overlap Between Three Wheelsburg Elites.

Husband listed as	Top Twenty	Bottom Twenty	Totals	
Economic dominant	6	2	8	
Top influential	5	2	7	
Totals	11	4	15	
-----				
Breakdown, by Family, of Table 18.				
Family	Top Twenty	Bottom Twenty	Top Influential	Economic Dominant
QL	X		X	X
LR	X		X	X
WY	X		X	X
EB	X		X	X
DF	X		X	
AG	X			X
JQ	X			X
KU		X	X	
PW		X		X
YD		X	X	X

<sup>1</sup>William H. Form and Warren L. Sauer, "Community Influentials in a Middle-Sized City: A Case Study," Institute of Community Development in the Labor-Industrial Relations Center, 1960; Donald Clelland, "The Role of Economic Dominants in the Community Power Structure of a Mid-Western City," unpublished MA thesis, Michigan State University 1960.

The implications of this overlap between the three elites are difficult to draw. No necessary correlation between social position, community power, and control of large economic institutions can be assumed. But since four of the five men who are in all three elites are in the top twenty, some complex association between high social position and economic and community power must exist. That this association is complex is attested to by three other observations: 1) of the 12 men who are both top influentials and economic dominants, only five are in the top 40 socially; and 2) when the women respondents were asked whether those who were powerful in the community were also socially prominent, relatively few answered with a simple yes or no (yes - 8, no - 5). Twelve women thought most were in the top prestige group, 9 thought most were not socially prominent, and three said it was about half and half. 3) Finally, several of the women claimed that those who were wealthy and socially prominent had very little power in city government or in community-wide affairs in which governmental officials take an active part. Two recent examples were given.

The Wheelsburg school board changed the boundaries of several school districts in order to equalize the number of students attending two schools. The adjoining districts are extremely diverse economically and racially so that the new districts required that children in the wealthiest and socially more prominent section of town attend a school chiefly attended by lower class Negroes and whites. The parents in this upper economic area organized a fight through the city council using as their official complaint the fact that their children had to cross a dangerous traffic artery and insisting that an overpass be built so that their children could safely attend the school. The racial issue was not raised officially, but several respondents mentioned that they were all considering private schools if the school board did not reverse its decision. However, both the school board and the



city council remained adamant; the new boundaries remained and the request for an overpass was rejected.

A second case involved city government alone. Because of the increasing population of outlying areas and of an increase in the area around Wheelsburg from which the labor force comes, there developed a need for a new or increased capacity artery into the city. Three plans were proposed: one was for widening an already existing main street and an old bridge spanning the river which runs through downtown Wheelsburg; another advocated a new route considerably south of town and also involved widening a bridge; and the third proposed a new route and new bridge which could cut through the country club and the highest evaluated private property in Wheelsburg--the same section affected by the school board's decision. No decision has been made as yet, but many respondents in this area claimed that there was absolutely nothing they or their husbands could do to prevent the city government from accepting Plan 3.

This points to two issues where both community influentials and economic dominants are powerless perhaps because most men in city government are white collar officials or workers who are economically not vulnerable. In line with these two issues, it is interesting to observe that the most frequently mentioned complaint about Wheelsburg by those interviewed centered around the lack of planning for future growth and the mixed residential and industrial districts which have resulted from this lack of planning in the past. The reason for this is suggested by the discussion of the two issues. Men in the business community, whose visibility makes them cautious about taking positions in the community, have assiduously refrained from taking part in city government in any way. Where airports, industrial developments, and renewal of the downtown area are concerned, these men are very active and successful. But because

of the controversies and ambiguous situations involved in government--and perhaps for other, less obvious reasons--bankers, corporation presidents, other executives, and retail businessmen--all men of outstanding organizational ability and experience--refrain from participation in the more general, and perhaps mundane, planning of a city.

ROOM USE ONLY

MAR 1 1962

~~JUN 22 1962~~

~~JUL 18 1962~~

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

~~FEB 6 1963~~

~~MAR 17 1963~~

~~NOV 2 1963~~

~~NOV 16 1963~~

~~DEC 2 1963~~

JUN 5 1964

~~JUN 12 1964~~

~~JUN 24 1964~~

103

~~NOV 14 1964~~

130

12 NOV 18 1969

Re 2379

H 110



MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293105189918